

This article was downloaded by: [University of Haifa Library]

On: 09 July 2013, At: 07:14

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Colonial Latin American Review

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ccla20>

Nahua Patterns of Colonization in Maya Towns of Guatemala, 1524 to 1582: The Indigenous Records

Amos Megged^a

^a University of Haifa

Published online: 08 Jul 2013.

To cite this article: Amos Megged (2013) Nahua Patterns of Colonization in Maya Towns of Guatemala, 1524 to 1582: The Indigenous Records, Colonial Latin American Review, 22:2, 209-234, DOI: [10.1080/10609164.2012.730665](https://doi.org/10.1080/10609164.2012.730665)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10609164.2012.730665>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Nahua Patterns of Colonization in Maya Towns of Guatemala, 1524 to 1582: The Indigenous Records

Amos Megged

University of Haifa

Through a case study of towns and hamlets situated around Guatemala's Lake Amatitlan between 1524 and 1580, this article aims to reveal the social, political, and cultural circumstances that brought together Nahua and Kaqchikel colonists in their joint campaign of colonization and settlement within established Maya-Pok'omam communities, as well as the social, political, and cultural circumstances that developed in the aftermath of this settlement. Moreover, it strives to bring to light the complex relations that developed within these multi-ethnic towns in Guatemala. More specifically, I focus on two Maya towns, San Cristóbal and San Juan Amatitlan, which illustrate a general Nahua pattern of encroachment and expropriation of local Maya property and revenues.

The primary goal of this article is to trace the complex and adversarial relationship that developed between 1524 and 1580 among the three co-existing groups: the Nahua, the Kaqchikel, and the Pok'omam. I rely on two major indigenous sources, supplemented by a variety of others. The article also seeks to further our understanding of the outcomes of earlier Nahua-Spanish alliances after Guatemala was pacified. At the core of Nahua colonization of the Maya-Pok'omam towns around Lake Amatitlan were the veteran Nahua allies who had fought together with the Kaqchikels and Pedro de Alvarado's army in the final battles over the Valley of Guatemala in 1527. These Nahuas established new alliances with both the Spanish and various native foot soldiers. What emerges from the sources and recent studies is that from 1560 through 1585 high-ranking 'Indian conquistadors' and native foot soldiers formerly under their command entered a transitional phase characterized by local native resilience, unrest, and rebellion against secular Spaniards, the Church, and their different agents. The titles and *lienzos* (painted cloths) they presented in order to reclaim the rights initially granted them by the Spaniards do in fact mirror past glories and fame. As Yanna Yannakakis states, '[t]he scene argues clearly for the cultural and military superiority of

the conquerors over the conquered...’ (Yannakakis 2011, 653–82). Such fame, however, was already a thing of the past, never to be regained.

This article is also in keeping with Laura Matthews’s recent findings (2012) with regard to: (a) the direct and indirect consequences of the initiatives taken by the so-called Indian conquistadors; (b) the goals and destinations of the Indian conquistadors, as well as the local and regional circumstances and realities that developed in the distinct Maya communities of highland and lowland Guatemala; and (c) the local responses to this colonization. I emphasize here that this is a distinctive pre-contact and post-contact pattern adopted by Nahua and non-Nahua native rulers as a strategy long before the arrival of the Spaniards. In this article I

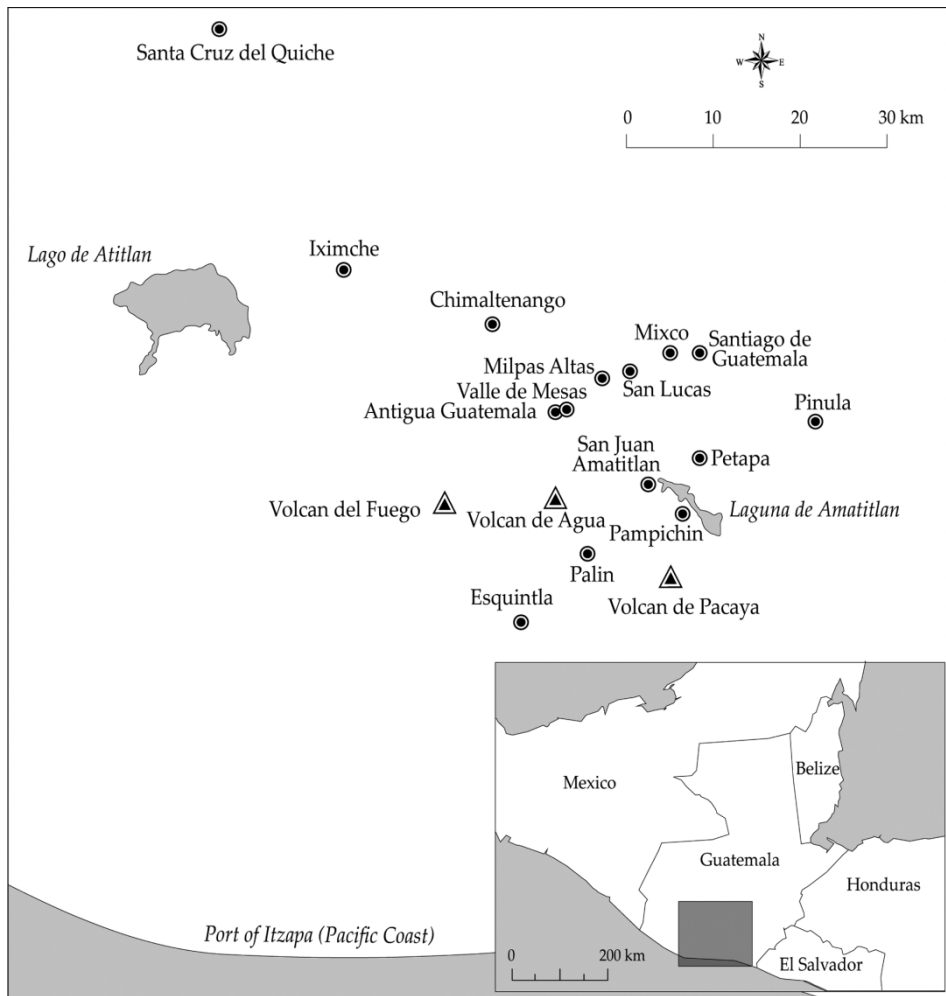


Figure 1 The Valley of Guatemala, towards the Pacific Coast, ca. 1560 (map designed by Noga Yosselevitch, University of Haifa).

demonstrate this pattern in detail as it emerges within a specific Maya area of Lake Amatitlan. In doing so, I echo Susan Schroeder's observation that the Spanish conquest was not experienced by the indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica as very different from other kinds of conquests, but rather as one of a series of conquests, reconquests, and subjugations suffered by these groups in the past (Schroeder 1994, 81–94). Indeed, many of the characteristics marking the Spanish conquest were familiar. In this sense, this essay sheds new light on distinctly native 'conquest-after-conquest' patterns that emerged in the aftermath of the indigenous-Spanish conquest of Guatemala. The case study demonstrates how some Nahua conquistadors maintained pre-Columbian patterns and goals of colonization despite having laid down arms.¹

The methodology of this article centers on exploring local and distinctive primary sources composed both in Nahuatl and in Maya, such as the *Cuentas de los oficiales*, the community treasury records, and the *cofradía* expenditures of the town of San Juan Amatitlan, and then comparing these with parallel sources concerning the actions of Nahua conquistadors in Guatemala. The first major source is a unique manuscript housed in the Archivo General de Indias, entitled *Cuentas de los oficiales* (1559 and 1565), hereinafter referred to as the Book of the Community of San Juan Amatitlan. Charles Upson Clark discovered the manuscript in 1929, but he made only passing mention of it in his 1948 Spanish edition of Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa's massive *Compendio* (Vázquez de Espinosa 1948, iii–iv).² The manuscript covers the rule of a Nahuatl-speaking lord from Central Mexico, Chiahuitl, in the town of Palin-Palaqha (San Cristóbal Amatitlan) between 1548 and 1567, as well as the state of affairs in the adjacent towns of San Juan Amatitlan, Petapa, Pinula, and Mixco between 1562 and 1580. The manuscript records community expenditures along with sacred and profane activities taking place in the town of San Cristóbal between 1559 and 1565, and overall it provides a clear view of local as well as trans-local developments and circumstances.

The Book of the Community of San Juan Amatitlan was written by Francisco *Ahtzib* (scribe), son of don Juan *Ahual* (ruling lord). Eighteen folios are written in Maya Pok'omam, fourteen in Nahuatl, and the rest in Spanish (AGI Guatemala 45, ff. 1r–51v). The second source is the well-known *probanza de méritos* of don Francisco Cael (1582), indigenous governor of Petapa at the time of the conquest, and of his heirs and relatives, some of whom came to Guatemala from Tlaxcala and Cholula in Central Mexico as Indian conquistadors (AGCA A1, 4674/40166, ff. 1r–58v; AGCA A3.2, 825/15225).³ However, others took their own initiatives to become the Indian conquerors of these towns. The background for these relationships is derived from supplementary indigenous sources, such as letters of grievance addressed to the king, both in Spanish and in Nahuatl, as well as indigenous testimonies provided as part of Spanish court proceedings and *residencias* or administrative audit processes (AGI Justicia 292:3, f. 2r; AGI Justicia 291:1).⁴

The present study runs in parallel with what recent Mesoamerican historiography has designated the 'New Conquest History.' In *Indian Conquistadors* (Schroeder

2007), Florine Asselbergs, Matthew Restall, Michel Oudijk, Laura Matthew, and John Chuchiak effectively demonstrate how indigenous peoples were crucial participants in the Spanish conquest of Mexico and Central America. Asselbergs's own book, *Conquered Conquistadors* (2008), is a pioneering study in this respect, as she was first to identify the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* as depicting the Quauhquecholteca invasion of Guatemala. Asselbergs offers a fully contextualized analysis of this *lienzo*, now housed in the Museo de Alfeñique in Puebla, Mexico. These authors have shown that much of the shaping of the conquest developments and consequences might well be attributed to the indigenous peoples no less than to the Spaniards themselves. Indeed, according to Asselbergs, their participation was not limited to the battlefield, but rather extended to colonization of the areas they and the Spaniards sought to conquer (Restall and Asselbergs 2007; Oudijk and Restall 2008).

