

APPENDIX I

ARCHIVAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES BY CHAPTER

To indicate the archives, we have adopted the following abbreviations:

ACAM	Archivi del Centro “Alessandro Malaspina,” Mulazzo
ADMM	Archivio Domestico dei Malaspina di Mulazzo, Mulazzo
AFCL	Archivio Fiori - Cimati, Lerici
AGM	Archivo General de Marina “Don Alvaro de Bazán, Viso del Marqués”
AFFF	Archivio della Famiglia Ferrari, Filattiera
AHNM	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHNC	Archivo Histórico Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá
AMNM	Archivo del Museo Naval de Madrid
APR	Archivo del Palacio Real, Madrid
APSF	Archivio Provinciale dei PP. Scolopi, Firenze
ASBo	Archivio di Stato, Bologna
ASMi	Archivio di Stato, Milano
ASMs	Archivio di Stato, Massa
ASPontr	Archivio di Stato di Massa, Sottosezione di Pontremoli
ASSG	Archivio Storico dei PP. Somaschi, Genova

In order to help the reader who wishes to pursue some specific topic, we shall try to point out the archives that contain relevant materials on Malaspina or his expedition, and we shall select those publications which we feel are truly essential.

The references follow the order in which the different topics appear in the book.

The references to published materials indicate only the last name of the author/s and when there is more than one entry by the same author, the year of publication. For a complete bibliographic entry, consult Appendix II.

The historical research on Alessandro Malaspina and his expedition has advanced enormously in very recent times. Consequently, one might find errors in works published only a few years ago. In general, therefore, it is advisable to rely upon the most recent works, and, whenever possible, to consult the primary sources. These can always reveal some new element that has eluded previous researchers or was of no interest to them.

It is also worth pointing out that the Malaspina documentation that we have at hand today is only a small part of what is waiting to be rescued from oblivion and studied.

CHAPTER I

On the origin of Mulazzo in early medieval times, a short work by M. N. Conti is useful, in addition to the work by E. Branchi. The latter is also useful for general information on mediaeval Lunigiana.

On the mythical origins of the family, the curious work by T. Porcacchi is interesting. Apart from the myths, to help one learn about the historical ups and downs of the Malaspina family, the compilations by P. Litta (1852) and E. Branchi continue to be fundamental, although they are imprecise on the most remote centuries. These two genealogists worked together, so that the same errors appear in their respective works. The bibliography on this topic is enormous and is scattered in many Lunigiana journals and collections of regional history.

On the artistic patronage of the Malaspina family in medieval times, and their relationship with the troubadours and poets of the *dolce stil novo* (including Dante Alighieri), see F. L. Mannucci and V. Bianchi (1972, 1974 and 1976).

On the Meli Lupi family—Alessandro's mother's family—see B. Colombi, and on Giovanni Fogliani Sforza, see P. Litta (1834). The friendship between Giovanni Fogliani Sforza and Carlo Morello Malaspina is documented in more than one hundred letters kept at the ADMM.

On the Clementine College in Rome, where Alessandro studied, see L. Montalto, O. M. Paltrinieri and L. Zambarelli. Brief biographies of the Clementine teachers are found in A. M. Stoppiglia. There are Master's theses on two of them, Pujati and Cermelli, by F. Fassone and A. M. Perlasco. We have consulted the copies held at the ASSG in Genoa.

On the pedagogical orientation of the Somasca Order, and, more generally, on the religious and scientific stands of the fathers, see M. Tentorio.

After the closing of the Clementine College, very little was kept of its archives. The most interesting manuscript, *Atti*, is a chronicle of events. It mentions the day on which Malaspina defended his thesis. This document is kept at the ASSG.

Copies of the work done by Malaspina at the College (*Theses ex Physica Generali*) are kept at the National Library of Rome and the Comunale Governativa of Cremona. The studies of Alessandro have been analyzed by F. Remedi (1985, 1989).

On the Maltese period see D. Manfredi (1988/a, 1991/a).

On Alessandro's role in the military operations in Melilla and Algiers, there exists his own deposition in his personal file, which can be found at the AGM. The same folder contains all the documentation pertaining to his promotions.

On his first attempt to sail to the Philippines aboard the frigate *Astrea*, see the article by D. Manfredi (1989/a). The documents, nearly all unpublished, are at the AMNM. The documentation on the voyage from 1777 to 1779 on the same ship is also found there.

