THE MAYAN FRANCISCAN VOCABULARIES:
A PRELIMINARY SURVEY
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The publication by UNAM of the two most important Yucatec Mayan vocabularies, namely the Bocabulario de Maya Than / Viena (1993) and the Calepino Maya de Motul (1984),\(^1\) has brought renewed attention to this important window into the past of the Yucatec Maya. Because both of these works are more than just mere compilation of words, but rather give numerous examples of usage in sentences to illustrate the meaning of words, we can deduce many things about life in Yucatan at the time these vocabularies were written.

More recently, these and other contemporary vocabularies, grammars, liturgical works, and Mayan texts have become available on the computer. We are thus able to more easily search for and find like or similar passages in these works, and make some comments about these works which formerly would have been difficult to substantiate.

The list of available Franciscan Maya-Spanish and Spanish-Maya vocabularies, given in what seems to be the chronological order of their respective composition, is as follows:\(^2\)

1) Bocabulario de Maya Than / Viena (Spanish-Maya), c. 1570’s; author unknown, original missing, extant copy dated c. 1730’s.

2) Calepino Maya de Motul (Maya-Spanish), c. 1580-1614; Fr. Antonio de Ciudad Real.

3, 4, 5) Solana / Diccionario de Motul II (Spanish-Maya) / San Francisco Dictionary (Spanish-Maya); attributed to Fr. Alonso de Solana (died in 1600 or 1601); attributed date, 1580.

6) San Francisco Dictionary (Maya-Spanish) (date and author unknown).

7) Diccionario de Ticul (Spanish-Maya), 1690; author unknown.

Added to this list, but unfortunately missing, is the lexicographical opus by fray Gabriel de San Buenaventura. This work is said to have been comprised of both a Maya-Spanish and a Spanish-Maya dictionary, each of them very extensive and probably made up of items from the Vienna and the Calepino mentioned above, and perhaps from the Solana. When writing his Arte in the early 1740’s, Beltrán had San Buenaventura’s material at his disposal and made specific references to it.\(^3\)

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\(^1\)A transcription of this work by Ramón Arzápalo Marín as editor was published in 1995. A more recent highly annotated transcription was published by René Acuña in 2001.

\(^2\)It is important to point out that the very first vocabularies of any given Indian language were always Spanish-Indian. The reason is that all of the Colonial lexicographers used the Spanish-Latin dictionary by Antonio de Nebrixa (1492) which conveniently provided an alphabetical listing of Spanish words.

\(^3\)See for example Beltrán, 1746:13: 50. Y aunque el R. P. [Fr. Gabriel] fue Autor primero
The *Bocabulario de Maya Than / Viena*4

The *Bocabulario de Maya Than / Viena* is available to us in its present state only in a mid-18th century copy, and a very poor copy at that. There are errors not only in the Mayan glosses, something which could be explained by the fact that various copyists were involved in making the copy of the *Viena*, but there are errors also in the Spanish entries, which shows a general lack of knowledge or care in making the *Viena* copy. Incidentally, it should be noted that there is a rather inaccurate copy of material on folios 72-73 of the *Viena* to be found on folios 83-84 of the *Motul II* Spanish-Mayan, written by an intrusive hand.

While there is no direct evidence that the *Viena* is the earliest of the Franciscan dictionaries, there are various indications that this is in fact the case. First and foremost, while the other dictionaries mention information supplied by a grammar, called “el Arte”, the *Viena* makes no such mention of “el Arte”.5 Aside from this, it has long been known that the *Viena* and the *Calepino* share much of the same information. There has been much discussion as to which dictionary came first, and thus which supplied the other with material. However, while René Acuña and I were working on the liturgical work published in 1620 by Fr. Juan Coronel, which, as Coronel states in his introduction to this work, is based on work done by “los padres antiguos”, we have come across several examples of phrases given in Coronel which are used as illustrative examples of usage in the *Viena*. In one case in particular, this example is blatantly altered in the *Calepino*, leading to the conclusion that the *Calepino* example is derived from the *Viena*.6

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4It is Acuña’s opinion that this *Bocabulario* was originally written mainly in the Franciscan convent of Maní. Personal communication.

5Landa’s letter of 1578 quoted below states that there were no existing *Artes* at the time. This contradicts Lizana’s assertion that an “Arte” was put together by Luis de Villalpando (Lizana, 1995:71) and perfected by Landa (Lizana, 1995:170). It is presumable, then, that the *Arte* mentioned in the *Calepino Maya de Motul* (221v, 225v) was that written by Gaspar González de Nájera in the early 1580’s. See below.

6Coronel 1620a:190r: ca v lapah uba judio huntul ichil Christianosob, tu mucul muculil cuchi, vchebal yilic v nuucul v kuil thanob, BMTV: Çeremonias, como de misa y coro: kuil than. ¶ Mesclóse un judío entre los christianos desimuladamente, para ber las ceremonias que tenían: v lapah uba judio huntul ychil christianob tu mucul muculil, vchebal yilic v nuucul v kuil thanob cuchi.

CMM: Lap.ah.ab: encaxar, meter o entremeter, poner y mezclar vna cosa entre otras, y esconderla assi.... ¶ v lapah v paalil ychil v paalil cristianoob: mezclo o metio su muchacho y entremetiole entre los de los cristianos.
When the question regarding as to who was the author of the *Vienna* arises, the available answers are very hazy. According to Lizana’s account (1995:223), the Spanish Franciscan friars had written before the end of the 16th century “muchos sermonarios y vocabularios”; but, when he gives specifics on this point he mentions only three authors: Luis de Villalpando, Alonso de Solana, and Antonio de Ciudad Real (*op. cit.*: 150, 228-229, 242-244). Whatever trust Lizana’s assertions may claim to deserve, these are clouded by bishop Landa’s report to the Inquisition in January 19, 1578:

> En esta tierra no se ha hasta aora traduzido en la lengua de los naturales cossa alguna de la Sagrada Scriptura, ni tienen en la lengua más de una Doctrina Christiana que yo hize y mprimir en essa ciudad [de México] estando en ella, y también algunos sermones de mano en la mesma lengua, no ympressos. Y de éstos, porque e yo hallado algunas cossas que me an descontentado en algunos, abía ya días que los andaba haciendo recoxer para examinarlos y ver si tienen qué les quitar. Y, en lo que toca en lo que se a de advertir a los ministros, guardaremos todos el orden que se nos diere, porque el que por acá aora ay es predicar cada uno conforme a las fuerzas que en la lengua y en la sufficiencia tiene. Libros, y cosas prohibidas, con mucho cuydado se a<n> quitado a todos siempre.7

The alleged existence of a Mayan vocabulary by Luis de Villalpando is hardly admissible. He arrived to Campeche in 1546. In the Franciscan Chapter of September, 1549, he was elected Custodian and sent to serve the guardianship at Conkal. By 1552 he had passed away.8 It seems hardly likely that he had time to write such an extensive work as the *Vienna* dictionary. Taking these factors into consideration concerning the candidates for the *Vienna’s* authorship, we are seemingly restricted to the two other friars mentioned by Lizana as authors of vocabularies: Alonso de Solana and Antonio de Ciudad Real. However, both of them are also unlikely candidates. Ciudad Real authored the *Calepino Maya de Motul* and Solana is the claimed author of a Mayan dictionary whose manuscript is actually held by the Hispanic Society of America. Is there, then, some other person who we could possibly name in our search for the author? Seemingly so.

