

A copy of Morisco manuscript S2 and an unpublished letter from Pascual de Gayangos in the George Ticknor Collection of the Boston Public Library

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Ms. S2: literary pathways¹

The original copy of the anonymous Morisco manuscript known as ms. S2 (new call number II/9394) dates from the seventeenth century. It later formed part of the collection of Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897), and today is held at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. The first scholars to study the manuscript emphasized its content and literary merits, starting with Oliver Asín's article "Un morisco de Túnez, admirador de Lope," published in 1933. Oliver Asín identified the S2 with the "exemplary novel" genre, giving it the title *El arrepentimiento del desdichado* (*The Wretch's Repentance*) (409-456). This critical perspective remained in place until 2005, when Juan Carlos Villaverde completed and published a new critical edition that had been left unfinished by the late Álvaro Galmés. This new edition reexamined the text's genre, arguing that it was in fact a treatise on religious morals, and proposed a new title: *Tratado de los dos caminos* (*Treatise of the Two Paths*).

Still, the book's unique literary features (including the frequent use of canonical Spanish Golden Age poetry), along with the author's express awareness of stylistic concerns, were by no means brushed aside in this new edition. Much of Luce López-Baralt's introductory study analyzes these aspects, as well as addressing new ways of understanding the text and its layers of meaning. The work's literary merits are therefore closely tied to its reception throughout the twentieth century starting with Oliver Asín. However, decades earlier, these merits had already spawned a previously unknown nineteenth-century copy of the text that Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897) had made for George Ticknor (1791-1871), and which is the subject of this note.

Gayangos most likely acquired the manuscript in London in around 1837 (López-Baralt, 81-83), as not long afterward he wrote George Ticknor to tell him about it.² Ticknor, formerly a Smith Professor at Harvard, was at the time working on his *History of Spanish Literature*, which would not be published for another ten years. Although this letter has not been preserved, based on Ticknor's response we know that Gayangos had copied a passage from ms. S2, and had mentioned recently purchasing it in London.³ In

¹ The research for this paper was conducted within the framework of the national research, development and innovation project "Género y santidad: experiencia religiosa y papel social a través de las vidas de mujeres santas en el Norte de Marruecos (Tánger, Tetuán)" (PID2019-104300GB-I00), and "Género y santidad: experiencias religiosas y papel social de las mujeres santas en Marruecos (2020/00080/001)," from the University of Salamanca. I want to thank Juan Carlos Villaverde for putting me on the right track to finding this documentation in Boston, as well as the University of Colorado at Boulder for funding the research trip. I am also grateful to the Boston Public Library and the Harvard Archives for their assistance in consulting the manuscripts cited in this paper.

² On Gayangos's prominent role in the development of archives and his interests as a bibliophile see Álvarez Millán (2009) and Álvarez Ramos-Álvarez Millán (2007). A comprehensive biography of Gayangos has recently been published by Santiño (2018). For a detailed introductory biography see Álvarez Millán (2008) as well as the entry by the same author in the RAH (Real Academia de la Historia) *Diccionario Biográfico Español*. [Link on line](#) [Verified: 29/09/2020].

³ "The accounts you give me of other Morisco poems are quite new & valuable. I should be excessively glad to have a copy of the one you purchased lately in London, in which there is an allusion to *La Rueda de la Fortuna*; and of which you give me a striking extract. [...] Can you have the poem copied for me by any body you choose, to employ without inconvenience to yourself?" (Ticknor 1927, 6).

May 1840 Ticknor acknowledged receipt of the copy and thanked Gayangos for reviewing the text. He also offered some remarks on its literary quality and its mixture of Christian and Islamic morals.⁴

Based on this exchange, Luce López-Baralt and Juan Carlos Villaverde have hypothesized that Gayangos must have sent Ticknor a copy of ms. S2, a text which at that time had not yet been located, and which they hoped might shed new light on the original manuscript (López-Baralt, 86). This hypothesis has now been confirmed, as I have located a partial copy of the S2 in the George Ticknor Collection of the Boston Public Library. Although, as we shall see, the Boston copy contains very few notes, it does include a previously unknown letter by Pascual de Gayangos that offers insight into his reading of the text, along with his role in Ticknor's overall academic enterprise. The main goal of this brief paper is therefore to present these documents and to render the transcription of the letter by Gayangos in an annex. Some contextualization of the find is offered as well as a general presentation of the actors involved.

The Boston Public Library's Mss. 18

Whitney's 1879 catalogue of the Ticknor Collection, held at the Boston Public Library, includes a manuscript described as "Mumin, [i.e. the believer in Allah]. Manuscript. (77) pp. 4.º... D.18."⁵ Whitney provides no further information about the manuscript's content, but does indicate that it is only a partial copy ("about a fifth"), and adds that it is preceded by a letter from Pascual de Gayangos. He also cross-references it with the third volume of Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, where the text is discussed. The mere fact that the text was introduced by a letter from Gayangos was reason enough to hypothesize that this was in fact the *Tratado de los dos caminos*, since, based on the surviving letters between the two men, we know that Gayangos sent just three Morisco texts to Boston: a transcription of the *Poema de Yuçuf*; "the curious Manuscript of the expelled Moor of 1610," as it is referred to in their correspondence; and an excerpt from Mohamed Rabadán's *Discurso de la luz*. The passage in Ticknor's *History* that Whitney refers to in the catalogue is a commentary on the Moriscos ("these unhappy persons") and their literary works, some of which, he explains, have been preserved in manuscript form. He then proceeds to mention the "poem of Joseph," of which he claims to have a copy, as well as another manuscript written by an author in exile in Tunis. Both copies, Ticknor says, were obtained through the kindness of Pascual de Gayangos.⁶

⁴ "[...] yesterday came the curious Manuscript of the expelled Moor of 1610, with your short Spanish letter, which had no date. I thank you most sincerely & heartily for all of them, and especially for the Manuscript, which, I fear cost you more trouble in the revision, than I am willing it should have done. But it is very interesting; and not the least singular part of it is the tone of Christian morals which has intruded itself into the Moor's work, even when teaching the dogmas of his own religion. The literary execution of it, too, is better than I expected, though it would not be extraordinary if it came from a Spanish Christian of the same period. Again, I pray you to accept my thanks for it –and for all your other kindness" (Ticknor 1927, 8-9).