As Susan Schroeder describes in *Indian Conquistadors*, there were distinct categories of native conquerors, including land-seeking colonizers, lordly factions, and individual rulers, each of whom willingly and eagerly joined the Spaniards in order to pursue their own goals. Nevertheless, as Schroeder stresses, many native conscripts were probably coerced into these military expeditions and experienced much suffering as a result (Schroeder 2007, 19–20). It is most likely, for example, that the many thousands of native footmen, *tlamemes*, and food-suppliers responded to recruitments under duress, as the case study of the conquest of Western Mexico and New Galicia, recently told by Ida Altman, clearly reveals (Altman 2010). In my view, once arms were laid down and conquest battles ended, Indian conquistadors remained divided on the issue of collaboration with the Spanish.

One methodological point to raise here regards the biases inherent in our indigenous sources. For example, when native authors and their sponsors wished to obtain valuable prerogatives, they stressed their 'close and full-hearted cooperation' with the Spaniards, and in parallel, radically censored any data on Spanish atrocities or coercion. We must be fully aware of such partiality and silencing, and therefore seek corroborative evidence in parallel sources, such as the Spanish *residencias*, which sometimes contain testimonies that give a more balanced picture of events without downplaying Spanish cruelties (see, for example, Chuchiak 2010). Yet another concern raised by recent scholarship is the differentiation between 'Indian conquistadors' and so-called 'Indian allies.' In a close study of the fate and identity of the Nahua allies and settlers in the barrio of Analco in Villa Alta, Oaxaca, Yanna Yannakakis focused on the difference between the recognized Mexican allies and the 'forgotten ally' status attributed to the indigenous *naborías* in areas colonized and settled both by Spaniards and by their Mexican partners (Yannakakis 2011, 653).

Nahua and Kaqchikel Alliances in Almolonga and Panchoy in the Aftermath of the Conquest

Since pre-contact times, Lake Amatitlan served as the only source of salt for the entire Valley of Guatemala. This volcanic lake was fed by rich minerals, and the Pok'omam

population developed an elaborate industry to process and market the salt that accumulated on the lake's shore (Brown 1975; Andrews 1983). This was the most important economic asset Lake Amatitlan offered the Spaniards. Prior to the Spanish conquest, the *chinamit* (polity) of Popoyá-Petapa was ruled by Cazbalam (or, Cazhualan in other spellings) (Miles 1957, 731–81). According to Francisco de Fuentes y Guzmán (ca.1680), Popoyá-Petapa was one of the major polities of eastern Guatemala, bordered on the northwest by the Kaqchikel kingdom of Iximche and on the north by Mixco. Petapa (Popoyá), Amatitlan, and Pinula (Pankok) came directly under the rule of Cazbalam, while Gueymango, Guanagazapan, and Jumaytepeque remained allied to Popoyá-Petapa (Fuentes y Guzmán 1932). Garry Walters and Lawrence Feldman argued that this polity was characterized by high population density, and by 1550 it counted about 11,000 inhabitants (3,065 tributaries multiplied by 3.6) despite the plagues that had ravaged the entire region. John W. Fox, in his response to these two authors, claims that the polity of Popoyá-Petapa was far more modest, and based on recent excavations of this area he is probably right (Walters, Feldman, and Fox 1982, 591–604). According to Fox, the pre-Columbian settlement pattern of the Pok'omam territory located in the Middle Mantagua Valley was that of a fortified center, containing a residential area populated by the principal patrilineal groups, from among whose members the lords, priests, army commanders, and tax collectors of the state's administration were nominated. The town (*chinamit*) was surrounded by patrilineal hamlets. The common lands of the town and hamlets were set aside for hunting, fishing, and farming (Fox et al. 1981, 321–46).

Before the Spanish-Nahua conquest, the Maya-Pok'omam population of Popoyá-Petapa and Amatitlan was part of the greater Pok'omam territory, which had two political and ceremonial centers: Mixco (Chianautla Viejo) and Popoyá-Petapa. The entire area of the Valley of Guatemala was divided between the Petapa polity in the east and the Amatitlan polity in the south, with the polity of Mixco in the north (Miles 1957; Maxwell and Hill 2006; Luján Muñoz 1986). The hamlet of Pampichi was where the prototype Pok'omam settlement of San Juan Amatitlan had been located from the Late Post-Classic era until its population was regrouped by the Dominicans in 1548. On Lake Amatitlan stood a fort that may have provided defense for the two *chinamit*. The remains of this fort are clearly depicted on the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, to the right of the Volcán de Agua (see Figure 2).

In 1524, when the Spaniards first arrived in Lake Amatitlan, their scouts claimed (underestimating) that 'there were between ten and fifteen Pok'omam dwellings only, with their maize and *chia* milpas located on the lake's shore; those were probably under the control of Mixco at that time.'⁵ Before the great plagues that struck the province after 1545, the population of the newly congregated communities of Amatitlan was around 10,870 people (Miles 1957). However, as a result of the epidemics, by 1571–72 there were only 1,896 tributaries (that is, around 8,104 total inhabitants) (Vázquez de Espinosa 1885–1928, 78–80).⁶

In the aftermath of the fighting, the Nahua from Central Mexico and their Kaqchikel allies who took part in the conquest settled on lands assigned to them in

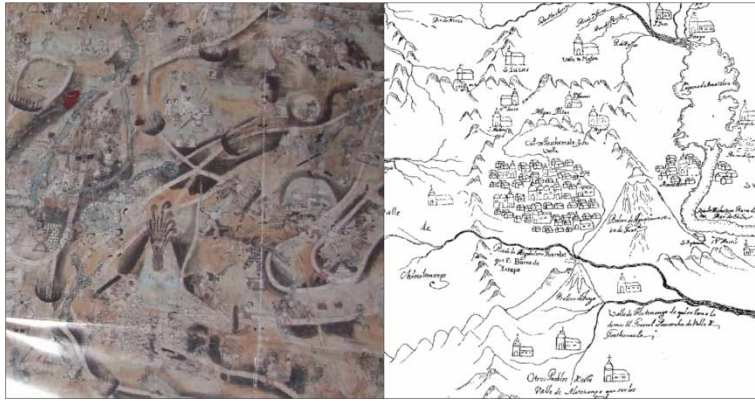


Figure 2 Francisco de Fuentes y Guzmán's map drawn around 1680 compared to the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* (reconstruction by Noga Yosselevitch, University of Haifa; photo by the author).

Santa María Concepción Almolonga, next to their Spanish patrons and masters. Almolonga was founded by Jorge de Alvarado in 1527. Many among the Kaqchikel soldiers were still slaves owned by the Alvarado brothers, even though they had contributed their share of blood and sweat putting down native resistance to the Spanish conquest. The newly established town was divided into three *parcialidades* separated according to origins: Mexicanos (Cholultecas, Zapotecs, and Quauhquecholtecas), Tlaxcaltecas, and Guatemaltecas (mostly Kaqchikels and Uatlecas). These three groups remained separate but lived side-by-side until 1543. The Spanish established Guatemala's capital at Ciudad Vieja in 1527. On 10 September (2 *Tihax*) 1541, the old capital was destroyed by a torrent of water and mud that cascaded down from the overlooking Volcán de Agua. The capital was then moved to Santiago de Guatemala (now Antigua). This is documented in the *Anales de los Cakchiqueles*: 'In the course of this year there was a great disaster which destroyed the Castilians at Panchoy. On the day 2 *Tihax* the waters burst from the mountain Hun-ahpu, rushing out from the interior of the mountain, and enveloped the Castilians in destruction. The wife of Tunatiuh was then drowned' (Arana Hernández et al. 1967). That same year the Kaqchikels living in Almolonga petitioned governor Marroquín to grant them freedom and asked to be given some vacant lands nearer to their Spanish patrons in the Valley of Panchoy ('in the lake'), closer to the recently founded city of Santiago de Guatemala. The town council of Guatemala granted their request and gave them lands in Jocotenango, where their milpas came to be named as the *parcialidad de los Guatemaltecas* de Jocotenango. This event is described in the *Anales de los Cakchiqueles* as well: 'One hundred and six days after they had really begun to teach us the word of God, then they commenced to gather together the houses in groups, by order of the ruler, Juan Roser, and the people came forth from their caves and ravines. On the day 7 Caok the capital was re-peopled, and we were there with all the tribes' (Arana Hernández et al. 1967; Lutz 1994).

As other sources from the period attest, the emancipated Kaqchikel slaves who thereafter became *naborías* as well as some of the Nahua conquistadors and their dependents settled near the Dominican friars in the new barrio of Málaga (Santo Domingo) north of the Dominican friary of Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua), outside the town walls. The thirty-one milpas forming the new barrio of Santo Domingo became disciplined communities with appointed authorities, and the residents paid annual rent for the lands of their ex-masters (AGI Guatemala 9, 3 June 1560). Most of them were employed by Spaniards in sugar mills, wheat and maize milpas, and in more specialized crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and tile and pottery making.

The Spaniards offered many of their emancipated slaves the opportunity to stay on as wage laborers, but this was also a period of harassment and abuse. In subsequent years, Spaniards living in this locality tried their best to prevent solidarity among the various former slave communities around Santiago de Guatemala, but their efforts failed. Both the Nahua and the Kaqchikel communities in this area were well aware that in the face of daily abuse by the Spanish during the early years of their liberation, they were totally dependent on Dominican protection. In 1551, for example, the freed Guatemalteco slaves (*naborías*) were represented by Dominican friars Juan de Torres, Pedro de Angulo, and Matías de Paz in their appeal to the Audiencia of Guatemala to reconsider the order commanding them to return to their places of origin in Guatemala. Their appeal was successful and they remained under the protection of the Dominican priory, recognized by the Crown.