In spite of the silence on this subject by the sources such as Lizana and Cogolludo in regard to his work, there is ample documentary evidence

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7Landa’s Documento Numero Cuatro in *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* (1966:168). An interesting question may be, was Landa’s report dealing with the entire bulk of Mayan manuscripts which possibly existed at the time? For an approximate answer, it is advisable to read Viana’s report on similar matters addressed to Maestro Bermejo in September 18, 1577 (AGNM, Inquisición, vol. 83, exp. 24, fols. 305-306).

8López de Cogolludo (1957:269, 343).
attesting to the fact that Fray Gaspar González de Nájera⁹ wrote an Arte and a Vocabulario de la lengua maya before 1582. Furthermore, he got the Royal approval for publishing them in New Spain, as the following Royal order attests:

A la Audiencia de Nueva España, para que viesen un Arte y Vocabulario para aprender la lengua de los Indios de Yucatán, y una Cartilla para enseñar a leer a los niños Indios, compuestos por fray Gaspar González de Nájera, y, siendo útiles y sin error, le dieren licencia para imprimirlos y venderlos por un tiempo de diez años (AGI, Audiencia de México, leg. 2999).

Fray Gaspar González de Nájera had gone to Spain in 1580 in order to accomplish several civil and religious assignments.¹⁰ One of them was to bring together and send back to Yucatán new Franciscan missionaries. When he was going to Spain in January 1580, Governor Guillén de las Casas commended him to the Royal court with these words:

E yo, advirtiendo a lo que se pretende, que es sabedor = las antigüedades y orígenes destas tierras, acordé con el Próvincial que el padre fray Gaspar de Náxera fuese el portador désta, que es la persona más curiosa y que más sabe destas cosas, que quantos hasta oy a abido en estas prouijnçias, y así podrá dar muy bastante rellación de todo (AGI, Audiencia de México, leg. 104).

Given the extensive material provided in the Vienna, and its detailed mention of various deities of the Maya, the writer must have been someone of Nájera’s qualifications. Added to this it should be noted that a document dated March 1582 in the Archivo de Indias says:

Fray Gaspar González de Nájera, de la Orden de San Francisco, recopiló lo que otros habían hecho, y lo ordenó en Arte y Vocabulario de la lengua [Maya], con Doctrina Christiana y Cartilla, y todo lo remitió a la Audiencia de México para que le diesen licencia de imprimirlo (fide Ana Luisa Izquierdo).¹¹

We are thus unfortunately left only with circumstantial evidence about Fray Gaspar González de Nájera and his possible role in the writing of the

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⁹This name is also given as Naxara, Náxara, Naxera and Nákera.


¹¹The quest of these manuscripts in the Spanish archives as well as in those of México has been unsuccessful up to now. It is Acuña’s opinion that a search in the Portuguese archives might be more productive. There is a major possibility that Nájera was Portuguese by birth (personal communication).
Vienna, but taking the above into account it he seems to be the most likely candidate.  

The Role of Indigenous speakers in the development of the Vienna.

Early on in the conquest several people of noble Mayan lineage befriended the Franciscan friars and most probably were very important in the development of Mayan orthography. When the Spanish arrived and established themselves in Yucatan in the mid 1500’s the religious orders immediately set about converting the Maya to Christianity. One of the methods by which they hoped to do this was getting their message translated into the Mayan language. Various members of the upper class of Maya, thus people who had been educated in the use of the Mayan hieroglyphic writing system before becoming christianized, became involved in this effort. Such names as Juan Cocom, who was a close friend of Diego de Landa, and Gaspar Antonio Chi Xiú, who was a Landa protégé, and later the Spanish court official interpreter, both of whom were related to Mayan ruling families, come to mind. A major part of this effort to get proselytizing material translated into Mayan involved forming an orthography for the Mayan language from the Latin script. This was done fairly quickly and in

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12 Nájera apparently also wrote a “Relación”. There is an indication that part of de Landa’s “Relación” is based on Nájera’s work, as shown in the following comment from the Colección de Documentos Inéditos; Tomo Núm. 11, 1898, pp. 152-153: En lo demás tocante a los sitios y temperamentos y leguas de estas provincias y otras cosas curiosas y particularidades della me remito a lo que lleva anotado Francisco domínguez cosmografo que por mando de su magestad y del visorrey dela nueva / españa vino a estas provincias el año pasado de setenta y seis, y a la relacion que uviese dado fray Gaspar de Najera fray de la orden de Sant Francisco que por ser lengua desta tierra y saber muchas cosas curiosas y antiguallas delos yndios se entiende avr a dado larga relacion de todo, y a la recopilacion que el reverendisimo don Francisco de Landa obispo que fue destas provincias hizo desta tierra; ayudo a hacer esta Relacion Gaspar Antonio yndio natural destas provincias gramatico y ladino en lengua castellana .—Pero Garcia.— (Hay una rúbrica.)

13 Landa, 1966:21: Que el sucesor de los Cocomes, llamado don Juan Cocom, después de bautizado, fue hombre de gran reputación y muy sabio en sus cosas y bien sagaz y entendido en las naturales, y fue muy familiar del autor de este libro, fray Diego de Landa,...

14 A possible candidate for the invention of special characters for the Yucatecan Mayan language is fray Francisco de la Parra. For dates in Yucatan (1552) see Lizana (1995:176) and López de Cogolludo (1971, 1:387). Worth mentioning too is fray Juan de Herrera (Lizana, 1995:206).

Another possibility is that as Creoles began to enter in the Franciscan order they brought with them their extensive knowledge of the “mother” (quite literally) tongue. See for example Lizana, 1995:223: Otro religioso, llamado fray Juan Velásquez, huuo en esta santa Prouincia, el qual era nacido en esta tierra y, assi, fue grande lengua de los naturales y excelente ministro, porque tenía partes muy bastantes que en él concurrían para serlo. Quanto a lo primero, era grande sieruo de Dios, muy observante de su Regla; lo segundo, sabía bastantemente latinidad y era excelente lengua yucateca por ser criollo y hauer trabajado con los maestros de la lengua que de España vienen, que la han puesto en arte y perfección, y escrito muchos sermonarios y bocabularios, como después diremos.
a surprisingly uniform manner when one considers the rather variable and sloppy orthography of the Spaniards at the time. When one compares the uneven effort at writing Mayan words in Spanish literature of the period, for example that of Landa, with the Mayan literature written by the Maya themselves, it would seem that the Maya played a very important role in helping the Spanish friars develop a Latin script orthography for the Mayan language. Unfortunately we have not come across anything which gives us an indication of how extensive this involvement was. In any case, by 1557 when the Mani land treaty was written the use of the Latin script for the Mayan language seems to have been fairly well established.\textsuperscript{15}

In the \textit{Vienna} there is some indication that the process of developing the dictionary involved the help of indigenous speakers, but that these speakers were not always available for consultation. This is because at times there are examples of usage which appear to be of the most blatant type of Maya-Span,\textsuperscript{16} and at other times there are examples of usage which are consistent with the earlier Mayan language to be found in such works as the older parts of the Books of Chilam Balam.

