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More On Alzina's Historia De Bisayas

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More About Alzina's *Historia De Visayas*

PAUL S. LIETZ¹

Some weeks ago, Mr. Evett D. Hester, Associate Director of the Philippine Studies Program of the University of Chicago, sent me a pre-publication copy of his article appearing in this issue on the historiography of the Alzina manuscript. His careful and prudent presentation of the confusing skein of the evidence speaks for itself. In return I sent him an outline of my own findings, suggesting that he might use them if he wished, since they had relevance to the whereabouts of the Ateneo copy. He thought it proper, however, that I should describe my investigations separately and, if possible, publish them along with his. This I have attempted to do below, avoiding as much as possible going over the firm ground covered by Hester and merely complementing his discoveries with my own.

My own work in translating the *Historia* into English has led me to the necessity of establishing the original text, if possible, from the several versions that had been discovered in Spain and elsewhere which Mr. Hester has described. I was able to make substantial headway in collating these versions with the aid of the fine collection of Philippine and Spanish catalogs, documents and printed materials, including important Jesuitica, preserved in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library. These enabled me to trace with some accuracy after the suppression of the Society not merely the location of what apparently is a part of the original, but to make an approximation of the movements of the various copies and of their current locations. The study was especially rewarding in that it has revealed the existence of the Ateneo copy which had been reported destroyed by some recent commentators, as Mr. Hester has pointed out.² In the following pages, I shall describe

¹ Head of the Department of History, Loyola University, Chicago. Editor of *Calendar of Philippine documents in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library*, 1956.

² Cf. Hester, pp. 358 ff.

under appropriate headings the various versions of the *Historia* that have been discovered with special reference to the Ateneo copy and its provenience.

ORIGINAL OF PART I

The point of departure for the discussion is the descriptive title which may have been taken from the original of Part I. Father Pedro Torras, S.J., who died in Manila in 1910, left an incomplete and unedited manuscript entitled, *Bibliografía de la Compañía de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas*, in which the title of Alzina's history was given as:

Historia de los Indios e islas Bisayas, o Pintados. El primero Natural: del sitio, fertilidad, calidades, etc. de estas islas y sus moradores con todo lo especial que hay en ellas y en ellos. En 4 libros y 56 [sic] capítulos: El Segundo Eclesiastico o sobrenatural: de su fe, sus principios y aumentos, con muchos casos y cosas particulares tocantes a este ministerio. En 4 libros y 101 capítulos; El 5.^o y ultimo Libro con 25 capítulos de su modo de vivir político: lo mucho que su Majestad gasta por el aumento de su fee; como los gobiernan sus ministros: y de que y con que sirven estos naturales a su Majestad, ademas del tributo que pagan, etc. Ad maiorem Dei gloriam. Amen.

Father Torras found this title in the Preface of Alzina's *Manual de devoción* . . . published in 1703 in Manila.³ There is substantial discrepancy between the 56 chapters ascribed to Part I above and the 101 actually found in the Muñoz copy of Part I, cf. *infra*. The Torras title, on the other hand, indicates 101 chapters in the first four books of Part II.⁴ There seems to be no way at the moment to account for these differences.

The distinguished founder of the Archivo de Indias, Juan Bautista Muñoz, had been commissioned by Charles III in 1779 to write a history of America. Assisted by liberal subsidies, he made extensive collection tours throughout Spain to gather books and manuscripts for the purpose of writing a thoroughly documented history according to the latest critical standards which now for the first time were to be applied in this area.⁵ While in Seville in 1784⁶ he recorded his discovery of parts of the Alzina. Muñoz says that Part I was in the possession of the Real Sociedad Médica of Seville, of which he was a member.

³ *Manual de devoción y ejercicios cristianos para instrucción de los Hermanos Bisayas congregantes de las Congregaciones de la Virgen María Señora nuestra. Dispuesto en la lengua Bisaya por el Padre Ignacio Aloina de la Compañía de Jesús.* Manila 1662. Reimpreso en Manila, 1703. Cited in Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, VI, p. 348, No. 1279. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero Hispano-Americano*, Barcelona, 1948, I, p. 174, No. 6073, mentions that the first edition was probably dated 1661, while J. T. Medina, *La Imprenta en Manila*, 1896, I, p. 84, No. 125, refers only to the 1703 edition. No copy of the *Manual de devoción* is presently available to the writer. Undoubtedly the reference is to the 1703 edition, since its 1661 edition was published seven years earlier than the *Historia* (1668). The information on the Torras manuscript was sent to the present writer by Father Francisco Solá, Archivist at San Cugat del Vallés, Barcelona.

