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Paleographic and orthographic characteristics of certain sixteenth century Spanish-American letters

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Rice University, 1989
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PALEOGRAPHIC AND ORTHOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CERTAIN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPANISH AMERICAN LETTERS

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS

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Paleographic and Orthographic Characteristics of Certain Sixteenth-Century Spanish American Letters

Abstract

The relatively small number of Paleography texts currently available are all of a similar format. Each includes reproductions of manuscripts which illustrate the principal handwriting styles of a given era. Some of the texts also mention a degenerative transformational process, especially evident in Spain, which resulted from the need for a more rapid execution of official correspondence.

Because of the inordinate amount of documentation produced in Spain and her American colonies and the presence of colonial scribes who had been trained in Spain, a similar process is presumed to be evident in the New World. The sixteenth-century colonial documents included in this study were found to be representative of such a process.

The documents were also found to be representative of sixteenth-century Spanish orthographic conventions and thus attest to the New World's conformity to these linguistic phenomena.
Acknowledgements

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Introduction

To many, the term "paleography" evokes an image of tattered manuscripts and myopic scholars who scrutinize their content to a purely academic end. In reality, the science of deciphering and transcribing old manuscripts and documents is a very viable one, which has many applications. It has proved beneficial to authors, historians and even to marine archaeologists attempting to locate submerged treasures.

The field of Spanish paleography has been divided into several sub-fields according to the type of archaeological artifact being studied. "Paleography" is the broadest classification in that it encompasses all types of artifacts on which written words or inscriptions appear, be they documents, books or manuscripts, coins, stone tablets or epigraphs. The sub-fields have as their focus the "internal and external characteristics"\(^1\) of the items and are named according to the specific type of item studied. In Spanish they are termed: Diplomática, the study of documents; Bibliográfica (manuscripts and books);
Numismática (coins); and Epigráfica (monuments, tombstones and statues).

Within the sub-field of Diplomática, the date and place where the document originated and the content or subject matter of the document comprise the "internal characteristics". The "external characteristics" include the specific type of document, its format, its length and its status as an original or a copy. Also, Diplomática as a discipline includes assessments of the validity of the document.

The combined term Paleografía-diplomática is occasionally used to indicate that under the general classification of paleography, the specific types of items being studied are written documents. The hyphenated term is partially applicable to this study. Clearly, the types of items being examined are documents and some references are made to their date and place of origin. The references to these internal characteristics however, are made in order to illustrate methods of numerical notation and not to discern the validity of the documents. Overall, this study is concerned with the general appearance of sixteenth-century writing styles and with the evolutionary process of
the scripts to which the documents attest. These are topics germane to *Paleografia*, but not to *Diplomática*.

As many scholars have noted, handwriting was evolving during the sixteenth century. Changes in the writing style were made to accommodate the rapidity of movement necessary to complete an ever-increasing number of official documents in the shortest time possible. The discovery and settlement of Spanish America, the establishment of new and heavily-traveled trade routes and an increased amount of exportation and importation created the need for more frequent and more efficient communication between parties in Spain and the colonies. These factors contributed to the production of an unusually large number of documents. Due to the extraordinarily large volume of correspondence, it is possible that in Spain and the New World the evolutionary process of sixteenth-century handwriting was more readily visible and occurred at a faster rate than elsewhere in the literate world and that it continued until it reached a unique, ultimate state of deformity (or near illegibility). The last stage of the process has been described as "the worst type of handwriting ever used by
Spaniards.\textsuperscript{2} The documents used in this study clearly illustrate that a such a degenerative process was indeed taking place.

A general study of sixteenth-century handwriting styles reveals that many modifications were made in the interest of expediency. The older \textit{cortesana} hand (used in the latter part of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries) was transformed into the \textit{procesal} style which then degenerated further into the \textit{procesal-encadenada} (used in the latter part of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century). The \textit{ítalica} hand was also in use during the sixteenth century, but remained relatively unaltered. It was used by those who rejected the more degenerate or decadent scripts and is the one which, with slight modifications, is in use today.

This transformational process (from the \textit{cortesana} to the \textit{procesal} to the \textit{procesal-encadenada}) is discussed in Chapter 1 of the thesis. Also, examples of upper and lower case letters of the \textit{cortesana}, \textit{ítalica}, \textit{procesal} and \textit{procesal-encadenada} handwriting styles are given along with a discussion of the types of abbreviations, punctuation, accentuation and numerical representations found in each type of script.
Concurrent to the evolutionary process which was transforming handwriting, other evolutionary processes were at work altering the linguistic structure of the Spanish language. Under linguistic classifications, the sixteenth century begins in the "Preclassical" era, commonly designated as the period between 1474 and 1525, and extends into what is termed "Golden Age Spanish".\(^3\)

In addition to sixteenth-century paleography, this study will focus on the general orthographic practices of the era as well as the specific orthographic features of the documents. In Chapter 2, examples of the orthographic rules of the era will be drawn from Nebrija's *Reglas de ortografía en la lengua castellana*, which serves as an excellent guide to the orthographic peculiarities of preclassical Spanish.

Chapter 3 presents the currently-accepted guidelines for Transcriptions of these types of documents and a discussion of additional practices pertinent to our particular transcriptions.

Chapter 4 consists of copies of the documents, transcriptions of their content and commentaries in which the general paleographic and orthographic characteristics presented in the first and second chapters are examined in terms of the evidence given by our documents.
Chapter 1
Sixteenth-Century Handwriting in
Spain and the New World

As was mentioned in the Introduction, handwriting during the
sixteenth century was changing in response to a need to complete the
greatest number of official documents in the shortest time. Other
factors which contributed to the transformational process included the
scribes' desire to collect more fees (customarily charged according to
the number of lines completed), and the realization that it was most
expedient for the scribe to continue his hand motion once he had filled
his pen with ink rather than to lift his hand at the end of each word.
Consequently, this evolutionary process was in many respects a
degenerative one, whereby the most legible cortesana hand lapsed into
the more difficult to read procesal style which then degenerated
further into the careless and least legible encadenada hand. As one
author has noted:

Los escribanos del siglo XVI y de comienzos del
XVII siguieron usando en general la escritura procesal
con preferencia a la cortesana y empeorándola pro-
gresivamente hasta el extremo de suscitar las quejas
de Santa Teresa, en sus 'Cartas' y de Cervantes, quien por boca de Don Quixote recomendaba a Sancho que no diera a copiar a un escribano cierta misiva enderezada a Dulcinea, para que no fuera en 'aquella letra procesada que no la entenderá Satanás'.

The "court hand" or cortesana (as it was named by Queen Isabella in 1503) remained in use until the middle of the century (see Figure 1). This script was characterized by the indiscriminate use of capital and lower case letters and by a pronounced difference in the sizes and heights of various letters. There was a mixture of smaller, rounded letters (such as the a, e, o and n) and elongated, more linear letters (among them the f, b, l and often the s).

The cortesana hand was used in combination with the itálica hand, which had been introduced in Spain by the arrival of written documents from the Papal Chancery in Italy (see Figure 2). In general, the itálica script showed more uniformity of letter size and had a more cursive (as opposed to a linear or angular) appearance.

The illustrations on the following pages are examples of certain upper and lower case letters as they appear in the documents in our
study which were written in a late cortesana or itálica script. Four of the upper case letters, the F, U, Q, and Z were drawn from another source.\textsuperscript{5}
Upper Case Letters

- A - A A
- B - B B
- C - C C
- D - D D
- E - E E E
- F - F
- G - G
- H - H H
- I - I
- J - J 3 3 3
- L - L L
- M - M M
- N - N N
- O - O
- P - P P P
- Q - Q
- R - R R R
-s- s s s
-t- z i
-u- u
-v- v v v
-x- x
-y- y
-z- z

**Lower Case Letters**

-a- a  a
-b- b  b  b
-c- c  c  c
-d- d  d  d  d
-e- e  e  e
-f- f  f  f  f
-g- g  g  g  g  g
-h- h  h  h
-i- i  i
As the cortesana hand began to be written more hurriedly and more
cursively, with less ornamentation, it was transformed into the
procesal script (see Figure 3). The name procesal describes the
scribes' methods of "processing" the court hand, reducing any excess
flourishes and omitting any unnecessary strokes. In this hand, the
letters appear more rounded and are more uniform in size. Here the
contrast between the tall, linear letters and the shorter more rounded
ones is not as evident as it is in the cortesana and itálica hands. The
following examples of selected upper and lower case letters from
documents written in the procesal hand illustrate the greater fluidity of
this script.

Upper Case Letters, procesal hand:

A: \( \overline{A} \) \( A \) \( A \) \( R \) \( R \) \( G \) 

C: \( C \) \( C \) \( V \) \( v \)

Lower Case Letters, procesal hand:

a: \( a \) \( a \) \( e \) \( e \) 
b: \( b \) \( b \) \( p \) \( p \) 
d: \( d \) \( d \) \( s \) \( s \) \( g \) \( g \)
Eventually, again in the interest of expediency and more fees, the procesoal gave way to the encadenada hand. The predominant feature of the encadenada style is the lack of any separation between words and the frequent tying together of certain combinations of letters into a single representative character. These practices have made this style of handwriting one of the most challenging to read.

The pure encadenada style was more common in the early seventeenth century. One of the documents included in this study is representative of the transition between the procesoal and encadenada styles. This "transitional" style of handwriting is occasionally classified as the procesoal-encadenada because elements of both scripts are visible.

Interestingly, the date of this document corresponds well to the chronology of the evolutionary process. As would be expected, the document dates from the latter part of the sixteenth century, 1586 to be exact. The document was produced in Seville, however, and therefore does not form part of our discussion. It is included only as an instructional example.
It would detract from the true nature of the *encadenada* hand to give examples of individual letters since its distinguishing feature is the continuous motion used to form the letters and words without appreciable breaks between them. Several lines of a document are therefore used to illustrate the *procesal-encadenada* hand (see Figure 4). In this way, the characteristics which give the hand its descriptive name can be fully appreciated.

The majority of the documents used in this study were written in the *cortesana* hand. The documents whose script is representative of the transition between the *cortesana* and *procesal* hands were written in 1565 or later, which coincides with the European mid-century decline of the pure *cortesana*.

Not surprisingly, the same writing styles which were used in Spain were taught and used in the New World. Also, as can be noted by the dates given above, the time frame for the transitional process was similar on both continents.

It is interesting to note, however, that certain influences of the native Indian languages may have been present. A link between native language and writing style has been proposed. It has been observed
that documents in Nahuatl tend to be written in a cortesana hand which is very clear and in which the letters are larger, while the Castillan texts are usually written in a more cursive hand, possibly due to the fact that the characters used to write Nahuatl are larger than those used to write European languages.

Abbreviations

In each writing style, there is clear evidence of the use of abbreviated words as well as of specific symbols called siglas or nexas which were used to abbreviate a combination of two or more letters. The combination st for example was one which was frequently represented by a single character. Other combinations of letters which occurred frequently in various words, such as ser, pro, or en, would also be represented by one specific character. This character would be used to replace the phonetic combination wherever it occurred in the word, be it in an initial or interior position, similar to contemporary shorthand. Combinations of letters which formed a word in and of themselves (such as en) were at times represented by the symbol and joined to the word which followed. Examples of several of the more
common symbols from the documents included in this study and others are given below. Following each example is an illustration of usage:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{A} & = \text{ci} & \text{Abad} & = \text{ci} \text{bdad} (\text{ciudad}) \\
\text{A} & = \text{st} & \text{eAa} & = \text{esta} \\
\text{G} & = \text{en} & \text{GLa} & = \text{en la} \ldots \\
\text{P} & = \text{per} & \text{Psona} & = \text{persona} \\
\text{P} & = \text{pro} & \text{PSpere} & = \text{prospere} \\
\text{E} & = \text{ser} & \text{Ebiqio} & = \text{serbiqio} (\text{servicio})
\end{align*}
\]

Some abbreviations consisted of an initial only, while others were acronyms composed of the first letters of two or more successive words. In the sixteenth century, abbreviations were used once again in the interest of expediency. One-letter abbreviations had been used by the Romans to abbreviate the first name of a Roman citizen in inscriptions and the practice continued in Spain without regulation or standardization until it was prohibited by law during the reign of Alfonso X, "por guardar que non venga yerro nin contienda." The practice remained in effect in the sixteenth century but only to
represent words with an extremely frequent usage. The word *que* for example was often represented by a single letter *q*, occasionally appearing with an arc or dash placed above it to indicate that other letters in the word had been omitted.

Similarly, acronyms which were used despite the prohibition were those whose meanings were readily recognizable and whose use was very frequent in correspondence. These included the following:

M.P.S. - *Muy poderoso Señor*

P.A. - *Por autorización*

Q.B.S.M. - *Que besa su(s) mano(s)*

Q.B.S.P. - *Que besa sus pies*

S.C.R.M. - *Sacra Cesárea Real Magestad*, or *Sacra Católica Real Magestad*

S.M. - *Su Magestad*

S.A. - *Su Alteza*

V.A. - *Vuestra Alteza*

V.M. - *Vuestra Magestad*

Other methods of abbreviation used were apocope and syncope. The former is an abbreviation made by truncating the ending of a word.

Examples of pure apocope are rare in these documents since most of the
abbreviations include a final letter written as a superscript. An example of an abbreviation by strict apocope would be Mag. for Magestad (the tendency however is to write Mt, Md, or Mag). Other examples of abbreviations formed by apocope which were commonly found in sixteenth-century correspondence include: na for para; fr for fray; and neces for necesaria.

The types of abbreviations formed by syncope and by use of superscripts are illustrated below as they appear in several of the documents included in this study:

Anto = Antonio
Audenc = audiencia
Bremen = brevemente
Captan = capitán
Cingt = cinquenta
Franco = Francisco
ILLma = il(l)ustrísima
Licdo = licenciado
Justya = justicia
Justimo = justísimo

So = señor
Servo = servicio
Suppco = sup(p)lico
Veg = vezino (vecino)
Nuestro Señor = 

oficio =

pesos =

primero =

real =

Syncope, as partially described above, is the process by which a word is shortened by contraction. The middle letters are omitted, resulting in an abbreviation comprised of the beginning and ending letters of the original word. The types of abbreviations mentioned above often fall into this category since the ending letter or letters were used as a superscript and the middle letters of the word were omitted. In this study, syncopal abbreviations with superscripts have been presented separately. Some examples of abbreviations formed by syncope (without the use of superscripts) which appear in the documents include the following:

as = años

dha = dicha

dho = dicho

mrd = merced
_dho_ = _dicho_

_mrd_ = _merced_

_nro_ = _nuestro_

_pte_ = _parte_

_psona_ = _persona_

_vro_ = _vuestra_

One particularly interesting type of abbreviation was formed by means of a _sigla_ which reveals the word’s Greek etymology. The name _Christus_ and its derivations such as "christianity" and "christian" all contain the abbreviations _Xps_ or _Xpi_, concurrent with the Greek spelling. Some of the documents included in this study contain this _sigla_. In one document, the word _christiano_ appears as _Xpiano_, in another, _christiandad_ is written _Xpianad_, as illustrated below:

```plaintext
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{Xpiano} & - _christiano_ \\
\textbf{Xpianad} & - _christiandad_
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
```
Another interesting abbreviation appears in a document from New Spain. It represents an intriguing use of an iconograph where a cross was drawn as an abbreviation for the corresponding proper noun cruz in the place name Veracruz, thereby making use of the comprehensive religious symbol to represent the specific proper noun as illustrated below:

jem it.

Punctuation

There were few established norms for punctuation in the sixteenth century and often the placement of commas and periods was left to the scribe's discretion. There were six conventions in existence: use of the diástole or separation between words (not indicated by any written character), the coma, the colon (dos puntos in modern Spanish), the parenthesis, the question mark, which appeared as it does in modern English (the modern Spanish ¿ which initiates a question was not yet in use), and finally, the período (now termed punto final).9

Vicenta Cortés emphasized the hap-hazard use of these characters by stating:
La colocación de estos signos dependería de las pausas del período, dentro de cada razonamiento, dejando una separación doble a la de las palabras al llegar al punto final...Vemos que, por lo difícil del tema, no hay mucha norma en cuanto a la puntuación.  

Among documents written in the cortesana and procesal hands, it is common to note a complete absence of punctuation. In the documents of interest in this study, the types and amount of punctuation vary.

Occasionally a pause was indicated by a slanted line written in place of a comma or after a comma or period. Often a period was placed after each initial in an acronym, as in V.M. or S.C.R.M.

One feature, common in many documents written in the New World and sent to the Casa de Contratación in Seville, was a clearer delineation of paragraphs. Although not indented, a new paragraph would be indicated by a small symbol in the margin. The clearer format allowed for a quicker reading and more efficient responses to the often numerous questions, lengthy pieces of information or requests which needed the attention of the letters' recipients.

Accentuation

As with punctuation, the use of written accent marks was not
standardized. There was no systematic indication of the tonic vowel where necessary. In many of these documents, an arc was placed above certain words which do require an accent by modern orthographic conventions, but the use of this type of designation was not consistent.

These arcs also served to indicate where letters had been omitted in an abbreviation. Omission of letters was also noted by a straight line or by a small dot placed under a word which had been abbreviated by syncope, or over the letter which preceded the omission.

There is evidence in one of the documents (written in 1561) of an accent mark over the ı in the word así, which is appreciably different from the vertical line used to dot an ı. The accent also appears, unnecessarily, over the first ı in the word oficio, but it is not used consistently throughout the document. The same word appears without the accent mark four lines earlier.