The \textit{Calepino Maya de Motul}

Recent research, especially by René Acuña, has left little doubt that the \textit{Calepino} by Fr. Antonio de Ciudad Real, mentioned in Lizana,\textsuperscript{17} is the same as the work most commonly known as the \textit{Motul} Maya-Spanish dictionary, now at Brown University Library. As mentioned above, it has long been clear that the \textit{Vienna} and \textit{Calepino} shared many entries, but it has also become clear, as mentioned above, that the \textit{Calepino} is in fact based in part on the \textit{Vienna}. However, the \textit{Vienna} was not the only source of material for the \textit{Calepino}, and much additional information came from other sources, such as native informants. Also, as mentioned above about the \textit{Vienna}, there are areas in which the examples of usage are Maya-Span, and others in which apparently a native informant was consulted to give a correct example.

\textsuperscript{15}Landa makes the following comment about the changeover from the use of hieroglyphs to Latin script by the Maya in his note about hieroglyphs in his \textit{Relación}: De las letras que faltan carece esta lengua y tiene otras añadidas de la nuestra para otras cosas que ha menester y ya no usan para nada de estos sus caracteres, especialmente la gente moza que ha aprendido los nuestros.

\textsuperscript{16}The term Maya-Span was developed by René Acuña and me to indicate that the language in which a particular passage is written was written by a Spanish speaker who was not well versed in the Mayan language.

\textsuperscript{17}Lizana, 1995:242: Y no sólo se contentó con hacer bocabularios, sino que hizo \textit{Calepino} tan grande, que son sus bolúmenes de a dozientos pliegos cada uno, los dos de su letra sacados en limpio, y los borradores llenauan dos costales. Ocupó 40 años en esta obra, mas es tan buena, y de tanto peso y utilidad, que no tiene otro defeto que ser para esta tierra solamente;...
In terms of actual size, the *Calepino* is almost double that of the *Vienna*. Part of this can be attributed to the fact that there are proportionately more examples of usage in the *Calepino* than there are in the *Vienna*. However, there are also many more terms given in the *Calepino*. Thus it goes without saying that the *Calepino* is the primer dictionary of the various Franciscan Mayan dictionaries.

As stated in the commentary about the *Vienna* given above, there are references to a grammar of the Mayan language in the *Calepino* which is known as “*el Arte*”. There are in fact six such references. A comparison of the information contained in these six references with the earliest known grammar, *Arte en Lengua de Maya* by Juan Coronel (1620) confirms that these topics are touched on in “*el Arte*”, but a more definitive comment is not really possible.

The *Solana*, *Motul II*, and *San Francisco* Spanish-Maya Dictionaries

Of the various Maya-Spanish and Spanish-Maya dictionaries of the Mayan language of Yucatan which are generally available for study, only two are for the most part identical, indicating that they are both copies of an earlier and presently unavailable work. These two dictionaries are the *Motul II*, now at Brown University Library, and the *Solana Dictionary (Vocabulario muy Copioso en Lengua Española e Maya de Yucatán)*, now in the library of the Hispanic Society of America.

Neither of these dictionaries is complete. The *Motul II* is missing the following folios: 85-104, 161, 171-174, 209-216, and 233. The *Solana* on the other hand gives the appearance of being complete, but the last entries starting with the word “vulgar” consist of the Spanish headings only without the Mayan equivalents. Upon comparing the entries from the two dictionaries, it becomes apparent that in fact the problem begins with the word “visar cosa, cuxan.” (Solana) / “viva cosa: cuxan.” (Motul II). From that point on the copyist or restorer of the *Solana* had difficulties in reading the manuscript which he was working on, and later perhaps had run out of

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18The six mentions of “*el Arte*” are as follows:

I: postpuesta al cabo de la oracion es relatiua de muchos significados segun lo que ha precicido y significa “el”, “la”, “los”, “las”, “éfe”, “ébo”, “ébos”. Otras vezes significa dellos; outras vezes significa “allá”, “de allí”, “allí”, “por allí”, de lo qual se trata en el arte. Otras vezes significa “hasta que”. ¶ Ma a ualic ti xicen toi: no se lo digas hasta que me vaya.

II: postpuesta a diciones significa “que”. ¶ Ma a ualicen, mail halaan teex: no digais que no se os ha dicho. ¶ Item: tiene romance de infinitiuo. ¶ ocaan ti yol Diosil Jesu Christo: yo creo ser dios Jesucristo, o que es Dios. ¶ Item: assi postpuesta a participio de preterito, y a otras diciones denota en donde, a donde, en que, &c, como se podra ver en el arte.

II: esta particula tiene otros muchos significados como se puede ver en el arte.

Lacil .l. licil: particula de presente de indicatiuo con los significados que se contienen en el arte.

Licil .l. lacil: particula de presente de indicatiuo, con los significados que se contienen en el arte.

Ti: quando esta particula significa a, en, con, ettz., esta breuemente puesto en el arte.
manuscript altogether and was trying to fill in the remainder of the alphabet. Alternatively, perhaps the last page of the Solana was missing and a restorer tired to give the impression that the dictionary is complete by adding a false page. (See Appendix C for the comparative listing of this problem.)

In the Motul II only there is a specific reference to “el Arte”:

Nunca en ningun tiempo: ma bikin; ma bahun. ¶ vease en el arte fo. 100 et 140 et 136 en el ringlon 26.

Since this reference is to be found only in the Motul II it is possible that it is intrusive material introduced by the copyist and not something which was originally part of the dictionary’s text.19

Maya-Spanish entries in the Solana / Motul II Dictionary

One interesting feature of the Solana / Motul II Spanish-Maya Dictionary is that there are some entries which are Maya-Spanish. The first example is found on the very first page of the Motul II:

Aa .l. ee: assi que eso pasa. es como admiracion.

This entry is to be found only in Motul II. On page 94 of the Solana, unfortunately in the area where pages from the Motul II are missing, there is the obverse of this entry:

ee; aa: asi que eso pasa.

Apparently, whoever put together the original Spanish-Maya dictionary, for some reason left these entries in their original Mayan alphabetical area, but also placed them under the correct Spanish alphabetical area on page Motul II 29r / Solana 30:

assi que eso pasa: bai xabe .l. aa .l. ee.

For comparison see Vienna 21v: Así que, ¿eso pasa? Es del que se admira: bay xa be; aa.

There is a group of five entries which are given as Maya-Spanish in the Motul II after the entry “Ocho en numero: vaxac” on page 164r.20 The

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19 A search for this grammar has not yet been successful. If the grammar of Coronel is being referred to there is on pages 64-65 a discussion of bikin, on pages 77-78 a discussion of bahun and ma bahun and on page 88 a discussion of bikin and bahun. If it is that of Beltrán (1746), see pages 126 (bahun), 128 (bikin) and 141 (ma bahun, ma bikin). In Buenaventura there is a discussion of ma bahun on page 32r.