⁵ "For an account of the original manuscript, of which this copy contains about a fifth, see the letter of Señor Gayangos, which is prefixed, and also Ticknor's Spanish Literature, iii, 232 [3rd ed.]," (Whitney, 244). Whitney's quotation, as I have indicated in brackets, is taken from the Third English edition of Ticknor's *History*. I will be quoting from the First English edition, from 1849.

⁶ "These unhappy persons [*the Moriscos*] had among them a good deal of Castilian culture, whose traces still remain in manuscripts, which, like that of the old poem of Joseph, already described, (Period I. chap. 5,) are composed in Spanish, but are written throughout in the Arabic character. *Of parts of two such manuscripts I possess copies*, through the kindness of Don Pascual de Gayangos. [...] The other work to which I refer is chiefly in prose, and is anonymous. *Its author says he was driven from Spain in 1610, and was landed in Tunis* [...]. Of this manuscript I have eighty pages, – about a fifth of the whole," (Ticknor 1849, 200-202, note 2 [italics mine]).

Even though the reference is rather straightforward, it was only after consulting the manuscript in the Boston Public Library that I was able to confirm that Boston Mss. 18 was a partial copy of ms. S2, the *Tratado de los dos caminos*. Mss. 18 is indeed preceded by a letter from Pascual de Gayangos, which I have transcribed as an annex to this paper.

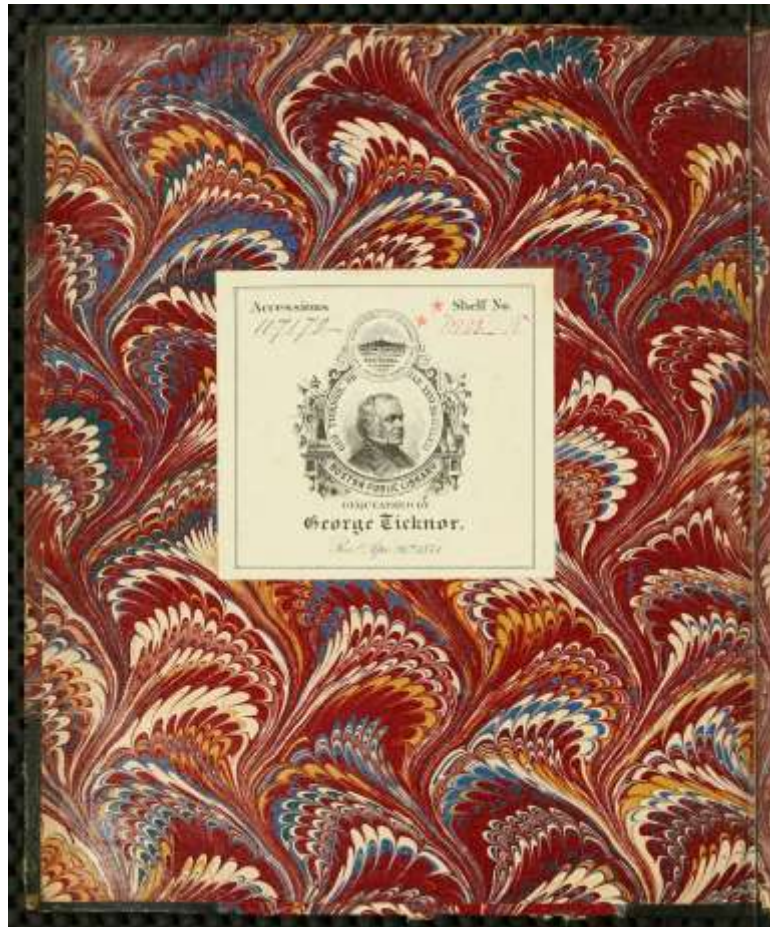


Fig.1. Mss. 18, BPL. Bookplate from the Ticknor Collection. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library/Rare Books and Manuscripts Department.

The text catalogued as Mss. 18 was therefore the copy that Ticknor asked Gayangos to have made, and which the latter sent to him from London in 1840. The length and context of the letter make clear that it is the same one that, as we saw above, Ticknor refers to as “your short Spanish letter, which had no date.”⁷ This letter, which offers valuable insight into the intellectual relationship between Ticknor and Gayangos, includes a summary of the manuscript’s contents, and also provides a glossary of terms that are underlined in the copy that Gayangos sent to Boston. This underlining constitutes the only form of annotations in the body of the text, which otherwise contains no additions or marginalia⁸. Likewise, there are no notes by Ticknor either, except the title “Mumin”

⁷ After confirming the contents, I requested a digitization from the Boston Public Library, and so today Mss. 18 and Gayangos’s letter are both available at the following address: [Link online](#) [Verified: 29/09/2020].

⁸ The Basmala formula that opens the text is written in Arabic in Gayangos’s hand [Fig. 3] (I have included the vowels as they appear in Mss. 18):

وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ ءَالِيهِ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى

written in his hand [Fig.2]. Today the manuscript is still catalogued under this title at the BPL, along with its English translation “believer” which are in turn the titles used in Whitney’s catalogue.

It is interesting that Ticknor chooses this as the title for the work, as it is suggested neither by Gayangos’s letter nor the copied excerpt. However, a comparison between Gayangos’s letter and Ticknor’s description of the manuscript in his *History of Spanish Literature* reveals that perhaps Ticknor confused the term *cuerpo* – which Gayangos uses in the sense of “human body” – with its other sense, “book.” Gayangos writes,

the Pasha of Tunis had our author called in and ordered him to write the present work for the use and instruction of his neophytes. The author imagines that the body [*cuerpo* in the original Spanish] of the *mumin* (an Arabic word meaning ‘believer in Allah’) is a populated city, strong and well-guarded by towers, which is attacked by the vices and defended by the theological virtues, etc⁹

Ticknor, in turn, writes,

The Bashaw of Tunis, therefore, sent for the author, and commanded him to write a book in Castilian, for the instruction of these singular neophytes. He did so, and produced the present work, which he called ‘Mumin,’ or the Believer in Allah; a word which he uses to signify a city populous and fortified, which is attacked by the Vices and defended by the Virtues of the Mohammedan religion.” (George Ticknor 1849, 201)