During that year about 700 Kaqchikels, assisted by the Dominican prior, Fr. Domingo de Azcona, bought lands from García de Salinas, one of the Spanish conquistadors of Guatemala, paying him 210 pesos, and subsequently settled on that land (AGI Guatemala 54, 4 September 1575; AGI Justicia 292:3, f. 2v, 1572 to 1574).⁷ In the same year, the first Franciscan seminary for 'sons of dignitaries' (i.e., sons of allied native conquistadors) was founded in Almolonga, while a second school was founded in Mixco, where some of the Nahua soldiers had settled back in 1527. Juan Alonso, a former Tlaxcallan lord, was the first to graduate from the seminary in Almolonga and became a *maestro cantor* in the Valley of Guatemala. As he told the Franciscan friars, his work was extremely frustrating, since the Tlaxcallans and the Kaqchikels who inhabited the *parcialidades* in Mixco refused to obey him. They continued instead with their traditional feasts and rituals in honor of their former deities, 'invoking their *nahualli* and [having] intoxicated themselves with *chicha* [. . .]. They offered incense to the animals of the forest and to stone images, while chanting their histories in Nahuatl and Kaqchikel, and playing their ancient instruments' (AGI Guatemala 168, 30 January 1552, 'Carta por Fr. Juan de Mansilla al príncipe Felipe II'; Vásquez 1937, 2, 221, 226–28).

At this point, Chiahuitl, a Nahua lord from Central Mexico who had been living in Panchoy for a year or so and before that in Almolonga, first appears in the records. By then he was already fully associated with the Dominicans in the nearby friary (Lutz 1994, 24),⁸ creating structures of mutual assistance in their parallel endeavors to move into the Pok'omam territory around Lake Amatitlan. At the same time,

Chiahuitl began asking some of the newly-arrived Kaqchiquels whom he knew from Almolonga to join him in his new endeavor together with his Dominican allies (AGI Guatemala 111, 6 December 1567).⁹

The Onslaught on the Pok'omam Kingdom

A recurring pre-Columbian pattern that emerges from the evidence is the alliance established between Nahua conquistadors from Central Mexico and Maya-Kaqchikels from Highland Guatemala. One plausible explanation for the willingness of the Kaqchikels to join this Mexican/Nahua colonization campaign in the Maya area of Amatlán comes from the local history of feuds between the Maya-Pok'omam and the Kaqchikels prior to the Spanish conquest. From the 1470s to 1521, some of the Pok'omam towns had been temporarily conquered and ruled by the Kaqchikels. According to the *Memorial de Solola: Anales de los Cakchiqueles* (f. 143), 'the rulers Huntoh and Vukubatz assigned to the chiefs of the seven nations all their tributaries, that is to say, the people of Popoyá: Pancag, Holom, Mixco, and Tamyac, all of whom were Pok'omams.' Accordingly, the area was then partitioned into four sub-provinces ruled by four head-towns. The sources indicate that the Pok'omam leaders were obliged to levy ritual gifts of honey and turkeys on feast days to the two major Kaqchikel rulers, Sequechul and Sinacam, and to be engaged in commerce with them on normal days (AGCA A1, 4674/40166, 1582–1670, ff. 14v, 20v, 24r).¹⁰ In Mixco, possibly the Pok'omam capital, local attempts to obtain independence were brutally



Figure 3 The Conquest of Itzcuintepéc Lienzo de Tlaxcala (Courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Glasgow University Library).

suppressed by the Kaqchikels. The *Anales de los cakchiqueles* (f. 161) describe their actions as follows: ‘During the fifth year those of Mixco were put to death; being tributaries of the king Cablahuh Tihax, they wished to make themselves independent. On the day 7 Camay, the town of Mixco was taken and its inhabitants slain by the chiefs’¹¹ (Arana Hernández et al. 1967).

Throughout 1524, the political situation around Lake Amatitlan was unstable and fragile. The battle over Esquintla (Itzquintepeque) and against the local Pipil population was fought by Pedro de Alvarado in May 1524 (AGI Justicia 291, ff. 97r, 241r), and concurrently the Pok’omam population around Petapa-Popoyá and Mixco remained rebellious well into 1527. Between January and May 1527, Spanish and Nahua troops led by Pedro de Alvarado and stationed in Chimaltenango were engaged in ongoing battles in Petapa and Mixco until the population of Mixco finally surrendered (Asselbergs 2008, 174; AGI Justicia 393:1, f. 73r; AGI Justicia 291, f. 98r–v).¹² Francisco de Fuentes y Guzmán describes the battle as one of the worst fought in the conquest of Guatemala, with more than 200 Chinauhtleca (i.e., Mixco) soldiers killed, as well as many Tlaxcallans, among them their two leaders, Juan Xuchiatl and Gerónimo Ríos (Fuentes y Guzmán 1883, 2:50). He explains that the leader of Petapa, Cahzabalám, offered to ally with Pedro de Alvarado and instructed his nobles not to provoke hostile acts against the Spaniards. Others chose to fight, however, attacking the Spanish army on its road to the area where Santiago de los Caballeros was to be established: ‘sin embargo, algunos de este pueblo, unidos á los de Pinula, Guaymango, Guanagazapa, Guaymoco y Jumay, presentaron la batalla á los españoles en los llanos de Canales cuando dominado el peñol de Jalpatagua, se dirigían á Guatemala’ (Fuentes y Guzmán 1883, 2:268).

The chronicler Domingo Juarros describes the assault on Mixco between January and early May, 1525. At the beginning of their march up the road leading to the fortifications (1,203 meters above sea level), the Spaniards brought thirty horses, two infantry brigades, and 200 Tlaxcallan foot soldiers. Their commander was Gonzalo de Alvarado, and his lieutenants were Alonzo de Ojeda, Noé de Olivar, and Hernández de Chávez.

Don Pedro de Alvarado acknowledged the great threats which his army faced during this onslaught. Thereafter, having invoked God and St. George the Apostle, they confronted the Pok’omam town, and walked unyielding through the arrows and the stones that rained upon them, but could not detain them. We engaged them with our crossbowmen and caused them much havoc; however, the strangers [i.e., Tlaxcallans] were gaining ground. With many of them dead and with many sacrifices, they finally managed to subdue this town. The captain, before marching away, ordered the town to be burnt down; some of the local populace succeeded in escaping to various sites. This is why there are today different Pok’omam regions. (Juarros and Toledo Palomo 2000, 277)

On 20 March 1527, after having received his formal rank as a Lieutenant General of the Kingdom from Marcos de Aguilar (Fuentes y Guzmán 1883, 2:187), Jorge de

Alvarado (Pedro's brother) began his campaign in this area with a massive assault on the Kaqchikel kingdom. Having secured a headquarters at Chimaltenango within Kaqchikel territory, Jorge de Alvarado led a series of lesser expeditions against resistance leaders such as Zinacab and Zequechul. He was apparently assisted in these battles by his new ally in Petapa, Cuzbalam:

Tan leales se mostraron los petapanecos, que cuando en [1527] ocurrió el levantamiento de los indios dirigido por el rey Sinacam, contestó Cuzhualam á los embajadores de éste que jamás faltaría á la fe jurada á Alvarado. (Fuentes y Guzmán 1883, 2:282)

The Spaniards remained on site in Mixco until a local faction in the town secretly sent emissaries to Pedro de Alvarado, bringing gifts of cotton cloths, gold and feathers and promising to provide him information about the escape route to be taken by the rival factions within Mixco that still offered fierce resistance. The lords of this faction justified their collaboration with the Spaniards by saying that 'they were faithful vassals of the great lord of Rabinal in the Vera Paz, and subjects of Mixco, and that those of Mixco were the ones who incited them to rebel against the Spaniards' (Fuentes y Guzmán 1883, 2:255).

In the aftermath of the battle of Mixco, many local inhabitants who survived the Spanish-Mexican onslaught dispersed to the vicinity of Lake Amatitlan, to Petapa-Popoyá, and to the area southwest of the Volcán de Agua. Others were forced to move into the newly established community of present-day Mixco, just southwest of Mixco's old site (Chinautla) (Walters, Feldman, and Fox 1982, 591–604). A comparison of Francisco de Fuentes y Guzmán's map drawn around 1680 and that of the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* (Figure 2) shows that both are drawn from the same angle, that is, from the southeast looking towards the northwest, all the way up to the Valle de las Vacas. The lake itself is depicted in Fuentes y Guzmán's map just on top of San Juan Amatitlan, while in the *Lienzo* it is not discernible due to the fading of the blue colors over time.¹³ It was there that the next battle was fought. To the upper right of the Volcán de Agua on the *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* is what originally were the outlines of Lake Amatitlan and the Palin-Popoyá area, where the next battle was waged. The name-glyph of Petapa-Popoyá (*Popo* meaning united/joined and [*y*] *ha* 'water') is visibly represented by the intertwined *tolin* (reeds) next to the Tululha River. Beneath this is the figure of a local Pok'omam commander and lord dressed in an elaborate jaguar outfit, perhaps representing the legendary figure of Hun Ahpu. Hun Ahpu was also the Maya name given to the Volcán de Agua. Classic Maya pottery depicts the Hero-Twin Hun-Ahpu (or Hun-Ahau) aiming his blowgun at a steeply descending bird representing the 'false sun.' Elsewhere, the Hero-Twin figure is represented by a jaguar twin (Yax B'ahlam) (Coe 1989, 161–84; Tedlock 1993; Grofe 2007).¹⁴ Mary Miller and Karl Taube explain that '[a]ll of these jaguar figures invite a comparison with the jaguar twin (*Yax B'ahlam*). In fact, one of the

other upright versions of the burning human in K3831 appears to be the jaguar twin himself, with jaguar markings around his mouth and on his arms and legs' (Taube 1983, 171–81).

The Pok'omam commander is seen engaged in a fierce battle with the Kaqchikels, the Quauhquechollans, and the Spanish invaders (Figure 2). Above and to the left is yet another large-sized fighter dressed in what seems like *coyotl* camouflage. Bernal Díaz del Castillo mentions that he himself was wounded in the battle between Cuajiniquilapa and Petapa while on his way from Honduras to Mexico, 'in some deep ravines [. . .] and then they wounded me with an arrow shot [. . .] and we got through with great difficulty, although many warriors from Guatemala and other towns were stationed in the pass' (Díaz del Castillo 2008, 341). The battle of Esquintla is depicted on the *lienzo* to the southwest of the Volcán de Agua (and parallel to the scene depicted on the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*).

