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Documentation of Colonial K'ichee' Dictionaries and Grammars

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Chronology: Colonial

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Site: Guatemalan Highlands

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Submitted 11/20/2007 by:

Frauke Sachse

sachse@wayeb.org

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 Totonicapán* (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 [Bassetta 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significant documents remain unedited and can only be consulted with difficulty, i.e. in form of photoduplications or unpublished transcripts (for a list of materials see [Appendix](#)).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.

La Parra (Colonial)	Modern	Sound
c , qu {i, e}	k	/k/
4 , q	k'	/k'/
k	q	/q/
ε	q'	/q'/
t , th	t'	/t'/
4, , q,	tz'	/tʃ'/
4h , qh	ch'	/č'/
x	x	/š/
z, c, s	s	/s/
h, h̄	j	/x/
v, u	w ~ u	/w/ ~ /u/
y, i	y ~ i	/y/ ~ /i/

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

Weeks 1990:9ff.). 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 "Quiché 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-iil* for "wife". For example:

<co chi ri buxoquil>	<i>k'o chi ri b'uxoqil</i>	"como ya tengo mujer"
<co chi ri nu buxoquil>	<i>k'o chi ri nu-b'uxoqil</i>	"ya tengo mujer"
<ca buxoquil>	<i>qa-b'uxoqil</i>	"nuestros mujeres"

Likewise noteworthy is the use of the vowel *i* instead of *a* following the aspect marker of the incomplete *k-* before third person plural ergative pronouns.

<rumal man ca tá ri quiquiculmaj cu> <i>rumal man ka ta ri ki-ki-kulmaaj k'u</i>	"porque no les vaya a su[ce]der algo"
<cas utz che ri quiquicam rachbil> <i>qas utz che ri ki-ki-k'am rachb'il</i>	"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 dizen 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 pronunciaciónes 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 Míguez"; date and name are written by a different hand and with different ink. The name "fr. Alberto Míguez" 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 (adivinator)", i.e. <Ahɛih> and <Zakuachinel>, distinguishing these from the "diviner for omen/auguries (adiuinador por suertes o agujeros)" named as <Ahqihineih> and <Ahnaualineih>. The variety of these terms are not entirely new; e.g. Coto's *Thesaurus Verborum* of Colonial Kaqchikel likewise lists <çak vachinel> for "embaidor, propheta". 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 enbueeltas
<-chob>	Para contar bailes
<-chol>	Para contar yladadas 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
<-zepah>	Para contar eras y cosas estendidas
<-zeYah>	Para contar a todos de cangrejos
<-zobah>	Para contar cacaguatales los pedasos que tienen o tierras
<-tubah>	Para contar montones
<-tunah>	Para contar montones de tortillas
<-turih>	Para contar rebueeltas de atoles batidos y conbites entre los Yndios
<-yatah>	Para contar manojos de cañas sean de las que fueren
<-yih>	Para contar repiques

(b) Numeral classifiers with initial vowel:

<-Eqan>	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.

GGMA mss., no. 161

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'ichee' 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'ichee' dictionary.

Several orthographic errors in the K'ichee' forms suggest that the copyist was not a K'ichee' speaker and did not understand the language he was copying. K'ichee' 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.

GGMA mss., no. 162

This manuscript fragment titled *Fragment of a Spanish-K'ichee' 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. <nostan 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> *pareasco*), 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 ehire> 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'ichee' 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'ichee' 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	La yx ri yx aq tak Justicia
bueno, yá los conosí	qamó mixguetámaj yguach
Pues ahora Alcaldes	xrebari camic yx Justicia
les digo una cosa	canbij jun tzij chiquech
y lo van a tener presente	Kas qu qo la pa ri yjolóm

Respuesta

Nosotros somos los Alcaldes	ojbá oj Justicia Señor
y nos tiene a las ordenes	Ojqu qó xe akam εablá
qué será lo que manda	chiquelo ri tzij la pa kaguuy
queremos saber	Caketámáj cakaj
para estar entendidos	rech coc pa ri kajolóm

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*, *adverbios*, *interjecciones* 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 plusquamperfecto, futuro imperfecto, futuro perfecto, imperatiuo modo, optativo o subjuntivo infinitivo, gerundios substantivos, supino* as well as *participios*.