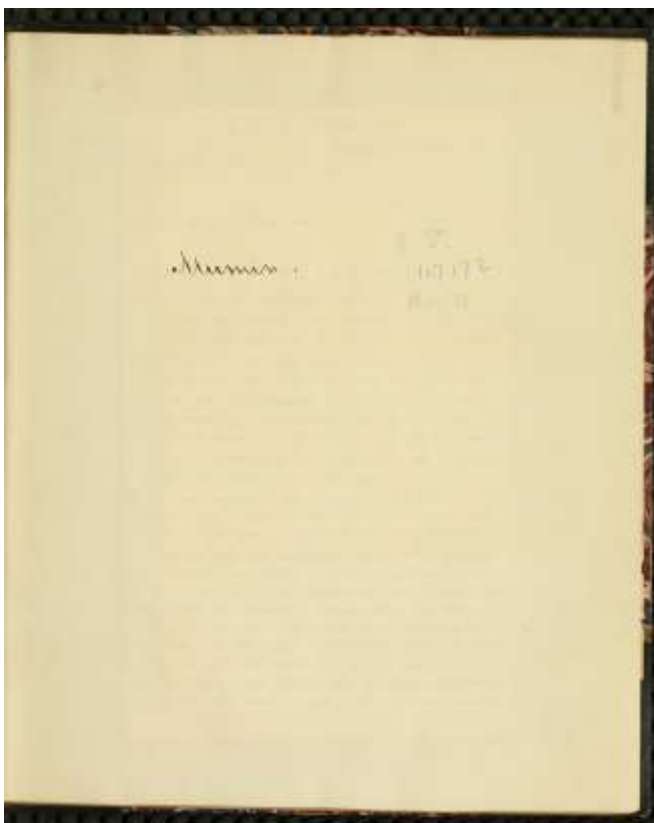


Fig.2. Mss.18, BPL, “Mumin” handwritten by George Ticknor on the flyleaf. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library/Rare Books and Manuscripts Department.

⁹ “[...] el bajá de Túnez mandó llamar a nuestro autor y le mandó escribir la presente obra para uso y enseñanza de sus neófitos. El autor imagina que el cuerpo del *mumin* (palabra árabe que significa ‘creyente en Alá’) es una ciudad populosa bien torreada y fuerte la cual combaten los vicios saliendo a su defensa las virtudes teologales etc.” Note: the English translations of this and all subsequent passages from Gayangos’s letter are mine.

Ms. S2 of the Spanish Real Academia de la Historia (RAH) is missing its first pages, beginning on fol. 2; however, the Boston manuscript covers fol. 17-73 of the original. The omitted portion corresponds to the original prologue. Interestingly, Gayangos does not mention this omission in his letter, although he does justify why the copy stops at fol. 73: “From its context you shall see that I did not deem it necessary to have it copied in full, since, as the remainder lists dogmas and ceremonies of the sect of Mohamed, and is full of phrases and sentences in Arabic, it would have been of no use to you.”¹⁰ That said, he does leave open the possibility of copying the rest of the manuscript if Ticknor is interested. However, there is no record of Ticknor actually having ordered a complete copy; there is no reference to this effect in their subsequent letters, and no other copy has been found in the Ticknor Collection.

In terms of its physical characteristics, the Boston manuscript is bound in marbled paper with a peacock pattern (burgundy ground with white, blue and ocher details) [Fig.1], and a leather spine and corners bearing a thin double line of gilding along their inner edge. Affixed on the endpapers, which are made of the same marbled paper as the cover, is the bookplate of the Ticknor Collection of the Boston Public Library [Fig.1]. The bookplate is a lithograph designed to imitate intaglio printing, and indicates the “shelf number” as “Mss. 18,” the same number recorded on a label affixed to the book’s spine. We know from his letter that Gayangos delivered the copy to Mr. and Mrs. O’Rich, and that the copy cost two pounds four shillings (“£ 2-4c”). The copied section spans from folio 17 *r* to 73 *r* of the original manuscript. The original folios are marked along the left margin at line level, as explained by Gayangos in his letter. Although, in keeping with the original, both red and black ink is used, in most instances the red ink has become dull, with a tone not so different from the black. Gayangos also explains the possible use of the two inks: “they tended to use red ink to write the beginning of certain paragraphs, and this has been done here just as in the original.”¹¹

A comparison between the present copy and the original has revealed some differences, which can almost certainly be put down to scribal error. In some cases there are changes in the vowels, as in: [1 *r*] / fol. 17 *r* – *tealajia* instead of *teulujia* (“teología”/theology), [1 *v*] / fol. 18 *r* – *segunda* instead of *sigunda* (“segunda”/second), or [4 *r*] / fol. 21 *v* – *el menosprecio del mando* (disdain for command) instead of *el menosprecio del mundo* (disdain for the world). In other cases, consonants are changed, added or left out: [1 *r*] / fol. 17 *v* – *humilldad* instead of *Umilldad* (“humildad”/humility), [2 *r*] / fol. 19 *r* – *divina* instead of *dibina* (“divina”/divine). There are also phrase-level omissions and repetitions: [3 *r*] / fol. 20 *v* – [...] *el qual puso en su coraçon el animo y fortaleçiendo sus miembros* instead of *el qual puso en su coraçon el Animo y fortaleça del Remedio sosegandole y fortaleçiedo sus miembros*, or [4 *v*] / fol. 22 *r* – where the phrase *después de Aber puesto a sus escuadras de la suerte que se ha dicho* is repeated twice. Likewise, the sonnet that closes the text contains a curious modification, as the copyist leaves out the first quartet only to append it after the tercets.

Ticknor’s copy of ms. S2 is not the only copy known to exist. There are in fact two more: one made by the Trinitarian Francisco Ximénez in the eighteenth century,¹² and another one, contemporary to Boston Mss. 18, held in Spain’s Biblioteca Nacional, that

¹⁰ “Por su contesto verá usted que no he juzgado por conveniente se copiase entero, pues haciendo relación lo restante a dogmas y ceremonias de la secta mahometana, y estando mezclado de frases y sentencias en arábigo, de ninguna utilidad le hubiese a usted sido.”