⁴ This seems reasonable as Hester, pp. 349 ff. quite clearly indicates that there were originally 75 chapters in the first three books of Part II.

⁵ José Antonio Calderón Quijano, *Estudios Americanos*, XIX (January, 1960) pp. 95-97.

⁶ For his Seville connection, cf. Antonio Ballesteros Barreta, "Juan Bautista Muñoz," *Revista de Indias*, II, No. 4, p. 70.

Significantly he says it was written in double columns on silk paper, apparently in the author's own hand, in 393 folio pages. Besides these pages there was a dedication by the author to St. Francis Borgia; his own introduction of his work and three approbations: the first by Fray Baltazar de Jesús or de Herrera, Augustinian, dated October 15, 1671; the second by Fray Baltazar de Medina, Franciscan, September 25, 1671; and the third by Nicolas Bara, secular, Governor of the Bishopric of SS. Nombre de Jesús in Cebu, to whose jurisdiction belonged the Visayan islands, dated May 21, 1672. A note preceding the fragment of Part II specifies that there were twenty drawings in color inserted in their proper places. Thus far, the original of Part I, if it still exists, has not been located. Moreover, there are no descriptions of it in the catalogs of the Muñoz collection, or others which mention the *Historia*. Fortunately the loss is not irreparable due to the existence of a careful Muñoz copy of all of Part I.

ORIGINAL OF PART II

The original of Part II⁸ was also found by Muñoz in Seville but under far different circumstances. He says in his prefatory note that he discovered the remnant in a *botica* of that city, and he enumerates the pages which had escaped the disaster of being used for wrapping powders and ointments. He speculates that these pages comprise the greater part of Books 1 and 2 of the three or four which originally made up the volume. "I do not know," he said, "by what chance [the manuscript] came into the hands of these savages. Perhaps the loss will be irreparable, although less so in that it happened to the second part which can be supplied by other works. Not so with respect to the first part, a unique piece of work and of inestimable value."⁹

The question of the original length and content of Part II seems to be solved. As treated in detail in Mr. Hester's article, pp. 348 ff. the microfilm of the fragmentary original in the Real Academia de la Historia indicates not less than 75 chapters and three books, of which the whole or some part of 45 are extant. In the description of the original manuscript by Father Torras, as taken from the *Manual de devoción*, there is substantial support for Muñoz's conjecture of three or four books.

⁸ For a history of the Muñoz collection including a list of the documents handed over on his death, including those relating to the Philippines, cf. Antonio Muro Orejón. "Juan Bautista Muñoz: Las fuentes bibliográficas de la historia del Nuevo Mundo," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, X (Sevilla, 1953) pp. 265-337.

⁹ A description of the contents of Part II is given in *Catálogo de la Colección Muñoz*, Real Academia de la Historia, 1954, I, pp. 72-78, No. 110. There is little basis for speculation as to how the Alzina may have arrived in Seville in such disparate locations. The law concerning the Jesuit *bienes* provided that the Fiscal be empowered to arrange for the disposition of manuscripts and letters at his discretion. The stocks of medical dispensaries run by the Jesuits were to be transferred to hospitals or sold. *Colección de providencias hasta aquí tomadas por el gobierno sobre al extrañamiento y ocupacion de temporalidades de los regulares de la Compañía*... Madrid, 1767. Parte Primera, p. 41 No. VII.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Muñoz, Note. p. 336.