The catechism and miscellanous verses include the basic prayers and creeds of Christian faith among others: the Lord's Prayer (*Padre Nuestra*), Hail Mary (*εihilobal rech εapofj María*), Creed (*Cohbal rech Dios Cahaua*), Hail Holy Queen (*Nimabal rech xocohauifj Santa María*), Ten Commandments (*Lahuh Upixab Dios Kahaua*), Five Commandments of the Church (*Hoob upixab kachuch Santa Yglesía*), The Seven Sacraments (*Ukub Sacramentos*), Forgiveness Prayer (*Toεobiçanel mac ubíxíc*), Seven Deadly Sins (*Vae uu4 mola f camičanel mac*), The Three Enemies of Our Soul (*Vae oxib labalij rech ka4azlibal*), Cardinal Virtues (*Vae oxib upatanibal ka4azlibal potencias cuchaxíc*), The Twelve Fruits of the Holy Spirit (*Vae acablahuh vachiriçabal Espiritu Santo chupam anima frutos cuchaxíc*), Seven Mercies (*Vae chi4ute ukub chíc toεobiçabal uach katiohil*), *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 conuentualidad 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 Bresseur 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 <vga> and <vgracia> for *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 *activos*, *pasivos*, *neutros* and *absolutos* follows Nebrija; the conjugated tenses are *presente indicatiuo*, *preterito imperfecto*, *preterito perfecto*, *futuro*, *plusquamperfecto*, *imperativo*, *optativo*, *sujuntivo*, *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 *Doctrina Christiana* by Damian Delgado who did translate the texts but not the titles of common prayers and doctrinal teachings into K'ichee': *Padre Nuestro*, *Aue Maria*, *El Credo*, *La Salve Regina*, *Los Dies Mandamientos*, *Los Síncro Mandamientos*, *Los Artículos de la fee*, *Las obras de Misericordia*, *Los Siete Sacramentos de la Iglesia*, *Los Pecados Mortales*, *Los Enemigos de el Alma*, *Las Bienauenturanças*, *Los nouisimos o Postrimerias*, and *La Confeçon*. 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.

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

(see Lockhart 1992, Restall 1995, Hill 1989). The notary documents provide insight in local town and family histories, patterns of inheritance in an eighteenth-century Highland Maya town, as well as issues of land ownership.

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 *alcaldía*, or *justicia*. The *ajtz'iib'* (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 taucico> "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 *alcaldía* (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]
- C.A.6. B 27: Barrera, Abecedario en lengua que dizen kiche [= 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 ... includes: Elgueta, Manuel: *Borrador ... Kiche ...* [= C0744, ms. 159]
[= 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 vocabulario 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'ichee' 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'ichee' vocabulary
fol. 192v – 196r	Additions to the vocabulary (by individual letters)
fol. 197r -216r	Lists of K'ichee' 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'ichee' 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 espagnol – 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 phonemes *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 vocabulario 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:

GGMA mss., no. 164

El Padre Nuestro

Kacahau
 Chi εafj lal 4o ui
 utztafj ueahariçaxic
 maïh alafj bij la.
 chi pe tafj ahauarem la
 chiban tafj ahauam la
 varale chuach vleufj
 queheri cabanç chi εafj;
vacamic ya la chiquech
 Kahutaεihil ua:
 çacha la Kamac,
 queheri caKaçachbefj
 quimac xemacum chiKe
 ru4 mohozotafj la
 pa taK chibal mac,
xa Kofjcolta la pa itzel.
 Quehe chuxok.
 Amen.

GGMA mss., no. 165

Padre Nuestro

Caçahau
 chi εah lal εo ví,
 vtztah, veahariçaxic,
 maïh bí la,
 chi pe tah Ahauarem la,
 chiban tah, ahavam la,
 varale chuach vleufj
 queheri εaban chi εah
ya la chique vaεamic
 εahutaqufhil vúa:
 zacha la εamac,
 queheri εεazachbeh
 quimæ xemæum chiquech
 ruε, mohozotah la
 Pa taε chibal mac
 εoh εolta la pa itzel.
 quehe chuxoε.
 Amen Jesus.

