

**THE REAL EXPEDICIÓN  
ANTICUARIA COLLECTION**

*Marie-France Fauvet-Berthelot, Leonardo  
López Luján, and Susana Guimarães*

Born in New Orleans in 1799 to a family of French émigrés, young Latour Allard traveled to Mexico in 1824, where he acquired a collection of Precolumbian artifacts, a Prehispanic manuscript, and various contemporary manuscripts and drawings. His collection is preserved today in the Museum of Non-Western Arts of the Quai Branly in Paris. Allard could hardly have imagined that this purchase would place him—almost two centuries later—at the heart of an astonishing story. This chapter details the investigation its authors carried out in French, Mexican, and US archives to understand how artifacts collected for the king of Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century ended up in France. Our story touches on some of the great men of the period: Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier (Marquis de la Fayette), Jean-François Champollion, and Alexander von Humboldt. More specifically, our tale presents a cast of six fascinating characters: a captain of Flemish Dragoons who was also an enlightened amateur Prehispanic art enthusiast, an unscrupulous draughtsman, an obstinate magistrate, an enthusiastic if luckless young man, a patriotic spy, and, last but not least, a mysterious individual we shall refer to as “Mr. X.”

**THE DUPAIX-CASTAÑEDA REAL EXPEDICIÓN ANTICUARIA**

Three manuscript notebooks and 140 drawings, some of which depict objects in

the Latour Allard collection, make up the warp of our tapestry, woven in 1821. Our story unfolds while the Colony of New Spain was living out its final days and the new Mexican nation was being born. These drawings, representing Mexican artifacts, were published in three European books. Two appeared in the nineteenth century: *Antiquities of Mexico* was published in London in 1831 under the aegis of Lord Kingsborough, while *Antiquités mexicaines* was produced in Paris in 1834 by the abbot Jean-Henri Baradère. The third volume, *Expediciones acerca de los antiguos monumentos de la Nueva España: 1805–1808*, was published in Madrid in 1969 by José Alcina Franch. The drawings incorporated in all three volumes were made by Guillermo Dupaix (ca. 1750–1817) and José Luciano Castañeda (1774–ca. 1834), who drew them as part of the *Real Expedición Anticuaria*, commissioned by King Charles IV of Spain. The purpose of the *Royal Expedition in Search of Antiquities*, conducted between 1805 and 1809, was to collect documents pertaining to the antiquities of New Spain so the Spanish Crown might better know that distant colony's past and more greatly appreciate its artistic traditions.

As early as 1803 Ciriaco González Carvajal, a naturalist, antiquarian, and honorary member of the Royal Academy of San Carlos, wrote of New Spain: "The country abounds in monuments for which nobody cares, and which would still be quite useful to document its history." He added, for the benefit of Viceroy José de Iturrigaray (1742–1815): "I have heard of a captain of the Dragoons, don J. Dupée [*sic*], of Flemish nationality, who, without the help of anyone and motivated by his inquiring nature, has made many useful discoveries in this field, in spite of many difficulties and many dangers" (AGN, Historia, vol. 116).

Clearly, Dupaix was the man for the task. An Austrian born in Luxemburg, he received a French education. Dupaix arrived in New Spain in 1790, where "he enroll[ed] in the regiment of the Dragoons of Mexico, where he ha[d] a rather dull career without ever going into battle" (Estrada de Gerlero 1994: 191). A man with an inquiring mind, Dupaix had earlier traveled to Greece and Italy, knew Egyptian art, and was a connoisseur of the arts of ancient Mexico. He often manifested his displeasure over the way people in Europe talked about the ancient Mexican civilizations, especially Alexander von Humboldt, who at the time was rather influential in such matters and considered that the local populations were at best only half-civilized.

Dupaix accepted the royal mandate (*real comisión*) on October 4, 1804 (ibid.: 195), and asked Viceroy Iturrigaray "for a draughtsman versed in the drawing of objects and plans, for which [he] propose[d] Don José Castañeda, who has been a student at the Royal Academy of San Carlos in New Spain . . . as well as Don Juan Castillo, retired Dragoon Sergeant, to write up their accounts . . . also for two soldiers from the Dragoon corps, trusted men, to help them during their trek in difficult regions" (AGN, Historia, vol. 116).

With his four helpers, Guillermo Dupaix was entrusted with the mission of evaluating ancient sculptures and monuments throughout New Spain; he was

to describe and make drawings of them while leaving them in situ. The results of his labors had to be written in triplicate, as ordered by the Spanish Crown for any official document it commissioned.

The *Real Expedición Anticuaria* incorporated three forays, exploring vast tracts of land throughout the country. Between campaigns, important work had to be done in Mexico City; there the field sketches and drawings were cleanly redrawn by Castañeda, and detailed descriptions of the monuments were written up from Dupaix's draft notes. The first of these expeditions lasted four months, from January 5 to May 9, 1805, and covered the present Mexican states of Puebla, Veracruz, and Morelos. A report on this first expedition, in triplicate, was remitted to the viceroy on January 17, 1806.

The second, much longer field expedition lasted fourteen months, from February 24, 1806, to April 1807. It focused on the Basin of Mexico, the present State of Morelos, and the ancient cities of Monte Albán, Zaachila, and Mitla in what is now the State of Oaxaca. The third and final campaign lasted even longer, seventeen months, from December 4, 1807, to May 1809. This exploration revisited Puebla and Oaxaca and, for the first time, included Chiapas: Ciudad Real (today's San Cristóbal de las Casas) and Palenque. An original version of the documents pertaining to the second and third expeditions was given to Viceroy Apodaca in January 1817, with the promise that the other two copies required by the Spanish Crown administration would be remitted at a later date. Dupaix died in June 1817 before he could finish that all-consuming task, but, thanks to Fausto de Elhuyar, the executor of his will, the results of those expeditions were preserved.

### ELHUYAR: COLLECTING PATRIMONY

Always a careful man, Dupaix, having fallen gravely ill, wrote his will in July 1813, choosing as his executor his friend Fausto de Elhuyar (1755–1833). Elhuyar would play a key role in our story. He was the director of the Royal Tribunal of the Mines and the discoverer of wolfram. In his will, Guillermo Dupaix specified what should become of his possessions: “that, after my death, he [Elhuyar] should make the inventory of my possessions, sell or exchange what can be disposed of thus, and that the rest should be sold at public auction in the best conditions to obtain the best value” (UTBLAC G369).

