

# Renaming Vico's Dictionary: Reconstructing the Textual Genealogy of the *Vocabulario copioso de las lenguas cakchikel y ʒiche*

Renombrando el diccionario de Vico: reconstrucción la genealogía textual del *Vocabulario copioso de las lenguas cakchikel y ʒiche*

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**Resumen:** Los diccionarios misioneros del altiplano de Guatemala constituyen valiosas fuentes para el estudio de la cultura y religión pre-contacto, así como de la formación de un discurso cristiano en las lenguas mayas. Una de las compilaciones lexicales con información particularmente rica sobre la cultura maya del altiplano, es el diccionario trilingüe de kaqchikel, k'iche' y español atribuido tradicionalmente al fray dominico Domingo de Vico. La presente contribución reconstruye la historia textual de ese diccionario y re-examina su autoría. Al analizar las intertextualidades existentes entre el diccionario trilingüe y otros diccionarios coloniales del kaqchikel, se muestra que el proceso de compilación se llevó a cabo en etapas y que las entradas del k'iche' no fueron integrados al texto sino en el siglo xvii tardío. Las evidencias textuales señalan que el origen del diccionario es más probablemente franciscano que dominico. El artículo aporta nuevos conocimientos sobre las prácticas de los lexicógrafos misioneros y muestra que los autores mendicantes se copiaban unos de otros y modificaban las compilaciones lexicales según sus respectivas visiones teóricas de la traducción.

**Palabras clave:** tierras altas de Guatemala; diccionarios coloniales; lexicografía misionera; autoría; génesis de texto; kaqchikel; k'iche'; franciscanos; dominicanos; discurso cristiano.

**Abstract:** Missionary dictionaries from Highland Guatemala are valuable resources on pre-contact culture and religion and the formation of Christian discourse in the Mayan languages. One of the lexical compilations considered to be particularly rich in information on Highland Maya culture is a Kaqchikel-K'iche'-Spanish dictionary that has traditionally been attributed to the famous early 17<sup>th</sup>-century Dominican friar Domingo de Vico. This article reconstructs the textual genesis of this trilingual dictionary and re-examines its authorship. Analyzing hitherto unnoticed intertextualities with other unedited Kaqchikel dictionary sources, it is shown that the process of compilation was multistaged and the K'iche' entries were only integrated in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Textual evidence indicates that the dictionary is more likely of Franciscan than of Dominican origin. The article provides insights into missionary lexicographic practices and shows that mendicant authors copied from each other and modified lexical compilations according to their respective theories of translation.

**Keywords:** Highland Guatemala; colonial dictionaries; missionary lexicography; authorship; textual genesis; Kaqchikel; K'iche'; Franciscans; Dominicans; Christian discourse.

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### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Highland Guatemala was among the first regions in the Americas where missionaries strategically used the native languages in the conversion of the local population. In this context missionary authors produced descriptive materials on the principal Highland Mayan languages, which included extensive lexical compilations. The dictionaries were primarily compiled for the friars and clergymen who needed to learn the languages, and equipped them with the right words for evangelization. This means that missionary dictionaries were not simply collections of native vocabulary; lexicographers were moreover concerned with finding and defining the vernacular words and neologisms to express the complex concepts of the Christian faith. The lexical compilations are thus records of the creation of Christian discourse.

The lexicographic documentation for the closely related languages Kaqchikel and K'iche' is particularly abundant. Purchased by US and European collectors in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, many colonial manuscripts of Highland Maya dictionaries found their way into libraries and archives outside of Guatemala. Most manuscripts from the collections of Charles Étienne Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg and William Gates were photoreproduced, some of them multiple times.<sup>2</sup> These reproductions circled among scholars before they eventually found their way into the special collections of libraries, which greatly contributes to confusion, as these sources have often been held to be manuscripts. Although some research has been done on Highland Maya lexicography, a systematic overview of all the existing missionary dictionaries and their genealogical relationships is still a research desideratum.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 The core argument of this paper is a spin-off of my joint research with Michael Dürr (Free University of Berlin) on the Colonial Language Materials from Highland Guatemala in the Holdings of the Ibero-American Institute (IAI). The goal of the project with the IAI (2016-2018) is to edit and disseminate the colonial source materials in Kaqchikel and K'iche' in the collection in Berlin. The first document that appeared in print is the *Vocabulario en Lengua q'iche otlatecas*, which we have found to be related to the dictionary that is the subject of the present paper (Dürr & Sachse 2017). Some conclusions are moreover the result of my involvement in the international research project *The Theologia Indorum: A Critical Translation of Friar Domingo de Vico's Theology for and of the Maya* (NEH 2016-2019) directed by Garry Sparks (George Mason University). Last but not least, I am indebted to Allen J. Christenson, Michael Dürr, Garry Sparks, and Sergio Romero for contributing data and inspiring comments to this article. Some ideas were sparked by communication with my research assistants Paul Graf and Tobias Tenhaef.
  - 2 Gates (1863-1940) made photostatic reproductions of his own manuscripts and of other collections including many of the manuscripts that had been acquired and handcopied by Brasseur de Bourbourg (1814-1874) the majority of whose collection is today held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (see Weeks 1990).
  - 3 Previous research on the lexicographic sources from Highland Guatemala has been published in the context of broader ethnohistoric and missionary linguistic studies (Carmack 1973; Hernández 2008; Hernández 2009; Niederehe 2004; Smith-Stark 2009). More precise analyses of synoptic relationships between lexicographic sources from Highland Guatemala have been included in text editions of dictionaries, in particular Acuña (1983) and Smailus (1989).

The missionaries produced copies of some principle dictionaries that were accessible in the convents. Some of them are exact copies, others were amended, modified, and expanded upon, and accordingly there are multiple versions of some lexicographic sources in the collections. The missionary lexicographers also made it a common practice to use existing vocabularies as templates and sources, from which lexical data were mined for other compilations. These intertextualities and synoptic relationships between the sources have been rarely discussed.

Of particular interest are the connections between Kaqchikel and K'iche' dictionaries. The lexicography of both languages is closely intertwined. K'iche' had been the dominant language in the Highlands before the Spanish invasion, but it was Kaqchikel, the language of the region where the Spanish first settled, that became the *lingua franca* of the linguistic mission.<sup>4</sup> Labelled either as *lengua de Guatemala* (language of Guatemala) or *lengua metropolitana* (metropolitan language) Kaqchikel was used as matrix for description. Most dictionaries of K'iche', referred to as *lengua utlateca* (Utlatec language), were either based on Kaqchikel templates or were organized as comparative multilingual works. The production of dictionaries lay mostly in the hands of Franciscan and Dominican friars. Both mendicant orders had different approaches to translating Christianity into the Highland Mayan languages, with Dominicans strategically appropriating terminology from native religious discourse, while Franciscan materials show a preference for the introduction of neologisms (see Sachse 2016). The extent to which lexicographers of the two orders drew on each other's materials needs further investigation.

The present article will contribute to that question by reconstructing the textual genesis and authorship of a dictionary that has traditionally been attributed to Domingo de Vico. Scrutinizing the relationship between this Kaqchikel-K'iche'-Spanish dictionary and other lexicographic sources, I argue that the lexicon was not compiled by the famous Dominican friar, but by a Franciscan author almost 150 years after Vico's martyr death. The paper will provide insights into the methodology of missionary lexicography and the process of colonial knowledge production by showing that mendicant authors copied and modified lexical compilations according to their respective theories of translation.

<sup>4</sup> The Kaqchikel had sided with the Spanish in fighting the K'iche' at Q'umarkaj (Utatlán), and the Spanish consequently established their first capital in Kaqchikel territory. Accordingly, Kaqchikel was the first Highland Mayan language the missionary linguists were confronted with.

### Vico's dictionary

Domingo de Vico was certainly one of the most prolific figures of the early mendicant mission in Highland Guatemala. Educated at the University of Salamanca, he was recruited by Bartolomé de las Casas to accompany him to the New World, where he arrived in 1544. Vico was primarily chosen for his linguistic talents. Dominican chronicler Antonio Remesal records that Vico had learned at least seven Mayan languages and left grammars, dictionaries and other doctrinal texts in all of them.

[...] entrando en la Verapaz, en breuissimo tiempo supo la lengua. Vino a Guatemala, hizose maestro en la de aquella Prouincia, y no pasaua pueblo, aunque su lengua fuesse singular y rara, que en tres o quatro días que se detuuiesse en el, no ia sapiesse tan bien como si fuera su original y materna, y con esta perfeccion supo siete diferentes lenguas. En todas ellas, demás de las artes y vocabularios, escribió diferentes tratados para enseñanza de los naturales, y dotrina de los Religiosos (Remesal 1691, book x, chapter VIII: 612).

Vico's written legacy is the *Theologia Indorum* (Theology for the Indians) in which he explains the Christian faith to indigenous converts in K'iche'.<sup>5</sup> The Americas' first Christian theology covers two volumes of more than 700 folios and is to date the most extensive colonial text to have been written in an indigenous language of the Americas. Judging from the number of surviving copies in various Mayan languages, the *Theologia Indorum* found wide distribution and had a strong impact on the conversion and the creation of Christian discourse in the colonial highlands. Entire passages from the *Theologia* were reproduced and reconfigured by indigenous authors and Vico's death on his mission to the Acalán region in 1555 is referenced in several Highland Maya documents (Christenson 2016: 82; Sparks 2011: 124-126; Sparks, Sachse & Romero 2017: 260-268, 276).