In another document, an accent has been placed over the letter ő when it appears alone as the conjunction, in the noun información and in the verb form dió (a practice which remained in use until the mid-twentieth century).
The **tilde** took various forms. As previously stated, a straight line was used to indicate omission of a letter (usually the letter *n*). The word *años* for example, from the Latin *annum*, was first written *anno* and later *año* when the second *n* was deleted. In several of our documents, a bar is placed over the letter preceding any *n* that has been omitted, such as *suplicado*, for the present participle *suplicando*. In one of the documents written in 1565 in a more cursive *cortesana*, the **tilde** appears not as a straight line but with a curvature that corresponds to the more rounded shape of the letters. In another document, written in 1544, the script is a more linear *cortesana* (as would be expected given the earlier date). The **tilde** appears as an extended straight line which covers the entire word, and thereby coincides with the more linear appearance of the strict *cortesana* hand.

**Numbers and Dates**

In most documents which were produced between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, numbers representing quantities or dates were written out. This was done to comply with the law prohibiting the use of abbreviations, which also precluded the use of numerical
representations. In non-official documents however, the use of numerals was widespread. Roman numerals were used but they were often written in a more rounded, cursive style. Certain letters (those which represented the number fifty and the number five-hundred, for example) were written with either capital or lower case letters indiscriminately. The Ⅰ and the Ⅴ were most often written in lower case.

Another interesting feature was that a quadruple repetition of certain digits was possible. For example, the numbers four, forty and four hundred were commonly written ⅢI, ⅣXX and ⅣCXX, instead of the currently preferred Ⅳ, Ⅹ and ⅣD. A table which lists the Roman numerals as they were written at the time is provided on page 35. It is evident from the table that use of the lower case in a cursive hand tended to distort some of the letters. The Ⅹ for example, became so rounded in some documents that it appears more like a contemporary lower case cursive letter ⅓ or ⅗.

Also, the lower case cursive Ⅱ, representing fifty, was often shortened and opened at the top to the point where it is today difficult to distinguish it from the Ⅹ representing ten.
Often, Roman numerals appeared in combination with Arabic numerals which had been in use in Spain since the twelfth century. Customarily, the name of the city and the day, month and year in which the document was prepared were written on the last line of text. In half of the documents observed for this study, the date and year are written out. In the other half, Arabic numerals are used to represent the day and the year. If the date appeared elsewhere, before the first line of the text for example, the day and year were usually placed in the upper right-hand corner of the first page and expressed using Arabic numerals, as in the following examples: 20 abril 1544 or 25 feb 1570. In the dates which were written near the signatures, the day and year were either both written in Arabic numerals or were expressed by a combination of Arabic and Roman numerals, with the day represented in Roman numerals and the year in the Arabic system. Examples of dates which appear near the signatures in four of the subject documents are given below:

\[\text{12 de octubre de 1554}\]
20 de octubre de 1554 (donde queda)
mi y quin y un quarto do gda

20 de febrero de 1561

24 de septiembre de 1565

1 de marzo 1566

Figures 1 through 7 on the following pages are included to illustrate the progressive stages of the transformation of the cortesana hand to the procesal and of the procesal to the encadenada as illustrated by the documents in this study. The respective dates of the documents are included to point out the chronological stages of the transformational process.
Sample of the cortesana hand, 1544:

por otra escribe a su may de viendo el poc Hnoscicio que aprendid esto que en
servimos para los adversarios que aqui vienen en la haza de con los v.s.m.
es es mandado no puede desear de enviar al Hnoscicio suplicando que se
amender dias en un tromp-trabas ayudamos aconsejando esto dicho. Siempre
y tres años de esta es un amigo y poblacion del y real desamarmiento del
poc amos y mas se vienen por adversarios y parte destruycion en
mas armas y los poc v.s.m. dan tiento y ay de todos en todas las ombradas
los adversarios como esto tienen se almanes sin amansarlos obran el poder
que dios y ellas a los adversarios y la mande especial mercedidad per
miles si en las es lamentos de fabricantes y los Hnoscicio a v.s.m. y los que se
si permanecen aqui con medidas nos sepan della y por v.s.m. quan
adelantar mismo tiento en su poder es siendo yo mandado por las ombadas.

cortesana hand, 1554:

El gran de los que nos nombramos son estos relatos maravillosos y maravillas de v.m. Te que le
se servirán mas de aliviar que de servir en esta humildad y muy de mis vo
lucradas para que se lo diga nosotros y que entendemos servid les enseñan
le de v.m. porque no tenemos mas que serne y mis recuerdos de saber mas a de
de decir a quien se fuese de mi salvación y conservación y quse entendio
y nos quede les y les y nos quedo las y les en lo que nos habíamos dado
can de duda que nos oblige a ser mas leales como siempre los hemos sido y
no menos dudosos / y principalmente en toda nos dade lo nuestro de
le y los días / y en los días de la lumbre del q.p.

Por la parte de la subsección y aunque de v.m. que bien conoces el ayudado que v.m.
tiene de enbien nos dejaron / y acabámos / y padres benditos que nos en que se
se abajo y no adoramos los sacamontes por la que dieron muchas gracias a
dios y a v.m. / y le bendaman siempre entre benditos que esto nos confunda mu
cho y son nuestros padres viendo / y también bendamos y bendamos las bendita
señoras y bendamos la tierra / bendiendo siempre estas y per
visiones para nuestras manos y defensa / que si por ello menos en mi me
hace de los otros tierra a nuestros simientes / y se por esto por los vie
señores y justicios que v.m. / ensenados para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
asese el ayudado cuyo v.m. / y acabo / y se quiebra para que cumplan y ser sus mandamientos
en nuestra defensa le bendamos / les pide y le bendamos segur de que el que me
The following handwriting sample illustrates the transition to the processal style. The letters are clearly more open and rounded but there is still a notable contrast between the heights of the elongated and shortened letters. On the first line, the l and the p (in the first two words, los basallos), the l and the j (in the words alcanzar and justicia) contrast sharply with the smaller letters a, e, c, and n. This sample is from a document written in 1565.
This sample, dating from 1565, is an example of a clearly written processal hand. Here the letters are much more uniform in size and there is an overall appearance of roundness. Note the shortened l, b, h and s. There is a simple, unadorned quality of the writing which illustrates the scribe's interest in swift completion of the text. Also, there is some evidence of the scribe's desire to continue his hand motion, not separating certain words, and to abbreviate by using certain siglas.
Figure 4

This sample, written in 1566, illustrates a progression from a very cursive form the *cortesana* hand to the *procesal*. The writing seems to have been done in a more hurried manner and many letters have an unfinished and unadorned appearance. There is evidence also of the scribe's desire to continue his hand motion and to leave few breaks between words. In lines three and four the linking between the words *de le remover* and between the preposition *de* and the sigla *V.Mad* illustrate this tendency. Another consequence of the more rapid execution is the greater frequency of abbreviations, the repeated use of symbols for letter combinations and the many omissions of letters.
The following is a sample of the italic hand from a document written in 1565 in which many elements of the cartasana hand (such as the contrast between certain "tall" and "short" letters) are visible.
Figure 6

The first nine lines of the following sample illustrate a purer version of the *italica* hand. Note the relative uniformity of letter size, the cursive nature of the writing and the loss of the rigid lineality of certain letters. In the lower portion of the sample, the spacing is less uniform and ceratin letters are linked. Also, the letters appear generally larger. These characteristics indicate a more rapid execution of this portion and, consequently, a step toward the *processal*.
Figure 7

The following serves as an example of the *procesal-encadenada* hand. Linking occurs both between conjunctions and subsequent words and between the many *siglas* and the words which follow them.

According to the evolutionary process, we would expect a later date for this document and its date, 1586, is consistent with our expectations.
Figure 8

The following table illustrates the various types of Roman numerals as they appeared in many sixteenth-century documents.\textsuperscript{11}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roman Numeral</th>
<th>Roman Numeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i y t</td>
<td>20. yx te ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii y y</td>
<td>30. yxy eey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii zy wy</td>
<td>40. y eee e1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ivii ziy iy</td>
<td>50. z i 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v y v</td>
<td>60. 2x 7z xe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii y y</td>
<td>70. 2xy zee zee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii zy iy</td>
<td>90. 2yi leee zee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii zy iy</td>
<td>100. e c 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii ziy ye</td>
<td>200. cc 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x y e</td>
<td>300. ccc ccc 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi y y</td>
<td>400. lxxc cccc 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii iy ey</td>
<td>500. D 8 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2

Sixteenth-century Orthographic Conventions

The sixteenth century falls within the linguistic classifications of Preclassical and Golden Age Spanish. A comprehensive account of preclassical orthography is found in Antonio de Nebrija's *Reglas de orthographía en la lengua castellana*. Although less well-known than his *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, the former is an integral part of the grammatical studies made by Nebrija of the Spanish language of that era. Nebrija's works were widely read and distributed in the New World, both in their original forms and in compendia. They served as teaching manuals for non-native speakers and as reference manuals for scribes. The *Reglas de orthographía* was published twenty-five years later than the *Gramática* and represented "un resumen práctico, sistemático y preciso de la parte ortográfica de la 'Gramática'".¹²

Nebrija's aim was to organize an orthographic system whereby each grapheme used was the unique representation of one and only one phoneme. This theory was proposed in *Gramática* and restated, with a few modifications, in the later work.
In the first of his seven *principios* which precede the first chapter of the *Reglas de orthographia* Nebrija states:

> Que assí como los conceptos del entendimiento responden a las cosas que entendemos, y assí como las bozes y palabras responden a los conceptos, assí las figuras de las letras han de responder a las bozes.\(^{13}\)

Under this scheme, only twelve letters of the alphabet were considered "useful" in that they had a unique function and represented one sound exclusively. These were the letters *a, b, d, e, f, m, o, p, r, s, t* and *z*. The remaining letters either had multiple functions (meaning they represented two or more sounds) or were of no use and were referred to by Nebrija as "grafemas ociosos". Thus, under Nebrija's system, the *y, k* and *q* could be eliminated from the orthographic system altogether. About the *y*, Nebrija wrote:

> "la 'y griega'... yo no veo de qué sirue, pues que no tiene otra fuerça ni sonido que la 'i' latina, salvo, si queremos usar dellas en los lugares donde podríà venir en duda si la 'i' es vocal o consonante; como escribiendo 'raya', 'ayo', yunta', si pusiessemos 'i' latina, diría otra cosa muy diversa..."\(^{14}\)
According to Nebrija then, the \textit{i latina} had two functions. It served both as a vowel and as a consonant (when combined with an \textit{a}, \textit{q} or \textit{u}). Similarly, the \textit{k} and the \textit{q} in Nebrija's scheme were superfluous since the phoneme \[k\] could also be represented by the letter \textit{c}. He writes:

"Porque de la 'k' ninguno duda sino que es muerta; ... de la 'q' no nos aprovechamos sino por voluntad, porque todo lo agora escriuimos con 'q', podríamos escriuir con 'c'."  

Nebrija's first chapter is devoted to the discussion of the number of functions of various letters and the elaboration of those functions. Some of his examples are discussed below.

The \textit{c} was theorized to have three functions. The first, its \textit{oficio proprio}, occurred when the \textit{c} was followed by an \textit{a}, \textit{q} or \textit{u} and had the phonetic value \[k\]. The second and third functions were \textit{oficios prestados}, wherein the letter represented the dental \[s\] (written \textit{c}).

The examples given by Nebrija to illustrate this usage were the words \textit{carca} and \textit{ceuada}. The pronunciation of the \textit{c}, as described by Nebrija, was one which was "propia de judios y moros". He surmised that the sound was introduced into Spanish by these groups. The second
"borrowed function" of the \( \mathcal{G} \) became evident when followed by the letter \( \mathcal{H} \), creating the phonetic value \( [k] \).

Similarly, he observed two functions of the letter \( g \), the \textit{función proprio} being the hard \([g]\), which occurred when the letter preceded an \( \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{O}, \text{ or } \mathcal{U} \), and the second (a "borrowed" function) noted when an \( \mathcal{E} \) or \( \mathcal{I} \) followed, and the phonetic value changed to the voiced velar fricative \([x]\).

The \( \mathcal{J} \) and \( \mathcal{N} \) also each had two functions, one when written alone or, in Nebrija's words, "quando la ponemos senzilla", as in \textit{lado} or \textit{luna}. In their other function the graphemes appeared as double consonants for which Nebrija cited the examples \textit{lave} and \textit{lono}. In the same manner, the \( \mathcal{N} \) could appear alone as in \textit{naue} or as a double consonant ("quando la ponemos doble o con una tilde encima"). Nebrija's examples of the use of the grapheme \( \mathcal{N} \) included words in which it appeared in an initial position (where modern orthography would require the \( \mathcal{N} \)). He lists \textit{nnudo} and \textit{nnublado} to illustrate an initial double \( \mathcal{N} \), and cites two examples of an interior \( \mathcal{N} \) in \textit{anno} or \textit{sennor}.

The \( \mathcal{X} \), according to Nebrija, was a Latin abbreviation of the combinations \textit{cs} or \textit{gs}. These were the graphemes he used to represent
the correct Spanish pronunciation of \( \mathbf{x} \) in an initial position, as in the words \textit{xabón}, \textit{xan} or \textit{Ximón}, or in a final position as in \textit{relox}. About the phonetic value the grapheme \( \mathbf{x} \) Nebrija adds:

\[
\text{la qual pronunciación es propia de la lengua aráuiga, de donde parece que nosotros la recibiemos, porque otra lengua ninguna la reconoce por suila, y los moros siempre la ponen en lugar de nuestra 's'.} \ 16
\]

In our documents, the grapheme \( \mathbf{x} \) appears in place of the modern \( \mathbf{j} \), in words such as \textit{debaxo}, \textit{dixo}, \textit{lexos} and \textit{quexas}, representing the palatal [\( \mathbf{ʃ} \)]. This sound was later confused with the apicé \( \mathbf{s} \), the allophone [\( \mathbf{ʃ} \)], (as in the Castilian pronunciation of the word \textit{casa}). The grapheme \( \mathbf{j} \) was introduced later, for clarification, and by convention became the correct orthographic representation of the [\( \mathbf{ʃ} \)]. After the adoption of the new grapheme, the phonetic value of the \( \mathbf{j} \) was transformed to the [\( \mathbf{x} \)] heard today.

Nebrija concludes his first chapter with a list of twenty-six letters, each with a unique function, of which only twelve represented a pronunciation that had been carried over from the Latin. Nebrija's
adjusted alphabet consisted of the following letters: a, b, c, ch
(written in Nebrija’s works with a tilde), d, e, f, g, h, i vocal,
I consonante, l senzilla, l doblada, m, n sin título (or n), n con título (or
ñ), o, p, r, s, t, u vocal, u consonante, x, and z.

In the third chapter of his work, Nebrija discusses the prescribed uses of the grapheme b and the grapheme u (which acts both as a consonant and a vowel). Nebrija realized that because the b and the u (that is u consonante, or present day y) represented sounds which were indistinguishable, they were often interchanged. He also pondered the vocalization of the [b], wondering how the Latin consonant y could have come to be represented by the b in words like cibdad and cibdadano, given the Latin ciuitas and ciuis (as written by Nebrija), only to revert to a semi-vowel, [u], when pronounced. Nebrija also cites as examples the words debda which became deuda and recabdo which became recaudo. Nebrija mentions in a note that at times the grapheme b is written and u is pronounced.

The older orthography cibdad appears in two of the documents (dated 1553 and 1554). It can be inferred from Nebrija’s comments that
it was pronounced as it is currently. In our documents, the modern
spelling, ciudad, is more frequent.

Nebrija attributed three distinct functions to the grapheme ü,
which he discusses in the sixth chapter of the work. One of its functions
was to serve as a vowel as in the words uso, causa, bueno and cuerpo.
The second function of the grapheme was to serve as a consonant, as in
the word vengo. The third function had the grapheme placed in
combination with a q or c, preceding an e or an i. In this instance these
vowels would have no phonetic value of their own but would serve to
change the pronunciation of the q or the c. He also observed two forms
of the same grapheme ü, the "normal" representation (ü) and the
redondeada (which appeared as a cursive y).

Throughout the work Nebrija uses the y in an initial position in
words like verso, vengo, vocal and venir, as in modern orthography.
Nebrija however, preferred the spelling boz (for voz) which, as Antonio
Quilis points out, occurs "sistematically" in the work while the spelling
voz appears only twice.
Other instances where Nebrija uses an initial b and modern orthography requires the y are noted by Quilis and include buelue, boluemos, boluiessen, bolujan and bolujimos. The editor adds that, at the time, the grapheme b was generally used before the letter a, before the diphthong ue, or where there was an apparent dissimilation of b-b to b-u or y-y, or of y-b to b-u.

In addition to the words mentioned above which began with the u redonda, several other words which are spelled with an initial u in modern Spanish appear in Nebrija's work with a y, namely: vsamos, vn, vna, vno, ylmas and ylidad.

Nebrija frequently uses the grapheme u in an interior position where modern Spanish orthography requires b, in the words auvria, escriufa, estaua, and arruua, for example, and in words where a y is used today, such as: buelue, seruir, sueue, navegación, touo (for tuvo), touieron and reuelación.

In the documents consulted in this study, confusion among these graphemes is common. The b-y confusion is present in every document
to some degree, especially in the verb *enviar* which is more commonly written *enbiar* or *embiar*. The latter was the form preferred by Nebrija.

Also, in keeping with Nebrija's examples, the imperfect *estaba* occasionally appears as *estaua* in our documents. These and other examples are discussed in the orthographic commentaries which accompany each document.

Nebrija proposed that there were also three *oficios* for the letter *h*.

The first was for the letter to indicate where an *f* had been written in the original Latin. Nebrija lists the examples *facio*, *filius* and *ficus* (which gave the Spanish *hago*, *hijo* and *higo*).

The second function is, according to Nebrija, for the *h* to precede the letter *u* to signal the fact that the *u* is acting as a vowel and not as a consonant (or *v*). Nebrija cites the words *huerto*, *huevo* and *huésped* and explains: "porque si la 'h' no se antepusiesse, por ventura leerías 'verto', 'veuo', 'vesped', por 'u' consonante."18

The third function of the *h* listed by Nebrija was its placement after a *c*, "para representar aquella boz que es propia de España."19

Nebrija described an additional function of the *h* as: "para que a
imitación de los latinos acompaña la vocal que se sigue, como diziendo 'honra', 'humanidad' or 'humildad' 20.

