Documentation of Colonial K'ichee' Dictionaries and Grammars

Research Year: 2006
Culture: Maya
Chronology: Colonial
Location: South Central Guatemala
Site: Guatemalan Highlands

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Introduction

The objective of the project for which I received generous support from FAMSI is the documentation of colonial and post-colonial K'ichee' dictionaries and grammars from the holdings of the Princeton University Library and the Tozzer Library at Harvard University. This research is the first step in the prospective plan to compile and edit a comprehensive colonial K'ichee' dictionary.

Throughout the colonial era, clerical linguists diligently compiled dictionaries, grammars, and religious texts for missionary purposes. There is a growing awareness for the historic relevance and linguistic importance of these missionary sources which are often of an incredible accuracy and provide valuable insights into the structure and lexicon of Mayan languages which have changed in the course of the centuries due to Spanish language dominance and language endangerment.

For the dominant Mayan languages in post-conquest Highland Guatemala, K'ichee' and Kaqchikel, colonial documentation is quite extensive (see e.g. Carmack 1973). Colonial K'ichee' dictionaries are recognized and appreciated as indispensable tools of reference in our attempt to reconstruct and understand ancient and modern Maya culture. In studying colonial K'ichee' text sources, such as the *Popol Vuh* (see e.g. Christenson 2003) or the *Título de Totonicapan* (Carmack and Mondloch 1983) among others, the contemporary colonial dictionary sources provide valuable clues to the precise understanding and interpretation of terms and phrases in the ethnohistoric sources, as they include information about metaphors and cultural concepts (e.g. names of plants, artefacts, aspects of agriculture and religion) which have not survived in modern K'ichee'.

Whereas some of the major colonial sources for K'ichee' have been published (see Sáenz de Santa María, 1985 [Ximénez, 1722]; Chinchilla M., 1993 [Ximénez, 1700-03]; Acuña 2002 [Anleo ~ 1660]; 2005 [Basseta 1698]), other significant documents remain unedited and can only be consulted with difficulty, i.e. in form of photoduplications or unpublished transcripts (for a list of materials see Appendix).

The objective of compiling a *Comprehensive Colonial K'ichee' Dictionary* is to create a single standard concordance of all available colonial K'ichee' data for lexical reference, which would follow the general model of integrated language sources, such as Munro Edmonson's *Quiche – English Dictionary* (1965) or sources that are available for Yukatek Maya (see the Cordemex dictionary edited by Alfredo Barrera Vásquez, or David Bolles' *Combined Dictionary-Concordance of the Yucatecan Mayan Languages*). Edmonson integrated a major part of the accessible colonial K'ichee' dictionaries together with modern lexical data. His dictionary renders all entries into the standard official orthography of the time, gives all translations in English, and reduces the lexicographic information from the original sources to word stems and grammatical forms. Precise origin is indicated for entries which are attested exclusively in one source; terms attested in more than one source are only specified by dialect (a classification that has subsequently been challenged, see Campbell 1977). Loanwords from Nahuatl or Spanish are indicated (see Edmonson 1965:vii-x).

The new concordance is intended to organize entries from the various lexical sources by rendering lexical main entries and grammatical subentries into the modern
standard orthography as defined by the *Academia de las Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala*. Under these standardized head entries all occurrences of a specific term in the various sources will be listed, indicating origin in each individual case, and providing all contexts in which the lexical form is attested in the sources. Original glosses as well as the orthography of the original lexical entries will be preserved to allow for transparency, give room for semantic interpretation, and eliminate errors in the process of orthographic modernization.

The chosen format for the concordance would be a database that is searchable for all items, i.e. modernized entries and glosses, original entries and glosses, grammatical form etc. To ensure wide accessibility, the format of an online reference dictionary which could be filled step by step with further transcribed data would be ideal. Such a database format would allow a more thorough integration of references from the autochthonous colonial texts (e.g. *Popol Vuh*, *Título de Totonicapan* etc.) and could be extended to Kaqchikel and Tz'utujil sources.

**Project Description**

This report gives an account of the state of research, results, and findings of the documentation project of K'ichee' sources from the Garrett-Gates Collection of Mesoamerican Manuscripts at the Princeton University Library and the Special Collections of the Tozzer Library at Harvard University.

The main task was to get an overview of the relevant materials in the collections and produce transcriptions of hitherto unedited documents. This report provides short descriptions of the respective manuscripts that have been transcribed or digitized (the Tozzer Library gave permission to digitize some of the photographic materials).

Besides the actual transcription work for the future *Comprehensive Colonial K'ichee’ Dictionary*, working with the two mentioned manuscript collections brought about data and information for additional research projects. The most interesting find may be the "(re-)discovered" second copy of the Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary. It could be determined that, besides the copy by Fermin Tirado in the Special Collections at the Tozzer Library (C.A.6 V 85), the Princeton University Library holds the first volume of an independent and later copy of this extensive colonial vocabulary covering the letters A-M (GGMA mss., no. 161). The find will be described briefly below, a more detailed article has been submitted for publication.

While working with materials from the Garrett-Gates collection in Princeton, I came across a compilation of colonial K'ichee' legal documents (wills and land deeds) which I transcribed and began to translate and analyze in detail. I have plans to edit and publish the entire collection of wills in a separate volume.

The documents transcribed for this project include materials produced by Spanish-speaking missionaries as well as indigenous manuscripts written by Maya scribes. All of these materials are dated to the late colonial, or even post-colonial, period. They thus fall into the time after the major transformation of Colonial K'ichee’ into Modern K'ichee’ which is dated to the seventeenth century. However, some of the documents may integrate lexical material from earlier dictionaries or grammars, since we know
that linguistic materials were copied, revised, and adjusted by the missionaries (see Campbell 1977:122).

In this report, citations from the transcribed documents are given in the original colonial orthography. Most sources employ the orthographic symbols that were introduced by Francisco de la Parra to represent phonemes of K'iche'an languages which are not present in Spanish or Latin (see Campbell 1977:120-121). However, the consistency in applying the La Parra signs varies from author to author, or scribe to scribe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La Parra (Colonial)</th>
<th>Modern</th>
<th>Sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c , qu {i, e}</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>/k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 , q</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>/k'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>/q/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε</td>
<td>q'</td>
<td>/q'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t , th</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>/t'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 , q,</td>
<td>tz'</td>
<td>/t'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4h , qh</td>
<td>ch'</td>
<td>/č'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/š/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z, c, s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>/s/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h, h̄</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>/x/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v, u</td>
<td>w ~ u</td>
<td>/wl ~ /u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y, i</td>
<td>y ~ i</td>
<td>/l/ ~ /i/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Princeton – Garrett-Gates Collection of Mesoamerican Mss. (CO744)

The research at Princeton was carried out in February – April and October 2007. Additional funding for working with the K'ichee' manuscripts of the Garrett-Gates Collection of Mesoamerican Manuscripts (GGMA mss.) was provided in form of a Library Research Grant by the Friends of the Princeton University Library.

None of the manuscripts from the collection at Princeton had been included into Edmonson's *Quiche – English Dictionary* (see above); no other previous editions of any of these documents are known to me.

The documents that were transcribed from the Garrett-Gates Collection of Mesoamerican Manuscripts (CO744) can be categorized as such:

1. Dictionaries: ms. 160, 161, and 162
2. Phrase Books of the 19th and 20th century: ms. 159, 163a + b, and 166
3. Grammars and Catechism: ms. 164 and 165
4. Testaments and Wills: ms. 106-157; ms. 201-203

The early provenance of these documents is unknown. All manuscripts had been acquired by William Gates. They were sold to Robert Garrett in 1930 who deposited the collection at the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton in 1942. The manuscripts were later donated to the Princeton University Library.