The veneration that was paid to Vico by both indigenous and missionary authors was undoubtedly the result of his ability to teach the Christian doctrine so eloquently in the Highland Mayan languages. Long after his death, Vico remained famous in colonial Guatemala for his linguistic skills and the books and catechisms that he had written in the indigenous languages. Remesal writes about the admiration later missionaries had for Vico's grammar on the 'language of Guatemala', which included a copious dictionary with rare and obscure lexical entries.

Admirausse el Padre Vicario con exceso de verla facilidad con que los Padres auian sabido la lengua de la tierra, y leya con gran gusto el arte que auia compuesto el Padre fray Domingo de Vico, en tan breue tiempo como auia que estaua alli, tan concertada y ordenada por el modo de la Latina, que no le faltaua declinación, conjugacion, tiempo, clases de verbos, formaciones de tiempos, nombres, verbos y aduerbios, y vn vocabulario muy copioso, aun de las dicciones obscuras y poco vsadas, y en todo alaba al Señor (Remesal 1691, book VII, chapter XIII: 405).

5 All details regarding the *Theologia Indorum* and its author are based on Sparks (2011) and Sparks Sachse & Romero (2017).

Although Remesal clearly states that the *Vocabulario* was part of the *Arte*, grammar and dictionary have been treated by scholarship as two independent texts and have been searched for among the missionary linguistic sources from Highland Guatemala (Acuña 1983: xxvii-xxix; Carmack 1973: 113-116). Vico's work certainly served later missionaries as a template. There are frequent references to the *Theologia Indorum* in the *Vocabulario de la Lengua Cakchiquel y Guatemalteca* by Franciscan friar Thomas de Coto, and the Dominican Francisco Ximénez praises Vico's work in the prologue to his *Primera parte del tesoro de las lenguas EaEchiquel, Quiche y 4,utuhil*, and he cites Vico's grammar multiple times in his *Arte de las tres lenguas* (Acuña 1983: lxvii; Ximénez 1704-1714: fol. xv; Ximénez 1993). The dictionary however is not explicitly mentioned by anyone else other than Remesal.

A colonial Kaqchikel-K'iche'-Spanish dictionary from the collection of the *Manuscripts Américains* in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF-MA 46) has been widely understood to be a 17<sup>th</sup>-century copy of the legendary *vocabulario* of the Dominican polyglot.<sup>6</sup> The manuscript was purchased by Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg who produced a partial copy with additional entries and emendations that is also housed in Paris (BnF-MA 65).<sup>7</sup> Another copy of the same text has been located in the holdings of the John Carter Brown Library in Providence (JCB-b5705183) (see Table 1).<sup>8</sup> The paleographic style of both manuscripts, BnF-MA 46 and JCB, suggests that they are copies from the late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Both manuscripts are almost identical in content, including a doctrinal text titled *Dotes de gloria de los bien aventurados* that follows the actual vocabulary. Gates' photostatic reproductions of both manuscripts that are archived in the Newberry Library in Chicago, the BYU Harold B. Lee Library in Provo, and the Tozzer Library at Harvard University are listed in the library catalogs

6 Vico's authorship of this vocabulary has been presupposed and discussed by several scholars including Carmack (1973: 113-116); Acuña (1983: xxvii-xxix); Hernández (2008: 69-71); Hernández (2009: 142-143); Smith-Stark (2009: 24). BnF-MA 46 was transcribed and systematically analysed by a research group led by Ortwin Smailus at the University of Hamburg in the 1990s. The edition was never released, but is only available in manuscript format (Bredt-Kriszat *et al.* 1995). Some of the results were published by Bredt-Kriszat & Holl (1997: 175-192).

7 Carmack first identified both manuscripts as copies of the same dictionary (see Carmack 1973: 114).

8 The connection between BnF-MA 46 and the manuscript in the JCB was first made by René Acuña, then professor at the Centro de Estudios Mayas at UNAM, in a letter that he sent to the JCB in 1977 and that is referenced today on archive.org, where the manuscript is openly accessible to the public. The online description of the manuscript indicates about the history and provenance of the manuscript: "E.G. Squier, 1884, José Gregorio Rosales, cura of San Lucas, Sacatepequez, Guatemala, and Henry Cruse Murphy [...] ; Harold Brown: bookplate on recto of second front flyleaf" <<https://archive.org/details/vocabulariocopio00dieg>> (23.05.2018).

under Vico's name (see Carmack 1973: 114; Weeks 1990: 198).<sup>9</sup> This attribution is primarily based on the title page of the BnF-MA 46 manuscript:

Vocabulario de la lengua Cakchiquel con advertencias de los vocablos de las lenguas quiché y tzutuhil se trasladó de la obra compuesta por el Il(ustrisi)mo Padre el venerable Fray Domingo de Vico (*Vocabulario copioso*, BnF-MA 46, p. iii).

The header is written in a 19<sup>th</sup>-century hand and was most likely added by Brasseur himself.<sup>10</sup> It specifies that the vocabulary was based on, or extracted from, Vico's work rather than that we are dealing with a dictionary compiled by Vico himself. Authorship is not explicitly stated anywhere in the manuscript. The trilingual source is sorted by a Kaqchikel matrix. Headwords that are identical in K'iche' are marked with a cross sign in the left-hand margin, while deviating K'iche' forms are incorporated as subentries. Entries often list derived forms and sample phrases, including a number of explicit references to Vico's *Theologia Indorum* that imply the dictionary was compiled from Vico's writings (see Table 5). It needs to be noted that the manuscript does not appear in Brasseur's bibliography among the works assigned to Vico, which suggests that the French collector did not attribute authorship to the Dominican genius (Hernández 2009: 142). It remains unclear whether it was Brasseur himself who wrote the title or whether he took the heading from an earlier lost title page. However, the fact that neither of the manuscripts contains any Tz'utujil entries suggests that Brasseur erroneously titled BnF-MA 46 as a dictionary in the three languages, hypothetically influenced by Ximénez' multilingual *Tesoro*, a copy of which he held in his possession.<sup>11</sup>

The original designation of the trilingual Kaqchikel-K'iche'-Spanish dictionary can be reconstructed from the nearly identical manuscript copy in the JCB, which includes in fact two titles. The actual title page reads *Vocabulario copioso de las lenguas cakchikel y qiche*, while the first numbered page has a separate heading: *Bocabulario en lengua Cakchiqel y qiche olatecas*. While the adjective *copioso* (copious) might sound reminiscent of Remesal's description of Vico's vocabulary, we need to acknowledge that this

9 An attribution of this dictionary to Vico is also found at the BYU Harold B. Lee Library, Special Collections–Gates (MS. 279), where a photoreproduction of BnF-MA 46 is cataloged under the title 'De litera a: en lengua Cakchiquel / Domingo de Vico' and the Newberry Library, Edward Ayer Collection that lists photoreproductions of BnF-MA 46 (= Ayer 1582) and the JCB manuscript (= Ayer 1513) under the author "Vico, Domingo de, d. 1555".

10 Brasseur added titles to several documents in his collection and there are other examples of manuscripts that he associated with Vico, such as the compendium of Tz'utujil sermons (BnF-MA 69): "Sermones en lengua Achi ó Tzutuhil compuesto para el uso de los Padres de la Orden de Santo Domingo de Guatemala, a principios del siglo XVII, conforme al estilo del Ven. P. F. Domingo de Vico".

11 It is known that Brasseur had acquired Ximénez' quadrilingual dictionary (see Recinos 1950: 33-34). The misleading information in the title caused Smith-Stark (2009: 23) to list Vico's dictionary erroneously as the only quadrilingual 16<sup>th</sup>-century dictionary from Mesoamerica.

term was frequently used in the description of comprehensive dictionaries in the colonial era and therefore does not indicate a connection.<sup>12</sup> Instead, it is more likely that the heading on the first folio is the original title of the work. This is suggested by the almost identical title of the *Vocabulario en lengua 4iche otlatecas*, a bilingual K'iche'-Spanish dictionary in the holdings of the Ibero-American Institute (IAI) in Berlin that has been identified as a partial copy of the *Bocabulario en lengua Cakchi4el y 4iche otlatecas* (Dürr & Sachse 2017: 23-35). The fact that both titles include the form 'otlatecas' rather than the more common 'utlateco' corroborates the common origin of both dictionaries. In the following analysis of intertextual relations between the manuscripts, the trilingual Kaqchikel dictionary as a source will be referred to as *Vocabulario copioso* to avoid confusion with the actual manuscript at the JCB.<sup>13</sup>

Year	Author/*Copyist	Title	Length	Place/Ms.
17 <sup>th</sup> c.	Anonymous	Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel con advertencia de [...] quiché y tzutohil	286 fols.	BnF-MA 46
17 <sup>th</sup> c.	Anonymous	Vocabulario copioso de las lenguas cakchikel y 4iche / Bocabulario en la lengua Cakchi4el y 4iche otlatecas	706 pp.	JCB-b5705183
19 <sup>th</sup> c.	*Brasseur de Bourbourg	Vocabulario de las lenguas Qiche y Kakchiquel (Lettres A, B, C, K, T)	151 pp.	BnF-MA 65

Abbreviations: BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France (MA = Manuscrits Américains); JCB = John Carter Brown Library

Table 1: Manuscript versions of the *Vocabulario copioso*.