Dupaix's inventory of his possessions was exact: personal drawings, some archaeological objects, and curios. He was careful to specify what had derived from the expeditions—“the objects pertaining to the Antiquities of this Kingdom, which he has collected during his Mission, as well as the Plans and descriptions he made of them, and which belong to the central government” (*ibid.*)—and to separate them from his own properties.<sup>1</sup>

When Guillermo Dupaix died in 1817, Elhuyar gathered everything that had belonged to him and moved it to the Real Seminario de Minas in Mexico



19.1. Greenstone figurine, 70 × 20 × 12 cm. Latour Allard collection (MQB 71.1887.155.13). Photo by Daniel Ponsard.

City: “Since that person has passed away, I have had his papers and curios placed in a room set aside for that purpose in the Real Seminario de Minas, where they are kept very securely. I saw to it that the required triage was made and everything that pertains to the mentioned antiquities is preserved there, awaiting Your Excellency’s decision about what should be done with them”<sup>2</sup> (ibid.).

Elhuyar oversaw the completion of the second and third copies of the documents relating to the last two campaigns of the *Real Expedición Anticuaria*: “I think that one should first make sure that the three copies of the Drawings of the two Expeditions, still to be drawn, should be completed, together with their corresponding descriptions so that two sets can be sent to the Court, and the third can be kept in the capital, there to be carefully preserved and annexed to the documents from the first Expedition” (ibid.).

For that task he recommended José Luciano Castañeda, since “nobody can better be recommended than he who was part of the three Expeditions, doing

the first drafts in front of the objects themselves” (ibid.). So Elhuyar gave the complete works their final form, with Castañeda’s help. These various sets of drawings were remitted to the Colonial and Spanish governments. Some were used for the publications referred to previously.<sup>3</sup>

Elhuyar’s efforts did not stop there. In 1818 and again in 1819, endorsed by Viceroy Juan Ruíz de Apodaca, Count of Venadito (1754–1835), he brought to the capital many of the pieces collected and drawn by Dupaix and Castañeda during the *Real Expedición Anticuaria*. When one reads documents in the American archives that mention those pieces, one is amazed at the remarkable organization of such a large-scale operation. A precise list was established of the “original American antiquities of medium size recognized by Don Guillermo Dupaix in various places of this Kingdom, and mentioned in the drawings and the descriptions of those three Expeditions” (ibid. G373) that were to be collected.<sup>4</sup>

Documentation during each campaign included a description of the objects, specifying their materials, dimensions, and provenience. The project tried to gather—in some cases to no avail—72 objects from 20 different places: 15 of these had been inventoried during the first expedition, 55 during the second, and 2 during the final campaign. There are 69 stone sculptures, 1 ceramic artifact, 1 of wood, and 1 of copper. The artifacts incorporate 27 human figures, 18 animals, 8 plant forms, 10 glyphs, and 9 ritual objects.<sup>5</sup>

The viceroy’s endorsement allowed Elhuyar to enlist the help of local authorities to complete the operation. On December 14, 1818, he sent the list to the viceroy so the objects might be collected. Precise recommendations were made for recovery; if some objects were too heavy or the roads in too poor a state, it was specified that a stonemason should chip away the part that was not sculpted: “as to the problem caused by their weights, I believe that in most cases it can be solved by cutting away matter, when the pieces are not sculpted on all sides or on all faces, a task that any stonemason can perform on several of them” (ibid.).<sup>6</sup>

He continued:

It has been indicated where certain monuments are integrated within the walls of the houses or of other buildings, from where they will have to be taken, to be replaced by other stones or even just by masonry; though these modifications are minor and can easily be done by the building owners themselves, the under-delegates will have to persuade them to do the work, showing them the collecting is done for the honor of the kingdom and of the Nation, which may even at the same time overcome the misgivings a number of them could have to see the pieces disappear. (ibid.)

Finally, Elhuyar even proposed bringing back pieces not mentioned by Dupaix, “and urged the sub-delegates to collect and send back monuments that are not in the inventory” (ibid.). The “sub-delegates” were the local representatives of the vice-regal government.

Events proceeded quickly. In January 1819 orders were sent to the intendants of Mexico City, Puebla, Veracruz, and Oaxaca, as well as to the governor of Ciudad Real de Chiapas. The intendant of Veracruz asked who was to pay for the costs of transportation, the one in Puebla said the monolith in Huauhquechula was too heavy and its weight could not be lightened because the stone was full of engravings, and the governor of Chiapas affirmed that one of the pieces requested had been stolen. The question also arose as to whether some of the pieces should be sent to Spain. The response was that royal finances would pay for transportation from Veracruz, that the monument in Huauhquechula would remain in place, and that, as far as Spain was concerned, all the antiquities would remain in Mexico (ibid. G245, G373).

### LATOUR ALLARD'S ASTONISHING ACQUISITION

Once the artifacts arrived in Mexico City, their history becomes somewhat sketchy. This is understandable given that Mexico, recently independent, was in turmoil. One cannot tell for certain where the collection was deposited, although it is probable that it was combined with the documentation of the *Real Expedición Anticuaria* in the Real Seminario de Minas. However, after Mexico's independence, Fausto de Elhuyar, still faithful to the Spanish Crown, returned to Spain in 1822. According to Elena Estrada de Gerlero (1994: 194): "The material from the *Real Expedición*, as well as from the personal travels of the Flemish connoisseur of antiques, had been deposited by Elhuyar in a safe place within the Real Seminario de Minas; shortly after his departure from the country, it went on to form part of the new National Museum, created after the independence of Mexico by Lucas Alamán."

The artworks brought back to Mexico City would probably have been shipped to the Spanish king if New Spain had remained a colony. However, since Mexico had won its independence in 1821, the artifacts became the patrimony of the new Mexican nation. In fact, they should have been brought to the Mexican National Museum, founded in 1825. How was it that pieces collected for New Spain or for the Mexican nation ended up being sold to a private individual?<sup>7</sup>

Toward the end of 1824, Latour Allard, then age twenty-five, was traveling in Mexico and acquired at auction an archaeological collection that according to the description by Tomás Murphy, contained:

1st 180 idols, statues, some of them complete, some damaged, snakes and other animals and a number of low reliefs etc, 2nd 120 excellent drawings, very well done, representing the monuments found by Captain Dupaix in Palenque Viejo and in the palace in Mitla, in the province of Chiapa located between Oaxaca and Ciudad Real de Guatemala. There are also other drawings from various origins, among which a complete representation of the circular stone [Tizoc Stone] that is in the University in the city of Mexico. 3rd a book compris-



**19.2A.** Coiled rattlesnake with human face emerging from mouth. Dense gray volcanic stone;  $47.7 \times 19.8 \times 26.7$  cm. Photo by Daniel Ponsard.



**19.2B.** Drawing by Aglio 1831. Latour Allard collection (MQB 71.1887.155.19).

ing twelve folios in maguey paper, full of symbolic paintings . . . which once belonged to the famed Boturini. (AHSRE 3-3-3888, 1827)

We will meet Murphy again shortly. Latour Allard shipped his collection to France in 1825. But who did he buy it from, and how was it transported to France?