It is reported there to have comprised five books and 126 chapters.¹⁰ Finally, I am indebted to Mr. Victor Baltazar of Manila for pointing out Alzina's reference in Chapter 10 of Part I, Book 3, where he says, "Vease el Cap. 20. del lib. 5. de la 2.^a p."¹¹

On August 12, 1799, a month and a day after Muñoz's death, the documents which he had collected, including the fragment of Part II, were placed in the Biblioteca Real in the palace of Charles III in Madrid. Then in 1817, 107 volumes of the collection, among them Part II of the Alzina, were removed to the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, where it is presently located.¹¹

THE TEXT OF THE MUÑOZ NOTE

Although much of the Muñoz Note has been summarized in Sections I and II, above, it seems useful to include the full Spanish text as it appears on the microfilm of the original in the Real Academia de la Historia, *Colección de Muñoz: Indias, Filipinas, Moluccas*:

Posé la primera parte de esta obra escrita en 2 columnas en papel de seda al parecer de mano del autor (mas bien "con correcciones" i tal qual añadidura que parecen de mano del autor) en 393 fojas en fol. la Real Sociedad Médica de Sevilla. Ademas de los citados folios hai al principio una dedicatoria del Autor a S. Fr.^{co} de Borja, el proemio del mismo a su obra i tres aprovaciones [sic]: la 1.^a de Fr. Balt de Jesus, o de Herrera, Agustino fecha en 15 Oct. 1671. 2.^a de Fr. Balt. de Medina, Francisco fha en 25 Set. [1]671. 3.^a de Nic. Baran, Pbro Gov.^{or} del Opdo de SS. Nombre de Jesus en Cebu a quien pertenecen las islas Bisayas, fha en 21 Mayo [1]672. Este llama la Historia de Sanboangan. Sigue el indice de los Capp. de los 4 libros en que va dividida dha 1.^a Parte. Al fin va un indice de las materias principales. (e insertos en sus lugares 20 dibujos cada uno con diversas figuras, algunas con sus colores, de cosas naturales de todos tres reinos, i de algunas artes, usos, i costumbres).

Propiamente puede llamarse la 1.^a parte la Historia Natural i Moral de las islas Bisayas, pues trata quanto se comprende bajo ese titulo. Y la 2.^a la Hist.^a de la propagación de la fe en las mismas.

Consta de la obra que su autor nació en Gandia, ciudad del reino de Valencia por los años 1609, pues dice haber entrado en la Compañía en 1624, dejando de 6 años a un hermano que tenia 9 menos que él. En 19 Abr. 1631 partió de Zaragoza para Manila a donde llegó en 26 Mayo 32. Allí acabó dos años de estudio que le faltavan i defendió un Acto de toda la teología. Al punto se fué a las Misiones de las Islas Bisayas, cuya conversión emprendió con indecible ardor. Empezo aprendiendo la lengua del pais i logro en ella tales adelantamientos que creía saberla mas que otras seis que antes havia usado i hablado. Desde los principios se aplicó quanto le permitia el ministerio apostolico a todos los ramos de la Historia natural i moral del pais; ya en 1641 a los 7 años de estar en él, dio muestras de su instruccion en esta parte en una Soledad que en verso endecasilabo con algunas heptasílabas escribió a nombre de Alcina al P. Rafael de Bonafre, a que llama Bonfrido su compañero de viaje desde España a quien dejó en Manila. Va esta Soledad al fin de la primera parte. Ya que en espacio de 34 años, havia corrido lo mas de las Bisayas habiendo logrado algun reposo de sus continuas afanes, se propuso ordenar los infinitos apuntamientos que continuamente havia estado haciendo, i en 9 a 10 meses compuso la primera parte de su obra en quatro libros. Quando acabo de

¹⁰ Torras, *Bibliografía*.

¹¹ Jesús Dominguez Bordona, ed., "Manuscritos Americanos," *Catálogo de la Biblioteca del Palacio* (Madrid: 1935), nota preliminar. For a more detailed account of the transfer, cf. *Catálogo Muñoz*, I, p.7. By a rule of Philip V only members of the two Spanish Academies of Language and History could publish the unedited documents of the Biblioteca Real. Apparently this rule has not been abrogated. *Ibid.* xlix.

escribirla hacia 35 años que estava en aquellas islas. Asi que dió fin a esta obra en 1669. (i este año va puesto al fin de la obra, bien q^o hai una enmienda posterior q^o dice 1641. Pero se concilia uno con otro advirtiendo que el año 1641 fue el que compuso la Soledad con q^o acaba.) a los 60 de edad (tratava de darla a luz despues de la muerte del P. Sanvitores [que sucedio en 2 Abril 1672] segun es de ver en la Advertta que pone antes de esta obra). Se propuso escribirla guardando las levas de la Historia, lo mas por experiencia propia. Donde esta no alcanzava se valia de noticias distinguiendo con critica el merito de cada una; apuntando lo dudoso e incierto como tal. En el estilo procuró la naturalidad, evitando cuidadosamente el estilo afectado que dominava en su tiempo. En todo se muestra superior al siglo en que vivia; i en efecto su historia es obra digna del siglo 16.