In Nebrija's own writing, the word oy appears without the initial h, as it does in several instances in the documents. Interestingly, the word orden appears frequently with a superfluous h in the documents, while the verb infinitive haber and its conjugations usually appear without the h, as they do in Nebrija's examples, with the exception of hay (or hai) and ha (found in expressions of time duration where modern Spanish requires hace).

Evidence from the documents coincides with the variants found in Nebrija's work in some cases. The word hay appears both with and without the initial h in the documents. Use of ha (for hace) appears in two of the documents (written in 1554 and 1565) in the following phrases: "veinte y tres años ha que estoy en la conquista...", and "en treinta e un años que ha que estoy en estos reinos."

With regard to the r and the s, Nebrija noted that at times (in an initial position for example), "suenan dobladas o apretadas". The
examples given by Nebrija of use of the $\tilde{r}$ (or "trill r") were the words rei and Roma. In the documents the $\tilde{r}$ in an initial position is often indicated by use of the upper case $R$. At other times it appears as the double consonant $rr$. The word rey and its derivatives appear in the documents with both representations of the $\tilde{r}$. It is common to note both Reyno and reyno, rey and rei, viso rey and viso Rey, and also the use of the upper case in words like Religiosos, Remedio, Respecto as well as in the verbs Rogamos and Relevar.

A double $s$ in initial position is rare in the documents. Nebrija's $s$ apretada or $s$ larga could also be represented either by a capital $S$ or by the double consonant and each occurs frequently in the documents. For example, the double consonant is used in the words pressentes, cassa and desseamos. According to Nebrija, the intervocalic $ss$ was used to indicate that the sound was being made "stronger" where it would ordinarily be weak. Nebrija makes a distinction between the stronger sound of the $r$ and $s$ (heard when they begin a syllable and are preceded by a consonant, as in the words Enrique, honrado, and bolsa), and the weaker sound which was heard when the double consonant began a
syllable and was preceded by a vowel. He states that in order to indicate a stronger sound when either of the letters is in its weak position, a double consonant must be used. As seen in the examples above, this rule was followed to a certain extent in the documents. Also, frequent in our documents is the word honra written with the double rr, indicating the scribe’s adherence to the theory that since the sound was stronger (or trilled), a double consonant must be written.

Nebrija also discusses Latin and Greek orthographic elements which at one time appeared in Spanish, the th and ph for example. The ph combination is found in one of the documents in a reference to King Phillip II. It appears as part of the closing dedicatory sentence in which the intended recipient is renamed: “A la S(acra) C(esárea) R(eal) M(ajestad) del Rey Don Phelipe n(uestro) s(eñor) en su consejo delas yndias.”

Another topic of interest to the esteemed gramarian was the use of certain graphemes which did not correspond to the sounds pronounced. As an example of this phenomenon, Nebrija studies the correct orthography of an infinitive followed by a direct or indirect object.
He states: "por dezir 'a Dios deuemos amarlo' y 'amarle' dezimos 'amalle' y 'amallo'". This type of assimilation, found in all types of sixteenth-century writings is indicative of the accepted orthography of the era and is seen in many of the documents gathered for this study.
Chapter 3

Transcription Guidelines

In the interest of making transcriptions of historical Spanish American documents uniform in their treatment of orthography, punctuation, accentuation and abbreviations, a set of norms was approved at the First Interamerican Meeting on Archives in Washington D.C. in 1961.

These norms have been reproduced in Vicenta Cortes' book (published in 1986). They are still the guidelines used for transcription purposes and will be observed in the transcriptions of our documents. The standard practices which are most pertinent to this study are outlined below\textsuperscript{22}

With regard to orthography, the norms state that the letters o, e, s, z, and ss should be written as they appear in the documents.

The "short i" (i) and the "long i" (y) should be transcribed always as i. The y representing the semi-vowel, when used correctly in the word, should be conserved. Where there is no distinction made between the i and y in the document, modern orthographical rules will apply.

In the case of an indiscriminate use of the b, v and u, the b and the v should be transcribed according to the form used most frequently in the
document. In this study, the y and the v will be transcribed according to each letter's phonetic value.

Consistent with the norms, any letter h which appears in the documents, due to either hypercorrection or prevailing orthographic conventions will be preserved in the transcription. Any h which was omitted in the document, however, will not be supplied in the transcription.

Also in accordance with the norms, the upper case R, with phonetic value [r], will be transcribed rr, except when it appears in initial position (in which case the single r will be used).

The double consonants which are to be preserved in transcriptions are limited to the ss and the nn, unless they appear in initial position.

The graphemes f, g, i, h, ph, th and x will be conserved in the transcriptions if they appear in the document, as stipulated in the norms.

The contractions della, dello, desta, ques and questa are to be transcribed as distinct words. The contraction del, where it represents de él, is to be separated in transcriptions. Where del represents the
contraction of the preposition de and the definite article el it is to be retained.

If the tilde in the grapheme ã is not present in the document, the norms prescribe that it be supplied in the transcription where needed.

With regard to punctuation, there is one standard: the documents which are written without punctuation of any kind are to be transcribed with punctuation marks supplied as currently required. Where punctuation is present and correct in the document it should be conserved.

With regard to the indiscriminate use of upper and lower-case letters, rules of present-day orthography should be observed. Similarly, the current standards of accentuation should be observed, restoring missing accent marks in the transcription where needed.

If the document contains words which are separated in a manner contrary to current morphological standards (for example if there is a space between a prefix and the root of a word) these separations will not be conserved in the transcription.
Finally, with regard to abbreviations, there are two established norms: first, all abbreviations are to be transcribed by supplying the missing letters (usually placed in parentheses), and second, the abbreviations mentioned in Chapter 1, which conserve the Greek etymologies of certain words (where an \( x \) represents the Greek letter \( \chi \), for example) are to be transcribed as currently written. Following this rule, the abbreviation \( \text{Xpiano} \), which appears in one of the documents will be transcribed \( \text{cristiano} \).

If the transcription of any one word is in doubt due to a lack of clarity in the original document or the copy, a question mark enclosed in parentheses is to be placed after the word.

In addition to these norms, other conventions will be followed in our transcriptions. For example, where the verb \( \text{haber} \) is spelled \( \text{aver} \) or \( \text{aber} \) in the documents, it will appear thus in the transcriptions.

For this study, the graphemes \( b \) and \( y \) will appear in the transcriptions as they appear in each document. Also, erroneous substitutions of \( n \) for \( m \) (or \( m \) for \( n \)) will appear in the transcriptions as written by the scribe. The lines of the documents and of the
written by the scribe. The lines of the documents and of the
transcriptions have been numbered in order to facilitate references
between the transcription and its corresponding document as well as
between the referenced lines in the orthographic commentaries and the
text of each document. The corresponding lines in the transcription are
designated by numbers in parentheses. It is recommended that while
reviewing the paleographic and orthographic commentaries, the reader
make references to the document itself and not to the transcription
since in many instances the word will have been altered in the
transcription to reflect the modern orthography, in accordance with the
established norms for transcription.
por lo que escribí a la vez viendo el poco Románio que habíamos las que le
servimos y como los adversarios que aquí vienen no les hacen como por 7:4:0
las es mandado no pueda dejar de cerrar al Románio sufriendo de ella se
aun que diles que en estos probabilidades acurruchado este esfino siempre
y tres años por estar muy enemistado y poblado del uno desobedimiento del
para que en sus transeúntes vistos por gobernadores y parte descomponen
mis armas y después hay balas en arcos y dañan en todas las entradas
los gobernadores como el espejo no sabemos sin amordazos. Trivan el poder
de la tierra y ellos son adictos y sejilladores y la mando especial postura por
6 sus fieles siimos antes fueron los enemigos y de todos lo que cumplido de
sermos punto y por v.s.m. y los que en mi de permanecer siempre con malditos mis hermanos de ella y por v.s.m. quien
aunque en monarca mundo y todo en su poder es donde yo mandado por benedicto
se avía por poner de ello y como he hecho un uso el límite de coronador encima de el
le que y dejar de su enemistado donde estuvo producido por juicio de aparecer por
la orden de v.s.m. sobre el coronador don pedro de guevara y dio de el brigado
y haciendo el día o fiesta de impulso sin sostener no salen con un marco de fealdad
un hermano de castilla era las gobernadores de el estado escrito entre ambos
con mención y por la abadía de abadía una higuera y más de ello el que quisieron
siendo Justa en marco era por que en la adjudicación del mismo y la boya regimiento
mano atas cartas medición y fechado que no adjudicase mas y me fueran de aquel
sion y por el guiso como de desinteresar castellanos en la adjudicación sin el que lo
conciere por el estar en algunas cosas no adjudicar la dibujar sin igual
don que tramos la adjudicación están tan sobrecargados y hay lo que quisiera lo
tome por testimonio y se le trazaron faltos me es forzado a darlo a quiniendo
voluntad es de suy v.s.m. así mando a quien el que sin su permiso somos para
restaes porque con esto se van de la tierra muchos y no estoy acordando el
Remedio de v.s.m. y que mire O bien estar donde me sea repuesta y una
taba en el tiempo se manzana y asomo en el derramado yo por normal sin
Document 1, continued

...muy de más hacer mudar y honrar como siempre hace al Estado sin que se le diere a la vida de S. S. y C. M. Avance con mucho más quiron y se recibió como S. M. deseó del mismo hecho de verme el 14 de abril de 1544 anotado.

Y otros muchos como está escrito a S. M. en un pliego con otras cartas que dibujó.

...esos hechos de S. M. y que se escribieron dando aviso de algunas cosas que se han escrito en el Real Servicio y que se llanía estar a quien daría estos días es que se hiciera en un tiempo el mayor gasto de lo que se ha de hacer en las cosas de este país y no se sabe si se han dado el falso alquiler de una casa tomado un año antes de haber para ver si se ha de hacer el mismo alquiler que se ha hecho en las cosas...
Transcription, Document 1

Panamá, 1544

20 abril 1544

Sacra Cesárea Católica Magestad

(1) Por otra escribí a V(uestra) M(agestad) viendo el poco remedio que
acá tienen los que le

(2) servimos, y como los governadores que aquí vienen no lo hazen como
por V(uestra) S(acra) M(agestad)

(3) les es mandado. No puedo dexar de ocurrir(?) al remedio suplicando a
V(uestra) S(acra) M(agestad) se

(4) acuerde de los que con tantos trabajos ayudamos a conquistar este
reyno. Veinte

(5) y tres años ha que estoy en la conquista y población de él y en
descubrimiento del

(6) Perú, antes que don Fran(cis)co Pisarro viniese por governador, y
parte de este tiempo con

(7) mis armas, y después que hay cavallos, con armas y cavallo en todas
las entradas.

(8) Los governadores como dicho tengo, no faboreçen sino a mercaderes
que llevan el provecho

(9) de la tierra y ellos son al(cal)d(e)s y regidores y la manda especial en
esta ciudad por

(10) que no los servimos estamos desaboregidos, los que hemos
s(er)vido a V(uestra) S(acra) M(agen) y los que emos

(11) de permanecer en la tierra, con molestias nos hechan de ella. Y
porque V(uestra) S(acra) M(agen) vea quan

(12) avsolutamente manda y todo en su provecho es, que siendo yo
mandado por la necesidad

(13) que avía por persona ábil y de confiança pa(ra) usar el oficio de
contador en esta ciudad

(14) lo açeté y dexé de hir a Cartagena, donde estaba provevido por juez
de agrabios por

(15) la audiencia real de V(uestra) M(agen) contra el gov(ern)ador don
Pedro de Heredia. Y aviéndolo echo

(16) y haziendo el dicho oficio de contador, sin interés ni salario y con
mucha fidelidad
(17) un Hernando de Carmona, alcalde, hacedor de unos mercaderes de
Sevilla entró en la contra-
(18) tación Y porque le avalié un cavallo y una hieguia en mas de lo que él
quisiera,
(19) siendo justo, con mucha ira me tomó la evaluación de la mano y la
vio y poniendo
(20) mano a las barbas, me dijo que le haría que no avaliase más y me
hecharía de la Contra-
(21) tación. Y nos puso pena de dozientos castallanos, que no
avaliásemos sin él. Y dio li-
(22) cençía a los que tenían allí algunas cosas por avaliar que lo llevasen
sin avaliar
(23) aunque otro día lo avaliámos. Están tan faborecidos que hazen lo que
quieren. Yo lo
(24) tomé por testimonio y según tienen fabor, me es forçado a dexarlo
aunque mi
(25) voluntad es de servir a V(uestra) S(acra) M(agestad) asta morir, a la
qual sup(l)ico no permita semejantes

(26) vexaciones porque con esto se van de la tierra muchos, y yo estoy aguardando el

(27) remedio de V(u)estra S(acra) M(agestad), y que mire que vine a este reyno moço y estoy viejo, y mis tra-

(28) bajos. Y que pienso permanecer y casarme en él porque lo tengo ya por natural. Sien-

(29) do V(u)estra S(acra) M(agestad) servido de me hazer mercéd y honrar como siempre hase a los que le sir-

(30) ven. N(u)estro Señor la vida de V(u)estra S(acra) C(esárea)

C(atólica)

M(agestad) aumente con muchos más reynos y se-

(31) florios, como V(u)estra S(acra) M(agestad) desea. Del no(m)bre de Dios a veinte de abril de 1544 años.

(32) Otra carta como ésta escrevité a V(u)estra S(acra) M(agestad) en un pliego con otras cartas que J(u)a)n de Val-

(33) dés, fa(c)tor de V(u)estra S(acra) M(agestad) y yo escribimos, dando
aviso de algunas cosas que tocan a su

(34) real servicio. Y por que el navío estaba pa(ra) partirse otro día, las

enviamos con un

(35) hombre al navío pa(ra) las dar al m(aestr)e, el qual las dio a un

hombre de la mar que salió por

(36) ellas a tierra. Y turnando otro día a saber si se avía dado el fa(c)tor

a lo que las avía

(37) tomando un Ruy Díaz de Gibraleón, pariente del mismo alcalde que va

por pasajero en

(38) la nao, y por ninguna vía se las an podido sacar. Y las transportó.

Están tan adver-

(39) tidos por que V(uestra) S(acra) M(agestad) lo remedie y

(40) mande castigar a quien sus reales cartas toma y evitar que le hagan

semejantes

(41) cosas.

S(acra) C(esárea) C(atólica) M(agestad)
Siervo y vasallo de V(uestra) S(acra) M(agestad)
que sus imperiales pies vesa.

Francisco de Gradanos
Paleographic Commentary. Document 1

This document, written in 1544, is the oldest in the study. The handwriting reflects the cortesana style (see Figure 1). The variation in letter heights is noticeable but not as pronounced as in other documents written in the cortesana script. Linking occurs frequently between prepositions and the demonstratives or definite articles which follow as indicated by these examples: desta, delos, dela, ala, aesta and ense.

Occasionally the preposition a is linked to noun or verb it precedes as in atierra or asaber. Also, the sigla $\text{C}$, which represents the relative pronoun que, is linked to words which begin with a "tall" letter such as h, l or t as illustrated below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{que} & \quad \text{hay} \\
\text{que} & \quad \text{llevan} \\
\text{que} & \quad \text{tocan}
\end{align*}
\]

The symbol for que is also joined to words which being with the letter y since the grapheme y in upper and lower case was written with a long
stem projecting to the left which facilitated linking of this sort as the

following examples illustrate:

\[ \text{v.ine} = \text{que vine} \]
\[ \text{v.a} = \text{que va} \]
\[ \text{v.s.m} = \text{que Vuestra Sacra Magestad...} \]

Other siglas which were used to abbreviate certain nouns, verb
forms, past participles and proper nouns in the document include the

following:

\[ \text{fran}^{\circ} = \text{Francisco} \]
\[ \text{aff} = \text{alcalde} \]
\[ \text{vido} = \text{servidor} \]
\[ \text{governador} = \text{governador} \]
\[ \text{sup}^{\circ} = \text{suplico} \]
\[ \text{In}^{\circ} = \text{Juan} \]
\[ m^{e} = \text{maestre} \]
\[ \text{advertidos} = \text{advertidos} \]
The acronyms found in this document are all abbreviated forms of royal address and are of the type used with extreme frequency in every document.

The one example of abbreviation by apocope is the shortening of the word para to pa. Abbreviations by syncope found in the document include dho, (dicho), pmanecer (permanecer), and nro (nuestro).

Accents are not marked in the document and there is limited punctuation. Occasionally a slanted line is used to signal the end of a sentence but it is not used with consistency. For example, the first sentence of text ends on line three with the word mandado, after which a slanted line is placed, while elsewhere these lines appear before words beginning with the letter q in this and other documents. After this line, the remitter begins the closing epistolary formula ("Nuestro Señor la vida de Vuestra Sacra Cesárea Católica Real Magestad aumente con muchos más reinos y señoríos" ...). The date is then written, after which another period is placed and the writer again changes subject matter, adding that his earlier attempts to communicate the problem to His
Majesty were unsuccessful. In this document a period appears to indicate the last line of content on a certain subject.
Orthographic Commentary, Document 1

With regard to orthography, the document offers many examples of interest. In line one, the first person singular preterit of *escribir* is written *escrevi*. Later in the document, the first person plural preterit appears as *escrevimos*. The correct infinitive, *escribir*, illustrates the standard etymological change for Latin verbs which had the "long i" followed by the -ere ending. For example, the Latin *vivere* gave the Spanish *vivir* and, similarly, *scrivere* became *escribir*. The form *escrebir* resulted from a process of analogous modeling after those Latin verbs in which the "long i" had dissimilated to *e* before an accented *i*. For example, the Latin *dicere* formed *decir* (rather than *dicir*), the Latin *frigere* formed *freir* and *ridere* became *reir*. The infinitive *vevir* was introduced by a similar process. These two forms (*vevir* and *escrebir*) appear in written texts produced as late as the seventeenth century but generally only the uneducated *vulgo* continued their use. ²³

In line two, the verb *hacen* appears with a *z*, elsewhere in the document the words *hacedor*, *hazer* and *haze* appear. The presence of the
z is indicative of the initial phase of the word's evolution. In the Latin infinitive, facere, the grapheme q immediately precedes the tonic vowel, in these instances, a z appeared in the Spanish word. For example, the Latin placere gave the Spanish plazer. Words in which orthographic convention changed the z to c include vecino which had the earlier form vezino (from the Latin vicinqu) and the verb form dice, originally spelled dize. The grapheme z (representing a voiced consonant) was later replaced by the voiceless dental fricative [s] (represented by the grapheme q), but this change did not occur until the seventeenth century. Consequently, the words mentioned above all appear with the earlier spelling in our documents.