All manuscripts show traces of former scholarly or curatorial work, such as pencil markings and inserted page numbers that have probably been added by Gates himself who had acquired the manuscripts primarily for research and study (see
The present numbering of the collection is attributed to Gates; it needs to be pointed out, however, that these manuscript numbers do not correspond with the numbers of the documents in Gates' own catalogues of his collection (e.g. 1937).

**Dictionaries and Phrase Books**

The Garrett-Gates Collection of Mesoamerican Manuscripts (GGMA mss.) includes several dictionaries and phrase books. GGMA mss. 160, 161, and 162 are examples of colonial dictionaries which were compiled for missionary purposes. Mss. 161 and 162 are copies of the same colonial dictionary (see relevant chapters and "Reconstructing the Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary"). The other manuscripts in this section are probably best labeled as Phrase Books. The oldest of them, ms. 163a, covers mostly liturgical subjects and was compiled for administrative purposes in missionary work. The later phrase books, ms. 159 and 166, contain exemplary conversations in Spanish-K'ichee'; ms. 159 provides its user with a Spanish-K'ichee' guideline of how to address the political authorities and how to submit petitions. Both manuscripts were likely written for use by K'ichee' speakers.

**GGMA mss., no. 159**

In the catalog of the Garrett-Gates Collection this manuscript is referred to as "Quichè Phrase Book Fragment". The manuscript itself is titled: *Bocabulario para [a]prenderse [el] castellano*. It comprises 24 leaves (32x22cm) and is bound in a cloth case. According to mentioned dates and signatures, it has been compiled for Miguel Tum in Santa Maria Chiquimula in the Department of Totonicapan between 1892-1900.

3 de Marzo de 1900, En Santa Maria Chiquimula
Compucieron un bocabulario para prenderse (e)se castellano, para uso Miguel Tum

A photographic copy of the first 28 pages of this phrase book is housed in the Tozzer Special Collections titled as *Diccionario y frases en lengua quiche* and erroneously attributed to Miguel Tum as the author (see Call number: C.A.6 T 83 Portfolio). It is bound together with a copy of Manuel Elgueta's *Borrador para la formacion del bocabulario de lengua Kiché* which includes a K'iche' version of the Gospel of Luke.

The phrase book is organized in K'ichee' and Spanish and includes conversations and sample letters such as how to address in speech and writing a judge, a "jefe politico," or the president of the Republic. It is clearly designed for use by a K'ichee'-speaker.

The K'ichee' text includes a couple of lexical terms and morphological markers which are distinctive for the manuscript. Interesting to note is that the author uses the term <-buxoquil> instead of *ixoq-il* for "wife". For example:
Likewise noteworthy is the use of the vowel *i* instead of *a* following the aspect marker of the incompleteive *k-* before third person plural ergative pronouns.

"como ya tengo mujer"

"ya tengo mujer"

"nuestros mujeres"

"porque no les vaya a su[ce]der algo"

"es bueno que lleven compania"

Besides such special lexical features, the sample conversations and petitions contain valuable information of anthropological interest, such as Miguel Tum's requests to be exempted from attending school, or to be refunded the dowry price which he paid for his wife who ran away back to her father's home.

*GGMA mss., no. 160*

Manuscript 160 contains a Spanish-K'ichee' dictionary and a confessional. Bound in parchment, the manuscript comprises 134 leaves (21 x 15 cm) and 201 pages of text. The handwriting is clear and legible.

According to the introductory text the manuscript has been compiled by Francisco Barrera at the request of Fray Gabriel Guerrero.

"Abecedario en la lengua que dízen qíche hecho p(o)r  M(aestro) fran(cis)co Barrera que tan solamente se Conpone de el Modo y realidad con que los Yndios la Ablan el qual no tiene los Significados que tienen los latínos, pero aprendiendo en el las pronunciaciones lesera muy fassíl el Saberla muy bién y contoda brebedad, y este d(ic)ho Abecedario lo híze Segun lo que alcanso a Petecion del M R P fr. Gabriel Guerrero de q(ui)en es…"

The rest of the introductory text is covered by another sheet of paper which has been pasted upon the lower half of the title page. This second layer of paper indicates a date, "este año de 1745", and the name "fr. Alberto Miguez"; date and name are written by a different hand and with different ink. The name "fr. Alberto Miguez" is repeated on the last page of the manuscript; hand and ink correspond with date and signature on the mended title page.

The vocabulary – written throughout in black ink – is followed by the remark "Finis" and another rather illegible name that could read as "Fr. Josef de La[------]", both are written in brown ink. After this name follows the aforementioned signature of Fray Alberto Miguez in yet another type of brown ink. So, authorship can clearly be attributed to Francisco Barrera, the identity of the copyist, however, remains unclear since neither "Fr. Josef de La[------]" nor "Fr. Alberto Miguez" can be identified as
such. Their role with respect to the manuscript is not understood. Since the ink with which fray Josef's name is written resembles the brown ink of later additions, i.e. commas, colons as well as lexical data, it could well be that fray Josef may have corrected the copy of the book. He and fray Alberto may equally have been subsequent owners of the book.

Photographic reproductions by Gates are housed in the Tozzer Library, the Newberry Library in Chicago, in the Harold B. Library at Brigham Young University as well as in the Library of Congress (see Weeks 1990:53). The catalogue of the Tozzer Library lists the photographic reproduction under the title "Vocabulario en lengua quiche" and attributes it erroneously to an author named "Josef de la Barrera" [HOLLIS-Call number: C.A.6 B 27; Josef de la Barrera is the author of the Compendio Tzotzil, HOLLIS-Call number: C.A.6. B27 d] (cf. Francisco Barrera (55.) and Josef de la Barrera (56.) in Weeks 1990:53). The photographic copy held by the Newberry Library is titled as "vocabulario castellano-quiché, doctrina, confesionario".

The copist did not include page numbers. The pagination has been added at a later date.

On the top of some pages, we find alphabetical chapter headings in brown ink, such as "B. ante I." or "C. v(e)l tz. v(e)l 4, ante I." etc., which do not coincide with the lexical entries listed underneath. For instance, the heading "B. ante O." is followed by entries beginning in A such as "Arrugado ... Adbenedisos ... Afrenta". This mismatch is likely to be attributed to the fact that the booklet used for the copy of the Barrera-dictionary was originally designed for another lexical compilation.

The manuscript comprises the following sections:

- pp. 1-157: Spanish-K'ichee' vocabulary
- pp. 158-163: catechism (Preguntas de la Doctrina Christiana)
- pp. 163-167: confessional (Confesionario breve)
- pp. 167-186: confessional (Confesionario, primer – octavo mandamiento)
- pp. 186-187: confessional (Amonestacion de la confesion)
- pp. 188-192: list of numeral classifiers (Modos de quenta)
- pp. 193-201: list of plant and agricultural terms (Nombres de algunas yerbas, etc.)

Spanish-K'ichee' Vocabulary: The vocabulary contains a number of interesting terms which add to our understanding of colonial and ancient K'ichee' culture. To pick an example, the dictionary gives various terms for "diviner (adivinador)", i.e. <Ahéiñ> and <Zakuachinel>, distinguishing these from the "diviner for omen/auguries (aduiunar por suertes o agueros)" named as <Ahqiñiñiñ> and <Ahnaualiniñ>. The variety of these terms are not entirely new; e.g. Coto's Thesaurus Verborum of Colonial Kaqchikel likewise lists <çak vachinel> for "embassador, prophet". However, none of these reference terms for K'ichee' religious specialists in the colonial period had been included in Edmonson (1965).

The list of numeral classifiers added to the vocabulary include the following morphemes which are here organized as to whether the initial sound is a consonant (a) or a vowel (b). Numeral classifiers with initial consonants are actually bound
morphemes which combine only with the numeral root (e.g. <huperah>, <caperah>), whereas the classifiers beginning with a vowel follow numerals which preserve their plural ending (e.g. <hun Eqan>, <caib Eqan>) (cf. Dürr 1987:63).