Nahua Conquistadors and Settlers around Lake Amatitlan, Guatemala

Chiahuitl (don Cristóbal) was one of the veteran Nahua allies who fought together with the Kaqchikels and Alvarado's army in the 1527 battle over Popoyá-Petapa. According to the *Probanzas de los hijos del cacique Francisco Calel* (1582–1670), when the Spaniards arrived the *chinamit* of Popoyá-Petapa was ruled by don Francisco Calel, the elder son of Cazbalam. The name Cazbalam means 'tobacco jaguar'; tobacco was one of the major associations of the Volcán de Agua (AGCA A1 4674/40166, f. 25r).¹⁵ Calel married doña Magdalena prior to the Spanish conquest, and they were later baptized and remarried in church as Christians by the first bishop of Guatemala, don Francisco Marroquín. They had three legitimate children: don Francisco de Guzmán, Juan Pérez, and Diego Pérez. Don Francisco de Guzmán, the eldest (also married in the local church by Fray Juan de Torres), inherited power after his father died (AGCA A1 4674/40166, f. 25r). As dictated by the old rules, prior to his death Calel instructed his elder son to divide power among his younger brothers. Consequently, the two younger brothers were assigned specific peripheral towns and hamlets, while their elder brother remained the supreme ruler in Popoyá-Petapa. Early colonial records attest to the presence of a comparatively high percentage of local nobility exempt from paying tribute within a given Pok'omam peripheral town (37.5%). This was the case in Santa Inés Petapa (Popoyá) in 1551, where thirty-six of eighty local tributaries belonged to the lordly stratum. In Santa Inés Petapa there was apparently also a cluster of Mexican auxiliaries settled there by Alvarado shortly after the conquest (Fuentes y Guzmán 1932, 1:240; Miles 1957, 740). We have as yet no evidence as to whether these were lords, or if the local nobility was purely Maya (AGCA A1, 4674/40166, f. 32v; AGCA A3.2, 825/15225).¹⁶

As both the Nahua and Maya sources reveal, local elites (*ahualel*) owned slaves who worked their milpas and served in their households.¹⁷ They were freed only when the Spanish New Laws began to be effectively enforced in Guatemala after 1548. During the next few generations, the heirs of the three ruling Pok'omam brothers in Popoyá-

Petapa married the daughters of former Tlaxcallan and Cholultecan conquistadors who lived in Almolonga, as indicated in the *probanza* of Francisco Calel, thus reaffirming old commitments and affiliations among local Nahuatl colonists and their heirs. Likewise, Pablo de Guzmán, don Francisco's grandson and governor of Petapa in 1611, married doña Engracia, who was the daughter of Gaspar Xuárez Passo and Mariana de Vitoria, a mestiza (the daughter of Juan de Vitoria, a mestizo living in Petapa). Gaspar was the grandson of Antonio Passo, a Nahuatl conquistador who originally came from Cholula in the early 1520s and the son of Bernabé Passo, who settled in Almolonga around 1527, right after the conquest ended.¹⁸ In 1572, Bernabé Passo appealed to the Audiencia of Guatemala and to the Consejo de Indias in Spain to be exempted from paying tribute due to his father's participation as a conquistador in the conquest of Guatemala. Bernabé was among a large group of appellants that year who were from the same background and by that time were public officers and functionaries in Almolonga. One of these was don Diego de Galicia, Almolonga's *alcalde ordinario*, who came from Cholula; another was don Diego de Selada, the town's Indian governor.¹⁹ Gaspar's second daughter, Inés Xuárez Passo, was married to Gaspar Peres of Petapa, who may have been the grandson of one of Calel's sons, Juan or Diego Pérez, while his two other daughters, Helena Xuárez Passo and Catalina Xuárez Passo, were unmarried (AGCA A1, 4674/40166, f. 46v). Juan Pérez married an indigenous woman named Juana in a church ceremony officiated by a Dominican friar. Diego Pérez, his younger brother, married Ana, another local Indian woman, also in church and by the same friar (AGCA A1, 4674/40166, f. 12r).

Nahuatl and Kaqchikel Colonization of the Maya Pok'omam Area

We have already seen how, after laying down arms, many Nahuatl conquistadors maintained pre-Columbian settlement processes and political goals according to what I call a 'conquest-after-conquest' pattern. This tendency was epitomized by new alliances established between Nahuatl conquistadors such as Chiahuitl and the Kaqchikels living next to him in Panchoy. Their joint interests lay in taking hold of new areas dominated by Maya speakers. Around September 1542, a year after the great deluge in Almolonga, the Maya-Pok'omam rural communities in the vicinity of Lake Amatitlan absorbed several Nahuatl-speaking migrant groups from Panchoy and Almolonga that were former Mexican allies and their descendants. Apparently, a large group of these Mexicans settled in the new community of Santa Inés Petapa, which Francisco de Fuentes y Guzmán describes as 'de nación mexicana, de los que pasaron a este reyno de Goatemala del de México, en compañía de los españoles conquistadores, y una porción de ellos fundó en aquel sitio, como otros de la propia nación en otras partes y provincias del reyno . . . ' (Fuentes y Guzmán 1932, 413).²⁰ By the end of the seventeenth century, in towns such as Santa Inés Petapa, or Santo Domingo Mixco, for example, there were already 920 Nahuatl-speaking inhabitants settled permanently. Using linguistic analysis and a transcribed seventeenth-century document found by Laurence Feldman at the Archivo General de Centro America, in

Guatemala, Miguel León-Portilla erroneously concluded that it was written in Nahuatl-Pipil, instead of Nahuatl from central Mexico (León-Portilla 1985, 35–46). The quote from Fuentes y Guzmán above shows this to be untrue.

In towns such as Santa Inés Petapa, Santo Domingo Mixco, and Palin-Palaqha, the Nahuatl-speaking group of Indian conquistadors with their indigenous auxiliaries from central Mexico ('indios aliados'), were followed by Kaqchikel migrant groups who joined them from Almolonga. Together they formed a new social enclave within the previously homogenous Pok'omam population.²¹ The town of Petapa was actually partitioned between the two populations, the Maya-Pok'omam and the Nahua, with the river Tululha dividing them. Primary sources composed by the descendants of these Nahua conquistadors and presented to the Audiencia of Guatemala beginning in 1580, such as the *Probanzas de los hijos del cacique Francisco Calel*, clearly manifest this development (AGCA A1, 4674/ 40166).²²

In 1548, the isolated hamlet of Panchoy became a convenient point of departure for Spanish-Nahua colonization of the area. Pre-established ties of sponsorship with the existing Nahua and Kaqchikel settler groups made infiltration much easier (AGI Guatemala 177, 2 December 1634 and 17 October 1635).²³ That year, the Dominican friar Diego Martínez gathered the scattered Pok'omam population of five different hamlets from the mountain slopes surrounding Lake Amatitlan into two newly established parishes: San Juan and San Cristóbal Amatitlan (Palin-Palaqha) (Fuentes y Guzmán 1932; Ximénez 1929). These two new parishes were assigned to the priory of Santiago de Guatemala, and the two friars who resided in San Juan Amatitlan also took charge of the *visitas* of Petapa and Pinula, situated on the other side of the lake (AGI Guatemala 111, 6 December 1567).²⁴ It is important to note that by then there was a major difference between the two towns, San Juan and San Cristóbal Amatitlan. According to local sources, San Juan remained strictly in the hands of its traditional Maya-Pok'omam leadership. This is clearly indicated in town records. For example, in a list of officials dated 27 September 1560 we see the following names: don Juan Ahual, Gonzalo Ocumate, Diego Tiax (*regidores*), and Gonzalo Quehpal (*alcalde*) (AGI Guatemala 45, f. 3v). And in 1562 the lords of the local *parcialidades* were Gonzalo Colmay, Pedro Laculel, Miguel Tut Coaha, Diego Ahtzalum, and Gonzalo Vacax (AGI Guatemala 45, ff. 41v–42r).

Finally, in 1567, the local cacique of San Juan Amatitlan was thirty-year-old don Francisco de Cárdenas, who spoke Pok'omam (AGI Guatemala 111, 'Probanza cerca de la buena vida...'). It was in this year that the balance of power among the three indigenous ethnic groups occupying San Cristóbal Amatitlan was drastically upset. Thanks to the intervention of Dominican friar Diego Martínez, the Pok'omam majority was placed under the direct rule of Chiahuitl, the Nahua minority leader. Martínez delivered a *relación de méritos* on Chiahuitl's behalf to the president of the Audiencia de los Confines. The audiencia approved this document, then recommended that the Crown nominate Chiahuitl as the new governor of the town of San Cristóbal Amatitlan, probably by replacing the local traditional Pok'omam leadership (AGI Justicia 317, October 1566).²⁵ Chiahuitl's rule over Palin lasted from 1548 to

1567. Wishing to avoid political upheaval, Chiahuitl wisely appointed *alcaldes* and *regidores* for the new civil hierarchy from among the Pok'omam, as well as *mayordomos* for the newly established church. The newly established hierarchy among the three ethnic groups in this originally Maya community was thus: A. Nahua; B. Kaqchikel; C. Pok'omam.

During the first years after the congregation (*reducción*) of San Juan Amatitlan, regional markets for exchanging local products were established in San Miguel Pinola, San Lucas, and San Cristóbal Amatitlan. Traditional pre-Columbian trade ties within the greater Pok'omam area were re-established with slight modifications. The newly celebrated Catholic feast days became an occasion for reinforcing old ties among the surrounding communities through exchanging gifts and inviting dignitaries from one neighboring Pok'omam community to the other. Thus, for example, on the day of Santo Domingo the community of San Juan Amatitlan presented Chiahuitl, the Nahua governor of Palin or San Cristóbal Amatitlan, with a gift of two turkeys, and on Christmas Day they presented two double-chin cocks to the notables of Pinola (AGI Justicia 317, f. 47r, 'Cuentas de los oficiales'). It is probable that on these occasions images of saints were carried from one Pok'omam community to the other, as is still the custom in Guatemala (Bunzel 1967). Interactions between the different Maya Pok'omam facilitated the emergence of a complex network of interdependence and mutual obligations among *caciques* and the local population.