These documents also antedate the transformation of the [ʒ] (represented by the grapheme x) to the [x] (represented by the letter j), as evidenced by the words dexe (deié) and dixo.

Other orthographical peculiarities found in the document illustrate the confusion which existed between the v, the u and the b. The v and the b in intervocalic positions in Latin words were conserved in Romance as the bilabial fricative [β], represented by the letter v or u in Old Spanish.
Usually (although many exceptions have been observed), the bilabial stop [b] (represented by the letter b) was preferred for use in the initial position or after the consonants r or l. Examples of an intervocalic y are numerous in this document, as seen in the words cavalo, estava, governador, escrevi, escrevimos and provehido.

Exceptions to the rule are noted in the word fabor and its derivative, faborecer and desfaborcidos, and in the verb enbijamos.

An interesting use of the grapheme b is found in the old spelling of the word ciudad (written cibdad in line thirteen). In the bd consonant combination the occlusive stop is softened to [b] and eventually into the vowel sound. The Spanish ciudad is derived from the Latin accusative civitatem, in which the a was the tonic vowel. In Romance the second unaccented i was omitted when the word was pronounced, thereby creating the consonant cluster yat which was later reduced to b'd as were the other labial-dental clusters p't, p'd and b't, all formed when an unstressed vowel, originally between the two occlusives, ceased to be pronounced.
In addition to the confusion between the \textit{v}, \textit{u} and \textit{b}, there was considerable uncertainty regarding the correct orthographic usage of the letter \textit{h} in initial position. In line ten for example, the first person plural present tense of \textit{haber} appears first as \textit{hemos} and then as \textit{emos}. The past participle of \textit{hacer} appears in line fifteen as \textit{echo}, while on the following line the present participle contains the \textit{h} in initial position and is written \textit{haciendo}.

Orthographically, use of the \textit{h} in initial position in Spanish indicates that the original Latin word had begun with the consonant \textit{f} (where not followed by a short \textit{o} or \textit{e} which would have made the diphthong in Spanish, causing the conservation of the initial \textit{f}). The Latin \textit{fabulare}, for example, produced the Spanish \textit{hablar} (used in the Middle Ages) and, in the sixteenth century, \textit{hablar}, where the grapheme \textit{h} represented the aspirate sound which was later dropped. Although the \textit{h} was retained orthographically, it was never pronounced.

The actual date that the \textit{f} used in Medieval Spanish was replaced by an \textit{h} (except where it preceded a diphthong) is not known with certainty. The \textit{h} appeared commonly in sixteenth-century writings.
Menéndez Pidal asserts that Nebrija had adopted the \textit{h}, "como sonido general y corriente en la lengua culta;"\textsuperscript{24} The fact that the \textit{h} was considered \textit{culta}, meant that it often appeared unnecessarily in words which had never had an \textit{f} in Latin due to hypercorrection where a scribe was perhaps attempting to display his knowledge of the language of the educated man.

In this document, an interesting case of hypercorrection is evident in the word \textit{hiequa} in line eighteen. The Latin word \textit{equa} from which the Spanish word was derived had no initial \textit{f}. The voiceless velar stop [k] in the intervocalic position became the voiced occlusive [g], and the stressed Latin short \textit{e} became the diphthong \textit{ie} in Spanish, following the general etymological rules. The \textit{h} written by the scribe of this document was clearly added as a hypercorrection. The variation \textit{iequa} appears in Peter Boyd-Bowman's \textit{Léxico hispanoamericano del siglo XVI}, in addition to the current spelling \textit{vequa}. The version with \textit{ie} in initial position was noted in a Peruvian document dated 1570.\textsuperscript{25} The spelling \textit{hiequa} with an initial \textit{h} does not appear anywhere in the Lexicon.
A superfluous \( h \) also appears in the infinitive \( hir \), in the conjugated form \( hechan \) and in the past participle \( provehido \).

A subjunctive form of \( echar \) (\( heche \)) appears with the \( h \) in the Lexicon (in an entry taken from a document produced in Venezuela in 1579).

Finally, there is evidence of a degree of confusion between the consonants \( m \) and \( n \). This was a fairly common discrepancy in the sixteenth century, and many of the documents examined herein contain examples of the misuse of one of these consonants. In this particular document, the word \( hombre \) appears twice in line thirty-five.

There are two examples where an assimilation, apparent in the popular pronunciation, is revealed in its orthography. The first person preterit of \( aceptar \) is written \( aceté \) (without the accent). Often, the pronunciation of the bilabial-dental combination (\( pt \)) produced an assimilation toward the dental \( [t] \). According to Menéndez Pidal, whenever the \( pt \) combination occurred in Latin, there was a tendency toward assimilation, rather than toward the formation of the combination \( bd \) and then \( ud \) as occurred in the word \( ciudad \), discussed above. The Spanish word \( setenta \) which was derived from the Latin
septuaginta, exemplifies such a process, by which the pt combination resulted in an assimilated pronunciation [t]. The verb meaning "to accept" had two Latin equivalents: accipere (of which the first person singular present-tense form was acceptum), and acceptare. The bilabial-dental consonant group is evident. Assimilation would be expected given the etymological rule. The [p] in the modern Spanish infinitive aceptar was reintroduced later due to the influences of the voces cuitas. In Boyd-Bowman's Lexicon, the verb aceptar appears as an entry followed by several variations which include two versions that show assimilation (acetar and asetar), and two which represent other etymological alternatives for the pt combination: aceptar where the voiceless stop [p] became voiced, and aceutar where it became a vowel).

The second example of an orthographical representation of an assimilation is the word fator which appears in line thirty-three. The correct spelling is factor (meaning "agent" in English). Here the consonant combination is velar-dental. The assimilation to the dental [t] was a common occurrence which is still in effect today. In the
modern pronunciation of the word *doctor* for example, the velar [k] is
often not heard, resulting in the pronunciation is *[dotor]*. In the
*Lexicon*, the only spelling listed is "fator". Examples of its use date
from 1545 and 1593, which is a good indication that the spelling found
in the present document was the preferred one throughout the sixteenth
century and that the *c* was added later due to orthographical
refinements and the introduction of *palabras cultas*. 
El gran deseo que tenemos nosotros los súbditos maestros y vasallos de V. M. de ver la
victoria, de adducimiento a adquierer está en cada humildad y muy de más
hubiera para que los es estos de nosotros / y que entienda querrámos señalar nos entienda
a V. M. / porque tememos ensueño quedam bien que y misericordioso señor nos a da
del justo / y quitándo se ha nuestra salvación y conservación / y que entiendo nos quiera
os las / y si bien le mando los pie y tomas ellas a V. M. porque arter dado
vaidor de verdad / que lo nos obliga / a ser más leales como siempre hemos sido / y
estamos muy allegados / y principalmente en decir esos días desde la humana del fe / y pu
dio de bazo de la subvención amparo de V. M. / que bien hemos el cuidado que V.
mencione en bien no obliga / y se le haga / y padres Religiosos que nos enseñan la
fe cathólica y nos administran los sacramentos / y que damos muchas gracias a
sir / y a V. M. / y le suplicamos: siempre entre Religiosos que estos nos confunda mos
hizo / y son nuestras padres entendo / y también tenemos entendido los grandes miseri
citos y mercedes que V. M. hace / y toda esta tierra / Enviando siempre cartas y pro
visiones / pues que nuestra amparo / y defensa / que si por esto no fraternos destruimos
dos / y si por esto como por los vie
sotros es justicia que V. M. / y envíando para que cumplan esos su mandamientos
en nuestra defensa lo besamos los pie / y le hacemos saber que el que mejor la zo ha
esos el que ara tenemos de hacer de poscriba el que es muy buen para nosotros y
nas defensa y confusa / Al abriendo muchos de labores / y aguardando el servicio por
sí mismo / de que sean empleado muchos los maestros / y también aguarda algunos los
hombres que no desean no salgan con los españoles / y medio aguardando muchos estos
vasas de malos que mucho nos destruyen y histor dan las maestros / por otras
ellas mejoradas / y bienas / obras que son nosotros se hacen / en algunos algunos
esos enojados / y digo que andar oto en de acá esto bien pino Rey. Suplicamos a V. M.
nen el sin que esta que se muere porque como esto dicho en todo es bueno para no
sobres / en un decir que eme dar dias / y todos enemigos de esto muy gran para
las maestros alzaban / y digo que se huyran / y por esto algunos no quedan sin
bravas nuestras estas de castilla / a V. M. Suplicamos por este de días / no nos esche
dias porque somos muy pobres / y nos dan muchos males / y van esto empeñar que
las damos / y muy apoyados / a obedecer y tributar a V. M. / y seamos a nuestro
señor diviendo siempre abran la vida / y gran gloria de V. M. / de la tierra de Castilla en
muera a quien / a 12. de octubre de 1554. años / de
V. M.

pobres

Vasallos.
(1) El gran deseo que tenemos nosotros, los cholutecas, macehuales y basallo de V(uestra) M(agestad) de verle

(2) y de servirle, nos da atrevimiento a escribir ésta con toda humildad y muy de n(uestra) vo-

(3) luntad para que sepa esto de nosotros y que en todo querríamos señalarmos en servi-

(4) cío de V(uestra) M(agestad), porque tenemos conocido quan benigno y misericordioso señor nos a da-

(5) do Dios. Y quanto desea nuestra salvación y conservación y que en todo nos quiere

(6) consolar y honrar y así besamos los pies y damos gra(cia)s a V(uestra) M(agestad) por nos aver dado

(7) título de cibdad, que esto nos obliga a ser más leales como siempre lo emos sido, y
(8) estamos muy alegres y pri(n)cipalmente en avernos Dios dado la
lunbre de la fe y pu-
(9) esto debaxo dela subgeción y anparo de V(uestra) M(agestad), que bien
vemos el cuidado que V(uestra)
(10) M(agestad) tiene de enbiarnos obispos y arçobispo y padres
religiosos que nos enseñan la
(11) fe cathólica y nos administra(n) los sacramentos, por lo qual damos
muchas gracias a
(12) Dios y a V(uestra) M(agestad), y le suplicamos siempre enbié
religiosos que estos nos consuela(n) mu-
(13) cho y son nuestros padres en todo. También tenemos entendidas las
grandes miseri-
(14) cordiosas y merçedes que V(uestra) M(agestad) hace a toda esta
tierra enbiando siempre cartas y pro-
(15) visiones para nuestro anparo y defensa que si por esto no fuese, ya
seríamos destruídos
(16) como dice que lo son otras tierras a nosotoros semejantes. Y así
por esto como por los vi-
(17) soreyes y justiçias que V(uestra) M(agestd) a enbiado para que
cumplan estos sus mandamientos

(18) en nuestra defensa, le besamos los pies y le hacemos saber que el
que mejor lo a hecho

(19) a sido él que aora tenemos, Don Luis de Velasco, el qual es muy
bueno para nosotros y

(20) nos defiende y consuela. Él a libertado muchos esclavos y a quitado
el servicio per-

(21) sonal de que se an consolado mucho los macehuales. Y también a
quitado los muchos

(22) tanemos que como a bestias nos solían cargar los españoles.
También a quitado muchas esta(n)-

(23) çias de ganados que mucho nos destruían y hacían huir los
macehuales. Por todas

(24) estas misericordias y buenas obras que con nosotros se hacen, están
algunos españo-

(25) les enojados y dice(n) que an de echar de acá esta buen Visrey.

Suplicamos a V(uestra) M(agestd)
(27) no nos le quite hasta que se muera porque como emos dicho en todo, es bueno para no-

(28) sotros. An nos dicho que emos de dar diezmos y todos sentimos de esto muy gran pena

(28) y los macehuales se alteran y dice(n) que se huirán y por esto algunos no quiere(n) sem

(29) brar ni criar cosas de Castilla. A V(uestra) M(agestad) suplicamos por amor de Dios no nos eche(n)

(30) diezmos porque somos muy pobres y nos vendrían muchos males y con esta confianza que

(31) damos y muy aparejados a obedecer y tributar a V(uestra) M(agestad). Y rogamos a Nuestro

(31) Señor siempre aumente la vida y gran señorío de V(uestra) M(agestad). De esta ciudad de Cholula en

(32) Nueva España. A 12 de octubre de 1554 años.
Paleographic Commentary, Document 2

In this document, written ten years later than the first, a very neatly written, easily read cortesana hand is evident. There are elements of the itálica hand, in that there is less variation in the height of the letters. The tall s and f, characteristic of the cortesana hand are still visible, however, as is the extended, leftward-projecting stem of the upper case V. There is the same gratuitous mixture of lower and upper case letters and a seemingly random linking or separation within and between certain words. The past participle is usually linked to a third person singular form of haber (written consistently without the h)

For example, in line twenty, ha libertado and ha quitado appear as albertado and aquitado. In line twenty-one, the word asido is written for the verb form ha sido.

A reflexive pronoun is also usually linked to the verb which follows as in sealteran in line twenty-eight, or sean consolado (se han consolado). There is also one example of linking between a form of the auxiliary verb haber and the preposition de which follows in an idiomatic
use. The contemporary *han de echar* appears as *ande echar* in the document.

Also, many contractions commonly found in sixteenth-century documents are present in which the prepositions *de* and *a* are linked to the article, pronoun or demonstrative they precede. There are also some instances of linking occurring between the preposition *en* and the word *todo*, as seen in lines five and thirteen. They appear as separate words in line twenty-six, however.

Examples of separations which would not be found in contemporary writing include the separation of the prefix *de* in the word *debaixo* (written in line nine as *de baxo*). In the word *visorey* the prefix is separated from the root word *rey* in line twenty-five.

Also, the indirect object pronoun, *nos*, is separated from the infinitive it follows where today it would be joined, as in the phrase *...enbiar nos obispos*... in line ten, or *señalar nos* in line three.

Abbreviations are used sparingly in the document. The abbreviations for *Vuestra Magestad* are used throughout, as they are in all of the documents, but other common abbreviations are less frequent.
Abbreviations formed by syncope include only \textit{nra}, (\textit{nuestra}) and \textit{gras} (\textit{gracias}).

Omission of the letter \textit{n} is common in this document as it is in others. The present tense third-person plural verb forms are written without the \textit{n}, and its omission is indicated by a tilde placed above the preceding vowel, as seen in line eleven in \textit{administra}n, in \textit{dican} and \textit{quieren} in line twenty-eight and in the following line, in the present subjunctive \textit{echen}. Also omitted is the first \textit{n} in the adverb \textit{principalmente} in line eight, where the preceding \textit{j} appears with an arc written above it. There are no examples of abbreviation by apocope in the document.

There are no written stress marks in the document. However, a tilde is written correctly in the following words: \textit{señor, enseñan, España, españoles, señorío, and años}.

This document presents the most consistent use of punctuation marks. A slanted line is often used where a comma would normally appear or before the conjunction \textit{y}. A period or a combination of a period and a slanted line indicate the end of a sentence. This combination also
appears after the last word of text. Periods are also used consistently
with the abbreviation V. Mg^†. The punctuation in this document is most
"correct" of all the documents studied in that it is the most similar to
contemporary punctuation standards. Consequently, its content is one of
the easiest to comprehend.
Orthographic Commentary, Document 2

There are fewer deviations from contemporary orthographic norms in this document than in the preceding or in subsequent ones. The most evident feature is the misuse of the consonants m and n (also seen in a few examples in the first document). Here, the words lumbre, anparo, siempre and también attest to the m/n confusion. In every case the n precedes a bilabial occlusive (either [p] or [b]). A dissimilation has occurred between two successive bilabial consonants (the [m] and the [p] or [b]), whereby the first bilabial was changed to the alveolar nasal consonant represented by the grapheme n.

The first word in the group is from the Latin neuter noun lumen. The n was internalized, creating the form lumene (the same process changed the neuter nomen to nomene giving the modern Spanish nombre). The loss of the first e, which was unstressed, gave the intermediate form lum'ne, where the m'n combination, so difficult to pronounce, was modified to mbr, giving lumbre. In this document, dissimilation between the two bilabials gave the form lumbre.
The noun *amparo* came from the infinitive form *amparar* which was derived from the Latin verb *anteparare*, (meaning, literally, "to provide before", or, figuratively, "to favor" and by extension, "to protect"). Among these examples, this is the only case in which an *n* was present in the Latin form. The unaccented syllable *te* was lost in the pronunciation and in the resulting form, *an'parare*, the influence of the bilabial *p* caused the alveolar consonant to be transformed to the bilabial *[m]*, creating two adjacent bilabials, thereby facilitating pronunciation. In this instance, the scribe's version is actually closer to the original Latin form. The introduction of the alveolar, however, makes the word harder to pronounce than it would be with the successive bilabial sounds (represented by the graphemes *mp*).