(a) Numeral classifiers with initial consonant:

<bol> Para contar surcos  
<buzah> Para contar cosas enbuetas  
<chob> Para contar bailes  
<chol> Para contar yladas ringleras  
<capah> Para contar potajes cosas de pesso y dichos  
<qetah> Para contar manojos de espigas  
<culah> Para contar cosas apareadas  
<meh> Para contar dobleses de lo que fuere  
<molah> Para contar significaciones o diferencias  
<mul> Para contar vezes  
<pazah> Para contar pasacos de sal  
<patal> Para contar cargas de ollas tinajas jaros  
<perah> Para contar liensos mantas y cuartos de carne  
<rabah> Para contar resos o oraciones  
<rimah> Para contar pueblos o conjuntas de jente  
<zebah> Para contar cosas apareadas  
<zeYah> Para contar dobleses de lo que fuere  
<perah> Para contar liensos mantas y cuartos de carne  
<yatah> Para contar manojos de cañas sean de las que fueren  
<zobah> Para contar cacaguatales los pedasos que tienen o tierras  
<zebah> Para contar cosas apareadas  
<zeYah> Para contar dobleses de lo que fuere  
<perah> Para contar liensos mantas y cuartos de carne  
<yatah> Para contar manojos de cañas sean de las que fueren

(b) Numeral classifiers with initial vowel:

<Eqn> Para contar tersios  
<vxac> Para contar ojas de libro o llerba

The list of plant and agricultural terms is particularly valuable as it includes a few very specific terms not readily found in other dictionaries.

*Catechism and Confessional*: The catechism (*doctrina christiana*) does not include the traditional sample prayers, but instead questions of belief (preguntas de la doctrina), e.g. ¿quién es la santissima trinidad? ¿Qual de las tres personas se hiso onbre? etc. The confessional includes a rather detailed list of sample questions and answers a priest can use during confessions. These questions regard the first eight commandments and list at times very explicit interrogation about all sorts of possibly imaginable carnal sins.
The manuscript in the Garrett-Gates Collection titled as *Bocabulario en Lengua Quiche y Castellana* was identified to be another copy of the lost Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary, of which the Tozzer Library holds the copy that was prepared by Fermin Joseph Tirado (see below). Whereas the Tirado-copy is complete and comes in one manuscript volume, ms. 161 covers only the letters A-M, i.e. the first volume of the lost Spanish-K’iche’ dictionary which formerly comprised two volumes.

The text has been copied into the bound book, is interleaved with blank pages, and extends over only 186 of the 206 leaves (21 x 15 cm) of the book. The copied text ends with the note: "Sigue este vocabulario con la Letra M. al tomo segundo." (fol. 186r). The text comprises approximately 10,000 lines. For a description of the contents, I refer the reader to the chapters covering the Tirado-copy of the Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary in the Tozzer holdings.

The manuscript is bound in calf and is in very good condition, it probably dates on the basis of style of paper and handwriting to the early nineteenth century. No official date for the copy or the original is indicated. The paper is nearly undamaged; there are minor holes caused by insects. Half of the title page is missing. Apparently, somebody has deliberately excised the information about author, copyist, place, and date of the K’iche’ dictionary.

Several orthographic errors in the K’iche’ forms suggest that the copyist was not a K’iche’ speaker and did not understand the language he was copying. K’iche’ words ending in *–ch* are often written as ending in *–cb*, as well as forms that include the sound *s* are written with *<c>* instead of *<ç>*. Furthermore, vowels were often misinterpreted and entries are therefore heavily misspelled.

The high number of blank pages as well as sporadic abrupt changes in the ink used suggest that this copy may have been intended to be complemented with more lexical material from other sources or individual knowledge.

This manuscript fragment titled *Fragment of a Spanish-K’iche’ Dictionary* comprises four leaves (21 x 14 cm), namely folios 103, 127, 135, and 154, from of the Tirado-copy of the Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary in the Tozzer Library (see below). The four leaves cover dictionary entries of letters F (Fabricacion – Faxar), M (Madura – Maldecir), N (Nabegante – No sea), and P (Paresa – Patio).

Folio numbers, context of contents, type of paper, and handwriting leave no doubt that these four leaves were formerly part of the Tirado manuscript. Purple pencil lines remain in the Tozzer ms. where the leaves have been cut out. For a full treatment of the discovery and a likely scenario of how these leaves may have ended up in the Garrett-Gates Collection, the reader may refer to the chapter below which deals with the reconstruction of the Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary.
A number of pencil markings that precede and follow individual entries (most likely copy marks) are also found in the Tirado-copy at the Tozzer Library, which suggests that they have been added before the leaves were cut out.

The general condition of the folios is good, however, the set of leaves has been damaged on the left margin after they have been removed from the Tirado copy.

GGMA mss., no. 163a

The *Bocabulario de la lengua quiche* by Thomas Calvo (1726-27) comprises 14 leaves and is found generally in good condition with a few fractures at the lower margin. The *Bocabulario* is a phrase book rather than a true vocabulary. Many entries relate to the domain of liturgy, church, and religious administration. The orthography shows certain peculiarities which may be seen as typical of indigenous authorship, such as the loss of word boundaries (e.g. *<nóstan en cassa>* *no están en casa*, *<de nde vste>* *de dónde es usted*), the use of *<g>* to represent /k/ (e.g. *<go regidor>* *coregidor*, *<paresgo>* *paresco*), or *<d>* to represent /t/ (e.g. *<dengan>* *tengan*, *<doto>* *todo*) (see Duarte & Alvarado 1998:461).

The manuscript is a copy of an unidentified original which is suggested by several copying mistakes in the manuscript, e.g. in the line *<cauah quinchau ruc chire>* the scribe mistakenly copied the term "chire" from the next following line *<canubih nutzih chire>* and crossed it out again when he noticed the mistake.

The *Bocabulario* by Calvo was apparently kept in collection with a manuscript titled "Spanish-Tzutuhil Dictionary and Other Texts." Gates' photostat edition includes both manuscripts under one single title and author, i.e. the *Bocabulario...* by Tomas Calvo. In Princeton, both documents were shelved together and labeled as ms. 163. Later curators at the Princeton University Library corrected the mistake and separated the two unrelated documents again, shelving them as ms. 163a (Calvo) and ms. 163b (Spanish-Tzutuhil...). The type of paper, binding, separate pagination, hand writing, and last but not least the contents establish that both manuscripts are clearly separate documents.

Arturo Duarte and Paulo Alvarado (1998) have published an extensive analysis of the manuscript which is apparently based on the photostat copy, since they attribute authorship of both sections to Tomas Calvo. They identified Tomas Calvo who was an indigenous *fiscal* in San Sebastian Lemoa that was then a doctrinal annex to Santo Tomás Chichicastenango in the Department of El Quiché (Duarte & Alvarado 1998:446). Duarte and Alvarado see the manuscript as one of the few surviving examples of phrase books in K'iche' and Spanish that was written by an indigenous author and could have served the purpose to teach Spanish to future indigenous *fiscales y doctrineros* as well as providing Spanish missionaries with the relevant K'iche' vocabulary (Duarte & Alvarado 1998: 460). These assumptions hold true irrespective of the misidentification of the documents.

Ms. 163b is a Kaqchikel-vocabulary (not Tz'utujil) which lists terms from the domains of animal names, household goods, church and Christian religion, body parts, diseases, musical instruments, kinship, tools, domesticated animals, food, spices,
insects, as well as items from other categories. It comprises 62 folios, numbered from p. 115-130. On the last 16 pages, we find notations of eight musical compositions and two religious drawings (see Duarte & Alvarado 1998:460-461). Duarte and Alvarado concentrated in their contribution on the analysis of the musical pieces and pointed out that these Spanish chorals are the only surviving examples of missionary music from the eighteenth century; there is no knowledge of the existence of K’ichee’ chorals (Duarte & Alvarado 1998:497). They also identify the included drawings as pertaining to the artistic tradition developed by colonial fiscales in the Guatemalan highlands (id. 461).

