THE PIRIR PAPERS
AND
OTHER COLONIAL PERIOD
CAKCHIQUÉL-MAYA TESTAMENTOS

by
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Vanderbilt University
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To My "Jaguar Cubs" Rebecca and Alexander
THE PIRIR PAPERS

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Introduction

The subject of the family is approached only occasionally and with great difficulty in Colonial Maya ethnohistory. Aside from a few notes on some of the most prominent families of the Quiché area, we are almost completely ignorant of the subject. A primary reason for our ignorance is that indigenous families and their structure were not a focus of any of the document types produced by the Spaniards. Occasional references do occur in the descriptive writings of the Colonial chroniclers, though they frequently refer to the most elite segment of Maya society and the statements themselves are hard to corroborate. In terms of both Colonial Spanish and Maya organizational principles, families do not normally seem to have acted independently. Instead, they were subsumed in the Spanish-introduced *pueblo* and/or the Maya *chimant* and later *parcialidad*. Thus, Indians typically interacted with the world of Spanish officialdom (one of our greatest sources of Colonial documentation) not as individuals or families, but as larger corporate units. Also, individual Indians or individual families were of little interest to Spaniards whose Colonial institutions focused on extracting labor and tribute from an entire population. Thus, for example, while tribute obligations were assessed on the basis of population, it was the town as a whole, not individuals, which was responsible for its payment, even when, as frequently happened, population declined substantially between the infrequent head counts. Given these concerns and methods, it is no wonder that the Spaniards had no interest in collecting what we would today call sociological or sociometric data regarding the Maya population.

All this means that information about families which might have been collected or recorded was done so almost accidentally or for some purpose other than that of elucidating family organization. Censuses are one possible source of information on this subject. However, most Colonial censuses of Maya communities in Guatemala were little more than head counts, concerned with tabulating the total number of tribute payers (*tributarios enteros*) in a *parcialidad* or community. People below or above tribute-paying age (18 and 50, later 55) were typically not counted, leaving the contemporary analyst with severe problems in simply making population estimates, let alone reconstructing family organization. Exceptionally, however, more detailed population information was collected which does permit the application of formal analytical methods. The other approach is through the study of private or personal papers of Maya individuals or families. These are perhaps even more rare than census materials, since knowledge of writing among the Colonial Maya was typically restricted to a town scribe and his services were for official use. Almost accidentally, however, four such documents have been preserved and form the basis for this study.

The Documents

This study presents a description and analysis of four wills, two of which were produced by and for members of the Pirir family, Cakchiquel-speaking people in Seventeenth-century San Juan Sacatepéquez, Guatemala. The third was produced by Tomás Jocón, a man with a tangential connection to the Pirires. The fourth, that of Miguel Juan Queh of Santiago Sacatepéquez. Such private, family papers are hardly known for the highland Maya people, especially during the Seventeenth century.¹ Other, more public or official, types of documents produced by and for Maya people are more abundant, better known, and more frequently utilized. Included in this category would be petitions addressed to the Spanish authorities, legal disputes presented before the *Audiencia*, town account books (*caja de comunidad*), and *cofradía* account books.² Even histories--genealogies of preconquest origin like the Popol Vuh or Annals of the Cakchiquels are more familiar to students of Maya culture than the papers of a Maya family in the Colonial period.
Testamentos or wills are a rarity among the highland Maya, despite their prevalence in Colonial Yucatan and Central Mexico. In these latter two areas, wills were generally recorded by native scribes or notaries, trained in writing the local language with Roman characters. The resulting documents could then be kept in either the cabildo (town offices) or the local church. To the extent that such local repositories survived the ravages of time, or that their contents became incorporated in large archival collections, wills constitute a highly significant and useful class of document. The seeming discrepancy in terms of the apparent lack of wills among the highland Maya, when compared to these other regions of Colonial Mesoamerica, caused this author to suggest that there may have been some difference in the training or function of scribes in the former area which precluded the writing of wills. Other possibilities were that the Maya of the highlands had fixed practices regarding inheritance, making wills unnecessary, or that the people were so impoverished as a result of exploitative Spanish practices that they had nothing to pass on. The discovery of the present documents clearly indicates that this was not the case. Wills were definitely produced by and for highland Maya people during the Colonial period and could be fairly elaborate and highly structured documents; at least for individuals with large estates and multiple heirs. The testamentos of Don Miguel Perez Pirir, his son, Don Domingo, Miguel Juan Queh, and Thomás Jocón are just such documents and thus warrant our attention.