Thanks to a document that recently came to light in the archives of the Mexican Ministry for Foreign Affairs, we have been able to reconstitute the story of an astounding auction carried out by Castañeda. Indeed, it was he—the faithful draughtsman of the *Real Expedición Anticuaria*—who disposed of that collection of archaeological objects, manuscripts, and drawings, which by then had become the property of the new Mexican nation. Castañeda took advantage of Dupaix's death and of the profound changes occurring within the country to reimburse himself for the many hours of work he had put in without pay for the Spanish government.<sup>8</sup> The local situation must have been very murky indeed if he could organize such a public auction without question. Undoubtedly, Mexico's priorities at the time must have been other things. Castañeda's auction soon gained a certain fame, if not notoriety, and this is where a new character enters our story: Tomás Murphy.

### TOMÁS MURPHY AND THE TROUBLED YOUNG MEXICAN REPUBLIC

Tomás Murphy was the son of an Irish expatriate with the same name. On February 26, 1824, he was sent to London, where Mexico had recently opened its first and only European embassy. He served as “first officer and under-secretary with the function of interpreter to the Legation of the Mexican Republic to His British Majesty” (AHSRE L-E-1614, 1824). Murphy still retained the post in 1826 (*ibid.* L-E-1617, 1826), but by 1831 he was living in France as head of the General Trade Agency of Mexico in Paris.

Murphy had been commissioned, in the name of the Mexican government, by Sebastián Camacho (1791–1847), minister of the Republic of the United States of Mexico in London, to make discreet inquiries about the purchase and subsequent shipment out of Mexico of Latour Allard’s collection. Incensed by the auction, Murphy launched a formal police investigation to obtain all the evidence of that operation, even sending one of his acquaintances to interview Latour Allard. In a document sent to Camacho on February 1, 1827, Murphy reported that he could not objectively doubt the buyer’s good faith:

Mr. Latour does not hide any of the details of his purchase . . . He bought the collection towards the end of 1824 from the draughtsman or painter who accompanied Captain Dupaix during the mission he undertook for the governments of the Viceroy, financed by royal funds at the time, and, though I cannot be sure of his name . . . I believe he is called Cañedo or Castañedo. Mr. Latour says he was quite open in his bid, competing against English buyers who pushed him into paying a high price, the amount of which he has not unveiled; he says he took the crated collection to Veracruz where, in February of 1825, it was loaded on board of the French brigantine the *Éclair* bound for Bordeaux, without any difficulty or problem being caused either by the customs office of Mexico City or of Veracruz. (*ibid.* 3–3–3888, 1827)

Murphy continued:

From all this, it is obvious that this man does not hide the origin of the operation, as evidenced in the description of the collection he had published in the *Revue encyclopédique*, tome 3 of 1826, n° 31, booklet 93 . . . where one can read, among other things: Mr. Dupaix having died shortly after having accomplished his mission, and political events having caused a breach in the relations between Mexico and Spain, the draughtsman thought he could dispose of the results of the works to which he had contributed so much. Thus, Mr. Latour has openly declared to the world that it is indeed the artist from the expedition who thought he had the right to sell that precious collection of Mexican antiquities. The sale was done out in the open, just as was effected the shipment of the pieces, all that being done in the presence of the Mexican government who was ruling in 1824, thereby depriving Mexican science of such a rich treasury. (*ibid.*)

Murphy recommended that “this national treasure, viciously bought, [should be recovered by buying it back from Latour Allard, who in turn] should



**19.3A.** *Chicomecoatl, goddess of maize and of all vegetable food. Grayish volcanic stone; 63.5 × 35 × 18.2 cm. Photo by Daniel Ponsard.*



**19.3B.** *Drawing by Aglio 1831. Latour Allard collection (MQB 71.1887.155.14).*

make a reasonable offer, or else be brought to justice, [as] under no circumstance these treasures should be allowed to belong to an employee of Captain Dupaix during his mission, whose works have been funded by the government” (ibid.).

Murphy raised the potential of legal action on the part of the Spanish government, which could argue “for its ancient rights over an operation which was conducted at the time of its dominion.” Two days later, on February 3, Murphy added to this report the detailed inventory of the collection (appendix 3), together with its price: 70,000 francs for the set of archaeological pieces and 75,000 for the whole set of documents (ibid.).

Murphy’s documents support the conclusion that Latour Allard bought the collection openly. The shadowy character in the story seems to have been Castañeda, but we lack additional information that could enlighten us as to the precise circumstances under which he took possession of the pieces and documents of the *Real Expedición Anticuaria*.

The auction that so troubled Murphy probably stimulated passage of a law to protect the Mexican national patrimony, enacted on November 16, 1827, prohibiting the export of any archaeological object. This law was mentioned by the Mexican consul in Bordeaux, who, in July 1835, asked that “our customs offices not let out illegally such precious objects which enrich the foreign museums to

the detriment of our own, which remains so poorly endowed” (ibid. L-E-16-3-49, 1830–1838).

### LATOUR ALLARD: THE IMPOSSIBLE RESALE

One wonders why Latour Allard bought the archaeological collection. Was it for his own delectation, because of a personal taste for Mexican antiquities? Or was he already thinking of proposing it, for his own profit, to a French institution? Or, possibly, had its purchase ruined him financially, forcing him ultimately to sell it? Few things are known about this individual.<sup>9</sup> Latour Allard came from a French family, originally from Alpine of Haute-Provence, who were among the founders of New Orleans. In 1830, following a bequest from the family, their plantation in Bayou Saint John became the city’s first great park (Freiberg 1980: 218; López Luján and Fauvet-Berthelot 2005: 34–35). Born in New Orleans, Latour Allard studied in France but later wrote that he did not know that country’s mores and customs. His letters reveal a young man, somewhat gauche. For five years he tenaciously attempted to sell his collection; any potential buyer was contacted. From documents in the Parisian archives, one finds him, year after year, ever more in need, lowering his expectations. It was all in vain.

Immediately after having bought the collection and upon its arrival in France, Latour Allard got in touch with the relevant institutions. The collection soon became famous in erudite circles, thanks largely to the noises made by its owner. The artist Jean-Frédéric Waldeck (1766–1875) mentioned it in his diary on January 22, 1826: “I went to the house of Mr. Latour to see a manuscript on agave paper, a collection of drawings among which I recognized a number of the same antiques I drew in lithographs for Bertou [*sic*]; and stone sculptures that were rather well preserved” (NL Ayer 1260a).

On January 10, 1827, Joel R. Poinsett (1779–1851), US minister plenipotentiary to Mexico, wrote to Peter S. Duponceau (1760–1844) of the American Philosophical Society to warn him that Latour Allard had taken copies of the texts and drawings of the *Real Expedición Anticuaria* to be reprinted in Paris (Freeman 1962: 532). Reports on the collection had also been published in the *Revue encyclopédique* (Anonymous 1826a) and the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Latour Allard 1828; Warden 1829: 45), of which Latour Allard was a correspondent. But when they arrived in Europe, the pieces selected by Guillermo Dupaix as reflections of the art of the great civilizations of ancient Mexico would lose their status as art objects and be diminished to testimonials merely of a certain level of human development. The weight of the opinion of a luminary such as Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) would soon prevail over the open-mindedness of a little-known captain of Dragoons.