Both manuscripts, ms. 163a and ms. 163b, were transcribed in the course of the project.

**GGMA mss., no. 166**

The *Bocabulario* by Julio Herrera comprises 18 leaves (23 x 18 cm) and is sewn in a paper wrapper. It is dated to 1867 and contains miscellaneous phrases and conversations (questions and answers) in K’ichee’ translated into Spanish. Nothing is known about the author, but his title and the period context of the manuscript may suggest that he was not indigenous. This is supported by the contents of the phrase book which is organized in form of questions and answers for the apparent use of a non-indigenous official, e.g.:

**Pregunta**

Ustedes son Alcaldes nuevos  
Bueno, yá los conosí  
Pues ahora Alcaldes  
Les digo una cosa  
Y lo van a tener presente

**Respuesta**

Nosotros somos los Alcaldes  
Y nos tiene a las ordenes  
Qué será lo que manda  
Queremos saber  
Para estar entendidos

The application of La Parra symbols is by comparison with other documents of the time quite consistent.

The precise origin of the manuscript is not indicated, but dialectal traits of certain forms (e.g. interrogative markers *<jarupa>"¿cuánto?", <jasuri>"¿cómo?", <jasari>"¿qué?", <jachique>"¿quién?") may suggest that Herrera documented the K’ichee’ of the Department of Totonicapán.
Grammars

The two artes in the collection (ms. 164 and 165) are typical of the eighteenth century in that their treatment of the grammatical structure of the language is rather limited and concise. Both manuscripts are followed by catechisms, confessionaries, and other liturgical texts in K'ichee' which reveal the main missionary purpose of these documents: missionaries copied concise grammatical descriptions as well as the necessary texts for clerical administration in K'ichee' speaking communities in Highland Guatemala.

These data provide valuable information about the language of christianization, i.e. how Spanish missionaries made use of K'ichee' and K'iche'an terms and concepts to convert the indigenous population to Catholic faith.

GGMA mss., no. 164

The manuscript titled as Arte de lengua qiche comprises 47 leaves (21 x 15 cm) and is bound into a limp vellum wrapper. The date has been suggested as 1700-1750. The contents of the manuscript comprise:

- a K'ichee' grammar (pp. 1-53).
- a catechism (proverbis and doctrina christiana) (pp. 55-71)
- a Latin prayer (pp. 72-73)
- an unidentified K'ichee' text about Moses (pp. 75-78)
- two recetas for pebetes, one of them "comes from China this year of 1733" (p. 79)
- a formulario signed by Fr. Ignacio Rafael Macal in 1733 (pp. 80-82)
- and miscellaneous verse in Spanish (pp. 85-87).

The author of the Arte is anonymous. The handwriting within the manuscript varies and therefore mentioned fray Ignacio Rafael Macal cannot be attributed authorship. It was not unusual that several people contributed to such missionary manuals, drawing on different materials and copying grammars, vocabularies etc. from various sources.

The grammar: The grammar is a traditional Latin style grammar; the author explicitly follows the model of Antonio de Nebrija.

Aunque la Composicion desta Lengua es diferente de la Lengua Latina, con todo esso, se procedera en este Arte en lo posible por el Orden q(ue) sigue Ant(oni)o de Nebrija en el suyo

Nebrija's Introductiones Latinae (1486) were the general model the church had adopted for the description of vernacular languages, however, colonial grammars in Guatemala frequently also include paradigms from the Gramática Castellana. The grammatical categories treated by the anonymous author of the Arte de lengua qiche follow mostly the paradigm of the Introductiones Latinae. The description distinguishes the descriptive main categories nombres, pronombres, and verbos as well as preposiciones, aduerbios, interjeciones and conjunciones. Verbs are
categorized as verbos activos, absolutos, pasivos, neutros, instrumentales, frequentativos, distributivos and anomalos. Conjugation of the verb is given in the tenses and modes of presente, preterito imperfecto, preterito perfecto, preterito pluscuamperfecto, futuro imperfecto, futuro perfecto, imperativo modo, optativo o subjuntivo infinitivo, gerundios substantivos, supino as well as participios.

The catechism and miscellaneous verses include the basic prayers and creeds of Christian faith among others: the Lord's Prayer (Padre Nuestra), Hail Mary (ειχιλοβαλ εαποφιλ Μαρία), Creed (Cohbal rech Dios Cahaual), Hail Holy Queen (Nimabal rech xocohauifil Santa María), Ten Commandments (Lahuh Upixab Dios Kahaual), Five Commandments of the Church (Hoob upixab kachuch Santa Yglesia), The Seven Sacraments (Ukub Sacramentos), Forgiveness Prayer (Toεοβιçanel mac ubixic), Seven Deadly Sins (Vae uu4 molafig camiçanel mac), The Three Enemies of Our Soul (Vae oxib labalij rech ka4azlibal), Cardinal Virtues (Vae oxib upatanibal ka4azlibal potencias cuhachic), The Twelve Fruits of the Holy Spirit (Vae acablahuh vachiriçabal Espiritu Santo chupam anima frutos cuhachic), Seven Mercies (Vae chi4ute ukub chic toεοβιçabal uach katiohif), Protestacion de nuestra Santa Fee Catholica etc.

This section is followed by a Latin prayer Oremos "Let's pray!", a biblical text about Moses in K'ichee', and two recipes for remedies.

Formulario: The following text states that the manual belonged to Padre Fray Ignacio Raphael Macal who signed it in 1733, with the notation: "Lo que me ha valido esta conventualidad de Totonicapan desde el dia de 17 de agosto de este año de 1728."

GGMA mss., no. 165

The Compendio de arte quiché by fray Damian Delgado comprises 46 leaves (21 x 15 cm), bound in calf with marbled boards. The manuscript which carries the bookplates of Brasseur de Bourbourg and Alphonse L. Pinart. comprises the following sections:

- grammatical description and phrases (including parentage terms, numerals) (p. 1-8)
- Doctrina Christiana (Pater noster, Credo, Ave Maria, 10 Commandments, Confessional) (p. 19-28)
- Confessional (p. 29-40)
- Prayers, sermon, blessings by Damian Delgado and various other Dominican friars of the Order of "N.P. Santo Domingo." (p. 43)

The entire manuscript is written by the same hand. It is not clear whether this is Damian Delgado's handwriting, or whether some other scribe copied Delgado's compendio for their own missionary work. The different sections are however written with different quilts and inks and in varying letter sizes and style, so the materials
have been compiled over a period of time which suggests that the first option is more likely. Orthographic variation (e.g. different abbreviations \(<\text{vga}\>\) and \(<\text{vgracia}\>\) for \textit{verbigracia}) can be attributed to the fact that the scribe copied the individual sections from various manuscripts. The originals from which the various contents were copied are unknown, provided that the authors of the sermons, commandments, and prayers cited have not drawn their materials from earlier works themselves.

The manuscript does not carry a date and is classified on the basis of paleographic style to 1700-50. It is not known who suggested the dating.

The grammatical description is rather brief and mainly regards verb formation. The categorization of verb classes in \textit{activos}, \textit{pasivos}, \textit{neutros} and \textit{absolutos} follows Nebrija; the conjugated tenses are \textit{presente indicativo}, \textit{preterito imperfecto}, \textit{preterito perfecto}, \textit{futuro}, \textit{plusquamperfecto}, \textit{imperativo}, \textit{optativo}, \textit{sujuntivo}, \textit{infinitivo}. Further information regarding the language lists terms of body parts, adverbs, conjunctions, kinship terms, and numbers.

