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Spanish Archival Documents in Special Collections at the Margaret I. King Library

John Lihani

The Special Collections of the Margaret I. King Library at the University of Kentucky hold a fascinating assemblage of over 900 Spanish archival documents, written on vellum and on paper, whose dates range from the twelfth through the eighteenth centuries. These generally unknown manuscripts contain diverse and extensive information that awaits painstaking retrieval. Until now, only one informative study has been devoted to them.¹ My purpose here is to delve further into the mass of data they contain in hopes of making the collection better known and more accessible to enthusiasts of Hispanic archivalia. This is a remarkable collection, for it contains material one would expect to find located in such research centers as the Spanish National Archives in Simancas, the manuscript division of the Biblioteca Nacional, the Academia de la Historia, or the Royal Palace library in Madrid.

The University of Kentucky collection is a choice gathering of 941 items deriving from Spanish nobility, ecclesiastics, governmental offices, and public lawyers, as well as from private domains. The latter contribute such documents as university degrees, inventories, and accounts of family affairs dealing with births, baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Funerals among the nobility are accorded special importance through the presentation of detailed descriptions of these events (Docs. 100 and 227).² Among the monarchs who have left stamped rubrics, signatures, or other identifying marks on affidavits are Peter IV of Aragon (1336-1387), Philip II of Spain (1556-1598), Philip III (1598-1621), Philip IV (1621-1665), and Philip V (1700-1746); also included are Charles II (1665-1700), Charles III (1759-1788), and Charles IV (1788-1808). Along with these are messages from Spanish queens and princes, as well as from royal favorites, like the Conde-duque de Olivares (Gaspar de Guzmán [1587-1645]).

Interspersed with the decrees of royalty and papers of the nobility are various legal documents, including wills, bills of sale, property transfers, and affirmations of primogeniture. In addition, there are marriage announcements, personal tributes, Christmas and holiday well-wishes, appointments, census records, and genealogical proofs of racial purity. The presence of affidavits on the *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) reveals the strong emphasis placed on old Christian blood as a prerequisite for appointment to government positions or for access to prized memberships in religious or military orders. Many of the documents are holographs, drafted by the individuals who actually signed them. Others, penned by private or public secretaries, originated in nobles' palatial scriptoria, in monasteries, or in governmental offices.

Taken as a whole, these diverse documents offer to interested scholars an opportunity to probe the fabric of Spanish history and culture, to examine details of language, social mores, and economic conditions. Paleographers, historians, Latinists, linguists, and sociologists alike can bring their expertise to bear upon this promising body of writings. The acquisition of this collection by the M.I. King Library was a fortuitous one indeed.

The Acquisition of the Collection

The survival of such early documents over many turbulent centuries is most remarkable, and the fact that these papers came ultimately to be housed at the University of Kentucky is worthy of note. It is widely known that Spain has an exceptionally well documented history, owing in part to the interest its intelligentsia has demonstrated for record keeping. Many Spanish lawyers used to store records and deeds in their own homes. When a lawyer died his papers would sometimes be removed from storage and summarily discarded or burned merely to create room for other things. At other times, however, papers might remain for generations undisturbed. While the claims a lawyer represented were forgotten, surviving papers might in due course be sold for their historical interest to antiquaries and booksellers. This latter fate befell the collection that found its way to the University of Kentucky.

This notable assemblage came together not only from several sources but also from varying regions in the Iberian peninsula. Primarily, it is from the northeast, Aragon and Catalonia. It

derives from the private and public records of lawyers as well as from noble families and government offices. As a unit, the collection was first held by Salvador Babra at Barcelona, from whom it was subsequently acquired by José Porter, a highly reputable antiquarian book dealer, also of Barcelona. José Porter sold the documents in the late 1950s to Dr. Lawrence S. Thompson, then Director of Libraries at the University of Kentucky, who especially delighted in such discoveries. The transaction, may it be noted, took place prior to the period in the 1960s when the Spanish government, seeing the gradual erosion of its venerable archives, placed an embargo on the export of this type of material.