Como acabó la 1a parte, empuñó la 2a de la qual se halló un trozo considerable en una Botica de esta ciudad, tambien en fol. i escrita en papel de seda a dos cubanas. Solo han escapado la desgracia de servir para polvos i unguentos 148 fojas, que son 49-107. 112-161. 175-180. 207-209. 225-243. 262-272, todas inclusive. En ellas se comprende gran parte de los libros 1^o i 2^o de tres o quatro que en mi juicio tendria la obra. No se porque casualidad vino a parar en manos de semejantes salvages. Quiza sera irreparable esta perdida; aunque menos malo es que haya sucedido en la 2a parte, la qual puede suplirse por otras obras. No asi la primera, escrito unico a su genero, i de sumo aprecio.

Sevilla a 28 de Julio 1784

Muñoz

D. Valero Potts Ex-Jesuita en Hist.^a Mas.^a de Filip. T. 7 dice de este Alcina, que murió en Manila año 1574 [sic]. Dícelo por testim^o del P. Murillo en su hist.^a de Filipinas, el qual vio la obra de Hista nat^l de Alcina en el colegio de Jesuitas de Manila. Paso Murillo de Acapulco a Filipinas en 1723 como escribe en su Geog^a lib. 9 cap 22 sub fin.

THE MUÑOZ COPY. BOOKS I TO 4 OF PART I

This copy was examined by the writer in the Biblioteca Real, Madrid, in the summer of 1959. It is bound in two volumes of 401 and 342 folios respectively and has nineteen drawings in color as illustrations. Apparently it had been prepared by Muñoz for publication without Part II, of which he had found only the fragment described above.

The earliest record of these tomes seems to be that of the Traggia y Abella index of 1799, which has been reproduced as a part of the *Catálogo Muñoz*. Nevertheless, the source of the descriptions in the *Catálogo* is the Valencian bibliographer Fustér, who is said to have made a literal transcription of Traggia, but may in fact have taken his data directly from the original.¹² Presently this cannot be ascertained. In any event it is the description that appears as Uriarte and Lecina's item no. A2 in 1925¹³ and in the Dominguez catalog of the Biblioteca Real collection, 1935.¹⁴ This copy was not removed with the other Muñoz do-

¹² Joaquín Traggia y Manuel Abella, "Índice de la colección de manuscritos pertenecientes a la historia de Indias que escribía don Juan Bautista Muñoz y por su muerte se han hallado en su librería, Madrid, August 12, 1799," in *Catálogo Muñoz*, I LVII. A check of Fustér indicates that his description is exactly that of the Traggia and also the description on the manuscript itself. Justo Pastor Fustér *Biblioteca Valenciana* (Madrid: 1829) II pp. 191-238, has a section entitled "Copia de los manuscritos que recogió don Juan Bautista Muñoz en sus viajes y se entregaron en su muerte a su Magrestad." For the Alcina citation cf. p. 206, col. 1.

¹³ J. E. Uriarte, S.J. and M. Lecina, S.J., *Biblioteca de escritores de la Compañía de Jesús*, Madrid, 1925 Parte 1a, Tomo 1, pp. 90-91.

¹⁴ Dominguez, *Catálogo*, No. 527.

cuments, including the fragments of the Alzina, Part II, to the Academia Real in 1817.¹⁵

THE LENOX COPY. BOOKS 1 AND 2 OF PART I.

This is a transcript of the first two books of Part I of the *Historia* in 220 folios. It is presently in the New York Public Library.¹⁶ It came to the library with the acquisition of the Obediah Rich Collection. This has been described as containing almost every item collected by Muñoz for his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. It had been gathered originally by Antonio Uquina of Madrid. On his death it was purchased by Ternaux Compans who published some and collected more. All these finally came into Rich's possession who sold them to James Lenox about 1845 and they became the basis of the Philippine Collection of the New York Public Library.¹⁷

THE ATENEO AND SAN CUGAT COPY. BOOKS 1 AND 2 OF PART I.