The last two examples, *sienpre* and *tanbien*, are from the Latin *semper* and *tam bene* (each of which has the *[m]* followed by a bilabial stop, though unvoiced in the former and voiced in the latter). In each case, the contemporary Spanish word has the diphthong *ie*, indicating that the Latin had had a short *g* in a stressed position. Also, in the transformation of *semper* to the Spanish *siempre*, there is evidence of a
change in position of the Latin r which moved from a final to an internal position (as did the final n in the Latin neuter words, as seen above).

In this document, the upper case R is used to represent the multiple vibrant sound in an initial position. In other positions, this sound is represented by double consonant rr. A discussion of the use of rr in derivatives of honra (seen here in line six) appears in the orthographic commentary to Document 4 in the study.

In initial position, the rr is consistently represented by the upper case R, as seen in the words Religiosos, Reyes, viso Rey and in the verb Rogamos.

The word cat(h)ólica (line eleven) illustrates the only instance where an h appears in a word where none would be written today. The conservative influences of the Church were probably responsible for the preservation of the h, present in the Latin word catholicus, adopted from the Greek.

The h was not written in the forms of the auxiliary verb haber as mentioned above, and it is also omitted from the word ahora, which appears in the document as aora.
Two antiquated spellings appear in the document. As in the first document studied, the old form cibdad for ciudad appears. Also, the verbal phrase diz que is used where modern Spanish would have dice or dicen que. This form was widely used throughout the sixteenth century (and into the seventeenth). The Lexicon includes an entry for diz que with corresponding examples which date from 1525 to 1579.

In Latin, the third person singular of the present indicative dicit gave the form dize in Old Spanish. The Latin "postpalatal" [k'], represented by the Latin combination qi, became the voiced fricative [z] represented by the grapheme ž in Old Spanish. The form dize was then shortened by apocope to diz. The voiced fricative was later devoiced and came to be represented by the grapheme z in the seventeenth century.
Por quinto bieses de ser escrito A.D. m.m. Acércase otras muchas cosas con
esclavos que se ha proclamado y se ha dicho libertad declare abiertamente
en la final carta por todos mill y quatrocientos y seis y cinco
y Aposa hama la fecha de esta carta y declare sus mill y sus
miliones y quales que los muy mas por seis finales o cincocer o dolocido
porque sean dado por libres excepto algunos que piden sus play
ros y muchos ellos se hizieron esclavos por el dicho de anuncio
de media en la guerra de su aposicion porque tenes se buena guerra y
porque hechos esclavos en ella su Real audiencia muy pocos sean
dado por libres y les tomando en el cuerpo de ellos acero y luego
me he hecho y porque escravo sin poder mi liberar al per
y suplico ahora como muy ofenso y peligroso como es el
same y de el era por que no se podido estan Real audiencia en
particular ya que muy el se de Leyes de degradacion semejante
en los Seme de no el cuerpo de la capellanía del decreto y de los
de pobres suplicado a todos se mediesen. Ameno seme
dado en su y se otros por mi los pesar me pedir por
me poder escapar de ellos en sus deudas y al principio fuese eran
los suyos y se mediesen de acabar de el mismo de
semejante de todos sus y suplicar semejante de todos pues el de
se de todos estos muero seguro el goce de cariçma y muy
gran trabajo de otros se medes en por otro el los indios semejante
e de la capellanía del decreto semejante escuela de cariçma al
e de me debe haber dicho por trabajo y en todos ellos tenía vasi
Doctore a losa

Su muy humilde servidor.
Transcription. Document 3

Mexico, 1554

S(acra) C(esárea) C(atólica) M(agestad)

Por quatro veces que he escrito a V(uestra) M(agestad) acerca d(e) los indios tenidos por

(2) esclavos q(ue) ha(n) proclamado y co(n)seguído libertad, declare aver sido

(3) en la final carta por todos mil y quatrocie(n)tos y veinte y cinco

(4) y agora, hasta la fecha de ésta, digo y declaro ser mil y seí(scient)os y nove(n)ta y

(5) q(uatro) d(e) los q(ua)les los muy más, por sentencias finales, o concierto o voliudad de

(6) partes, se an dado por libres, excepto algunos que piden sus plei-

(7) los y muchos d(e) los q(ue) se hiziero(n) esclavos por el visorey do(n) Antonio

(8) de Me(n)doça en la guerra de Jalisco, q(ue) por se tener de buena guerra y

(9) por bie(n) hechos esclavos en esta su real audiencia, muy pocos se an
(10) dado por libres. Y así en todo lo q(ue) se a hecho y hace, se a tenido
(11) y tiene respecto a lo que V(uestra) M(agemad) q(uí)ere y ma(n)da,
q(ue) los indios malhechos
(12) esclavos sea(n) libres. Y porq(ue) yo en (e)l cargo q(ue) pa(ra) ello
aceté y te(n)go,
(13) me he hecho e hize escalo sin poder me libertar de él. Pido
(14) y suplico a V(uesta) M(agemad) como muy odioso y peligroso
co(n)tra mí, se me
(15) quite y dé a otro, porq(ue) acá no he podido co(n) su real audiencia
ni en
(16) particular co(n) su muy ilustre visorey do(n) Luis de Velasco, se me
q(uí)te
a(17)unque se me quitó el cargo de leer la cátedra d(e)l decreto y de
aboga-
(18) do de pobres, suplica(n)do q(ue) todos se me q(uí)tasen(n)
aviéndoseme
(19) dado todos, sin yo ni otros por mí los procurar, ni pedir por
(20) mí poder escapar de odiosos o envidiosos q(ue) al principio fuero(n)
en me (21) los dar. Y se me dextrava de acabar de firmar cierto
libramie(n)to de

(22) los d(ic)hos pobres, lo pedí y supliqué se me qu(i)tasse(n) todos,
pues el parti-
(23) do de todos ellos no era mucho segú(n) el t(i)po de carestía y muy
(24) gra(n) trabajo. Aunq(ue) me diera por solo el d(e) los índios y se me
q(ui)tó
(25) el de la d(ic)ha cátedra, diziendo se me q(ui)taba andava(n) (?) por
dexada, ate(n)-
(26) to an (?) para me relevar d(e)l gra(n) trabajo q(ue) en todos ellos
tenía. Y assí
(27) q(ue)dándome co(n) los dos cargos de ndios y pobres,
sin yo ser llamado
(28) ni oído sobre ello, por favorecer al liçenciado Morones,
q(ui)ta(n)do se me
(29) el d(ic)ho cargo de pobres se le dió, dexá(n)doseme sólo el d(e) los
d(ic)hos in-
(30) dios. Demás q(ue) ya que no he podido ni puedo hazer. Se me quitó
este d(ic)ho

(31) cargo, anda en dos años q(ue) no se me a pagado ni paga el salario
d(e) (el),

(32) ni d(e) lo q(ue) serví en la d(ic)ha cathedra y pobres, dizie(n)do sus
oficiales

(33) q(ue) no ay penas de camarada de q(ue) se me pague, ni abrá con
cognosçimientos

(34) q(ue) no avié(n)dolas tales penas, q(ue) lo bolviere y restituiere
segú(n) se me

(35) pagó un año. Y assí soy co(m)pelido sin remedio de mi probreza,
gasta(n)do

(36) lo q(ue) no tengo y sufrie(n)do lo q(ue) no debo a lo servir. Si
V(uestra) M(agestad) como justí(si)mo

(37) y benigní(si)mo príncipe no remedia de manera q(ue) por le servir no
val-

(38) gamos menos ni ganemos menos. Cuya vida Dios N(uest)ro Señor
 guar-

(39) de y p(ros)pere por su sancta gloria. De México, 20 de octubre de
(40) mil y quinientos y cincuenta y cuatro donde queda.

De Vuestro Magestade altísima

Su muy humilde criado

el doctor Melganeso
Paleographic Commentary. Document 3

The handwriting in this document, written the same year as the previous document studied and ten years late: than the first, shows a similarity to the itálica hand. There is an evident simplicity in the formation of the letters, all of which are very legible.

Many abbreviations are used however, and many letters are omitted, making the transcription of this document something of a puzzle. A mark above the letter preceding the omission indicates that a piece is missing, and that a letter must be inserted. The n is the letter most frequently omitted, followed by e (especially in the contraction del or in the old Spanish dello, and della). Occasionally an i is omitted. The key to the puzzle is knowing which letter to insert, keeping in mind that the modern spelling may not, in fact, call for that letter. Words where this is the case are discussed in the Orthographic Commentary.

The abbreviations in the document include the common one for que, here written as a q with an arc above it. This sigla abbreviates not only the relative pronoun que but words in which that three-letter combination appears, for example the preterit supliqué in line
twenty-two is written \textit{Suppliq} and \textit{aunque} in line twenty-four appears as \textit{Alonq}.

The symbols which represent groups of letters and examples of their use in the document are given below:

\begin{align*}
\mathcal{q} & = \text{pro} \\
\tilde{q} & = \text{qua} \\
q' & = \text{qui} \\
\mathcal{p} & = \text{procurar} \\
\tilde{p} & = \text{quales} \\
q' & = \text{quiere}
\end{align*}

Abbreviations by apocope include the common \textit{pa} for \textit{para} and also \textit{do} for \textit{donde}. Syncopal abbreviations, as specifically defined, are found in all instances where a letter has been omitted. They are seen in the common forms \textit{dho} (dicho) and \textit{nro} (nuestro), but also in the abbreviation \textit{dtr} for the word \textit{doctor}.

Superscripts are used in abbreviations as illustrated below:

\begin{align*}
\text{audien}^a & = \text{audiencia} \\
\text{benign}^\text{mo} & = \text{benignísimo} \\
\mathcal{a}_\text{no} & = \text{cognociemientos}
\end{align*}
Accents in the document are exceedingly scarce. Only two words appear with a written accent. In the first the accent is used incorrectly and in the second it is unnecessary. The name Antonio is written with an accent mark placed incorrectly over the j in line seven. In line eleven, the initial j in indios is accented unnecessarily.

Punctuation is equally scarce in the document. In lines thirteen and thirty-five, a period is used to signal the end of a sentence but these are the only two instances in which such punctuation occurs. After the last line of the closing phrase, su muy humilde criado, a period is also used. After the last line of text, before the date, the phrase donde queda is followed by a colon. There are no commas in the document. When punctuation is supplied following contemporary standards, the sentences
which result are very long and contain many connectives and conjunctions.
Orthographic Commentary. Document 3

As mentioned above, the most interesting orthographic feature of the document is the misuse of certain consonants which are not written but are represented by the mark which indicates an omission. In line seven for example, the word *muchos* appears with an arc over the *u*, indicating that the following letter has been omitted. The scribe wrote the word with the usual sign for the most frequently omitted letter, the *n*, representing the incorrect but often heard form *müncho*. This is an example of the insertion of a letter into the middle of a word or *epenthesis* in linguistic terminology. The addition of a nasal (bilabial or alveolar) occurred frequently in Vulgar Latin without apparent reason. Menéndez Pidal gives the example of the Classical Latin word for stain *macula* which in Vulgar Latin, by addition of the nasal *n*, became *mancula* and gave the modern Spanish *mancha*. Perhaps the nasal quality of the initial letter influenced the inclusion of another nasal sound within the word.

The trend toward epenthesis in certain words continued and an *n* was inserted in the Spanish *muncho*, derived from the Latin *multus*. 
where the \( \text{j} \) was palatalized, forming the semi-vowel and giving the
form \( \text{muy} \text{t} \) (the Old Spanish form of \( \text{muy} \)). The influence of this new
palatal sound caused a palatalization of the dental [t], converting it to
[\( \text{ð} \)]. The semi-vowel sound created by the palatized \( \text{j} \) later became the
pure vowel sound [u], giving the modern form \( \text{mucho} \). Throughout the
document this word is written the way it appears in line seven, with the
indication of an omitted \( \text{n} \).

Also in the document, the word \( \text{muy} \) (derived, as seen above, from
the same Latin word \text{multus}) is written with an indication of an
omission. Given the omission of an \( \text{j} \) the abbreviation \text{tpo} in line
twenty-three, and considering the frequently used Old Spanish form
\( \text{muy} \text{t} \), it is reasonable to assume that the scribe was attempting to
represent another palatal sound between the \( \text{u} \) and the \( \text{y} \). The scribe may
have been aware that there was no other palatal sound which must be
represented orthographically, yet he felt the need to use the standard
indication of an omission of a letter or simplification of a double
consonant. In this case however, the scribe would have been clearly in
error to presume that a double palatal had existed in the correct
spelling. Perhaps the confusion stemmed from the uncertainty which accompanied the use of words with a palatal in the final position, which were *palabras cultas*. The scribe, aware of the inherent difference between this word and the majority of Spanish words (which do not have the palatal in final position) may have believed that another letter or letters had been present in an earlier form.

This reasoning also holds true in the case of the word *como* which appears with a bar over the *m*. The scribe was more than likely under the impression that the orthographically correct representation of the word was *commo*, and that the form he wrote was intened to be a simplification, or an abbreviated form of the word in which only one consonant of the pair was written. The scribe was partially correct in his logic, in that the double *mm* in Latin was simplified to the single *m* in Spanish (for example the Latin *gemma* gave *yema* in Spanish). In the case of *como*, however, the scribe’s assumption that there had been a simplification from the Latin *mm* to a single consonant *m* which must be acknowledged orthographically is a hypercorrection. The Spanish word was derived from the Latin *quomodo*. The fricative [u] in the
velar-fricative combination qu was lost in Spanish, leaving only the velar sound represented by the grapheme ç.

An example of the omission of a letter which does indeed exist in the correct spelling is seen in the word co(m)pido (for cumplido) in line thirty-five. Here, the scribe wrote the older, commonly-used form of the past participle of cumplir in which the more open vowel [o] was substituted for the [u] when pronounced. Complir is the form which seems closer to the Latin compleere, from which it was derived, but confusion arose due to certain conjugations where the grapheme ç appeared. It was observed that certain -ir verbs in which an ç preceded the ir ending (morir and dormir for example) had forms in which a û appeared (as in the third-person singular and plural preterit forms and the present participles). Thus forms such as cumpliendo and cumplieron would have been used more and more frequently and by analogy (or by confusion with other -ir verbs which had had a long û in Latin), the form cumplir was introduced and later adopted as the correct form.

The scribe's insertion of an ç between the consonants p and l in this word is another example of hypercorrection, since the pl combination
existed as such in Latin and did not arise from an omission of a vowel in Romance.

Double consonants which are used in the document include the ss, ll, pp and the ff. The general etymological rule for internal double Latin consonants (such as the pp, ss or mm) was that they were simplified to a single consonant and retained orthographically as a single consonant. The ll and the nn (written today as ñ) were preserved but came to represent palatal sounds in Spanish.

In this document the ss appears in an intervocalic position in the word assí and in the imperfect subjunctive forms of the verb guitar, quitasse and quitassen.

In line three of the document, the number mill appears. Derived from the Latin mille, the modern Spanish form mil is a holdover from the Medieval form which had reduced the longer Latin form by apocope. The frequency of the word may have contributed to the preference for the shorter form since the older form was not reinstated.

The other example of the use of ll in the document is found in line sixteen in the word illustre. This was a latinized or erudite form taken
directly from the Latin *illustre* and later simplified, by modern orthographic convention to *illustre* to preserve the dental [j] of the Latin.

The words *supplico* in line fourteen and *officiales* in line thirty-two appear in Latinized form as well. The verb *suplicare* is taken directly from the Latin *supplicare* where, with the addition of the prefix *sub*, the final letter of the prefix assimilated to the *p* of *plicare*, giving the double consonant *pp*.

The modern Spanish *oficial* came from the Latin genitive form *officialis*. Again, contemporary Spanish orthography has simplified the double consonant. The other example of the *ff* is found in the present participle *suffrie(n)do* in line thirty-six. The Spanish infinitive was derived from the Latin *sufferre* (a combination of the prefix *sub* and the infinitive *ferre*, where the final bilabial of the prefix was assimilated to the initial [f] of the root). The change from the Latin verb type *-ere* to the Spanish *-ir* occurred due to a confusion which was prevalent in Vulgar Latin. It has been suggested that speakers of Vulgar Latin pronounced the first person present indicative of the verb as if it were
sufferio. By analogy then, the infinitive was thought to be sufferire, where [i] was the tonic vowel. The preceding unstressed e disappeared as did the final e and the ff was simplified, giving the contemporary form sufrir.

Also present in the document are several archaic orthographic forms. The abbreviation by apocope of donde to do, mentioned above, is a holdover from Medieval Spanish. The form is conserved in Modern Spanish in the word doquier. The use of do was apparently common in sixteenth century documents as an abbreviation for donde. The abbreviated form has a separate entry in the Lexicon where many examples of its use are cited from documents written between 1529 and 1568.

The word agora, used in place of ahora in Old Spanish, is also found in the document. The two adverbs are from different Latin sources, however. The old form is from the Latin hac hora, where the initial h of each word was lost and the voiceless velar [k] was transformed into the voiced stop [g]. The modern form ahora was derived from the Latin ad horam where the intervocalic [d] disappeared as did the final m.
In line thirty-nine the word *sancta* is written as it was throughout the Middle Ages. The pervasive use of the old orthography of this word, so common in ecclesiastical writings and in the Liturgy, was due to the conservative influences of the Church. It was also this influence which impeded the velar-dental combination [kt] (found in the Latin form *sanctus*) from palatalizing into the [ç] as was the general rule.

Similarly, the word *cathedra* appears with the h, as it was written in Latin (and Greek) where again the conservative ecclesiastical influences were responsible for the preservation of the h in the Spanish orthography. Eventually the h, not pronounced in either Romance or Spanish, lost its graphic representation.
Algunas veces: en los países visigodos, había gran riqueza y abundancia, y de algunas tierras, que riqueza daba, recibían algunas cosas. Se dice que en algunas ocasiones, se dieron regalos de oro y plata. Continuando esto, como lo hacen, tiempo que se fue extendiendo, comienzan a ver que, de esta manera, se puede obtener más y más riquezas. En un tiempo, se va extendiendo lo que se hace, y extraordinario es el proceso de acumulación de riqueza. En estos momentos, se ven varias maneras de hacer dinero, que se convierten en el futuro en algo tan importante que define la economía de ese país.