It was almost twenty years before the collection attracted attention. The varied languages of the manuscripts (Spanish, Catalan, Italian, French, Latin, even a line in Hebrew) contributed to their neglect. They were originally preserved in nine large, handsome, slipcases of blue and red. Recently they have been transferred into acid-free folders and placed in gray, acid-free archival boxes. They are protected from further deterioration by regulated humidity and temperature controls. To facilitate their use, they have now been inventoried, and each document separately numbered.³

Value of the Documents

The documents have both a cultural and a material value. Culturally, they reflect the daily life of Spanish royalty and nobility and, similarly, of Spanish commoners, too. In the manner of chronicles and literature, affidavits also provide basic information on individual human activities, and those contained in the collection do so over several centuries in Spain. They form a unique primary source whose cultural value cannot easily be expressed in financial terms, for it transcends such concrete standards.

The collection's increasing market value can, however, be approximated through published prices which record what the world collectors' market commands for similar papers of the same chronological period.⁴ It is widely accepted that prices can vary greatly from document to document. These apparent discrepancies depend to a large extent on individual circumstances: the availability of the document, its condition, its sender, its receiver, its subject, and its purpose. In some instances, and invariably at

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auction, the price depends on how strongly a collector, personal or institutional, feels about the item.

Historic documents are guarded zealously today both in public and in private libraries. In the latter, they remain for the most part inaccessible to the general researcher; those at the University of Kentucky are distinguished not only for their interest and authenticity, but for their accessibility, as well.

In Pursuit of Inventory

It is clear that in order to utilize the documents for research, they need to be classified, a process requiring both time and expertise. From 1958 through 1976 they awaited this necessary step. The first important scholarly work undertaken on the collection was begun as a study of paleography by a group of graduate students in 1977. The collection was carefully scrutinized for an overall picture of its contents. In the space of a few weeks, one-third of the affidavits were inventoried and described by these first researchers. Their collaborative findings were published in the pages of *La Corónica*.⁵ A further review led to the compilation of a working draft of the total inventory. This effort has now been revised and published, so that an informative guide is readily available.

Before turning to an overview of the collection, and later to some of the specifics of the corpus of manuscripts, it may be noted that the inventory itself is arranged so as to provide the following information: a) type of document, b) its author or sender, c) its recipient, d) the date of composition, e) place of origin, f) *incipit*, or first words, g) topic of the document, h) the material it is written on, and i) the number of leaves which comprise it.⁶

Overview of the Collection

What is disclosed below is not a sample of the inventory, but rather a descriptive survey of the contents of selected documents. Most of the older examples, those from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, are on vellum. Later ones, beginning with the fifteenth century, are more frequently on paper. Paper came increasingly into popular use, supplanting animal skins for legal documents, and it gradually became the medium for private correspondence. Documents recorded on vellum continued to appear sporadically, as shown in the collection, as late as the sixteenth century. Several of these later specimens appear to be transcriptions of earlier

documents. The earliest instance of the use of paper in this array of archival items comes in 1352 (Doc. 774), in which the topic is the jurisdiction over some land in the time of Peter IV of Aragon; the latest use of vellum occurs in an ecclesiastical document from 1578 (Doc. 921).

Nearly all of the documents under consideration were written by men. This makes the occasional appearance of a letter penned by a feminine hand all the more precious.

Topical and Chronological Classification

As a result of the completed inventory, there are six or seven discernible categories into which the 941 documents can be isolated:⁷ a) The first category belongs to the nobility, responsible for 204 personal and legal affidavits. Apart from these, in the second category b) there are fifty-three affidavits strictly from royalty, while the third category c) is comprised of 164 items generated by ecclesiastical writers. These items cover a wide spectrum of affairs, many of which relate either to appointive or to investigative reports. The fourth category d) consists of 222 items of a legal nature, specifying an agreement, a sale, a will, or a paper of a juridical nature. The fifth group e) has 187 other papers which derive from a personal source, other than the nobility, wherein the writer seeks a favor, gives information on a confidential matter to another individual, or responds to news with a gratifying or a congratulatory note. There are also to be found expressions of concern relating to health and employment; urgent petitions, recommendations, and personal holiday greetings; congratulations for weddings and baptisms; and pronouncements of sympathy for losses of family members. The sixth category f) encompasses sixty-seven official documents of a type characteristically originating in the office of a low-level governmental bureau and entailing transmission of royal decrees, preparation of local census reports, or similar activities of historical and social interest. There could perhaps be added a seventh category g) for the forty-four other documents that include educational certificates (such as a sixteenth-century diploma from the University of Granada), inventories of estates, or other affidavits as yet unclassified. Lamentably, there are documents that are not fully legible. Virtually each one of them was written by a different person, and consequently there appear not only wide varieties of the particular hands (i.e., secretary, Italic, and the