### Synoptic relationships

At first sight, the two late 17<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts of the *Vocabulario copioso* appear to be identical copies of the same dictionary. However, in the recent edition of the *Vocabulario otlatecas* we have shown that BnF-MA 46 and the JCB manuscript use different orthographic conventions and both include copying mistakes respectively not found in the other text (Dürr & Sachse 2017: 26-35). While the differences seem to be minor,

12 For example, Ximénez not only refers to his own but also to the lost K'iche' dictionary by Damian Delgado as a *vocabulario copioso* (Acuña 2005: 30). Furthermore, Francisco de Varea's *Calepino en lengua Cakchiquel* is also referred to as a "diccionario al modo del que hizo Ambrosio Calepino, tan copioso como él en las lenguas principales de esta provincia [...] que se llama calepino de Varea" (dictionary in the style of that made by Ambrosio Calepino, as copious as that one, in the principle languages of this province [...] which is called Calepino of Varea) (Vázquez 1940, book IV, chapter 73: 299).

13 It would be more precise to name the trilingual dictionary *Vocabulario kaqchikel y k'iche' otlatecas*, but since the designation *Vocabulario copioso* has already been established in Dürr & Sachse (2017), I will keep that name to avoid further confusion.

they nevertheless reveal that the two manuscripts of the *Vocabulario copioso* are not copies of each other. Copying mistakes in the *Vocabulario otlatecas* also indicate that neither of the two copies of the *Vocabulario copioso* was used in the compilation of the bilingual K'iche' lexicon that was excerpted from the trilingual dictionary. Accordingly, the existing manuscripts must have been copied from at least one other unknown source (Dürr & Sachse 2017: 35).

In fact, the *Vocabulario copioso* shows intertextualities with several other Kaqchikel-Spanish dictionaries from the late seventeenth and early 18<sup>th</sup> century. This group of interrelated, mostly bilingual dictionaries includes the anonymous *Vocabulario de la lengua Cakchiquel* in the American Philosophical Society (APS MS. 497.43.V85)<sup>14</sup> and three vocabularies from the Bibliothèque nationale de France: the *Bocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel de Angel* (BnF-MA 41), the *Vocabulario en la lengua cakchiquel y castellana de Santo Domingo* (BnF-MA 44) and another anonymous dictionary titled *Noticia breve de los vocablos mas usuales de la lengua cacchiquel* (BnF-MA 43). It has been noticed previously that some of these dictionaries show intertextualities among each other.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, it can be affirmed that the *Calepino de la lengua cakchiquel* by Francisco de Varea<sup>16</sup> and Ximénez' *Tesoro* also exhibit interrelations with the bilingual dictionaries in this group (Table 2).

A comparison of the entries for the Kaqchikel day name *Aq'b'al* from the 260-day calendar provides some indications about how the sources may be related. In Table 3 correspondences of the entries are shown in separate lines and deviations highlighted in bold.<sup>17</sup>

14 This dictionary was one of several manuscripts that were gifted to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia by the governor of Guatemala Mariano Galv ez in 1836. I am indebted to Sergio Romero (University of Texas at Austin) for sharing the photographs of this manuscript he took with the permission of the APS.

15 Breton notes in the bibliography to his translation of the *Rabinal Achi* that the dictionary of Angel is a copy of Vico's dictionary, thereby referring to BnF-MA 46 (Breton 1999: 403). The relationship between the dictionary by Fray Angel (BnF-MA 41) and the anonymous *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* in the APS (MS. 497.43.V85) has been previously noted by Smailus who also included two versions of a *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* from the catalogue of the Newberry Library into his list (Smailus 1989: 13). Supposedly, these are the two photoreproductions of Angel's dictionary made by Gates (MS. 1495 and 1496 in the Ayer Collection).

16 Varea's *Calepino en lengua Cakchiquel* was originally part of the collection of Indian Manuscripts at the American Philosophical Society where it was cataloged under the call number APS MS. 497.43.V42. The manuscript had also been a gift by Galv ez. According to the curator at the APS, Brian Carpenter, the manuscript was repatriated to Guatemala in 1989, where it was housed at the Universidad Mariano Galv ez.

17 The entries have been arranged in the order that illustrates the intertextualities most clearly, but does not necessarily reflect the chronological or genealogical order. The entry in the vocabulary of Santo Domingo is not included in the table, as it is extremely shortened and does not contribute much to understanding the relationship between the sources. The *Noticia breve de los vocablos mas usuales de la lengua cacchiquel* (BnF-MA 43) is not part of the comparison, because it does not include an entry for the word *Aq'b'al*.



Year of copy	Author	Title	Length	Place/Ms.
n.d.	Anonymous	Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel	359 fols.	APS 497.43 V85
17 <sup>th</sup> c.	Angel	Bocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel...	225 fols.	BnF-MA 41
17 <sup>th</sup> c.	Anonymous	Noticia breve de los vocablos mas usuales de la lengua cacchiquel	46 fols.	BnF-MA 43
1693	Santo Domingo, Thomas de	Vocabulario en la lengua cakchiEl	139 fols.	BnF-MA 44
1699	Varea, Francisco	Calepino en lengua Cakchiquel	227 fols.	[unknown]
1704-14	Ximénez, Francisco	Primera parte del tesoro de las lenguas Eacchiquel, Quiche y 4,utuhil	211 pp. 152 fols.	BANC-M-M 445 BPC-FA 129

Abbreviations: APS = American Philosophical Society (IM = Indian Manuscripts); BANC = Bancroft Library Berkeley; BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France (MA = Manuscrits Américains); BPC = Biblioteca Provincial de Córdoba (FA = Fondo Antiguo).

Table 2: Related Kaqchikel – Spanish dictionaries.

Comparing the entries, it is striking that Varea's *Calepino* and the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* (APS 497.43.V85) share the same terminology which deviates from the rest of the sources. While these two manuscripts refer to the entry *Aq'b'al* as a *signo* (sign) (line 1) and to the 260-day calendar as *cuenta de los indios* (count of the Indians) (line 6), the other texts use the hispanized semantic reference of *día* (day) (line 3) and *semana de los indios* (week of the Indians) (line 4). Ximénez uses both, *día* (line 3) and *signo* (line 11), and Angel (BnF-MA 41) also combines both terminological traditions in *semana a la cuenta de los indios* (week of the count of the Indians). Whereas Ximénez shows greater deviation, Angel's vocabulary appears to constitute the link between the *Vocabulario copioso* and the anonymous *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel*. This is also suggested by Angel's use of the verb *dice* (it says) rather than *dirá* (it will say) (see line 10). But the textual genesis is certainly more complex and the comparison with Ximénez suggests that there was yet another source that links Angel and Ximénez with the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* and which may have been the template from which the *Vocabulario copioso* was compiled. Angel gives the meaning of the term *Aq'b'al* as *casa* (house), while the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* and the *Vocabulario copioso* have the form *cosa* (thing) (line 14). Both translations are incorrect, as the meaning of the Kaqchikel term *aq'b'al* would be (night). The author of the *Vocabulario copioso* certainly noticed the error, as he added *en confuso* (unclear, confusing) (line 15). This comment is missing in the entry for the K'iche' term *aq'ab'al* in the *Vocabulario otlatecas*, which might suggest that the original from which the bilingual K'iche' dictionary was generated did not include the note about the incorrect translation.

line	Varea, <i>Calepino cakchiquel</i> (p. 3)	Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel APS 497.43.V85 (fol. 2r)	Angel BnF-MA 41 (fol. 2v)	Voc. copioso, JCB-b5705183 (p. 3)	Voc. olatecas IAI/2997 (fol. 1v)	Ximénez, <i>Tesoro</i> BPC-FA 129 (p. 1v-2r)
1	Akbal.	Akbal.	Akbal.	Akbal.	Akbal.	Akbal.
2						Vérbal de ac. <i>cossa</i> nueua.
3	Nombre de un <b>signo</b> ,	Nombre de un <b>signo</b> ,	Nombre de un <b>día</b>	nombre de un <b>día</b>	nombre de vn <b>día</b>	Vn <b>día</b> (⇒ line 11)
4	en que naçe vno					
5			de la <b>semana</b>	de la <b>semana</b>	de la <b>semana</b>	de la <b>Semana</b>
6	a la cuenta	según la cuenta	a la cuenta			
7	de los yndios.	de los Yndios,	de los Indios,	de los Yndios,	de los yndios,	
8		y el q(ue) nace en tal día se lo ponen por <b>sobrenombre</b> ,	y el que naçe en tal día lo toma p(o)r <b>su nombre</b> ,	y el que naçe en tal día lo toma por <b>su nombre</b> ,	y el que naçe en tal día lo toma por <b>nombre</b> ,	y quando lo toman por <b>apellido</b> ,
9	Akbal ri Eijj xalax vi P(edr)o.					
10	si es muger dizen: xakbal María xakbal.	y a las mug(ere)s se le anteponen una x. y <b>dira</b> xak-bal,	y a las mugeres se les antepone vna x. y <b>dise</b> xakbal,	y las mugeres le anteponen una x. y <b>dixe</b> xakbal.	y las mugeres le anteponen vna x. y <b>dixe</b> xakabal.	a las mugeres le añaden vna x. y <b>dicen</b> xakbal.
11						y es nombre de un <b>signo</b>
12		y basta esto p(ar)a los demas <b>nombres</b> ,	y basta esto p(ar) a los demas <b>nombr(e)s</b> .	y basta esto para los demas.*	y basta esto para los demas.	
13		el significado deste nombre	el significado de este N(ombr)e	significa*	significa	su significado
14		es, <b>Cossa</b> .	es <b>cassa</b> .	<b>cozza</b>	<b>cosa</b> .	<b>escasso</b>
15				en confuso		

\* missing in BnF-MA 46

Table 3: Intertextualities between the related dictionaries.

