

*At the Limits of Language: New World Artes, Indigenous Collaborators, and the
Birth of Descriptive Linguistics*



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Note on Translation

All translations from Spanish, Yucatec Maya (henceforth ‘Maya’), and Quechua are my own. The colonial-era orthography of all three languages was unstandardized; because the orthography can encode valuable phonological information, I have chosen not to modernize or standardize any spellings in my transcription.

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Quotations from all primary sources are presented in English. The original quotation may be found in Appendix A. Quotations in Appendix A are indexed by chapter and quotation number (e.g., A.1.3); in the body text of the thesis, this index is provided in the footnote, after the citation.

Note on Geography

The events of this thesis occurred primarily in present-day Spain, on Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula, and in the Andes of Peru. Some toponyms have changed since the early colonial period. In these cases, as long as the geographical boundaries have remained roughly equivalent, I have elected to use current toponyms to help orient the reader.

Note that in the early colonial period, the city of Lima (Peru) was known as La Ciudad de los Reyes. Mérida (Yucatan) was alternately known by its Maya name, Jo'. The Audiencia of Charcas corresponds to present-day Bolivia, and the city of Charcas is today's Sucre.

List of Abbreviations

- AGI - Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain)
- AHDA - Archivo Histórico Domingo Angulo (UNMSM, Lima, Peru)
- AHN - Archivo Histórico de la Nación (Madrid, Spain)
- ARCV - Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid (Valladolid, Spain)
- BHUS - Biblioteca Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca (Salamanca, Spain)
- BNE - Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid, Spain)
- BUS - Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla (Seville, Spain)
- JCBL - John Carter Brown Library (Providence, Rhode Island, USA)
- RBM - Real Biblioteca del Monasterio (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Spain)
- SFMIAC - Santa Fe Museum of Indian Arts and Culture (Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA)
- UNMSM - Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (Lima, Peru)
- WGP at BYU - William Gates papers at Brigham Young University (Provo, Utah, USA)

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Though this thesis makes no mention of Mongolia, special thanks are also owed to Erdni Hoshyd, Professor Meredith Landman, and both cohorts of the “Language Documentation and Field Methods” class at Columbia. It was through our year-long effort to document the Kalmyk language that I first registered my shock (and skepticism) that any 16th-century friars managed to master Maya, Quechua, and other American languages—sentiments which set the premise of my research. *Ханжанав Эрдни багш; баярлалаа Мередит багш, Ыаков бас, and see you on the steppe.*

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Introduction: Old World Order and New World Babel

“If you want to understand the true language of the Indians and discover what they have hidden away for so long, if you wish to learn about arcane customs and people’s secret corners, and sacred things of theirs not known to men of the past: buy this book.”

– Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, *Gramática o arte*, 1560¹

In 1492, Antonio de Nebrija published his *Gramática castellana*, which was the first grammar of a spoken European language.² By way of introduction, Nebrija proclaimed that “language has always been the companion of empire” and likened the now-codified Castilian to the Latin of Ancient Rome.³ Just two months later, Christopher Columbus made landfall in the Caribbean with shipmate Luis de Torres, a *converso* tasked with talking to New World inhabitants in Hebrew or Arabic.⁴ In the Caribbean, of course, the Spanish found speakers of neither Hebrew nor Arabic. Instead, they encountered thousands of strange new languages all throughout the Americas, none of which had any similarity to the Old World tongues. In the face of this unprecedented linguistic diversity, European conceptions of language were shattered: in 1499, Amerigo Vespucci (the namesake of the Americas) asserted that although God’s destruction of Tower of Babel was known to have resulted in 72 world languages, “I say that there are more than 1000, because just the languages I have heard number more than 40.”⁵

Indeed, on the eve of Spanish arrival, roughly twenty-five million Mesoamericans spoke over two hundred languages, among them Nahuatl, Otomí, Purépecha, and about 30 distinct Mayan languages.⁶ In South America the situation was even more complex, with 118 language families and as many as 1,500 languages.⁷ For both Europeans and Indigenous people

¹ Santo Tomás, *Grammatica o arte*, fol. Avj verso. A.0.1

² Armillas-Tiseyra, “On Language and Empire,” 197.

³ Nebrija, *Gramática*, 1. A.0.2

⁴ Zwartjes, *Las gramáticas misioneras*, 1.

⁵ Vespucci, *Cartas de Viaje*, 62. A.0.3

⁶ Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 163.

⁷ Campbell, *American Indian Languages*, 170.

post-Columbus, language barriers were a constant challenge. Nebrija's linking of language and empire was not yet reflected in the Crown's language policy, which was inconsistent at best.⁸ Ultimately, the first Spaniards to break through the language barrier would be friars: since Indigenous language competency was the best way to understand local religious practices, lifestyles, and politics, and arguably the only way to ensure a "true" Catholic conversion, Spanish friars made it their mission to learn these languages.⁹ To do so, these friars called upon their humanist training and emulated Nebrija—often literally writing in the margins of Nebrijense works—to produce *artes* (grammar handbooks) and *vocabularios* (dictionaries) of indigenous languages, usually as a set.¹⁰

Across the Spanish empire, these grammars and dictionaries were produced with the same template and for the same didactic purpose. In the sixteenth century, about eighty Spanish manuscript language descriptions circulated, and eight made it to print.¹¹ In the seventeenth century these numbers increased, although manuscript remained the preferred distribution form.¹² By the end of the sixteenth century, Nebrijense *vocabularios* stretched into all corners of the Spanish empire, capturing Arabic, Nahuatl, Purépecha, many Mayan languages, Quechua, Aymara, Tagalog, and even such exotic languages as English.¹³ Nebrija's works remained the dominant template: his *Dictionarium* (1495) defined New World lexicography, and his bilingual Spanish-Latin *Introductiones Latinae* (1487) was the model for most *artes*.¹⁴

This thesis examines two such Spanish American *artes*: fray Domingo de Santo Tomás's 1560 *Grammatica o arte de la lengua general* (Quechua) and fray Juan Coronel's 1620 *Arte en*

⁸ Wasserman-Soler, *Truth in Many Tongues*, 135.

⁹ Scholes, "Franciscan Missionary Scholars," 399; Van Loon, *The Early Modern Production*, 49.

¹⁰ Ellsworth Hamann, "Arabic, Nahuatl, Tuscan, Tagalog....," 108.

¹¹ Van Loon, "Wide-Lensed Approaches," 59.

¹² Van Loon, *The Early Modern Production*, 169.

¹³ Ellsworth Hamann, "Arabic, Nahuatl, Tuscan, Tagalog....," 84.

¹⁴ Laird, *Aztec Latin*, 85.

lengua de maya (Yucatec Maya). Both artes represent the first printed grammatical description of their respective object languages. Examining these artes in comparison—which has not been done previously—reveals a new and exciting puzzle: although Santo Tomás and Coronel received a similar humanist education in Spain, used Nebrija as a template, and shared evangelical goals, they produced remarkably different artes. In his well-organized work, the Dominican Santo Tomás lauded Quechua for its beauty and its similarity to Latin, evinced a high degree of phonological sophistication, and expressed a humanitarian impulse.¹⁵ Coronel’s work, conversely, was “utterly unsystematic” with low levels of phonological and grammatical accuracy, word segmentation issues, and an unusual set of example sentences.¹⁶ The Franciscan Coronel offered no praise of Maya (subsequent grammarians would, in fact, make negative comments), and claimed to have composed the arte solely in order to support evangelization.¹⁷ In sum, Santo Tomás produced a highly usable guide for any Spaniard hoping to speak Quechua, while Coronel’s low-accuracy descriptions would have failed to produce any competent Maya speakers.

The present-day situation of Quechua and Maya adds a layer of intrigue to this puzzle: Quechua is now the most widely-spoken Indigenous language of the Americas, with approximately 10 million speakers across seven countries, while Maya remains a locally-concentrated language with 700,000 speakers.¹⁸ This thesis seeks to understand how the two artes came to be so different, and to connect the artes with the broader story of Maya, Quechua, and descriptive linguistics. I argue that variation in the friars’ European educations does not sufficiently explain the gap between their artes. Instead, the gap is better understood in

¹⁵ Santo Tomás, “Prólogo,” n.p.

¹⁶ Lehmann, “Colonial Work on Yucatec Maya,” n.p.

¹⁷ Coronel, *Discursos*, 5.

¹⁸ Ethnologue, “Quechua,” n.p.; Ethnologue, “Maya, Yucatec,” n.p.

light of the influence of anonymous Indigenous collaborators, who led Santo Tomás and Coronel towards two distinct methodologies. This affected their quality, which in turn engendered different patterns of use, circulation, and language vitality. Tracing the story of these artes and their impact, I show that Indigenous collaborators played a decisive role in early American grammatical projects—projects which represent the beginnings of descriptive linguistics, and had a fateful impact on the future vitality of Quechua and Maya.

Historiography

This thesis intervenes in two closely-related historiographies. First, I shift the historiography of missionary linguistics, which overwhelmingly emphasizes the similarities among New World artes and thus overlooks distinctions of methodology, Indigenous collaboration, and on-the-ground adaptation. Second, I extend scholarship on colonial-era knowledge production by identifying a new kind of Indigenous intellectual contribution—namely, uncredited assistance lent by Indigenous people to Spanish authors. Ultimately I promote the Indigenous collaborator’s role within the historiography of missionary linguistics, demonstrating that a) Indigenous collaborators inspired significant divergences from the European grammatical model, and b) these divergences were consequential for Maya and Quechua as languages, and for the descriptive linguistics.

In the historiography of missionary linguistics, the potential for deviation from the Nebrijense model has been underappreciated, but is of fundamental importance. Otto Zwartjes has written extensively about artes in the Early Modern world, while Thomas Smith-Stark and Byron Hamann have traced the production of Nebrijense vocabularies across the Spanish empire. Similarly, Zanna van Loon has studied missionary grammars, vocabularies, and catechisms as

objects in their own right, emphasizing the localized circulation and homogeneity of these materials. Ultimately, all argue that Spanish missionary linguistic production followed a standard template, with only slight adjustments to accommodate unusual linguistic features or new lexemes. Zwartjes asserts, for instance, that all of these works “followed, *grosso modo*, a known descriptive model” with small variations according to the “previous education of the missionary” or the “typology of the described language.”¹⁹ As we will see, however, the gaps between Santo Tomás and Coronel’s works are far more numerous than existing scholarship would predict, and cannot be accounted for by either of Zwartjes’ factors. Investigating these differences, I uncover the role of methodology and Indigenous collaborators in arte production—two long-noted gaps in the historiography of missionary linguistics.²⁰

By identifying a major source of the gaps—the pre-Hispanic literary lives of Indigenous collaborators—this thesis also extends current scholarship on the intellectual history of early colonial Latin America.²¹ Much of this scholarship falls within the so-called “New Philology” school, which began in the 1970s with a methodological turn towards Indigenous-language sources.²² The 2006 publication of Chimalpahin’s Nahuatl-language chronicle by James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala inaugurated the New Philology interest in Indigenous intellectuals. Since then, scholars have focused primarily on Central Mexico, studying Chimalpahin, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Indigenous students at the Colegio de Tlatelolco, and

¹⁹ Zwartjes, “Algunas observaciones,” 56.

²⁰ Zwartjes, “The Historiography,” 206.

²¹ Restall, “A History of the New Philology,” 115.

²² For Yucatan, Matthew Restall’s *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550-1850* provides a New Philology complement to Nancy Farriss’s *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule*. Other key authors include Victoria Bricker, John Chuchiak, and Kevin Terraciano. For the Andes, Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar’s work on Quechua-language catechisms and doctrinal manuals relies heavily on New Philology methods. Similarly, Regina Harrison, Rolena Adorna, and Bruce Mannheim have worked extensively with Quechua writing from the colonial period to construct their historical arguments.

other named individuals.²³ In the Andes, similar work by Rolena Adorno has illuminated the chronicle of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, and Ralph Bauer has done the same for Titu Cusi Yupanqui's writing. For Yucatan, Restall, Chuchiak, and others have written extensively about Maya interpreter and author Gaspar Antonio Chi. This thesis offers a route to Indigenous contributions which are not so explicit: through comparison of the artes, the work of uncited Indigenous collaborators becomes clear. Answering a call to extend the New Philology approach beyond Central Mexico, this thesis aims to connect uncited Indigenous contributions to the broader story of Maya, Quechua, and descriptive linguistics.²⁴

Methodology and Structure

This thesis draws on primary sources in Spanish, Quechua, and Yucatec Maya, as well as secondary sources in English and Spanish. The artes by Santo Tomás and Coronel, which have not previously been studied in-depth, constitute my main primary sources. I also used records from the AGI, the primary archive for colonial Latin America, to construct the biographies of Santo Tomás and Coronel and to understand the linguistic landscapes of early colonial Yucatan and the Andes. Specifically, I relied on 1) *relaciones de mérito* and other legal petitions, 2) Santo Tomás's correspondence, and 3) ecclesiastical petitions to the Council of the Indies which complain about conditions in the Andes and Peru, and frequently include evaluations of friars' linguistic competencies. Additionally, I draw on university records, legal records, and *Real cédulas* housed in the AHN in Madrid and the ARCV in Valladolid. Finally, this thesis utilizes several Indigenous-language manuscripts, including the Morley Manuscript (Yucatec Maya;

²³ Key works include: Kelly S. McDonough's *The Learned Ones: Nahua Intellectuals in Postconquest Mexico*, Amber Brian's *Alva Ixtlilxochitl's Native Archive and the Circulation of Knowledge in Colonial Mexico*, and Andrew Laird's *Aztec Latin*.

²⁴ Restall, "A History of the New Philology," 127.

SFMIAC), Coronel's *Discursos Predicables* (Yucatec Maya; Tecnológico de Monterrey), and Guaman Poma's chronicle (Quechua; Det KGL Bibliotek).

Chapter 1 uses heretofore-unconsidered archival material to construct the friars' biographies and educations. I show that Santo Tomás and Coronel received similar humanist training in Spain, giving them both Latin experience, an interest in vernaculars, and familiarity with the fundamentally-humanist genre of arte. However, I argue that the friars' European formations—particularly points of divergence, such as their membership in different mendicant Orders—fail to account for the differences in their artes.

In **Chapter 2**, I examine the composition of the artes and argue for a methodological split. Although Coronel and Santo Tomás relied on the same textual model and were both aware of Central Mexican precedent, Coronel worked primarily from text while Santo Tomás worked aurally. I trace this difference to the enthusiastic Indigenous response to alphabetic writing in Yucatan, and the comparatively reticent response in the Andes; thus, I claim that the preferences and abilities of anonymous Indigenous collaborators affected these artes at the fundamental level of methodology.

Chapter 3 addresses the afterlives of the texts. Surveying bibliographic inventories, library records, and correspondence, I observe that Santo Tomás's work circulated more widely and was used more frequently than Coronel's. I note also that Santo Tomás's work circulated in both the Americas and in Europe, where it was used extralinguistically. I argue that this pattern is, in part, attributable to the methodological split between the two artes, which rendered Santo Tomás's arte more practical and usable. I also suggest that the pattern of use and circulation impacted the subsequent vitality of each language: the wide circulation of standardized Quechua led to Quechua's growth as an Andean lingua franca, while the low uptake of Coronel's work

indirectly contributed to the rise of Maya-Spanish bilingualism in Yucatan during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Chapter One: Pre-American Formations and the Spanish Intellectual World

Both Santo Tomás and Coronel received their education in the wake of three seismic cultural shifts: the Reformation, the end of the Reconquista, and the conquest of the Americas. Their European educations were similarly shaped by these events, and significantly, both received humanist training which imbued them with the same fundamental approach to language. Though their university educations were largely similar, Coronel and Santo Tomás understood the New World differently through their respective Orders. This chapter traces the European formation of these two friars, arguing that the pre-departure educational and philosophical differences between Coronel and Santo Tomás can account for some, but not all, of the differences in their artes. As we will see in chapter two, the missing link which fully accounts for the differences came upon arrival in the Americas, from contact with Indigenous collaborators.

1.1 Spanish Humanism and the Vernacular Turn

Coronel and Santo Tomás represented a new generation of friars educated in the humanist curriculum, which gave them the same Latin training and interest in codification of vernaculars. As humanism spread through Renaissance-era universities, the Spanish education system expanded, renewed its focus on Latin, and developed a new interest in vernaculars. This change was prompted by the Reformation, when the Spanish Crown promoted education reform for clergy in order to strengthen the Catholic Church. New universities, *colegios*, and schools were established, usually by mendicants; during this period, almost every city of Spain with more than 500 residents had its own Latin grammar school.²⁵ By 1600, it is estimated that 4,000 Latin schools existed across Spain, in communities large and small.²⁶ These new schools generally

²⁵ López-Ocón Cabrera, “Andinología,” 8.

²⁶ Kagan, *Students and Society*, 42.

followed a humanist, Classically-oriented curriculum heavy in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek.²⁷ Humanists had a deep interest in language, and argued for a more-precise form of Latin, as well as a return to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew primary sources for Biblical studies.²⁸ These universities were deeply connected to ecclesiastical life: in the context of ongoing military and religious expansion into Europe, America, and Africa, the Crown sought to equip friars with skills in government affairs, bureaucratic structure, and literacy— skills which could only be acquired at university.²⁹

The rise of humanism in European universities displaced Scholasticism, a system of thought which had flourished in the medieval period. Scholasticism was characterized by a close linking of philosophy and theology, a fondness for Aristotle, and a methodology called *disputatio*.³⁰ Scholasticism and humanism were not irreconcilable philosophies, but they did come into conflict.³¹ In theology, for example, scholastics objected to humanist efforts to re-analyze and re-translate Biblical material based on primary sources in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; in humanist translation projects, scholastics saw an implication that their own theological methods had no validity, even though theology was the “prime business” of the scholastics.³² From the other side, Erasmus and Martin Luther were both explicitly critical of Scholasticism, which they considered rigid, pedantic, and far-removed from practical issues of the time.³³ Indeed, the 16th-century turn from Scholasticism to humanism in Spanish universities was significant enough to constitute an “educational revolution,” altering the most fundamental parts of a university education.³⁴

²⁷ Mack, “Humanism,” 35.