Necesitamos, por lo tanto, reflexionar sobre estas situaciones y considerar las implicaciones de este proceso en la sociedad. Es importante entender que no todas las riquezas pueden ser igualmente valoradas. En ciertos contextos, el dinero puede representar mucho más que simple propiedad material. Por ello, es esencial reflexionar sobre cómo podemos garantizar que estas riquezas se utilicen de manera justa y responsable.

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Por último, es necesario reconvenir que el tema de la riqueza y el dinero ha sido objeto de muchas discusiones y debates a lo largo de la historia. Las diferentes perspectivas y enfoques han dado lugar a una serie de ideas y creencias que aún hoy persisten. Es importante que, al reflexionar sobre estas cuestiones, consideremos no solo el aspecto económico, sino también las dimensiones sociales, culturales y éticas de la riqueza y el dinero. Es fundamental que, en nuestro camino hacia el futuro, nos esforzemos por construir sociedades justas y equitativas, donde la riqueza se convierta en un motor de desarrollo y progreso, y no en una fuente de conflictos y desigualdades.

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Este documento es una reflexión sobre el tema de la riqueza y el dinero, y sus implicaciones en la sociedad contemporánea. A través de esta reflexión, esperamos fomentar una mayor concienciación sobre la importancia de utilizar las riquezas de manera justa y responsable, con el objetivo de construir sociedades más justas y equitativas.
Document 4, continued

[Text continues on the page]
Transcription. Document 4

Peru 1565

S(acra) C(esárea) R(eal) M(agestad)

De la Ciudad de los Reyes, viniendo a este gobierno donde estoy y desde esta ciudad den-

(2) de algunos días que llegué a ella e dado quenta a V(uest)ra Mag(estad)

de algunas cosas de que

(3) como vasallo y criado de V(uest)ra Mag(estad) tengo obligación de darla, y continuando esto

(4) como lo haré siempre que se ofreçiere cosa que me paresca que V(uest)ra Mag(estad) deva

(5) saber. Digo que lo que de esta ciudad escreví a V(uest)ra Mag(estad)

me paresçe que conviene

(6) mucho, como andando el tiempo se mostrará por espirencia, si V(uestra) Mag(estad) no manda

(7) que se haga añadiendo o quitando algo de manera que del todo no çese el

(8) poner remedio en ello.
(9) Yo, a(un)que estoy en este oficio dos años, y que salí de mi cassa para el dos, e me d(e)r(ech)o
(10) y creo que en el tiempo que en él e estado, se a servido a V(uest)ra Mag(estad), lo qual tengo por
(11) principal interés, porque otro no he tenido en este oficio ni en otros de los en que
(12) he servido a V(uest)ra Mag(estad), porque en él de los Charcas gasté más de treinta mill p(eso)s como
(13) paresce por la información que enbie a ese real consejo. Y en este he gastado más
(14) de veinte e un mil p(eso)s y en los demás todo lo q(ue) al servicio de V(uest)ra Mag(estad) a con-
(15) venido que (en) todo he tenido siempre este fin, como todo parescerá por el testi-
(16) monio que va con éste, lo que en gratificación de esto y de lo que he servido a V(uest)ra
(17) Mag(estad) en treinta e un años que ha que estoy en estos reinos.
Los ministros de justicia que
(18) V(uest)ra Mag(estad) hazen co(n)migo es mandar la audiencia real que V(uest)ra Mag(estad) tiene en la
(19) provincia de los Charcas, en cuyo distrito a puesto V(uest)ra Mag(estad) esta ciudad. Pues que
(20) yo estoy en ella, al corregidor que está proveído para que me subgéda, que tomado
(21) que me aya la residencia, me mande ir poner la a la ciudad dela Plata que es
(22) otras dozientas leguas más lexos de mi cassa y quantoécientas por todas, solo
(23) a fin de molestarme con el trabajo y gasto que se me seguiera en el camino y aún
(24) en el tratam(ient)o de mi p(er)sona porque así lo he entendido, sin aver más causa de
(25) pasión particular que el lic(engia)do Ramírez de Quiñones, presidente en aquella real
(26) audiencia, tiene por cosas que aquí se an hecho con Ant(oní)o de Quiñones, vezino de la ciudad, deudo suyo, sobre unas pasiones que aquí
tenía con don ant(oni)o de Pereira, vezi(n)o
(27) así mismo desta ciudad, començadas antes que yo a ella viniese, a
los quales yo hize
(28) amigos y lo son. Y si para esto fue menester algún rigor, no fue sin
efeto y en ello
(30) entiendo que scríví a V(uest)ra Mag(estad) mucho, y si a los criados
de V(uest)ra Mag(estad) que en estos reinos
(31) servimos, los que representan V(uest)ra p(er)sona real, no los
tratan bien ni los honrran con razón
32) se escusarán todos de señalar se en v(uest)ro real servicio, aunque yo
no he de dexar de hacer
(33) por todos estos malos tratamientos, ni por los que me hizo el
lic(encia)do Altamirano, oidor,
(34) que fue de esta Audiencia de los Reyes quando me tomó residencia
del oficio que por V(uest)ra Mag(estad)
(35) en la provincia de los Charcas dolencia es ésta general(mente) (?),
como entenderá V(uest)ra Mag(estad) por lo que
(36) a hecho el lic(encia)do Matienço, oidor del Audiencia de los Charcas,
el cual vino por juez

(37) de residencia contra el doctor Cuenca, oidor del Audiencia delos
Reyes, que fue

(38) corregidor en esta ciudad, que aviendo servido mucho a V(uest)ra
Mag(estad) el tiempo que aquí estuvo,

(39) a juntado el lic(encia)do Matienen todos sus henemigos y los que
condenó para testigos a los que les

(40) dize e hace cosas muy feas e sin (h)orden, mostrando más fin de
quitalle su (h)onrra que de

(41) tomalle rresidencia. Y todo esto digo con el zelo que los criados de
V(uest)ra Mag(estad) devemos tener

(42) y con deseo que todos se animen a V(uest)ro real servicio en estas
partes donde tanto es me-

(43) nester. Que yo ya quedo de esto y de (h)otras cosas tan atemorizado
que aún en mi casa no

(44) me tiene por seguro de molestias y vexaciones. Y así pretenda ir a
servir a V(uest)ra Mag(estad)

(45) en esos reinos, pues para ello tengo lizençia de V(uest)ra
Mag(estad). (46) Del licenciado Castro, presidente en la real audiencia que reside en la Ciudad

(47) de los Reyes e governador en estos reinos por V(uest)ra Mag(estad) abre V(uestra) Mag(estad) entendido

(48) lo que estos naturales trataban en (el) servicio de V(uest)ra real corona y

(49) perjuicio de los que estábamos en estos reynos y señ(or)íos. Como fue N(uest)ro

(50) Señor servido que se entendiese y remedíase de manera que proveyen

(51) do a lo presente y por venir no tengan el aparejo que hasta aquí para seme-

(52) jante novedad. Aquí se a trabajado en todo esto con el calor y rigor

(53) que a convenido así por tener aquí (tan) vezino al inca que está rebe-

(54) lado de donde paresce que emana todo como por ser esto la grosedad de

(55) toda la tierra, así en cantidad de naturales como en riqueza de ellos y de es-

(56) pañoles. Yo scrivi al' Audiencia de los Reyes al tiempo que esta
ciudad

(57) estaba en su distrito lo que convenía sacar este inga por paz o por

(58) guerra de donde está. Y p(ro)fesándome a hazello, paresçe que a

aquel

(59) tiempo se temía noticia de la venida del li(cencia)do Castro y no les

paresció

(60) proveer en ello sin su parescer y después ansí mismo lo e escrito al

lic(encia)do

(61) Castro y entiende en dar horden en ello por tan buenos medios, que

no tengo

(62) duda en que se dexara deshazer aquella ladronera tan perjudicial

(63) por lo d(e)j(s(eño)r). A mí se me (en)comendare servir a V(uest)ra

Mag(estado) en ello

(64) y si no servire en ayudar quien lo p(ro)viere de hazer el testimonio

(65) de los gastos, no enbió a V(uest)ra Mag(estado) por que no pretendo de

ello más de

(66) que V(uest)ra Mag(estado) (en)tienda que mi principal intento es

servir a V(uest)ra
(67) Mag(estad) y gastar aquello de que en nombre de V(uest)ra Mag(estad) se me a hecho m(erce)d.

(68) y yo ahorro (de él) mis gran ser(vi)icios. Y así le haré siempre que se ofresciere servir

(69) a V(uest)ra Mag(estad). N(uest)ro Señor la S(acra) C(esárea) R(eal) P(er)sona de V(uest)ra Mag(estad) guarde y conserve en su s(an)to

(70) servicio con aumento de mayores reinos y señoríos. Del Cuzco, a

(71) mil e qui(niento)s y sesenta e cinco años.

S(acra) C(esárea) R(eal) M(agestad)

Besa los Reales pies de V(uestra) M(a)g(estad)

Su menor Vasallo y criado
Paleographic Commentary. Document 4

In this document, the first forty-five lines are written in a clear procesal style. The last part of the letter (lines forty-six through seventy-one) shows a more rapid execution of the script, with more linking between words and an overall more cursive appearance of the letters. As in the first document, the sigla representing the word que is usually linked to the initial v of Vuestra Magestade when followed by that form of address. Many abbreviations are used throughout the document. The symbol £, representing the combination st, is used often and is seen in the word gastre which appears as go-Ae in line twelve. The symbol ღ which represents en is also used frequently in the document. One example of its use is in the past participle entendido which appears as Aen-ded in line twenty-four. The sigla P represents the letter group per as illustrated by its use in the word persona, which is written P3ona in line twenty-four.

The word Magestad is abbreviated by apocope and appears with its usual cross-shaped superscript. Syncopal abbreviations found in the
document, written with and without superscripts, include the following:

\[ \text{arte} \quad = \quad \text{Antonio} \]
\[ \text{tratamiento} \quad = \quad \text{tratamiento} \]
\[ \text{licenciado} \quad = \quad \text{licenciado} \]
\[ \text{nuestro} \quad = \quad \text{nuestro} \]
\[ \text{quinientos} \quad = \quad \text{quinientos} \]
\[ \text{santo} \quad = \quad \text{santo} \]
\[ \text{vecino} \quad = \quad \text{vecino} \]
\[ \text{vuestro} \quad = \quad \text{vuestro} \]

In this document, as in the first document studied, accentuation is inconsistent and haphazard. Occasionally a vowel will appear with a slanted line above it, similar to a contemporary accent mark. This type of mark is also used to indicate an omission of letters. The marks do not coincide with the deliniation of the tonic vowel and at times they are unnecessarily written to indicate stress. The mark appears over the ő in several words which end in -ción which is consistent with present-day rules for accentuation. The word obligación in line two
and **información** in line thirteen are both examples of the proper placement of the "accent" mark.

In verb forms, use of a marked accent varies. The scribe correctly marked declensions of the verb **enviar** (spelled consistently with **b** in place of **y**). The first-person present indicative for example, is written **enbió** with the accent mark clearly in place. Also, the first-person preterit **enbió** shows the correct change in the stressed syllable. Other correct uses of the accent mark are seen in the verb forms **tenía** in line twenty-seven and in **convenía** in line fifty-seven. Also the future **entenderá** (line sixty-six) and the preterit **serví** (line forty-four) appear with the correct accentuation. The third person preterit **dio** has an accent mark written where none would appear in modern Spanish, (the accentuation of single-syllable preterit forms ending in a dipthong no longer being required). An accent mark is also correctly placed over the **e** in the interrogative **quién** in line sixty-four. Second and third-person present indicative forms of the verb **estará** which appear in the document are not marked with an accent.
The scribe tended to accent the tonic \( \text{i} \) in words where no accent mark is required. In line eighteen, for example, the word co(n)mígo appears with a superfluous accent as does amígos (line twenty-nine) and (h)enemígos (line thirty-nine). Similarly, the \( \text{i} \) in a past participle is often accented where not necessary as in servído (line sixteen). Use of the accent mark in these instances is not consistent, however, as tenido appears without a written accent, and the past participle entendido appears both with and without an accent mark over the \( \text{i} \).

Occasionally, the scribe successfully accented the tonic \( \text{i} \) in a past participle, *as in proveído in line twenty.*

The tendency to indicate stress of the weak \( \text{i} \) (or \( \text{y} \)) in certain words led to some interesting errors in accentuation. The one-syllable word fin appears with a written accent mark on line fifteen and the word prejuicio appears with an accent mark over the final \( \text{i} \) as does the word testimonio.

The tilde appears in the document in años (lines seventeen and seventy-one). Also, a small dot is used to delineate the palatal \( \tilde{\text{n}} \) in the infinitive señalar(se) which appears as Seña-Larse in line
thirty-two. The dot may be meant to indicate an omission, possibly of a second ń as, the double consonant ññ in Old Spanish antedated the ń and the palatal ñ of modern Spanish orthography.

With regard to punctuation, this document is especially challenging to read. There are no commas and there is an abundance of marks which resemble a period or punto final. These marks appear frequently after each word in a sentence or as an indication of an omission of letters.

A new paragraph is occasionally set off by a mark in the margin, although there is no consistent delineation of new paragraphs throughout the document.
**Orthographic Commentary, Document 4**

Use of the double consonants is evident in this document. The **ss**, in its common intervocalic position is used in the word **cassa** (lines nine and twenty-two). In the word **cosa** and its plural **cosas**, use of the double consonant is inconsistent. In line two the plural form appears with the contemporary spelling, whereas two lines later, the singular form appears with the **ss**. This is the only instance in the document of the use of the double consonant to represent the apical-alveolar sound.

The multiple-voiced alveolar vibrant [rr], represented by the double consonant **rr**, often appeared in positions where today a single **r** would appear. In Document Three, for example, **honrra** is used. In this document the word appears with the same spelling. The **rr** is found in several words in the document, including **real**, **remedios**, **reinos**, **riqueza** and in the proper noun **ramirez**.

The confusion between the certain graphemes is evident in this document. As in the first document studied, the **m** and the **n** are often interchanged. In the word **nombre** the first **n** was probable pronounced as the dental nasal, and the second **n** as a voiced alveolar nasal.
as the dental nasal, and the second n as a voiced alveolar nasal.

Orthographically, it appears that an assimilation occurred, causing the repeated use of an n in the interior position, although they were more than likely two distinct sounds. According to Menéndez Pidal, the Spanish *nombre* came from the Latin nominative *nomen*. The final n was internalized, giving the form *nomene*. When the unstressed e ceased to be pronounced, the resulting *mn* combination (a nasal and a liquid consonant) produced an intervening bilabial voiced stop and a voiced alveolar consonant represented by br. The Old Spanish form *nomne* was common in the Middle Ages along with the form *nomre*. By the sixteenth century however, inclusion of the bilabial was the norm, yet perhaps due to the influence of the old form, *nomne*, confusion between the m and the n and use of the grapheme n also occurred.

This document is replete with other examples of confusion among various graphemes, particularly the b, v, u confusion and the short i versus the long i uncertainty.

In line fifty-seven, the word *ynga* illustrates another common orthographic (and phonetic) confusion which existed between the
voiceless stop [k] (represented ɡ) and the voiced [g]. The generic word for “indian” was usually written yndio. The region was referred to graphically as las yndias. Perhaps these spellings influenced those who used the long i or y when writing the word inca and its derivatives. The confusion between the voiced and voiceless velar stops (the [ɡ] seen here and the [k] of the modern orthography) is understandable, given their similar points of articulation and the general evolutionary rule whereby the intervocalic voiceless stops become voiced.

As in the first document, use or omission of the h in this document is often the result of the uncertainty of the scribe. A superfluous h appears in the words henemigos (created not from the Latin hostis, which has an initial h, but as a negative form of the word amigo, from the Latin amicus). The other incorrect use of an h in initial position occurs in the word horden, from the Latin ordine.

The auxiliary verb haber appears with the grapheme b instead of the v, preferred in earlier documents. The initial h in haber is not consistently present. In this document as in others in the study, forms of haber are occasionally written e, a, an (often linked to the past
participle which follows), or emos. There are, however, instances of correct placement of the initial h in the document. In line twelve for example, he servido appears in the contemporary form.

Other examples of orthographic dissimilarities include the use of an initial gu in words such as quenta, quando, and qual. Entries in the Lexicon attest to the widespread use of the gu during the sixteenth century where modern orthography requires c.

An archaic form of the verb suceder appears in this document in line twenty as subceda. This verb entered Spanish from the Latin succedere. Typically, the double velar consonants, written cc in Latin, were simplified to a single consonant in Spanish. The Latin words bucca and vacca for example, gave the Spanish boca and vaca.

Similarly, succedere became educeder by simplification of the double consonant. The intermediate form subceder may have resulted due to the confusion which had surrounded Latin prefixes. The Latin prefix sub, seen in the infinitives subponere (literally “to put under”) and subvenire (“to come under” or “to help”), became suc due to a bilabial-to-velar assimilation when placed before the verb cedere
which alone meant "to yield" or "to go". Also by assimilation this prefix became sup before the root verb ponere creating supponere. Thus the archaic subceder is actually the Latin combination of root and prefix without assimilation.

The archaism anṣi for asi also appears in the document (although not to the exclusion of the modern form). The Latin ad sic by assimilation gave assi (and, by simplification, asi). The word was at one time confused with the preposition sin, creating the archaic form assín. Then, by process of metathesis, this form became anṣi, a popular Castillian form which evidently was widely accepted in the New World.

In the Lexicon, the form anṣi appears as a separate entry, followed by the forms anṣín and asi.