Both copies of Ximénez' *Tesoro* give the meaning of the day sign as *escaso* (scarce), which seems equally incorrect but is at least consistent with the general Highland Maya interpretation of *Aq'bal* as a bad or evil day (Weeks, Sachse & Prager 2009: 13). Unless we are dealing with a correction by Ximénez, the original source may have had the term *escaso*.

With the exception of Varea, all dictionaries share the statement that a person born on the day would take *Aq'bal* as a personal name (line 6). The *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* specifies that the practice regards the adoption of a *sobrenombre* (surname), which is rendered by Ximénez as *apellido* (surname), suggesting that Ximénez was working from a template that had the same specification as the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel*. Varea instead gives the sample phrase "Akbal ri Eifj xalax vi Pedro" (*Aq'bal* is the day on which Pedro was born), omitting the explanation of the cultural practice, although his example "María xakbal" in line 8 clearly responds to the description in the other sources that an *x-* is prefixed to the calendar name when it is used by women. Varea's *Calepino* thus draws on the same manuscript tradition, but gives more of a summary and adds new textual elements.<sup>18</sup> The same holds true for Ximénez' *Tesoro*, though he is still closer to the source and seems to summarize the original entries.

Although the comparison in Table 3 seems to suggest that we are dealing with almost identical versions of one text, it needs to be stressed that these dictionaries are separate texts that share a certain set of core entries deriving from the same source but also include further lexical data. In particular Varea and Ximénez are genuine authors, whose comprehensive dictionaries include a large number of lemmata that have no correspondences in the other bilingual dictionaries. A systematic comparison of shared entries in the interrelated dictionaries reveals that the *Vocabulario copioso* shows most correspondences with the vocabularies of Angel and Santo Domingo (see Table 4). Although the similarities with Angel outnumber those in Santo Domingo (lines 3, 4, 5, 7, 10), there are also matching forms only found in the Dominican dictionary (e.g. line 2). We can therefore conclude that the *Vocabulario copioso* must have been compiled from yet another source, which links Angel and Santo Domingo.

18 Following the tradition of Ambrosio Calepino monolingual Latin dictionary, Varea's dictionary includes encyclopedic and descriptive entries that give illustrative sample sentences in Kaqchikel which often lack Spanish translations. The *Calepino* was intended to be a comprehensive and authoritative dictionary (see Acuña 1983: xxv, xlii-xliii).

line	<i>Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel</i> , APS 497.43.V85 (fol. 1r)	Angel BNF-MA 41 (fol. 1)	Santo Domingo BNF-MA 44 (fol. 1)	<i>Vocabulario copioso</i> , JCB-b5705183 (p. 1)
1		Vocabulario de la lengua Cakchiquel	VOCABULARIO En la lengua Cakchiquel 1693	Bocabulario copioso en Lengua Cakchiquel Y 4iche otlateccas
2	A. pronombre posesivo. Por tuyo. acamañi apatan. y se declinan por nu. a. ru. Ka. Y. Qui	A. pronombre posesivo, p(o)r tuyo. acamañi apatan. es tu oficio oh apatan, tu tienes cargo de nosotros, ix nupatan.	A. p(ro)n(ombr)e quiere decir, tuyo, apatan. es tu oficio, oh apatan, tu tienes cargo de nosotros, ix nupatan.	A. pronombre ilativo. posesivo. por mio tuyo. apatan. tu oficio. of apatan. tienes cargo de nosotros.
3	A. intergetio Del que se duele a Dios Nima Ahauf. A Dios Gran Señor	A. dicho quando intergetio dolentis. A. Dios nima ahau. como dezir: o Dios gran S(eño)r	A. intergección a Dios nima Ahauf.	A Ynterjección doliente. a Dios nima ahau.
4	A. el muslo. va. mi muslo	A. el muslo. Va mi muslo. raqueñ un quarto de venado traçero. ruvach a p(ar)a medir señalando hasta el muslo	A. muslo. va. mi muslo. raqueñ un quarto postrero de venado.	A: es el muslo. vaa. mi muslo raaqueñ. quarto de benado trasero. ru vach a medir señalando asta el muslo.
5		A. intergetio Illatiua, como q(uite) n atterés bien esta.		A. injección. ilatiua. como quien dice a. tu eres. at 4aua Juan. tu eres Juan.
6		A. at caua Juan. tu comes, ó cenas Juan. Vtz vtz. b[ueno] esta		
7	A. el año. hun huna, un año. huna quihatañi, de aquí a un año me mudo. hunabir xi4ulun vaue ahora un año llegue aquí. y tambien xhunabir xinul vaue.	A. el año. hune un año caba dos años, oxa tres a(ño)s ??	A. el año. huna, vn año caba, dos años, oxa tres.	A. el año. huna, caba, oxa. hunab 4iche.
8			Abac. hollin	
9			Ab. resuello tíu Abah resollar	
10	Abañi. la piedra Generalmente rabahal a4.am. la piedra de sal. rabal pa nu8a o rupa nu8a. Son los callos de la Palma de la mano.	Abañi. es piedra. Gen(era)lmente quinabahir yo me torno piedra. rabañi ycañi. los cayos de la mano. l. rabañi xoc. lo mismo. rabañi icañi. l. xoc. los callos de los pies. mixu4iañi rabañi vakan. tengo grandes /2/ callos en los pies.	Abañi. piedra en general, quin. Abahar haçerse piedra, tíu Abaharizañi haçer piedra a otro. Abahicah los callos de la mano. mixu4iañi rabah vakan, tengo grandes los callos de los pies.	Aba. piedra generalmente. quinabahir. Yo meago piedra. abañiñi. empedrar. abahin. absoluto. abahix pasivo. abatuhiçañi. compulsivo tíu. tau. rabañi Yca. l. xoc. los callos de los pies. mixu4iañi rabañi vakan tengo grandes callos en los pies.

Table 4: Comparison between the *Vocabulario copioso* and related bilingual Kaqchikel dictionaries.

Another example for the closer correspondence with Angel's dictionary is the following statement of the author of the *Vocabulario copioso* referencing the dictionary from which he is copying:

BiĒ. ahogar en agua [...] ti-biĒilox he. **el bocabulario trae bi<sub>4</sub>**, pero yo aberigue que es Ē [...] (*b'iq.* drown in water [...] *ti-b'iqilox je'*. the vocabulary has *b'itz'*, but I have ascertained that it is *q* [...])  
(*Vocabulario copioso*, JCB, p. 65; cf. BnF-MA 46, fol. 22v).

When comparing this entry with the corresponding entries in the two earlier Kaqchikel dictionaries, we find Angel to have the erroneous form that the anonymous author is referring to, while the dictionary of Santo Domingo gives the entry as *b'ik*, which also seems to be a corrected form.<sup>19</sup>

Angel: Bi<sub>4</sub>. tinbi<sub>4</sub>. ahogar en agua [...] (*b'itz'*. *tinb'itz'* drown in water [...]) (Angel, BnF-MA 41, fol. 20r).

Santo Domingo: tin Bic. ahogar en agua (*tin b'ik.* drown in water [...]) (Santo Domingo, BnF-MA 44, p. 29).

Of the sources compared in Table 4, the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* is the one that deviates most from the *Vocabulario copioso*, but it is also the text that shows correspondences with all dictionaries in the group and seems to be the closest relative of the ancestral source, from which the vocabularies of Varea, Angel, Ximénez, and the *Vocabulario copioso* derive. The manuscript in the APS is a 17<sup>th</sup>-century copy of an earlier source. As illustrated in Table 3, all dictionaries of the group include entries for the names of the days and months of Highland Maya calendar.<sup>20</sup> The most detailed of these are found in the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel*, which – as discussed above – refers to the day and month names as ‘signs’ rather than ‘days’ or ‘months’, thus alluding to a written calendar tradition in Highland Guatemala and possibly even the use of hieroglyphic writing in the colonial era.<sup>21</sup>

19 The orthographic conventions devised by Francisco de La Parra in the 16<sup>th</sup> century are applied rather inconsistently in the missionary literature. While some authors exoticized their texts by overusing the special characters that were introduced to represent specific sounds in the K'iche'an phonemic inventories that had no correspondence in Spanish (*k'* = <4>, *q* = <k>, *q'* = <ɛ>, *ts* = <4,>, *tʃ'* = <4h>), others did not make orthographic distinctions between glottalized and unglottalized stops and affricates and simply applied the Spanish alphabet (cf. Carmack 1973: 22). It is likely that Santo Domingo's representation of the form as <bic> *b'ik* is a hispanization of the corrected entry.