Mr. Hester's conclusions based on his careful investigation of the data unearthed on the Ateneo copy are, if anything, overly cautious. Tracing the life of this copy from the middle of the 18th century, when we have the first mention of it, down to the 1930's and even to the present, offers a few difficulties but they do not appear to impair the argument seriously.

Some months ago, while comparing the two Alzina drawings reproduced in Kroeber's *Peoples of the Philippines* with those of the Muñoz copy, I noted that there were substantial differences both in the execution of the drawings and in the descriptions of the figures, although the subjects corresponded. This was about the time that the microfilm of another version of the Alzina had been received from the San Cugat archives of the Jesuits in Barcelona.¹⁸ This also had illustrations. To my surprise, two of these drawings matched those of Kroeber exactly. Then came the engaging thought that this San Cugat copy might have been once in the Philippines, in fact that it might be the missing Ateneo Alzina reported to have been destroyed in 1932.

¹⁵ Although it is listed in the *Catálogo Muñoz*, a note explains that these two volumes remained behind in the Palacio, p. lvii.

¹⁶ It is listed as a transcript dated about 1800 and is cited in "Works Relating to the Philippine Islands in the New York Public Library," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, January 1900, IV, p. 20, and again in a list of the manuscript collection, *Ibid.*, V, 333. The volume I in which it is found contains Chirino's *Historia*, J. B. Roman's *Relación* and others described as transcripts from Torre de Tombo, Simancas and other sources made about 1800.

¹⁷ William Bowden, ed. *Collection of Manuscripts, Principally in Spanish, Relating to America in the Possession of O. Esch*, London, 1845. Cf. Alzina description p. 30 No. 126.

¹⁸ Rev. Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., had discovered it while filming the collection for the St. Louis University microfilm library and kindly provided the author with a copy. Cf. Hester, p. 358. A. L. Kroeber, *Peoples of the Philippines*, Handbook Series No. 8, New York, 1943, Figures 82 and 44.

Initially there was question as to the provenience of the San Cugat copy and whether it might be Part I, Books 1 and 2 of the lost original. This, however, was ruled out by Muñoz's clear indication that the original of the whole of Part I, which he had seen, was written in double columns, as is the extant fragment of the original of Part II. Cf. his prefatory note to Part II given above. The San Cugat copy was not in columns, but written across the page. Moreover, there were not 393 folios, as Muñoz had described the original, but only 370. Muñoz describes the illustrations of the original: "and inserted in their proper places [were] 20 drawings, each one with several figures, some in colors, of natural beings of all three kingdoms, and of various skills, usages and customs." When Muñoz made his copy for publication, he apparently used only nineteen of the drawings. Sixteen of them are bound at the end of Book 2 and the last three after the *Soledad* poem which concludes Book 4. Each plate, however, is marked for insertion in the appropriate place with the book and chapter number in the upper right corner.

Examination and comparison of the drawings in the Muñoz copy with those of the San Cugat show that each of the drawings, while dealing with the same subjects, is different in composition and captions. Moreover in the San Cugat version the drawings are inserted at the point in the text they are designed to illustrate. Most significant, however, is that the drawing omitted from the Muñoz copy is found in the San Cugat. This is the one illustrating an elephant or *Gadia*, two monkeys and three varieties of rats or mice, animals described in Part I. Book 2, Chapters 3 to 6. On the other hand, the illustration for Book 3, Chapter 10, consisting of the kinds of boats used in the islands does not appear in the San Cugat. The two drawings for Book 4, Chapter 3, depicting the houses and dances, the former used by Kroeber, appear at the end of the manuscript just before the index. These facts suggest that the two sets of drawings were both made from the original, and not from each other.

The life of the Ateneo copy seems most likely to have followed the path Mr. Hester has described. (Cf. p. 358 ff.). Murillo was vague but he does say that a manuscript volume of the *Historia* was kept (se conserva) in the college of the Jesuits in Manila, and in the prologue of his own history of the Jesuit province of the Philippines says that he used it to write that work.¹⁹ This evidence would place the

¹⁹ After mentioning the work of Chirino, Colin, Combés, García, Oña and other Jesuit historians, he says, "De estos, y de varios instrumentos y cartas de edificación de los archivos me he valido para formar esta historia..." Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*. Segunda Parte... 1616...1716. Manila, 1749, *Prologo*. Cf. also Item 793 for mention of the *Historia's* location. Sommervogel quotes Murillo and adds that the copy was probably in the library of the College until the expulsion. Cf. Augustin Baeker, S.J. and Charles Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Liège, 1869, I, col. 120.

copy in Manila sometime between 1723, when Murillo came to the Philippines and 1749 when his history was published.