Beyond their intrinsic value as examples of a rare type of document, the wills are potentially significant for other reasons. As private papers, they provide information about individuals and families as opposed to communities and regions (the tendency in most of the public or official types of documents). Also, that information is of a more intimate nature, providing an all too rare opportunity to glimpse individuals' perceptions and concerns. In addition, wills, as a document type, have particular potential. Naturally, one would expect to be able to comment upon patterns of inheritance; the beneficiaries and their relationship to the testator. It should also be possible to characterize the contents of estates, the kinds of things inherited, and perhaps their relative importance to the testator and/or heirs. Finally, less predictable results of the analysis of wills would be insights into the concerns of the testators, the dynamics of decision making, and the criteria by which heirs were selected.

Description

The two earlier documents were discovered by virtue of their having been presented by a grandson of the original testator in 1707 as part of a land dispute between the Pirir family and the community of San Juan Sacatepéquez. If these examples are any indication, then the fact that the wills were kept by the family may explain why so few of these documents are found in Guatemalan archival collections. It also suggests that Indian families, at least in this immediate area, may be a more important source of documents than we have hitherto thought.

The testamento of don Miguel Perez Pirir was made on August 7, 1642 on what he believed to be his deathbed. He was then 90 years old. The document was evidently a very close transcription of the old man's statements, including what appear to be his side of arguments with his son, Ambrosio, made by the town scribe in the presence of the heirs and the town officials. The initial will is six pages long and written by one hand in what Munro Edmonson characterizes as "Cakchiquelized Quiché," using at least some of the Parra characters to denote different stops in that language. It is unclear if this represents the language spoken by Don Miguel and his contemporaries or if it was instead the written form in which the scribe had been trained. However, Don Miguel did not die. Rather, he recovered and lived another six years. During his last year, 1648, he dictated three codicils to the will in which he noted property already distributed to
heirs and, in one case, in which he changed an heir's inheritance. In the original and one of the codicils, heirs' and civil officials names were written by the scribe, who also signed. The other codicils were signed by a scribe alone.

For some unknown reason a Spanish translation was made of the testamento in 1692 by the scribe of near-by Jocotenango. It is a ponderous translation and the Spanish is quite bad, suggesting either that the scribe was a poor one, or that he was much more accustomed to writing in Cakchiquel. Also, as will be noted in the text, the scribe also added facts and verbal formulas not present in the original while at the same time occasionally omitting important points, passages and persons. Despite these serious shortcomings, the scribe occasionally used his knowledge of local conditions to advantage by describing some otherwise poorly-known customs in greater detail than the Maya text.

Don Domingo Perez Pirir's will was made some 20 years after his father's codicils, on April 26, 1669. The five-page document again appears to be a verbatim transcription written by a single hand in poor Spanish, suggesting that it too represents a translation from an original Cakchiquel copy. Like his father's will, Don Domingo's testamento was made in the presence of his heirs and the civil officials of the community, whose names were written by the scribe of that period, Francisco Perez Pirir, probably a relative.