20 A comparative list of the day and months names found in the *Vocabulario copioso* and the *Vocabulario otlatecas* is given in Dürr & Sachse (2017: 39-42).

21 Christenson discusses the use of codices or pictorial almanacs for calendrical divination in Highland Guatemala that was witnessed by Bartolomé de las Casas and Alonso de Zorita (Christenson 2016: 75-78).

Can. **Signo** de un día de los Yndios  
(*Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel*, APS MS. 497.43.V85, fol. 22v).

Mam. Un **signo** de veinte dias. Alias Mam. uno tras otro de a veinte dias. hun mam, cay mam dicen en su cuenta los Yndios  
(*Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel*, APS MS. 497.43.V85, fol. 112r).

The second example explains that the term *Mam* refers to the time unit of twenty days and that the 365-day calendar includes two months of that same name, a first and a second *Mam*. We find related entries in the other dictionaries, where the translation is simplified to *nombre de dos meses* (name of two months) (*Vocabulario copioso*, JCB, p. 324). Particularly striking are the Spanish renderings of the entries for the months *Pach* and *Pariche'*. Here it says that the month sign *entró gobernando* (entered to govern) and *entró reynando* (entered to reign) which comes straight from the Highland Maya calendrical tradition and references the so-called yearbearers, the deified lords of the day signs that fall on the first day of the year and who 'reign' or 'govern' each of the months. The Kaqchikel verb *kuq* that is used here means 'to settle' and refers to the concept of the yearbearer taking a seat on the first day of the year and the month.<sup>22</sup>

Pach. signo, ó mes a la cuenta de los Yndios. xcuke nabey pach, xcuke rucaan pach. dice que **entra gobernando** el primer pach. y el segundo pach  
(*Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel*, APS MS. 497.43.V85, fol. 155r).

Parichee. Un signo de los Yndios de los dias. xcuke parichee. Ya **entro reynando** el signo parichee  
(*Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel*, APS MS. 497.43.V85, fol. 153r).

The *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* furthermore includes entries of specialized vocabulary on Highland Maya culture not found in the other sources. Of particular interest are lexical entries referring to different types of divinatory practices, e.g. *molol ixim* (tell fortune = lit. gather maize kernels); community organization, e.g. *pop k'amajay* (community representative); and Maya cosmology, e.g. *nik'aj saq* (world = lit. center of light).<sup>23</sup>

22 The same terminology which refers to the day lords as 'governing' or 'reigning' is attested in 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century calendrical documents of indigenous authorship, see the Kaqchikel and K'iche' calendars reproduced and translated by the author in Weeks, Sachse & Prager (2009: 81-102).

23 *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel*, APS MS. 497.43.V85: "molol yxim. el que hecha suertes con mays o enbaucador" (fol. 83r); "Ytzinic. hechizar. quinitzin. Yo hechizo" (fol. 82v); "Pop 4amahay. vn indio que eligen los chinamitales para que vaya ha decir al Alcalde o a los Principales de otro chinamital / o a los Principales de otro chinamital. es oficio perpetuo" (fol. 166r-166v); "Nauual. 4azlic chee, abafj. huyu 4o runauual chi chee, chi abafj, chi huyu rumal (tiçin) chaËa. creían antiguamente que auia cosa viua dentro del arbol, piedra, ó monte" (fol. 135v); "Ni4ah çak. el mundo" (fol. 141r).

Some of these terms are also found in the *Vocabulario copioso*, but with modified semantic references. For example, the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* lists two separate entries and translations of the diphrastic kenning *pus nawal*. The first translation refers to the Highland Maya concept of spirit transformation, while the second entry describes the medical condition of nocturnal emission – a term that was likely needed by the missionaries in the context of confession. Both translations suggest that the couplet refers to the pre-Christian religious concept of spirit essences that can leave the human body. In the *Theologia Indorum*, the couplet *pus nawal* is appropriated to refer to the Christian concept of a ‘miracle’.<sup>24</sup>

Puz naval. Vn genero de arte maxica que osaban antiguamente los Indios en que se transformaban en animales o globos de fuego que iban por el ayre  
(*Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel*, APS MS. 497.43.V85, fol. 171v).

Puz naval. xel nupuz nunaval pa nuvaram. tube polución en sueños  
(*Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel*, APS MS. 497.43.V85, fol. 173r).

In the *Vocabulario copioso* we find only one entry for the kenning which fuses both meanings, combining the translation as ‘witch’ with the illustrative sample sentence for the ‘impure dream’.

Puz naual. el encantador brujo. xel nupuz nunaual chi uarabal. caer en polucion de noche  
(*Vocabulario copioso*, JCB, p. 407).

The fact that the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* preserves detailed information on pre-contact culture suggests that the ancestor source was compiled some time in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Remesal relates that Vico wrote a treatise on the superstitions of the Highland Maya which likely included a detailed description of the calendar and probably had a wide distribution among the missionaries in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Y por esta razón aquellos primeros Padres que trataron con los indios idólatras, tuvieron gran cuidado en saber las historias de sus supersticiones, el origen de sus dioses, el principio de la idolatría, y de donde le tuvo la abominación de sus sacrificios. Y el Padre Fray Domingo de Vico escribió en la lengua Cachiqual y de la Verapaz un libro grande de este argumento [...] (Remesal 1691, book VI, chapter VII: 300).

<sup>24</sup> The translation of the concept of ‘miracle’ as *pus nawal* is representative for the Dominican, and in particular Vico’s, approach to creating Christian discourse. While Franciscan Kaqchikel and K’iche’ sources render ‘miracle’ as *mayijab’al* lit. ‘means of admiration’, and translate *pus nawal* as ‘magic and witchcraft’, the *Theologia Indorum* combines both terms to express the transformative aspect of miracles. The practice of adopting existing terms and redefining their semantic reference is also described as a Franciscan approach for the conversion in Yukatan (see Hanks 2010: 157-203; Sigal 2000: 81).

Another passage in Remesal probably refers to the same book on superstitions.<sup>25</sup>

Fue tambien historiador destas gentes, escribiendo en un libro todas las historias, fabulas, consejos, patrañas y errores en que vivian, refutandolas para apartar dellas a los naturales (Remesal 1691, book x, chapter VIII: 612).

The lexical entries on calendrical units as well as ritual and cosmological concepts in the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* could hypothetically derive from that source. It is likely that lexical data regarding the phenomena described in the Vico text would also have been included in his lost Kaqchikel dictionary, which according to Remesal was ‘copious’ and comprised ‘obscure sayings’. However, it is striking that the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* does not include the Christian meanings of certain key terms that one would expect from Vico based on his usage of these terms in the *Theologia Indorum*, such as *puz nawal* (miracle).<sup>26</sup> Yet, the matter is complicated and the lexical data on pre-contact religion could conceivably also have been compiled by another missionary. Acuña even suspects that Vico never wrote a dictionary himself but that instead his writings served other Dominican as well as Franciscan lexicographers as a source (2005: 29). However, since there is no dependable evidence for either scenario, it remains within the realm of speculation whether the *Vocabulario copioso* does indeed include textual residues of the legendary dictionary from Vico’s quill.

### Origin of the trilingual dictionary

The compilation of the *Vocabulario copioso* can be dated to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The best indication for this date is a reference to the death of a pope, which can only regard the death of Alexander VIII who died on February 1<sup>st</sup> 1691 and was followed six months later by Innocence XII who was elected on July 12<sup>th</sup> 1691 (Bredt-Kriszat & Holl 1997: 178).

seys meses auia q(ue) murio el pontifiçe quando fue electo otro en su lugar por los cardenales de la S(an)ta Ygleçia  
(*Vocabulario copioso*, JCB, p. 554; see also BnF-MA 46, fol. 223v).

The reference to this historical event constitutes a *terminus postquem* for the composition of the trilingual dictionary which was probably completed shortly thereafter.

Some references in the text provide indications regarding authorship and the place of compilation. Of particular significance are several references to the Franciscan friar

25 Christenson reconstructs the distribution and reception history of this text by Vico on Highland Maya religion that has to date not been rediscovered and is feared to be lost forever (2016: 79-81).

26 Jiménez’ entry of the same term provides this Christian meaning of the couplet, while summarizing the contents of the entries in the other sources: “puz nual. es el milagro, y el bruxo, y la poluzion in somnis” (*puz nawal*. is the miracle, and the witch, and pollution *in somnis*); BPC-FA 129, fol. 106v.



Diego de Ocaña (*Vocabulario copioso*, JCB, p. 294, 310, and 347, and BnF-MA 46, fol. 110v, 117r and 134v). Not to be confused with his famous Hieronymite namesake, this Diego de Ocaña received his habit in the Franciscan convent of Guatemala in 1627 and served as a provincial priest until his death in 1680. According to Vázquez, Ocaña was well-known for his learnedness of the scriptures and was according to the chronicler Vázquez a “grande y excelente maestro en los idiomas kiche, kachikel y zutugil” (a great and excellent teacher of the languages K’iche’, Kaqchikel, and Tz’utujil), who left writings in Kaqchikel (Castro y Castro 1989: 459). The author of the *Vocabulario copioso* also refers to Ocaña as a “teacher”:

[...] dixo N(uestro) m(aestro) R(everendo) P(adre) fr(ay) Diego de ocaña, maestro q(ue) fue en la lengua y m(aestro) P(rovincia)l desta Provincia  
(*Vocabulario copioso*, JCB, p. 294, see also BnF-MA 46, fol. 110v).