¹¹ “[...] acostumbran a escribir con tinta encarnada el principio de algunos párrafos y así se ha hecho como estaba en el original.”

¹² Ms. II/1767 of the Real Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid. Brought to light by Rafaela Castrillo (1990). See also: Luce López-Baralt (86-92) and Clara I. Álvarez Dopico (2010).

belonged to Pascual de Gayangos.¹³ The latter (call number 1586) was brought to light by Simón Díaz in his *Bibliografía* (72, no.733), and is described in the Biblioteca Nacional's *Inventario General de Manuscritos* (481).¹⁴

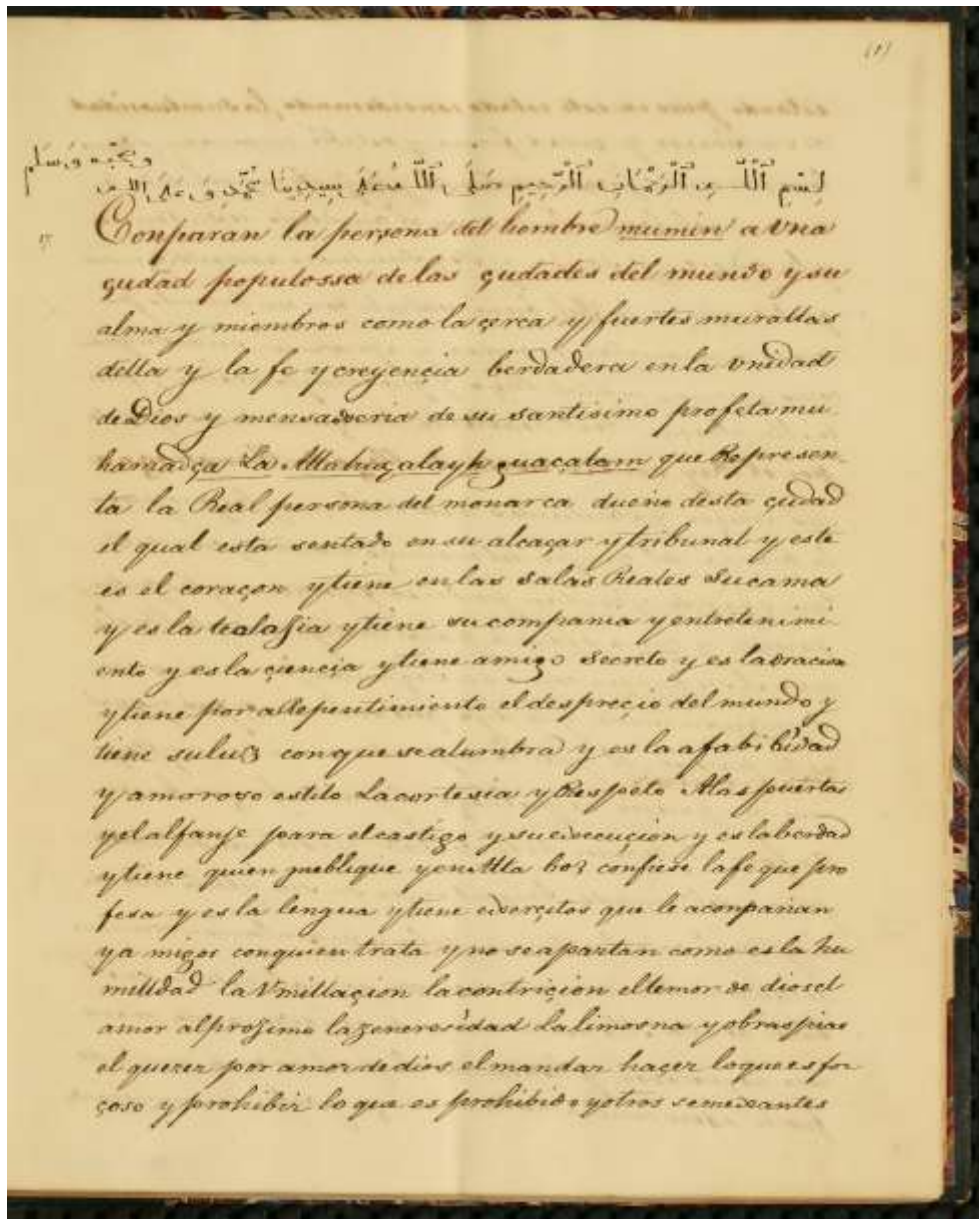


Fig.3. Mss. 18, BPL, f.1r, *Basmala* formula handwritten by Gayangos. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library/Rare Books and Manuscripts Department.

¹³ Although this second copy belonged to Pascual de Gayangos, there is just one annotation in his hand, on folio 8v. As with the Boston copy, some of the Arabic terms are underlined and the Basmala is in Gayangos's hand (fol. 18 v). This formula is vocalized in both Boston Mss. 18 and the original S2, but not in the Biblioteca Nacional copy, which also contains the variant أصحابه instead of the original صحبه.

¹⁴ The description included in the catalogue reads: ["ANÓNIMO DE TÚNEZ. Tratado de moral y liturgia musulmana, con la novela el arrepentimiento del desdichado, intercalada. La verdad vuscó y no halló que traer nada... (fol. I) ... Y para que todo esto sea con más perfección se diga en la mejor lengua que Dios ha dado, de esta manera (fol. 276). S. XIX. 276 fols. + 3 hojas de guardas (I + 2), 205 x 145"].