20 Entries from DMM 164r:
Ocio: mak olal; nay olal. ¶ Vide: pereça.
Ocho en numero: vaxac.
Ocol ti ol: creer.
Okol: sobre.
Ocol: hurtar.
Okol.t.: llorar.
Ocuparse: çuvanhal.
Ocupada cosa: çuuan; ma hunppel v beel.

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Solana scribe changed these entries about to put the Spanish gloss first but otherwise left these entries in their original position. Needless to say leaving the entries “Creer:...; Entrar:...; Sobre:...; Hurtar:...; and Llorar:...” between “Ocho en numero...” and “Ocuparse...” makes them completely out of place. These entries as a group are not matched by the Maya-Spanish section of the San Francisco nor by any other known Maya-Spanish dictionary. Since these entries are not matched in other dictionaries then we must come to the conclusion that, 1) the Solana / Motul II dictionary is the obverse of a previously existing Maya-Spanish dictionary and that, 2) this Maya-Spanish dictionary is now lost.

The use of vide entries which reference Mayan glosses

One of the more perplexing things to be found in the Solana / Motul II Dictionary is that there are a number of entries in which a vide will refer to a Mayan entry. These vide entries take various forms as the following examples show:

Amançebarse, y amançebamiento: veyancil; tzayomancil; tzubancil. ¶ Vide: numçah ol.

Amansado anssi; kuban yol. ¶ Vide: ixma kub ol: la que no tiene amor al marido.21

Cosas asidas vnas de otras: vide: trauar ethoken hok.

Again, as in the case of the Mayan-Spanish entries, the conclusion must be that the writer had a Mayan-Spanish vocabulary at his disposition, and again, because the entry ixma kub ol is not to be found as it is given, this Mayan-Spanish vocabulary is apparently now lost.

Intrusive material in the Motul II from the Vienna

The place where the Motul II is missing the largest number of pages is from folio 85 to folio 104. Actually folios 83-84 were also at one point missing. The hand on these two folios is different from the one which wrote the rest of Motul II, and was a later attempt to fill in the missing material. This added material is actually a rather inaccurate copy of pages 72v-73v of the Vienna Dictionary. Interestingly enough, someone marked this material in the Vienna manuscript, placing the pound sign # in the left-hand margin in front of the entries Deestocar..., Desberarse... and the final entry Desbiarse... This symbol is not to be found in the rest of the Vienna and so seems to be clearly associated with the process of copying this material into the Motul II.

21If one compares the gloss “ixma kub ol” with the same CMM entry on page 229r it will be seen that while the sense is the same the entry in itself is not. Compare also with the DMSF: Kubul ol; zuchal; tzayamhal ol: amanzarse. ¶ ixma kub ol: la mujer que no tiene amor al marido. Here the gloss is much closer in form.
The *San Francisco Spanish-Maya Dictionary*

There is yet a third dictionary which upon closer inspection shows that it is also derived from the same original dictionary which is the basis for the *Solana* and the *Motul II*. It is the Spanish-Maya portion of the *Diccionario de San Francisco*.

In 1855 Juan Pío Pérez had in his possession a Maya-Spanish / Spanish-Maya dictionary from the library of Dr. Juan María Herrero y Ascaro. Pérez mentions in the preface to his copy of the *San Francisco Dictionary* that he had seen this dictionary on a couple of occasions, once in 1836 and then again in 1848. This dictionary is now known as the *Diccionario de San Francisco*, so named because it was taken from the library of the Convent of San Francisco of Mérida when that convent was disbanded in the 1820’s. The dictionary itself is now lost, but a copy was made by Pérez in the late 1850’s or perhaps early 1860’s. This copy is presently in the Middle-American Collection at Tulane University.

Unfortunately, Pérez had the habit of reordering the dictionaries he worked on according to “modern” spelling and alphabetical practices, so at first glance it seems that the Spanish-Maya portion of this dictionary (sometimes referred to as the *San Francisco II*), while bearing great similarity to the *Solana / Motul II Dictionary*, is a different dictionary. However, upon closer examination, comparing these dictionaries entry by entry, it is clear that in fact the Spanish-Maya portion of the *San Francisco Dictionary* is the same as these other two dictionaries.

As far as can be ascertained, the *San Francisco Dictionary* itself has disappeared. Given Carl Hermann Berendt’s comments about the Pérez transcript, which are written in the foreword to his copy of the Pérez transcript, it is a shame that the dictionary from which Pérez worked is no longer available, because it would be valuable to see the original and how Pérez changed the dictionary in his transcript.

The *Ticul Spanish-Maya Dictionary*

In 1836 Pérez copied a vocabulary which was found amongst the baptismal records in the church at Ticul. He rearranged it in 1847, and this rearranged copy was published posthumously in 1898. The *Ticul Dictionary* was dated January 26, 1690. While the author’s name is not given, it should be noted

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22 *Diccionario de San Francisco* (DMSF), Prólogo por J. Pío Pérez (Graz, 1976:VII).

23 The most noticeable of these practices was to eliminate the use of “ç” and substituting either “c” or “z” as is common usage today, and then running these words off to the appropriate alphabetical area. However, unfortunately sometimes in the shuffling about some entries got lost. Another Mayanist of the time, Carl Hermann Berendt, made a note about this problem in his copy of the Pérez transcript.

that Fr. Gabriel de San Buenaventura was active at this time, and Beltrán mentions him as being a writer of both a Maya-Spanish and a Spanish-Maya dictionary, as well as the writer of the grammar\(^{25}\) from which Beltrán was working while making his own grammar.

At first glance the *Ticul Dictionary* seems to be quite different from the dictionaries mentioned above. However, by the time one gets to the words beginning the letters “Al” it becomes noticeable that the *Motul II / Solana / San Francisco II* dictionaries are running almost the identical entries as the *Ticul*. (See Appendix D.) It becomes evident that in the Pérez transcript of the *Ticul* Pérez has rearranged the alphabetical sequence of the *Ticul* according to the “modern” method, as he states in the introductory pages to the *Ticul*. Furthermore, it would appear that either the ms. from which Pérez was working was badly damaged, or the ms. from which the writer of the *Ticul* was copying was badly damaged, including lost pages or parts of pages, and that someone supplied what he presumed was the missing material. That would explain why parts of the *Ticul* are very different from the *Motul II / Solana / San Francisco II* and why other parts are almost identical.

It is evident that in order to ensure that a transcript of the *Solana Dictionary* is as complete as possible, all four source works must be consulted, with the *Solana* and *Motul II* dictionaries supplying the basis from which the transcript is made, and the *San Francisco II* and *Ticul* supplying corrections and additional information.

The Friars *Alonso de Solana* and *Gaspar González de Nájera*

Alonso de Solana and Gaspar González de Nájera were contemporaries of Diego de Landa. Some notes on the life of Solana were written up by Fray Bernardo de Lizana in his book *Devocionario de Nuestra Señora de Izamal y Conquista espiritual de Yucatán*, published in 1633, and some notes about the positions held by Nájera are to be found in Cogolludo’s book *Historia de la Provincia de Yucatán*, published in 1688. It is apparent from these two works that Solana arrived in Yucatan in about 1560 and died in 1600 or 1601. While it is not known when Nájera arrived in Yucatan, it is clear that he was active in the 1580’s. It is also known that he made a trip from Yucatan to Spain carrying with him a letter dated January 6, 1580, in which he is mentioned as being the person who was most knowledgeable about matters concerning the Maya. He is last mentioned in Cogolludo as being elected as a “definidor” for the year of 1603.