Humboldt wrote to Latour Allard on July 28, 1826, in a letter that soon circulated widely among learned society:

I cannot thank you enough, dear Sir, for the pleasure I received at seeing the objects you have collected in Mexico and which bring a new light to shine on an almost unknown part of the History of human genius. This is indeed the most complete collection of its kind and which relates so felicitously to the so happily conceived idea of following the progress of the arts among half barbarian peoples . . . It would be true to the munificence of a great monarch to deposit the Drawings of Mr. Dupaix, to whose scrupulous exactness I can bear witness, in some great Library. The naïve simplicity of these drawings themselves attests to the truthfulness of the testimony. (AHSRE 3–3–3888, 1826–1829; Anonymous 1826a, 1826b; ANP 0/3/1417; CMR w/n; Dupaix 1834)

Humboldt added, as a note: “The Drawings of Mr. Dupaix, mentioned in the present letter, number one hundred and twenty and are part of Mr. Latour Allard’s collection” (ibid.).

Comforted by this letter, Latour Allard wrote, as early as July 31, 1826, to Louis Nicolas Philippe Auguste, count of Forbin (1779–1841), the general director of the Royal Museums:

Having arrived in Paris a few weeks ago, with a collection of objects of antiquity I brought back from Mexico, I would like to know, before I go with them to England, if it would not be deemed convenient by the French government to acquire them; born in America from French parents, having been educated in France, it seems natural to me that, by a sort of preference, I should make my offer first to this country. Up to now, the persons I have had to deal with in this affair seem to have been rather indifferent, and so I hope you will forgive the liberty I am taking today in writing directly to you. (ANP O/3/1427)

He added:

As I am certain that nobody better than you, Sir, would be able to judge on this matter, and to report your findings to the Minister, I would consider myself extremely privileged if I could have the honor of receiving your visit in my home, and to show you my collection, which is undoubtedly not without interest, as you can judge by the letter I have received from Baron De Humboldt, a copy of which I send you enclosed. As I do not have any pressing business, I leave you free to decide the hour and the day of your visit. However, I would appreciate receiving written notice of it the day before. Please be assured, Sir, of my respect and distinguished consideration. (ibid.)

On August 8, 1826, the count of Forbin reported to Louis-François-Sosthène, viscount of La Rochefoucauld (1785–1864), in charge of the Department of Fine Arts in the king’s house, on his visit to Latour Allard where he examined the Mexican collection. He concluded:

Most of this curious collection, which, because of the very nature of its objects, can shed a bright light on the history of religious ceremonies in Mexico, does not belong in the Royal Museum, and can only be housed in a library. It is

made of: 1st a written work in the Spanish language, richly illustrated by original drawings by Mr. Dupaix: the naivety of these drawings is a sure warrant of their authenticity; 2nd a book written on magais [*sic*] paper with notes by Botterini [*sic*], an Italian author who wrote on Mexico; 4th [*sic*] a rather large quantity of idols in clay and other materials, a few fragments of architecture and various utensils for every day use. This last part *only* could fit within the collection of the museum, as it would be useful indeed to compare the art objects from different peoples and to follow their progress according to their degrees of civilization. But Latour Allard has firmly asserted that he did not wish to split anything from his collection, for which he avowed he wanted the sum of *Two hundred thousand francs*. I have not entered into any negotiation on that price, which seems rather steep, and I think that Mr. Latour Allard could lower his pretension, if one was to seriously deal with his collection. (*ibid.*; original emphasis)

On August 31, 1826, Théodore (1782–1859), count of Turpin de Crissé, inspector general of the Department of Fine Arts in the House of the King, wrote a letter to Forbin in which he could not hide his horror regarding these Mexican pieces: “In terms of art, nothing can be more wretched, more barbarous than these Idols or these simulacra of deities; it seems they are the fruit of the darkest and most extravagant imagination; the monsters invented by the Indians and the horrible Gaul figures are yet more bearable than the ones gathered in this collection” (*ibid.*).

Théodore nevertheless conceded a certain interest in the architecture reproduced in Castañeda’s drawings for sale at the same time as the collection of objects: “Some of the monuments of such a particular architecture present however a great interest because of the singular aspects of the temples, the sacrifice altars, and the tombs they represent” (*ibid.*). He concluded:

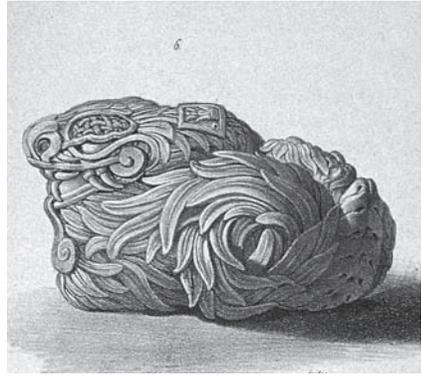
I can, Mr. Viscount, only repeat what has been told to you about the lack of relevance of this collection for the Museum of Antiquities. It is thus on the subject of the possible interest it could have for the archaeological science that you have deigned consult me, as well as on the advantage to be derived from making such an acquisition for the royal library or for the private library of the King. (*ibid.*)

He did not give his opinion on the price, which by then had been reduced to 60,000 francs. The sum was still deemed too high, however, and the king denied the acquisition.

On December 2, 1826, a commission had been convened, among whose members were Abel Rémusat (1788–1832) and Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832), as well as a certain Dubois, a student of David, the draughtsman of Egyptian antiquities of the Charles X Museum who knew the resale value of the objects. The commission was entrusted with the task of “reporting on the state and the historical interest of a collection of Mexican monuments trans-



**19.4A.** Feathered serpent. Pinkish volcanic stone; 30 × 54 × 54 cm. Photo by Hughes Dubois.



**19.4B.** Drawing by Aglio 1831. Latour Allard collection (MQB 71.1887.155.1).

ported to Paris by Mr. Latour-Allard.<sup>10</sup> In its report the committee “recognizes unanimously that this collection, though not extensive and made up of small sized pieces, nevertheless presents a real interest for historical studies, in that, with the exception of a few pieces which have been dispersed among the various cabinets, it is the only one of its nature in Europe to date” (ANP O/3/1417).

The commission added that

viewed as art objects, these monuments are only of a mediocre interest, as they are the product of a civilization in its infancy, or of a civilization that became stationary after its first tries at Art . . . In a historical perspective, one cannot doubt that most of the objects of Mr. Latour Allard’s collection are related to [a] religious cult and to the Mythology of the Mexicans from before the Spanish Conquest; but as we are today almost completely deprived of written or traditional documents that could explain these extraordinary representations and allow one to associate each monument to the mythological Idea it is supposed to express, Science can only draw [little] proven information from these figures, information such as this Science requires nowadays. (ibid.)