court hands), but also individual variations of the script styles. Some of the documents are, as noted above, holographs, while others are onomastic documents, drawn up by public scribes or by privately employed scribes in royal chanceries, palatial, and ecclesiastical scriptoria.

The Spanish papers date from the thirteenth through the eighteenth centuries. The Latin ones stretch back somewhat earlier and date from 1139,⁸ advancing through the seventeenth century, when Latin ceded its prevalence in legal correspondence to the vernacular languages. The Spanish documents range from 1275 to 1798. The rise of Spanish as a legal language coincides with its tutelage under King Alfonso the Wise (reigned 1252-1284), whose educational policies fostered its acceptance. There is a strong showing of Spanish papers especially in the eighteenth century. Only some fourteen of the Spanish documents originate before 1500.⁹ Many of the hundreds of items consist of only one sheet of vellum, or one leaf of paper, though some may extend over several leaves.

The five languages that figure in the messages are distributed in the following fashion: there are 216 items in Latin, 720 in Spanish, two in Catalan, one in French, two in Italian; and there is, in addition, a Latin document from the thirteenth century that contains one line in Hebrew (Doc. 798). The oldest document in the aggregation is number 753, which is a Latin one dated 1 May 1139. Its *incipit* reads, "*In Dei nomine ego Pere Guinard, et uxor sua . . .*" ("In the name of the Lord, I Pere Guinard, and his wife . . ."), and is written on vellum. Its concluding phrase states that it was drawn up in "*anno II regnate Leuico rege*" ("in the second year of the reign of King Ludovico").¹⁰

At the other extreme of the chronological spectrum, the most recent document is in Spanish (Doc. 626) and is dated 6 November 1798. It was issued by Manuel Carranza, and is directed to Marqués de Montealegre as a wish for his well-being on the occasion of the holiday of Santiago. This message is a predecessor of the modern holiday greeting card.

Physical Specifics

It is difficult to select for description only a few of the many interesting documents available, yet some of them are especially eye-catching due to their sheer physical size. There are clearly some very small ones, and others inordinately large. The largest

document is from the year 1578 (Doc. 921). Written on vellum, it is the latest document in the collection to use this writing material. What adds to its unusual size is an additional strip of vellum, bearing a message on ecclesiastical matters, stitched on to augment the writing surface. On the verso of this leaf is a reference to the year 1643, though the inside message bears the appropriate date of composition, 6 May 1578. The exact measurements of the item are 74 by 54.5 centimeters.

The smallest document is also in Latin (Doc. 797), pertaining, as does the largest one, to an ecclesiastical matter. It is 14.5 centimeters by 10.5 centimeters, and states the year of composition as "*anno xxiii regni ludoici*" ("in the twenty-third year of Ludovico's rule"), or 1160.

The manner in which the early vellum documents were stored was a conventional one. They were merely folded (as best one could fold a goatskin, sheepskin, or calfskin), with rather unevenly placed corners, then placed one on top of, or beside, the other. On the other hand, paper documents were folded rather more precisely, and, when delivery was required, they were folded in such a way as to provide the early prototype of today's envelope. The documents written on paper bear watermarks of several designs, such as a cross with a teardrop, or a cross emanating from the middle finger, or a rooster perched on a donkey. The watermarks, in themselves, are worthy of separate study.