The frontispiece of the *Solana* dictionary gives the name of the author as

\(^{25}\)It should be mentioned that the San Buenaventura grammar is basically a rewrite of the Coronel grammar published in 1620. Thus, while Beltrán says that San Buenaventura wrote both a Spanish-Mayan and a Mayan-Spanish dictionary, it would not be surprising to find that what San Buenaventura really did was to rewrite older dictionaries at his disposal.
being Fr. Alonso de la Solana, and the date of composition as being 1580. Lizana confirms that Solana was responsible for a “Bocabulario”, and so despite doubts raised by some researchers, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Solana “Bocabulario” mentioned by Lizana and the Hispanic Society’s Solana dictionary are one and the same.

Attention is brought to Fray Gaspar González de Nájera because of the following entry on page 58v of the Motul II:

```
Corromper virgen: çatçah çuhuyil; yet vayte; yax than, yax et vayte. Estos dos últimos son dos conocidos, según dice el Padre Nájara.
```

It is interesting to compare this statement with an entry in the Vienna where only the last two terms are given:

```
Corromper donçella, bocablo onesto: yax than [.l.] yax et vay [.t.]
```

It is not clear what role Nájera had in the formation of the Bocabulario of Solana. However, the above serves to reinforce the idea that the Vienna is the vocabulary of Nájera.

**The Controversy over the Solana Dictionary**

Gates, and apparently at his instigation Thompson, have cast some unwarranted aspersions on the Hispanic Society’s copy of the Solana. It was Thompson’s claim that the Solana was in the Brigham Young University Library (Thompson 1960, 337), which may well have come from Gates’ opinion in later life that he had the Solana (Thompson 1973, 65), but Thompson later noted that the Solana was not to be found at the BYU Library nor in the Princeton Gates-Garrett Collection, and further that he had seen the Hispanic Society’s Solana (Thompson 1962, 14). It may well be that Gates got a glimpse of the then Huntington owned Solana Dictionary, or of at least some parts of it, and became aware that he had already reproduced nearly the same thing in a photographic copy earlier in the century (about 1915) in the form of the Motul II Dictionary.

Part of the controversy might well stem from the fact that there has been an obvious effort on the part of some unknowledgeable restorer to restore damaged paper and the writing lost on the area which had been destroyed in the Hispanic Society’s copy of the Solana Dictionary. For example, starting with the word Aborreçedor on page 2 of the Solana, the left-hand margin for this entry and the next four entries was damaged. The person who repaired the manuscript tried to supply the Spanish glosses, but did so incorrectly. Later on in the Solana on page 228, as mentioned above, starting with “viva cosa: cuxan” (Motul II) / “visar cosa, cuxan.” (Solana), the restorer of the

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26Escribió bocabulario excelente en esta lengua maya, muchos sermones y sermonarios con grande propiedad, como si fuera indio mismo. (Lizana, 1995:229)
Solana could not read the left-hand portion of the entries which he was restoring, and in an effort to fill in the Spanish words used an unrelated and incorrect series of words. (See Appendix C.)

While it is obvious that someone has tampered with the Solana in an effort to restore it, altering some of its parts, these alterations do not invalidate the work as a whole.

Status Report

As mentioned in the opening paragraph of this paper, all of the dictionaries talked about in this article have been punched into computer files. The three principal Franciscan grammars, those of Coronel (1620), San Buenaventura (1684) and Beltrán (1746) and the liturgical work published by Coronel (1620) have also been entered. For comparative reasons the liturgical work of Beltrán (1740, 1757) has also been entered.

Also as mentioned above, some comparative work has been done already with the punched-in material. Appendix B gives some of examples of this work. Comparison between the Coronel liturgical and the Franciscan dictionaries is presently an on-going project, and hopefully many more examples of this kind will come to light.

In order to provide a guide into the labyrinthine origins of the Mayan Franciscan dictionaries, Appendix A displays a raw sketch of their possible authors, dates, places of composition and sources. It is easy to handle, but much caution is advisable before putting to work the data of this table. In no way it should be considered a conclusive study. There are many details, many missing pieces still of the jigsaw puzzle that are yet to be put together.
Acknowledgement

The author would like to thank René Acuña for all of his assistance and support for working on the subject of Franciscan Mayan dictionaries, grammars and literature. Although for years we have had numerous conversations and correspondence on the subject, our collaboration began in earnest in 1991. In the summer of that year I was invited to go to México D.F. to work with René on preparing the *Bocabulario de Maya Than de Viena* for publication by UNAM. Because of the number of problems which are to be encountered in the original manuscript it seemed only logical to look at all other available Franciscan vocabularies and grammars to see if there was some way to resolve the problems we encountered. However, because of the difficulties which we had in using these sources and the fact that the questions we were asking were often not easily found it became obvious that the best solution was to computerize all of this material so that any word or collection of words in these sources could be easily located. Thus began the rather long and at times very difficult job of typing these sources into the computer. A follow-up visit and work session was arranged by René in the fall of 1994 at which time we were able to review the work we had done on the various vocabularies and grammars in the mean time and also to work on making a definitive edition of the *Calepino Maya de Motul*. The gratifying result of this work is the publication by René Acuña through Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas a collection of works which include the Artes of Coronel and San Buenaventura, the Arte of Beltrán, and independently of UNAM, the *Calepino Maya de Motul*.

René has been very instrumental in preparing the present article for publication. His contribution to it has been very substantial, especially in questions concerning the Franciscan friars mentioned here and in dating the various Franciscan vocabularies which are talked about in this article.

Abbreviations used

BMTV = *Bocabulario de Maya Than / Viena*
CMM = *Calepino Maya de Motul*
DESF = *Diccionario de San Francisco* II (Spanish-Mayan)
DMM = *Diccionario Maya de Motul* (Motul II, Spanish-Mayan)
DMSF = *Diccionario de San Francisco* (Mayan-Spanish)
### APPENDIX A

How the Mayan vocabularies grew: A tentative sketch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>AUTHOR</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
<th>O/C</th>
<th>LANG.</th>
<th>REPOSITORY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bocabulario de Maya Than</td>
<td>Gaspar González de Nájera</td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>Maní</td>
<td>Mayan notes by predecessors</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Sp/M</td>
<td>Vienna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bocabulario muy copioso</td>
<td>Alonso de Solana</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Mayan notes by predecessors Najera’s dict.</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Sp/M</td>
<td>Hispanic Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motul II</td>
<td>Alonso de Solana</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Sp/M</td>
<td>Brown U. Library.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calepino Maya de Motul</td>
<td>Antonio de Ciudad Real</td>
<td>1614</td>
<td>Motul</td>
<td>Mayan notes by predecessors, Solana’s and Najera’s dict.</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>M/Sp</td>
<td>Brown U. Library.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calepino Maya</td>
<td>Gabriel de San Buenaventura</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Najera’s, Solana’s and Ciudad Real</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>Missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diccionario de San Francisco</td>
<td>Gabriel de San Buenaventura</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Late copy by J. Pío Pérez</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>Tulane U. Library.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diccionario de Ticul</td>
<td>Gabriel de San Buenaventura</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Late copy by J. Pío Pérez</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Sp/M</td>
<td>Published, 1898.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C = copy  
O = original  
M/Sp = Maya-Spanish  
Sp/M = Spanish-Maya
APPENDIX B
Coronel’s Discursos

Coronel 4r: Ca utzac ca tohol pat can ticex: ca ix utzac ca cici cambeçexex ti vabici a benebalex te tu kul na Dios, te ti caane.