On the episode about the liberation of the vessel *San Julián*, there exist conflicting accounts in C. Fernández Duro, F. Llaugé Dauzà, and M. Jiménez de la Espada (1881). See also what F. de P. Pavía wrote in C. Caselli.

The episode of Malaspina's denunciation before the Tribunal of the Inquisition has been discussed by D. Manfredi (1987/a). The document of the prosecutor (which is

kept at the AHNM, Inquisition Section) has been published in its entirety by E. Soler (1990/a).

On Malaspina's conduct in the attack on Gibraltar, there is only Alessandro Belmonti's account (manuscript of the APSF), published by L. Picanyol.

What little is known about the voyage of the *Asunción* is at the AGM, and has been discussed by D. Manfredi (1988/c).

On Malaspina's brief cartographic period with Tofiño, see J. M. Cano Trigo (1989). For his activities as Lieutenant of the Naval Midshipman Corps, there is a document in the Antonio de Mazarredo Collection in the AMNM, quoted by A. M. Vigón Sánchez.

On the voyage of the *Astrea*, see D. Manfredi (1988/b). Documents about this trip can be found at the AMNM, AGM and APSF. In the last of these archives one can find some of the Malaspina and Manuel Agote reports (Agote was Commissioner of the Royal Company of the Philippines), and some notes by Felipe Bauzá, who virtually repeats what E. Malo de Luque wrote in the fourth volume of his work.

Malaspina's reactions to his experiences on the *Astrea* can be seen in his letters to Antonio de Ulloa and to José Salvareza, published by P. Novo y Colson.

CHAPTER II

The documentation relating to the preparations for the scientific expedition is for the most part unpublished and is housed in the AMNM. This material has been catalogued by M. D. Higuera Rodríguez (1985-1994). An analysis of these preparations has been presented by D. Manfredi (1987/b). D. Cutter (1984) has dealt with the ships' outfitting and crew.

To understand the spirit with which Malaspina conceived and prepared the voyage, the letters he sent to Gherardo Rangoni are very helpful. They were published by L. Picanyol and again, in an annotated edition, by D. Manfredi (1999/a). Other interesting letters of the mariner were sent to his brother Azzo Giacinto and to his friend Paolo Greppi. They have been published in part by E. Greppi and in part by C. Caselli and D. Manfredi (1984). These letters have been collected and translated into Spanish—not always correctly—in the volume by M. Palau, A. Zabala and B. Sáiz. However the most reliable edition is the aforementioned one by D. Manfredi (1999), because it is based on the original manuscripts and not on the 19th Century transcriptions, as the others are.

As for the other officers of the expedition, there are more or less detailed biographical sketches in M. Palau (1980), V. González (1988), B. Sáiz (1994), and in some other works.

In particular, for José de Bustamante see E. Beerman (1994); for Felipe Bauzá see J. Llabrés Bernal, U. Lamb, P. Barber and C. A. Bauzá (1995 and 1996); for José de Espinosa see M. Fernández de Navarrete (1825); for Antonio Tova see L. Sanfeliu Ortiz and M. Palau (1996); for Ciriaco Cevallos see also M. Palau (1996); for Juan Vernacci and Fabio Ala Ponzzone see D. Manfredi (1987/d, 1989/b). About the latter officer we should point out that in all the documentation of the period he always appears as Ali Ponzoni, in spite of the fact that his correct name is Ala Ponzzone, as we have used it here.

For Pineda, the naturalist, see A. Galera Gómez. On Thaddeus Haenke there is a copious literature, published primarily in Germany, Czechoslovakia and South America. Here we will mention only the recent works by V. Ibáñez, O. Kaspar and, for previous bibliography, those by L. Destéfani and D. Cutter. For Louis Née consult F. Muñoz Garmendia.

About the artists who participated in the expedition, for both shorter and longer periods, the most complete work (even iconographically speaking) is by C. Sotos Serrano. For the painter Ravenet specifically, see also D. Manfredi (1990/a).

Antonio Orozco Acuaviva has written about the physicians and health; see also the article by J. de Zulueta and M. D. Higuera.

About the relationships with scientists in different countries, see the Malaspina letters in L. Picanyol, and an answer by Lazzaro Spallanzani in M. Jiménez de la Espada (1872). A variant of this letter has been published by P. Di Pietro.