Epistolography

Royal charters or messages usually commenced with the sign of a cross penned at the very top of the sheet as a symbol of Christian invocation. In formal decrees there then followed the identity of the king, as "*Don Felipe por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Castilla, de León*" ("Don Philip, by the grace of God, King of Castile, of Leon") (Doc. 204a), or "*Don Carlos por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Castilla*" ("Don Carlos, by the grace of God, King of Castile") (Doc. 214). Following the delineation of the king's titles and an enumeration of the lands under his rule came the message itself. Other less official documents may be headed by a cross and then simply begun with the salutation, "*Señor*" ("Sir"), or, to a woman, "*Señora*" ("Madame"). Some of the eighteenth-century official chancery documents have the titles of the king printed, rather than written, as the earlier ones normally had. The most common salutation in the letters to men, even in those addressed

to kings, is simply "*Señor*" ("Sir").

The legal documents in Latin have an *incipit* that reads, "*Sit omnibus manifestum quod ego . . .*" ("Be it known to all that I . . .") (Doc. 798), or "*In Dei nomine. Notum sit cunctis quod ego . . .*" ("In the name of the Lord. Be it known to all that I . . .") (Doc. 803), or "*In nomine dominij, nouerint vniuersi quod ego . . .*" ("In the name of the Lord, let all men know that I . . .") (Doc. 820); or simply "*Nouerint vniuersi quod ego . . .*" ("Let all men know that I . . ." or "May all know that I . . .") (Doc. 825). Letters to the nobility will often use as their salutation, "*Excelentísimo señor*" ("Most excellent sir"), and begin with "*Muy Sr. mío*" ("My dear sir") (Doc. 510), while friendly letters will start commonly with "*Amigo y Sr. mío*" ("Friend and my Sir").

The body of the missive understandably varies in length from one paragraph to several, depending on the complexity of the message, and this is then followed by a simple closing, which normally indicates the place and date of the composition, after which appears the sender's signature. In official papers the sender's signature may be supported by that of a scribe or a witness, or by several of them, should they have been needed. Those correspondents who did not know how to write, and this seems to have included some of the kings, made their crosses with distinctive identifying flourishes. Kings of the Renaissance and of the modern period simply wrote, "*Yo el Rey*" ("I the King"), since their own names appeared at the top of the document. Besides the signatures, some of the documents also bear affixed seals, usually made of soft white paper and pasted on. The purpose of the seals is to bolster the authenticity of the contents of a document. If the document was written on vellum, a seal could consist of a bit of the vellum cut off and tied to the bottom of the document with a cord (an example of this is number 893, from the year 1548).

A novel, though infrequent, occurrence from the sixteenth century onward, is that the left half of the leaf is maintained blank in order to reserve a space on which the recipient can reply using the same sheet. Philip IV comments on the very practice and specifically directs his correspondents to write their answers in the space he provides for them.¹¹ Document number 586 (dated 1773) is an example of a reply actually made on half of the letter. A document (912) from the year 1585 is the first which has writing only on the right half of the leaf, making provision for a response to it on the left half.

1572

Yo el Rey

No corregir o suel de residencia de la ciudad de Toledo o de su lugar ni en el dicho. Por parte de don vovnarino de cardenas duque de maqueda nos ha sido hecha relacion que tiene alguna hacienda de olivas y umacales y molinos en la villa y tierra de maqueda y en otras partes de su estado y q por andar en arrendami y arriendos de por vida semeros cada y dañifica mucha y el nunca puede cobrar de sus batallas sino con gran trabajo y pericla que via vender la dicha hacienda y hecharla en otra que fuese de mas autoridad y utilidad y aprovechar de su casa y mayoralgo suppnas seamos servido de darle licencia y facultad para ello que se obligara de empdar lo q antes se vendiere y subrogar lo que fuere comprado o al otro mayoralgo o como la otra mrd fuese y por que queremos saber que olivas y molinos de su mayoralgo son los que assi quiere vender y de q valen y por que son y en q parte corten y si como ddo tornen sus cada en dca los a tributo de por vida y por que en su caso concuerma con ellos y con supreos comprar otras para subrogar los en subrogar en su mayoralgo y que bienes podria comprar para este efecto que fuesen de mas provecho y utilidad para el dho mayoralgo y sucesores en el olaveria mas de q se estan como agora las porres, oride conceder la licencia que pide se le siguiera algun perjuicio o inconveniente y por q causa o materia q llamada y oyda la parte del sucesor en el dho mayoralgo ayays y por macion del suro dho la qual con vno parecer y traslado authordado de la claurula de dho mayoralgo por donde se prohibe la enagenacion de los bienes del firmada de vno rrom bte signada de vno rrom cerrado y sellada en manana q haga fee. harays darala parte del dho duq para que la trayga y pise en el nro consejo de la camara y vista y pruecamos lo que conuenga fha en el pardo / - Rey nro y ovide febrero / de mil y quientos y setenta y ocho años /