Nevertheless, in more peripheral Pok'omam areas to the east, matters were far less orderly, and both the Dominicans and their local allies needed the traditional Maya leadership of San Juan Amatitlan to exercise more control. On a separate page of the *probanza* of don Francisco Calel by Fray Francisco de la Guardia, the Dominican vicar of Petapa and Santa Inés, situated half a league away from Petapa, the vicar informs the Audiencia of Guatemala that 'much disorder' prevailed in that hamlet over management of community property and expenditures, as well as the burdens incurred by the local *macehuales*. There was no church building in this hamlet, and the people were regularly engaged in conjuring by means of throwing beans and reeds ('*naipe* games') and other 'improper games.' De la Guardia therefore recommended that the indigenous governor of Petapa see to it that things 'be brought back into order there' (AGCA A1, 4674/40166, f. 33r). As a result, the two ruling brothers, don Francisco de Guzmán and don Juan Pérez, were called in by the audiencia to give an account of the situation. They testified that 'there were some differences among them concerning to whom the administration of that town belonged' (AGCA A1, 4674/40166, f. 33r.). The Spanish judges ruled that the elder brother, don Francisco de Guzmán, should remain the sole governor of Petapa, and that don Juan Pérez should be responsible for local administration on the periphery of that township 'according to, and in the manner by which his fathers and grandfathers used to [...] and that the local inhabitants and the lords of the rest of the towns in their vicinity should acknowledge the rule of each one of these two, as was the norm there in ancient times...' (AGCA A1, 4674/40166, f. 33v).²⁶ This classic Maya pattern of ruling

brothers (but not twins, as in the *Popol Vuh*) is also described for both Chichén Itzá and Copán during the Classic Period (Jones 1998; Sánchez 2005, 261–75).

Nahua Control over Maya Economic Transactions and Property

According to the Book of the Community of San Juan Amatitlan, one of the most revealing phenomena to emerge is the clear pattern of Nahua colonization of and encroachment onto Pok'omam property and revenue during the 1560s and 1570s. As seen above, the Nahua conquistador Chiahuitl had been carrying out indigenous colonization in Palin (San Cristóbal Amatitlan) since 1548. Nevertheless, as I stressed at the beginning of this article, the Dominican Order was a solid partner in this colonizing of the surrounding Pok'omam towns of San Juan Amatitlan, Petapa, Pinula, and Mixco (AGI Justicia 285:4, 2 [1572]). This close affinity between Chiahuitl and the Dominicans originated in the early 1540s in Panchoy, although there are no indications of a formal agreement or 'scheme' for joint colonization. Nonetheless, such an agreement is plausible given the actions outlined in the various sources.

In 1560, the community property (*bienes de comunidad*) of San Juan Amatitlan was quite sumptuous, comprising thirty goats, eleven mules, one hundred *fanegas* of maize, and thirty-two loads of salt. The community also possessed two wheat and maize milpas that were the source of tribute payments to the Spanish encomendero (AGI Guatemala 45, f. 3v).²⁷ When Miguel Tutlahau became the mayordomo in charge of community property in October 1560, the two local sources of revenue, that is, the community treasury (*caja de comunidad*) and the *cofradía* revenues, were merged (AGI Guatemala 45, ff. 40v–41r). A description of this merger as early as the 1560s marks a preliminary phase in the development of the pact with the Dominicans. In 1561, the Dominican priory's control of the community's financial affairs was clearly in evidence. The Book of the Community reveals that fines extracted by the local cabildo from delinquents were transferred to Fr. Diego Martínez immediately after the end of the court hearing. Moreover, the accounts of the *bienes de difuntos*, or deeds of property left by deceased individuals to the community, were administered directly by the friar, as noted by the town scribe, Francisco Ahtzib (AGI Guatemala 45, f. 52r). In parallel, during the following two years the community's expenditures on church ornaments reached a peak, with 412 gold pesos paid for damask and brocade *frontales*, silver candlesticks and a crucifix, incense burners, a chalice, and the repair of the church's two trumpets (AGI Guatemala 45, ff. 44v, 55v). The church expenses were specified in Fr. Diego Martínez's own handwriting on a separate page in the Book of the Community, alongside the account of the profits from the two wheat and maize milpas. Accordingly, the twelve *fanegas* of wheat sown by the *regidores* produced 103 harvested *fanegas*, of which eighty *fanegas* were sold to Gaspar López, a merchant of Santiago de Guatemala, and eight to Alonso Pérez, a Spanish farmer, while ten were given to the Dominican friars as tithe. A large part of the profit from the wheat sale was spent on acquiring chasubles for the church at a cost of 200 *tostones* (AGI Guatemala 45, f. 1v).

In 1569, Dominican control over San Juan Amatitlan and the neighboring Pok'omam communities of Petapa and Pinola entered a new phase. This was partly due to the death of the elder son of Cristóbal Lobo, the encomendero of Amatitlan, and the subsequent division of the encomienda. The town of San Juan Amatitlan was transferred to Lic. Diego Ramírez, while Alonso de Paz was given San Cristóbal Amatitlan and half the town of Pinola (AGI Guatemala 53, 7 March 1570, 'Probanza de Fernando de Azeituno'). That year, Fr. Diego Martínez reached an agreement with the local lords and regidores of San Juan Amatitlan that granted the Dominicans rights over Lake Amatitlan and all of its products. In the deed to the lake, these rights are declared to have been given entirely of the local populace's free will. Indeed, it should be emphasized that one of Fr. Diego Martínez's first initiatives after taking up residence in San Juan Amatitlan in 1548 was to inform the newly nominated governor and dignitaries that a royal decree granted their community the exclusive right to the lake and its products and that Spaniards and mulattoes were denied any access to it. In contrast, the lake was now 'granted' to, or, more precisely, appropriated by, the Dominican Order as a corporate entity, as well as to each of the friars individually for an unlimited period of time. The donation is described in the deed as a reward for the work of the mission and a token of gratitude for the friars' work among them. According to the terms listed in the deed, the Dominican Order was henceforth able to extract as many fish as they needed for their sustenance or for any other purpose. The local population was excluded from using the lake for a period of six years, after which they would be permitted to fish any species in the lake (crawfish or freshwater shrimp) other than the *mojarras* (silver biddies).

The deed of Lake Amatitlan is the earliest recorded donation of property by any native community to the mendicant orders in this part of the New World. If up to 1565 native arable lands were used by the Spaniards only for cattle grazing, after that date they were cultivated to raise the desired cash crops, especially since the demographic decline in the Indian communities made it easier for the Spaniards to acquire vacant lands from the native lords. After 1562, when the Audiencia of Guatemala revised its former prohibition against Spanish colonists entering areas overwhelmingly dominated by indigenous communities, the valleys of Petapa and Canales around Lake Amatitlan became increasingly populated by Spaniards who had moved out of Santiago de Guatemala and begun settling on lands where they cultivated mainly wheat (*pan llevar*) and indigo, and founded sugar mills and cattle ranches. Among them was the new encomendero of San Juan Amatitlan, Lic. Diego Ramírez, whose farm was located on the outskirts of Petapa (AGI Guatemala 111, 6 December 1567).²⁸

On 24 October 1575, the deed to the lands donated to the Dominican priory by the Pok'omam community of Mixco was written by the town notary under instructions from the Dominican prior, Fr. Juan Beltrán. Present at the signing of the deed were don Francisco de Quiñones and don Juan López, the lords of the two *parcialidades* of Mixco. The deed to the land bears a striking stylistic resemblance to the one signed in San Juan Amatitlan for the lake and its products. It begins by emphasizing the friars'

achievements in converting members of the community and their need for land due to their poverty. As in San Juan Amatitlan, the lands were given to the order both as a corporate body and to each of the friars as individuals. The land boundaries, which extended from Hayacoc, a farm that belonged to the community, to the *milpa de comunidad* in the east, reached Nuño Alvaro de Paz's hut, ending in the ravine of Hay Cal. The lords and alcaldes of Mixco accompanied Fr. Juan Beltrán when he marked the boundaries. That same day, they assembled their people in the church, sounded the bells, and informed them of the donation to the priory, translating the deed's content into Nahuatl and from Nahuatl into Maya. The lands assigned to Dominican *estancias* were named after Catholic saints, and the community's land boundaries were now marked by wooden crosses (AGI Guatemala 56, 1582–83, f. 380v; AGI Guatemala 10, 30 September 1575).²⁹

Maya Resistance to Nahua-Dominican Colonization

In Palin as well, the local balance among the three ethnic groups was drastically upset when at the beginning of 1566 the local Kachiquel lords of San Cristóbal Amatitlan secretly appealed to Lic. Francisco Briceño, the governor of Guatemala, to support them against their Nahua governor, Chiahuitl. Their appeal was considered part of the official review (*residencia*) of Lic. Briceño's term of office. The full records of this review can be found in the Archivo General de Indias. In May of 1566, the deputy governor, Sánchez Lomo, came to the town to open an inquiry into Chiahuitl's conduct. Most of the witnesses in this inquiry were Kaqchikels, some of whom were still serving in Chiahuitl's household and milpas. They testified before the commission of inquiry that Chiahuitl was usually attended in his local household by eight or nine *macehualtin*, most Kaqchikels, and that he had a hundred men working on his cacao plantations and maize milpas. More workers were brought from the neighboring Pok'omam communities when needed to clear the woodlands and prepare for sowing and harvesting. Furthermore, the common lands on the slopes of the Volcán de Agua were confiscated by Chiahuitl's relatives, who forced the Pok'omam population to pay to cultivate their maize plots. According to various witnesses, Chiahuitl often declared that the forest, the deer, the honey, and the milpas 'were his own property.'³⁰ Throughout the year, the local populace was obliged to contribute part of their produce as tribute to their supreme lord, and when young men got married their fathers had to donate 400 cacao beans to Chiahuitl.³¹ In his defense, Chiahuitl provided a detailed description of the persisting patterns of rule he exercised in this community. According to him, it was still customary for men who had been temporarily reduced to slaves to work in the ruler's household for a period of around two years ('Que por que es cacique les dice que sirvan que llaman servicio de dos años en esta parte, porque antes tenían esclavos que le servían') (AGI Guatemala 56, f. 380v).

Testimony by the Kaqchikels from San Cristóbal Amatitlan also reveals that Chiahuitl acted to forge political and commercial ties with the Nahuatl-speaking Pipil

of Itzquitepec (Escuintla) with the goal of obtaining free passage to the port of Itzapan (Izapa), located on the Pacific coast.³² Yet these new relationships were also the cause of Chiahuitl's constant claims to some of the lands in the jurisdiction of Esquintla, a matter which the lords of Esquintla brought before the court of the *audiencia*.³³ It should be noted that the Kaqchikel fought the Pipil during the early 1520s, just before the arrival of the Spaniards in the area (Maxwell and Hill 2006), and this may well be the reason for local Kaqchikel anxiety over Chiahuitl's move in this direction.