Malaspina's last instructions to Bustamante prior to their departure from Cádiz have been published by D. Manfredi (1985/a).

CHAPTER III

Most of the documentation for the expedition is at the AMNM, but neither the holdings of the British Library (Bauzá collection) nor the small archive at the Oregon Historical Society should be ignored. It is also worth mentioning the interesting folder that used to belong to the Massá Foundation. It is now found at the Dirección General de Patrimonio de la Conselleria de Cultura de la Xunta de Galicia.

As for the description of the expedition, the texts of Malaspina himself are fundamental, and there are different versions of these. The first edition of the travel account is practically inaccessible. It appeared in St. Petersburg from 1824 to 1827, and has been systematically ignored by Malaspinian historiography. See D. Manfredi (1999/b) on this problem. We suggest the edition by P. Novo y Colson and the one by M. Palau, A. Zabala and B. Sáiz. These editions are based on the same version (AMNM, Ms. 753). Another lengthy version was published in Madrid in 1991.

In 1935, E. Bona oversaw a translation in Italy, but it does not cover the complete text. Among other omissions, it does not include the "Preliminary discourse," which is fundamental to an understanding of Malaspina's thought on the most important objectives of his expedition.¹

The accounts of other members of the expedition are also useful. Those of Francisco Xavier de Viana, José Bustamante, Antonio Tova and Juan Gutiérrez de la Concha (in M. D. Higuera, 1991/a) are worth noting.

Catherine Poupney-Hart has analysed and subtly compared the texts of different diaries from a semantic point of view. She offers us a sociological reading that is not lacking in surprises.

The exploration of the Río de la Plata region has been studied in particular by F. Burzio (in B. del Carril).

¹ Editor's Note: Malaspina's *Journal of the Voyage* has been translated into English for the Hakluyt Society by Andrew David, Felipe Fernández-Armesto, Carlos Novi and Glyndwr Williams. Volume I was published in 2002; the remaining volumes are forthcoming.

For the explorations of Chile and Perú, see, among others, the aforementioned work by J. Gicklhorn about Haenke's research in these countries, and the works by G. Looser, M. Palau (1976), D. Manfredi (1993) and J. Ortiz Sotelo. On Ecuador see E. Estrella; on Central America, D. Manfredi (1995/a).

The literature on New Spain is also abundant. The works by D. Cutter (1960) and V. González (1988 and 1990) stand out.

CHAPTER IV

The literature on the Northwest campaign is quite extensive. An account of the voyage in search of the Northwest Passage, in a more detailed version than that published by P. Novo y Colson, can be found in A. Malaspina (1990/a).

Written for personal use, the account by the painter Tomás de Suria is also interesting. There are many editions; in English the most recent is the one edited by D. Cutter (1980), but the most reliable is that of A. Rey.

Some of the Spanish expeditions were aimed at creating new colonies and some at discovering a navigable passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. In general, the introductions to the *Relación* (1802) and to J. Espinosa y Tello are useful. None of these are signed, but the first is by M. Fernández de Navarrete and the second by L. M. Salazar. See also H. R. Wagner (1968).

On the invented trip by L. Ferrer Maldonado see G. Pennesi. The Ferrer Maldonado text and that of Ph. Buache of the Académie des Sciences have been published in P. Novo y Colson.

To understand the reasons for mounting such a campaign the work by I. Luzzana Caraci with D. Manfredi may be useful. See also D. Manfredi (1992 and 1995/b).

The diary of the voyage of the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana* was published anonymously in 1802. The Museo Naval of Madrid reprinted it in 1991 with an introduction by M. D. Higuera Rodríguez. J. Kendrick has published its English translation. In it he tried to solve the problem of authorship, and concludes that the authors were most likely J. Espinosa and D. Alcalá Galiano. In his introduction Kendrick discusses some of the distortions present in the 1802 edition.

On the political situation of Nootka Island in 1789 see J. de la Sota's contribution (1986).

Native cultures have been studied especially by J. Alcina (1988, 1989), but see also F. Monge. Also, consult the works by D. C. Cutter (1991), R. Inglis (1992, 1995), J. Kendrick and R. Inglis (1992, of which there is also a French version), and the most recent ones about Nootka edited by M. Palau et al.

CHAPTER V

There are not many sound studies of the visit made by the Malaspina expedition to the Philippines. On this subject it is best to consult the primary sources, of which quite a few reports are kept at the AMNM. Some of those on physical and political topics are to

be found in the collection “La expedición Malaspina” published by the Museo Naval of Madrid and the Lunewerg Press.