Yo el Rey

Por mandado de su maj

Juan de Guzman

pa. r.

Para q se haya informacion sobre que duque de maqueda supn sele de licencia para vender distubienes de su mayoralgo y con supreos comprar otras mo...

A request from the Duque de Maqueda, magistrate of Toledo, with the response of Philip II of Spain ("Yo el rey"), 28 January 1578, concerning permission to sell certain properties, 11 3/4" x 8 1/4" (University of Kentucky Libraries)

While there are signs, initials, and imprints of kings' signatures in the documents, those that predominate are rubrics stamped regularly from wood-cuts or with the aid of other devices that served the same purpose. For example, there are as many as five different types of rubric stamps detectable in the papers produced by the office of Carlos III, all used to affix his signum to the official papers. Of the various types of signatures that appear, running the gamut from nobles to commoners, some are autographs, others are stamped rubrics, and all the signatures, save for a few of the royal signa, are in the typical Spanish style, in which the signer often succeeds in making his name as seemingly illegible as possible.

Contextual Interests

Samples of contextual interest in the collection include document number 798 from the year 1204, which is a charter signed by "Raimundo." The charter urges a change from computing years based on the duration of a king's reign to years computed from the birth of Christ. During the medieval period there were three ways of calculating the calendar year in Spain: one was by means of the Hispanic Era, which had started in 38 B.C., the point at which Spain was declared part and parcel of the Roman Empire; another chronological system was that of the *Anno Domini*, or year of the Christian Era; and the third was the fleeting years of a monarch's reign. This document by Raimundo opts to switch to the usage of the Christian Era and attempts to have the practice accepted generally. This uniformity of annual computation was not achieved in Spain until several centuries later.

Since Spanish law was derived from Roman Latin law, Spanish legal expressions are patterned after those of Latin legal documents which, as we have seen, often began with "*Nouerint*" ("Let all know"). Consequently, the Spanish counterparts begin with "*Sepan cuantos esta carta vieren . . .*" ("Let all those know who may see this charter . . ."), or "*Sepan todos que . . .*" ("Let all know that") as in document 744, from the year 1454.

Document 844, from the year 1471, was composed during the lifetime of Fernando the Catholic, and may even be his own product. However, this has not yet been proved. But reference to Fernando's father in the letter as king of Aragon may have some bearing on this case. Fernando was already monarch of Sicily at

that time (1468), but not yet king of Castile. His wife Isabela was crowned queen of Spain only in 1474, and Fernando became king of Aragon in his own right only in 1479, whereupon the two kingdoms united to form the new kingdom of Spain. The signature on the paper is not fully recognizable. Some believe it to be that of Fernando, others do not. The final outcome of this enigma remains to be seen.

Among other documents there appears a colorful university degree with red and blue designs, which was granted in Granada in 1519 (Doc. 699). It was at about this time when Hernán Cortes was conquering Mexico for the Spanish crown.

One of the funeral letters spoken of earlier recounts the burial of María Barbara de Portugal, queen of Castile. The rites and interment are described in detail in document 227, from the year 1758. In a similar vein, an announcement of the death of Mariana de Austria, the second wife of Philip IV, comes in the year 1696 and is contained in document number 100. She was also her husband's niece, and became the mother of Carlos II of Spain. Further family concerns arise with the congratulations tendered to a couple who announce their wedding in 1778 (Docs. 594-95), and there is the pleasant announcement by a proud grandfather to a friend of the birth of his grandchild in 1779 (Doc. 599).