In October 1566, and as a consequence of a number of lawsuits and allegations against him, Chiahuitl was finally deposed by the *Audiencia* of Guatemala from his position as governor of this town, and the *defensor de los naturales*, Lic. Diego Ramírez, strictly forbade him to use the local *macehualtin* as his private servants or to receive any further 'donations' from the local population. Moreover, the *audiencia* also ordered him to give back all he had taken of common property to its 'rightful owners.'

During these years, the three distinct ethnic groups, the Pok'omam, the Nahua, and the Kaqchikel, retained their separate origins, history, and lingering aspirations, and did not overcome former historical animosities or recent anxieties and inequalities. But it had taken more than fifteen years for their anxieties and sense of discrimination to be translated into legal actions taken by the different societal and ethnic segments, and directed primarily against the local Nahua conquistador and his Spanish allies. The local Maya populace apparently informed a few prominent Spaniards in Santiago de Guatemala of the actions of the Dominicans in their communities. These included intervening in local municipal elections for officers in the newly established Spanish *cabildo*, in which elected or nominated persons among the local elite remained in office from one to three years at most. Likewise, in a letter sent to Philip II 'by a few of the most prominent Spaniards residing in the town of Santiago de Guatemala at that time' (AGI Guatemala 10, 12 February 1563),³⁴ they reported the friars' interference in local elections to the king. This interference, which involved advising the native *cabildos* on whom to elect and sometimes even directly appointing the new officers, 'was already becoming a common practice in the Maya communities in Guatemala.' They also reported that in communities where the nominees chosen by the Dominicans were not favored by the local population, such acts led to unrest (AGI Justicia 317, ff. 67v–72r)

By 1573, accumulating evidence indicates that the indigenous populace around Lake Amatitlan was becoming ever more alert, and unrest was brewing over growing Dominican encroachment on community property. Such encroachment was now believed to be even more menacing than Spanish rural settlement in the vicinity of their towns. Thus, for example, in 1572 one of the lords of Petapa expressed deep concern over these developments in a letter sent to one of his Spanish patrons in Santiago de Guatemala, asking for his intervention (AGI Justicia 285: 4, 2 [1572]). On 18 January 1575, the Council of the Indies in Spain finally ruled in favor of reinstating Lake Amatitlan to its proper owners, that is, the native Pok'omam

communities. A year earlier, the Council had also been alerted about the case of Dominican and Nahua extractions of local indigenous resources for sale that became a widespread phenomenon in the local Pok'omam towns as well as other Maya towns. This matter was thoroughly investigated within the framework of the long-lasting *residencia* investigating the tenure of the former oidor of the Audiencia of Guatemala, Lic. García de Valverde (AGI Indiferente General 524, 18 January 1575).³⁵ By 1582, a countrywide inquiry was already looking into the native lords' legitimate right to rule and why and under what circumstances they had been replaced by foreign lords in the native communities under the Dominican *doctrinas* in Guatemala (AGI Guatemala 56, f. 9v, 1582–83).³⁶ On that occasion, Lic. García de Valverde, by then acting president of the Audiencia of Guatemala, remarked: 'Those priests have suffocated this line of *caciques* because, as original lords, they had love for the Indians and the Indians towards them, and the *caciques* defended them from the priests, and at the same time the Indians did what their *caciques* ordered them to do...' (AGI Guatemala 10, 1582, 'García de Valverde a Su Magestad').

A generation or two after the Spanish conquest one finds ample evidence of a parallel process taking place in parts of New Spain and Guatemala: between 1560 and 1585, lords and rulers of several major native towns in Guatemala, Oaxaca, and Yucatan presented individual *probanzas de méritos* in an attempt to prove that they were the direct descendants of the local pre-Columbian ruler as well as in the form of what Matthew Restall (1998) has termed 'primordial titles,' for the sake of claiming rights over lands and jurisdictions, and on behalf of an entire community.³⁷ At the same time, Nahua conquistadors, already well established in these conquered areas, presented their own *títulos* and *lienzos* in order to prove their loyalties and services rendered to the Spanish Crown. The first native Maya title concerning pre-Columbian rights delivered to the Spanish Crown was that of don Juan Cortés, cacique of Santa Cruz del Quiche, presented by him in person as early as 1559.³⁸ But it was the decade of the 1580s when the submission of community titles in the Maya area of central Guatemala reached its peak.³⁹ The primary submission of the *Probanzas de los hijos del cacique Francisco Calel vecinos de las mesas de Petapa, descendientes de yndio-conquistador de Cholula* by his descendants in 1582 could therefore be viewed as an inseparable part of these currents of mounting cultural and social aspirations within the native communities of Guatemala.

Conclusion

The richly documented struggles of the Maya-Pok'omam communities around Lake Amatitlan in Guatemala between 1524 and 1580 reveal in microcosm the larger processes—some of them stretching back into the pre-contact period—that Mesoamerican scholars call 'conquest-after-conquest.' In short, Nahua conquistadors played an active role in the Spanish conquest and colonization of Guatemala, pursuing their own distinct ends. Fifteen years after the initial phase of the Spanish conquest had ended, the Nahua conquistadors initiated their own colonization of the

Maya-Pok'omam towns, mobilizing both Nahua and Kaqchikel migrant groups to settle there. As local Maya town records of this period reveal, the three ethnic groups within these Maya towns remained distinctly apart from each other, while the Nahua conquistadors impinged upon Maya economic assets, sharing them with their Dominican allies while maintaining political and social control over their local Maya subjects. They even sought expansion by targeting trade routes leading to the Pacific coast. However, by the 1570s and 1580s, Nahua economic and political encroachment finally brought about distinct and recognizable currents of Maya dissent against their foreign overlords, in parallel to the revival of local historical legacies of self-rule, later represented in their distinct primordial titles.

Finally, between 1563 and 1582, the Pok'omam communities' resistance against the encroachment of the Nahua conquistadors and their Dominican allies is critical to our understanding of the New Conquest History. The Nahua-Dominican alliance is of special interest, and I wish to end by calling our attention to two of its most prominent facets: (1) the Dominican adoption of the Nahua conquistadors' own traditional patterns of conquest-after-conquest in this part of Guatemala well after the end of the initial conquest period (1524–1527), and (2) close Dominican collaboration with Nahua expansionist policies towards Pipil-dominated enclaves leading to the Pacific coast from the 1550s to 1570s.

Archives

AGI Archivo General de Indias, Seville

AGCA Archivo General de Centro-América, Guatemala City

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I am grateful to Laura Matthew and Florine Asselbergs for their careful readings and commentary on this manuscript. Laura Matthew was also extremely generous in letting me read in advance some relevant paragraphs of her new book, as well as providing me with leads to the possible Nahua-related sources to be found in the Archivo General de Centro-América in Guatemala City. I am also indebted to Juan Carlos Sarazua and to Necely Lorena Miguel Coronado of the AGCA, who helped me obtain digital photos of the Nahua *probanzas* from this archive. Finally, my sincere thanks to Michel Oudijk for sharing with me his transcription of the AGI Justicia 291 file in its entirety.

Notes

¹ On the use of the term 'Conquest-After-Conquest' see Megged 2008, 1–39.

² Charles Upson Clark, a researcher for the US Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, was commissioned to uncover valuable manuscripts concerning the discoveries of the American territories in the Vatican Library in Rome, and also in Spain. His unedited materials were sent to the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. In his short

identification of this manuscript, Clark wrote that the language employed there, besides the Maya-Pokomam, was Pipil (and not Nahuatl). Lastra de Suárez (1986) and Canger (1988) see Pipil as 'a Nahuan dialect of the eastern periphery' spoken by descendants of Mexican migrant groups who arrived in Santa Lucía Cotzumalhuapa during the Late Classic period (700–900 AD) and were subsequently absorbed within the Mayan population. Their identification is now widely accepted by other scholars. I myself refer here only to classical Nahuatl. The Nahua settlers in the Maya-Pokomam communities around Lake Amatitlan, who came directly from central Mexico, spoke pure Nahuatl and should be differentiated from those Pipil enclaves south-east from them, near Esquintla and all the way down to El Salvador. See, below, my comment on the Santo Domingo Mixco's Nahuatl document found by Lawrence Feldman at the AGCA.

- ³ 'Probanzas de los hijos del cacique Francisco Calel, vecinos de las mesas de Petapa, descendientes de yndio-conquistador de Cholula' (1582–1670); 'Don Pablo Guzmán de Petapa pide exoneración de tributo' (1638).
- ⁴ 'El Fiscal con los yndios Mexicanos, Tlascatecas y Çapotecas del Reyno de Guatemala sobre pago de tributos'; Juan de Arguyo, defensor de los Indios de los asentos y barrios de Santo Domingo, San Francisco, La Merced y milpas del valle y comarca de la ciudad de Santiago, contra Lic. Antonio Mendiola, fiscal de Su Magestad, sobre que los indios teupantlacats, viudos y viudas, pobres, solteros, viejos de mas de 50 años, alcaldes, regidores y alguaciles fuesen relevados de pagar tributo,' 1570.
- ⁵ 'El cabildo justicia y regimentó de la ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala contra el prior y religiosos del convento de Santo Domingo sobre que no se aprovechan del producto de la laguna de Amatitlan' (AGI Justicia 285:4, 2, 1572, f. 160v, testimony by Gonzalo Nabora and Pablo de Camargo, Spaniards from the town of Santiago de Guatemala).
- ⁶ By 1620, the population of San Juan Amatitlan itself had been reduced to around 2,580 people. In 1570, Petapa had about 5,400 inhabitants.
- ⁷ 'Los indios que eran esclavos en la provincia de Guatemala en solicitud de que sean asistidos generalmente todos en negocio por los religiosos de Santo Domingo,' 1568; 'Memoria de cada milpa de este Valle de Guatemala que los viejos dados por libres, por mandamiento de Don Rodrigo, Corregidor,' 17 October 1574, 3 October 1575 (the original letter of appeal delivered to the friars in Nahuatl); a letter by the Indians of the Valley of Guatemala to the Council of the Indies.
- ⁸ The *barrio* of Santo Domingo included a *parcialidad* of Guatimaltecas (mostly artisans) and a *parcialidad* of Mexicanos, who accompanied Alvarado in the conquest of Guatemala and their descendants. They were under the patronage of the Dominicans.
- ⁹ 'Probanza cerca de la Buena vida y costumbres de los religiosos de Santo Domingo de esta governacion y servicio que hacen a Su Magestad y bien a los naturales de ella.'
- ¹⁰ One witness, Juan Xochil (Nahua?) from Petapa, said that the four head-towns were under Achi and Utatlec domination at the time. The names of the two leaders are also cited by some of the witnesses throughout the 'Probanzas de los hijos del cacique Francisco Calel, vecinos de las mesas de Petapa, descendientes de yndio-conquistador de Cholula.' For example, on f. 14v, 70-year-old Alonso Cali says, 'Los mayores de ellos eran Zinacan y Sequechul; si algún cacique o señor principal tenia algún negocio con alguien de estos dos al tiempo que le iba a visitar y a selo tratar, llevaban un presente de miel o gallinas, o otras cosillas que el quería' Their names also appear on an engraving titled 'Guatemala-Kaqchikel' (Spain 1808) in which the names of the two ancient Kaqchikel leaders are branded alongside the name of the legendary K'iche leader, Tecum Uman (*John Carter Brown Library of Early American Images*, image No. 70-102-8).
- ¹¹ On page 109 of the *Annals*, we are told how the Kaqchikels forcibly suppressed a rebellion in Mixco with a large death toll among the local populace.
- ¹² *Libro de Actas del Cabildo de Santiago de Guatemala*, which mentions the fact that in September 1529 an expedition under the command of the alcalde Juan Pérez Dardón set out to pacify the