Then an argument of a different nature was put forward:

However, the reason itself that has caused these monuments to lose their historical interest in the present state of our knowledge also contributes to give them a real attractiveness, though quite different in nature: one knows that the Spaniards, conquerors of the Mexican Empire, strove with a fatal perseverance to completely destroy all traces of the ancient Aztec institutions. In particular, sculpture monuments were the object of this interdiction. Those who, quite by chance, escaped that almost total destruction have thus acquired a certain importance. This pleads in favor of Mr. Latour-Allard’s collection, and it is undoubtedly due to these reasons that he places the price at sixty thousand francs for the set of the monuments he owns. (ibid.)

Champollion submitted the commission's report to the king on January 31, 1827. On February 9 the king thanked the commission but still did not believe he should acquire the collection. The ministry then wrote to Latour Allard:

I placed under the King's eyes the report of the commission gathered to examine the Mexican antiquities that you have proposed to sell to the crown. I regret quite sincerely to have to tell you that H.R.H cannot acquire this collection, on which the commission has reported quite favorably, but the purchase of the same order done recently with public funds do [*sic*] not allow H.R.H. to add this new expense to the many costs that weigh at the time on the Crown's treasury. (ANP O/3/1427)

On June 24, 1827, Latour Allard wrote a letter to the new minister of the King's House in which, while apologizing for perhaps being overbearing, as he was "totally ignorant of the customs of France," explained that he had been "for over a year in Paris with a rather precious collection of Mexican antiquities, which has been seen and appreciated by several distinguished scientists, among whom [is] the famed Baron von Humboldt" (*ibid.*). He added, "If you would be so kind, Sir, to name a commission for the examination of this collection, and to enter in some agreement with me, my conditions would be most reasonable as, having to go back to attend to my own affairs in America, I am ready to [make] some concessions" (*ibid.*).

As confident as ever, Latour Allard even listed people he would have liked to see on the commission, "who are not likely to get influenced by the little faction that formed against me," proposing: "I would want it to be made up of Mr. Jomard and Mr. Warden, both members of the Royal Institute of France and having consecrated their lives to the study of the monuments from Egypt and the Americas, Mr. Rathiel, sculptor of her royal highness Madame the Duchess of Berry, and Mr. Espercieux, sculptor of statues" (*ibid.*).

The answer came quickly: there was no need for a new commission, all the more so since no funds were left.<sup>11</sup> Latour Allard then tried to sell his archaeological collection to the English (CMR s/n) and also in Berlin, but he met with refusals as he kept asking for a price others deemed too steep. That same year, though, Agostino Aglio (1777–1857) bought the complete set of the documents from him on behalf of Edward King (1795–1837), Lord Kingsborough (Latour Allard 1828: 277; Warden 1829: 45; Farcy 1834: viii). During one of his stays in Paris, Aglio drew sixteen of the archaeological pieces, which would be published over eleven lithographic plates in *Antiquities of Mexico* together with the texts and the drawings of the *Real Expedición Anticuaria* (Aglio 1831; Dupaix 1831).

On June 10, 1828, Latour Allard, apparently in desperate straits, made a new offer to the minister of the royal house: "In the dire situation in which I find myself, I cannot pretend to impose any condition anymore, I cannot hope for any profit, and let you fix a price, and will find myself happy if it can cover two thirds of the sum I have paid for the collection" (ANP O/3/1427). But the

answer he received on June 17 was still negative. At last, on April 9, 1830, the count of Forbin again wrote to the viscount of La Rochefoucauld:

Mr. Latour Allard's situation is becoming every day more difficult and his resources dwindle ever more. He has reached such a state of need and he is so closely pursued by his creditors that it would be possible, according to the report I received from Mr. Dubois, the draughtsman of Egyptian antiquities in the Musée Charles X and himself a connoisseur of art objects, to acquire the aforementioned collection for the price of six thousand francs . . . I believe that it would be useful, as well as educational and interesting to put these objects next to those of a similar nature which already belong to the museum of the Dauphin. (ibid.)

But this proposal also failed.<sup>12</sup>

### MELNOTTE, OR "MR. X": SUCCESS AT LAST

Finally, in 1830 Latour Allard sold his collection to a private individual. The man was named Melnotte, an obscure individual about whom nothing else is known, not even his first name. He represented himself as "an ancient patented servant of his Majesty" (AMN A5). For a time, Melnotte was Latour Allard's neighbor when the latter was living in Paris. As early as 1834 Melnotte tried to sell the collection to the French court and later, as Latour Allard had before him, renewed his offer. On May, 15, 1846, he wrote: "For the past sixteen years, I have had in my possession a collection of Mexican antiquities, gathered on order of his Highness, the late King Charles IV of Spain, and having been the property of Mr. Latour Allard. I have not shown it to anyone" (ibid.).

Dubois came to see the collection, which by then consisted of 180 pieces, and gave Cailleux, the general director of the museums, a very favorable report on September 16, 1846:

Mr. Melnotte's collection, which is much larger than any collection of this type brought to Europe, has a real value, due [to] the excellent choice of the pieces that compose it. None of those hideous fetishes, none of those rough clay drafts hand made by some savage people, but, on the contrary, this is the work of a nation that had already become familiarized with art processes, thus being able to give shape to granite, porphyry, and even to jasper, whose many varieties can only be carved with the use of a drill . . . The sum of six thousand francs, that Mr. Melnotte is asking, corresponds to the one I would have set myself for such a precious collection. (ibid.)

However, the purchase fell through. The proposal was renewed again in January, March, and May 1847 and yet again in March 1848.

Finally, it is in December of 1849, after a last attempt by Melnotte on October 31, and on the proposal of Adrien de Longpérier (1816–1882), the curator of

sculptures and antiquities, that the Count Alfred Emilien de Nieuwerkerke (1811–1892), the director of the national museums, decides to purchase the collection for the sum of six thousand francs. One hundred and sixty-two objects are mentioned in the decree, but only one hundred and fifty-seven of them are taken and inventoried by the Louvre. In fact, in the registry of admissions to the museum collections, as compared with the catalogue of the collection established by Melnotte, which comprises one hundred and eighty pieces, twenty-two fragments of obsidian and stone from Palenque and Mitla are lacking. (Guimarães 1996: 72–73)

### DUELING INVENTORIES

Inventories of the Latour Allard collection began making the rounds in 1826, as soon as he started to promote the sale of his collection. The Murphy Inventory (appendix 3), with 182 numbers, was attached to the Tomás Murphy document. This inventory probably represents the original list and, in addition to the description of the pieces, provides their dimensions as well as the price for the entire collection. The other inventories, the one of the Center for Maya Research (1826) and that of the Louvre (1840), underline the importance of the publication of the Dupaix-Castañeda drawings because both refer to the illustrations of Lord Kingsborough's work, *Antiquities of Mexico*, published in 1831; such illustrated pieces initiated the beginnings of both lists.