²⁸ Valenzuela-Vermehren, “Vitoria, Humanism, and the School of Salamanca,” 101.

²⁹ Gutiérrez Torrecilla, “Aproximación a la Historia,” 20.

³⁰ Leinsle, *Introduction*, 8.

³¹ Nauert, “The Clash,” 3.

³² *Ibid.*, 11.

³³ Leinsle, *Introduction*, 3.

³⁴ Gutiérrez Torrecilla, “Aproximación a la Historia,” 15.

Both Coronel and Santo Tomás were educated within this newly-humanist context. Born Domingo de Medina in 1499 in Seville, the future Santo Tomás joined the inaugural class of students at the Colegio de Santo Tomás as a *familiar* in November 1517.³⁵ His father was a servant at the colegio, and young Domingo's role as a familiar was to serve in the parish chapel in assistance of his father. He was allowed to take classes as well.³⁶ While previous scholars have not been able to say much about Coronel's background, legal petitions reveal that he came from similarly-humble beginnings, born Juan Gutiérrez Coronel in 1558 in Torija, a town in the Guadalajara province near Madrid.³⁷ In early adolescence, Coronel attended the Universidad de Alcalá de Henares until approximately 1574 when, aged 12 or 13, he took the Franciscan habit at the Convento de San Diego de Alcalá.³⁸

The curricula of the Colegio de Santo Tomás and Alcalá were similar, and both Santo Tomás and Coronel were educated in the humanist *trivium*, including logic, physics, metaphysics, and theology.³⁹ In the case of Santo Tomás, his academic career has survived through the chronicler Diego Ignacio de Góngora: Santo Tomás studied *súmulas* (basic logic) in year one, *súmulas* and logic in year two, and philosophy, *Lógica Magna*, and *súmulas* in year three. He also studied theology intensely, after the Chair of Moral Theology was established at the colegio in 1518.⁴⁰ No such biographical information exists for Coronel, but his education at Alcalá, one of Spain's leading universities and a major center of humanism, likely followed a similar path. All students began at Alcalá in the Facultad de Artes, where they read and

³⁵ Vargas, *Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomás*, 9; Góngora, *Historia*, 101. He would rename himself "Santo Tomás" upon taking the Dominican habit, in honor of the great Dominican scholar St. Thomas Aquinas (López-Ocón Cabrera, "Andinología," 17).

³⁶ Góngora, *Historia*, 75.

³⁷ Acuña, "Estudio Introductorio," 21. His full name appears in only one document, as a witness in a fellow friar's *probanza* from 1602 (AGI, A. de Mexico, 299. "1602 – 21 de Mayo. Provancas y testimonios y Poderes del baquiller Pedro ssanchez de Aguilar Vicario de La Villa de Valladolid...").

³⁸ Acuña, "Estudio Introductorio," 21.

³⁹ Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 10.

⁴⁰ Góngora, *Historia*, 76.

interpreted the Classics, studied the medieval *trivium*, and practiced rhetoric, completely in Latin.⁴¹

Importantly, humanism imbued Santo Tomás and Coronel with the same fundamental approach to language. Humanism's supplantation of Scholasticism resulted in a scholarly turn towards the vernacular which was quickly paralleled by the use of spoken language artes for religious conversion. In the Middle Ages, Latin was a rarefied language monopolized by the Church and used for scholarship, diplomacy, and religion; by contrast, in the sixteenth century, Latin had become an established part of lay culture, taught to and by people unaffiliated with the Church.⁴² Moreover, by 1540, the humanist resurrection of Classical Latin (based on Roman sources) had replaced medieval Scholastic Latin, which had a high degree of regional variation.⁴³ As they popularized Latin, humanists also undertook the project of elevating common, 'barbarian' tongues to languages of culture.⁴⁴ Ann Moss has argued that the Scholastic and humanist views of language were sufficiently different to constitute "two linguistic universes."⁴⁵ To overcome the *confusio linguarum* wrought at Babel, Scholastics sought a "perfect language" in artificial systems of logical abstraction, such as Scholastic term logic.⁴⁶ Humanists were similarly perturbed by incommensurability, but innovatively, they saw potential for perfection in vernaculars, which were acquired organically and thus reflected the innate "nobility" of the human soul.⁴⁷ According to humanists, a perfected vernacular would have four qualities: rhetorical authority (*auctoritas*), historical prestige (*vetustas*), accordance with rational or logical

⁴¹ Gutiérrez Torrecilla, "Aproximación a la Historia," 26.

⁴² Kagan, *Students and Society*, 36.

⁴³ Perreiah, *Renaissance Truths*, 4.

⁴⁴ Brea Claramonte, "Grammatization," 13.

⁴⁵ Moss, *Renaissance Truth*, 122.

⁴⁶ Perreiah, *Renaissance Truths*, 38.

⁴⁷ The precedent for this was established by Dante's quest to perfect his Tuscan dialect into an elegant literary language (Perreiah, *Renaissance Truths*, 19).

principles (*ratio*), and potential for elegant, stylized use (*usus*).⁴⁸ Humanists further asserted that because all human language was the product of *ratio*, any language, no matter how far from Latin, could be codified and studied— a revolutionary development.⁴⁹ Amidst broader shifts in education and religious thought, the Spanish intellectual world forged a new variety of Latin and a corresponding embrace of vernaculars as potentially-perfect, scholarly languages.

This vernacular turn had practical implementations within the academic world as humanists took up elaborate translation projects. A quintessential example is the *Biblia Políglota Complutense*, which contained Biblical text in parallel columns of Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and Chaldean.⁵⁰ The project was led by fray Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, a Franciscan who had studied under Dominicans at Salamanca but resented his teachers’ focus on civil and canon law, preferring instead to focus on theologically-driven humanistic studies.⁵¹ Completed in 1520, this was a massive undertaking— its estimated production costs (50,000 gold ducats) and reliance upon a supergroup of leading humanists, including Nebrija and Erasmus, have earned the project comparisons to modern-day space exploration.⁵² Such a paragon of humanist scholarship would have been known to both Santo Tomás and Coronel. For Coronel in particular, heretofore unconsidered archival material suggests that the connection was personal: the Hebrew translation for the *Biblia* was completed partially by Pablo Coronel.⁵³ Pablo was a member of the prominent *converso* family centered in Segovia and, according to a series of petitions for noble status, an ancestor of Juan.⁵⁴ In fact, given that at least ten Coronels studied at Alcalá in the late 16th century and that Juan’s likely-cousin Francisco authored an arte of Pampanga, a language of the

⁴⁸ Perreiah, *Renaissance Truths*, 31.

⁴⁹ Brea Claramonte, “Grammatization,” 18.

⁵⁰ López-Ocón Cabrera, “Andinología,” 9.

⁵¹ Addy, “Alcalá,” 561–585.

⁵² Fernández Marcos, “The First Polyglot Bible,” 3-18.

⁵³ Bently, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 75.

⁵⁴ Felipe Peñalosa, “Juan Bravo,” 73-109; ARCV, Registro de Ejecutorias, Caja 2074, No. 7. “Ejecutoria del pleito litigado por Francisco Gutiérrez...”

Phillipines, linguistic description seems to have been something of a family trade, perhaps inspired by Pablo's legacy.⁵⁵ Ultimately, the sixteenth-century shift in Spanish education meant that it was from humanism, not Scholasticism, that Coronel and Santo Tomás acquired their theoretical approach to language, their Latin training, and their interest in vernaculars.

1.2 Birth of the Arte

In the context of Spain's Reconquista, the vernacular turn wrought by humanism led to a proliferation of grammatical description about vernaculars, and the birth of the arte as a genre. As part of their effort to "reconquer" the Iberian peninsula by expelling Muslims and Jews, Spanish Catholics began studying Arabic in order to produce converts; accordingly, Spaniards produced grammatical manuals of Arabic, called artes.⁵⁶ This use of the vernacular for theological, intellectual, and analytical work epitomized the shift in language theory brought on by humanism.

Prior to humanism, Catholics engaged in the evangelical enterprise of the Reconquista had followed the Scholastic principle of striving towards a logical system of communication, completely divorced from any vernacular. This was exemplified by Ramon Llull, a Catalan Catholic born in 1232 who, after experiencing visions of the crucified Christ at age 30, devoted his life to evangelization in support of the Reconquista. He subsequently became a Franciscan and spent nine years studying Arabic from a slave he had purchased.⁵⁷ Having mastered the language, he drafted his *Ars magna*, a manuscript conveying Christian doctrine through a

⁵⁵ Johnson, "El Buscón," 25; Hernandez, "Foreword," 8. Johnson also suggests that the Coronels' constant petitioning for legal privileges generated some amount of local notoriety, ultimately inspiring Francisco de Quevedo's picaresque novel *El Buscón*. The novel tells the story of the swindler Don Pablos who spends his life scheming to improve his social status in Spain and, after repeated failures, decides to try his luck in the Americas.

⁵⁶ Ellsworth Hamann, "Arabic, Nahuatl, Tuscan, Tagalog..." 84.

⁵⁷ Bonner, *The Art and Logic*, 4.

mathematical “universal language,” laid out in seven multi-layered rotatable discs (Figure 1.1). Lull learned spoken Arabic in order to make conversions, but he did not attempt to write Christian doctrine in Arabic, or to write a grammatical description of this vernacular.

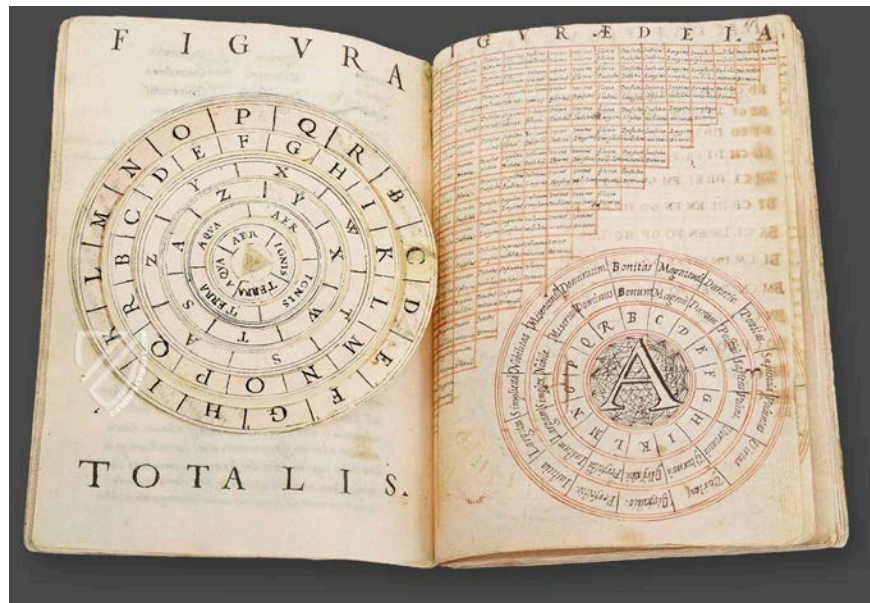


Figure 1.1. A page of Lull's *Ars magna*. The rotating disc produced permutations of Lull's alphabet; each letter of the alphabet corresponded to the absolute Principles, and the four-letter permutations generated by the disc encoded questions and answers.⁵⁸

After the fall of 1492 Granada, the last Muslim stronghold in Iberia, Spanish focus shifted away from violent “reconquest,” and proselytization efforts increased.⁵⁹ This was the work of friars who, like Lull, set about learning Arabic in order to make conversions.⁶⁰ Unlike Lull, these humanist-trained friars attempted to convey Doctrine in the vernacular (Arabic), not through mathematical systems; to do so, they drafted the first artes. As early as 1505, Pedro de Alcalá published his *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arauiga*, which contained a grammatical sketch, a catechism, and a vocabulary.⁶¹ Though the manuscript has not been dated,

⁵⁸ RBM, *Ars Magna*, Ms. 8c.IV.6, Zierys Facsimiles.

⁵⁹ Vidal Castro, “Los diccionarios español-árabe,” 321.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 324.

⁶¹ Ellsworth Hamann, “Arabic, Nahuatl, Tuscan, Tagalog...,” 84.

it was likely at a similar time that Ramón Martí drafted his two-way Arabic-Castilian Castilian-Arabic lexicon.⁶² Other works followed, including Fray Diego de Guadix's 1595 inventory of Arabic loanwords in Spanish, Thomas de León's (1613-1690) *Vocabulario Árábigo-Castellano y Árábigo-Latino*, and fray Bernardino González's 17th century Spanish-Arabic, Arabic-Spanish, and Latin-Arabic dictionary.⁶³ In the humanist tradition, these works saw that the vernacular (Arabic) was codified, analyzed, and learned, in order to serve as a tool of imperial and religious expansion. In fact, many of these authors cited the humanist grammarian Nebrija as an influence in their colophons.⁶⁴ Thus, the rise of humanism induced a major shift in Spanish evangelization, away from Scholastic logic systems and towards codification of the vernacular.

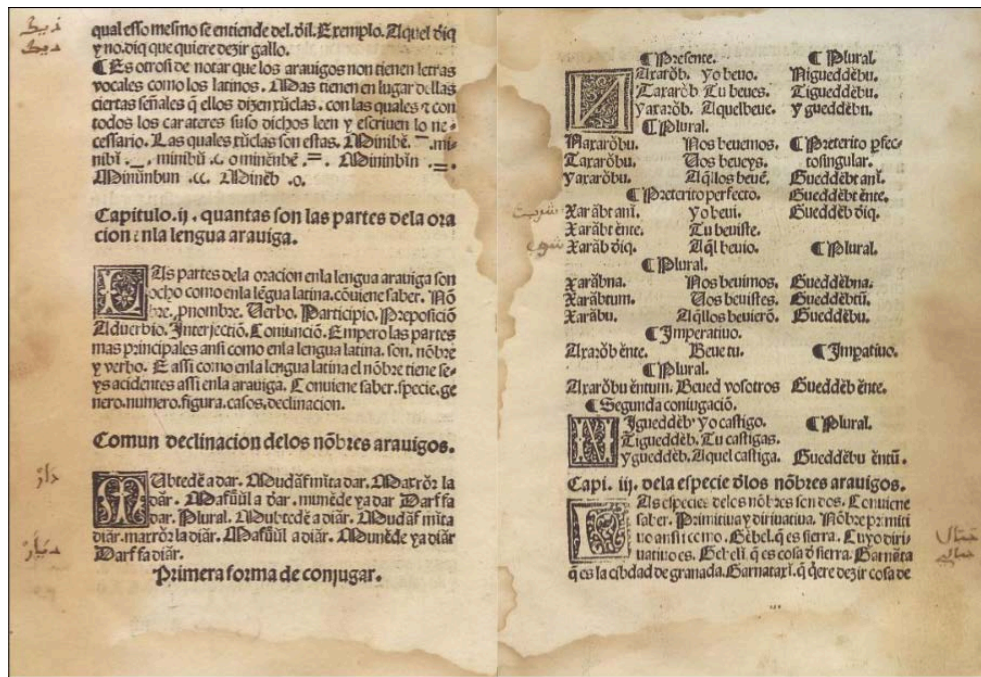


Figure 1.2. A page from Pedro de Alcalá's *Arabic arte*, with paradigms for noun declension and verb conjugation.⁶⁵

⁶² Drozdik, "Fray Bernardino González," 103-107.

⁶³ Vidal Castro, "Los diccionarios español-árabe," 325.

⁶⁴ Ellsworth Hamann, "Arabic, Nahuatl, Tuscan, Tagalog..." 84.

⁶⁵ de Alcalá, *Arte para ligeramente saber*, 14.

These grammatical descriptions were called artes in Spanish, from the Latin *ars* meaning ‘technique’ or ‘skill.’⁶⁶ An arte was not a *grammatica*: humanists reserved this term for their descriptions of Latin, which they held to have once been a universal vernacular and thus a good candidate for the “perfect language.”⁶⁷ By billing their works as artes rather than grammaticas, these Iberian evangelists emphasized the practical utility of their descriptions, without suggesting that Arabic was on par with Latin in terms of *auctoritas*, *vetustas*, *ratio*, and *usus*. The same strategy was imported to the Americas.

1.3 Franciscans, Dominicans, and the Americas

Catholicism was fundamental to Spain’s 16th-century political identity, and in any Spanish polity, public and private life was necessarily structured by Christian precepts. The Crown thus considered conversion a fundamental part of the colonial project, and it entrusted this work to Spain’s highly-mobile and flexible mendicants.⁶⁸ Among these, the Franciscans and Dominicans promoted distinct views of America, its people, and of translation; these distinctions explain one philosophical difference and minor translation choices in the two artes.

In general terms, Spanish Franciscans thought of America as a *tabula rasa*, in which they could escape the corruption of Europe, herald a spiritual new age, and establish utopian religious societies.⁶⁹ Missionizing had been part of the Franciscan mandate since the beginning of the Order.⁷⁰ Because the arrival of Franciscanism in Spain coincided with the Reconquista, Spanish Franciscans were particularly focused on peripatetic evangelism and had a longstanding

⁶⁶ Laird, *Aztec Latin*, 84.

⁶⁷ Laird, *Aztec Latin*, 97.

⁶⁸ Stamatov, “Caribbean Beginnings,” 24.

⁶⁹ Sparks, *The Americas’ First Theologies*, 5.