BMTV: Declarar derechamente: tohol pat can.t. ¶ Para que os declaremos derechamente como aueis de yr al çielo: ca vtzac ca tohol pat cantic teex, ca vtzac ca cici cambeçexex ti va bici a benebalex ti caan.\(^\text{27}\)

BMTV: Sacar de una cosa otra, tirando, como espada:  hil.t. .l. pay.t. ¶ Sacó Dios una costilla a Adán, y hiço de ella una muger: u hiltah Dios hun dzit tu c[h]elatil Adan, caix u patah u cucutil hun tulent chupal ti c[h]elat loe.\(^\text{30}\) (CMM: expunged because of Inquisition?)

Coronel 16v: Ca uhocçah\(^\text{28}\) cayumil hundzit tuchelatil tichanchanbelil: tixnamacimilil timaix yubah Adan: cayutzcinah caix vpatah vcucutil huntul c[\(\mathcal{H}\)]elatil.\(^\text{29}\)

Coronel 20v: Ma uil yanhom c[\(\mathcal{H}\)]apahal teex, maix vchuchom v kuxuchal a uokolex, maix bal bin numçicex ti ya matac a caanomex, BMTV: Dolor tener con escosimiento: kuxul okol. ¶ No tendréis dolor ni pena de cosa alguna en el çielo: ma vchom v kuxuchal a vokolex maix bin a numçicex ti ya ti caan.

Coronel 44r: hex ca yumil ti Iesu Christoe ma yolta h u kamab v thanob, heuac bai thonlic, baix chinlic c[\(\mathcal{H}\)]uc tix dzedz taname, ti yanil tu tan ah xotkin to Pilatoe BMTV: Cordero: yalam tanam, ix mehen tanam .l. ix dzedz tanam. ¶ Estaua humillado delante de Jesuchristo como manso cordero: bay chinlic yix dzedz tanam Christo ti yan tu tan ah xot kin cuchi.

\(^{27}\)For some unexplained reason the Spanish gloss failed to translate the phrase ca ix utzac ca cici cambeçexex (Coronel) / ca utzac ca cici cambeçexex (BMTV). See CMM: Cici: en composicion; bien, con tiento y consideradamente o despacio. ¶ cici mente: hazlo bien y con tiento. / Cambeçah: enseñar y la enseñaça. Translation: “and so that we can teach you well”...

\(^{28}\)The Coronel text is in error: this should read hokçah. See CMM: Hokçah; hokeçah:} sacar afuera, manifestar, publicar, y deuulgar. Compare with BMTV: Desbuchar y echar del buche: hokçah .l. likul ichil hobonil. / Sacar algo fuera: hokçah.

\(^{29}\)Note the use of both chelat and chalat for the word for “rib”. The BMTV spells this word chelat in the example but reads chalati in the following: C[os]tilla de hombre: u c[h]alat[il] uinic. There are two other examples in the BMTV in which chalati / chalat are given: Quebrar las costillas a otro... / Rayos [o costillas] de la noria... The DMM/Solana gives Costilla de espinozo: chelat., whereas the CMM reads as follows: Chalat: costilla del hombre y de cualquier animal.

\(^{30}\)Note that the Coronel sentence is more complete. Furthermore, the BMTV example uses the verb hiltah instead of hokçah and Dios as opposed to ca yumil. The Coronel translates as, “Then our lord took out one rib very slowly so that Adan neither died nor felt it; then he made and formed the body of a woman from this rib.”
Coronel 165v: Be, mehenexe, toon mehen[n] ca noh Ahau ti Dios tumen ix v keban ca yax yumob ca pulci vay tu kom yail ich lae.  
Coronel, Doc 2: coon yal Euae tech lic ca put yktic tamuk caca, tamuk ix cokol vay tu koom yail ich lae.  
CMM: Kom: hoya, valle, o barranco.... ¶ vay tu kom yail ich lae: en este valle de lagrimas.

Coronel 165v: chupanonix tuyabal numya, yetel otzilil, ychticilyaix vmalkintoon tuyam canupob.  
CMM: Ich ticil ya: con trabajo y miseria. ¶ ich tic il ya v mal kin toon: con trabajo y niseria passamos la vida.

Coronel 190r (1576 ms.: pp. 322-323):  
33 ca v lapah vba Iudio huntul ichil Christianosob, tu mucul muculil cuchi, vchebal yilic v nuucul y kuil thanob,  
BMTV: Çeremonias, como de misa y coro: kuil than. ¶ Mesclóse un judío entre los christianos desimuladamente, para ber las ceremonias que tenían: v lapah vba judío huntul ychil christianob ti mucul muculil, vchebal yilic v nuucul y kuil thanob cuchi.  
CMM: Lap.ah.ab: encaxar, meter o entremeter, poner y mezclar vna cosa entre otras, y esconderla assi.... ¶ v lapah v paalil ychil v paal il cristianoob: mezclo o metio su muchacho y entremetiole entre los de los cristianos.

Coronel 233r-233v: ¶ Lic va a yacunic Dios paynum y okol tulacal. Amas a Dios sobre todas las cosas.  
Coronel, Doc 5: V hunppel bin a yacunic Dios paynum yokol tulacal.  
Coronel, Doc 5: He lahunpedz yalmah thanil Dios lae, caa tzuc yanil v yacunabal Dios paynum yokol tulacal. y. a lak bay a yacunic abae.  
BMTV: Amar: yacunah. ¶ Amad a Dios sobre todas las cosas: yacunex Dios paynum yokol tulacal. / Más o sobre, adueruio de conparación: paynum okol .l. pot manan okol. ¶ Amo a Dios sobre todas las cosas: in yama Dios paynum yokol tulacal.  
CMM: Paynum: sobre o mas; es comparatiuo. ¶ in yama dios paynum yokol tulacal: amo a Dios sobre o mas que a todas las cosas.

31“Thus, you children, we the children of our great lord God because of the sin of our first parents are thrown here into the valley of tears.”  
32“We the children of Eve sigh to you while we moan and while we cry here in the valley of tears.”  
33 The last part of the 1576 Manuscript, beginning on page 201, is parallel to the Discursos Predicables from page 158v through page 214v.  
34Note the difference in the placement of the word cuchi.  
35Note what appears to be the incorrect usage of the word tuçinil = “everywhere” whereas all other examples of this phrase give tulacal = “everything”. Translation of the sentence as is: “The first is that you will love God more than everywhere.” See the correct usage of the phrase tu çinil in the line Ocaan ti uol Dios citbil, uchuc tumen tu çinile, given below in the Doctrina.  
36“Here are the ten commandments of God, two of which are God is to be loved over everything and your fellow man (is to be loved) as you love yourself.”
Coronel’s Doctrina

Coronel, Doc 1: tocoo ni cah ualob,
BMTV: Libranos de nuestros enemigos: tocon ni cah valob.