Of particular interest is the following explanation by the author that names Ocaña in K’iche’ a “great teacher”, a title that has also been attributed to Domingo de Vico:<sup>27</sup>

ita dixit fray didacus de ocaña **nima ajtij** [...] ( *Vocabulario copioso*, JCB, p. 310, see also BnF-MA 46, fol. 117r).

Diego de Ocaña was guardian of the Franciscan convent at Samayac (*Theologia Indorum*, APS MS. 497.4.Ua13, fol. 191v). In the dictionary, we find several references to the town of Samayac in the Department of Suchitepéquez (*Vocabulario copioso*, JCB, pp. 27, 166, and 551; and BnF-MA 46, fol. 11v, 55r, and 222v). It is possible that these mentions are references from Ocaña’s work, since the author of the *Vocabulario copioso* explicitly states that he is citing Ocaña’s “notes”:

[...] en las **anotaciones** de N(uestro) M(aestro) R(everendo) P(adre) fray Diego de ocaña vide. ma qui naal ruvach xinban. hiçelo sin advertir [...] ( *Vocabulario copioso*, JCB, p. 247).

The *Vocabulario copioso* includes a significant number of lexical entries, both in K’iche’ and Kaqchikel, that are not found in either of the related bilingual Kaqchikel dictionaries and were therefore likely added by the late 17<sup>th</sup>-century author. This regards in particular entries with ethnographically relevant information including terms for medicinal plants or political offices previously attributed to Vico’s authorship.<sup>28</sup> In the following entry,

27 The *Xajil Chronicle* refers to Vico as *qitzij chi nima ajtij qatata* ‘truly a great teacher was our father’ (translation by Christenson 2016: 82; see also Sparks 2011: 120-121).

28 Based on the assumption of Vico being the author, the *Vocabulario copioso* has been praised for its wealth of ethnographic information which includes lexical entries on Highland Maya daily life, words from the domain of ritual and mythology, designations of political titles and offices, and terminology regarding the native calendar (see Bredt-Kriszat & Holl 1997: 185-189; Carmack 1973: 115).

the author describes the Highland Maya creator deities Xmuqane and Xpiyakok and adds relevant metadiscourse that he attained this information by hearing the confession of an elder from the Momostenango region in a town near Samayac.<sup>29</sup>

xmakaníl. nombre del malo q(ue) en figura de un de un [sic] biejo se apareçia a los Yndios y les deçia que les librauua las milpas de los malos temporales y le ofrecían inçiençio a el el [sic], y una donsella q(ue) le acompañaaba que deçia se llamaba xpiako Xopoh y con esto los engañaaba para q(ue) le diesen adoraçion. assi lo confeço un viejo de chiquimula vissita de momostenango en el pueblo de Santo Domingo visi[t]a de tzamayac (*Vocabulario copioso*, JCB, pp. 550-551).

While it remains unclear whether this statement comes from the author himself or is another quotation from Ocañas' notes, it suggests that at least part of the K'iche' vocabulary added in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was generated in Samayac. There are also entries that clarify distinct dialectal forms from the Quetzaltenango area<sup>30</sup>, which points to the southwestern highlands as the place of compilation.<sup>31</sup> The *Vocabulario copioso* contains further references to towns and toponyms in the Kaqchikel area, including mentions of Pan Cho (= Guatemala), Sololá, Tecpan, Alotenango, Itzapa, Cotzumalhuapa, and San Andrés Semetabaj, which possibly indicates where the compilation of the original Kaqchikel source may have taken place.<sup>32</sup>

Given that the author of the *Vocabulario copioso* refers to Ocaña as a teacher, it has been suggested that he may have been one of Ocaña's students or in any case a Franciscan (Carmack 1973: 114; Bredt-Kriszat *et al.* 1995, chapter 2.2).<sup>33</sup> Several citations

29 The entry is erroneous not only in terms of the exact names but also with respect to the gender attribution, given that Xmuqane and Xpiyakok are mayanized versions of the names of the Nahuatl creator couple Oxomoco and Cipactonal (cf. Boone 2007: 24-25). Ximénez' *Tesoro* includes two separate entries with the correct names of these creator deities that he clearly excerpted from the text of the *Popol Vuh* which he had copied and translated years before, see BPC-FA 129, fol. 192v and fol. 194r. It is possible that Ximénez included these lexical items to correct the entry in the *Vocabulario copioso*, which would indicate that he used this source as a template for the *Tesoro*.

30 As an example serves the following entry "teuchin. en lugar de utzirizan se ussa en xelahuh" 'tewichin'. instead of *utzirisan* it is used in Quetzaltenango [for] to bless', see BnF-MA 46, fol. 185v. This entry is interesting inasmuch as it also reflects the Franciscan preference for this term over the term *utzirisaj* that was also used by Dominicans (Sachse 2016: 103-104).

31 The online catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library references a letter from 1977 by René Acuña who allegedly suggested that "this work [...] was not composed in Guatemala [...] [but] [...] in Zapotitlán, Mexico". As I have not seen the original letter, I can only guess that the reference to Mexico must be a misinterpretation of Acuña's analysis, as he was more likely referring to the town of San Francisco Zapotitlan near Samayac in the department of Suchitepequez.

32 The full list of place names has been excerpted by Carmack (1973: 115) and Bredt-Kriszat *et al.* (1995: chapter 2.2).

33 The JCB manuscript includes on p. 589 the phrase "Fr(ay) Fran(cis)cus Alvarez legit 12 vices" (Friar Franciscus Alvarez reads it twelve times) which is written by a different hand and therefore does not reveal the identity of neither the copyist nor the author.

of Franciscan authors and intellectuals seems to support that identification. Firstly, the author mentions the *Ramillite manual para los yndios sobre la doctrina cristiana*, a doctrinal Kaqchikel text by the Franciscan friar Francisco Maldonado (1571-1640) that dates to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup>

<i>Vocabulario copioso</i> (BnF-MA 46)	<i>Theologia Indorum</i>
<i>queberelof chic</i> . so se entendieron, se confundieron. <u>Bico theologia indorum</u> (fol. 17v)	[not identified]
<b>yboyelah</b> . desempeñar, este es de <u>theologia indorum</u> , pocos los sauen sino los biejos (fol. 48r)	<i>chucux Dios quixriboyelah vi</i> ( <i>Theologia Indorum</i> , vol. 2, PUL GGMA 175, p. 177)
[...] <i>xqilahibela quib, xquicolobala quib, xquicolebela quib Adan ruqin Eva chuvach Dios queEahiben utzih Dios</i> . se disculparon Adan y Eva delante de Dios despues que quebrantaron el precepto. <u>theologia Yndorum Bico</u> primera pri (fol. 121r).	<i>Quebe qut ta xquelahibela quib xquicolobela pu quib chuvach Dios maui xquiçuquba q(ui)mac</i> ( <i>Theologia Indorum</i> , vol. 1, APS 497.4.Ua13, fol. 60v)
<i>cavil uquem am, camaquic, yohyoxinak haa, turutuxinak haa uquemam upan are umaq naquil are pu utazbal upam, xa uquem tak am, xa abak</i> . siente primero, y mara las colgaduras de telas de araña que estan en la cassa destruida, colgada de telas de araña y de ollin. <u>Bico theologia Yndorum</u> (fol. 125r)	<i>xa yohyoxinac ha turutuxinac ha puch vquemom tac ac vpam are vmac nail are pu vtazbalil xa am xa abac</i> ( <i>Theologia Indorum</i> , vol. 2, PUL GGMA 175, p. 68)
<i>vuletah</i> . caerce, o desmoronarse por si, <u>theologia yndorum</u> (fol. 172r)	[not identified]
<i>tin tamizah</i> . multiplicar. <u>Bico theologia Indorum</u> in Genesis (fol. 197v)	<i>chiqiyariçafj yuib chitamifaj yuib. chittçabifj yuib Chupam parayfo terrenal.</i> ( <i>Theologia Indorum</i> , vol. 1, APS 497.4.Ua13, fol. 51v)
<i>xu vuleh ri uleuh l. xu vulah rij chuxe he ah mac atan y abiron</i> . se hundio la tierra debaxo de los pecadores adan y abiron <u>Bico theologia idorum</u> (fol. 207v)	[not identified]
<i>xoloxoxinak</i> . cada cosa de por si, <u>Bico</u> (fol. 220r)	[not identified]

Table 5: Citations from the *Theologia Indorum* in the *Vocabulario copioso*.

<sup>34</sup> The reference is found on fol. 81v of BnF-MA 46 and was identified to be relevant for the dating of the manuscript by Carmack (1973: 114) and Bredt-Kriszat & Holl (1997: 177). A surviving manuscript copy of the *Ramillite* is today housed at the APS under the call number MS. 497.4.M29. While the copy dates to 1748, the original of the text must have been composed in the early parts of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which is suggested by a reference to the year 1615 (fol. 16r), to Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) (fol. 67r), and to Juan Zapara y Sandoval who was bishop of Guatemala between 1613-1630 (see Bredt-Kriszat *et al.* 1995, chapter 2.2).