One of the most perplexing and perhaps unusually disturbing documents in the University of Kentucky collection purports to be a "secret" one (Doc. 135). Attention focuses on this item since it describes how members of the Jesuit order are to victimize wealthy individuals in the secular world. This appears to be a shockingly hypocritical document, so much so that a reader of it may well doubt that it originates with a member of the religious order. Rather, it strikes one as a concoction of those who staunchly opposed the order. Yet, as one reconsiders and reexamines the situation, he is led to acknowledge that the Jesuit order was, indeed, for at least a certain period of time, its own worst enemy in Spain. The order's reputation in the eighteenth century steadily deteriorated to the point where it was deemed best to banish it from Spain altogether. The abolition of the order in Spain may have had its basis precisely in the blatant abuses of its privileges as outlined in the chapters of the "secret" memorandum. The Jesuit order's brash activity caused its suppression in Spain in the year 1773.¹² Because of the disrepute into which the Jesuits had fallen, the creation of a satirical document of the kind found in the

collection is not unthinkable. The satire consists in the attribution, in all likelihood a spurious one, of the essay to a member of the Jesuit order itself. This unique "secret" document delivers a touch of spice to the University of Kentucky's records from Spain.

Further along the line of secret documents, there is one which, though not secret, is nevertheless secretive. It is a *carta cifrada*, an encoded letter between two nobles. It probably would not be difficult for a cryptographer or a cryptologist to break the code to learn just what sort of material seemed, in the opinion of the letter writer, to merit the trouble of being placed under the cryptic wraps of a code. This type of coded message has been a popular recourse in letters throughout the centuries. The letter in question is number 97 in the series and dates from 1647.

Avenues for Investigation

Certain patterns appear in the collection, and some manuscripts fall into related groups that afford broader scope for additional study. As an example of this, there is a group of twelve letters from the chancery of Philip IV. They cover the years of Philip's reign from 1624 to 1664, starting three years after his ascendancy to the Spanish throne and ending a year before his death. The letters are distributed chronologically as follows: 1624 (two letters), 1625, 1627, 1628, 1632, 1634, 1645 (two letters), 1647, 1661, and 1664. The first seven of the documents belong to the period when the Conde-duque de Olivares was still in charge of the government, while the last five of these, from 1645 to 1664, originate during the years of Philip's direct involvement in the state's affairs. The documents by Philip IV include appointments to jobs; a discussion of conditions for an individual arriving at retirement; payment of preachers who sermonized for the crusades; disposition of moneys from the sale of surplus warships; confidential war orders to a general; and registration of horses in an effort to control their being smuggled from Portugal and France into Spain. The forms of these charters, their orthography, their punctuation, and the names of their different scribes, along with their varying paleographic styles, are a great source of information on the practices in a royal chancery and its scriptorium. Signatures alone form an avenue for investigation; four of the charters in this group appear to be identically stamped with the king's signature, while other letters appear to be unique in this respect, bearing either personal autographs or initials of the monarch. The stamped

rubrics can be identified by superimposing one over the other against a lighted background. (Rubrics of the stamped variety appear in documents 27, 122, 153, and 166.)

Over and beyond the different perspectives delineated here, Hispanic grammarians and linguists can find other criteria to stir their interest in orthography, word division, and punctuation. The orthography of the documents in the collection enhances information on changes in the use of the letters *c*, *ç*, and *z*, as well as in the change of Latin *f* to *h*, and substitutions of *v*, *u*, and *b*. A host of other symbols show their modifications and vacillations, like the vowels *o* and *u* and *e* and *i*. There are also important testimonies on the use of the *seseo* (articulating *ç*, *z*, and *c* [before an *e* or an *i*] as an *s*) in Aragon in the fifteenth century. Alongside of variations in orthography, the absence of punctuation is evident throughout the documents, except for those of rather recent times. Punctuation generally was limited to the use of commas; a hyphen was used in place of today's period, and isolated cases appear of the use of a semicolon and a question mark, both of which are seen only once in this collection, and both of which occur in documents of the eighteenth century. As with the orthography, the division of words varies according to the letter writer's personal preferences. Private correspondence was much freer in all the above respects than published works, which were controlled by the somewhat more stringent standards practiced by the publishing houses.