The Center for Maya Research Inventory is fairly complete, incorporating not only descriptions and dimensions of the 183 objects but also data on the rest of the collection, such as “a few natural history specimens, among which [are] three large urns containing flowers from the tree of the hands (árbol de las manitas) preserved in alcohol” (CMR 1826). The Louvre Inventory dates back to 1840 and is very close to the preceding one. However, it does not give the dimensions of the objects and only has 157 numbers, as it does not contain the obsidian fragments or the stones from Palenque or Mitla. In addition, there is no mention of two mirrors (96 and 98).

In the Louvre there is also an inventory that corresponds to the state of the collection at the time it was sold to Melnotte in 1849. It lists 157 numbers, with a few variations when compared to the 1840 inventory: for instance, the writing table with low-reliefs on all four sides (no. 56) has become “a writing table supposed to have belonged to Montezuma” (Archives Centrales des Musées Nationaux 1840–1850: 3). On the Museum of the Quai Branly website one can find the ancient inventories from the Ethnography Museum of the Trocadero (a collection spread between numbers 20.001 and 20.652), the Museum of Man (coll. 87.155), and the Museum of the Quai Branly (MQB 71.1887.155).<sup>13</sup>

Today, 138 objects are attributed to the Latour Allard collection in the Museum of Man (and in the Museum of the Quai Branly). One certainly should look for



**19.5A.** Flea with human face. Brownish-red volcanic stone; 30 × 22.4 × 45.5 cm. Photo by Daniel Ponsard.



**19.5B.** Drawing by Aglio 1831. Latour Allard Collection (MQB 71.1887.155.18).

the remaining pieces within the objects [that] arrived in the Louvre without any mention of a donor's name (collection 87.50), but, for a number of objects, the confusion with the Franck collection (87.159) renders this task almost impossible. How indeed can one tell two house deities apart when no other description exists? (Guimarães 1996: 73)

### CONCLUSION: THE COLLECTION GOES PUBLIC

The purchase of the ancient Dupaix / Castañeda–Latour Allard–Melnotte collection in 1849 vastly enlarged the Precolumbian collections already in the Louvre Museum. Apparently thanks to this purchase, as early as 1850 Longpérier was able to open a small Mexican museum in a wing of the Louvre Palace. In 1851 this museum took the name Museum of American Antiquities, and this is where the best pieces of what was known at the time as the Latour Allard collection were exhibited (Anonymous 1852; Guimarães 1994, 1996).

Unfortunately, despite public interest this American museum fell into neglect and had to be closed in 1870. The museum's Precolumbian collections were transferred to the Trocadero Palace, to the new Ethnographic Museum created on the occasion of the 1878 Universal Exhibition. There, they were to be added to other Precolumbian and ethnographic collections (López Luján and Fauvet-Berthelot 2005: 29–31). In the American gallery one could then see pieces from the Latour Allard collection, one of which was published by Ernest-Théodore Hamy (1842–1908), the museum's director.<sup>14</sup> In 1937 this institution was replaced by the Museum of Man, set up in a new building erected on the same site for the 1937 Universal Exposition under the aegis of Dr. Paul Rivet (1876–1958). The Aztec statuette of the Latour Allard collection remained in a choice position, in the window cases of the American gallery; their presentation evolved as the building was renovated, first in 1976 and again in 1992.

In 2000 the famous Quetzalcoatl feathered serpent from that collection returned to the Louvre in the Sessions Pavilion, which had been set up to present a set of “extra-European” pieces.<sup>15</sup> Finally in 2006, as was the case with all the collections of the ethnology laboratory of the Museum of Man, the Latour Allard collection was transferred to the new Museum of the Quai Branly. In the permanent exhibition, one can see today in the “Aztec room” eighteen pieces from that collection, as well as a stone statue, kept in the case dedicated to Teotihuacan.

Thus, from the *Real Expedición Anticuaria* to the Museum of the Quai Branly, the vagaries of Mexican history have allowed a collection initially gathered by order of the Spanish Crown to end up in its present resting place, in France. What is most important is the fact that this exceptional ensemble, a true part of the world patrimony, is now in a collection that is open to the public and has never been dispersed among private collectors. So today anyone can enjoy these wonderful works of art.

## NOTES

1. When examining the list of the goods contained in the will, one clearly sees that Dupaix did not in fact claim ownership of the pieces collected during the three expeditions, either for the benefit of the Spanish government or for his own.

2. That is where William Bullock (1824) saw those pieces.

3. Today, several copies of the manuscripts and drawings of the *Real Expedición Anticuaria* are preserved, commissioned by the Colonial government as well as, later, by the Mexican government. They are kept in the Laboratorio de Antropología de la Universidad de Sevilla (Dupaix 1969), in the Museo Naval and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (Palop Martínez and Cerdá Esteve 1997), in the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia (Freeman 1962: 537), in the Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia of Mexico City (Dupaix 1969), and in the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. A copy dating back to 1821 has recently been seen on the private market.

4. However, a great number of the objects mentioned by Dupaix are not on that list, either because they were too heavy to be moved, because they were part of larger monuments, or possibly because they did not strike Elhuyar’s fancy.

5. In Elhuyar’s list, one easily recognizes several pieces on exhibit today in the Museum of the Quai Branly: a frog with a human face, a fish, a human skull, and a date 4 *Acatl* (MQB 71.1887.155.6, 17, 47, and 122; López Luján and Fauvet-Berthelot 2005: cat. 45, 56, 73, and 76).

6. The sculptures referred to as MQB 71.1887.155.16, 17, and 123 present a flat reverse side, exhibiting modern tool marks that smoothed out the surface after the original anchor tenon had been chopped off to reduce weight (*ibid.*: cat. 69, 73, and 86).

7. If the draft of a letter from Ignacio Cubas is correct, the Mexican National Museum was created in 1825 from the university collections and private gifts. But, for reasons that remain unclear, artifacts in the Seminario de Minas were not deposited in the museum at this time (AGN, Historia, vol. 116). Some of the pieces inventoried by the *Real Expedición Anticuaria* and that later arrived in the Seminario de Minas are today

in the Museo Nacional de Antropología, specifically a stone ring from Tlahuac, Distrito Federal (inv. 10–46484), an anthropomorphic wooden drum from Tepoyango, Tlaxcala (inv. 10–81663; Dupaix 1831: 2nd exp., figures 23, 121), and a Zapotec anthropomorphic stone sculpture from Zaachila, Oaxaca (cat. 6–6067; Sellen 2006).