⁷⁰ Roest, “Medieval Franciscan Mission,” 139.

symbiosis with military expansion.⁷¹ After Columbus, Franciscans interpreted the conquest—and the ensuing violence, pestilence, and death—apocalyptically.⁷² They began to attach eschatological significance to the New World, conceiving of it as a site for the Joachite age of the Holy Spirit.⁷³ Convinced that their Apostolic poverty gave them special status as ushers of a spiritual new age, and drawing on their long tradition of peripatetic evangelism, Franciscans in the Americas sought to “forge a ...millennial kingdom of evangelical poverty.”⁷⁴ Coronel’s training was certainly impacted by Franciscan millenarianism: like his predecessors and contemporaries throughout Mexico, Coronel would have understood himself obligated to construct a terrestrial paradise in Yucatan through conversion, and to establish a more-perfect Catholicism in the New World.⁷⁵

In contrast, Spain’s 16th-century Dominicans were distinguished not by millenarianism, but by a burgeoning interest in human rights and humanitarian protections.⁷⁶ Through evangelism, the Dominican Order hoped to extend Spain and Christendom into America; unlike Franciscans, Dominicans did not consider America a *tabula rasa*, nor did they hope to establish a new kind of society in the New World.⁷⁷ Simultaneously, Dominicans also had a burgeoning concern for humanitarianism, which began with Dominican protestations of Indigenous abuses in Hispaniola and was crystallized throughout the 16th century. Their humanitarian orientation was rooted in a religious logic shared by other Catholics, but the Dominicans’ persistent, practical involvement with the welfare of Indigenous people was distinctive.⁷⁸ Moreover, Santo Tomás’s

⁷¹ Sparks, *Rewriting Maya Religion*, 57; Roest, “Medieval Franciscan Mission,” 153.

⁷² Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, 17.

⁷³ McClure, *The New Middle Ages*, 160.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁷⁵ Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, 77.

⁷⁶ Dominican humanitarianism should be divorced from the word’s modern connotations; Christianization was the primary objective, and Dominicans’ humanitarian protestations were always motivated by that goal.

⁷⁷ Sparks, *The Americas’ First Theologies*, 5.

⁷⁸ Stamatov, “Caribbean Beginnings,” 40.

colegio was founded with the express purpose of preparing Dominicans for America.⁷⁹ Its founder, Diego de Deza, was the Archbishop of Seville, a former professor of theology at the Universidad de Salamanca, and a close associate of Indigenous welfare advocate Bartolomé de las Casas.⁸⁰ Thus, the Colegio de Santo Tomás was aligned with Las Casas from the beginning, meaning that its pupils and teachers shared his anti-exploitation and pro-Indigenous views. Some of Santo Tomás's classmates already had experience evangelizing in the Antilles and Cuba, such as fray Bernardo de Santo Domingo. Other students, like fray Reginaldo Montesinos, were important collaborators of Las Casas. In particular, Santo Tomás worked closely with fray Santo Domingo between 1517 and 1520.⁸¹ Ultimately, Santo Tomás's Dominican affiliation meant that he was prepared explicitly for New World evangelism and had a humanitarian orientation; by contrast, the Franciscan Coronel was arguably less prepared for life in Yucatan, and was more influenced by millenarianism than humanitarianism.

More concretely, Franciscans and Dominicans approached the task of translation differently. For Dominicans, who remained more-aligned with Scholasticism, the divine realm was knowable through analogy: although God's strength was infinite and incomprehensible, it could be understood as *something like* earthly strength. Following nominalist thought, Franciscans disagreed with this, and doubted that there was any relationship between the physical and divine realms.⁸² Theologian Garry Sparks has argued that this philosophical divide played out in New World translation. Dominicans in the Americas used Indigenous-language analogies to translate Christian terms like "God," "baptism," and "Holy Spirit," and even embraced Indigenous poetics in order to communicate their message.⁸³ In contrast, Franciscans

⁷⁹ López-Ocón Cabrera, "Andinología," 12.

⁸⁰ Huerga, "Diego de Deza," 351-372.

⁸¹ López-Ocón Cabrera, "Andinología," 16.

⁸² Sparks, *The Americas' First Theologies*, 3.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 47.

preferred to use Latin loanwords in communicating Catholic doctrine, to avoid inaccurately conveying the Catholic God.⁸⁴ In general terms: because of their fondness for analogy, Dominicans in the Americas were more likely to incorporate Indigenous loanwords and rhetorical devices to explain Catholicism, while Franciscans preferred to stick with the original Latin.

The peninsular formation of Santo Tomás and Coronel illuminates some aspects of their artes. Humanism can explain the Latinate model behind the artes, as well as the fundamental impulse to apply grammatical description to a vernacular. Some differences in translation strategy, evidenced throughout the friars' oeuvres, are attributable to the Dominican-Franciscan translation split.⁸⁵ Santo Tomás's Dominican and humanitarian background certainly explains his pro-Indigenous career in the Andes, which included correspondence with Las Casas himself. As Andrew Laird has noted, it also partially explains his florid praise of Quechua, and his descriptions of the "soft and good sound," "the ease of writing," and "the easy and sweet pronunciation" of the language.⁸⁶ However, their European backgrounds do not account clearly for every choice in the two artes. In the case of Santo Tomás, his links to Las Casas and humanism fail to explain the neat organization of his arte, his phonological sophistication, and the references to Mexico within his text. Likewise, Coronel's humanist training and Franciscan affiliation does not account for the striking disorganization of his arte, his word segmentation errors, and the poor accuracy (phonological and grammatical) of his description. As Chapter 2 will demonstrate, these elements of the artes are attributable to the uncited influence of Indigenous collaborators.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 11.

⁸⁵ Though a full investigation is beyond the scope of this thesis, note that adherence to Sparks's split was rarely neat, and Coronel particularly made many rogue translation choices.

⁸⁶ Laird, *Aztec Latin*, 96; Domingo de Santo Tomás, "Prologo," in *Grammatica, o arte de la lengua general del Peru* (Valladolid: 1560), John Carter Brown Library, fol. A v, verso. A.1.1

Chapter Two: Creating the Artes

Although these friars never had contact, they shared many textual models. In particular, Coronel and Santo Tomás each used their college Latin textbook—Antonio de Nebrija’s *Introductiones Latinae Recognitio*—as the primary template for their artes. Crucially, however, they each adapted this model to the preferences and practices of their native informants; as a result, the artes were created using two distinct methodologies. In this chapter, I argue that although Coronel and Santo Tomás shared a textual model, a reliance on native informants, and an awareness of Central Mexican precedent, Coronel composed his arte primarily from text while Santo Tomás worked aurally. This distinction is important because it reveals a fundamental methodological difference, which is attributable to the influence of Indigenous intellectuals.

2.1 Nebrija’s *Introductiones Latinae* and European Textual Antecedents

Upon arriving in the Americas, both Santo Tomás and Coronel relied on Nebrija as a model for their linguistic description. Specifically, I demonstrate that Santo Tomás worked with a physical copy of the early-16th century Seville printing of the *Introductiones Latinae Recognitio*, while Coronel relied on his recollections of the 1520s Alcalá printing of the same text, along with other European texts. This section argues that although Santo Tomás and Coronel used the same Latinate model, only Santo Tomás wrote with a physical copy of Nebrija, a fact which can account for the artes’ differences in organization.

Antonio de Nebrija’s (1444-1522) works were widely used to teach Latin in Early Modern Spain, and his *Introductiones Latinae* was especially popular; Nebrija’s linguistic oeuvre was thus the dominant model for documentation of Indigenous languages.⁸⁷ The link between

⁸⁷ Calvo Pérez, “Las gramáticas del Siglo de Oro quechua,” 130.

Santo Tomás and Nebrija is exceptionally clear, both through direct references and uncited borrowings. The Dominican makes his debt to Nebrija explicit three times, first in the prologue where he writes that just as the “great genius” Nebrija had to amend his Latin grammar in a third edition, this Quechua arte may also require revisions.⁸⁸ He thus refers explicitly to the third edition of Nebrija’s Latin grammar– in other words, the *Recognitio*. Santo Tomás later notes that his arte “presupposes” the reader’s familiarity with Nebrija’s eight parts of speech, and with Latin in general.⁸⁹ He finally references Nebrija’s explanation of the process of resyllabification in Latin verse.⁹⁰ These three references make clear Santo Tomás’s familiarity with Nebrija’s Latin grammar, and suggest he particularly used the third edition.

Less explicitly, Santo Tomás also applied Nebrija’s metalanguage and structure to his description of Quechua. For instance, he names the Quechua copula *kay* as the “sum, es, fui verb,” which is precisely how Nebrija introduces the Latin copula in the *Recognitio*.⁹¹ Santo Tomás similarly quotes Latin “ego ipse,” “tu ipse,” and “ille ipse” to explain Quechua’s intensive pronoun *kikiy*, which functions in the same way as Latin’s.⁹² When Quechua and Latin do not align, Santo Tomás takes note. In his chapter on nouns, for instance, he writes that although Latin nouns have three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter) and Spanish nouns have two (masculine and feminine), Quechua nouns do not appear to have gender at all.⁹³ Structurally, Santo Tomás copied Nebrija’s eight parts of speech template; he also followed Nebrija’s nominal schema, positing a nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, and ablative case for

⁸⁸ Santo Tomás, “Prologo,” fol. A vjiiii. A.2.1

⁸⁹ Santo Tomás, *Grammatica, o arte*, fol. B ij, verso; Santo Tomás noted that his Quechua arte was principally for “el latino,” that is, someone thoroughly trained in Latin reading and writing (Santo Tomás, *Grammatica, o arte*, 57). A.2.2

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. I v, recto.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. C viii, verso; Nebrija, *Introductiones latinae: Recognitio*, 57.

⁹² Santo Tomás, *Grammatica, o arte*, fol. C v, verso; Nebrija, *Introductiones latinae: Recognitio*, 455.

⁹³ Santo Tomás, *Grammatica, o arte*, fol. B iij, recto.

Quechua which reproduced exactly Latin's six-case system.⁹⁴ Finally, Santo Tomás stuck closely to Nebrija's verb paradigms, providing schema categorized by mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative, optative), marked with the same phi features of Latin (person and number), and showing a conflation of tense and aspect (i.e. a "preterite imperfect" ending).⁹⁵ The structure, terminology, and analyses of his Quechua arte were thus heavily influenced by Nebrija's *Recognitio*.

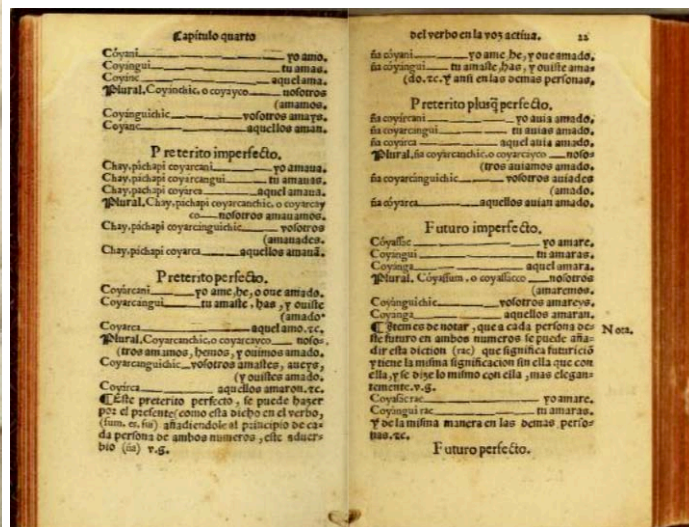
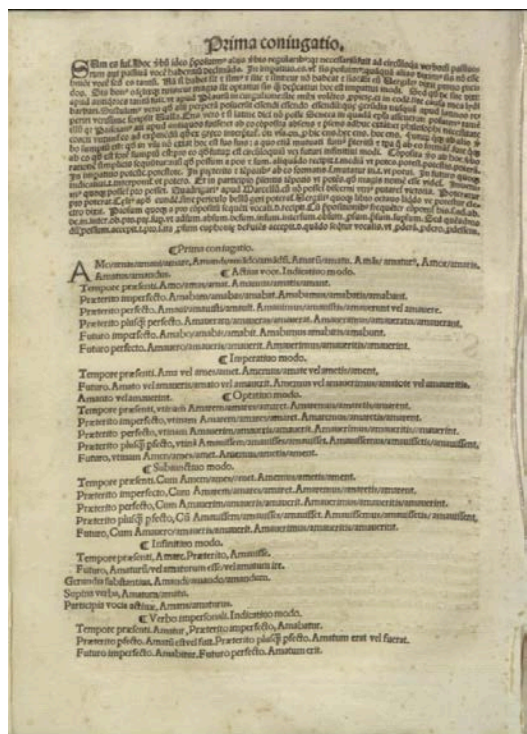


Figure 2.1. Nebrija's *Recognitio* (left) beside Santo Tomás's *arte*. Both show the regular verb paradigm in Latin or Quechua, using "to love" (*amare* and *cóyani*) as the example. Note that the presentation order is the same in both texts: present tense (on the previous page of Santo Tomás), imperfect preterite, perfect preterite, plusquam perfect preterite, etc.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Ibid., fol. Ci, recto. Tellingly, Santo Tomás does not posit a locative case for Quechua, even though the suffix *-pi* does function locatively. Instead, Santo Tomás analyzes *-pi* as a variant of the ablative *-manta*. This error stems from his use of the Latinate template: In the Classical Latin texts that Nebrija, Santo Tomás, and Coronel were studying, the locative case had been neutralized after changes to Old Latin diphthongs, and the functions of the locative were absorbed by the ablative (Luraghi, "The evolution of local cases," 283). Nebrija did not describe a locative case in the *Recognitio*, and thus, Santo Tomás did not posit one for Quechua.

⁹⁵ Santo Tomás, *Grammatica, o arte*, fol. Dv., recto.

⁹⁶ BUS, *Aelij Antonij Nebrissen. introductiones in latina[m] gra[m]matic[a]e*, fol. ir; Santo Tomás, *Grammatica, o arte*, 22.

The case of Coronel is more subtle, because the Franciscan did not explicitly acknowledge Nebrija at any point. However, Coronel twice quotes Latin to explain a piece of Maya grammar: he mentions the verb “sum, es, fui” and the pronominal set “ego, tu, yle,” though he misspells the last pronoun *ille*.⁹⁷ Like Santo Tomás, Coronel also uses Nebrija’s metalanguage to describe Maya; key examples are the tenses preterite, present, and future (all of which Maya technically lacks), participles, and a schema of first, second, and third pronouns. Nebrija’s influence can be seen most clearly in Coronel’s analysis of Maya verbs, which follows the same four-conjugation model.⁹⁸ Like Nebrija, Coronel further categorizes verbs according to the morphological cases of their nominal complements, leading him to name a group of “verbos de voluntad” and to identify a group of nouns that typically require passive voice.⁹⁹ This link between verb type and the declined nominal complement was a syntactic innovation introduced by Nebrija, which Coronel tried to apply to Maya (albeit incorrectly, since Maya has neither case nor the four Latinate verb types).¹⁰⁰

Unlike Santo Tomás, who relied exclusively on Nebrija’s *Recognitio*, Coronel’s arte evidences additional textual influences. First, the *Doctrina Christiana* at the end of his arte matches nearly word-for-word with a catechism by the Jesuit Jerónimo de Ripalda.¹⁰¹ First published in 1591, Ripalda’s work was considered the standard Catholic catechism and was

⁹⁷ Coronel, *Arte*, fol. A3r verso and recto.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. A3v - A8v. Note that this is erroneous. In the Latinate model, verbs are classified into four phonological groups, based on the ending of their infinitive form (--āre, -ēre, -ere, or -īre). Coronel’s four verb types—exemplified by nac “go up,” cambeçah “teach,” tzic “obey,” and canan “guard”—are not phonologically, semantically, or morphologically distinct (i.e., they are all conjugated the same way) (Coronel, *Arte*, fol. A3r verso and recto). This is a clear instance in which Maya has been coerced into the Latinate model, producing nonsensical paradigms. Note also that Santo Tomás, having identified that each Quechua verb ending has only one form instead of four, decided that “there is no need to include the diversity of conjugations” and broke away from Nebrija’s four-type paradigm (Santo Tomás, *Grammatica, o arte*, 21). A.2.3

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. D1v - D3r.

¹⁰⁰ Percival, “Nebrija’s Syntactic Theory,” Chapter 8, n.p. Note that Santo Tomás, having correctly identified that Quechua nouns do not decline, does not subclassify verbs this way (Santo Tomás, *Grammatica, o arte*, 5).

¹⁰¹ Curiously, not all parts of Ripalda’s catechism were included in Coronel’s *Doctrina: el gloria patri, los artículos de la fe, los pecados capitales*, and everything following *las obras de misericordia* was omitted. This could suggest that Coronel based his work on a shortened version of Ripalda, or that he was working from memory.

frequently translated in the New World.¹⁰² So, in addition to Nebrija, the work of Ripalda clearly also served as a model for Coronel. Similarly, Coronel seems to have drawn on his musical training to describe a set of Maya particles, which he idiosyncratically christens *romances subintelectos*. This term does not appear in any other colonial-era grammar writing, about Latin or any other language, and previous scholars have not been able to explain its origin.¹⁰³ This section proposes that its origins are musical: the term *subintelecto* appears in written polyphonic music of sixteenth-century Spain, such as the *Libro de música práctica* by Francisco Tovar (1510).¹⁰⁴ Meaning “subconscious” in Latin, the term was used in Spain to describe polyphonous music that combined vocalized lyrics with a hummed harmony; essentially, what was *subintelecto* was operating undetectably in the background. Coronel, who arrived to Yucatan still a choirboy, seems to have lifted this metaphor to describe a set of particles that appear overtly on the verb at times, and appear covertly at other times.¹⁰⁵ Like the *subintelecto* humming, these particles are also operating behind-the-scenes, since they add grammatical meaning despite being elided.