Before proceeding to the documents themselves, a few words regarding what little we know about the testators are called for. Miguel Perez Pirir died late in 1648 at 96 years of age. This indicates that he was born around 1552, a generation after the first Spanish entradas. The major Colonial period, Cakchiquel--Spanish dictionaries are unanimous in translation pirir as "pito de barro cocido," or "clay whistle." Not coincidentally, eight individuals with the name Pirir are listed in the so-called Título del Pueblo de San Martín Jilotépeque, also known as Título Chajomá (Chajomá being the name that the people of San Martín as well as those of the Sacatepéquez towns called themselves). The eight Pirir men are said to have been principales in the 1520's, which at this early date probably meant that they were members of the native aristocracy. The Pirir name, as well as their main 17th century landholding at Navoron, also appear in a hitherto unpublished, mid-16th century map of the Chajomá of the Sacatepéquez area. Navoron lies within the territory of San Juan Sacatepéquez, along an affluent to the Río Pixcaya, this latter constituting the traditional boundary between San Juan and San Martín Jilotépeque. Though definite proof is lacking, it seems likely that Miguel was a son or grandson of one of these conquest-period Pirir aristocrats. If so, however, he no longer enjoyed such status formally in the Seventeenth Century since the honorific term don, which denoted Spanish-recognized noble status among the Indians, was never applied to him in the documents. Yet Don Miguel was a wealthy man for his time by any measure, and some of this might have been part of a preconquest patrimony.

Structure and Content of Don Miguel's Testamento

The structure and content of the testamentos are interesting enough in their own right, as evidence of the concerns of old Maya men in the Seventeenth Century. Perhaps more significantly, however, they also indicate a definite format which in turn strongly suggests that these were not unique documents, but representative of an entire class.

In an opening statement Don Miguel made a formulaic invocation of God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, as well as Mary, St. John the Baptist (patron of his community) and St. Michael (his own namesake). Following this comes an affirmation of his faith, and his gratitude for his long life and health. He next
declared that he believed himself to be dying as he makes his will and notes that his children are present listening as witnesses, as are the Indian officials of the pueblo. Ending the introduction is another formula, an injunction that no one change his will, made before God.

The next section contains a list of hornamentos (literally, adornments; figuratively, gifts) to be given to the church and affiliated organizations, as well as a recounting of all his past gifts. Despite his long life, the total value of the gifts of 6,720 tostones is amazing, even more so given the poverty into which the Indians were supposed to have sunk by mid-Seventeenth Century. A summary appears below in chart form, yet perhaps the most interesting entry concerns the saints’ images which Don Miguel commissioned. These are termed guachibal (face or image) in the Cakchiquel text and undoubtedly correspond to the privately or individually funded cults of the saints described in the Seventeenth Century by the likes of Fuentes y Guzmán and Thomas Gage. Besides commissioning the image, the main obligation and expense of a guachibal was the celebration of the saint’s day with a mass, and procession in which the saint’s image was carried. This was later followed by more traditional dances, feasting, and drinking. The Colonial chronicles also state that such guachibal obligations were inherited. As we shall see, Don Miguel’s and Don Domingo’s testamentos provide important corroboration for this point.

The third section of the will contains Don Miguel’s wishes concerning the division of his estate. Again, the wealth represented here is considerable and at odds with our picture of Indian poverty in the Seventeenth century. A summary of the division of Don Miguel’s property is presented in chart form, yet some of the more salient features can be discussed here.

First, there was what might be termed a primary heir, Don Miguel’s son Domingo, in terms of the latter’s inheritance of his father’s house, and most of the ritual obligations and paraphernalia, including quetzal feather plumes and dance costumes. Notably, however, Domingo was not the first son. That was Gerónimo, who, would share the main Navoron property and bulk of the livestock with Domingo. The other brothers Juan and Ambrosio received houses and/or house sites, agricultural plots, blacksmithing.

**Testamento of Don Miguel Perez Pirir**

Summary of “Hornamentos” for the Church

Upon his death:

Lands on banks of Río Mecate, purchased for 200 pesos, to be given to the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora.

Ten fanegas of wheat to be sold in order to buy nails to repair the church.

Five fanegas of wheat for the Cofradía de la Virgen Madre.