8. At the time, Castañeda's economic situation was rather shaky. From time to time he received commissions from the Mexican government. In 1824 he was commissioned to make a complete set of copies of the drawings from the *Real Expedición Anticuaria* to be presented as a gift for the king of England (AHSRE 5–16–8651, 1824); this set is now part of the Kislak Collection of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. In 1825 the government sent Castañeda to Huexotla, State of Mexico, to draw a complete set of the recently discovered monuments. That same year Castañeda advised the government to collect the antiques kept in Ciudad Real de Chiapas to further enrich the collections of the Museo Nacional (AGN, Historia, vol. 116). Castañeda died around 1834, while he was "Draughtsman with Door Keeper responsibilities" at the Museo Nacional (AHMNA, vol. 1, 1831).

9. On March 2, 1814, Latour Allard was raised to the rank of second lieutenant in the 44th Regiment of Infantry of the State of Louisiana (US Senate 1814, II: 496, 502). On March 23, 1832, from New Orleans, Latour Allard sent a letter to David Baillie Warden, a member of the Geographical Society in Paris. He mentioned the construction of a new canal in Louisiana that would link the suburb of Sainte-Marie to Lake Pontchartrain: "This canal, which passes in the back of our house, and gives it a greatly added value, is sixty feet wide, and will be able to accommodate very large cargo ships" (Latour Allard 1832).

10. Throughout the documents one finds two spellings: "Latour Allard" and "Latour-Allard." There is in fact some ambiguity regarding that name, as Latour could be a first name.

11. The famous Marquis Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert de Motier Lafayette (1757–1834) wrote a letter to Latour Allard from Paris on August 26, 1827. The latter was living at 54 bis rue Saint-Lazare, chaussée d'Antin at the time. In the letter Lafayette promised Latour Allard that he would get in touch with the French banker Laffitte: "I am sending Mr. Laffitte your letter as well as a copy of Mr. de Humboldt's, telling him the deep impressions they left on me, reminding him of my relationship with the Duplantier family, offering to intervene to get more information from Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Warden. I hope this will give rise to an opportunity for a meeting, and then your proposal would be made directly" (UNNC, Manuscript Collection n. 36; Series 2, Manuscripts 1785–1824, SCF1: 36). This letter is best understood in relation to attempts to sell the collection.

12. In 1831 Edmé-François Jomard (1777–1862) was still hoping to acquire the Latour Allard collection and combine it with other collections, thus creating an ethnographic museum in Paris (Hamy 1890: 180–184).

13. Museum of the Quai Branly website: <http://www.quaibrantly.fr/en/documentation/the-museum-documentation-and-archives-catalogue.html>.

14. Drum MQB 71.1887.155.21 (López Luján and Fauvet-Berthelot 2005: cat. 80).

15. MQB 71.1887.155.1 (ibid.: cat. 60).

### APPENDIX 1

Objects of Latour Allard's collection formerly in the *Real Expedición Anticuaria* collection. MQB 71.1887.155.13 Chicomecóatl of stone (López Luján and Fauvet-Berthelot 2005: cat. 3). 14 Chicomecóatl of stone (cat. 9). 42 Chalchiuhtlicue—Chicomecóatl of stone (cat. 15). 3 Chalchiuhtlicue—Chicomecóatl of stone (cat. 16). 20 Chalchiuhtlicue—Chicomecóatl of stone (cat. 17). 47 Human skull of stone (cat. 45). 19 Quetzalcoatl—serpent of stone (cat. 50). 9 Xochipilli—turtle of stone (cat. 51). 6 Frog with human face of stone (cat. 56). 5 Flea with human face of stone (cat. 57). 60 Serpent—Quetzalcoatl of stone (cat. 60). 8 Dog of stone (cat. 62). 16 Lizard of stone (cat. 69). 17 Fish of stone (cat. 73). 7 Dahlia of stone (cat. 75). 122 Date 4 *Ácatl* of stone (cat. 76). 15 *Tepetlacalli* of stone (cat. 78). 10 Ritual ring of stone (cat. 84). MQB 71.1887.155.35 Ax of copper. 40 Mirror of pyrite. 83 Ax of green basalt. 94 Adornment of agate.

### APPENDIX 2

Objects of Latour Allard's collection formerly in Guillermo Dupaix's collection. MQB 71.1887.155.88 Polisher of basalt. 131 Nucleus of obsidian. 133 Fragment of an obsidian nucleus, and probably 89 and 90 Bark paper beater. 91 Medallion of jasper. 92 Idem, dark green. 93 Medallion of agate. 94 Pendant. 97 Medallion of basalt. 108 and 109 Pendants of basalt. 135 and 136 Fragments of quartz. 137 Plaque of jasper.

### APPENDIX 3

Inventory of Latour Allard's collection. AHSRE: Archivo Histórico "Genaro Estrada," Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City, February 1, 1827. Catalog of the Collection d'antiquités Mexicaines de Mr. Latour Allard: 1st Lot. 1. Quadruped of granite, 16 inches long by 22 inches in diameter. 2. Head of a dead man in volcanic rock, 8 inches high by 10 inches long (neck included). 3. Rolled feathered rattlesnake. This piece of red granite is 12 inches high, 4 feet 4 inches in diameter, and weighs around 200 pounds. 4. Female statue of basalt, 2 feet high, 14 inches wide, and 6 inches deep. 5. Female statue of red granite, 15 inches high by 20 inches in diameter. 6. Statue of an Aztec priestess, very well decorated, of dark granite, 17 inches high, 9 inches wide, and 5 inches deep. 7. Rolled rattlesnake of dark granite; a female head emerges from its mouth, 18 inches high and 2 feet 3 inches in diameter. 8. Statue of an old man, 12 inches high, 7 inches wide, and 6 inches deep. 9. Statue of a crouching man with the hands on the knees, red granite, 18 inches high, 10 inches wide, and 8 inches deep. 10. Statue of an old man, granite, 12 inches high, 8 inches wide, and 5 inches deep. 11. Statue measuring 14 inches high, 10 inches wide, and 6 inches deep. 12. Statue of a woman, granite, 12 inches high, 8 inches wide, and