One interesting orthographic peculiarity is evident in the adjective feeas (feas) in line forty. The Spanish feo comes from the Latin foedu. The oe had been reduced early in Vulgar Latin to e, creating fedo and later, due to the disappearance of the intervocalic d, to feo.

In other Latin words where there was an intervocalic [d], the Spanish form has successive vowels ee. For example, the Latin infinitive credere
gave the Spanish creer and provedere became proveer. In many of these forms, the two identical vowel sounds, were simplified to a single sound. This simplification process was most likely to occur in verbs with frequent usage. The Latin vedere produced the Medieval Spanish form veer, which, through its frequent usage was simplified early to the modern ver. The less-frequent proveer, on the other hand, retained its double-vowel orthography and pronunciation. In the case of the feminine plural adjective feesas, the scribe is recalling other Latin forms where the -ede- combination produced the vowels ee in hiatus in the Spanish form. The scribe may have assumed that in this case there had been a simplification of ee to e. His restoration of the "lost" e is an interesting example of hypercorrection. By the scribe’s judgement, the Vulgar Latin form would have been fedeo and not fedo.

This document also provides interesting examples of a type of assimilation which was standard during the sixteenth century. When the direct object lo or indirect object le was added to an infinitive, the final r assimilated to the initial l of the object. The specific examples from this document are: quitalle (line forty), tomañalle (line forty-one) and
hazello (line fifty-eight). The double ꞏ in these cases would not have represented the palatal sound of contemporary Spanish but a voiced alveolar "liquid" consonant [ꞏ].

The ꞏ and the Ꞙ are two consonants which were often transposed, assimilated or confused. Both are voiced alveolar consonants, the only difference being that the ꞏ is a vibrant and the Ꞙ a lateral.

A comparison of the English word pilgrim, the French pelerin and the divergent Spanish peregrino illustrates the tendency to confuse the two consonants. Also, the Latin periculum, by means of a metathesis of the ꞏ and Ꞙ (and the voicing of the intervocalic voiceless stop) gave the Spanish peligro and miraculum gave milagro.

This type of assimilation appeared not only in informal letters or official correspondence, but in literary texts as well. It became commonplace and remained in use throughout most of the seventeenth century.
No se proporciona el texto en una forma legible para ser traducida.
Transcription, Document 5

Yucatan, 1566

S(acra) C(esárea) R(eal) M(agestad)

V(uestra) Mag(estad) enbió a don Luis de Cespedes por go(vernador de
estas p(ro)v(n)ci(as

(2) y a tomar residencia al doctor Quixada, q(ue) las a go(vernado casi
cinco

(3) años. Por su residencia co(n)firma la gran necesidad q(ue) avía de le
re-

(4) mover para el descargo de V(uestra) Mag(estad) y bien de estas
p(ro)v(n)ci(as.

(5) El don Luis es muy moço, necessitado, y sin letras, q(ue) son tres
cosas q(ue) sola cualquiera de ellas es gran falta para el cristiano
gobierno

(7) q(ue) esta ti(er)ra, tan apartada de V(uestra) Mag(estad) a menester.

(8) Ya q(ue) V(uestra) Mag(estad) fue servido de le p(ro)veer y cargar a
esta ti(er)ra co(n) tal
(9) yugo, por un solo Dios V(uestra) Mag(estado) le mande mire
por la ho(n)-

(10) rra de Dios y favorezca a los pobres y q(ue) en todo lo q(ue) hiziere
se remiere,

(11) porq(ue) no haziéndolo, estará V(uestra) Mag(estado) muy cerca para
le castigar

(12) y q(ue) los braços q(ue) tiene en quien co(n)fiar q(ue) so(n) el
li(cencia)dó Manchaca y su

(13) p(adr)e no le valdrán, haziendo él sinjust(cia) e agravios.

(14) Porque mi offi(ci)o es ser atalaya y avisar a V(uestra) M(erce)d delo
q(ue) passa, ha-

(15) go esto como su capellán y siervo. Espero el ren(uncio) co(n)
brevedad

(16) por la gran necesidad en que queda esta ti(erra).

(17) N(uest)ro S(eñ)or prospere a V(uestra) Mag(estado) con augme(n)to de
reynos y estados

(18) para ampliar la ley de N(uest)ro S(eñ)or Jesús Cristo, y
particularme(n)te le alu(m)-
(19) bre para el buen gobierno de este Nuevo Mu(n)do. De Mérida de Yu-

(20)catán, p(rimer)o de marzo 1566.

de V(uestra) R(e)al Mag(estad)

menor capellán y siervo
Paleographic Commentary. Document 5

The bold, aggressive strokes used to write this letter coincide with the vehemence of its content. It is a good illustration of the transition between the cortesana and the procesal. It is in essence a rapidly executed cortesana script in which certain elements of the procesal style are evident. The fluid cursivity of the procesal hand is not evident but the repeated use of abbreviations and the linking of certain words indicates a procesal influence or leaning.

The prepositions de and a are linked to the abbreviation used for the title Vuestra Magetad when it follows, as seen in lines four, fourteen and seventeen of the text and on the first line of the closing after the date. This type of linking was common in documents written in various hands, but the present document offers other less-common examples which indicate its proximity to the procesal in this respect. In the first line of text the personal pronoun a is linked to the title don which is then linked to the name luys, appearing as adonluys. Also, the words de le (r)remover are linked and line five begins with the words El don Luis which are joined together. In line seven the third-person singular
present indicative form of haber (written without the initial h) is linked to the infinitive which follows giving amenester. In lines eight and nine the words a esta tierra are linked (tierra is abbreviated by syncope). Other groups of words which appear without separations include: le mande and the preposition con with augmanto. In lines eighteen and nineteen the definite article la is joined to the noun ley, the adverb particularmente is divided and the ending mente is linked to the indirect object le which is then linked to the verb form alambre (the last three letters of which appear on the following line). There is a space before the next word, para, but this word is then followed by several groupings of individual words, including: el and buen, deste, nuevo and mu(n)do and finally de and mér(i)da and de and yucatán.

The abbreviations used in the document are of many types. There are three examples of symbols used to represent two or more letters:

the now familiar appears as the symbol for the st combination as seen in the word estados, written in line seventeen. The symbol for the combination ver is , which is used in the first line of text in the word governador, written as
Finally, the group pro is represented $\Phi$, and appears in the word prospere in line seventeen.

Several abbreviations with superscripts are also used. In one such abbreviation there is a combination of symbol and superscript. In lines one and four, the word provincias is written $\pounds v i a s$. Other abbreviations in which superscripts are used include the common ones seen previously for the forms of address, señor and magestad. Superscripts are also used to abbreviate the words oficio (written $o f f i c i o$) and licenciado ($l i c e n c i a d o$). Also, the proper noun Mérida is abbreviated as $M e r i d a$, and in the last line the word primero is written $p o$.

Abbreviations by syncope without superscripts include the common nro for nuestro and md for merced, as well as tira for tierra. Finally, there are two abbreviations which make use of the original Greek orthography. It is in this document that the abbreviation xpiano for cristiano, discussed in Chapter 1, appears. In addition, the acronym 1. $\Xi$, in line eighteen is comprised of the initial letters from the older form Ihesu Christo which had been modeled on Greek orthography.
There are no written accent marks in the document. A tilde is used in the word años in line three but this is the only word in the text which would require the ñ to be used.

Punctuation in the document is less vague than in others. The first four lines form one sentence and after the final word, provincias (written in abbreviated form) a period is written. It is clear that the period indicates the end of the sentence rather than signaling an omission of letters since the same abbreviation appears in the first line without the mark. The next three lines comprise the following sentence and its end is also clearly marked after the word menester. The three sentences which follow are also ended with a period. Periods are also occasionally used after the initial or initials in an acronym. In the abbreviation V. Mag³, a period is always written after the V and at times after the abbreviation for magesjad. Similarly, in the acronym tega, previously discussed, a period appears after each letter.

New paragraphs are indicated by writing the first word of the paragraph on a new line, but without any indentation or symbol in the
margin. Still, the deliniation of new paragraphs is better in this document, dated 1566, than in most documents which were written earlier.
Orthographic Commentary, Document 5

Orthographically, this document offers fewer words of interest than do the earlier documents. The use of double consonants is reserved to the intervocalic ss, and the ff, and rr which appears in initial and interior positions. Examples include: necesitado and necesidad on lines five and sixteen, officio, abbreviated on line fourteen, and residencia, remover and remire.

As in the third document studied, the present document has several omissions of the consonant n. The preposition con appears without the final n in line fifteen and in line eight, where con tal is written as one word. When con serves as a prefix, the n is often omitted as illustrated by the verb form confirma which appears as confirma and confía which is written confía. The n is also omitted in the word mundo in the next-to-last line. In lines eighteen and nineteen, alumbre appears with the same symbol for the omitted n. It can be assumed that this scribe, similar to the scribe of the second document who wrote la lumbre de la fe confused the two consonants. This is the only example of confusion
between the bilabial and the labial-dental **n** present in this document.

In this document use of the graphemes **qu** where modern Spanish uses **c** is evident. The word **cualquiera** in line six is written as two words, each of which begins with the **qu** combination. The standardization of the orthographic rules which state that the velar sound, [k], be represented by **qu** before an **a** or **i** and by the grapheme **c** before an **a**, **o** or **u** was a late development. The Spanish **cualquier**, a hybrid form, was originally written as two words, **qual-quier**. The first word of the pair **cual** was derived from the Latin **qualis**, but the second was added to form a Spanish equivalent of the Latin **qualis-libet**. The final **g** of the Spanish calque was dropped, giving **qual quier**. The form **qual quiera** was added by analogy to the feminine forms of other demonstratives.

In modern Spanish, the form **cualquier** is used as an adjective and placed directly before a noun of either gender, while **cualquiera** may be used as the indefinite pronoun or as a noun. When used as a noun, as is done in this document, a relative clause or a partitive complement such as **de** must follow. In our example the contraction **dellas** follows.
An interesting morphological peculiarity is evident in the use of the word *sinjusticia* in line thirteen. Use of this word in place of the contemporary *injusticia* illustrates the confusion regarding prefixes which existed in Old Spanish and continued in certain instances into the sixteenth century. The word *sinjusticia* appears as an individual entry in the Lexicon, where several examples of its use are given, including one from another document produced in Yucatán, dated 1563.
S. C. P. M.

Por dichos escrito: A. v. M. dando, tras la delición presentada de un informe de las provisiones de que yacen en las alturas de las provincias de que se trata y de un despacho de la Corte, a cuyo espíritu se ha de adquirir, con arreglo a lo que se ha dispuesto en dichos despachos, se ha tenido en cuenta la fecha de las provisiones de junio de mil ochocientos cincuenta y cinco, y se ha tenido en cuenta la fecha de la primera cuenta general que va a ser hecha en dichas provincias, así como en los demás que se han de hacer para los demás despachos.

En virtud de lo anterior se ha de proceder de la siguiente manera:

1. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se haga por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

2. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

3. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

4. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

5. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

6. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

7. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

8. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

9. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

10. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

11. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

12. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.

13. Los oficiales que han tenido que hacer el despacho de dichos despachos han de hacerlo de manera que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo, y que se hagan por cuenta de los ciudadanos que tienen que hacerlo.
Document 6. continued

Elders of the municipality, the alcalde mayor that was in this province, came to meet me on my arrival, after I had
traveled a great distance. They accompanied me to the furthest point where the Indians were accustomed to congregate,
where the Indians were gathered in a large group. The alcalde mayor then took me to his house, where he showed me a
letter from the governor of the province, ordering him to receive me with great respect. I was received with great
honors, and I was given a warm welcome. The people were very kind and hospitable. I was also given a
guided tour of the city. The alcalde mayor and his family were very kind to me, and I was treated with great
hospitality. I was also given a tour of the city, and I was shown the various sights and attractions.

Por otro lado, éste era uno de los españoles a los que se les había designado como los que debían reclutar a los indígenas
para el servicio de la Corona. Era un trabajo duro y complicado, pero los indígenas eran muy valerosos y
aprendían rápidamente. La vida en el nuevo mundo era dura, pero también había oportunidades de
riqueza y poder para aquellos que sabían cómo aprovecharlas. El alcalde mayor me mostró el camino hacia
este nuevo mundo, y me guiaría en mi viaje hacia el futuro.
S. C. R. persona mío sería guardación aumento de estados como los criados de D. Al señor. De serdad provincia Benquerencia Atuen en septiembre mill quinientos ciento y 70 años.

S. C. R. mig

criado de via mig

Don Luis Cepedes
De los Ríos.
Transcription. Document 6

Yucatan, 1568

S(acra) C(esaüea) R(eal) M(agestad)

Por otras e escripto a V(uestra) M(agestad), dando razón de los negocios,
y estado de estas provincias

(2) de Yucatán a las últimas en un navío q(ue) despaché a treze del
presente,

(3) cuyo duplicado será con ésta. Lo que de presente se ofrece es dar
aviso como oy, 30 de septiembre, reçeví

(4) quatro çedulas que V(uestra) M(agestad) mandó despachar, la fecha de
ellas a veinte y cinco de junio de

(5) mil e qui(niento)s e sesenta y cinco años, las cuales se enbiaron
desde Panamá a la provincia

(6) de Conçonate, alcaldía mayor de los Isalcos, Villa de la Trinidad, que
es gran rodeo para

(7) venir a estas provincias, y así an tardado tanto tiempo en llegar a
ellas. Cuando algún
(8) despacho de V(uestra) M(agestad) se enbiare, a
de venir a la Nueva España, dirigido a los tenientes de
(9) oficiales de la ciudad dela Veracruz, que allí residen, y le enbiarán
por ser el trato y comer-
(10) cio de esta tierra, en aquella las cuales comúnmente se comunican
por mar y por tierra. Y lo
(11) mismo a la Havana, qu(e) es comarcana a ésta. Y de ordinario andan
navíos al trato y a la pro-
(12)vinçia de Honduras qu(e) es de la misma suerte. Y si por otras vías
se embía, es infinito el
(13) llegar por acá. Lo que las cédulas contienen es una en que manda
V(uestra) M(agestad) tome quenta
(14) a los oficiales de la Real Hacienda destas provincias del tiempo
qu(e) no la ubieren dado conforme
(15) a lo qu(e) está mandado; y cobre de ellos el alcance que les hiciere,
y lo meta en el arca de las tres lla-
(16) bes, y provea que no ande de aquí adelante ningún dinero fuera de la
dicha arca, otra para

(17) q(ue) aya en la caxa real tres llaves como a avido dos. Y que la una
de ellas tenga el governador

(18) desta provinçia y las otras dos, los oficiales y que quando fuere
menester abrirla y cerrarla

19) se hallen todos pressentes, y libren y paguen lo que se debiere librar
y pagar juntamente, y no

(20) los unos sin los otros. Como V(uestra) M(apestad) manda se
cumpliran y en lo que toca al tomar de

(21) las quentas. Yo las e tomado conforme a lo por V(uestra) Magestad
mandado, y orden q(ue) esta dada para

(22) que se tomen en cada un año. Y lo mismo hizo el do(c)tor Quixada el
tiempo que governó. Y los

(23) jueces, sus antecesores. Y los alcances que se an hecho a los
oficiales se an cobrado de ellos y metido

(24) en la caxa real. Lo que V(uestra) M(apestad) tiene en esta provinçia
de renta son como seis mill pesos
(25) de minas en cada un año, pocos más o menos. Estos se distribuyen en salarios de governador,

(26) cumplimiento a los quinientos mil más del ob(is)po que no llega el balor delos diezmos, a ellas

(27) y salario de oficiales, obra de la igl(es)ia, catedral y monesterios, conforme a la acordada, y

(28) algunas ayudas de costa a personas beneméritas que ayudan a la sustentación dela proviencia,

(29) de que tiene harta necesidad por ser los vecinos pocos y los naturales indios muchos, y el riesgo

(30)en qu(e) están de co(r)sarios y otros enemigos como muchas veces he avisado. Estas ayudas de costa

(31) se an dado por virtud de una comisión y provisión real que V(uestra) M(ajestad) mandó dar al do(c)tor San-

(32)tilan, oidor del audiencia de México, en que se le da facultad para darlas en lo q(u)e rentaren los tributos

(33) q(u)e dieren los indios que se quitaron al adelantado don Francisco
de Montejo, governor que fue destas

(34) provincias, y a su mujer y hijos de la qual an usado las audiencias de

los confines y Nueva España

(35) el tiempo que an estado estas provincias sujetas al gobierno
dellas. Y después que a sido a mi

(36) cargo, he usado de ella demás de que ay provision dada en la

audiencia de la Nueva España dirigida

(37) al doctar Diego Quixada, alcalde mayor que fue en esta provincia en

que se le comete a él y a todos los que

(38) después de él fueren, el dar de las dichas ayudas de costa para que

como cosa presente se den como con-

(39) venga de lo dicho. Constará por las quentas que se an enviado y

enbianon con la razón de averse cumplido (lo)

(40) que V(uestra) M(agestad) manda. Hasta aora, los oficiales an dado

buena quenta con pago y a lo que yo

(41) e usado debidamente sus oficios. Si otra cosa ubiere, yo daré razón

de ello.
(42) Por otra cédula manda V(uestra) M(agestad) q(ue) enbíe a los oficiales de la Casa de la Contratación de Sevilla una razonable cantidad del palo añiz y grana que ay en estas provincias con q(ue) se da tintas a los paños y sedas, lo qual enbiará en la primera flota o navíos q(ue) salieren de Nueva España o a la Havana para que de allí se e(nvié).

(45) Quede presente, en esta provincia no ay ninguno que aya de hacer viaje a esos reinos y ésta envío a la ventura de si abrirá navío en la Havana o no. De este palo a ido mucha cantidad a esos reinos por virtud de una merced que para sacarlo se hizo a un Marcos de Ayala, descubridor de ello. Por término de diez años comprólo en Sevilla un Juan de Melenbruc, flamenco, para navegarlo a Flandes a donde dicen tiene valor por ser tinta que aprovecha para lienzos, bocachíes, paños, sedas y otras cosas.
En (50) Sevilla, adonde éste reside, se podrá tomar razón del subceso de ello, si es de aprovechamiento,

(51) muy gran cantidad ay en esta gobernación.