The main part of the manuscript contains the detailed \textit{Doctrina Christiana} by Damian Delgado who did translate the texts but not the titles of common prayers and doctrinal teachings into K’ichee’: \textit{Padre Nuestro}, \textit{Aue Maria}, \textit{El Credo}, \textit{La Salue Regina}, \textit{Los Dies Mandamientos}, \textit{Los Sinco Mandamientos}, \textit{Los Artículos de la fee}, \textit{Las obras de Missericordia}, \textit{Los Siete Sacramentos de la Iglesia}, \textit{Los Pecados Mortales}, \textit{Los Enemigos de el Alma}, \textit{Las Bienaunturancias}, \textit{Los nouisimos o Postrimerias}, and \textit{La Confeçion}. The doctrine is followed by a traditional style catechism with the categorical questions, i.e. Are you a Christian? What is a Christian? etc., and a confessional which organises the questions and responses based on the ten commandments.

The remainder of the manuscript includes salutations by Delgado and other friars, namely Fray Lorenzo and Fray Mendoça, texts for the visit of Fray Juzgado de Vrizar and other priests, sermons for the Holy Communion, for Ash Wednesday, Holy Thursday, and Holy Friday, as well as a range of other occasions.

\textit{Testaments}

The Garrett-Gates Collection contains a large number of colonial testaments and land deeds. Although the catalogue suggests that these individual documents are separate sources, all these manuscripts were found to be part of collections of notarial documents that were compiled and preserved by town scribes. During my stay in Princeton, I transcribed documents from two notary compilations:

- ms. 106-157: Notarial documents from Salamá, Baja Verapáz [1760-1787]
- ms. 201-203: Notarial documents from Totonicapán [part of a collection of notarial documents regarding land tenure and sales comprising ms. 201-218]

The manuscripts in both collections are entirely written in K’ichee’, but the format of the individual documents follows the standardized Spanish juridical style that had been imposed by the Spanish authorities (see Lockhart 1992:468-72; Restall 1995:5,12). Colonial testaments have been shown in a number of cases to be valuable sources for reconstructing indigenous culture in post-conquest Mesoamerica

Testaments were often noted down when people were already on their deathbed, in some cases they were even issued by the heirs after the testator's death. The statements were noted down by the municipal scribes in the presence of the members of the alcaldea, or justicia. The ajtz'ib' (scribe) then produced a document to be signed by the officials and a copy that would be kept among the notary documents the town officials kept.

The typical testament includes the date; a blessing; the name of the testator; the names of the political authorities who witness and sign the document; the names of the heirs and their family relationships (wife, sons, daughters etc.); descriptions of the inheritance, i.e. the transfer or division of property and houses, as well as the material goods passed on, such as live-stock, furniture, tools, clothing, santos, and other valuables; requests for masses; donations the testator made to the church. To conclude the will the testaments list the names of the justicias and are signed by the town scribe, e.g. <yn Ahtzib rech cabildo, Juan tauico> "I am the scribe of the town, Juan Tavico" (ms. 136).

It is important to note that the testaments are frequently written from two perspectives – the one of the testator (expressed by first person singular: <chubixic hun cayb nutzih nutestamento> "to say my few words, my testament") and the one of the alcaldea (expressed by first person plural: <oh Ahauab, Al(cald)es Just(ici)as rejidores oh banol rech vtestamento> "we are the Lords, Alcaldes Justicias Regidores, we are the issuers of his testament"). Restall has pointed out that in colonial Yukatek society notarial records were always public in nature and that possessions and properties were always transferred from one person to another under the supervision of the town officials (see Restall 1995:10-11). The K'ichee' testaments suggest that a similar pattern can be assumed for colonial highland communities.

The testaments and land deeds from Salamá and Totonicapán include information about land tenure and descriptions of the extent of the terrains which were in the possession of the testators and their families. Restall remarked that in Yukatan, testaments provided families with written records of land ownership (1995:12). In this context, the testaments from the Garrett-Gates Collection may serve to reconstruct local family histories and divisions of territorial possessions.

Harvard – Special Collections at the Tozzer Library

Research at the Tozzer Library of Harvard University was carried out in September – October 2007. The Special Collections hold only two relevant original manuscripts of colonial K’ichee’ dictionaries: the Tirado copy of the Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary (C.A.6 V 85), which was at the focus of my attention during my research stay at Harvard, as well as the Compendio de la lengua Quiche (C.A.6 C 73) which was compiled by several hands and includes a Spanish – K’ichee’ dictionary.
Furthermore, Harvard holds an extensive collection of photographic reproductions by William Gates, including copies from his own manuscript collection as well as copies from manuscripts in other collection, e.g. from the manuscripts which are today in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris. The HOLLIS library catalog at Harvard does not indicate the specific origin of the photographic reproductions of colonial K'ichee’ materials in the Special Collections. The following origins could be determined:

Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (BNP, Fonds Américaine)

- C.A.6 Qu 4: Arte de lengua Quiché [1913?]
  (= BNP-FA, no. 58)
- C.A.6 Sp 41 Portfolio: Hernández Spina, Apuntamientos ...
  (= BNP-FA, no. 61)

University of Princeton Library, Garrett-Gates Collection of Mesoamerican Manuscripts (C0744)

- C.A.6 Ar 7: Arte de la lengua Quiche [1915?]
  (= C0744, ms. 164)
  (= C0744, ms. 160)
- C.A.6. D 37: Compendio de Damian Delgado
  (= C0744, ms. 165)
- C.A.6. T 83 Portfolio: Miguel Tum, Diccionario y frases ...
  (= C0744, ms. 159)
  includes: Elgueta, Manuel: *Borrador ... Kiche ...*
  (= BYU collection)

Transcriptions have been produced of:

- C.A.6 V 85: Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary (copy by Tirado)
- C.A.6 T 83 (p. 29-76): *Borrador para la formacion del bocabulario de lengua Kiché*
  (Elgueta)

The following materials from the Tozzer Library have been digitized for the project:

- C.A.6 C 73: Compendio en la lengua Quiche [from photographic reproduction of original ms.]
- C.A.6 Qu 4: Arte de lengua Quiché
  (= BNP-FA, no. 58)
- C.A.6 Sp 41 Portfolio: Hernández Spina, Apuntamientos ...
  (= BNP-FA, no. 61)

**Dictionaries**

*C.A.6 V 85*

The Special Collections of the Tozzer Library we find a copy of a manuscript titled as *Vocabulario de Lengua Kiche* that was compiled by anonymous Franciscan priests. The title page attributes authorship to the "apostolico zelo de los M.R.P. Franciscanos de esta Santa Provincia del Dulcissimo Nombre de Jesus del Arzobispado de Guatemala." The copy was produced in 1787 by D. Fermin Joseph Tirado who was paid for this work by P. Joseph Joachin Henriquez who again is identified on the title page as the local priest of the parish of Sto. Domingo Zacapula.

The bound manuscript (21 x 14 cm) comprises 217 folios. The general state of preservation is good. The main entries are written in brown ink. Tirado chose to make later additions.
The manuscript is missing the folios no. 16, 55, 60, 76, 101, 103, 135, 147, 154 which have been purposefully cut out. A purple pencil line was drawn along where the leaves were excised. The missing folios 103, 135, 147, and 154 could be identified as the dictionary fragments from the Garrett-Gates Collection which are catalogued as GGMA mss., no. 162. Comparing the four folios at Princeton with the Tirado ms. in the Tozzer Library, page numbering, hand writing, and paper clearly confirm that ms. 162 consists of the actual leaves which are missing from the manuscript in the Harvard library (C.A.6. V 85). The whereabouts of folios 16, 55, 60, 76, and 101 could so far not be determined.

The manuscript is full of pencil markings that highlight individual entries. As the same pencil markings are found on the four leaves in the Princeton collection, it is clear that they must have been added before the pages were cut out.