Further references to Franciscans include “*n(uest)ro P(adr)e S(a)n Fran(cis)co*” (our Father Saint Francis of Asisi) (BnF-MA 46, fol. 145r) and Francisco de Solano (BnF-MA 46, fol. 121r). It needs to be pointed out that none of the mentioned references is found in any of the related earlier dictionaries, indicating that these additions were made in the process of compilation of the trilingual dictionary.

Despite the seemingly clear Franciscan connection, it was mentioned above that the *Vocabulario copioso* also includes lexical entries as well as sample phrases that are cited from Vico’s *Theologia Indorum*. Again, these discursive examples are missing in the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* or the vocabularies by Angel and Santo Domingo, which suggests that the author of the *Vocabulario copioso* must have added them. Table 5 shows the citations from the dictionary that have been identified in the *Theologia Indorum*, though half of them are still unattested in the original source.

Attention needs to be paid to the fact that the citations come from both volumes of the *Theologia Indorum*. This implies that the author must have had access to the full work of Domingo de Vico, which gives us an idea about the reception of the Dominican’s *opus magnum* among Franciscan missionaries. With respect to this, it is of particular interest that the copy of the first volume of the *Theologia Indorum* housed in the APS (MS. 497.4.Ua13) includes an autograph of “Diego de Ocaña” on the penultimate folio of the volume.<sup>35</sup>

Fray Diego de Ocaña. Guard(ia)n de Zamayac. Jullio 6 de 1659  
(*Theologia Indorum*, APS MS. 497.4.Ua13, fol. 191v).

At first sight, the note appears to suggest that Diego de Ocaña was in the possession of this particular manuscript copy of the *Theologia Indorum* from 1605 and that he may have used it to generate lexical entries for the *Vocabulario copioso*. While this scenario seems plausible, it needs to be pointed out that there are four more autographs of Ocaña’s name on folios 191v, 192r, and 192v as well as two signatures of the name “Fray Francisco Flores” (fol. 192r) and “Fray Francisco de Flores y Fuentes” (fol. 192v) that are written with the same quill and brown ink. In addition we find another signature of the name “Diego de Ocaña” in fol. 191v that is written by a different hand and in black ink. The page certainly gives the impression that someone practiced Ocaña’s signature. Friar Francisco’s full and flowery name is also found as a marginal note on folios 59r and 88r as “Fray Fran(cisc)o Fos de feria e faro e flores e fuentes de francia e Feo” and on folios

35 The American Philosophical Society contributed high-resolution scans of the *Theologia Indorum* manuscript in their collection (MS. 497.4.Ua13) for the NEH project, which allowed me to identify the connection to the trilingual Kaqchikel dictionary. I later found that from the introductory study to the unpublished edition of the BnF-MA 46 that Smailus’ research team had come to the same conclusion and suggested that Ocaña owned this version of the *Theologia Indorum* (see Bredt-Kriszat *et al.* 1995, chapter 2.2).

100r and 124r as “Fray Fran(cisc)o Fos de Feria e Faro e Flores e Fuentes de francia de Feos e flandes”. As I have not found out anything about Fray Francisco Flores Fuentes, it remains unclear who added the signatures and what connection that person may have had to Ocaña.

For the reconstruction of the compilation process of the *Vocabulario copioso* it is more relevant that the APS manuscript of the *Theologia Indorum* contains many marginalia of excerpted verbs and other terms in a hand that is clearly different from the quill and ink of the signatures. In European lexicography, it was a common practice to add marginal notes and glossaries of difficult terms that often became sources for the compilation of vocabularies (Smith-Stark 2009: 14-14). The marginalia in the *Theologia Indorum* can therefore be taken as an indication that the copy may have been used by someone who was compiling lexicographic data. The marginal notes mostly include vocabulary from the domain of Christian discourse and particularly regards K'iche' verbs used to express Christian practice, e.g. *nimaj* (to obey), *jikib'a* (to confess), *makunik* (to sin), *tz'onoj* (to petition), *kab'owilaj* (to worship idols), or *q'ijilaj* (to worship = lit. to count days). Although the majority of the terms in the marginal notes are attested in the *Vocabulario copioso*, there is no definite answer, as to whether the APS manuscript of the *Theologia Indorum* is indeed the source of the lexical data in the dictionary.

### Textual genealogy

Summarizing the evidence for the textual genealogy analysed in the preceding sections, we can conclude the *Vocabulario copioso* was a late 17<sup>th</sup>-century compilation that was based on an earlier bilingual Kaqchikel dictionary and seems to have incorporated K'iche' entries from other sources including Vico's *Theologia Indorum* (see Figure 1).

The intertextualities between the sources indicate that the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* from the APS is the source closest to the original dictionary that was probably used by Varea in the compilation of the *Calepino*. The precise relationships between the Kaqchikel dictionaries still require further analysis, but what we can currently ascertain is that Angel, Santo Domingo, and the *Noticia breve* all derive from a modified version of the bilingual Kaqchikel dictionary which included certain innovations that are also shared by the *Vocabulario copioso*. The *Vocabulario copioso* expands upon the Kaqchikel lexicon with K'iche' entries that were in part excerpted from the *Theologia Indorum* and integrates ethnographic data collected by the still unidentified author. The author of the *Vocabulario otlatecas* then used the *Vocabulario copioso* and another unknown dictionary to create a bilingual K'iche' dictionary. A particularly interesting result of the textual analysis is that Ximénez' *Tesoro* also seems to be based on a version of the *Vocabulario copioso*. This is suggested by entries in the *Tesoro* that seem to summarize, abbreviate, and correct entries from the *Vocabulario copioso*, including some of the citations from

the *Theologia Indorum*.<sup>36</sup> This find is intriguing given that Ximénez in the prologue of the *Tesoro* states that the compilation of his integrative dictionary of the languages Kaqchikel, K'iche', and Tz'utujil was motivated by

[...] la grande falta que ay de vocabulario copioso de estas tres lenguas; vocabularios empesados en castilla, muchos ay aunque deminutos pero q(ue) empiesen en lengua no ay mas que uno tan breue que cassí no es Vocabulario [...]  
(Ximénez, *Primera Parte del Tesoro*, BANC-M-M 445, p. xv-xvi).

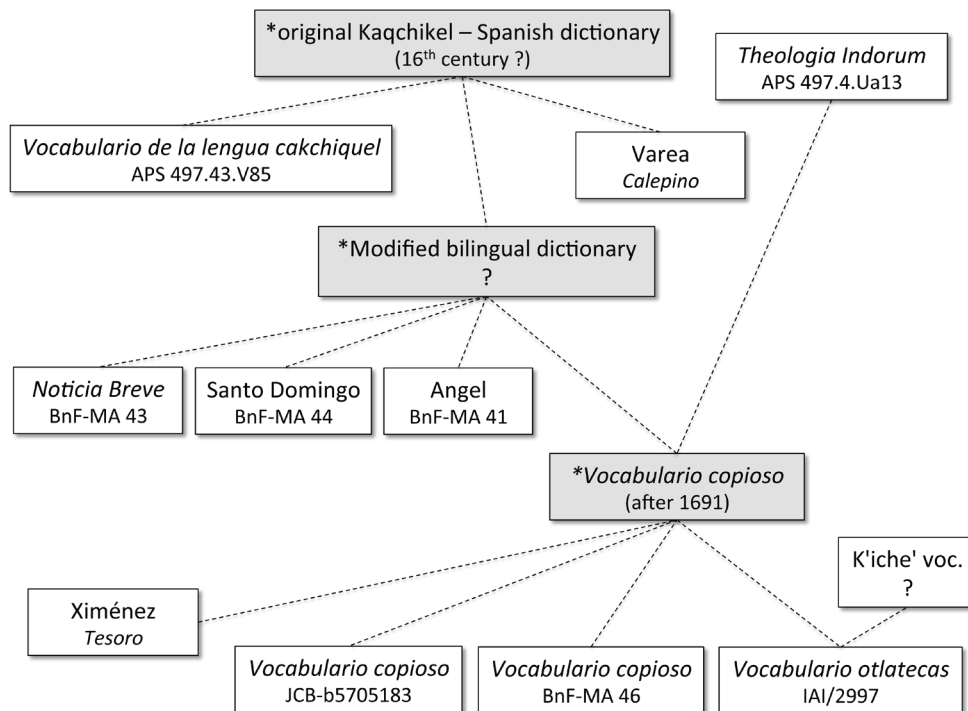


Figure 1: Reconstruction of textual genealogy.

36 Ximénez cites Vico but does not simply copy the entries; instead he excerpts only the relevant key terms. For instance, the entry “[...] *xqilabibela quib, xquicolobala quib, xquicolebela quib Adan ru4in Eva chuwach Dios queEahiben utzih Dios. se disculparon Adan y Eva delante de Dios despues que quebrantaron el presepto. theologia Yndorum Bico*” (BnF-MA 46, fol. 121r) is abbreviated by Ximénez as “[...] *xqilabibela quib. Vico*” (BPC 129, fol. 72v). Further examples for abbreviated and corrected entries are given in Table 3 and note 31.