¹⁰² Romero, “Language, Catechisms, and Mesoamerican Lords,” 649.

¹⁰³ With one exception: the impressive trilingual *Arte de las tres lenguas cakchiquel, quiché y tzutuhil* by fray Francisco Ximénez described how in each of these three Mayan languages, the copula “sum, es, fui” could become “subintelecto,” by which he meant that it was implicit but explicitly pronounced (zero-copula is characteristic of the Mayan language family) (García Aranda, “Los misioneros y el estudio,” 89–108).

¹⁰⁴ Fiorentino, “Unwritten music,” 505.

¹⁰⁵ Cogolludo, *Historia*, 669; Yasugi, “Fronting of Nondirect Arguments,” 56.

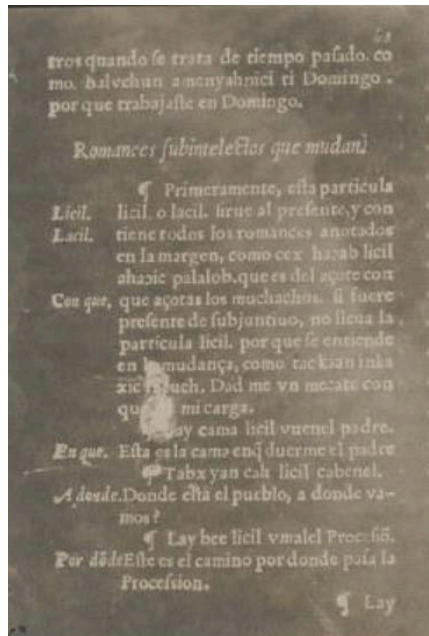


Figure 2.2. A page from Coronel's *arte* describing "subintelecto" particles. This is a good example of Coronel's deviations from Nebrija's template, and his ad hoc application of unusual linguistic metalanguage.¹⁰⁶

Note that both Santo Tomás and Coronel likely used the last edition of Nebrija's *Introductiones Latinae*, which was the most widely-circulated version of the text and was known as the *Introductiones Latinae Recognitio*.¹⁰⁷ It is important to distinguish which Nebrija may have served as a model, because each of the three editions (1481, 1485, and 1495) contained substantial reworkings and could be considered a distinct text.¹⁰⁸ The *Recognitio* was printed in Coronel's city of Alcalá in 1520 and 1523, and in Santo Tomás's Seville in 1500, 1501, 1502, 1513, and 1514.¹⁰⁹ Since this was Nebrija's best-seller, and the only edition printed in both of their cities, the *Recognitio* is a probabilistically-sound candidate. Moreover, as we have seen, Santo Tomás explicitly notes that he has read the third re-working of Nebrija's grammar, which quite clearly suggests that he used the *Recognitio*.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Coronel, *Arte*, MSS 279; WGP at BYU, page 12.

¹⁰⁷ Nebrija, *Introductiones latinae: Recognitio*, iv.

¹⁰⁸ Codoñer, "La *Recognitio*," 99.

¹⁰⁹ Nebrija, *Introductiones latinae: Recognitio*, v.

¹¹⁰ Santo Tomás, "Prologo," fol. A vjiiii.

Finally, as noted briefly above, the degree of exact overlap between Santo Tomás and Nebrija—and the lack thereof for Coronel—suggests that Santo Tomás worked with a physical copy of the *Recognitio*, while Coronel worked from memory. This is an important difference, as it helps explain the clear organization of Santo Tomás and the comparatively-poor organization of Coronel. Santo Tomás loyally followed the structure and order of Nebrija’s grammar, including each section of Nebrija’s third book (the *Erotematis*, a question-and-answer section for young students) in the same order. His omissions represent adaptation rather than error; since Quechua does not have supines or subcategories of verbal conjugation, for example, Santo Tomás does not include these sections in his arte. Philological work on Santo Tomás’s *Vocabulario* of Quechua has shown it to be an entry-for-entry copy of the 1516 Seville printing of Nebrija’s *Dictionarium*, even including the same alphabetization and spelling irregularities.¹¹¹ Such an imitation was certainly not produced from memory, and if Santo Tomás brought his Latin dictionary with him to the Andes, it is not unreasonable to conclude that he also brought his Latin grammar. Coronel’s arte, on the other hand, aligns poorly with Nebrija’s grammar, suggesting that he did not work directly with the *Recognitio*, and instead recalled its four-conjugation model and metalanguage from memory. This conclusion is supported by Coronel’s Latin errors, such as his misspelling of “ille.” Coronel’s poor organization, then, can be attributed to his lack of a reference material. The two friars’ shared reliance on Nebrija, and their differing use of his *Recognitio* as a template, contextualizes one of the bigger differences between the two artes, namely the gap in organizational quality.

¹¹¹ Ellsworth Hamann, “Arabic, Nahuatl, Tuscan, Tagalog...,” 55.

2.2 Intra-Colonial Connections and Central Mexico as a Model

Both Coronel and Santo Tomás referenced Mexico in their artes, suggesting that they were aware of previous linguistics work in this region. Specifically, Coronel explained in the prologue to his *Discursos* that he opted to use the grapheme *tz* to represent the voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/ rather than the grapheme *tz̄*, which was already in use to represent the same phoneme in Nahuatl.¹¹² In his *Plática*, Santo Tomás explained how Adam and Eve birthed all of humanity, including the “opparunacona” or ‘Indians of Mexico.’¹¹³ This was a non-standard insertion into the story, added by Santo Tomás.¹¹⁴ Although intra-colonial textual connections such as these have been acknowledged in the historiography of early colonial Latin America, the particular networks and their effects are seriously under-examined.¹¹⁵ This section considers the possibility that Santo Tomás and especially Coronel accessed Central Mexican texts, in order to shift scholarship towards increased intra-colonial considerations.

The relatively-swift fall of Tenochtitlan in 1521 meant that Central Mexican friars had a two decade headstart in evangelization, as compared to those in Yucatan and the Andes.¹¹⁶ By the time Santo Tomás published his arte, Central Mexico had already seen several artes, including Andrés de Olmos’ description of Nahuatl (1547) and Maturino Gilberti’s Purépecha arte (1558).¹¹⁷ Additionally, Central Mexican friars had already established the famed Imperial

¹¹² Coronel, *Discursos*, 1.

¹¹³ Santo Tomás, “Plática,” 93. Translated literally, *opparunacona* means “deaf-mute men,” a demonym similar to the terms used in many Slavic languages for “German,” which characterize Germans as the neighbor “wielding an incomprehensible speech” (Taylor, “La platica de fray Domingo,” 453). A.2.4

¹¹⁴ Mentions of Indigenous people did not appear in other New World translations of the Adam and Eve story. For example, Coronel’s version of the story, given in his *Discursos*, asserted only that through Adam and Eve, “all men and women” came into existence (Coronel, *Discursos*, fol. 17r.). A.2.5

¹¹⁵ Calvo Pérez, “Las gramáticas del Siglo de Oro quechua,” 131. A notable exception to this statement was recently forged by Louise Burkhart, who suggested that the trilingual doctrina composed by the Third Lima Council in 1584 has an “immediate, though limited, impact in Mexico” as the model text for a catechism composed by Jesuits in Nahuatl at the Third Provincial Council (Burkhart, “The ‘Little Doctrine,’” 172.).

¹¹⁶ Laird, *Aztec Latin*, 8; Restall, *The Maya World*, 3.

¹¹⁷ Laird, *Aztec Latin*, 105.

College of Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco (1536), and were imparting humanist training in Latin, theology, and Christian doctrine to Indigenous elites.¹¹⁸ By the time of Coronel's arte, an impressive corpus of Nahuatl-language works had been drafted by Spanish friars, including additional artes by Alonso de Molina (1571) and Antonio del Rincón (1595).¹¹⁹ Nahuatl had also been designated the official language of New Spain's Indigenous people, and the University of Mexico had established a Nahuatl chair.¹²⁰ The example of Central Mexico, and especially of the grammatical descriptions of Nahuatl, would thus have been salient to Santo Tomás and especially to Coronel.

Though the historiography has given little attention to intra-colonial movement in Spanish America, it is plausible that Santo Tomás and Coronel would have known about religious activities, texts, and problems in Central Mexico. Ecclesiastical records in the AGI suggest that clergy in the Andes and Peru were well-informed about religious activity in Central Mexico. For example, in 1555 fray Tomás de San Martín (a friend/schoolmate of Santo Tomás) asked the Crown to restrict emigration from Andalucía and Extremadura, because when men from those provinces arrived in Mexico and Peru they behaved with dangerous belligerence.¹²¹ Similarly, a friar in Cusco justified his request for additional funds by pointing out that the church of New Spain had already received extra money, and benefitted from it.¹²² In a similar request for additional *limosna* funds, the Yucatec Doctor Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar complained that the *limosna* had already been raised in the churches of "Mexico or Tlaxcala," Lima, Cusco, and Charcas.¹²³ Friars stayed abreast of their brothers' activities in Central Mexico, evidently

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 117.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 144.

¹²⁰ Heath, *Telling Tongues*, 27.

¹²¹ San Martín alleges that this is because of some civil unrest in Andalucía and Extremadura. AGI, Audiencia de Lima, 313. Fray Tomas... 20 Mayo, 1555.

¹²² AGI, Lima, 305. Carta de Yñigo Lopez de Mondrago... 1552.

¹²³ AGI, Mexico, 299. Carta del Doctor Don Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar... 24 Abril, 1618.

paying particular attention to scandals and funding. The awareness seems to have gone both ways: a friar in Mexico City asserted that friars in the *doctrinas* of Peru (which “in this land are [called] *pueblos*”) struggled to evangelize because the clergy did not “bother to learn the language.”¹²⁴ In addition to this archival evidence, the intra-colonial movement of notable Spaniards has been well documented, further supporting the plausibility of Central Mexico as a reference point for Santo Tomás and Coronel.¹²⁵

For Coronel in particular, the reference to Nahuatl orthography suggests that he had familiarity with Alonso de Molina’s 1571 *Arte Mexicana*. By 1620, three Nahuatl artes had been written, but only two used the grapheme mentioned by Coronel: Olmos (1547) and Molina wrote the voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/ as *tʒ*, while Rincón wrote it as *tz*.¹²⁶ Between Molina and Olmos, it is more likely that Coronel would have accessed Molina in Yucatan. Olmos’s arte circulated only in manuscript form until it was printed in Paris in 1875.¹²⁷ Molina’s arte, conversely, was printed in 1571 and used widely in Central Mexico, especially by friars composing doctrinal texts; it was evidently the dominant Nahuatl-aide until the 1645 arte by the Jesuit Horacio Carochi.¹²⁸ Thus, it is plausible that in the early 1600s, Coronel would have accessed a copy of this Nahuatl arte to aid the composition of his own text. Based on the ample cases of individual, ideological, and textual connections between regions of the Spanish empire, additional intra-colonial philological connections are likely to exist, and may have affected the composition of these two artes.

¹²⁴ AGI, Mexico, 300. Información acerca de las doctrinas de los frailes... 9 Junio, 1620. A.2.6

¹²⁵ Key examples include: Alan Durston’s work on Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, a Church leader in both Mexico and Peru (Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 31), Mills and Taylor on the spread of the Quetzalcoatl/Viracocha myth (Mills and Taylor, *Colonial Spanish America*, 39), and Tom Cummins on the highly-mobile printer Antonio Ricardo (Cummins, “Custom Made by Antonio Ricardo,” 248).

¹²⁶ Olmos, *Arte*, MSS 279 WGP at BYU; Molina, *Arte*, JCBL; Rincón, *Arte*, JCBL.

¹²⁷ Baudot, “Sobre Fray Andrés de Olmos,” 447-449.

¹²⁸ Laird, *Aztec Latin*, 160.

2.3 Indigenous Influences

As they drafted their artes, Santo Tomás and Coronel employed the same textual model (the *Recognitio* of Nebrija) and likely both looked to Central Mexico as an example of Indigenous-language evangelism. These are reasons to expect more similarities than differences in the two artes, even if it was only Santo Tomás who used a physical copy of Nebrija. Yet several major differences remain unaccounted for, namely, a) the phonological sophistication of Santo Tomás, b) the low accuracy, both phonological and grammatical, of Coronel, c) Coronel's word segmentation errors, and d) Coronel's unusual use and choice of example sentences. In this section, I argue that the friars' shared reliance on Indigenous collaboration resulted in divergent methodologies, a theory which can account for these remaining differences. Specifically, I argue that Coronel relied on Indigenous writing to compose his arte, while Santo Tomás gathered his linguistic data aurally.

It is first necessary to give two pieces of background information. First, Indigenous collaborators were crucial to the enterprise of translation and conversion in Spanish America. These individuals tended to come from elite families, and they worked closely with clergy from a young age in order to acquire literacy skills, Spanish, and bicultural sensibilities.¹²⁹ In Yucatan, lettered Maya *maestros* were trained by Franciscans in the convent schools.¹³⁰ In the Andes the model was almost the same, except that the most prestigious post was that of *fiscal*.¹³¹ Though rarely cited by name, the work of some maestros and fiscales is identifiable through careful historical and philological sleuthing. For instance, Alan Durston has convincingly argued that Cristóbal Choquecasa, an Indigenous nobleman from highland Checa, was the primary author of the Huarochirí Manuscript (c. 1608), an anonymous work associated with secular Cusquenean

¹²⁹ Durston, "Cristóbal Choquecasa," 164; Christensen, *The Teabo Manuscript*, 4.

¹³⁰ Christensen, *The Teabo Manuscript*, 4.

¹³¹ Burns, "Making Indigenous Archives," 240.

priest and extirpator Francisco de Avila.¹³² In the case of Yucatan, Gaspar Antonio Chi was exceptionally self-promotional and took credit for his translation efforts, even drafting his own *probanza de merito*.¹³³ It is safe to assume that both Santo Tomás and Coronel worked with an Indigenous fiscal, maestro, or some form of bilingual ‘informant.’

Second, the Maya eagerly applied the technology of alphabetic writing to their own language, while Andeans did not. This difference is rooted in pre-Hispanic cultural differences. Across Spanish America, it was only in the Maya region that the Spanish encountered phonetic writing and a rich literary tradition. Despite initial interest in learning these “hieroglyphs,” Spanish friars quickly forbade their use and promoted alphabetic literacy instead.¹³⁴ John Chuchiak has painstakingly demonstrated that pre-conquest Maya literati, most of whom came from noble lineages, were the very same individuals first trained by Franciscans in alphabetic writing.¹³⁵ Since they were in fact already literate, and already familiar with the uses, forms, and power of the written word, these nobles became prolific producers of alphabetic text during the colonial period.¹³⁶ This remained true even after the First and Second Mexican Provincial Councils (1555 and 1565) effectively outlawed native text production.¹³⁷ In Yucatan, alphabetic writing represented a new form of an old practice.

We do not see such continuity in the Andes, where pre-Hispanic records had been kept with knotted cords called *quipu* and oral tradition. Here, the technology of writing was experienced as an awkward imposition, at best. Indigenous people were barred not only from the

¹³² Durston, “Cristóbal Choquecasa,” 164.

¹³³ Christensen, *The Teabo Manuscript*, 4.

¹³⁴ For example, in 1588 the Franciscan friar Alonso Ponce praised the Maya folding-screen books and noted that “some of our friars learned to understand and read them, and even wrote them” (Coe, *Breaking the Maya Code*, 118). Historian John Chuchiak gives an overview of the various ecclesiastical attitudes towards Maya writing, demonstrating that although friars were initially curious about the writing system and even tried to learn it, they began to regard the glyphs with overwhelming suspicion in the 17th century (Chuchiak, “The Images Speak,” 168).

¹³⁵ Chuchiak, “Writing as Resistance,” 91.

¹³⁶ Christensen, *The Teabo Manuscript*, 17.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

priesthood (which was standard practice), but also from the position of notary.¹³⁸ Since these were the two colonial-era professions which required literacy, the exclusion of Indigenous people meant that alphabetic writing did not take hold as swiftly among Andeans. It was not until the 1850s that a class of *indios ladinos* emerged in this region and bilingual Andeans began working officially as translators, scribes, and government assistants.¹³⁹ One lasting consequence has been a dearth of early colonial mundane documentation in Quechua from the Andes.¹⁴⁰ Ultimately, the Indigenous collaborators relied upon by both Santo Tomás and Coronel would have had different attitudes towards, and capabilities with, alphabetic literacy. I suggest that Indigenous views of writing pushed the two friars to adopt distinct methodologies for language documentation.

First, Coronel likely used pre-written sources to compose his arte. In the prologue to his *Discursos*, Coronel explained that he “collected and amended” existing texts to compose his book of doctrine. He further noted that the *Discursos* was meant to counteract the Indigenous-authored, handwritten copybooks (*cartapacios*) in which “many lies are found.”¹⁴¹ Though his arte is unprefaced, four clues suggest that Coronel used a similar method to compose this text. First, a text-based method for the arte would explain Coronel’s striking lack of explanatory material related to orthography, pronunciation, and prosody (material which was included in Nebrija, in Santo Tomás, and also in the Nahuatl artes). Second, Coronel’s arte evinces confusion or ignorance about Maya pronunciation, further suggesting a reliance on text rather than aural communication: for example, Coronel consistently failed to include the euphonic prefixes /w/ and /j/ which were obligatorily inserted between the ergative pronoun set and vowel-initial nouns or verbs.¹⁴² This resulted in mistakes like *a ich* for “your eyes,” a phrase

¹³⁸ Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka*, 126.

¹³⁹ Leon Llerena, *Reading the Illegible*, 11.

¹⁴⁰ Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 48.