The origin and history of the Tirado ms. are not entirely clear. In the typescripts by Bowditch (Spec. Coll. C.A.6. B 674 B (3) F) we find a statement that Bowditch purchased the manuscript from the bookseller George D. Smith in New York and presented it to the Peabody Museum in January 1916. Bowditch further states that he made eleven photographic copies which he gave to the Peabody Museum, the Heye Foundation, the Library of Congress, Prof. A.M. Tozzer, the University of Pennsylvania, the Bureau of American Ethnology, and William E. Gates. Further four volumes remained in the Peabody Museum for exchange. The photostat of the Tirado ms. in the Tozzer Library was donated by Charles Bowditch in 1917 (April, 4th). The missing leaves were not reproduced which suggests that they had already been excised from the manuscript at the time of reproduction.

The dictionary comprises approximately 5000 lexical main entries. It is organized by Spanish head entries and, thus, for use of a Spanish speaking missionary. K'iche' terms are often literal and phrasal translations of the Spanish concept. Terminological repetitions are frequent. For the most part, however, the dictionary is a valuable lexical source. The dictionary is internally organized as follows:

fol. 1r – 192r  Spanish – K'iche' vocabulary
fol. 192v – 196r  Additions to the vocabulary (by individual letters)
fol. 197r -216r  Lists of K'iche' terms by category: kinship terms, bird names, bee names, wasp names, insect names, food terms, drink terms, planets, colors, clothing, usage of dress, numeral classifiers, syllogisms, fruit terms, herb terms, terms for diseases
fol. 217r – 218r  Conjugation tables of K'iche' verbs

Tirado annotated on the title page that he added to the dictionary a list of further lexical items as well as a list of bird names by the same anonymous author. Tirado also expanded the original text by adding vocabulary and comments as well as internal references. His additions usually follow at the end of lines, pages, and chapter and are held in smaller letter size, sometimes written in darker ink.
The original from which Tirado copied probably dates to the eighteenth century as well. Lyle Campbell cites the Tirado copy as the first K'ichee' dictionary source which represents palatalized velars orthographically, e.g. <quieh> [k'ye:x] "horse", a phonetic feature which is not otherwise attested in K'iche'an before the 1700s (Campbell 1977:123).

Regarding the added list of bird names we may note that it is identical with the contents of the likewise anonymous nineteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Fonds Américaine, ms. 12 entitled Vocabulaire español – quiché.

C.A.6 C 73

The Compendio en la lengua Quiche comprises a total of 262 folios which were composed by several hands and writings of various clerics. The Compendio includes individual texts of doctrinas, bible translations, and masses in K'ichee' as well as a Spanish – K'ichee' vocabulary (fols. 50-89). Individual page numbering suggests that the texts were compiled in the volume well after their composition.

Although the entire document has been digitized from the photostat copy in the Tozzer Library, only the dictionary is being transcribed for the project. The manuscript shows individual page numbering of fols. 1-39 in the upper right hand corner of the recto-folio, and consecutive page numbering within the Compendio of fols. 64-102 in the lower right hand corner of the same page. The dictionary which is entitled as Vocabulario de lengua Quiche is organized in Spanish – K'ichee' and includes nearly a thousand entries covering lexical entries of initial letters A-S. The headings indicate the initial letters before the second vowel or consonant, e.g. A ante D … C ante A … etc. The author of the vocabulary does not apply La Parra orthography, in that he renders phonems k', q and q' as <c>, <qu> or <cqu> (e.g. u-k'u'x <ucux> "corazon"; k'i <cqui> "dulze"; aq'ab' <acab> "noche").

An anonymous note in the photostat reads: "seems to be autograph of Basseta…" Comparing the vocabulary from the Compendio with a microfilm copy of the Basseta dictionary in the holdings of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (BNP, Fonds Américaine, ms. 59), handwriting, matching entries, headings, and the deficient application of La Parra orthography seem to confirm this statement. The vocabulary covers only a tiny fraction of the Basseta dictionary which suggests that it may have been a draft (borrador) or excerpt. Individual entries differ with respect to grammatical form and orthography, e.g. "Abitar"" = <canulacabeh, lacabem> (Compendio) ~ <chinlacabeh> (Basseta Dictionary). A thorough comparison of Basseta’s dictionary and this draft/excerpt is pending.

C.A.6 T 83

The transcription of Elgueta’s Borrador para la formacion del vocabulario de lengua Kiché was produced on the basis of a photographic copy. The original manuscript from the Gates collection is housed in the Harold B. Lee Library Ms. Archives, Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

The photostat volume in the Tozzer Library (Call number C.A.6 T 83) produced by Gates includes photo reproductions of three unrelated manuscripts. The first 28
pages reproduces ms. 159, "Quichè Phrase Book Fragment" for Miguel Tum from the Garrett-Gates Collection at Princeton. The Princeton-ms. is, however, more extensive and comprises a total of 46 pages. The Harvard-photostat volume is titled after the Princeton-ms. as *Diccionario y frases en lengua quiche* and attributed to the author Miguel Tum. The second manuscript reproduced in the volume is a photostat of Manuel Elgueta's *Borrador para la formacion del bocabulario de lengua Kiché* which comprises 24 folios or 48 pages. The third manuscript copy is a ten page long K'iche' version of the Gospel of Luke, the origin of which still needs to be established.

Elgueta's *Borrador* is late nineteenth-century K'iche' and organized as a Spanish – K'iche' vocabulary. It is valuable source for covering lexical items from the following domains: celestial phenomena (stars, phases of sun and moon, etc.), geographical terminology, water (rivers, sea, waterfall etc.), kinship terminology, senses, body parts, activities pertaining to the human body, illness, clothing, as well as Spanish lexical entries of principal letters A – E. The transcription from the photostat still requires revision and comparison with the original manuscript at the BYU-library.

**Note on the Anonymous Franciscan K'ichee' Dictionary**

Working with the K'ichee' materials at Princeton and Harvard, it was fortunate but also inevitable to come across the relationships among the following documents:

- the Tirado manuscript (Tozzer, C.A.6 V 85)
- Princeton GGMA mss., no. 161, and
- Princeton GGMA mss., no. 162

The Tirado copy and the manuscript GGMA mss., no. 161 could be identified as copies of one and the same colonial dictionary that has been labeled by Munro Edmonson (1965:iv) the "Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary." Orthographic differences and supplementary information in both documents (which is respectively missing in the other copy) confirms that the manuscripts in the Harvard and Princeton libraries are not copies of each other but of an unidentified original of this Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary.

The most interesting find was certainly that four of the nine folios which had been anonymously excised from the Tirado copy could be identified in the holdings of the Garrett-Gates collection in Princeton, labeled as a "Fragment of a Spanish-K'ichee' Dictionary" and catalogued as GGMA mss., no. 162. Since the folios are missing in Bowditch's photostat of the manuscript, it seems likely that the pages were cut out prior to 1916, when Bowditch acquired the manuscript from Smith. Unacceptable, but not uncommon for the time the missing pages could have been excised by the bookseller for the purpose of advertising the manuscript on sale; as well as they could have been taken by a scholar for comparison with the *Bocabulario en Lengua Quiche y Castellana* which at that time was already in Gates' possession. According to a note by Gates from February 1915 he had never really studied the *Bocabulario* and was convinced that the second volume was lost forever. Thus, Gates could not have had knowledge of the Tirado-manuscript before February 1915, but he could have been given or sent the excised folios of the Tirado copy some time between 1915 and 1916 for comparison. The sample pages were never taken or sent back.
and were then sold together with the *Bocabulario en Lengua Quiche* to Robert Garrett who then donated the materials to the Princeton University Library, where they were kept and catalogued with consecutive numbering, i.e. nos. 161 and 162.

Pencil annotations in the Bowditch-photostat of the Tirado-manuscript at the Tozzer Library attest that the relation of the Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary and the Gates-photostat copies of the *Bocabulario* (C.A.6 V 84; GGMA mss., no. 161) and the list of bird names in the Paris collection (BNP-FA, ms. 12) was noted before.