Lord's Prayer

Our Father,
 who art in heaven,
 hallowed be thy name;

 thy kingdom come;
 thy will be done
 on earth
 as it is in heaven.
 Give us this day
 our daily bread;
 and forgive us our trespasses
 as we forgive those who trespass
 against us;
 and lead us not into temptation,

 but deliver us from evil.

 Amen.

Cotzbal rech D(io)s Cahaua

Canucoho D(io)s
 Kahauixel ronohel utziniçanel
 uinaKiriçay rech eafj, uleufj:
 ru4 Jesu (chris)to
 xare hu4içic u4ahol D(io)s:
 xa hun Kahaua
 are utiohilab ui rumal. (E)sp(iri)tu S(an)to;

xalax 4u rumal S(an)ta M(ari)a
 hunelic eapofj;
 uchi poncio pilato x4ax4obic,
xrrip 4ut chuach Cruz:
 xcamic
 xmuKic,
 xKafj chi xibalba:
 rox eifj xucaxtafj uj rib chiquixol e caminaK

xæan chi cafj
xcubeic chui quieab D(io)s.

uKahaufj ronohel utziniçanel
 chila 4u chi pe chiui
 chul ueatatzifj pa qui ui
 e 4ax4ofj e camicaK.

Canucoho Sptu. S(an)to
 Canucaho S(an)ta Ygl(esi)a chatolica,

quicuchbal quib
conohel e S(an)tos
 Canucoho uçachic mac.
 Canucoho ronohel vinaK chicaçtafj
 chic ru4 hunelic 4azlem

qu[e]he chuxoK. Amen.

El Credo

eanueoho Díos
 eahavixel vtziniçay re ronohel,
 vinaquiriçay pu re eah vleu
 ruc Jesu(chris)to
 xere huquiçie veahol Díos
 xa hun eahaval
 are xtiohilabic rumal spiritu s(an)to

xalaxic rumal S(an)ta María
 amaæquel capoh
 vchí poncio Pilato xæaxebic
xripic chuach Cruz,
 xæamic
 xmuæquie
 xæah chi xibalba.
 Rox equih xueaztah ríb chiqixol E eamínæ

xæeam chí eah,
xapon eubuloc chuí equieab Díos

væahau vtziniçay re ronohel;
 chila chí pe chi ví
 chul vëatatzih pa qui vi
 E eazæoh E eamínac.

eanueohó Spiritu S(an)to,
 S(an)ta Iglesia eatholica

ruæ equieuchbalquib
 e santos
 eanueoho vzachic mac
 eanueoho ronohel vinaæ chíæztah
 chíc ruc hunelic Cazlem,
chíla chí eah.
 quehe chuxoe 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'ichee' 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.

(1) Bibliothèque Nationale Paris – "Fonds Américaine"

Anonymous

- 1706 Marial sacro y Santoral. Sermones en la lengua qijche, escritos por varios autores, principalmente por un Yndio, por lo qual hay mucho que correjir, ô emendar en todos los textos latinos. Pertenece 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 intelegencia, hechas por un aficionado a este ydioma. 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 espagnol – 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 cakchiquel.

Martínez, Marcos

- 1565-84 Arte de la lengua utatleca o kiche, vulgarmente llamado el Arte de Tonicapan. 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 cakchiquel, 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 Vico. Text du ms. 4, et à la fin la même data: 1553 Fol. 103. Fragment de glossaire quiché-espagnol. 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 conpone de el Modo y realidad con que los Judios la Ablan el qual Notiene los Significados que tienen los latinos pero aprendiendo en el lai pronunciaciones lesera Muy facil el saberla Muy bien y con toda brebedad, 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 Míguez; 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. siguese la Doctrina Crittiana en lengua Quiché del mismo autor, con sermones del mismo Padre y otsos 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 Provincia del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús del Arzobispado de Guatemala. Añadido por el mismo autor otro diccionario corto de varios vocab.s que faltaron: y distintos nombres de diversas aves. Copiado por d. Fermín Joseph Tirado ... Año 1787. 1 v. diagsr. 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