Six tostones in payment for the priest to pray for Don Miguel.

Contributions over his lifetime:

| Commissioned image of San Jacinto and andas | 200 tostones |
| Commissioned image of Santa Cruz | 100 tostones |
| Commissioned image of San Gabriel | 180 tostones |
| Commissioned image of San Antonio | 180 tostones |
| Donation for retablos | 50 tostones |
| Donation for procession of Pasion del Señor | 20 tostones |
| Donation for lamps for church | 320 tostones |
| Donation for shrine (custodia) in church | 15 tostones |
| Donation for flag for Santíssimo Sacramento | 35 tostones |
| Donation for casulla | 120 tostones |
| Donation for retablos for saints’ images | 2000 tostones |
| Donation for ornaments at altar of San Jacinto | 170 tostones |
| Donation for retablos for Virgin Mother and Jesus | 3050 tostones |
| Donation for work at Santíssimo Sacramento | 120 tostones |
| Donation for musical instruments | 100 tostones |

Total: 6720 tostones
Summary of Property Distribution From the Testamento of
Don Miguel Perez Pirir - 1642

Gerónimo
House and lot
Small house purchased from Agustín Chamalé
House and land at Panca
House and land from Bernabe Cech
20 mares
Share of forge tools
Land at Chabaq'
Half of Navoron estancia
Half of lands at Juan Camey

Domingo
Father’s house
Half of land at Juan Camey
Land house on the mountain
Land at Pachalf
20 mares
Share of forge tools
Land at Zuta
House at Zoq’Tzuy
Land by Carcha
Guachibales San Jacinto, Santa Cruz (later, also San Gabriel, San Antonio)
Half of Navoron estancia
House at Q’uq’Coh
Feathered dance costumes
Hunting land
5 boxes, 3 bags

Ambrosio
Plot bought from Manual Cotzehay
Land bought from Baltasar Camey
Land bought from Juan Cech
Land by the Xot River
Land bought from Diego Uit
Land at Deer Squatted
Land at Chabe
10 mares
Land above Nacoq’
Share of forge tools
Pile of cord wood
Forge
3 yokes of young oxen
Land at Panchoy
Cows (unspecified number)

Juan
House
Land facing Mount Pa
10 mares
Share of forge tools
10 mares (additional?)

Petronila
3 fillies
5 fanegas of wheat
3 cows

Distribution of January 23, 1648

Gerónimo
300 tostones
32 mares
30 cows
15 mules
8 yoke oxen
100 hives

Ambrosio
120 tostones
10 mares
15 cows
2 mules
4 yoke oxen
4 horses
forge

Petronila
5 fanegas wheat
3 cows
equipment, and livestock. Some of the land plots were named, and when purchased the seller's name was also sometimes mentioned, as was price. Boundaries were roughly defined vis-a-vis markers and/or other peoples' property. In no instance, however, were the sizes of such plots mentioned, so it is not possible to compute either land values or the size of each heir's share, though we know through other sources that the Navoron property, for which Domingo was ultimately granted a Real Provisión de Amparo in 1655, was estimated at between four and six caballerías (440-660 acres) in extent.\textsuperscript{12} The only female heir was Don Miguel's married daughter Petronila, his wife already being deceased. Petronila received no land, but was given some livestock and a quantity of wheat for sale.

In a touching statement which comes through even the bad translation, the last item to be apportioned was a mountain with good hunting and rivers which Don Miguel had acquired through purchase. This was left to Domingo in order that the muchachos (Maya: alabon), Don Miguel's grandsons, would have a place to hunt.

The will ends with a brief statement recording the date, noting again the presence of the civil officials, and calling on God to protect them all. Below this were inscribed the names of the heirs and witnesses.

The Addenda

That would have been the end of things, had not Don Miguel recovered his health. When sickness evidently overtook him again in 1648, he dictated three separate addenda, evidently to deal with disputes among quarrelsome heirs and to punish a recalcitrant son.