Pascual de Gayangos's letter to George Ticknor

Since the time of his first voyage to Europe in 1818, and following his appointment that same year as Smith Professor of Spanish and French Languages and Literatures at Harvard, Ticknor engaged in a constant search for bibliographical material to fill the shelves of his university's then fledgling library (Glick, 159-185).¹⁵ Pascual de Gayangos was to play a crucial role in this endeavor. Surprisingly, the two men did not meet until 1838, in London,¹⁶ after Ticknor had already spent nearly twenty years teaching at Harvard, and had already published the *Syllabus* to his Spanish literature course (1823), which was to form the backbone of his *History of Spanish Literature* (Hart 2002, 108). Still, this relationship was to give rise to an extensive written correspondence (of which unfortunately only Ticknor's letters to Gayangos have survived), as well as the Spanish translation of the *History of Spanish Literature*, which Gayangos undertook alongside Enrique de Vedia, adding copious notes and additions.¹⁷

Gayangos's role in Ticknor's overall project, the nature of their intellectual exchange, and his contribution to the origins of American Hispanism is a subject that deserves to be examined in greater detail and is beyond the scope of this brief note.¹⁸ For Ivan Jaksic, who studied the relations between the Hispanic and American intellectual world of the 19th century, Ticknor's *History* "could not have come into being, at least not in its present form, without the assistance of Pascual de Gayangos" (4). This is very similar to Claudia Heine's reading of Ticknor's letters to Gayangos, which reveal a "dialogue with Gayangos the scholar, not the book-searcher" (Álvarez Millán-Heine, 135). However, according to Clara Louisa Penney, editor of the letters preserved at the Hispanic Society of America, Gayangos's contribution was more that of an editor and critic than of a "creative worker." Although in her opinion his work and generosity in facilitating bibliographical information and helping Ticknor with the successive editions of his book was by no means minor, his main contribution resides in his notes and additions to the *Historia de la literatura española* (Ticknor 1927, xxxvii). We should approach this conclusion with caution, bearing in mind that, importantly, Gayangos's own letters are missing from the preserved correspondence, the one presented here being the only extant one from their abundant correspondence. The present letter from Gayangos therefore

¹⁵ Ticknor's travels in Spain have been edited by Northup in 1913 and studied by Tyack (1967, 43-79), Adam-Mettele (eds) (2009) and Ezpeleta (2011).

¹⁶ At a gathering at the house of Lord Holland, as Ticknor records in his diary, "The Spaniard —about thirtytwo years old, and talking English like a native, almost— I found quite pleasant, and full of pleasant knowledge in Spanish and Arabic," (Ticknor 1876, II, 181-82).

¹⁷ *Historia de la literatura española*. Trad. Pascual de Gayangos and Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, Imprenta y Estereotipía de E. Rivadeneyra, 1851-1857, 4 vols. Vol. III, 1854. Gayangos's additions to the Spanish translation of Ticknor's work resulted in an extra-volume due to the abundant new materials that were included. This extra volume was however supervised by Ticknor, who sent notes and corrections. The Third English edition included a good part of these new material as well. George Ticknor was also aware of and praised along, with Prescott, Gayangos's work on Morisco Literature published in London in 1839, "The Language and Literature of the Moriscos." Santiño (168-172, 183).

¹⁸ There is not yet a study that addresses solely the relationship of George Ticknor and Pascual de Gayangos. Ivan Jaksic dedicated a noteworthy chapter of his book *The American World and American Intellectual Life, 1820-1880* to Ticknor's project, and to his collaboration with Gayangos (2007, 29-51). Both Claudia Heine (2009) and Thomas Glick (2009) had studied Gayangos's role in American Hispanism. Also, in Santiago Santiño's most recent biography of Gayangos, the connection of Gayangos, Ticknor and Prescott is examined, with attention to Gayangos intellectual career (159-213). By contrast, Ticknor and Prescott's relationship has even inspired a novella. Ticknor, by Canadian author Sheila Heti (2007), is a work of fiction loosely inspired by the two Hispanists, in which a bitter George Ticknor goes to visit his friend Prescott, carrying a pie and mulling over a stream of resentful thoughts.

reveals important aspects about this intellectual exchange, not least of which is how Ticknor draws directly on the letter's content for his book.¹⁹

As we have already mentioned, the letter contains an introduction to the text (“an overview of the work so that you can better judge its content”),²⁰ some notes on its style (“The style is refined, although not without constructions and words of a Koranic flavor”),²¹ as well as a glossary of Arabic and Romance terms (“Lastly, I should point out that the underlined words are Arabic terms imported into our language [...]. You will likewise notice some expressions that at first glance will strike you as typos but which are in fact regionalisms (the author was likely Aragonese or Valencian) or archaisms”).²² In the chapter of the *History of Spanish Literature* where Ticknor mentions the manuscript, he follows the notes from the letter point by point. This dependence makes clear that Gayangos's role was indeed that of a “creative worker.” The intellectual relationship between the two scholars therefore stretches far beyond material considerations, and into other areas worth exploring:

[...] is anonymous. Its author says he was driven from Spain in 1610, and was landed in Tunis with above three thousand of his unhappy countrymen, who, through the long abode of their race in a Christian land and under the fierce persecutions of the Inquisition, had not only so lost a knowledge of the rites and ceremonies of their religion, it was necessary to indoctrinate them like children, but had so lost all proper knowledge of the Arabic, that it was necessary to do it through the Castilian. The Bashaw of Tunis, therefore, sent for the author, and commanded him to write a book in Castilian, for the instruction of these singular neophytes. He did so, and produced the present work, which he called “Mumin,” or the Believer in Allah; a word which he uses to signify a city populous and fortified, which is attacked by the Vices and defended by the Virtues of the Mohammedan religion, and in which one of the personages relates a history of his own life, adventures, and sufferings; all so given as to instruct, sometimes by direct precept and sometimes by example, the newly arrived Moriscos in their duties of faith. It is, of course, partly allegorical and romantic. Its air is often Arabic, and so is its style occasionally; but some of its scenes are between lovers at grated windows, as if in a Castilian city, and it is interspersed with Castilian poems by Montemayor, Góngora, and the Argensolas, with, perhaps, some by the author himself, who seems to have been a man of cultivation and of a gentle spirit” (Ticknor 1849, 201).

There is one particularly interesting aspect, which is the fact that Gayangos was not only a scholar of Spanish literature and a bibliophile, but also an Arabist. The most obvious way this shows up here is in the inclusion of the glossary of Arabic terms translated into Spanish; however, there is also the very fact of selecting Morisco texts for a project on the history of Spanish literature. While this might not seem very significant, a comparison with other similar projects in Spain across time (those of Amador de los

¹⁹ In her study on “Gayangos and the Anglo-American Hispanism,” Heine has already wondered as to how Ticknor would have used the answers provided by Gayangos, and hypothesized that they were “directly poured into Ticknor’s history” (135).