5 inches deep. 13. Statue of a woman of red volcanic granite, 10 inches high, 6 inches wide, and 4 inches deep. 14. Statue of a woman of gray granite, 8 inches high, 6 inches wide, and 3 inches deep. 15. Ornament of red granite depicting a personage in bas-relief, 12 inches high, 10 inches wide, and 4 inches deep. 16. Statue depicting a crouching woman with the head broken, 8 inches high. 17. Idem, 12 inches high, 8 inches wide, and 7 inches deep. 18. Statue of a woman of volcanic rock, 11 inches high, 7 inches wide, and 4 inches deep. 19. Man's head of volcanic rock, 12 inches high by 12 inches wide. 20. Torso, 12 inches high, 6 inches wide, and 4 inches deep. 21. Greenstone statue, wooden and sonorous, 2 inches high, 5 inches wide, and 3 inches deep. 22. Circular ornament of granite with the symbol of the month of June in relief, 11 inches in diameter and 18 lines wide. 23. Chapter of granite, decorated with reliefs, 11 inches high and 8 inches in diameter. 24. Block of granite, decorated with reliefs on three of its sides, 11 inches high, 8 inches wide, and 7 inches deep. 25. Circular stone, 12 inches in diameter. On its upper surface is a bundle of arrows in relief. 26. Idem. 27. Idem. 28. Idem. 29. Box of granite, decorated with reliefs on the four sides, 11 inches high, 8 inches wide, and 7 inches deep. 30. Small statue of granite inside the granite box. 31. Squarish stone with several reliefs, 15 inches high, 15 inches wide, and 3 inches deep. 32. Turtle with a woman's head of volcanic granite, 10 inches high, 16 inches wide, and 10 inches deep. 33. Coiled rattlesnake of granite, 18 inches high and 2 feet 10 inches in diameter. 34. Lion of volcanic stone, 14 inches long and 20 inches in diameter. 35. Armadillo with a man's head of red granite, 18 inches long, 12 inches high, and 8 inches deep. 36. Frog of granite, 15 inches long, 11 inches high, and 9 inches deep. 37. Coiled rattlesnake of granite, 9 inches high and 2 feet 6 inches in diameter. 38. Crocodile of granite, 2 feet 2 inches long, 8 inches wide, and 6 inches deep. 39. Fish of granite, 31 inches long, 9 inches wide, and 3 inches deep. 40. Recumbent quadruped of granite, 12 inches long by 8 inches high. 41. Idem. 42. Idem. 43. Téponaclé [*sic* for *teponaztli*], or Aztec drum of ironwood, 1 foot 7 inches long and 6 inches in diameter. 44. Small rattlesnake of red granite. 45. Small animal of volcanic stone. 46. Idem. 47. Idem. 48. Idem. 49. Idem. 50. Idem. 51. Torso of jasper. 52. Hand of stone. 53. Small statuette of serpentine. 54. Idem. 55. Small mask (unknown stone). 56. Spatula of stone. 57. Idem. 58. Ax of basalt. 59. Idem. 60. Idem. 61. Chisel of basalt. 62. Idem. 63. Idem. 64. Idem. 65. Idem. 66. Idem. 67. Idem. 68. Idem. 69. Idem. 70. Idem. 71. Cutting implement of copper used for sacrifices. 72. Stone implement for grinding. 73. Idem. 74. Idem. 75. Ribbed implement of basalt (unknown function). 76. Idem. 77. Adornment of serpentine for the neck. 78. Idem. 79. Idem. 80. Idem. 81. Idem. 82. Idem. 83. Idem. 84. Idem. 85. Idem. 86. Adornment of agate for the neck. 87. Idem. 88. Idem. 89. Idem. 90. Idem of cornelian. 91. Idem of aventurine. 92. Idem of turquoise. 93. Idem of basalt. 94. Idem. 95. Idem. 96. Idem. 97. Idem. 98. Mirror of metal. 99. Idem. 100. Idem. 101. Idem. 102. Kind of flageolet of ceramics. 103. Idem. 104. Idem.

105. Idem, broken. 106. Idem, broken. 107. Idem, broken. 108. Ceramic stamp, so-called seal of Montezuma. 109. Idem. 110. Ceramic spindle-whorl. 111. Idem. 112. Idem. 113. Idem. 114. Idem. 115. Idem. 116. Idem. 117. Ceramic mold. 118. Idem. 119. Idem. 120. Small ceramic implement (unknown function). 121. Idem. 122. Foot of a ceramic vase. 123. Idem. 124. Idem. 125. Fragment of a small ceramic statue. 126. Another fragment. 127. Statuette of red ceramics depicting an Aztec woman with a baby on her hip, 6 inches high. 128. Small statuette of black ceramics, 5 inches high, depicting a woman nursing a crocodile. 129. Infant in a cradle of ceramics. 130. Ceramic statuette, 6 inches high, depicting a crouching woman with an infant on her knees. 131. Idem, smaller. 132. Ceramic statuette, 6 inches high, depicting a kneeling woman. 133. Idem. 134. Idem. 135. Idem. 136. Idem. 137. Ceramic statuette depicting a man with wolf's head. 138. Idem. 139. Ceramic statuette, 8 inches high, depicting an Aztec soldier with his armor. 140. Idem. 141. Idem. 142. Ceramic statuette, 8 inches high, depicting an Aztec priest. 143. Idem. 144. Ceramic statuette, 9 inches high, depicting a prince on his throne. 145. Small ceramic head. 146. Idem. 147. Idem. 148. Idem. 149. Idem. 150. Idem. 151. Idem. 152. Idem. 153. Idem. 154. Oval ceramic vase with 9 supports, 9 inches long. 155. Idem, rounded. 156. Idem, smaller, without supports. 157. Idem. 158. Idem. 159. Arrow head of obsidian. 160. Idem. 161. Idem. 162. Idem. 163. Blade of obsidian for clubs. 164. Idem. 165. Idem. 166. Idem. 167. Idem. 168. Idem. 169. Idem. 170. Idem. 171. Idem. 172. Idem. 173. Idem. 174. Idem. 175. Idem. 176. Idem. 177. Small stone covered with stucco from a building of Mitla. 178. Idem, collected in Palenque. 179. Idem, collected in Palenque. 180. Stucco, collected in Tezcuco. 181. Wooden coin used by the Spaniards in Mexico during the Conquest. 182. Idem.

2nd Lot. 1°. A box containing 120 plates in-folio outlined with Indian ink, representing all the Precolumbian monuments still preserved in Mexico. 2°. Three notebooks with manuscripts containing a travel account and descriptions of the monuments listed above. 3°. A notebook in-folio with fourteen pages made of agave paper containing several themes painted by the ancient Mexicans. It has notes written by the celebrated Boturini. 4°. A box containing thirty-eight color plates representing modern Mexican costumes and some popular scenes.

Price of the first lot: seventy thousand francs. Price of the second lot: seventy-five thousand francs.

Note. A discount will be applied to the person who buys all lots. There are also some objects of natural history, which will be given to the person who buys everything.

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### México

AGN: Archivo General de la Nación, México, DF.

AHMNA: Archivo Histórico del Museo Nacional de Antropología, México, DF.

AHSRE: Archivo Histórico “Genaro Estrada,” Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, México, DF.

### United States

CMR: Sir Thomas Phillipps Collection, Center for Maya Research, Barnardsville, SC

NL: Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL

UNNC: Harry L. Dalton Collection, J. Murrey Atkins Library, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

UTBLAC: Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas, Austin

### France

AMN: Archives Centrales des Musées Nationaux, Paris

ANP: Archives Nationales, Fonds de la Maison du Roi, Paris

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