On the Macao campaign see the diary of J. Bustamante y Guerra (1868), now reprinted by the Museo Naval of Madrid and the Lunewerg Press. The manuscript is kept in the archive of the Ministry of External Affairs of Spain.

On Australia see R. J. King (1990), who even translated the published documentation into English. See also the later work by the same author (1995). On the stay in the Vava’u Islands there is an analysis by C. Mazzoleni and M. Tibaldi.

On the campaign of the corvette *Atrevida* to reconnoitre the Aurora Islands see M. D. Higuera (1988) and D. Manfredi (1994).

CHAPTER VI

On the return of the expedition there exists a notice that appeared in the *Gazeta de Madrid* on December 12, 1794; it was probably written by the Commander himself. See D. Manfredi (1995/c). In Italy a rather free translation appeared the following year on the initiative of A. Fabroni.

For the contributions of the Malaspina expedition to the various disciplines, the reading of J. Espinosa y Tello is quite valuable, not only to understand the officers’ knowledge of astronomy, but also, in more general terms, to find out what problems they addressed at different stages of the journey. The most comprehensive study of the astronomy and geodesics of the expedition is that of L. F. Martínez-Cañavate. However, this author is not satisfied with the editing of his work, and has sent a long list of *errata* to the Centro di Studi Malaspiniani.

On the cartography see M. L. Martín-Merás (1984/a), J. M. Cano (1995) and, especially for the harbour maps, G. Galliano.

The botanical research has been analysed in the introductory studies by different authors to the catalogue of *La Botanica en la Expedición Malaspina, 1789-1794* (1989).

For the natural sciences in general, Volumes III, IV and VIII in the collection *La Expedición Malaspina 1789-1794* are indispensable. These were edited respectively by F. Muñoz Garmendia, M. V. Ibáñez Montoya and E. Estrella, and published by the Museo Naval and others.

On the anthropological and ethnographic aspects of the journey the contribution of J. Alcina Franch (1988) in three Malaspinian studies, along with the bibliography, is useful. See also the work of P. Cabello Carro. *Culturas de la costa noroeste de América*, edited by José Luis Peset, should also be mentioned here, although not all the articles in it are relevant to the topic discussed. See also A. M. Verde Casanova.

The works by O. Blixen, M. L. Martín-Merás and J. Bustamante have dealt with linguistic matters.

Musical expression has now been treated for the first time. See J. de Persia.

I. Luzzana Caraci (1987/a) has given us an overall evaluation of Malaspina’s contribution to geographic knowledge.

On the first effects of the Malaspina expedition in European scientific circles see Brunella Solinas.

On Malaspina's reformist ideas after the return of the expedition, the chapters of I. Luzzana Caraci (1987/b, 1987/c) are revealing. But above all on this matter, see the letters that Malaspina himself wrote to his friend Paolo Greppi (Manfredi, 1999/a); the originals are at the ASMi. On Greppi's activities in Cádiz see G. Liva.

J. Pimentel should be consulted on Malaspina's "colonial thinking." The reader will find many useful ideas here, as long as he or she can stand the pompous style of this young author.

Malaspina's most important political writing, his *Axiomas políticos sobre la América*, has already been published three times. The first edition was that of M. Lucena and J. Pimentel, and the other two, by different editors, follow the first. We have noticed errors in the transcription. The manuscript is at the AHNC.

On the role played by Father Manuel Gil and his changing positions, see M. Jiménez de la Espada (1881) and E. Soler (1995).

On the naïve precautions taken by Malaspina to avoid disgrace from the queen's intrigues, see D. Manfredi (1987/c).

As for the brigadier's arrest, the official documentation is dramatic and eloquent. It is kept at the AMNM and AGM, and is in part unpublished.

On the mishaps that brought about the arrest and official indictment of the officer, the most recent comprehensive research is that of Eric Beerman (1992) and E. Soler (1990/a). Soler's work is particularly useful because of the documentation published in the appendix, where the letters between Godoy and María Frías y Pizzaro appear; the originals are at the APR. We totally disagree with the central premise of this author (whom we love, on the other hand, as a brother), which is that Malaspina was a "conspirator." We include Soler's works in the basic bibliography so that the reader may draw his or her own conclusions on this topic.