²⁰ “[...] una reseña de la obra para que pueda usted juzgar mejor de su contenido.”

²¹ “El estilo es pulido, aunque no faltan construcciones y palabras con sabor alcoránico.”

²² “Réstame que advertir a usted que las palabras con línea por debajo son árabes importadas a nuestra lengua [...]. Notará usted asimismo algunas espresiones que a primera vista le parecerán erratas pero no lo son sino provincialismos (el autor debió ser aragonés o valenciano) o palabras anticuadas.”

Ríos or Menéndez y Pelayo, among others), reveals that it clearly is unique.²³ Each one of these projects involved a debate and negotiation as to whether the concept of Spanish literature should accommodate for the literary output of other languages used in the Iberian peninsula (Latin, Galician-Portuguese, Arabic, Hebrew, etc.). In these debates, it was often concluded that material in or related to Arabic did not merit inclusion. Gayangos's role as an Arabist in a project like Ticknor's therefore participates in this broader debate. Thomas Glick, in his article "Don Pascual de Gayangos and the Boston Brahmins," draws an intricate map of Boston's intellectual life and circles of interaction. There, he too points out that Gayangos's training as an Arabist was an important aspect in Ticknor's work, and in the development of Hispanism in the United States.

Glick also mentions another Arabist who had a crucial impact on Ticknor's project, and who set him on the path to meet Gayangos in the first place, José Antonio Conde (1766-1820):²⁴ "Conde is important to the emergence of Hispanism in the United States both because he was an Arabist and certainly made Ticknor aware of the Arabic element in Spanish culture, and also because he was an intellectual link to Gayangos, also an Arabist" (164). A careful reading of Ticknor's diary and letters corroborates the importance Conde had in Ticknor's formative period in Spain. They met in 1818 during Ticknor's stay in Madrid, and Conde would not only give Ticknor access to the Real Biblioteca Pública and his own private library, but also act as his personal instructor, reading with him for several hours a day.²⁵ Ticknor's fondness and intellectual esteem of Conde is evident in his *History of Spanish Literature*, as well as in his diaries, where he writes, "among all the men of letters I have met in Spain, and I believe I have seen the most considerable in my department, he has the most learning by far, and the most taste and talent" (Ticknor 1876, 187). Thus, in this instance Conde has a clear influence on this first period in Ticknor's training, as well as on the selection of some of the texts that would eventually be included in his *History*, such as the *Poema de Yuçuf*.²⁶ In fact it is this text which led Ticknor to Gayangos, as their correspondence began in 1839 when Ticknor contacted O'Rich to ask him for a copy of this poem in Gayangos's possession. In this letter, Ticknor refers to Conde from the outset as the one "who first showed me the Poem in the King's Library at Madrid in 1818, where it then stood among the MSS. G.g 101. 4to. 49 leaves, and who gave me extracts from it."

This copy of the *Poema de Yuçuf* and Boston Mss. 18 – the partial copy of the *Tratado de los dos caminos* brought to light in this paper – constitute the two Morisco texts held in the George Ticknor Collection at the Boston Public Library.²⁷ These two texts and the letters, including the previously unpublished letter included here, tie two significant

²³ Vid. José Amador de los Ríos (vol. 3, 367-392) and Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1-75). On the reception of Ticknor's work in the Spanish context see Jaksic (53-68).

²⁴ For a biographical profile see Almagro Gorbea's entry in the *Diccionario Biográfico Español* [Link on line](#) [Verified: 29/09/2020] and Calvo Pérez (2001). On his role in Spanish Arabism see Fernández (1991), Hitchcock (1986), Monro (1970), Manzanera de Cirre (1968) and Ron de la Bastida (1958).

²⁵ On Conde's role in providing Ticknor with access to the collections of the Biblioteca Real, see Villaverde Amieva (2012, 155 and 156, note 72).

²⁶ Ticknor defines Spanish literature in terms of "its unfinished character," "its Oriental Character," and "its nationality," and his vision of nationality is linked to the idea of authenticity. In this sense, he distinguishes between two periods: a first one free of external influences, and a second one – starting with the Renaissance and the new Italian models – in which foreign influence is apparent. Unlike these later European models brought in from Italy and France, in Ticknor's vision the Arabic elements in Spanish literature by no means diminish its authenticity (Ticknor, 1823) and McKean notes, Harvard University Archives. Archives Stacks, HUC 8831.382.53.

²⁷ On Ticknor's collection see the article published in the *Bulletin of the Boston Public Library* in 1921, "The Ticknor Library", 301-398.

figures from the field of Arabic studies in Spain, Pascual de Gayangos and José Antonio Conde, to George Ticknor and his pioneering project of writing a history of Spanish literature. These texts therefore represent two intertwining pathways, one physical and one intellectual: on the one hand, an itinerary from Tunis to Madrid, London and finally Boston, and, on the other, an exchange of ideas that engages with Morisco studies, the circulation of ideas between Europe and America, and the origins of American Hispanism.

Annex

Transcription of Pascual de Gayangos's letter to George Ticknor

9, Boston St

Burton Crescent

Received May 17. 1842 [sic]²⁸

Muy Señor mío:

Pongo a usted estas cuatro letras para decirle que he entregado a los señores O' Rich la copia de parte del manuscrito español y recibido de ellos £ 2-4c. que ha costado aquella. Por su contesto verá usted que no he juzgado por conveniente se copiase entero, pues haciendo relación lo restante a dogmas y ceremonias de la secta mahometana, y estando mezclado de frases y sentencias en árabe, de ninguna utilidad le hubiese a usted sido.