(52) Para el añiz es la tierra dispuesta, porque en toda ella se crían los árboles de donde se saca la hoja

(53) de que se hace, es cossa prolixa pero muy aproósito para la flema de los indios, los quales sin

(54) ninguna pesadumbre de trabajo ni riesgo de sus personas lo hacen y benefician pero como no

(55) es cossa que de ello hasta aora an tributado, no se dan todos a ello, si se les impusiese tributo de ello

(56) lo podrían dar con facilidad, imponiéndoles poca cossa para expirencia, provea V(uestra) M(agestad) lo que

(57) fuere servido. Y lo mismo es en lo de la grana cochenilla que se cría en toda parte de esta tierra.

(58) Y aunq(ue) no se tiene por de ley

perfeta, es la caussa no se seguir el beneficio con la abiliad que la
(59) hacen los indios de Nueva España, que sería fácil hacerlo
beneficiándola los indios por la orden

(60) que se les dijese.

(61) Por otra, manda V(uestra) M(agentad) embíe dos religiosos a la
provincia

(62) de Coçumel para que en ella entiendan en enseñar los indios natu

(63) rales en las cossas de la fe y en administrar los sanctos sacra-

(64) mentos y se les haga hacer una iglesia y casa donde se puedan
rejojer (65) para lo qual se embía la çédula acordada. Ésta no bino con
este

(66) despacho, deve se aver perdido en tan largo viaje al cumplimiento.

(67) Se acudirá en abiendo oportunidad porque de pressente ay falta

(68) de religiosos que poder enbiar que se(p)an lenguas y tengan la
calidad

(69) que se requiere para que se consiga lo que V(uestra) M(agentad)
manda. Cuya

(70) Sacra Cesárea Real Persona N(uest)ro Señor guarde con aumento de
estados, como los

(71) criados de V(uestra) M(agestad) desseamos. De Mérida, provincias
de Yucatán,

(72) a treinta de septiembre, mil e quinientos e sesenta y ocho años.

S(acra) C(esaréa) R(eal) M(a)g(estad)

criado de V(uest)ra M(a)g(estad)

Don Luis Céspedes de Oviedo
Paleographic Commentary. Document 6

The first sixty lines of this document are written in a very legible *italica* hand. The letters are uniform in size and are more rounded. The linear quality of the *cortesana* hand is not apparent in this handwriting style. To mention a few of the external characteristics, the letter is one of the longer documents in the study, with a total of seventy-two lines of text. It was written by a scribe at the request of the governor of Yucatán at the time, don Luis Céspedes de Oviedo, the same described by the author of the preceding document as "muy moço, necessitado, y sin letras". That evaluation, along with a plea that Céspedes be replaced, was made in 1565. Interestingly, in 1567 the Bishop of the region also wrote to the King asking for his removal. The governor of a province and the appointed Bishop were often at odds in colonial Spanish America. Frequently, they were at the head of opposing factions loyal to either ecclesiastical or secular rule. Letters criticizing the governors were common. This document, written in 1568, attests to the fact that Céspedes was still holding the office three years later.
Several abbreviations are used in the document, the abbreviations formed by syncope are: mrd for merced, obpo for obispo, vglia for iglesia and nro for nuestro. There are only two examples of the use of superscripts: $q^u_o s^i$ for quinientos and $a^l_c a^d$ for alcaldía.

Many contractions are used including: deste, destas, della, dellas and dello, as well as the contractions questa, where the relative que and the demonstrative adjective esta are contracted by supressing an e and ques, where the relative pronoun contracts with the verb form.

A dot placed above an n signals the palatal ñ as seen in line eight where España is written $e\tilde{\sigma}p\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}$.

The dot also appears above the letter which precedes an omission as in sein (for sepan) in line sixty-eight. The slanted line currently used to represent an accent mark appears to be used to dot an i, as it is found in only three words in the document, over the i in dinero, in the last name Quixada and once in the word navio, in line eleven (where it could be indicating stress). In line forty-six, however, the same word appears without the mark. Interestingly, in several words which end in -ción
there is a dot over the ç, which may be an intended indication of stress, it is seen in the words contratación (line forty-two) and gobiernación (line fifty-one).

A dot also indicates the end of a sentence, as in modern punctuation, but elsewhere it appears to represent a comma. Sentences are also ended by slanted line, as in lines forty-six and forty-seven. Overall, punctuation in the document is a confusing combination of symbols which usually do not correspond to any coherent grammatical structure, making the interpretation of the document's content more difficult than the transcription of the handwriting.
Orthographic Commentary. Document 6

Orthographically, this document offers many interesting features, there are interesting uses of the grapheme \( y \) where modern Spanish uses \( j \). Words like \textit{ynfinito}, \textit{yglesia}, \textit{yndios} and the verb forms \textit{ympusiesse} and \textit{ymponiendo} illustrate this orthographic characteristic. Examples of the use of a short \( j \) (grapheme \( j \)) in place of the \( y \) are rare. There is an example of this type of substitution in the word \textit{mui} in line fifty-three.

The verb \textit{ymbía}, in addition to containing the \( y \) in place of the \( j \) \textit{latina}, is also an illustration of an erroneous assimilation made due to the influence of the stressed palatal, represented by the grapheme \( j \). The Spanish verb \textit{enviar} is a derivation of the Latin \textit{inviare}. The unstressed Latin short \( j \) became \( [e] \) in Spanish. In the \textit{ja} ending in the present indicative, the diphthong \textit{ia} found in the infinitive is broken apart, and the weak vowel is accented. This phenomenon arose due to confusion between verbs ending in \textit{-jar} and those ending in \textit{-car} where the \( e \) was stressed in certain conjugations.
In this document, the verb form is correctly written *vmbla* in line twelve only. Elsewhere it appears with an *e* in initial position. The grapheme *b* is used consistently in place of the modern *v*, which recalls the original Latin orthography and root word *via*.

Another example of orthographic assimilation is found in the word *conforme* (lines twenty-one and twenty-seven). In this instance, the alveolar [n] had assimilated to the bilabial [m] of the following syllable. The Spanish *conforme* is from the Latin *conformis* (of equal meaning) and the accepted orthography reflects the Latin spelling.

Examples of a simplification of the Latinized velar-dental combination, represented orthographically by the change in the combination of the graphemes *ct* to the single grapheme *t* occurred due to the difficulty in pronouncing the *culsa* form which retained the velar-dental combination. These types of simplifications, which include the previously studied *fator* for *factor*, were common up until the eighteenth century, when the *cultismo* movement of that era favored a strict preservation of Latin consonant groups in Spanish pronunciation.
Other words which were used in the simplified form included *efeto* for *efecto* and *respeto* (which remained in use). In this document, in addition to the word *dotor* in line twenty-two, the word *perfeta* also appears without the velar consonant in line fifty-eight.

Interestingly, the word *sanctos* appears in line sixty-three, preserving the *ct* combination of Latin. Retention of the Latin consonant combination in this word was probably the result of ecclesiastical influence.

Another Latin consonant combination which was considered difficult to pronounce and therefore simplified was the combination of the voiceless bilabial stop, [p] and the dental [t]. This combination was simplified early during the evolutionary process and was therefore not reintroduced during later movements to Latinize the orthography and phonology.

The simplification of *pt* to *t* is exemplified by the transformation of the Latin word *septem* to *siete*, and the noun *scriptura* which gave *escritura* in Spanish. In the document, the grapheme *p* appears in
combination with the t in the past participle *escrito* in the first line of text. *Scriptu* was the Latin counterpart of the irregular Spanish past participle *escrito*. The restoration of the p by the scribe of this document is not strictly a hypercorrection since the bilabial did exist in the Latin form. It is simply an example of a Latinization which did not persist.

Another simplification of a consonant combination seen in the document is found in line thirty in the word *cosarios* (for *corsarios*), which came into Spanish from the French *corsaire*, based on the Latin *corsarius* which meant "leader of an armed vessel". The Latin combination of the alveolar consonants, one a voiced vibrant, [r] and one a voiceless fricative [s], led to the simplification to a single fricative sound. Graphically, the *rs* combination from Latin became a single *s* in Spanish. Spanish words such as *oso*, from the Latin *ursus*, illustrate this change. In French, *ours* illustrates the preservation of the Latin *rs* combination in that language. The French word *corsaire* then, was adopted by Spanish with the *rs* combination in place and the
simplification seen in the document is an error made due to the tendency to simplify that combination in Spanish words.

An interesting dissimilation is evident in the word trenidad in line six. In this version, the first palatal [i] was changed to [e] due to a sporadic linguistic change which did not come to be accepted generally. The preservation of both of the Latin palatals in the correct Spanish form, trinidad, was more than likely due to the conservative influences of the Church which governed ecclesiastical terminology.

In many Latin words which had two palatal vowels, dissimilation occurred once the word had been adopted into Spanish. One example is evident in the infinitive dicere. In Spanish this verb became one of the -ir conjugation group which normally would have made the infinitive dicir in Spanish but because of the dissimilation which occurred between the two successive palatal vowels, the form which resulted was decir.

Other interesting orthographical anomalies present in the document include the word expirencia in line fifty-six, and the archaic spellings,
fee in line sixty-three, muger in line thirty-four and subcesp in line fifty.

The first word of the group, expirencia shows a dissimilation by which the more open vowel, has closed to [i], and the dipthong ie has been simplified to e. Many forms of the word experiencia are cited in the Lexicon, including the modern one. The version seen in this document is also listed as an entry. Other variations listed include vspirencia, expirencia, and one variant which exhibits an assimilation rather than dissimilation, experencia. Another variant found in the Lexicon, espirencia, is also present in the fourth document of our study.

The Spanish word fe is from the Latin fide. The stressed short i became [e] in Vulgar Latin giving the form fede, the intervocalic [d] disappeared and the [e] in final position was lost. In Medieval Spanish, before the final e was dropped the form fee was used (by Berceo, among others) and its use in the sixteenth century was fairly common. This variation appears in parentheses after the modern spelling
in the **Lexicon**, where the latest example of its use is taken from a Venezuelan document dated 1579.

The spelling of *mujer* with a *g* between the two vowels was the accepted spelling throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and part of the sixteenth centuries. In an earlier form, *mugier*, the palatal [を持] absorbed the palatal vowel of the diphthong leaving [muʝer], written *muger*. The Classical Latin word was *muliere*, with the accent on the long *u*. In the Vulgar Latin form the stress had shifted to the first *g*. Also in Vulgar Latin, the palatal [i] of Latin came to be pronounced as a semi-vowel (or a *yod*). The palatal semi-vowel [y] in combination with the [e] produced the diphthong and the combination of the [i] and the palatal caused the former to undergo palatalization, creating the [を持] mentioned above. This sound then went through several transformations before becoming [x] represented today by the *j*. First, the palatal [を持] softened to [を持], a sound similar to the *s* in the English word "pleasure". This sound was then de-voiced and acquired the sound of the *sh* combination of the English word "shame" or, in phonetic representation, [を持]. It was this sound
(represented by the grapheme _literal{xi}) which was later confused with the
apicu _literal{s} or _literal{[\tilde{s}]], leading to the substitution of the grapheme _literal{j} and its
"new" pronunciation [x].

The earliest example given in the _Lexicon_ of the use of the
grapheme _literal{j} in the word _mujer_ is 1558. The older spelling, _muger_, is also
listed as an entry followed by the contemporary orthography.

Finally, an antiquated orthographic variant is noted in the noun
_subceso_, as seen in the verb form _subceda_, discussed in the Orthographic
Commentary to the fourth document which was written three years
earlier, in 1565.
Conclusion

Written documents from past centuries, whether they be official records or private correspondence, have always served as historical and sociological source material. They are also, however, useful sources of linguistic information, providing evidence about the written language and specific vocabulary of a certain era.

In addition to illustrating the evolutionary process at work in sixteenth-century handwriting, these six samples provide a substantial amount of linguistic information. This study was limited to the orthographical data which could be observed in the documents. Orthographical features which are divergent from contemporary norms are more numerous than are syntactical and morphological features. There are a few notable syntactical anomalies in some of these documents, particularly with regard to the placement of reflexive and indirect or direct object pronouns.

To summarize the orthographical features which were present in our documents, we noted the use of the grapheme Χ (where modern Spanish has j) also, use of the c, and of double consonants such as the ss.
ff and ll were the norm. The grapheme z was commonly used in verb forms such as dize and haze.

Many graphemes were misused or used interchangeably, as occurred with the graphemes b, v and u for example. Also common in the documents was the substitution of m for n as observed repeatedly in embiar and its declensions.

Also, certain consonant combinations, simplified in modern orthography, appear without the simplification, as seen in the past participle escripto, and the noun subcaseo. The words cibdad and ciudad both appear in the documents, which is an indication that the transitional process by which the bilabial [b] became [u] was not fully complete.

Also seen in the documents are Latin consonants and consonant combinations which were preserved due to the conservative influences that the Church had over ecclesiastical terminology. The words sancta, cathólica and cathedra are three examples of this phenomenon found in our documents.
An idea of the way certain words and phrases were pronounced can be formed given some of the orthographical data presented by the documents. *Fator, dotor* and *perfeta*, seen in the documents, attest to the fact that the pronunciation of the velar-dental combination [kt] was pronounced as a simplified dental sound represented by the grapheme ɹ. Also, the forms *quitalle* and *tomalle* illustrate the assimilation of the final r of the infinitive to the initial l of the object, which was the accepted sixteenth-century form.

The orthographic data noted in the documents supports many of the observations and theories which have been proposed by scholars in the field of historical linguistics. Rafael Lapesa in his book *Historia de la lengua española*, outlines several of the fundamental linguistic changes made during the preclassical and Golden Age eras.

According to Lapesa, the preclassical period (1474-1525) was one in which "el idioma continúa despojándose del lastre medieval". Many uncertainties were slowly clarified and certain forms became standardized. This stabilization of written language was due in part to the ability of the printing presses to generate books in which there were
few linguistic variations, once so frequent due to manual copying errors.

Variations did exist however, especially among representations of vowel sounds, such as o for u or e for i. Lapesa cites sofrir, deferir, joventud, mochacho and cevil). In our documents, the variant infinitives and conjugations of escribir, receber and complir have been noted, as well as the variant form trinidad.

Lapesa also observed the uncertainty which existed as to the correct use of several graphemes which were commonly interchanged, namely the z, c and q; the s and ss; and the g, j and y. Many of our documents support these observations, as is evident in the examples cited above.

Studies of the Spanish language made during the early sixteenth century by Nebrija’s followers were carried out in the interest of achieving both uniformity and universality of the Spanish Language. One such author, Juan de Valdés, produced a type of linguistic manual (perhaps with a less-scholarly intent than Nebrija’s offerings) in which he cited his personal preferences for particular pronunciations and spellings. Valdes’ book, Diálogo de la lengua, has a theorized publication
date of 1535. Some of his recommendations were that dezirio and hazerio be used instead of the common dezillo and hazello, while the latter forms were obviously preferred by the scribes of our documents.

The linguistic changes noted by Lapesa that occurred during the Golden Age were, in general: the elimination of phonetic archaisms; the variation in the timbre of unstressed vowels; the loss of the archaic í and the preservation of certain consonant groups which in the spoken language had been simplified (the bd combination in words like cibdad, for example).

Lapesa also mentions the dual use of mil and mill (both of which are present in our documents), and the confusion between the graphemes b and v.

Perhaps the most important linguistic change that took place during Golden Age was that of the palatal [ʃ] (written x) to [x] (written j). The date of the change is still disputed. Orthographical evidence from our documents indicates that the grapheme x was still in use in the New World at least as late as 1568.
A study of paleography not only permits a more thorough reading of the content of the documents but also sheds some light on social factors which were influencing the writers. In fact, changes in handwriting reflect changes in economic and artistic attitudes. A comparison of the elaborate, ornate handwriting of earlier documents and the rapid, nearly illegible handwriting evident later indicates a trend toward a compromise in aesthetics in favor of efficiency and greater monetary reward.

During the sixteenth century, several manuals were written by those who wished to illustrate proper writing techniques (with regard to language and handwriting). The authors of these manuals and other authors (among them the widely-read Antonio de Guevara, writing in the earlier decades of the sixteenth century) were, from an early date, very critical of what they saw as the degeneration of handwriting into an illegible scribble. The process was in full swing by the middle to late sixteenth century and by the seventeenth, had created the monstrous encadenada script.
In our documents, the gradual transformation of the *cortesana* hand to the intermediate, more evenly written *procesal* and then to the rapid and seemingly careless *encadenada* is clearly visible.

An exceptionally large number of documents were produced in the New World during the conquest and the colonization, yet apart from the historical data provided by the Chronicles relatively little has been observed about them. It is evident however that they have much to offer, as excellent sources of linguistic information and as testimony of the social and cultural reality of early Spanish America.
Notes


4 Augustín Millares Carlo and José Igancio Mantecón, *Alumb de Paleografía hispanoamericana de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Mexico City: Instituto panamericano de geografía e historia, 1955) 41-42.


6 Cortés 15.

7 As cited in Muñoz y Rivero 70.

8 Villasana Haggard and McLean 48-66

9 Cortés 19-20.
10 Cortés 20.

11 Muñoz y Rivero 103.


13 Nebrija, A. Quilis, ed. 120

14 Nebrija, A. Quilis, ed. 126-27.

15 Nebrija, A. Quilis, ed. 126.

16 Nebrija, A. Quilis, ed. 127.

17 Nebrija, A. Quilis, ed. 89.

18 Nebrija, A. Quilis, ed. 139.

19 Nebrija, A. Quilis, ed. 139.

20 Nebrija, A. Quilis, ed. 140.


22 Cortés 97-99.
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