On January 23, 1648, Don Miguel recorded the division of his property pertaining to two of his heirs, Geronimo and Ambrosio because they and Juan were arguing among themselves, and especially because they were all bothering Domingo who was the main beneficiary. At that time they were given their livestock, some money, and other movable goods, with the injunction that they cease quarreling and leave Domingo alone.

Later, on June 19, 1648 Don Miguel dictated another addendum, updating other property already distributed and changing some allotments. Lands and goods destined for the church or the cofradías were given out, and Ambrosio was given the rest of his inheritance as were Gerónimo and Juan.

Finally, on October 11, 1648, an obviously angry Don Miguel took two guachibales away from Ambrosio who had failed to meet his obligations in this regard. The two guachibales were then given to Domingo who was already serving his two guachibales. Domingo was also given five lockable coffers and three bags for his children, both married and unmarried. This late codicil was signed by the scribe of the neighboring community of San Pedro Sacatepéquez.

As an end to the story, Don Miguel died in December of 1648 and was buried on the 14th in the capilla mayor of the church of the God for whose glory he had given so much. Throughout December and January of 1649 masses were sung for his departed soul.
Structure and Content of Don Domingo’s Testamento

Like his father’s will more than 20 years previously, Don Domingo’s testamento began with an invocation of the Holy Trinity, an affirmation of faith, and an expression of gratitude for a long life. He then named his children, who were his only heirs, and noted that two of them, Gaspar and Bartasal, had already served as alcaldes in the municipal government. He stated he would give each one his share so that no quarreling should occur later and admonished his children to do nothing to upset their mother’s heart or change his will.

Again like his father, the next concern Don Domingo expressed was for the care of his soul and those of others. To that end he ordered a mass to be sung for the souls in purgatory and that the officiating priest pray over his body. For these services his sons would pay four tostones. Additionally, he ordered three masses sung for his mother’s soul, with the cost to be borne by his sons. Unlike his father’s will, there was no list of ornamentos or gifts to the church. Instead, Don Domingo proceeded in his testamento directly to the distribution of property.

Individual inheritances are summarized in chart form below, but again some of the more salient features merit comment, especially the fate of the four guachibales Don Domingo had inherited from Don Miguel. Three of the guachibales were entrusted to pairs of Don Domingo’s sons. Gaspar, his eldest, would share the responsibility for San Gabriél with Juan de la Cruz, Bartasal and Cristóbal would share Santa Cruz, and Diego and Pedro would care for San Antonio. The remaining San Jacinto guachibal was endowed with a piece of land, the produce of which would presumably have been used to defray the costs of the saint’s day observance. In addition, Santa Cruz was endowed with some land and all of them were given a cow and a share in the proceeds of Don Domingo’s forge. Finally, four cofradías, Santa María Rosario, Santíssimo Sacramento, Santa Cruz and San Nicolás, were given one cow each.

In terms of the distribution of other property, Don Domingo generally followed the pattern of his father. Each son received lands, at least one house or house plot, five head of cattle and a lockable coffer. By the time of the 1707 litigation in which these documents were presented, Juan de la Cruz was the only survivor of Don Domingo’s sons and was in charge of the dispute for the Pirir family. He stated that he, his brothers, his sons, and nephews all kept the land together, but each one had his own part. This statement suggests that many, if not all, of the named pieces of property given by both Don Miguel and Don Domingo were parts of the larger Navoron, estimated at between four and six caballerías by a Spanish official charged with the inspection of the Pirir lands. This interpretation is supported by the fact that many of the plots bequeathed by Don Domingo were to be shared or divided between two sons, suggesting some type of joint holding (discussed below).

The only significant departures in Don Domingo’s will were the bequests of both lands and a coffer to a daughter, Lucía, and of lands to two grandsons, Tomás Nay (possibly Lucía’s son), and another one, unnamed.