Voy sin embargo en pocas palabras a hazer una reseña de la obra para que pueda usted juzgar mejor de su contenido. El autor que es anónimo, salió de España en el año de 1610, en la expulsión ordenada por Felipe III, durante el ministerio del conde de Lerma. Desembarcó en Túnez, con otros de sus compatriotas en número de más de tres mil. Parece que estos habían olvidado de tal modo los ritos y ceremonias de la secta, por causa de su larga cautividad entre los cristianos viejos y las persecuciones/ del Santo Oficio que fue preciso volverlos a endoctrinar en los principales artículos de su fe y escribió catecismos para su uso, mas habiéndose notado que eran muy pocos los que hablaban en *aljamía* (palabra que significa mezcla de español y árabe) y que por lo tanto no comprendían la lengua en que se proponían instruirlos, el bajá de Túnez mandó llamar a nuestro autor y le mandó escribir la presente obra para uso y enseñanza de sus neófitos. El autor imagina que el cuerpo del *mumin* (palabra árabe que significa «creyente en Alá») es una ciudad populosa bien torreada y fuerte la cual combaten los vicios saliendo a su defensa las virtudes teologales etc. En seguida haze discurrir por ella a un hombre el cual cuenta sus aventuras, describiendo las diversas escenas de vicio e inmoralidad que presencié etc.

El estilo es pulido, aunque no faltan construcciones y palabras con sabor alcoránico. Los versos que de cuando en cuando interpola son de Góngora, de los Argensolas, Jorge de Montemayor, y otros autores de aquel tiempo, pero si no me engaño debe haber algunos de nuestro moro²⁹. La copia se ha hecho fielmente y baxo mi dirección/ está fiel y la he cotejado con el mayor cuidado, conservando la misma ortografía y sin poner puntos ni comas, pues no las tiene el manuscrito que así escriben los árabes en su idioma. Para remediar de alguna manera a esta grave falta acostumbran a escribir con tinta

²⁸ Handwritten note by George Ticknor. This is probably a mistake, as we know that Ticknor received Gayangos's note and the copy of the S2 on 17 May 1840, based on Ticknor's letter of 18 May 1840: "yesterday came the curious Manuscript of the expelled Moor of 1610, with your short Spanish letter" (George Ticknor, *Letters to Pascual de Gayangos*, p. 8-9).

²⁹ Como son los del folio 72. Si esto es así era elegante poeta. Los sonetos que el autor incluye en los folios 72 r y 72 v son de Lope de Vega, de las *Rimas Sacras* (1614) [The note is Gayangos's].

encarnada el principio de algunos párrafos y así se ha hecho como estaba en el original. Los números que van al margen indican el principio de los folios de mi manuscrito a fin de que si ocurre alguna duda se puedan cotejar.

Réstame que advertir a *usted* que las palabras con línea por debajo son árabes importadas a nuestra lengua y significan:

<i>Curan</i> fº. 7 verso	Corán o Alcorán
<i>Dulm</i>	2 ver. injusticia, agravio
<i>Guaçir</i>	“2 verso (Alguacil), vizir
<i>Mumin</i> 1 -	fiel, creyente
<i>Nifaq</i>	2. verso hipocresía
<i>Nafça</i>	6 - alma
<i>Raçula allahu çala allahu aleyh gua çalam</i>	Quiere decir “el mensajero de Alá la bendición de Alá y la paz sean sobre él”
<i>Taubá</i>	arrepentimiento
<i>Talaq</i>	fº. 35 especie de juramento
<i>Haram</i> ib.	lo mismo
<i>Raqui</i>	ib. inebriante
<i>Enzina } zina</i>	fº. 35 fornicación, coito

Notará *usted* asimismo algunas espresiones que a primera vista le parecerán erratas pero no lo son sino provincialismos (el autor debió ser aragonés o valenciano) o palabras anticuadas. De esta clase son:

<i>Singuna</i>	por sin ninguna
<i>Laçiba</i>	por lascivia
<i>Apetite</i>	por apetito
<i>Sale de caer</i>	fº 3 verso modismo árabe
<i>Colora</i>	cólera
<i>Perjudical</i>	perjudicial
<i>Consumen</i>	consuman
<i>Pedernales</i>	predeñales o escopetad
<i>Arrobinados</i>	arruinados

Advierto que si *usted* juzgase por conveniente el que se haga un traslado del resto del manuscrito que podrá tener como unas 200 hojas más se hará por la misma péndola que ha hecho esta copia.

Del señor Prescott no he tenido el gusto de recibir contestación. Puede *usted* decirle que he hallado en la Biblioteca del Museo Británico algunos manuscritos muy importantes sobre cosas de América.

Queda de *usted* su afectísimo servidor y amigo
que su mano besa,

Pascual de Gayangos [signature]