¹⁴¹ Coronel, *Arte*, fol. A recto. A.2.7

¹⁴² The error first appeared in his paradigm for possessive pronouns, was repeated in his verbal paradigms, and recurred through his body of writing (Coronel, *Arte*, fol. A3r. verso).

which would have been pronounced [a wítʃ] and, indeed, was written *a uich* by Indigenous authors copying the same source text.¹⁴³ Third, unlike Nebrija, Santo Tomás, and the Central Mexican grammarians, Coronel’s arte included many example sentences; many of these have no clear link to the Christian doctrine, despite Coronel’s evangelical agenda, and several speak directly to the backdrop of violent conquest in Yucatan. These unexpected example sentences can be most-elegantly explained as quotations from Coronel’s source texts (and, as will be shown, some can be traced through the colonial Maya corpus). Finally, the text-based methodology can account for Coronel’s confusion about word boundaries: across his works, and especially in the *Discursos*, Coronel erroneously strings words together as one unit. For example, the very first sentence of the *Discursos* reads,

Himac bin hahal ocçictiyol caix caputçihic, Lay ah lukullae,

With proper word segmentation, however, the text would appear as:

Himac bin hahal ocçic ti yol caix caput çihic, lay ah lukul lae,

“He who truly believes and is baptized, he is saved.”¹⁴⁴

There are several possible explanations for this phenomenon, which occurs throughout the *Discursos* and the arte.¹⁴⁵ This section proposes a new one: because Coronel copied these

¹⁴³ Coronel, *Discursos*, fol. 159r.; “Morley Manuscript,” 235. A.2.8. Though a full historical account of the Maya pronominal system is beyond the scope of this thesis, my observation that only Spanish authors (like Coronel) elided these euphonic prefixes challenges the existing analysis, namely that inconsistent use of these prefixes was simply a feature of colonial-era spoken Maya (Bricker, *A Historical Grammar*, 47).

¹⁴⁴ Coronel, *Discursos*, fol. 1r.

¹⁴⁵ David Bolles suggests that there may have been confusion at the printing press (which was in Mexico City, and did not have any Maya speakers), but acknowledges that it is impossible to be certain about this. I disagree with this suggestion, because these errors were clearly made by someone with knowledge of Maya— words are joined only if

words from a pre-written source and did not hear them spoken aloud by a native speaker, he was inattentive to the word boundaries. The spelling thus represents an educated guess at word boundaries by Coronel, who may only have seen the phrase written in a tight, compressed hand. Ultimately, then, a text-based method represents the most elegant explanation for four irregular features of Coronel's arte; it is also plausible given that Coronel attested firsthand knowledge of Indigenous alphabetic writing and acknowledged his use of pre-written texts for the *Discursos*. Significantly, this text-based method did not stem from any European tradition, but rather from the (uncited) Indigenous collaborators with whom he worked.

Conversely, Santo Tomás evidently relied exclusively on aural communication to compose his arte. The Dominican called the lack of written materials in Quechua to attention in his first chapter on orthography, writing that “the Indians... were not using writing, nor did they ever have memory of it.”¹⁴⁶ This seriously reduces the possibility that Santo Tomás used Indigenous-authored manuscripts to aid his arte-writing, as Coronel did. Moreover, Santo Tomás's description evidenced a high degree of phonological sophistication which could only have arisen from aural data collection. For example, Santo Tomás's orthography captured subtle phonological rules, like the voicing of stops in the vicinity of nasal sounds like /n/ and /m/ (e.g., “Inga” rather than “Inka”).¹⁴⁷ Similarly, he frequently introduced a lexeme with two forms, to capture dialect variation since “Indians from one province pronounce [the terms] differently than those from another” (e.g. *xámuy* or *hámuy* for “come,” *póri* or *póli* for “walk,” etc.).¹⁴⁸ Finally, Santo Tomás orthographically captured the Quechua stress system, using accent marks throughout his work and dedicating an entire chapter to prosody, since “the accent (which the

they share some kind of semantic link, and there are no mid-word divisions. If the mistake was made by someone without knowledge of Maya, we would expect to see mistakes like *ahlu kullae* as frequently as *ah lukullae*.

¹⁴⁶ Santo Tomás, “Capitulo primero dela orthographia,” fol. B, recto. A.2.9

¹⁴⁷ Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 188.

¹⁴⁸ Santo Tomás, *Grammatica o arte*, 2. A.2.10

Greeks call prosody, the *Latinos* tenor, and the Spanish sound...) is the most difficult material to understand and master.” Santo Tomás gave six pronunciation rules for nouns, and ten rules for verbs.¹⁴⁹ Such phonological sophistication could only have been achieved through extensive aural study of Quechua, and an aural method of arte composition.¹⁵⁰

If Coronel relied on Maya-language texts to compose his arte, which texts might he have used? At least three can be identified. First, the chronicler Diego López Cogolludo reported that fray Luis de Villalpando had a “miraculous” grasp of Maya and composed his own arte, which was subsequently improved upon by fray Diego de Landa. According to Cogolludo, who himself had learned Maya from Coronel, the work of Villalpando and de Landa was known to Coronel.¹⁵¹ This Villalpando/Landa proto-arte is lost today, but was likely a source text. Secondly, it seems that Coronel referenced the *Calepino Maya de Motul*, since this monumental dictionary-encyclopedia contains many of the same bizarre example sentences as his arte. In particular, the verb *azotar* “to whip” shows up frequently in both works—a topic that is unusual enough, especially in a grammatical or doctrinal context, to suggest some connection between the texts. For example, both Coronel and the *Calepino* give *Mac ti hadzi ech*, meaning “who whipped you?”¹⁵²

At least one Maya-authored manuscript, which has survived in the Morley Manuscript, seems to have served as a source text for Coronel, particularly for his *Discursos*. Written in a single hand, this manuscript consists of 346 numbered pages and is a Maya-language

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 86. A.2.11

¹⁵⁰ Even Santo Tomás’s phonological errors (which are few) indicate an aural rather than written methodology. For instance, as Durston has noted, Santo Tomás overuses the graphemes *e* and *o* to represent the sounds [e] and [o], which are phonemes in Spanish but allophones conditioned by /q/ in Quechua (Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 189). In other words, Santo Tomás was mistranscribing Quechua vowels because, aurally, he had filtered them through his native Spanish five-vowel system. This is an error which stemmed from mishearing (in contrast to Coronel’s errors, which stemmed from *not* hearing).

¹⁵¹ Cogolludo, *Historia*, 135.

¹⁵² Coronel. *Arte*, fol. C8 recto; Ciudad Real, *Calepino*, 337.

compendium of Christian texts and themes. The manuscript also contains a section composed in the Maya riddle-language called *Zuyua T'aan*. Gretchen Whalen has noted that the original author was almost certainly an Indigenous Maya maestro, since he misspelled some Spanish words and made mistakes with Church dogma, but displayed a virtuosic command of Maya vocabulary, poetics, and style.¹⁵³ The manuscript is untitled, anonymous, and undated; however, on ms. page 234 the words “Año 1576” appear. Although the paper and handwriting style of the Morley Manuscript date from between 1760 and 1780, the actual content— including the translation of a book banned by the Inquisition in 1559, reflections of early Franciscan millenarianism, and the *Zuyua T'aan* sections— almost certainly originated in the early colonial period.¹⁵⁴

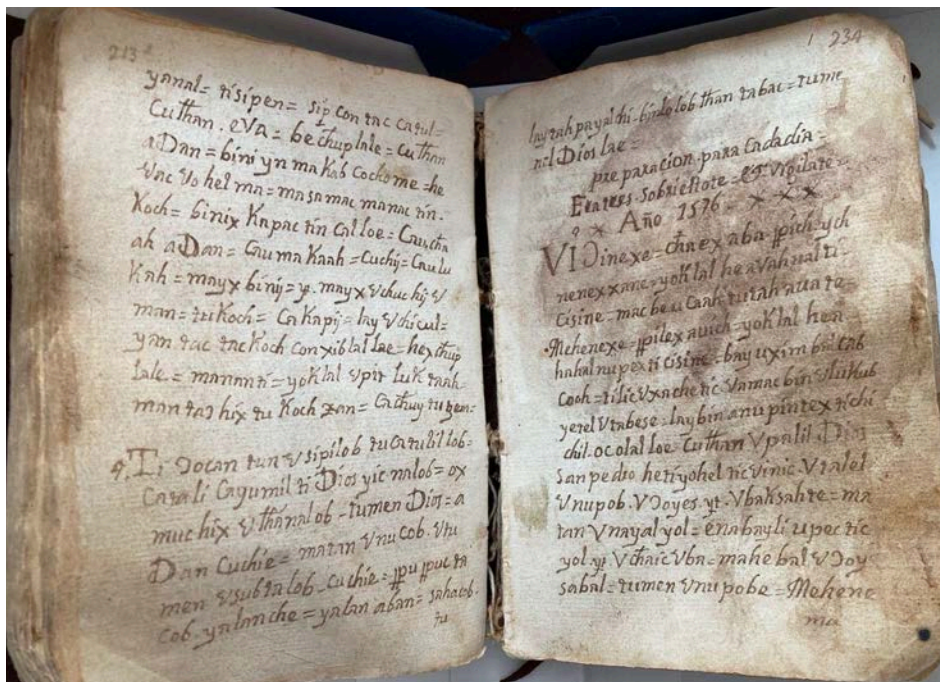


Figure 2.3. Page 234 of the Morley Manuscript, marked with the date “1576.” This is the first page of the passages that are cognate with Coronel’s Discursos.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Whalen, *An Annotated Translation*, n.p.

¹⁵⁴ Whalen, *An Annotated Translation*, n.p.

¹⁵⁵ SFMIAC, “Morley Manuscript.” Photograph courtesy of State Librarian Eli Guinnee.

Intriguingly, the Morley Manuscript has a large cognate passage with Coronel's *Discursos*, beginning on ms. page 234 and extending until the end (see Appendix B). This cognate passage consists of three sections: the *Exposición del Pater Noster* (ms. p.234-316), the *Exemplos del Sanctissimo Sacramento del altare* (ms. p.316-324), and the *Exemplos Sacados de la Sagrada Escritura* (ms. p.324-346). Whalen is ultimately ambivalent about the original date of the Morley Manuscript, but based on the link between the Morley Manuscript and Coronel's *Discursos*, I suggest that the extant copy is an 18th-century copy of material which was produced in 1576. Thus, this 1576 manuscript represented a source text for Coronel, perhaps providing not only a theological text for the *Discursos*, but also the linguistic data from which he made the analyses presented in his arte.

Three additional Maya manuscripts represent possible source texts, but are more difficult to date. These texts are the Teabo Manuscript, Garrett-Gates Mesoamerican Manuscript no. 65 the "Maya Sermons," and the Chilam Balam of Tuzik. All four of these texts are Maya "Christian copybooks," a genre of text defined by Christian content and creation away from Franciscan supervision, usually in semi-secrecy.¹⁵⁶ The *Discursos* has three cognate passages with these "cartapacios": an apocalyptic sermon shared by the "Maya Sermons," the Chilam Balam of Tusik, and the *Discursos*,¹⁵⁷ the *Fifteen Signs* sermon shared by "Maya Sermons," the Chilam Balam of Tusik, and *Discursos*, and the *Exemplum* shared by the "Maya Sermons," the Chilam Balam of Tusik, the Morley Manuscript, and the *Discursos*.¹⁵⁸

The European formation of Santo Tomas and Coronel can account for some features of their artes—namely, their shared interest in vernaculars, Santo Tomas's Lascasian impulse, and the degree of organization. But stopping here gives the impression that these artes would be more

¹⁵⁶ Christensen, *The Teabo Manuscript*, 17.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 216

similar than different and fails to explain the profound linguistic differences in these two artes. Those differences can only be explained as a result of collaboration with native speakers, who had their own preferences for language use and transmission.

Chapter Three: Circulation, Use, and Afterlife

The different methodologies employed by Santo Tomás and Coronel resulted in very different artes, which translated into two separate patterns of circulation, use, and impact in both America and Europe. That bifurcation affected the vitality of Maya and Quechua throughout the colonial period. This chapter demonstrates that Santo Tomás's arte circulated more widely than Coronel's, in part because he received institutional support in the publication and distribution of his arte. In the end, Santo Tomás played a foundational role in the standardization, spread, and *lingua franca* status of Quechua in subsequent decades. By contrast, Coronel's arte was poorly circulated and rarely-used—a result, at least in part, of his text-based methodology. The low uptake of his arte indirectly contributed to the growth of Maya-Spanish bilingualism in Yucatan during the 18th and 19th centuries.

3.1 Circulation and Use in the Americas

The artes of both Santo Tomás and Coronel addressed a practical concern (the language barrier) and were thus, in theory, equally useful. However, Santo Tomás's arte circulated more widely than Coronel's. Moreover, the Quechua arte was met with institutional support from the Crown and the Universidad de San Marcos, fomenting its use in the Andes as a pedagogical tool for Spanish religious (primarily) and Indigenous people (secondarily). In contrast, Coronel's arte received no institutional support and seems not to have been widely used by contemporaries, who likely continued with the pre-Coronel, tutelage-based model of language learning.

To contextualize, both Santo Tomás and Coronel wrote with the primary goal of increasing the number of Quechua or Maya-speaking friars. Knowledge of an Indigenous language was a major advantage for anyone engaged in evangelism in the New World, because it

allowed for direct, accurate communication of the doctrine and also helped to root out idolatry.¹⁵⁹ Friars who spoke a European language natively, had speaking capability in the local Indigenous language, and could interpret between the two were called *lenguas*; to be a *lengua* conferred respect and prestige, and *lenguas* were always in high demand.¹⁶⁰ For example, in a 1618 relation, friars in Yucatan requested that more young friars be sent to the region, since they learn the language better than older friars, who struggle with the language and thus cannot preach effectively.¹⁶¹ A relation from the same year wrote positively about preachers who had been born in Yucatan and thus could speak Yucatec Maya (thus implying that preachers born outside of Yucatan could not speak Maya, or spoke it poorly in comparison).¹⁶² In the Andes, there was such a shortage of linguistic intermediaries that a Royal Decree in 1536 commanded Pizarro to give an Indigenous translator to Bishop Vincente Valverde.¹⁶³ This dearth of *lenguas* and the ensuing linguistic confusion was the immediate impetus for Santo Tomás and Coronel to write their artes, and theoretically should have made both of them popular, utilitarian, and widespread.

By having their works printed, both Santo Tomás and Coronel were taking an additional step towards this end. Printing artes was unusual: in the sixteenth century, an estimated eighty linguistic descriptions were drafted in the New World, and only eight of those were printed.¹⁶⁴ For Santo Tomás, the decision to print the arte did not follow immediately from its composition; rather, Santo Tomás drafted the arte sometime between the 1540s and 1554, and the manuscript was evidently known and used by other friars in the Andes.¹⁶⁵ Coronel, too, based his printed

¹⁵⁹ Scholes, "Franciscan Missionary Scholars," 399.

¹⁶⁰ Hanks, *Converting Words*, 10.

¹⁶¹ AGI, Mexico, 299. Visto y lo decretado a las relaciones de los Religiosos que se han condecuado esta derito... 5 de Mayo 1618.

¹⁶² AGI, Mexico, 299. Los Clerigos hijos y nietos de Conquistadores... 31 de marzo de 1618.

¹⁶³ AGI, Lima, 565. Real Cedula ordenando a Pizarro que de al Obispo Fr. Vincente Valverde un un indio lengua. 5 de febrero 1536.

¹⁶⁴ Van Loon, "Wide-lensed Approaches," 60.

¹⁶⁵ Cieza de León, *La crónica*, 152.

work off of manuscripts that had long circulated in Yucatan, some of which may have been several decades old.¹⁶⁶ For both authors, the choice to print these works almost certainly reflected aspirations toward widespread and long-lasting use. Coronel's arte was printed in Mexico City, where the print run would have generated between 100 and 1500 copies.¹⁶⁷ Since there was not yet a printing press in Lima,¹⁶⁸ Santo Tomás's arte was printed in Valladolid, Spain—an exceptional fact, with implications for the text's European circulation and legacy (see 3.2).¹⁶⁹ The print run generated 1,582 copies, and a Royal Decree commanded that all of these copies be given to Santo Tomás, so that he might take them back to Peru and sell them.¹⁷⁰

Although Santo Tomás and Coronel both wrote and published with the goal of producing more lenguas, only Santo Tomás's arte was ultimately widely circulated within the New World. After the Royal Decree granted him ownership of all 1,582 copies of his arte and *Lexicon*, Santo Tomás landed in Panama in November 1561 with a group of servants and religious.¹⁷¹ He arrived to Lima in March of 1562.¹⁷² Here, he must have begun to distribute his arte; perhaps he gave or sold the books at convents on the route to Charcas, which was to be his next destination.¹⁷³ However, in his letter announcing his arrival to Lima, Santo Tomás did not mention the 1,582 books, or his plans to sell them.¹⁷⁴ Regardless, the artes were dispersed thoroughly throughout the Andes: after laudatorily elevating Santo Tomás above Nebrija, fray Gregorio García

¹⁶⁶ Coronel, *Discursos*, 47.

¹⁶⁷ Van Loon, *The Early Modern Production*, 334.

¹⁶⁸ Van Loon, "Wide-lensed Approaches," 68.

¹⁶⁹ AGI, Indiferente, 425, L. 23., f. 435r. 426v, Real Cédula de licencia para la impresion de las obras de Fray Domingo de Santo Tomas, 13 de Diciembre de 1559.

¹⁷⁰ AGI, Indiferente, 425, L.23, F.467r., Real cédula a Francisco Hernández de Córdoba, impresor. . . , n.d.

¹⁷¹ AGI, Panama, 33, N.51, Cartas y expedientes de oficiales reales: Panama y Portobelo, 6 de Noviembre 1561.