In closing statement Don Domingo asked for God’s forgiveness and that the priest come for him when he dies. For this service the priest would be paid 15 tostones. A peso was to be paid to the cantores who accompanied his body. At the end of the document appear the names of the witnesses and the Pirir men as well as the signature of the scribe.
Summary of Property Distribution from the Testamento of Don Domingo Perez Pirir - 1669

**Gaspar**
- Share of Panca land
- Half of Chua Zah land
- Coffer
- Guachibal San Gabriél
- Share of land above Tapanal River
- Lands at Chicastro
- Lot bought from Marta Canel
- House at ranch (Navoron)
- San Nicolás
- 5 cows
- Gun

**Juan de la Cruz**
- Share of Panca land
- Half of Chua Zah land
- Coffer
- Guachibal San Gabriél
- Share of land above Tapanal River
- Land bought from Berrito Yoc
- House and lot on river bank
- Land in sugar cane
- 5 cows

**Bartasal**
- Half of Paparquiy lands
- Guachibal Santa Cruz
- Coffer
- Part of Paquejoh lands
- Share of Papec Soch lands
- Lot and storehouses bought from Chen
- Lands in Jorbachoy
- 5 cows
- Gun

**Cristóbal**
- Half of Paparquiy lands
- Guachibal Santa Cruz
- Coffer
- Lands at Chua Nima Che
- Share of Papec Soch lands
- Land bought from Luis Queh
- Father's house
- House at ranch (Navoron) facing
- San Pedro Sac.
- 5 cows

**Diego**
- Lands at Cachuy
- Land at Chised
- Coffer
- Guachibal San Antonio
- Lands across road from Juan Camey
- Half of Cactzuy lands
- Houses and lot bought from Agustín Cus
- Lands and house at Pacjap
- Gun

**Pedro**
- Lands at Pachalí
- Coffer
- Guachibal San Antonio
- Part of Paquejoh lands
- House and lot at Saints' house
- Lands in the woods
- Lands at edge of plantation
- 5 cows

**Lucía**
- Lands at Chiyaz
- Coffer
- Lands in ravine

**Tomas Boq**
- Land bought from Juan Mosin

**Antonio**
- 2 cows with calves

**unnamed grandson**
- Lands of Sebastián, deceased

**Tomás Chovis**
- Land bought from Juan Pirir

**Guachibales - Forge**
- San Jacinto - Half of Cactzuy lands, cow
- San Gabriél - cow
- Santa Cruz - cow
- San Antonio - cow
- San Nicolás - cow
Structure and Content of Miguel Juan Lopez Queh's Testamento

The testamento of Miguel Juan Lopez Queh and the statement of his mother, Maria, were both made on November 12, 1662 in Santiago Sacatepéquez. They are thus roughly contemporary with Don Domingo's will. Miguel evidently died on the same day his will was dictated since his mother's statement, concerning that portion of his estate to be given to the church, was made on the same date, yet after Miguel's passing. The documents were preserved by virtue of petition to the Audiencia from Miguel's brother, Juan, in December of 1662 in which he requested that Miguel's children, who had been left in his care, be granted a Real Provisión de Amparo for the land their father had left them. He also requested that Miguel's will, then in the hands of the town's officials, be entrusted to his keeping. In a very straightforward turn of events, Juan's requests were granted. The amparo was issued as were orders that the testamento be returned. Juan later presented the will and his mother's statement to the Audiencia where they were kept and translated by the official interpreter, a Spaniard named Felipe de Molina. There is no record of any further or subsequent action by any of the concerned parties. One therefore assumes that the Audiencia's decrees had the desired effect.

The Queh testamento is extremely significant since it was a document produced by a Cakchiquel-Maya man unrelated to the Pirir family and in a neighboring community. It was thus created independently of the Pirires. Therefore, similarities between the Queh document and the Pirir papers may be assumed to represent institutionalized cultural practices rather than just the singular behavior of one family. In this case, the similarities are of more interest than the differences, and the latter are explicable in terms of the structure of Miguel Juan's family.