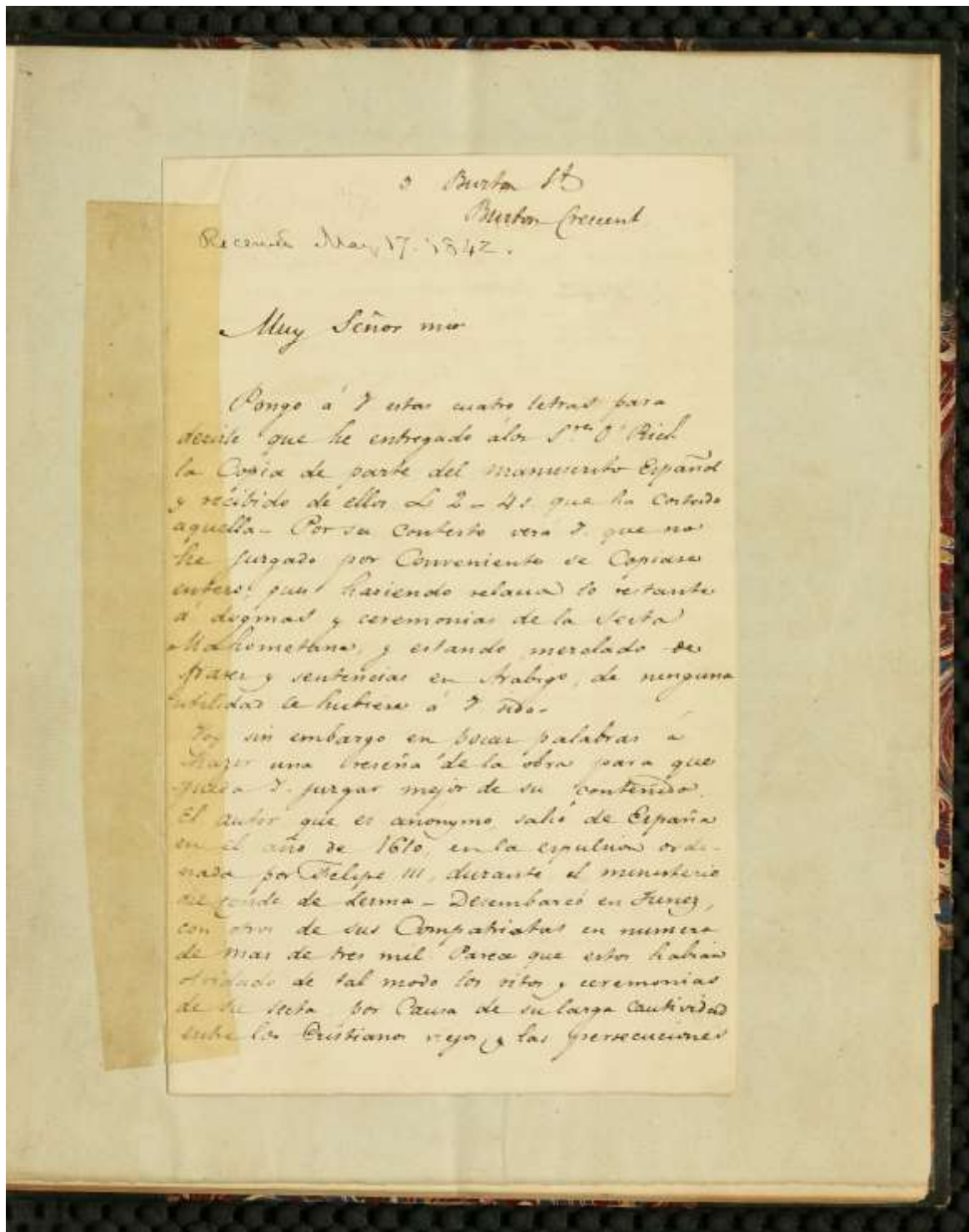


Fig. 4. First page of the letter from Pascual de Gayangos. Reception date handwritten by Ticknor. Mss. 18, BPL. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library/Rare Books and Manuscripts Department.

del tanto oficio que fue preciso volverlo a
 endosar en lo principal de nuevo para
 fe' y escritura católica para su uso, mas
 habiéndose notado que eran muy pocas las
 que hablaban en Hamia (palabras que
 significan mezcla de Espanol y Arabe) y
 que por lo tanto no comprendian la
 lengua es que se proponian introducir
 el laga de Arabe mande llamar a nuestro
 autor y le mande escribir la presente obra
 para uso y conveniencia de sus discipulos
 el autor imagina que el cuerpo del Mumin
 palabra arabe que significa creyente en
 'Alá') es una ciudad fortificada bien torrada
 y fuerte lo cual combaten lo visto valiendo
 a su defensa las virtudes teologicas 8.^a en
 seguida hace disminuir por ella a un punto
 el cual cuenta sus aventuras, descubriendo
 las diversas vicissitudes de vida e inmutabilidad
 que pervenir 8.^a

El título es pulido, aunque no faltan construc-
 ciones y palabras con sabor Alcoránico.
 Los versos que se encuentran en cuando in-
 pola son de Góngora, de los Armenios,
 Jorge de Montemayor, y otros autores de
 aquel tiempo, pero como me ocupaba de
 haber alguna de nuestro Alcorán La copia
 se ha hecho fielmente y bajo mi dirección
 mas en lo del f.º si esto es así era elegante por

esta fidelidad y la he colgado con el mayor
 cuidado, conservando la misma ortografía
 y sin poner punto ni coma, pues en las
 tiene el manuscrito que así escriben los
 Arabes en su idioma. Para remediar de alguna
 manera a esta grave falta acostumbré a
 escribir con letras encimadas el principio de
 algunos parrafos y así se ha hecho como
 estaba en el Original - Los números que
 van al margen indican la falta de un
 manuscrito, a fin de que si ocurre alguna
 duda se pueda colgar -

Belame que habiéndose a 7 me las palabras
 con línea por debajo con Arabe, importadas
 a nuestra lengua y significan -

<u>Coran</u>	f.º 7 ven.	Coran ó Alcoran
<u>duhan</u>	- 2 ven.	negativo, agravo.
<u>guar</u>	- 1 -	(Al. guarit) rigor
<u>Mumin</u>	1 -	fiel, creyente.
<u>Nifag</u>	2. ven.	hipocresia
<u>Nafsa</u>	6 -	alma
<u>Racula allahi</u>	cala allahi aleyh qua calan	quiere decir el mensajero de Alá la bendición de Alá, la paz sea sobre él
<u>Tauha</u>		arrepentimiento
<u>Talaz</u>	f.º 35	juramento
<u>Haras</u>	ib.	lo mismo
<u>Raqi</u>	ib.	medicante

Fig. 5. Letter to George Ticknor from Pascual de Gayangos, Mss. 18, BPL. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library/Rare Books and Manuscripts Department.

Engina }
 gina } f.º 35. } fornicaciones, coito

Notara V. así mismo algunas expresiones que
 a primera vista le pareceran erratas, pero
 sólo son de uso provincialismo (el autor
 debió ser Aragonés ó Valenciano) ó palabras
 antiguadas. De esta clase son

Ninguna por sin ninguna
láciba por lascivis
apetite - apetito
Sale de caer f.º 3vo. modismo Arabe
Colora Colera
Perjudical perjudicial
Consumen Consuman
Predernales - predenales ó escopetas
Arbinados - arrimados.

Advierto que si V. juzgare por conveniente
 el que se haga un tratado del resto del
 manuscrito que podrá tener como unas
 200 fojas más. se hará por la misma
 persona que ha hecho esta copia -

Del Sr. de Prescott no he tenido el gusto
 de recibir Contestación. Puede V. decirle que
 he hallado en la Bib.^a del Museo Británi-
 co algunos manuscritos muy importantes
 sobre Coras de America.

Dilección de V. su afmo. servidor y amigo
 P. de G.
 Pascual de Gayangos.

Fig. 6. Letter to George Ticknor from Pascual de Gayangos, Mss. 18, BPL. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library/Rare Books and Manuscripts Department.

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