towns of Jumayatepec, Petapa, and others that had rebelled. In AGI Justicia 291, ff. 98r–v, it is stated that: ‘como d[ic]ho tiene este testigo anduvo con gente del d[ic]ho pueblo de mapastepeque en la conquista del pueblo de chimaltenango e quyliçinapa e yzquitepeque y petapa e otros muchos pueblos . . .’. The *Lienzo de Quauhquechollan* indicates that at a certain point, Quauhquecholteca units were also involved in putting down a revolt there.

- ¹³ As indicated by the geographical landscape depicted in both the map drawn in 1700 by Francisco de Fuentes y Guzmán and the *lienzo de Quauhquechollan*, San Juan Amatitlan and Palin are located to the right of the Volcán de Agua, facing south-southwest, while Chimaltenango is in the opposite direction, facing northeast (see figure 2).
- ¹⁴ In the K’iche’ *Popol Vuh*, the head of Hun Hunahpu is likened to a calabash gourd, and in Classic Period iconography to a cacao pod. This association with cacao continues in Hun Hunahpu’s offspring, the Hero Twins.
- ¹⁵ ‘Probanzas de los hijos del *cacique* Francisco Calel vecinos de las mesas de Petapa, descendientes de yndio-conquistador de Cholula’ (1582–1670).
- ¹⁶ ‘Parecio don Bernabé de Guzmán, indio gobernador del pueblo de Petapa y el cabildo del dicho pueblo de Petapa; Gaspar de Castellanos, alcalde, Pedro y Baltazar de Camora, regidores, y Diego Ximénez, principales, y Bernabé se sentó en la mesa en cabeza, y a la mesa se abrazó alcaldes y regidores e hizo en lugar verdadera posesión e hizo a entender como era su gobernador que le obedecían . . .’. Signed below by Don Bernabé de Guzman. This family is also later mentioned by Thomas Gage as a rich family of noble indigenous descent. See also Juan Muñoz 1980.
- ¹⁷ ‘El cabildo justicia y regimentó de la ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala contra el prior y religiosos del convento de Santo Domingo sobre que no se aprovechan del producto de la laguna de Amatitlan’ (AGI Justicia 285:4, 2, 1572, ‘Residencia de Lic. Francisco Briceño’). Don Cristóbal’s justification for the servitude and ill treatment of these men was, in his words, ‘Que por que es esclave les dice que sirvan que llaman servicio de dos años en esta parte, porque antes tenían esclavos que le servían’ (AGI Justicia 317, 15 May 1566, testimony by Don Cristóbal Chiahuitl). See also Miles 1957.
- ¹⁸ ‘Don Diego de Selada, indio, gobernador de la Ciudad Vieja en Almolonga. Es ladino en la lengua Castellana [. . .] sabe que por ser naturales de la ciudad de Cholula que es en la Nueva España, que juntamente vino con los Mexicanos e Tlaxcaltecas, conquistadores, y como tal Antonio Passo, le toca la real executoria, es nieto e hijo legitimo de Bernabe Passo . . .’ (AGCA A1, 4674/40166, 38r). See also Matthew 2012.
- ¹⁹ ‘García Jusefe de Loaysa, oidor de la real audiencia en la Ciudad Vieja de Almolonga, para los negocios y causas entre los indios Mexicanos, Tlaxcaltecas y Cholultecas y los demás que están poblados en la dicha ciudad que pretenden de ser libres de tributo y este pleito entre partes, Ciudad Vieja, Almolonga [14 May, 1572], en nombre de Bernardino Passo, mancebo, [f. 43r] con Francisca, india, hijo legitimo de Antonio Passo, difunto y de Isabel, su legitima mujer.’ The Audiencia of Mexico declared that ‘hijos de conquistadores y decendientes sean libres de pagar tributo’ and as the legitimate son of a conquistador and of Isabel, india, his mother, he should be relieved from tribute (AGCA A1, 4674/40166, ff. 42v–43r). See also f. 38r: ‘Don Diego de Selada, indio, gobernador de la Ciudad Vieja en Almolonga ladino en la lengua Castellana [. . .] sabe que por ser naturales de la ciudad de Cholula que es en la Nueva España, que juntamente vino con los Mexicanos e Tlaxcaltecas . . .’; or AGI Justicia 291, f. 255r: ‘. . . dia beinte de abril del d[ic]ho año el d[ic]ho liçenciado mal[dona]do deffensor presento por testigo en esta rrazon a diego de galizia yndio natural de chulula y morador y residente en la çiudad bieja de almolonga y alcalde hordinario en ella.’
- ²⁰ Acerca de ‘la administración espiritual de los pueblos del valle de Goathemala.’ See also Luján Muñoz 1975, 331–46, and 1980, 242.

- ²¹ Matthew (2012) observes that ‘... numerous Mexicanos [...] relocated to the nearby Poqomam towns of San Miguel Petapa and Santa Ynés Petapa, beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing into the eighteenth century.’
- ²² ‘Probanzas de los hijos del cacique Francisco Calel, vecinos de las mesas de Petapa, descendientes de yndio-conquistador de Cholula’ (1582–1670).
- ²³ ‘Información contra los Domínicos de San Juan Amatitlan por el obispo Don Augustin de Ugarte,’ testimony of don Pedro de Urbina Cervera, a Spaniard from the town of Guatemala, Jacinto Pérez and Francisco Vázquez, *macehualtin* from San Juan Amatitlan.
- ²⁴ ‘Probanza cerca de la buena vida y costumbres de los religiosos de Santo Domingo...,’ testimony by Diego Ramírez, *defensor de los naturales*.
- ²⁵ ‘Residencia de Lic. Francisco Briceño,’ testimony by Pedro Gómez and Andrés Cuzcacoatl, June 1565; testimony by Diego Martínez, *alcalde saliente* of San Cristóbal Amatitlan, October 1566.
- ²⁶ Santiago de Guatemala, 21 August 1551, signed by Lic. Cerrato, and Lic. Ramírez.
- ²⁷ On 27 September 1560, an account of the property was given to the commission of inspection of the oidor, Juan de Paz, by Don Juan *Ahual*, Gonzalo Ocumate and Diego Tiax, regidores, and Gonzalo Quehpal, *alcalde*.
- ²⁸ ‘Probanza cerca de la buena vida y costumbres de los religiosos de Santo Domingo de esta gobernacion y servicio que hazen a Su Magestad y bien de los naturales de ello,’ presented by the provincial Fr. Tomás de Cárdenas.
- ²⁹ ‘Relación de las derramas, peticiones y otros autos conocidos en la petición y memorial presentado por el fiscal de ésta real audiencia que va por cabeza de estos autos...,’ manuscript, 380 ff.; ‘Testimonios de las sentencias de Guatemala sobre el negocio de la laguna de Amatitlan entre la ciudad de Guatemala y el convento de Santo Domingo.’
- ³⁰ Chiahuitl’s actions apparently coincided with the colonial policy in Guatemala, which from the first years of the conquest had encouraged the transformation of communal lands that formerly belonged to the patrilineal clan or to a principality into the private possession of the presiding lord (MacLeod 2008, 135).
- ³¹ On the role of literacy and the Maya scribes in local resistance, see also what John Chuchiak says concerning their position: ‘... it appears that the old pre-Hispanic ruling clans and families were able to continue political dominance through their continued exercise of the position of village scribe, enabling them to continue their pre-Hispanic tradition of being the “voice of the elite” throughout the colonial Period’ (Chuchiak 2010, 87–116, figure 4). The Nahuatl expression *tzontli* is still in use today in the Chiapas Highlands, as well as in Guatemala, to manifest a 400-wholesome number of ears of corn.
- ³² The port of Iztapa under the encomienda of Pedro de Salazar had a very small indigenous population. In 1550, Francisco de Ovalle wrote to the Council of the Indies that if the Spaniards were permitted to bring to the port twenty black slaves and two boats, they could fish a quantity equal to 1,200 pesos every year (AGI Guatemala 52). From the earliest days of the colonial period, the port of Iztapa had been the main source of fish for the lay Spanish population as well as for the friars in Santiago de Guatemala. The port and its fish became monopolies of the Spanish merchants, who sold the fish in the market of Santiago de Guatemala, twenty leagues away, at an excessive price. Testimony by Fr. Domingo de Azcona, prior of Santiago de Guatemala, AGI Justicia 285:4, 2 (1572).
- ³³ Testimony by the *alcaldes* and *regidores salientes*, 10 January 1566; testimony by Juan Xay, *macehual* from San Cristóbal Amatitlan.
- ³⁴ ‘Carta por Juan Perez Dardón, Francisco de Ovalle, Alonso Gutiérrez de Monzón, Francisco del Valle Marroquín y Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a Felipe II.’
- ³⁵ ‘Comision para tomar residencia al Lic. Valverde del tiempo que fue oidor de la audiencia,’ f. 70v: ‘para que los indios de Amatitlan se les vuelva cierta laguna.’