A full description of the entire synoptic argument, a reconstruction of the source history Anonymous Franciscan K’ichee’ Dictionary, and an attempt to uncover the scenario which led to the excision of the folios from the Tirado manuscript has been submitted for publication.

**Note on Missionary Linguistics**

The documents transcribed thus far provide us not only with valuable lexicographic data, the manuscript contents and histories also contribute to our understanding of interrelations and origins of individual missionary linguistic sources. The quite extensive documentation of catechisms, doctrines, and confessionals are indicative of the practices and the language of christianization. Comparing the basic prayers and doctrines in the GGMA mss., nos. 164 and 165, it can be shown that the texts were fundamentally standardized, but still show slight regional or personal variation, such as <re> ~ <rech> "for him/he"; <queb> ~ <εaib> "two" etc., as well as differences in the sequence of standard prayers. The following comparison of the *Pater Noster* and the *Credo* underlines all non-orthographic deviations of the prayers in the two manuscripts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GGMA mss., no. 164</th>
<th>GGMA mss., no. 165</th>
<th>Lord’s Prayer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Padre Nuestro</strong></td>
<td><strong>Padre Nuestro</strong></td>
<td><strong>Our Father</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kacahau</td>
<td>Cačahau</td>
<td>who art in heaven,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi cạf lal 4o ui</td>
<td>chi cạh lal ço vi,</td>
<td>hallowed be thy name;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utztaʃ ucaharičaxic</td>
<td>vtztah, vzaharičaxic,</td>
<td>thy kingdom come;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maih alaʃ bij la.</td>
<td>maih bí la,</td>
<td>thy will be done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi pe taʃ ahauarem la</td>
<td>chi pe tah Ahauarem la,</td>
<td>on earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chiban taʃ ahauam la</td>
<td>chiban tah, ahavam la,</td>
<td>as it is in heaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varale chuah vleuʃ</td>
<td>varale chuah vleuʃ</td>
<td>Give us this day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>queheri caban chi cạf;</td>
<td>queheri caban chi cạh</td>
<td>our daily bread;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vacamnic va la chiquech</td>
<td>va la chique varanic</td>
<td>and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahutaxihil ua:</td>
<td>rahutaquilih viua:</td>
<td>against us;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çacha la Kamac,</td>
<td>zacha la camac,</td>
<td>and lead us not into temptation,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>queheri caKαčachbeʃ</td>
<td>queheri cαzαzαchbeḥ</td>
<td>but deliver us from evil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quimac xemacum cihKe</td>
<td>quimax xemacum chiquech</td>
<td>Amen Jesus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru4 mohocotaʃ la</td>
<td>ru, mohocotah la</td>
<td>Amen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa taK chibal maε</td>
<td>Pa tač chibal max</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa Kofcolta la pa itzel.</td>
<td>coh colta la pa itzel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quehe chuxoK.</td>
<td>quehe chuxoe.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Cotzbal rech D(io)s Cahaual**
Canucoho D(io)s
Kahauixel ronohel utzinicanel
uinaKiriçay rech caf, uleuf;
ru4 Jesu (chris)to
xare huqicic u4ahl D(io)s:
xa hun Kahaual
are utshiñlab ui rumal. (E)sp(iri)tu S(an)to;

-xalax 4u rumal S(an)ta M(aría)
hunelic capoh;
uchí poncio pilato x4ax4obic,
xrip 4ut chuach Cruz;
xamic
xmukic,
xKafí chi xibalba:
rox cif xucaxtafi uti rib chiqixol e camicaK

-xacan chi caf
xubhic chi quixab D(io)s.

uKahauñ ronohel utzinicanel
chila 4u chi pe chiui
chul uratatziñ pa qui ui
e 4ax4oief e camicaK.

Canucoho Sptu. S(an)to
Canucoho S(an)ta Ygl(es)ia chatolica,

quicuchbal quib
ronohel e S(an)tos
Canucoho uqachic mac.
Canucoho ronohel vinaK chichaçiñf
chic ru4 hunelic 4azlem


**El Credo**
 traumatico Dios
traçahixel utzinicay re ronohel.
vinoqiriçay pu re cañ vleu
ru4 Jesu(chris)to
xare huqicic vzhahol Dios
xa hun cañahaval
are xtiñicabic rumal spiritu s(an)to

-xalacic rumal S(an)ta María
amarquel capoh
vchi poncio Pilato xeqxic
xripic chuach Cruz,
xamic
xmuqulic
xaciñ chi xibalba.
Rox eqiñh xueatzah rib chiqixol E çaminac

-xacam cif cañ,
xapon cubuloc chi çuixacab Dios

vzahau utzinicay re ronohel:
chila chi pe chi vi
chul uqiatziñ pa qui vi
E çazoh E çaminac.

- tmacnohó Spiritu S(an)to,
S(an)ta Igle sia çatholica

- cquicuchbañquilb
- e santos

canucoho uqachic maç

canucoho vzhachic maç
canucoho ronohel vinac chizatziñ
chic ru4 hunelic Cazlem,
chila chi cañ
 queueñ chuxoñ Amen. Jesus

Credo
I believe in God,
the Father Almighty,
Creator of Heaven and earth;
and in Jesus Christ,
His only Son Our Lord,

Who was conceived by the Holy
Spirit,
born of the Virgin Mary,
suffered under Pontius Pilate,
was crucified,
died,
and was buried.

He descended into Hell;
the third day He rose again from
the dead;

He ascended into Heaven,
and sitteth at the right hand of
God,
the Father almighty;
from thence He shall come to
judge the living and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Spirit,
the holy Catholic Church,

the communion of saints,

the forgiveness of sins,

the resurrection of the body
and life everlasting.

Amen.

Systematic comparison of the various accessible doctrinal texts will provide further
data about the language of christianization and the degree to which missionary
doctrine in the eighteenth century still followed the sixteenth-century *Theologia
Indorum* of Domingo de Vico. Despite its colonial focus and purpose, the thorough
analysis of these materials will provide us also with a better understanding of pre-
colonial religious concepts as the early missionaries made use of already existing
descriptive terms (with the help of informants and assistants) to explain the Christian
doctrine in the best possible way. For instance, the term *q’aq’al* "fire-ness" which is
used to translate the concept of *gloria* "glory" does not only derive from the medieval
ecclesiastical practice of representing the "glory of God" with the element of fire, but
also alludes to the association of "sun-/hotness" with the Classic Maya kings as
expressed in the epithet *k’inich* (cf. Houston & Cummins 2004:365; Wichmann
2004:80-81).
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Appendix

The following K’ichee’ materials will be essential to the *Comprehensive Colonial K’ichee’ Dictionary.* They are listed here according to the location of the original manuscript. Existing editions are indicated.

The largest collection of relevant K’ichee’ manuscripts is found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* in Paris (see Sources 1). The Garrett-Gates Collection of Mesoamerican Manuscripts at Princeton University Library holds the second largest number of items (see Sources 2). Further relevant resources are held in the Special Collections of the Tozzer Library at Harvard (see Sources 3). The Gates Collection at the Harold B. Lee Library of Brigham Young University at Provo includes original material by Elgueta (Sources 4). The Bancroft Library at Berkeley and the Newberry Library in Chicago host the originals of the Ximénez vocabulary and grammar which have been edited and are publicly available (see Sources 5 and Sources 6). The John Carter Brown Library at Providence holds one of the important Kaqchikel dictionaries which includes references to K’iche’ vocabulary (Sources 7).