The exemplary value of the collection as a record of the techniques of paleography and epistolography practiced during the Middle Ages, Renaissance, Golden Age, and the Enlightenment can readily be perceived and appreciated. But a further fascination of the collection lies in personal histories, the private human concerns of members of the Spanish nobility and their neighbors in the common classes, all of whom shared the same world. All in all, the documents offer American Hispanists a wealth of material for investigation, material of a kind that is not easily available elsewhere. They provide opportunities for studying at first hand the texture of Spanish history and culture. Therein lie many avenues for possible investigation by paleographers, historians, linguists, and sociologists. The bounds of research are limited only by the spheres of interest and inquiry that individual investigators bring to the collection—to probe in its mysterious folds for messages and meanings that will help in understanding some of

humanity's bygone ways, and how these ways relate to human concerns for existence in the present.¹³

Notes

¹Judith S. Conde, David G. Burton, and J. Drake Smisson, "A Collection of Original Manuscripts Rediscovered," *La Corónica* 6 (1978): 115-18.

²The documents are numbered according to their appearance in John Lihani, *Manuscript Documents from Spain, Dating from the Twelfth through the Eighteenth Centuries*, Occasional Papers of the University of Kentucky Libraries, No. 6, Lexington, 1984.

³Ibid.

⁴Some examples of recent marketable items advertised publicly in dealers' catalogues will give a general idea of the sums involved. A letter by Philip II, when he was still a prince, dated 18 August 1551, is currently selling for \$350. Another note by Philip, destined for the Duke of Albuquerque, dating from 21 October 1570 and autographed, "*Yo el Rey*" ("I the King") is also worth \$350, while a legal letter bearing the date 30 March 1570, signed "*Yo el Rey*," by Philip II and sent to D. Luís Enríquez of Córdoba, is priced at \$1500. A manuscript document by Philip IV, dated 12 May 1638, in Madrid, and sent to Melchior Tofino to raise troops, signed "*Yo el Rey*," with a seal imprinted on the letterhead, is priced at \$90. A royal order of 30 August 1777, a folio in two leaves, bearing the personal seal of Carlos III of Spain, prohibiting South American natives from killing *vicuñas*, is advertised in a catalogue for \$160. These are only some of the values that are attached to the manuscript notes of a bygone era. The estimates or suggested values indicated above are based upon recent catalogues available from William H. Allen (Pennsylvania), Robert F. Batchelder (Pennsylvania), Rendells (Massachusetts), Paul C. Richards (Massachusetts), William Salloch (New York), Sotheby's (London), Swann Galleries (New York), and others.

⁵See note 1 above.

⁶See note 2 above.

⁷There are 921 entries in the published inventory; the 20 additional items are listed as subdivisions of other entries and add up to a total of 941 separate manuscripts.

⁸The 1189 date for the earliest document in the collection is a typographical error for 1139, as it appears in Judith S. Conde, p. 116 (see note 1 above).

⁹Conde, p. 116.

¹⁰If "Leuuico" can be considered an alternate form of "Lvdoici" (found in document 797), then this may be a reference to Luis VII (Ludovico), the Younger (1119-1180), King of France, son of Ludovico VI, the Fat, also King of France, whom he succeeded in 1136. In the twelfth century, Catalonia identified itself politically more with France than with the Spanish peninsula. Chronological computation was not uniform in Spain

in the medieval period (as is noted in this study in the section "Contextual Interests").

¹¹Trevor Davies, *Spain in Decline, 1621-1700* (London: Macmillan, 1957), p. 61. The king writes to Sor María de Agreda, "Sor María,—I write to you leaving a half margin so that your reply may come on the same paper, and I enjoin and command you not to allow the contents of this to be communicated to anyone."

¹²The order had been founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola in 1534, and after its suspension in 1773, it was reestablished in Spain only after forty-one years of exile had passed. During that interval the order had continued to operate normally in other countries where corruption had not reached the high proportions seen in Spain.

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