¹⁷² AGI, Lima, 313. Carta de Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomas. . . 14 de marzo 1562.

¹⁷³ AGI, Lima, 92, 1562 – Cartas del Ldo. Saravia, Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomas, y Fr. Ramirez Davalos sobre la perpetuidad de las encomiendas.

¹⁷⁴ In the letter, he instead decried the exploitation of native people under the encomienda system and, citing Las Casas, advocated for their "conversion and conservation" (AGI, Lima, 313. Carta de Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomas. . . 14 de marzo 1562). A.3.1

explained that the former's arte was read in all three cities with an Audiencia, namely Lima, Charcas, and Quito.¹⁷⁵ In the case of Coronel, there are very few traces of his arte's circulation; if it circulated at all, it would have stayed within Yucatan for use in convents.¹⁷⁶ The only contemporary mention of Coronel's arte comes from the chronicler Cogolludo, who described how Coronel himself used the arte for "many years" as a teaching aid in Yucatan convents, including in Mama and Merida; Cogolludo added that Coronel taught him Maya this way, when he arrived from Spain in 1629.¹⁷⁷ It remains doubtful that Coronel's arte ever circulated beyond Mama and Merida, or was used by anyone besides Coronel.

The difference in circulation was paralleled by a difference in use patterns: Santo Tomás had institutional support for his work from the beginning, while Coronel never did. First, in publishing his arte, Santo Tomás was supported by the Crown financially.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, the Santo Tomás arte was also supported by the Universidad de San Marcos, which established a cátedra of Quechua in 1579 in recognition that language was the "principal instrument" of conversion and that pupils learned Quechua "more easily through an arte."¹⁷⁹ Since the only arte which existed at this point was Santo Tomás's work, there is a clear link between his codification of the language and the university's institutionalization of it. There were already two Quechua courses in the Andes: one at the Cathedral of Lima was established in 1551,¹⁸⁰ and another was established in 1569 at the Jesuit Colegio de San Pablo (both, perhaps, used the manuscript form of Santo Tomás's arte for instruction).¹⁸¹ However, the creation of a formal university chair at San Marcos

¹⁷⁵ Vargas, *Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomás*, 43.

¹⁷⁶ Van Loon, "Wide-lensed Approaches," 68.

¹⁷⁷ Cogolludo, *Historia*, Libro 12, Capítulo 18, 669. A.3.2

¹⁷⁸ Vargas, *Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomás*, 43.

¹⁷⁹ AHDA, Fondo Colonial y Documentos Fundacionales de la UNMSM, "Ordenanza para la Universidad acerca de la Cátedra General de Lengua de Indios (7 de julio de 1579)," folios 1115v., sala N. 1, estante N.47, caja N. 4, folio 11. A.3.3

¹⁸⁰ Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka*, 65.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 67.

provided a new level of institutional support for Quechua. The chair was to oversee certification of the priests in Quechua, and administered a Quechua exam which was now part of all priestly training in the Andes.¹⁸² A 1578 Royal Decree prohibited granting doctrinas to Spaniards who did not know Quechua.¹⁸³ Later, San Marcos made Quechua proficiency a graduation requirement for ecclesiastics, religious or secular, at the bachiller (Bachelor's) and licenciado (Master's) levels. Students who failed the Quechua exam would have to retake the course, while those who performed best would be rewarded with top placements.¹⁸⁴ Supported by two major institutions (the Crown and the University of San Marcos), Santo Tomás's arte thus became the standard pedagogical tool for Quechua study in the Andes—ultimately earning him the epithet “Indian Nebrija.”¹⁸⁵

An intriguing side-effect of this widespread circulation and use may have been that Santo Tomás's arte became accessible to Indigenous people, too. This speculation comes from one key piece of evidence: Guaman Poma de Ayala, the famous Andean chronicler and native speaker of Quechua, named Santo Tomás in his 1615 manuscript as the author of a dictionary “of the language of Cusco... all mixed up with the Spanish language.”¹⁸⁶ Notably, although several other

¹⁸² Ibid., 67.

¹⁸³ AGI, Lima, 569. Real Cedula, ordenando no se den doctrinas a personas que no sepan la lengua de los indios, 2 Diciembre 1578.

¹⁸⁴ AHDA, Fondo Colonial y Documentos Fundacionales de la UNMSM, “Ordenanza para la Universidad acerca de la Cátedra General de Lengua de Indios (7 de julio de 1579),” folios 1115v., sala N. 1, estante N.47, caja N. 4, folio 13.

¹⁸⁵ Vargas, *Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomás*, 43. The institutional support lent to Santo Tomás mirrors the well-documented, top-down spread of Nahuatl by colonial authorities in Central Mexico; this further strengthens the case for intra-colonial connection between linguistic materials. These policies included: a 1570 decree establishing Nahuatl as the official language of the Indians of New Spain, educational and career requirements for friars to learn Nahuatl, and a mandate by the Crown to establish a Nahuatl chair at the University of Mexico (a position funded by the royal treasury) (Heath, *Telling Tongues*, 24-40). The Crown's promotion of Nahuatl as a lingua franca was so effective that by the beginning of the 18th century, an estimated 50% of clergy in the Viceroyalty of New Spain could speak one or more Indigenous languages (Patrón Sarti, “La Universidad de Mérida,” 48). The publication of Santo Tomás's arte initiated a similar process of standardization, promotion, and spread for Quechua. This was later epitomized by the Third Lima Council (1582-1583) and their publication of a prescriptive “official” corpus of Quechua texts, for obligatory use by all parish priests (Durstun, *Pastoral Quechua*, 86).

¹⁸⁶ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Crónica*, 1079. A.3.4

Quechua artes and dictionaries had been printed by this point, Santo Tomás is the only friar-linguist named by Guaman Poma. This has led to speculation that Guaman Poma (a native speaker of Quechua) may have accessed and used Santo Tomás's *Lexicon*, using it to help with the composition of his 1,200-page, Spanish-language missive.¹⁸⁷

The reception of Coronel's arte could not have been more different: his Maya description lacked institutional support, and was evidently not embraced by his contemporaries, either. Jesuits founded a colegio in Mérida in 1618, and the Universidad de Mérida in 1624.¹⁸⁸ However, the university followed a humanistic curriculum, comparable to what friars could have received in Spain; students could earn a degree in Artes (entailing *Súmulas*, *Lógica*, and *Física*) or Theology (which entailed all the Artes courses, plus four additional courses in theology, two daily lessons in Scholasticism, and one daily lesson on writing or morality).¹⁸⁹ The goal of the university in Mérida was to prepare clergy to work in Yucatan, but the curriculum was essentially imported from Spain without alteration. This was in line with long-standing educational goals in the peninsula: in 1576, the *procurador* of the city hall of Mérida, Martín de Palomar, asked the Crown to promote a Latin course for Spaniards who already knew Maya, and would otherwise have to travel outside the province to learn. De Palomar suggested that by demonstrating knowledge of Latin to native people, the Spaniards would make a more-convincing case for conversion.¹⁹⁰ This petition was rejected, but the fundamental preference for Latin-based, European humanist education in Yucatan proved to be an enduring feature in the region. Ultimately, Coronel's arte was not widely circulated or used institutionally. In all likelihood, Franciscans in Yucatan continued to learn Maya in their traditional, pre-Coronel method of

¹⁸⁷ Torero, "Entre Roma y Lima," 274.

¹⁸⁸ Patrón Sarti, "La Universidad de Mérida," 122.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 126.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 124.

one-on-one tutelage, as experienced by Coronel and Cogolludo, for instance.¹⁹¹ While Santo Tomás's arte had an immediate and significant impact on Quechua pedagogy, Coronel's changed little about Maya instruction.

3.2 Circulation and Use in Europe

As the only New World linguistic material printed in Europe, Santo Tomás's arte ran a parallel course through Europe, where it had limited circulation as a curiosity, artifact, and diplomatic tool. Although some Maya linguistic material did travel to Europe, including codices and potentially grammatical material, there is very little indication that Coronel's arte ever crossed the Atlantic.

The book historian Zanna van Loon has shown that Santo Tomás's Quechua arte reached a range of European libraries and collections, including the Bodleian Library in Oxford, UK, the BNE in Madrid, and the San Lorenzo of El Escorial in Madrid. The provenance notes associated with these far-flung copies indicate that the arte was acquired for purposes unrelated to language-learning or evangelization. For instance, the BNE's copy was owned by a "doctor Medrano," a sixteenth-century inquisitor, and "fr. Aug[ustin] de Labata or[din]is praedicatorum," a Dominican friar. Neither of these men ever traveled to Peru, or to the New World at all. Similarly, the Bodleian copy came from Sir William Godolphin, an English diplomat and Ambassador to Madrid, who bought a copy in the early 17th century, perhaps out of curiosity.¹⁹² Thus, Santo Tomás's arte circulated in Europe (though not widely), and had a range of uses unrelated to its original purpose.

¹⁹¹ Chuchiak, "The Sins of the Fathers," 197.

¹⁹² Van Loon, "Wide-lensed Approaches," 73.

Conversely, there is very little indication that Coronel's arte circulated at all in Europe. This was theoretically possible: Franciscans from Yucatan occasionally traveled back to Spain with Maya linguistic material in tow. For example, fray Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar likely deposited the Madrid Codex in Spain.¹⁹³ Similarly, a 1580 letter places the Franciscan fray Gaspar de Nájera back in Spain with "letters, and the tiger sent by the governor of Cartagena."¹⁹⁴ Some of the "letters" may have been Maya-language documents by the famed interpreter Gaspar Antonio Chi.¹⁹⁵ Yet even if some Maya linguistic material reached European shores, bibliographic inventories show that Coronel's work did not.

Generally, early modern bibliographic inventories capture Santo Tomás, but miss Coronel; moreover, these inventories frequently fail to capture any Maya material at all. For example, a 1629 bibliographic inventory by Antonio de León Pinelo, who spent some of his adolescence in the New World but lived primarily in Spain, cites a 1560 printing of Santo Tomás's arte and erroneously attributes a 1586 *Vocabulario de la lengua Quichua* to Santo Tomás (though he makes no mention of Santo Tomás's *Lexicon*).¹⁹⁶ Pinelo does not mention Coronel's work, nor does he explicitly cite any work in Maya.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, in his 1783 *Bibliotheca Hispana*, Nicolás Antonio inventoried Spanish writings between 1500 and 1684. He included Santo Tomás, attributing to the Dominican a grammar and a vocabulary of "Quichua," both printed in 1560.¹⁹⁸ Although he included two authors who wrote about Yucatan (Lizana and

¹⁹³ Chuchiak, "Papal bulls," 80.

¹⁹⁴ AGI, Indiferente, 1956, L.3, F.96R-96V, Carta acordada del Consejo al licenciado Diego Gasca para que traigan a esta corte las cartas y el tigre... 6 de junio 1580.

¹⁹⁵ Cunill, "Papeles en movimiento," 159–86.

¹⁹⁶ Pinelo, *Epitome*, 109.

¹⁹⁷ Curiously, Pinelo does cite a printed work by fray Luis de Villalpando written in "one of the languages of the Indies" (Pinelo, *Epitome*, 105). This language must have been Maya: Villalpando was a companion of de Landa, active in Yucatan and a noted lengua of Maya. He wrote an arte and a doctrina in Maya, both of which are now lost (and are not known to have been printed). He also wrote a large quarto dictionary, which was printed in Mexico in 1571; although scholars believe that one copy survives, it has not been located (Roys, "The Franciscan Contribution," 421).

¹⁹⁸ Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana*, 225.

Francisco de Cardenas) Antonio did not mention the arte by Coronel, nor indeed any material about or in Maya.¹⁹⁹ This pattern of citations suggests very limited European circulation of Coronel's work, in contrast to the wide American and European circulation of Santo Tomás.

Relatedly, two pieces of evidence suggest that Santo Tomás's arte was used pre-arrival to prepare for life in the New World—a highly unusual use case which is testament to the exceptionally-wide diffusion of his arte. The first is a 1567 letter from Jesuit Jerónimo Ruiz de Portillo to a superior in Rome. The letter explicitly states that the Jesuits were preparing for their upcoming mission by studying the Quechua language in Seville: “Here [in Seville] we learn the universal language of Peru... in order to not go as *vocales*.” A Latin footnote explicitly cites Santo Tomás's arte and *Lexicon* as the works being used, and clarifies that the term *vocales* referred to enslaved Africans who did not speak Spanish.²⁰⁰ Similarly, in the paratext before a European imprint of a 1603 Quechua confessional manual, Procurator Diego de Torres Bollo suggested that a great use of the text would be studying the Quechua language while crossing the Atlantic.²⁰¹ Thus, it is plausible that some Andes-destined Spaniards were able to study Quechua before they arrived. However, these cases should be regarded as exceptions: the aforementioned Jesuit letter further clarified that such study was only possible because the Order had some money left over, after buying the necessary provisions for their trip, to pay for books.²⁰² More significantly, New World linguistic materials did not infiltrate European universities, where they might have been accessed or studied systematically. For example, a 1718 index of the books in the library at the Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso at the University of Alcalá does not contain any New World linguistic works.²⁰³ The same is true of a 1700 catalogue of the library at the

¹⁹⁹ Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana*, 334; *Ibid.*, 412.

²⁰⁰ Fernández Dávila, *Monumenta Peruana*, 130. A.3.5

²⁰¹ Van Loon, *The Early Modern Production*, 61.

²⁰² Fernández Dávila, *Monumenta Peruana*, 130.

²⁰³ Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso Biblioteca, *Indice*.

Convent of San Esteban in Salamanca,²⁰⁴ and a 1770 catalogue of the library at the University of Salamanca.²⁰⁵

3.3 Legacy

On a personal level, arte authorship lent credibility and status to Coronel and especially to Santo Tomás. On a linguistic level, Santo Tomás's arte—supported institutionally, circulated widely, and used systematically—played a foundational role in the subsequent standardization and spread of Quechua across the Andes. Conversely, Coronel's poorly-circulated, rarely-used arte did little to increase the speaker population of Maya; because of its text-based methodology, Coronel's arte also was a minimally helpful pedagogical tool. Thus, in the 17th and 18th centuries, Quechua became a *lingua franca* with many non-native speakers, but Maya remained a regional language used primarily by native speakers.

Lengua status typically benefitted ecclesiastical careers in Spanish America. This was the case for Santo Tomás: in 1562, two years after the printing of his arte, he was appointed to the prestigious post of Bishop of Charcas.²⁰⁶ He renounced this position at first, feeling that he would make a poor Bishop, but was ultimately pressured to accept.²⁰⁷ Beyond imperial recognition, his knowledge of Quechua also afforded him authority and credibility as an advocate for native welfare; he was uniquely capable of speaking directly with native people, and representing their complaints to Spanish authorities. Aware that this position was a political advantage, Santo Tomás evidently used his knowledge of Quechua as a symbol of his authority on native affairs.

²⁰⁴ Convento de San Esteban Biblioteca, *Catálogo*, 1700, MS 565, BHUS.

²⁰⁵ Universidad de Salamanca Biblioteca General, *Índice*, 1770, MS 602, BHUS.

²⁰⁶ AGI, Lima, 313, Carta de Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomás a S.M. dando gracias... 20 de diciembre de 1562.

²⁰⁷ Altamura, *Bibliothecae Dominicanae*, 348; AGI, A. de Lima, 313, 1563, 15 Diciembre. Los Reyes. Carta de Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomas a doña Casilda Hurtado de Mendoza, en la que dice haber aceptado el Obispado de Charcas por obediencia.

For example, in a 1562 letter he wrote to the Crown that native Andean people “*manacanco* [definitely do not] want perpetuity” of the *encomienda* labor system.²⁰⁸ In writing the first *arte* and using Quechua to authenticate himself as a native advocate, Santo Tomás secured a personal legacy. Over time, he was even mythologized: in 1912, a biographical sketch asserted that Santo Tomás was “one of the seven missionaries who accompanied Pizarro.”²⁰⁹ Similarly, a 1937 dissertation by a Peruvian Dominican laudatorily outlined the life of this “illustrious religious who deserves the gratitude of America.”²¹⁰

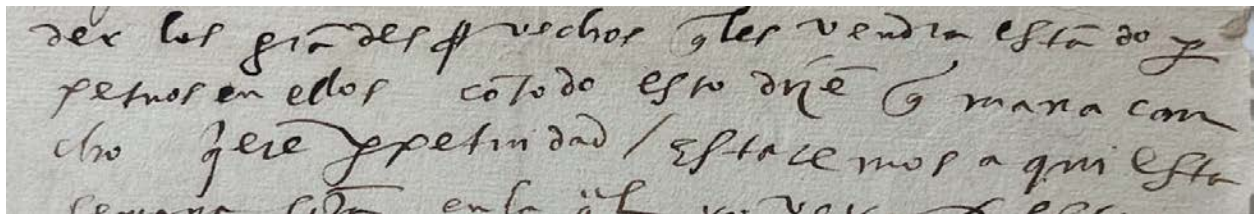


Figure 3.1. Santo Tomás asserted that Indigenous Andeans *manacanco* wanted perpetuity.²¹¹

Coronel’s final years were less illustrious: from 1635 until his 1651 death he was extremely sick, bedridden at the *Mejorada* Convent in Merida.²¹² The highest position he attained was *definidor*, on January 24, 1621.²¹³ According to Cogolludo, Coronel was an “observant and exemplary” Franciscan who adhered faithfully to his vows of poverty, even walking barefoot until old age obligated him to wear shoes, and who may have achieved a higher post like *provincial* if he had not appeared so “rigid.”²¹⁴ Though the paucity of sources about Coronel suggests that he never reached the level of prestige that Santo Tomás enjoyed, having published an *arte* earned him at least this local recognition.