Photoreproductions and transcripts of these originals are found in the holdings of the Tozzer Library, Newberry Library, and the Harold B. Lee Library, as well as in the University of Pennsylvania Museum’s Library in Philadelphia, the Latin American Library at Tulane University in New Orleans, and elsewhere. Photographic reproductions of manuscripts in the relevant collections are not itemized below.
Anonymous
1706 Marial sacro y Santoral. Sermones en la lengua qiiche, escritos por varios autores, principalmente por un Yndio, por lo cual hay mucho que corregir, ó emendar en todos los textos latinos. Pertenecen al uso del P. P. Fr. I. A. Sr., hijo de la santa provincia del dulcissimo nombre de I H S de Guatemala, año 1706. 160 fol. [ms. no. 11]

1745 Vocabulario de la lengua castellana y quiché. 18th c. 100 fol. [ms. no. 64]

1793 Arte de la lengua quiche, yllustrado con algunas notas que estan puestas al fin, para su perfecta intelectual, hechas por un aficionado a este idioma. Año de mil setecientos noventa y tres. adressées a Don Juan Mariano Rosales. 18th c. 235 p. [ms. no. 58]

18th c. Vocabulario en lengua Kiché-castellana; s. XVIII. Mss. Angrand; 9. [ms. Colección Angrand]

19th c. Vocabulario de las lenguas qiche y kakchiquel. (Lettres A, B, C, K, T). 151 p. [ms. no. 65]

19th c. Vocabulaire español – quiché. fol. 1. Nombres de pájaros en lengua quiche; fol. 10 Comidas y comestibles; fol. 12 Bevida; fol. 13 Planetas; fol. 14 Colores; fol. 15 Ropa y vestuario; e16 fol., [ms. no. 12]

19th c. Histoire universelle, jusqu'à la conquete en quiché, avec traduction en espagnol. 19th c. 103 fol. [ms. no. 57]

Anléo, Bartolome de
c. 1660 Arte de lengua quiche, compuesto por N. M. R. P. Fr. Bartolomé Anléo, religioso menor de N. S. P. San Francisco; 67 fol. (copia del original por Fr. Anto.Ramírez de Utrilla, el año de 1744). [no. 9]

Basseta, Fr. Domingo de
1698 Vocabulario quiché par Basseta. 248 fol. [ms. no. 59]

Brasseur de Bourbourg, Charles Étienne
1860 Vocabulario quiché y kakchiquel.

Martínez, Marcos
1565-84 Arte de la lengua utatleca o kiche, vulgarmente llamado el Arte de Totonicapan. compuesto por el R[everen]do Padre Fray Marcos Martinez, de la Orden de Predicadores. 17th c. 66 fol. [ms. no. 62]

Sanchez Viscayno, Josef Antonio
1790 Doctrina christiana en la lengua Utlateca ò Quiché / del uso de Josef Antonio Sanchez Viscayno. [Colección mejicana]

Scherzer, Karl
1855 Apuntamiento del idioma kiche – Junio 10 1854: Original du vocabulaire rapporté par le Dr Karl Scherzer et publié dans les Sitzungsberichte der phil. hist. Klasse de l`Axadémie de Vienne., 1855. 19th c. 16 fol. [ms. no. 61]

Vico, Domingo de
17th c. Vocabulario de la lengua kakchiquel, con advertencia de los vocablos de las lenguas quiché y tzutohil, se trasladó de la obra compuesta por el ilmo Padre el venerable Fr. Domingo de Vico. 286 fol. [ms. no. 46]

17th c. Theologia Indorum, par le P. Domingo de Vigo. Text du ms. 4, et à la fin la même data: 1553 Fol. 103. Fragment de glossaire quiché-español. 17th c. 105 fol. [ms. no. 10]

18th c. Arte de la lengua quiché o utatlecat, seguido del modo de bien vivir, en la misma lengua; lo todo sacado de los escritos del ven. Padre Fr. Domingo de Vico. 18th c. 35 fol. [ms. no. 63]
(2) Princeton University Library-Garrett-Gates Mesoamerican Manuscripts

Anonymous
1700s  Bocabulario en lengua Quiche y Castellana. [Volume I of a 2-volume Spanish-K'iche' dictionary and phrase book. Entries from A – M]. 206 leaves. [ms. no. 161]
1700s  Fragment of a Spanish-K'iche' dictionary. Letters F-P; 4 leaves [ms. no. 162]
1700-50  Arte de la lengua qiche and Other Texts. 47 leaves [ms. no. 164]
1892-1900  Quiché Phrase Book Fragment. 24 leaves. [ms. no. 159]
Barrera, Francisco
1745  Abecedario en la lengua que dize qiche hecho por Mr. Francisco Barrera que han solamente se compone de el Modo y realidad con que los Judios la Ablan el cual No tiene los Significados que tienen los latinos pero aprendiendo en el lai pronunciaciones lesera Muy facil el saberla Muy bien y con toda brevedad, y este dicho Abecedario lo hizo Segun lo que alcanzo a peticion de Mr. fra Gabriel Guerrero se que en este año de 1745. Fr.Alberto Miguez; 134 leaves [ms. no. 160]
Calvo, Thomas.
1726-27  Bocabulario de la lengua quiché. 1726. 14 leaves [ms. no. 163a]
Delgado, Damián
1725  Compendio del arte quiché. del P. Fr. Damian Delgado, Ord. Proed. sigue la Doctrina Crittiana en lengua Quiché del mismo autor, con sermones del mismo Padre y otros de la orden de N.P. Santo Domingo. 70 p. [ms. no. 165]
Herrera, Julio
1867  Bocabulario por Dr. Julio Herrera; 18 leaves [ms. no. 166]

(3) Tozzer Library Harvard, Special Collection

Anonymous
1787  Vocabulario de lengua kiché compuesto por el apostólico zelo de los m.r.p. Franciscanos de esta Santa Provencia del Dulcissimo Nombre de Jesús del Arzobispado de Guatemala. Añadido por el mismo autor otro diccionario corto de varios vocab. que faltaron; y distintos nombres de diversas aves. Copiado por d. Fermín Joseph Tirado ... Año 1787. 1 v. diagrs. 24 cm. [ms. Spec. Coll.; C.A.6 V 85] (= "Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary")
??  Compendio en la lengua Quiche. p. 22 cm. [ms. Spec. Coll.; C.A.6 C 73]

(4) Harold B. Lee Library Ms. Archives. Brigham Young University

García Elgueta, Manuel
1892  Etimologías kiche.
c. 1900  Borrador para la formación del vocabulario de lengua kiché.
c. 1910  Sumario de las materias; ensayos gramaticales, vocabularios kiché español con su parte de literatura indígena, y un pequeño paralelo entre los idiomas kiché, kakchekel, tzutuhil y mam.
(5) Bancroft Library, Berkeley

Ximénez, Francisco
1722 Primera parte de el tesoro de las lenguas Cakchiquel, Quiche y Tzutuhil en que las dichas lenguas se traducen en la nuestra española. 421 p. [BANC MSS M-M 445]

1985 Primera parte del Tesoro de las lenguas Cakchiquel, Quiché y Zutuhil, en que las dichas lenguas se traducen a la nuestra, española : de acuerdo con los manuscritos redactados en la Antigua Guatemala a principios del siglo XVIII, y conservados en Córdoba (España) y Berkeley (California) / Francisco Ximénez ; edición crítica por Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María. 1a ed. Guatemala : Academia de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, 1985. 659 p. : facsims. ; 20 cm.

(6) Newberry Library Chicago-Ayer Collection

Ximénez, Francisco
~1700-03 Arte de las tres lenguas kakchiquel, quiché y tzutuhil. 67 p. [VAULT Ayer MS 1515]

1993 Arte de las tres lenguas, kaqchikel, k'iche' y tz'utujil / por Fr. Francisco Ximenez ; transcripción, notas y prólogo, por Rosa Helena Chinchilla M. Guatemala, Guatemala, C.A.: Academia de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, 1993. xxxii, 205 p. : fascims. ; 26 cm.

(7) John Carter Brown Library

Villacañas, Benito de
1536/7-1610 Vocabulario copioso de las lenguas Cakchiquel y Jiche [Guatemala? 18th century] 356 leaves