- ³⁶ 'Relación de las derramas, peticiones y otros autos conocidos en la petición y memorial presentado por el fiscal de ésta real audiencia que va por cabeza de estos autos . . .'. See also Chuchiak: 'Through their manipulation of the continued existence of graphic pluralism and their domination of multiple literacies, the Maya elite of both sides of the linguistic/cultural divide in the Yucatan peninsula used writing (both alphabetic and glyphic scripts) as a means of colonial resistance to Spanish rule' (2010, 91, 97, 110). On the re-emergence of resistance in the form of Maya hieroglyphic writings during the 1580s, see Chuchiak 2004, 71–103. The production and presentation of native primordial titles during these very years in far-removed areas such as Central Guatemala and Yucatan may lead to a re-evaluation of the historic circumstances by which this 'Renaissance' in native writings had emerged. But this would obviously merit yet another essay.
- ³⁷ See, in particular, chapter 3. See also Sousa et al. 2005. For a more recent, elaborate treatment of the genre of the primordial titles in Central Mexico, Megged 2010, especially chapters 1 and 6.
- ³⁸ 'Carta de Fray Pedro de Betanzos, el custodio Franciscano, á Felipe II, en que denuncia varios abusos graves [. . .] exponiendo algunas ideas para el mejor gobierno del país,' 25 December 1559. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Diversos/Indias, document No. 163. Yanna Yannakakis thinks that the *Lienzo de Analco* was drawn between 1565 and 1589: ' . . . the natives of Analco commissioned the lienzo for use in Spanish courts as proof of their service to the Spaniards [. . .]. In short, the painters of the lienzo may have been Dominican-trained youth drawn from the ranks of naborías, whose central Mexican origins provided at least rudimentary exposure to the pictographic conventions used in the lienzo' (2011, 662). As I have recently estimated, the *Lienzo de Tepexi de la Seda* was painted during these very same years (Megged 2008).
- ³⁹ The most notable among them were the *Memorial de Solola*, written about 1583 by Francisco Díaz Pequeño Pacal, and the *Título de los Indios de Santa Calara de la Laguna*, submitted on 22 October 1583. The *Memorial de Solola* may have first been written by its principal author, Francisco Díaz Pequeño Pacal in 1583, the year of his first marriage. Nevertheless, there are earlier, scattered accounts from 1555 and later ones from 1571–1601. Undoubtedly, at one point an entire synthesis took place. Such a pattern, which is characteristic of all Mesoamerican writing, can be detected and identified according to what James Lockhart, and later Stephanie Wood, called an 'accretive' structure, that is, a number of distinct layers emerging from different time periods and from diverse local sources in the community that are present within the manuscript. This can also be tied with Lockhart's proposal that the indigenous text, in contrast with the European one, was dynamic, 'more responsive to different individual interpretations in varying social situations, with changing voices over time,' as Wood has phrased it (Lockhart 1992, 416; Wood 2003, 170, 51).

Works cited

- Altman, Ida. 2010. *The war for Mexico's west: Indians and Spaniards in New Galicia, 1524–1550*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Andrews, Anthony P. 1983. *Maya salt production and trade*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Arana Hernández, Francisco, Francisco Díaz, Manuel Galich, and Adrián Recinos. 1967. *Anales de los cakchiqueles*. Cuba: Casa de Las Américas.
- Asselbergs, Florine G. L. 2008. *Conquered conquistadors: The lienzo de quauhquechollan: A nahua vision of the conquest of Guatemala*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Brown, Kenneth L. 1975. *The Valley of Guatemala: A highland port of trade*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University.
- Bunzel, Ruth Leah. 1967. *Chichicastenango: A Guatemalan village*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

- Canger, Una 1988. Nahuatl dialectology: A survey and some suggestions. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 54 (1): 28–72.
- Chuchiak, John F. IV 2004. The images speak: The survival and production of hieroglyphic codices and their use in post-conquest maya religion, 1580–1720. In *Maya religious practices: Processes of change and adaptation*. Acta Mesoamericana, 14, 71–103. Markt Schwaben: Saurwein Verlag.
- Chuchiak IV, J. F. 2010. Writing as resistance: Maya graphic pluralism and indigenous elite strategies for survival in colonial Yucatán, 1550–1750. *Ethnohistory* 57 (1): 87–116.
- Coe, Michael Douglas. 1989. The hero twins: Myth and image. In *The Maya vase book: A corpus of rollout photographs of Maya vases*, eds. Justin Kerr and Michael Douglas Coe, 1:161–84. New York: Kerr Associates.
- Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. 2008. *The history of the conquest of New Spain*. Ed. David Carrasco. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Fox, John W., Marie Charlotte Arnauld, Wendy Ashmore, Marshall Joseph Becker, Gordon Brotherston, Lyle Campbell, William J. Folan, et al. 1981. The late postclassic eastern frontier of Mesoamerica: Cultural innovation along the periphery [and comments and replies]. *Current Anthropology* 22 (4): 321–46.
- Fuentes y Guzmán, Francisco Antonio de. 1883. *Recordación florida*, vol. 2. Ed. Luis Navarro. Madrid: Colegiata/Biblioteca de los Americanistas.
- . 1932. *Recordación florida: Discurso historial y demostración natural, material, militar y política del reyno de Guatemala*. Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional.
- Jones, Grant D. 1998. *The conquest of the last Maya kingdom*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Juarros, Domingo, and Ricardo Toledo Palomo. 2000. *Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala*. Guatemala: Academia de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala.
- Juárez Muñoz, Fernando. 1935. *Isagoge histórica apologetica de las Indias Occidentales y especial de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la orden de predicadores; manuscrito encontrado en el convento de Santo Domingo de Guatemala, debido a la pluma de un religioso de dicha orden, cuyo nombre se ignora. Colección de documentos antiguos del Ayuntamiento de Guatemala*. Guatemala: [Tipografía nacional].
- Lastra de Suárez, Yolanda. 1986. *Las áreas dialectales del náhuatl moderno*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- León-Portilla, Miguel. 1985. Un texto en Nahuatl Pipil de Guatemala, siglo XVII. *Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl* 13 (1): 36–46.
- Lockhart, James. 1992. *The Nahuas after the conquest: A social and cultural history of the indians of central Mexico, sixteenth through eighteenth centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Luján Muñoz, Jorge. 1986. El reino Pokomam de Petapa, Guatemala, hacia 1524. Unpublished paper presented at Anales de la Academia de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala.
- . 1975. Indios, ladinos y aculturación en San Miguel Petapa (Guatemala) en el siglo XVIII. Unpublished paper presented at ‘Estudios sobre política indigenista española en América: Terceras Jornadas Americanistas de la Universidad de Valladolid’.
- . 1980. *San Miguel Petapa (Guatemala) en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI*. Nicoya, Costa Rica: Comisión Nacional Organizadora.
- Lutz, Christopher. 1994. *Santiago de Guatemala, 1541–1773: City, caste, and the colonial experience*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- MacLeod, Murdo J. 2008. *Spanish Central America: A socioeconomic history, 1520–1720*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Matthew, Laura E. 2012. *Memories of conquest: Becoming Mexicano in colonial Guatemala*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Maxwell, Judith M., and Robert M. Hill. 2006. *Kaqchikel chronicle: The definitive edition*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

- Megged, Amos. 2008. Testimonies of the Spanish-indigenous conquest: Hernando Cortés, Tepexic, and the Mixtecs, 1521–1590. *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 17 (1): 1–39.
- . 2010. *Social memory in ancient and colonial Mesoamerica*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miles, Suzanne W. 1957. *The sixteenth-century Pokom-Maya: A documentary analysis of social structure and archaeological setting*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Oudijk, Michel R., and Matthew Restall. 2008. *La conquista indígena de Mesoamérica: El caso de don Gonzalo Mazatzin Moctezuma*. Puebla/Mexico City: Universidad de las Américas/Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- Restall, Matthew. 1998. *Maya conquistador*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Restall, Matthew, and Florine G. L. Asselbergs. 2007. *Invading Guatemala: Spanish, Nahua, and Maya accounts of the conquest wars*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Sánchez, J. 2005. Ancient Maya royal strategies: Creating power and identity through art. *Ancient Meso America* 16 (2): 261–75.
- Schroeder, Susan. 1994. Looking back at the conquest: Nahua perceptions of early encounters from the annals of chimalpahin. In *Chipping away on earth: Studies in prehispanic and colonial Mexico in honor of Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble*, ed. Eloise Quiñones Keber, 81–94. Lancaster, CA: Labyrinthos.
- . 2007. Introduction. In *Indian conquistadors: Indigenous allies in the conquest of mesoamerica*, eds. Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk, 19–20. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Sousa, Lisa, Kevin Terraciano, and Matthew Restall, eds. 2005. *Mesoamerican voices: Native language writings from colonial Mexico, Yucatan, and Guatemala*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taube, K. 1983. The classic Maya Maize God: A reappraisal. *Fifth Palenque Round Table* 7: 171–81.
- Tedlock, Dennis. 1993. *Popol vuh: El libro maya del albor de la vida y las glorias de dioses y reyes*. Mexico City: Diana.
- Vázquez de Espinosa, Antonio de. 1885–1928. *Compendio y descripción de las Indias occidentales transcrito del manuscrito original . . .*. Vol. 17 of *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar*. 25 vols. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra.
- . 1948. *Compendio y descripción de las Indias occidentales [1628–1629]*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution.
- Walters, Garry Rex, Lawrence H. Feldman, and John W. Fox. 1982. On change and stability in eastern Mesoamerica. *Current Anthropology* 23 (5): 591–604.
- Wood, Stephanie Gail. 2003. *Transcending conquest: Nahua views of Spanish colonial Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Ximénez, Francisco. 1929. *Historia de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la orden de predicadore*. Guatemala: [Tipografía nacional].
- Yannakakis, Yanna. 2011. Allies or servants? The journey of indian conquistadors in the lienzo of analco. *Ethnohistory* 58 (4): 653–82.