In any case, the old works by M. Jiménez de la Espada (1881) and Greppi will always remain essential. So too are certain paragraphs in the introduction by P. Novo y Colson.

The documents on the meetings of the Council of State are kept at the AHNM and the APR; see also E. Beerman (1992). For Malaspina's memoir on the peace with France see D. Manfredi (1999/c).

On the first news in Spain and Italy of Malaspina's arrest, see E. Gerini, P. Litta (1852), E. Branchi and D. Manfredi (1985/b, 1986).

CHAPTER VII

On the castle of San Antón at La Coruña in the 18th century see X. R. Soraluze.

On the friendly relationship that developed between the prisoner and the castle governor there are several letters at the ADMM; the letters of the merchants Ribera and Bazzoni are also in this archive. About Mariano Colón see E. Beerman (1995).

Malaspina's readings during his imprisonment are discussed in the article by Ferrari and Manfredi. The manuscript of Malaspina's notes is at the AFFF; the ACAM owns a microfilm copy.

On Malaspina's writings during this period see D. Manfredi (1990/c). Of these works only the *Tratadito* has been published; see A. Malaspina (1990/b); the essay on Don Quixote has been discussed by M. Damonte; the translation of Guenard has been done by C. Poupeney-Hart (1995). The manuscripts should be at the AFCL.

On the episode about the British disembarkation at El Ferrol see D. Manfredi (1999/c).

D. Manfredi (1991/b) discusses the death of Malaspina's brother Azzo Giacinto. See P. Ferrari for the troubles between Alessandro and his brother Luigi. There are many documents on this subject at the ADMM.

On Francesco Melzi d'Eril's intercession for Malaspina's release see Malaspina's letter of May 17, 1803 to Ramón Ximenez, published by D. Manfredi (1999/a). Novo y Colson has published details about the trip from La Coruña to Genoa.

CHAPTER VIII

The news of Malaspina's arrival in Italy appeared in the *Gazzetta Nazionale della Liguria* on March 19, 1803.

G. Pellegrinetti (1982, 1985, 1988) discusses the situation in Lunigiana during the Napoleonic regime. On the Kingdom of Etruria see G. Drei; this author mentions several political and intellectual figures who were linked to Malaspina. On Pontremoli and his friends there see N. Michelotti (1985, 1986).

On Malaspina's last sojourn in Italy see D. Manfredi (1986/b). M. Giuliani (1928, 1948) and D. Manfredi (1985/c, 1990/b) discuss his modest public activities. There are documents at the ASMs on his inheritance.

On Malaspina's activity as director of the *cordon sanitaire* in 1804 many still unpublished documents exist at the ASBo.

Over one hundred letters received by Alessandro from his Spanish friends between 1803 and 1809 remain as evidence that Alessandro continued to follow events in Spain. The letters are at the ADMM.

On the platonic liaison between Alessandro and Barbarina Barbiano di Belgiojoso see the article by D. Manfredi (1995/d) and B. Sáiz. Malaspina's letters to Ramón Ximénez, which document this relationship, are at the ACAM.

In this same collection is Alessandro's letter telling about his reception at the Florentine court.

Malaspina's admission to the Colombaria Academy has been noted by F. Adorno, and to the Alpi Apuane de Massa in a letter by the poet G. Fantoni.

Alessandro's first will remains unpublished at the ASPontr. The second one, which is very similar, has been published by C. Caselli. The original of the last addition to the will can be found at the ADMM.

News of the navigator's death appeared in the *Gazzetta di Genova*, the *Gazzetta Universale*, and the *Gazzetta Toscana*. The *Gazzetta Toscana* mentions details of the autopsy. We have not found the newspapers but have seen the handwritten copies at the APSF. Copies of Malaspina's death certificate are held at the ADMM and ASPontr.

G. Campori (1862, 1868) and Picanyol discuss the different projects to write historical eulogies of the mariner. On Malaspinian studies in Lunigiana see A. C. Ambrosi.

We cannot conclude this critical review without mentioning two other books. J. Kendrick (1999) has written the best and most complete biography published in North America of our enlightened navigator. Its only imprecision—about the peace treaty with France—was also ours when we were corresponding with each other while he was writing his book. J. de la Sota (1994) has written a very pleasant book about his experiences while going around the world with the Spanish Television crew filming “Following Malaspina’s footsteps.”