The earliest detailed description of the Ateneo copy which has been discovered is that in the Scheuring *Catalogue* of 1875, which describes it as a folio volume of 370 pages with many original drawings and an index of materials.²⁰ After the suppression of the Society, as Mr. Hester has surmised, the copy came into the hands of the bishop of Nueva Segovia. Then it was sold in Paris to the Jesuits in 1875, possibly by Scheuring, and returned to the Ateneo. Certainly it was seen and clearly identified there in 1904. Fathers Pérez and Güemes say that among the works left by Alzina was "...an *historia de las Islas* of which we have had occasion to see a fine copy which belonged to the Augustinian, Ilmo. P. Blaquier, in a folio work of three hundred pages, more or less, acquired by the Jesuits in one of the libraries of old books. The valuable manuscript carried the *Ex Libris* of the illustrious bishop with his signature and a substantial number of marginal notes at the end."²¹

Artigas y Cuerva in the *Biblioteca* of 1909 speaks of "a magnificent copy which was in the possession of the Company" of the first part of which he then gives a careful description.²² These references to the Ateneo Alzina certainly place the document in Manila in the years before 1910. Then there is silence, except for Father Selga's oblique references to it in the *Philippine Agriculturist* in 1931 when he said vaguely that it was "among the unpublished documents in the libraries of Manila."²³ Recent information offers an explanation of this silence and suggests that the much travelled manuscript had made still another journey across the sea, this time to the Jesuit archive at San Cugat del Vallés near Barcelona, Spain.

The important prelude to these conclusions was the discovery by Father Burrus of the copy of the Alzina at San Cugat in August of 1957, and the concurrence with the Kroeber illustrations, already mentioned. Further comparisons indicated striking identity between the number of folios of text, the illustrations and index in all references that had been discovered to the Ateneo copy. Moreover, the notes of the *portada* and the *ex libris* of the bishop of Nueva Segovia, together with the textual notes in the bishop's hand correspond to the Pérez and Güemes description as well as to the more detailed description of the *portada* in Artigas.

What seems to be conclusive evidence comes from the Torras bibliography cited above. There is found the most detailed description of

²⁰ *Catalogue de N. Scheuring*, Libraire a Lyon, Febrier, 1875, No. 281. Cited in Blair and Robertson, LIII, p. 304, and in Uriarte and Lecina, I, pp. 90-91 as AS.

²¹ Hester, p. Angel Pérez y Cecilio Güemes, *Adiciones y continuación de la "Imprenta en Manila" de D. J. T. Medina*, Manila, 1904, p. 35.

²² Hester, p. 340

²³ Hester, pp. 341-342.

the Ateneo copy and its history. Speaking of Alzina, Father Torras wrote:

Parte de la Historia de los Indios e Islas Bisayas, que acaba de enumerar el Autor, se halla en un tomo en folio que poseemos rotulado: Historia natural del sitio, fertilidad y calidad de las islas e Indios de Bisayas. Compuesta por el P. Francisco Ignacio Alzina de la Compañía de Jesús despues de más de treinta y tres años en ellas y entre ellas de Ministerio. Año 1668. Ms. en folio de 369 fols. sin la portada y el indice que llena 3 sin numerar. Hay ademas 19 láminas intercaladas en el texto.

En la hoja en blanco que precede a la portada hay pegado un papel con esta nota de mano del P. Pedro Bertrán, S.J.: "Esta 1ª parte de la obra del P. Alzina (la 2ª no se encuentra) perteneció al Prelado D. Fr. Agustín Pedro Blaquier, que tomó posesión del Obispado de Nueva Segovia en 1799, y ha sido comprada en una subasta en París este año de 1875, por 52 francos."