²⁰⁸ AGI, Lima, 313, Carta de Fr. Domingo de Sto. Tomás a D. Alonso Manuel de Anaya de Huamanza, 23 de marzo 1562. A.3.6

²⁰⁹ Eguiguren, *Catálogo histórico*, 6. A.3.7

²¹⁰ Vargas, *Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomás*, 1. A.3.8

²¹¹ AGI, Lima, 313, Carta de Fr. Domingo de Sto. Tomás a D. Alonso Manuel de Anaya de Huamanza, 23 de marzo 1562.

²¹² Cogolludo, *Historia*, Libro 12, Capítulo 18, 671.

²¹³ Cogolludo, *Historia*, Libro 10, Capítulo 2, 319.

²¹⁴ Cogolludo, *Historia*, Libro 12, Capítulo 18, 670. A.3.9

Beyond the individual lives of their authors, these artes impacted the use and vitality of the languages they described. With support from Spanish and local institutions, Quechua was actively promoted as a lingua franca for the Andes; Quechua's speaker base thus expanded during the colonial period, a fact which is attributable, at least in part, to the high degree of accuracy, usability, and circulation of the Santo Tomás arte.²¹⁵ Durston has compared the colonial-era spread of Quechua to the Church's use of Latin in Europe: because Christianization was done in Quechua, the linguistically-diverse Andes entered a situation of diglossia in which peoples' dominant language was their vernacular, but most also had "passive competence" in Quechua.²¹⁶ Work in historical linguistics confirms this by demonstrating that Quechua's linguistic territory expanded post-contact. For example, Southern varieties of Quechua show evidence of linguistic influence from Aymara; the time depth of these linguistic features (<500 years) suggests that Quechua supplanted Aymara as the dominant language in these regions post-contact, as a result of colonial-era efforts to promote Quechua as lingua franca.²¹⁷ Similarly, it is unlikely that Quechua was spoken in the Amazon or the lowlands of Ecuador before the Spanish conquest; instead, it probably spread to these regions through the movement of Christianizing friars, and became the dominant Indigenous language as intermarriages and alliances between Achuar and Zaparoan people required use of a lingua franca.²¹⁸ Four petitions by Indigenous non-native Quechua speakers have survived from Antambamba, providing documentary evidence of Quechua's use as a lingua franca by the Spanish colonial regime.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ This happened at the expense of other Indigenous languages. In the northern part of the Andes, for example, as many as thirteen languages were spoken, and may all have been from different language families; today, most are extinct and very little is known about them (e.g. Mochica, Puquina, Híbito, and Cholón) (Urban, *The Central Andean Linguistic Landscape*, 40).

²¹⁶ Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 110.

²¹⁷ Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka*, 179.

²¹⁸ Adelaar and Myusken, *Languages of the Andes*, 452.

²¹⁹ Durston, "La escritura del quechua," 220.

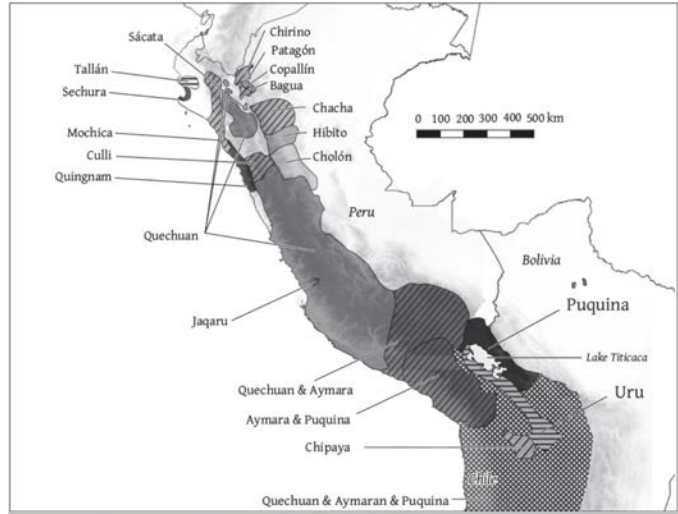


Figure 3.2. Approximate pre-contact distribution of 16th-century Andean languages. Note that Quechua is spoken in the Central and Northern Andes, with some speakers in the Southern Andes as well.²²⁰

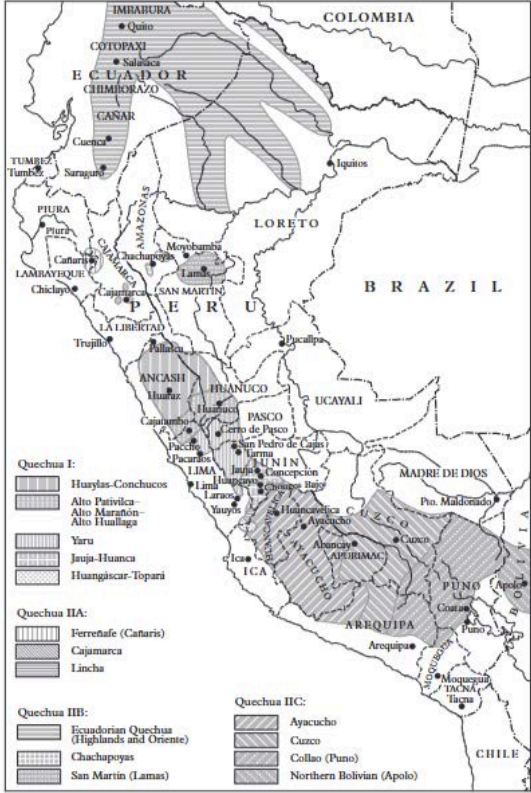


Figure 3.3. Map showing the present-day distribution of Quechua, which has expanded into Ecuador and further south into the Andes. Note that this map excludes Bolivia, which also has a high concentration of Quechua speakers.²²¹

²²⁰ Urban, *The Central Andean Linguistic Landscape*, 40.

²²¹ Adelaar and Myusken, *Languages of the Andes*, 184.

Maya saw no such expansion during the colonial period. This was in large part because the Yucatan peninsula was linguistically homogenous pre-conquest, making efforts to promote a lingua franca unnecessary.²²² Yet the inadequacy of Coronel's arte may have been a compounding factor, in the same way that the phonological sophistication, clear organization, and usability of Santo Tomás's work facilitated Quechua's colonial-era spread. Coronel's reliance on text in the composition process meant that his arte was unhelpful for *speaking* Maya (which was, ultimately, the main reason for a friar to learn the language). Accordingly, archival evidence suggests that Spanish friars continued to struggle with Maya well into the colonial period, never becoming competent second-language speakers. After spending 30 years in Peru, Bishop fray Juan Izquierdo moved to Yucatan and was shocked at the Franciscans' "abysmal" knowledge of Maya: the friars confessed parishioners by rotely reading from a booklet (thus failing to understand any responses), and half of the friars who tried to learn Maya simply failed.²²³ Implicit in this testimony is an assertion that such issues had not occurred in Peru. Similarly, in a petition from 1646, Franciscans in Yucatan bemoaned the problems that arise from the "not-knowing the language" of Indigenous people.²²⁴ As late as 1742, in another arte of Maya, Pedro Beltrán de Santa Rosa María described Yucatec as "a bush of sharp thorns, for the six consonants it produces, so difficult to pronounce that many, even after years of practice... and being perfected through the Arte... stumble in the pronunciation, wounded by their acrimony as if by sharp thorns."²²⁵ That phonology would be a particularly-difficult component of Maya is predicted by Coronel's reliance on written text, rather than spoken language. Ultimately, then, Santo Tomás's arte effectively produced new speakers of Quechua while Coronel's arte did not.

²²² Bricker, *A Historical Grammar*, 3.

²²³ Cited in Hanks, *Converting Words*, 89.

²²⁴ AGI, Mexico, 370. Escribaseles como lo pide el señor fiscal mudando la palabra noble en benaroble. 19 de julio 1646. A.3.10

²²⁵ Beltrán de Santa Rosa María, *Arte Del Idioma Maya*, 5. A.3.11

However, the impracticality of Coronel's arte was not a death knell for the Maya language. To the contrary, historian Mark Lentz has argued that in the 18th and 19th centuries, Maya flourished as an interethnic lingua franca: most residents of Yucatan (of Spanish, Maya, or African descent) had working knowledge of the language, and it was the primary language of a large portion of the population, including for *criollos* of Spanish descent.²²⁶ An 1892 bibliographic inventory corroborates, writing that Indigenous people in Yucatan conserved the language "with such tenacity" that "they do not speak another language, being insistent that the Europeans learn it if they want to communicate with them."²²⁷ (Of Quechua, by contrast, the same inventory noted that "many Spaniards and missionaries speak it today correctly."²²⁸) Lentz attributes this to changing demographics on the peninsula and increased contact between lower-class *criollos* and Indigenous, monolingual Maya speakers in cities. I want to offer an additional explanation: if the extant pedagogical tools for Maya (namely, Coronel's works) could not produce competent speakers of the language, a higher premium may have been placed on bilingualism in Yucatan than in the Andes, where standardized and accessible pedagogical tools made learning Quechua a feasible undertaking. Rather than learn Maya from a book, *criollos* in Yucatan learned the language as children. Thus, the vitality of Maya in the centuries following Coronel's arte is not attributable, as Roys suggests, to "the efforts of the Franciscan missionaries in colonial times to preserve and foster the pride and interest of the Maya in their language and culture."²²⁹ Rather, almost the exact opposite may have been true: because the Franciscan linguistic works did not sufficiently solve the problem of the language barrier in Yucatan, organic

²²⁶ Lentz, "Castas, Creoles, and the Rise of a Maya Lingua Franca," 32.

²²⁷ Muñoz y Manzano Viñaza, *Bibliografía Española*, 369. A.3.12

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 385. A.3.13

²²⁹ Roys, "The Franciscan Contribution," 417.

bilingualism was prized in the colonial administration, and Maya remained a healthy language for several centuries.

Conclusion

The New World was a new Babel. This thesis has shown that the Spanish ability to overcome the *confusio linguarum* was more variable, and more dependent on the linguistic preferences of Indigenous collaborators, than previously acknowledged. Responding to Maya scribal prolificity, Coronel adopted a text-based method which ultimately failed to produce a useful arte. Working with non-literate Indigenous collaborators, Santo Tomás developed an aural method of language study and produced an arte with of remarkable sophistication. Quechua was thus widely learned as a second language during the colonial period, while Maya remained a locally-bound mother tongue.

Because they antedated the grammatical description of most European vernaculars, these New World artes are often invoked as the founding documents of descriptive linguistics.²³⁰ Their uniformity has been taken for granted, and the influence of Indigenous collaborators on the methodology has been ignored. It was not inevitable that language documentation— today a “huge international enterprise” engaging religious organizations, academics, and non-profits— should be done through speaking and listening, rather than reading and writing.²³¹ The Old World reliance on ancient texts as the basis for correct usage first had to be cast aside, and alternatives had to be pioneered. The failure of Coronel’s text-based method was an early fault line in the philological tradition. Conversely, the success of Santo Tomás offered proof-of-concept for the aural method. Thus, this thesis has presented an oft-overlooked intermediary stage in linguistic history: the moment when Europeans studying language turned away from philological, text-based projects like the *Biblia Polígloa Complutense* and first experimented with aurality as a tool for language learning.

²³⁰ Adelaar and Myusken, *Languages of the Andes*, 16.

²³¹ Zwartjes, “Historiography,” 186.

The artes of Coronel and Santo Tomás were two instantiations of a much larger (and still ongoing) phenomenon which laid the foundation for modern linguistics. All told, the 1892 bibliographic inventory mentioned in Chapter 3 listed 1,188 works by Spanish missionary-linguists in the Americas, describing 493 distinct languages over three and a half centuries of colonization.²³² In Europe, these records of linguistic discovery were subsequently re-discovered by researchers of “comparative-historical grammar,” who sought to explain why the world’s languages had such an array of features.²³³ For instance, Santo Tomás’s description of clusivity in Quechua— a feature not found in any European languages— piqued the interest of 18th-century proto-linguists like Felipe Salvatore Gilij, John Pickering, and Wilhelm von Humboldt.²³⁴ New categories of language were created based on data from Nahuatl, Quechua, and other New World tongues.²³⁵ By their absence from this 18th-century dataset, Mayan languages also shaped the first linguistic theories: unique features of this language family, like split ergativity and tenselessness, would not be accounted for until the 1970s.²³⁶ The disparate histories of text reception, then, have significantly affected linguistic theory down the line. Indeed, the 1892 inventory asserts that “without the philological lucubrations of our missionaries... modern science would not have been able to... resolve many of the problems of linguistics.” In particular, the inventory lists Pickering, Duponceau, Humboldt, Gallatin, Brinton, de Bourbourg, Stoll, and many others as philologists whose work built directly on the New World artes.²³⁷

The work begun by Santo Tomás, Coronel, and other New World friars remains ongoing. Their methodological pivot laid the groundwork for the modern documentation work of Christian

²³² Muñoz y Manzano Viñaza, *Bibliografía Española*, 369. A.3.12

²³³ McElveny, *A History*, 27.

²³⁴ Haas, “‘Exclusive’ and ‘Inclusive,’” 6.

²³⁵ McElveny, *A History*, 27.

²³⁶ Law, “Mayan Historical Linguistics,” 151.

²³⁷ Muñoz y Manzano Viñaza, *Bibliografía Española*, 14. A.4.1

organizations like SIL, which trains approximately 300 missionary-linguists each year to spend several decades living within a community, learning the local language, and translating the Bible.²³⁸ Despite their secular stance, academic linguists rely on the data collected by missionaries, who have flexible funding from Christian benefactors, unrestricted timelines, and few obligations beyond evangelization; many of the world's languages are known to academics only through the work of missionary-linguists (not to mention the discipline's reliance on software developed in the missionary context, including FieldWorks Language Explorer and Keyman).²³⁹ Indeed, given the current severity of language endangerment—by the end of this century, 90% of the world's languages may be lost—the work of missionary-linguists has only increased in importance.²⁴⁰ Already, it is commonplace that when a language becomes extinct, previous documentation by missionary-linguists is all that remains.²⁴¹ For both Maya and Quechua, the missionary materials have had continued relevance: responding to the Hispanicization of independence-era Mexico and Peru, which marginalized Indigenous languages, 21st-century activists have adapted these materials as pedagogical tools for language revitalization.²⁴² Given the modern resonances of the artes by Santo Tomás, Coronel, and others, it is crucial to understand the methods and individuals involved in their composition.

²³⁸ Dobrin, "SIL International," 619.

²³⁹ Dobrin, "SIL International," 627.

²⁴⁰ UNESCO, "Language Vitality," 2003.

²⁴¹ Zwartjes, "Historiography," 201. For example, Cholón is known only through the 1748 arte by Pedro de la Mata (Alexander-Bakkerus, "Eighteenth-Century Cholón," 21). The same is true of Xinka and the 1773 arte by Manuel Maldonado de Matos (Sachse, "Reconstructive Description," 14).

²⁴² Adelaar and Myusken, *Languages of the Andes*, 183; Lentz, "Castas, Creoles, and the Rise of a Maya Lingua Franca," 56; Acosta Muñoz, "Ko'ox T'aano'on," 80.

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Appendix A: Original Text for Quotations

Introduction

A.0.1

Si cupis Indorum lingua[m] cognoscere veram: / Et scire exoptas quae latuere diu: / Si cupis arcanos mores, hominumq[ue] recessus / Discere, nec Priscis cognita sacra viris: / Hu[n]c eme.

A.0.2

que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio i de tal manera lo siguió que junta mente començaron, crecieron i florecieron

A.0.3

“y apresamos obra de 20 de aquellos, entre los cuales había 7 lenguas, que no se entendían la una con la otra: se dice que en el mundo no hay más que 72 lenguas, y yo digo que son más que 1000, porque sólo aquellas que yo he oído son más de 40.”

Chapter 1

A.1.1

“La abundancia de vocablos, la conveniencia que tienen con las cosas que significan. Las maneras diversas y curiosas de hablar. El suave y buen sonido al oydo dela pronunciación della, La facilidad para escribirse con nuestros caracteres y letras: que facil y dulce sea a la pronunciacion de nuestra lengua, el estar ordenada y adornada con propiedad de declinacion, y demas propiedades del nombre, modos, tiempos, y personas del verbo. Y brevemente en muchas cosas y maneras de hablar, tan conforme a la latina y española: y en el arte y artificio della, que no parece sino que fue un pronositoc que Españoles la avian de poseer. Lengua pues, S.M., tan polida y abundante, regulada y encerrada debaxo delas reglas y preceptos dela latina como es esta... [Lengua], tan conforme a la latina, y española: y en el arte y artificio della, que no parece sino que fue un pronóstico, que Españoles la auian de poseer. Lengua pues, S. M, tan polida y abundante, regulada en encerrada debaxo de las reglas y preceptos de la latina como es esta (como consta por este Arte) no barbara, que quiere dezir (según Quintilian, y los demás latinos) llena de barbarismos y de defectos, sin modos, tiempos, ni casos, ni orden, ni regla, ni concierto, sino muy polida y delicada se puede llamar.”

Chapter 2

A.2.1

“Porque como el Antonio de Nebrissa, varon eruditissimo, y de gran ingenio, dize en el prologo del suyo, que de la lengua latina hizo, enmendado lo la tercera vez, Nada al principio se haze tan perfecto, que el tiempo inventor de todas las cosas, no descubra que añadir, o quitar. Y assi yo de tal manera al presente saco este Artezillo a luz...”

A.2.2

“Que cosa sea nombre, pronombre, verbo, y demas partes de la oracion: y qual sea la diffinicion de cada una dellas: porque como esta dicho esta arte principalmente se baze y ordena para personas ecclesiasticas y latinas, que se presupone que ya de la grammatica del Antonio de Nebrija, y de la lengua latina, saben la diffinicion y delcaracion de cada una delas dichas ocho partes...”