Whether Ximénez refers to the lack of a comprehensive lexical compilation that includes all three languages, or whether he indeed qualifies the *Vocabulario copioso* as a 'short' dictionary, remains unresolved. That Ximénez used a lexical compilation closely related to the known copies of the *Vocabulario copioso* seems undisputable and sheds further light on the practice of Dominican and Franciscan missionary authors to mine each other's vocabularies and texts to build their own inventories of words.

The reconstruction of the textual genealogy includes authors of both mendicant orders. Particularly intriguing is the close relationship between the dictionaries by the Franciscan Angel and the Dominican de Santo Domingo, which poses the question about the religious affiliation of the authors of the original and the modified bilingual Kaqchikel dictionaries. The circumstance that all other early lexicographers in Highland Guatemala were Franciscans and that Varea was using the source for the compilation of the *Calepino* may hint at a mainly Franciscan production line that leads up to the composition of the *Vocabulario copioso* which probably took place in the Franciscan convent at Samayac, where Diego de Ocaña was guardian in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century and where the author would have had access to Ocaña's written notes.

It has been generally taken for granted that the *Vocabulario copioso* was originally planned as a trilingual (Kaqchikel-K'iche'-Spanish) dictionary, but the intertextualities with the other sources clearly show that the K'iche' lexical entries were only incorporated in the late 17<sup>th</sup>-century. This confirms Kaqchikel as the matrix language of lexical description and that K'iche' missionary lexicography was developed only subsequently and on the basis of Kaqchikel dictionaries.<sup>37</sup>

The often remarked first-hand ethnographic data were incorporated into the *Vocabulario copioso* at two different stages in the genealogical process. While many of the relevant details were only added during the compilation of the trilingual dictionary at Samayac, the specialized vocabulary on the Highland Maya calendar and religious culture can be traced back to the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* and must therefore have been part of the original compilation of the bilingual Kaqchikel dictionary. Although it is tempting to connect these entries with Vico, who is known to have written about these topics, there is no evidence that it is indeed his text that was the source of the information, rather than any of the other likewise lost 16<sup>th</sup>-century vocabularies by Pedro de Betanzos, Francisco de La Parra, or other less known authors.<sup>38</sup>

37 This analysis is further supported by the textual genesis of the Anonymous Franciscan K'iche' Dictionary and the *Vocabulario quiché* by Domingo de Basseta, both of which seem to be based on the template of the *Cakchiquel Chi*-dictionary (Sachse 2009: 10-18).

38 The vocabularies by Betanzos and La Parra are mentioned by Mendieta (1993, book IV, chapter VII: 385). Several names of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Franciscan language specialists are mentioned in the *Arte de la lengua metropolitana* by fray Ildefonso Joseph Flores, including Diego de Ordoñez, Juan de Espinosa, Francisco de Salcedo, and Álvaro de Paz, although Acuña dismisses that they produced any meaningful

It also needs to be stressed that the *Vocabulario copioso* does not contain much of this early lexical material in unchanged form; see e.g. the altered semantic reference of the entry *pus nawal* or the change from the term *signo* (sign) to *día* (day) or *mes* (month). While the eradication of details regarding pre-contact culture would be an expected result of the process of Christianization, in this particular case, it may also be connected to involvement of Franciscan authors and the different approaches both orders had to the creation of Christian discourse in the Highland Mayan languages. The Franciscans rejected the strategic appropriation of terminology from the framework of Highland Maya religion that the Dominicans engaged in, and instead preferred the introduction of neologisms in form of descriptive phrases or loanwords.<sup>39</sup> Lexical inventories of Dominican and Franciscan doctrinal texts and dictionaries clearly reflect these different translation strategies. The *Vocabulario copioso* includes terminology from both traditions, which, given the textual genealogy, is not surprising. Without the systematic transcription and versioning of all the interrelated dictionary sources, it is however still a challenge to answer which portions of the text were added at which stage and thereby indicate a Franciscan or Dominican involvement.

Dominican sources are tagged by a number of key terms that were introduced through Vico's *Theologia Indorum* and are found in Dominican materials up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, including the works by Basseta, Delgado, and Ximénez. One of these signature terms is *Dios nimajaw* (God great lord) that is used in the *Vocabulario copioso* and can be traced back to the earliest ancestral source, the *Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel* (see Table 4, line 3). Garry Sparks argues that the terms *Dios nimajaw* and *Tz'aqol B'itol* (creator = lit. framer former) were introduced by Vico and are generally indicative of Dominican authorship (Sparks 2011: 165-169; Sparks, Sachse & Romero 2017: 13-14, 47 n10).<sup>40</sup> In Franciscan texts, there is instead a clear preference for the terms *Dios qajaw*

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work (see Acuña 1983: xxii-xxiii). However, we cannot disregard the impact of Dominican friar Benito de Villacañas who we know to have composed a grammar and *vocabulario* in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century which is preserved in a 19<sup>th</sup>-century copy by Carl Hermann Berendt that was based on a manuscript copy dated to 1692 (see University of Pennsylvania Library, Berendt-Brinton Linguistic Collection, Ms. Coll. 700, Item 51).

39 The different approaches to translation were first discussed by García Ruíz (1992). A comparison of the lexical inventories of colonial dictionaries and doctrinal texts of both orders clearly shows that Franciscans and Dominicans developed different terminological traditions and that certain signature terms can be key to identifying the origin of a dictionary (Sachse 2016: 102-105). Sparks argues that some terms were strategically introduced by Vico, who also adopted the poetics of Highland Maya ceremonial discourse in the *Theologia Indorum* as part of his commensurative approach to conversion (Sparks 2011: 168ff. and 221ff.; Sparks, Sachse & Romero 2017: 9-21). It is in particular this terminology that was introduced by Vico that we find in Dominican dictionaries such as Domingo de Basseta's *Vocabulario quiché* from 1698, BnF-MA 59.

40 Recent research on manuscript 1015 from the Kislak Collection at the Library of Congress shows that the term *nimajaw* is used in a mid 16<sup>th</sup>-century copy of a K'iche' version of the so-called *coplas*. The



(God our lord) and *qanimajawal Dios* (Our great lordship [of] God), both of which are also found in the *Vocabulario copioso* (Sachse 2016: 98-99). The term *Tz'aqol B'itol* on the other hand is not attested at all, and there is also no separate entry for the expression *tz'aq b'it* (to create = lit. to frame-form), a term that is widely employed in the *Theologia Indorum* and refers to the Highland Maya concept of creation as described in the *Popol Vuh*.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the metaphor *q'anal raxal* (yellowness greenness) occurs in the *Vocabulario copioso* only in its literal meaning 'richness, abundance' and as a reference to the 'glory (= richness) of God' (*Vocabulario copioso*, BnF-MA 46, fols. 170v and 228v). In Vico's *Theologia Indorum* and other Dominican sources, the couplet is also used to denote the concept of 'paradise,' which the *Vocabulario copioso* instead translates with the term *kotzi'j ulew* (flower land).<sup>42</sup> Another term that is explained in Vico's text and referenced in Basseta's dictionary is the metaphor *ninoch' natub'* that refers to the Highland Maya concept of the soul and was replaced by Vico with the Spanish term *anima* (soul). In the *Vocabulario copioso*, the term is translated with its literal meaning as *sombra* (shadow) and embedded in a new Christian metaphor *runatub'il runinoch'il mak* (the shadow of sin) (BnF-MA 46, fol. 136v).

The circumstance that these key terms with their Dominican references are not found in the *Vocabulario copioso* places its lexical contents closer to the Franciscan lexicographic tradition. The Franciscan author of the trilingual dictionary, while possibly mining Vico's *Theologia Indorum* for lexical material, did not incorporate any terms that were indicative of Dominican translation practices. However, more research is required to see which amendments and adjustments were specifically made by the respective authors who contributed to the genesis of this dictionary, and whether Vico's legendary dictionary may still be hidden somewhere among the many layers of words and their meanings.

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*coplas* were previously known only as a text in Q'eqchi', which is preserved in a 17<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript that is today housed in the Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library in Chicago (Manuscript 1536). The verses can conceivably be traced back to the hymns that were composed at the order of Bartolomé de las Casas for the evangelization of the Verapáz region. The term *nimajaw* could therefore also have been introduced by Dominican authors prior to Vico, such as Luis Cencer who is often attributed with authorship of the *coplas* (see Sparks & Sachse 2017: 102-123).

41 The term does occur in the *Vocabulario copioso*, but not as a separate entry, but in sample phrases to other headwords: "x<sub>4</sub>,akatah xbittitah vinak rumal Dios. fue formada la jente por Dios" (it was framed, it was formed humankind by God), *Vocabulario copioso*, BnF-MA 46, fol. 269r; and "oh rutzakom oh rubitomo Dios. nos formo Dios" (we are what God has framed and has formed), *Vocabulario copioso*, BnF-MA 46, fol. 275v.

42 The concept of paradise as a 'flower land' is equally pre-colonial in its origin and is attested in several Franciscan sources including the dictionaries by Coto and the Anonymous Franciscan Dictionary. The term may have entered the doctrinal Kaqchikel through doctrinal Nahuatl sources which served as templates for lexicographic compilations (see Sachse in press).

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