Coronel, Doc 1: ma ix a viilic ca lubul tac tumtabale37
BMTV: No permitáis que caigamos en tentación: ma a viilic ca lubul tac tumtabale.
CMM: Ma: no. es particula prohibitiua antepuesta en presente de indicatiuo.... ¶ Item: es deprecatiua. Ma a viilic ca lubul tac tumtabale: no permitas caygamos en tentacion.

Coronel, Doc 2: Ocaan ti vol Dios citbil, uchuc tumen tu çinile,
BMTV: Creo en Dios Padre: ocan ti vol Dios Cibit. / Poderoso en todo: vchuc tumen tu çinil.
CMM: Tu zinil: todo; contidad concreta. ¶ in cucuit tu çinil: todo mi cuerpo. ¶ vchuc tumen tu zinil Dios: es dios todopoderoso....
SFM: Uchuc tumen ti zinil: poderoso en todo.

Coronel, Doc 2: tali tu chi Poncio Pilato numci ti ya
BMTV: Por mandado: likul ti chij, tali ti chij .l. tal ti chij. ¶ Por mandado de Poncio Pilato: likul tu chij Poncio Pilato.
CMM: Likul ti chij: por mandado. ¶ likul tu chi Pontio Pilato numci ti ya: por mandado de Poncio Pilato padecio.
CMM: Tali ti chij: por mandado de alguno. ¶ Tali tu chi Poncio Pilato: por mandado de Poncio Pilato; salio de su boca.38

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37 Note the use of conjunction *ix* in *ma ix* which is absent from the examples given in the dictionaries. On pages 155r-188r of the *Discursos Predicables* in the Exposicion del Pater Noster, page 182v, this particular line is given as: *Chan a uilab ca lubul ti dzal pach.* The use of the phrase *dzal pach* seems to be inappropriate for “temptation” in as much as it is composed of *dzal* = pressure, for example when applied by the hand or a press, and *pach* = the back of an object. See CMM: Dzal pach: hazer fuerça o violencia; constreñir o apremiar y la tal fuerça o violencia. Sometime between the time the Exposicion was written and the *Pater Noster* was revised (which of course had to be before the BMTV was written) an attempt was made to correct this problem and the word *tumtabal* was substituted for *dzal pach*. However, *tumtabal* does not really mean “temptation” either. See CMM: Tum.t.: considerar, prouar, experimentar, arbitrar, deliberar, ordenar, traçar, y dar orden y traçar en algun negocio, y pensarlo bien: y la tal consideracion, deliberaçion y orden. / Tumut. tumtabal, tumte: lo mismo. / Tumtabal: es al passiuo. (The Michelon edition of the DMSF does equate both *dzal pach* and *tumut* with “tentación”, but this may well be after-the-fact translation. See DMSF: Dzal pach; tumut; tumtabal; tumtabal ol; ppiz muk: tentar, probar, esperimetar, tentación. ¶ balx u chun a dzalic ti pach ti keban: ¿porqué lo provocas o tentas a pecar?)

38 Note the difference between the BMTV and the first example from the CMM which use *likul tu chi* and the Coronel and the second example from the CMM which use *tali tu chi*.
Coronel, Doc 2: tij tun likul ca bin tac v xotob v kin cuxanob yetel cimenob.
BMTV: Jusgar, oficio de juez: xot kin, xot tab .l. xot tabil. ¶ Bendra nuestro Redemptor a juzgar los buios y los muertos: bin tac c’ah lohil v xotob v kin cuxanob yetel cimenob.39

Coronel, Doc 2: çipen ti Dios yetel ti yalmah t[h]anil,
BMTV: Pequé contra Dios y sus mandamientos: çipen ti Dios yetel ti yalm[h]anil.40
CMM: Nup: cosa contraria, que esta de frente o otro que esta de frente y opuesto de cualquier cosa que se le pone en contra, o el contrapeso que pone a alguna cosa.... ¶ çipen tu nup yalmah thanil dios: peque contra los mandamientos de dios.

Coronel, Doc 2: Tezcuntech ix ahaue
BMTV: Sálbete Dios, reina y madre: tezcuntech Dios, ix ahaue.41
CMM: Tezcun.t.: saludar; es vocablo antiguo con que saluda. Van a los grandes señores. ¶ Tezcuntech ix ahaue:

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39 Note the introduction of cah lohil = “our redeemer” in the BMTV example.
40 Note that in the Doctrina the h is missing in thanil whereas in the BMTV it is missing in yalmah.
41 Again, as happened above with the phrase tali tu chi, note that the BMTV differs from Coronel and the CMM. It is not clear why the word Dios was introduced into the BMTV.
APPENDIX C

Comparison of the Solana and Motul II Dictionaries

To give the reader an indication of how the Solana and Motul II Dictionaries are related to each other, the following parallel passages are presented. These passages are chosen not only to show where the two dictionaries agree, but also to show where they differ. The first passage is from the beginning page. The second passage is from near the end of the two dictionaries to show the problems which the copyist or restorer of the Solana manuscript encountered as he approached the end of the manuscript.

Motul II, page 1r

vocabulary en la lengua de Maya

a proposicion, ti. Vt.
A, preposicion por cerca:
yican: nadzan
aa. L. Ee. Assi que eso pasa.
Es como admiracion
aha: no lo dezia yo. L.
No -----ia yo de loger
abadesa: ix kin. v chun vthan
abahar: auex. Ti
abalancarse: pic chinba:
pulba: cithpom
abarcar entre los brazos:
Mek: holmek.T.
Abarcar entre las manos y
la tal abarcada. Lot
Abarca, y qual quier calcado
de cuero: keulel xanab
abarcar barro en la pared
arrojandolo: pakchín.T.
pak pul.T.
abarrer o arrebañar: volmoll:
haymol
abatida cosa: cabal cunan.
abatimiento: cabal cunanil

Solana, page 1r

bocabulario en lengua Maya

a ante b
A. Preposicion, ti.

Abadesa de kin v chun vthan
abahar ou--xte,
abalancarse, pic chinba,
pulba, cith pan
abracar entre los bracos.
Mek. Holmekte.
Abarcar entre las manos y
la tal abarcada. Lot.
Abarca y qual quier calzado
de cuero. Keulel xanab
abarcar barro en la pared
Arrojandolo. Pak chinte
Pak pu---
abarrer o arrebañar. Vol mol
hay mol
Abatida cosa. Cabal cunan
abatimiento. Cabal cunanil

The Motul II is more complete than the Solana at the very beginning and there are indications that the Solana copyist was having difficulties with his text, but on the whole there are not many significant differences. Aside from this, typically the Motul II has some extra entries, especially of the vide or idem type, but on the whole there is basically little difference between the two manuscripts.
Now for a look at the entries near the end of the two manuscripts showing the beginning of confusion as mentioned above.