A.2.3

“Al presente me parecio que no ay necesidad de poner diversidad de conjugaciones, sino que aunque aya en los verbos las quatro terminaciones dichas. Digamos no aver mas de una conjugacion...”

A.2.4

ſuc cari Adam xutioĉta, ſuc guarmeguarac Eua xutioĉta yachachirca rurarcapas, Chayconamanta llapa runacona. Ñocayco, cancona, yanarunacona, opparunacona, púrrunrunacona....

Un varon Adam llamado, y una muger Eva llamada, crio y hizo: destos todos los hombres. Nosotros, vosotros, los negros, los indios De Mexico, los de los montes...

A.2.5

Bin auoheltex inyamehenilexe, hetulacal xiblalob, y. ĉhuplalob: yan tibalcahob tuĉinile, tei likulob, ticaatul vinicob Adan, y. Eua⁷² tavbahexloe, benitace, hexixane, baix tulacal vchayan xiblalob, y. ĉhuplalobe. Yoklal haili cayax yumob tucabiloblae.

A.2.6

"y conforme a sus estatutas, enchio, clausura, Y lo demas, esto no ay. Lo que en piru llaman doctrinas y en esta tierra en los pubelos que administran clerigos, estan descultrados apocados, las yglesias descuidas, y las mas dellas sin sacramento. Porque ni ellos avisten ni son suficientes ministros los may dellos demanera que en lo espiritual estan desmedrados los naturales, y en lo temporal acabados los pueblos porque no los defienden ni an paran como los frayles en esta tierra lo nrs avido entravio elarcobsipo de mexico sumamente, que intenta todos los medios posibles Para inquietar a los religiosos pretendiendo quitarles la doctrina, y haciendo para esto prelacions y aun informaciones bien contrario de lo que pide en autoridad y dignidad no ay clerigo que se mueba a aprender la lenguaa..."

A.2.7

“Mvchas son las causas Christiano lector, que me han mouido a recopilar y enmendar estos tratados, como son. Que doctrina tan buena y espiritual (que religiosos doctos con diuino espiritu y zelo del bien de las almas tradugeron en esta lengua con que tanto fructo se ha echo en ellas)

no andubiesen en cartapacios manuscritos, donde se hallauan muchas mentiras sin poner las letras que se requeria para la buena intelligencia y pronunciacion de la lengua.”

A.2.8

Mehenexe ppilex a uich yoklal he a hahal nupex ti cisine (Morley Manuscript version)

Mehenexe ppilex aich: yoklal he ahahal nuppex ticiçine (Coronel version)

A.2.9

“Por aunto los Indios y naturales desta tierra del peru no usauan descriptura, ni jamas entre ellos huvo memoria della: por tanto ni tenian letras ni caracteres para escriuir ni manifestar sus conceptos y antiguedades, sino hazian lo por una nueva e ingeniosa manera de ciertas quantas y senales...”

A.2.10

“Por tanto es de notar, que muchos terminos los pronuncian los Indios de una provincia distinctamente que los de otra.”

A.2.11

“La materia del accentto (que el Griego llama prosodya, y el Latino tenor, y el Español sonido, con que el nombre o parte de la oracion en qualquier lengua se pronuncia y profiere, o deteniendose en las syllabas, o corriendolas) es la materia mas difficultosa de entender, y alcanzar, que ay en todas las lenguas.”

Chapter Three

A.3.1

“Y dara quenta de lo que en esto se hazo, y de otras cosas del estado desta tierra como testigo de vista me rremito a el y al Obispo de Chiapa a quien yo las escribe para que lado a V.M. larga y verdadera por que no le escribo sino cosas ciertas y con? Yo con que tengo muy gran lastima a V.M. y lo que toca a su conciencia en la conservacion y conversion de los naturales que jamas en an las cosas se a tenido ciudado, como al presente se tiene/ dios nro senor conserve a V.M. por largos anos en su gracia y amor con aumenta de muchos Reynos y le ded que nunca se a de acabar. Amen / de los Reyes 14 de marzo 1562.”

A.3.2

“Para facilitar este trabajo, redujo el arte antiguo á mas breve método, y le leyó muchos años, siendo maestro de su enseñanza, y yo fui uno de sus discípulos cuan do llegué de España, que vino del convento de Mama (donde era guardián) al de la Mejorada de Mérida so lo para leérnosle. Dio á la estampa en México el arte que abrevió, un confesonario, una cartilla de toda la doctrina cristiana, y un tomo de diversas pláticas espi rituales, todo en el idioma de los indios.”

A.3.3

“se les ha de enseñar la dicha doctrina y acionarlos e ynclinarlos a nuestra religión cristiana y a tener buena vida y costumbres, y a aborrecer y olvidar sus bicios, ritos y gentilidades y porque el n principal porque venimos a esta tierra es la conversión y enseñanza de los dichos yndios y la dicha lengua (como ynstrumento tan principal para ello) se aprende más fácilmente por arte.”

A.3.4

“Conpuso otro libro y lo escriuió el maystro fray Domingo de Santo Tomás de la horden de Santo Domingo, escrita libro de vocabulario de la lengua del Cuzco, Chinchay Suyu, Quichiua, todo rreuelto con la lengua española. Y no escriuió la desendencia de los primeros yndios, cómo, de qué manera fue y multiplicó antiguamente y de los primeros señores, rreys *pacarimoc* [originario] y de sus uidas y de los yndios, multiplico de Noé *Uari Uira Cocha Runa, Uari Runa, Puron Runa, Auca Runa...*”

A.3.5

“Y aunque nos detubiésemos no se pierde tiempo, porque aquí aprindemos la lengua universal del Perú, y no conviene desunirnos los que hemos de ir, antes tomar aquí lengua de infinitas cosas, por no ir vocales.”

24. Hoc nomine tunc lingua quechua significabatur, cuius et grammatica et lexicon a Patre Dominico a Sancto Thoma sunt edita.

25. Vel *bozales*, significatque proprie nigritas recenter ex Africa devector, ignaros lingua indica vel hispanica.

A.3.6

“Con todo esto dizen que *manacancho* quieren perpetuidad.”

A.3.7

“Fue uno de los siete misioneros que acompañaron a Pizarro en la expedición conquistadora.”

A.3.8

“En Diciembre del año pasado escribimos un ensayo biográfico, que miraba a levantar de la tumba del olvido a Fray Pedro Bedón, gloria legítima de Quito y de la Orden Dominicana. Hoy sacamos a la luz un nuevo ensayo acerca de la vida y obras de Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, ilustre religioso que merece la gratitud de América.”

A.3.9

“Fué religioso muy observante y ejemplar, recogido, que no salía de los conventos de doctrina, sino era para administrar los Santos Sacramentos á los indios, y cuando vivía en Mérida, rara vez para alguna necesidad religiosa. Era tan casto que nunca ni por palabra se entendió de él cosa contraria á la pureza de esta virtud. Nunca usó mas lienzo que los paños menores, anduvo

descalzo hasta que la vejez y achaques de ella le hicieron calzarse, habiendo padecido muchos años los dolores que el ser quebrado ocasiona, y en ellos riesgos de la vida. Yo vi algunas veces salirse por la rotura las tripas en tanto grado que se dudaba mucho poder volver á su natural lugar, y tolerarlo con singular paciencia, y sin traer con causa tan grave mas ropa ni vestuario que la forma de nuestro santo hábito. Amó mucho la santa pobreza, pero con discreción, que cuando era guardián na le hiciese parecer miserable, socorriendo muy cumplidamente las necesidades de sus subditos, aunque para sí se estrechaba como muy pobre.”

A.3.10

“Dar el voto a un clérigo natural de Mexico, que el dicho Governador traxo por su capellan, para un Beneficio vacco desta Provincia, por defecto de no saber la lengua de los naturales della, y tener necesidad de saberla, por passar de quatro mill Indios los de dicho Beneficio, y no ser originario deste obispado, ni poder seguir las ordenas de V. Mags. preferir a los clérigos naturales y originarios...”

A.3.11

“Y siendo el idioma Yucateco una mata de punsantes espinos (por seis consonantes, que produce tan difíciles de pronunciar que muchos aun despues de muchos años de ejercicio, fecundos de vocablos y perfeccionados del Arte, tropiezan en la pronunciación, heridos de su acrimonia, como de agudos espinos...”

A.3.12

“Háblase hoy en el Estado de Yucatán, isla del Carmen, pueblo de Montecristo en Tabasco, y del Palenque en Chiapas; conservándolo con tal tesón los indios, que no hablan otra lengua, siendo preciso á los europeos aprenderla si quieren entenderse con ellos.”

A.3.13

“Lengua de los indígenas del Perú. Hablábase por todas las tribus sometidas á los incas, desde Pasto al río Maule, en Chile. Todavía está en uso, y muchos españoles y misioneros la hablan hoy correctamente.”

Conclusion

A.4.1

“Aun con estas deficiencias y todo, es seguro que sin las lucubraciones filológicas de nuestros misioneros, que constituyen la base indispensable y necesaria de la etnografía de una porción importantísima del género humano, la ciencia moderna no habría nunca podido estudiar las diversas lenguas del Nuevo Mundo, fijar su filiación científica, ni resolver muchos de los problemas de la lingüística. Las observaciones históricas y las leyes propuestas por Pickering, Duponceau, Humboldt, Liber, Gallantin, Gilmary Shea, Lacombe, Washington Mathews, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Stoll, Heldiwald, Tschudi, Hammond Trumbull, Ludewig, Kleinschmidt,

Friederich Muller, Lucien Adám, Alphonse Pinart, el Conde de Chareney, Brinton, Pimentel, Orozco y Berra, y otros insignes filólogos, arqueólogos y etnógrafos, arrancan más ó menos directamente de ese archivo inmenso que el empirismo español de tres siglos dejó constituido.”

Appendix B: Cognate Passages (Excerpts), Morley Manuscript and Coronel's Discursos

Note that I have based the transcription of both the Morley Manuscript and Coronel's *Discursos* on photographs of the original, in order to the differences in word segmentation and orthography.

Morley Manuscript (anonymous Maya maestro)	Discursos Predicables (Juan Coronel)	English Translation
<p>Cognate Passage #1, Excerpt Preparación para cada día</p> <p>Exposición del Pater Noster (ms. p.234-316)</p> <p>Viöinexe c'aexaba ppix ychnenex xane</p> <p>yoklal a uahval ti cisine = mac be v cah tu tab uate =</p> <p>Mehenexe = ppilex a uich = yoklal he a hahal nupex ti cisine =</p> <p>bay u ximbal cab cooh = tilic v xachetic vamac bin v lukub yetel v tabese =</p> <p>lay bin a nupintex ti chichil. ocolal loe -</p> <p>Cu than v palil Dios San pedro</p>	<p>Preparación para cada día</p> <p>Eratres sobriestote, & vigilate.</p> <p>Vidzinexe? chaexaba ppixichnenex xane, yoklal auahval ticiçine, macbe v cah tu tahauate. Mehenexe ppilex aich: yoklal he ahahal nuppex ticiçine, bai v ximbal cabcoh, ti lic v xachetic va mac bin v lukub yetel v tabeze, lai bin a mupin tex ti chichil oc olal loe, cu than v palil Dios sanct Pedrohe tiyoheltic vinic, vtalel vnupob vdzoyez yetel vbacçahte matan vnayal yol, Ena baili vpectic yol, yetel, vçhaic vba, mahebal vdzoyçabal tumen vnupobe Mehene malauac lauac nupbil, lic vtalel vdzoyeçech, heuac çiçin, hach nonoh titabçah, yanix yah antahulob tupach, heklai baalcah .y.</p>	<p>Daily Preparation</p> <p>Explanation of the "Our Father"</p> <p>Be sober, O harvesters, and watch.</p> <p>My younger brothers, prepare yourselves, keep watch also, on account of your principal enemy, the devil, he whose nature it is to destroy you. Children, keep your eyes peeled, because here, y'all's true adversary is in the devil. He walks the earth like a lion, where he is looking for who he'll swallow up and tie up. It is he you will oppose with strong faith, then. So speaks the servant of God, Saint Peter: "When a man knows of the coming of his enemies to overcome and enslave him, he never becomes careless; rather he always takes care and prepares himself, that he may not be defeated by his</p>

<p>he ti yoheltic Uinic. V talel U nupob. V Dzoyes. yt. V baksachte =</p> <p>matan V nayal yol = ena bayli u pectic yol. yt. V chaicUba =</p> <p>mahebal U Dzoysabal = tumen U nupobe =</p> <p>Mehene ma lauac lae tac nupbil = lic U talel. U Dzoysech:</p> <p>heuac cisin = hach nonoh ti tabsah =</p> <p>yanix yah antahulob = tu pach - heklay bal caah = yt. balcahil Uinic =</p> <p>bayx ca cucutil xane = heklay yah antahulob cisin = licil U Dzoysiconob loe =</p> <p>ma cet kikeli = mayx chembel c etUinicil xani = licil a ppisilba =</p> <p>cu than V palil Dios. san pablo = heuac cisinobe =</p> <p>cu than = bayhi ciac U thane =</p> <p>ma c etVinicili = yt. c etmukil = yanil ppizsilbaton =</p>	<p>baalcahil vinic, baix cacucutil xane, heklay yah antahulob ciçin, licil vdzoyçiconobloe (ma cet kikeli maix chambel cet vinicili licil appizilba cuthan vpalil Dios sanct Pablo, heuac ciçinobe cuthan) Baihiciac vthane macet vinicil, yetel cet mukil? yanil ppizil ba toon. Heuac ciçinob, hach, paynu[m] vmuk yetel yuchucil cokol, timaix chaan cathan, cadzoyçicob vamatan capayab Dios cahantahulte, yetel tocicon, tukabobe. Lay vchun lo. He vpalilob Diose tubaili vçaic vbaob tipayalchi mahebal vdzoyçabal tumen vnupob...</p>	<p>enemies." Child, it is not just anyone among our adversaries, he who comes to conquer you, but the devil, really clever in ensnarement. And there are his aides behind him, which are the world and worldly men. And so our bodies too, which are aides of the devil, with which they defeat us. "They are not our blood kin, nor even our fellow men with which you struggle," so speaks the servant of God, Saint Paul, "but devils," so he says, as he would say thus, "Is [the devil] not our fellow man, and our equal in strength? It is necessary that we fight [him]. But devils: really great is their strength and their power over us, and insufficient (our power)," he says, "to defeat them, if we did not call on God, our aide against them, and He who seizes us from their hands." That is the reason, they who are servants of God (angels), always prepare themselves with prayer, that they may not be defeated by their enemies...</p>
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<p>heuac cisinob = hach paynum U muk = yetel yuchucil. cokol.</p> <p>ti maix chaan cu than = ca Dzoysicob =</p> <p>Va ma tan ca payab Dios. ca ah antahul te = yt. tocicon tu kabobe -</p> <p>Lay U chun lo = he u palilob Diose = tu baili U chaicubaob = ti payal chi =</p> <p>mahebal U Dzoysabal - tumen U nupob = ...</p>		
<p>Cognate Passage #2, Excerpt</p> <p>Exemplos del Sanctissimo Sacramento del altare (ms. p.316-324)</p> <p>Huntul vinic ah keban ah ueyuncil. hokan. v beel tu xicinob cah</p> <p>hach yahij. v chapahal hex ti lic u chochic v kebane.</p> <p>ma u tohpultah yanil v uey = ca yalah padre yah chucul v kebane =</p>	<p>Exemplos del Sanctissimo Sacramento</p> <p>Hvntul vinic, ah keban, ah ueyuncil hokan v beel tuxicinchah hach yahi v chapahal, hex ti lic v chochic v kebane, ma u tohpultah yanil v uey, ca yalah padre yah chochil v kebane. va yan a uey (bai licil yalabale) balx matan a tohpulte keban loe? bix yolil, yetel chaalbail bin a kamic v cilich Sacramentoil v cucutil ca yumil?..."</p>	<p>Examples of the Most Holy Sacrament</p> <p>One man, a sinner, a wrong-doer, had headed out onto the road, traveling to his town, in extreme misery. This distress was from the sin that oppressed him. His burden was not relieved here. Then a father said, "your sin is very burdensome. Do you have here (as it is said) nothing to lighten your sin? How of the soul and of the reasoning, are you going to receive the Holy</p>

<p>va yan a uey - bay licil yabale = bax matan a tohpulte keban loe</p> <p>bicx yolil y. chaalbail</p> <p>bin a kamic v cilich Sacramento y. v cucutil ca yumil...</p>		<p>Sacrament and the body of the Lord?"...</p>
<p>Cognate Passage #3, Excerpt</p> <p>Exemplos Sacados de la Sagrada Escritura (ms. p.324-346)</p> <p>“oiban. tu kahlail. u beel sanctoob</p> <p>yoltici. ca yumil Dios: v yetes v yetppissan babal. ti huntul yetail.</p> <p>ca tuxchitah huntul Angel. payic v beel ti poc che. ti kaax = cuchie:</p> <p>ca hoppi yilic huntul vinic. v tan v kaxic v sij...”</p>	<p>Exemplos sacados de la sagrada Escritura</p> <p>Contra el que persevera en pecado</p> <p>“Dziban tu kahlay v beel Sanctoob yoltici ca yumil ti Dios, yetez yetppizanbabal ti huntul yetail, ca v tuxchitah huntul Angel payic v beel tipocche cuchie, ca hoppi yilic huntul ah çij...”</p>	<p>Examples taken from the Holy Scripture</p> <p>Against he who perseveres in sin</p> <p>It is written in the account of the road of the Saints, which delighted God our Father: a marvel was caused to appear to one particular friend/companion, when an angel found him and called him to the forest road. When he entered the jungle, he started to see a man. He was searching for his firewood...”</p>