Al pie de la portada se lee en medio: 1802; y debajo: a uso de Fr. Agn. Ob. E[lecto]l de N. Seg. Es puño y letra del mismo Fr. Agustín Obispo, según se desprende claramente de un buen número de notas marginales, escritas por la misma mano, que se van en el libro. Al final del último capítulo dice el autor que en el libro siguiente empezará ya a tratar de sus cosas y costumbres, ritos y supersticiones, etc. Debajo de esto escribe dicho Sr. Obispo: "Esse no lo tengo, ojalá lo encontrara."

El libro siguiente es el tercero, pues el volumen que describimos solo comprende los dos primeros libros de la primera parte de su obra, de los cuatro que contiene.

Somervogel (I, col. 260) nos dice que vió anunciado en el catálogo de Scheuring, librero de Lyon (Febrero, 1875, No. 28) un Ms. en folio del mismo título y año con numerosas láminas originales, fols. 370, incluyendo sin duda la portada. Es probablemente el mismo ejemplar que acabamos de describir, comprado en París aquel mismo año. — Torras, *Bibliografía*.

The foregoing tallies in every detail with the San Cugat version: the title, the number of folios, the index and the 19 illustrations. There is a precise description of the *portada*, the marginal notes in Bishop Blaquier's hand and his note at the end, wishing that he might find the rest of the manuscript.

It appears reasonable then to say that the Ateneo Alzina was not destroyed but was transported sometime after 1910 to San Cugat where it now is located. The reason for this transfer lies in a move within the Jesuit Order itself. When the American Jesuits replaced the Spanish in the Philippines, a large amount of material was sent back to Spain between 1910 and 1920, and the Ateneo copy was probably a part of it. The material was first located at the Colegio Sarria, Barcelona, and then was transferred with the provincial archives to San Cugat about ten years ago. A final eloquent bit of evidence is the seal of the *Archivo Missionis Soc. Jesu, Manila*, which appears on the portada of the San Cugat copy and indicates that it was once in the Manila archives of the Company.

The search for the Alzina has been a long drawn out but rewarding experience. From the data submitted above it seems that we now have a substantial fragment of Part II in the original form. We have a complete copy of all four books of Part I as well as two other copies of the first and second books of Part I. Necessity compels the use of the complete copy, the Muñoz, in the translation and editing of the

Historia. But there are grounds for confidence that this version is a true copy. In checking one text against another, it was found that in the materials of Part I, Books 1 and 2 in the Muñoz, Lenox, and San Cugat there were serious discrepancies between Lenox text and the other two. For example, the beginning of Chapter 14 of Book I does not appear in the Lenox version. It does in the other two. Elsewhere words and phrases have been elided or omitted which in some instances have caused the text to lose its meaning. There were also substantial differences in the orthography of Bisayan proper nouns between the Lenox version and the other two. The San Cugat and the Muñoz, on the other hand, were in almost complete agreement in this regard.²³ These data suggest that the Lenox copy cannot be the source of the other two and that it is indeed a careless copy. On the other hand, if the San Cugat and Muñoz versions were both made from the original, as the evidence of the illustrations seems to indicate, their agreement is most significant for it lends substance to the argument that they are both true copies. If the first two books of the Muñoz are faithful reproductions of the original, in the absence of contrary evidence, it may be cautiously assumed that the last two have been as faithfully copied. This is the argument that has justified the editing of the San Cugat and Muñoz texts. There is meanwhile a continuing search for further threads in this intriguing web of evidence.

²³ A comparison of some of the variant spellings of Visayan terms in the three available texts of Part I, Book I of *Historia*:

	<i>Lenox</i>	<i>Muñoz</i>	<i>San Cugat</i>
Chapter 1	mymaya Malavar	himaya Macasar	himaya Macasar
Chapter 2	palvar o pasoc pasoc	palvar o PasocPasoc	palbar o PasocPasoc
Chapter 3	Camasi pinarogmoc pinagusan tagulcan zaguete	camagi pinarogmoc pinayusan tagica zoquete	camagi pinarogmoc pinayusan tagican zoquete
Chapter 5	magsasanga fraete Guivan	magsasaga yraleite Guivan	magsasanga Yraete Guivan
Chapter 10	fitingan hizanes finagsa magamates cumo	titinsan luzones tinagsa magamai cumu	titinsan luzones tinagsa magamai cumu
Chapter 15	limbaun daililig catoggar	limbaba dailig catbalogan	limbahun dailig catbogaa