Motul II, page 234r
visitar: -- thibah
visitar y consolar: ppum
Visitar los pueblos: thibah
cah: xoytah cah: zutcah
visita sugeta al conuento: cuchcabal
visitar los lazos: mab.T.
Vision, o fantasma: manab.
visiones ver: manabchi.T.
visiones ver como entre
sueños: nay.T.
vista de cualquier cosa: Pacat
Viva cosa: cuxan.
Viuda: ah cin icham: ixmaicham
viudo: ahcim atan: Ixma atan
viudez deella: ixmaichamil
vivir, o morar en casa o pueblo,
vide: morar.
Vivir, vide: vida:
vizco de los ojos: zat vuich
vizcocho, o pan tostado:
Oppbiluah
vizcochar: oppcinah uah.
vmana cosa, vmanidad: vinicil /234v
vmanas obras: vini----
vmeda cosa o mojada: dzom
Dzuuucnac: dzaacnac
vmedecerce anssi: dzoomil, duaauacil
vmedad anssi: dzoomil, duuacnil.
vmeda tierra empapada en agua:
Yukucnac luum
vmedecerce como la hostia en
la boca: pukul.
vmilde: ah thontal: ah chintal:
ah thoncinahba
Vmilmente: tu duzaabal thontal
vmilarse: thontal: chintal:
thoncinahba
vmillar a otro: thoncunba: chincunab.
vmillarse, vide: derribarse postrando:
hincar las rodillas.

Solana, page 228
visitar, thibah
visitar y consolar. Ppum.
visitar los pueblos. Thibah
cah. Xoytah cah, zut cah
visita sugeta al conuto, cuch cabal
Vissitar los lazos. Mabte.
Vision o fantasma--, manab
Visaga: be--- manab chite
viisions be-- como entre
Sueños. Nayte
vision de --al quiera cosa. pacat.
Visar cosa, cuxan.
visora, ah cimycham, ixmaicham
visado, ah cim atan. ixma atan
vista-- deella. Ixmaichamil

vista delos ojos zat vuich
vista de ojos roan tostado.
oppbilvah
Vistuar: oopp cinah vah
vituallas y humanidad, vinicil
vituperta vinicil be
vizconde o mojada. Dzom.
dzuuacnac. Dzaacnac
vocativo dzomil duuacnil
vultad dzoomil Dzuuacnil,
voluntario ----pada enagua.
yukucnac luum
volar dar el voto ---ia en
La boca, pukul
voto desto manera ah chintal
aghan cinah b. /229
vulgar
vulgarmente
vuestra cosa

X ante v
xabon
xaboner a yerva
Xaquima
With the page 229 of *Solana* the copyist or restorer gives up trying to figure out what he is working on, and gives only a list of Spanish words from “vulgar” on to the end of the manuscript.

It is interesting to note that starting with “viva cosa: cuxan” (*Motul II*) / “visar cosa, cuxan.” (*Solana*) the copyist or perhaps the restorer of the *Solana* couldn’t read the left-hand portion of the entries which he was working on, and in an effort to fill in the list used a series of words, perhaps from another dictionary, to fill in the voids. Obviously this person didn’t know Mayan, or he would have, one should think, known that for “ah cim icham” and “ah cim atan” “viuda” and “viudo” would have been the proper words.

It seems evident that neither of these two dictionaries is a copy of the other, but that each is a copy of some older source or even perhaps of older copies of some even earlier source. It would seem that the *Solana* could not be a copy of the *Motul II* dating from a time when the *Motul II* was complete (if indeed there ever was such a time) because otherwise the *Solana* copyist wouldn’t have had the problems which he did with the last pages since the *Motul II* is clear enough to copy from. On the other hand, the *Motul II* couldn’t have been copied from the *Solana* or the final pages would have been defective also.
APPENDIX D

Comparison of the Ticul
to the Motul II / Solana / San Francisco II

Given below is the beginning of a composite edited version of the Motul II / Solana / San Francisco II dictionaries and the Ticul dictionary, where it would be difficult to ascertain that these two dictionaries are derived from a single source. Next is given the part where both dictionaries begin with the “Al” words, in which it is clear that the root dictionary was the same. Throughout the Ticul there are moments in which the two dictionaries show a common origin, followed by moments where it is clear that the scribe of the Ticul derived his material from some other source, perhaps for example from his own experience and knowledge of the Mayan Language. This different material is at times not captured in the other dictionaries, such as the Vienna or the Calepino Maya de Motul, and thus from time to time adds some words and expressions to our vocabulary base.

It should be noted that the Ticul has only about half the amount of material given in the Motul II / Solana / San Francisco II, which in turn has about half of the material given in the Vienna. However, each vocabulary does have material not included in either of the others, so each is a special source of information particular to itself.
DMM/Solana/DESF

- A -

A, preposición: ti. ¶ Vt: a, preposición por cerca: tcan; nedzan.
Aa .l. ee: assí que esso pasa. es como admiracion.
Aha: no lo dezia yo .l. no os auia yo de coger.
Abadesa: ix kin; v chun v than.
Abahar: ouox.t. ¶ ouoxte u kab ca kinlac: abajate las manos, &.
Abalançarse: pic chin ba; pul ba; çithpom.
Abarcar entre los braços: mek; hol mek.t.
Abarcar entre las manos y la tal abarcada: lot.
Abarca, y cualquier calçado de cuero: keulel xanab,
Abarrajarse algo en la pared arrojandolo: pak chin.t.; pak pul.t.
Abarrer o arrebañar: volmol: haymol.

Ticul

A

Ab.

Abajar algo. Cabalcunah.
Abajar la cabeza. Thoncunah pol, cabal cu nah pol.
Abajo. Ticab, cabal.
Abalanzarse. Pulba, pichimba; ut u pulah uba, u picchintah. p.
Abarca ó zapato. Xanab-keuel.
Abarcar entre las manos. Lot.
Abarrajarse algo. Cabaljal.
Abeja. Yikil cab.
Abertura. Uakal, hetel.
Abismo ó hondura. U dzonotil, u tamil.
Ala de aue: xik.
Alabar y alabança: tich anumal; nachcunah pectzil; nohcinah; tizcunah. || lo contrario de esto vease desacreditar.
Alabar alguna persona diciendo bien de ella: vtzcinah pectzil.
Alabarse: vide: jatarse.
Alabastro: çac yeel bach; çac yeel bech.
Alacran: çinaan.
Alagar: vide infra: al hagar.
Al amor del agua: tu pul haa; tu hah haa; tu kak haa.
A la otra parte: citan tu pach.
A la postre: tu pach.
Alarde: v kukum tok; v kukum katun.
Alargarse algo: chauachal.
Alargar anssi: chauaccunah.

Ticul

Ala de ave. Xik.
Alabança. Tichomunal.
Alabar. Nachcunah pectzil.
Alabastro. Zacyelbach.
Alada; cosa que tiene alas. Xiknal.
Aladar de cabellos. Tup tzotz.
Alarde. U kukum tok, u kukum katun.
Alarido y dar alaridos. Uatah auat.
Alargar algo. Chauac-cunah; ut, chauaccum estribo, alargar el estribo.
Alargar la mano. Tich á kab ca dzicti.
Alargarse algo. Chauac-hal.
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