Following a format similar to Don Miguel and Don Domingo, Miguel Juan's testamento began with the invocation of the Trinity and an expression of faith. It was also a deathbed statement. Next came his gifts to what appear to be four cofradías, those of Santiago, Santa Maria, Santissimo Sacramento, and Animas de Purgatorio. He then proceeded to the division of his property. Miguel Juan's children all seem to have been minors at the time of his death since his brother, Juan, became their guardian. This suggests that Miguel Juan himself was not old at the time of his death; an assumption substantiated by the fact that his that his mother survived him to dictate a codicil to the will. In any case, Miguel Juan seems to have followed birth order rather than just sex in dividing his estate and this introduces some variation in practice vis-a-vis the Pirires.

Inheritances are summarized below in chart form. As can be seen, one daughter, Petronila, would seem to be the first child and primary heir through her inheritance of her father's house, though we cannot determine the sizes of the plots given to different beneficiaries. Her sister, Andrea, and her mother, also Petronila, were similarly provided with land. In the case of the two sisters, such endowments were probably intended to make them more attractive marriage partners when the time came. Lucas was the son of Miguel Juan's deceased younger brother, Gaspar. The boy was evidently adopted by Miguel Juan and was accordingly given his own section of land and rights to the potrero. Like the other beneficiaries, Miguel Juan's brothers also received shares of land in Panybah, which seems to have been a large, jointly held tract like the Pirir Navoron.

As noted above, Miguel Juan seems to have died suddenly and his wishes concerning the remainder of his estate were dictated by his mother, Maria, in a codicil dated the same day as the will. This codicil appears to have been made at the urging of the local priest since it was in his possession at the time of Juan's petition to the Audiencia and had to be formally solicited for inspection. The gifts to the church are summarized in chart form below. One notes what seems to be a large number of plots. Those for which
values were given total an impressive 240 tostones. One gets the impression that these plots were quite scattered, not forming a single tract like Navoron or Panybah. Debts due Miguel Juan and subsequently payable to the church also constitute a considerable sum and illustrate the extent to which a seemingly successful individual could become involved in making loans, even to people of other communities such as Petapa and Cauqué. It is also interesting to note that four dance costumes and some feathers were given to the church. Don Miguel bequeathed his costume to Don Domingo, presumably with the idea that its rental would help defray the costs of the latter's four guachibales. Perhaps Miguel Juan expired before he could assign these income-producers to members of his family and his mother (with some sacerdotal prodding?) left them, along with the rest of his property, to the church.

Summary of Property Distribution from the Testamento of Miguel Juan Queh, 1662

Cofradía Santiago
1 fanega of corn

Cofradía Santa María
1 fanega of corn

Cofradía Santíssimo Sacramento
1 fanega of corn

Cofradía Animas de Purgatorio
1 fanega of corn

Petronila (daughter)
two plots at Panybah
Plot at Pachalí
Father's house and lot
3 machetes
1 hoe
4 hoes
share of Iq'Zotz potrero
share of Iq'Zotz potrero

Andrea
plot at Pachalí
one hoe
plot at Pachalí

Petronila (wife)
Plot at Panybah

Juan (older brother)
plot at Chiq'ol
plot at Panybah
one machete

Lucas (nephew, son of deceased younger bro. Gaspar)
plot at Panybah (4 cuerdas)
one hoe
share of Iq'Zotz potrero

Jacinto (younger brother)
plot at Panybah

Manuel Queh (child)

Gifts to Church from the Testamento of Miguel Juan Queh, 1662

Real Estate
unvalued plots - 14
valued plots - 240 tostones

Goods
5 rakes
3 hoes
5 yoke of oxen
1 ox
7 sacks
4 dance costumes
12 feathers
5 horses

Debts Payable to Church
328 tostones
7 tomines
Structure and Content of Thomas Jocón's Testamento

This document was preserved by virtue of its presentation in a dispute between Thomas' heirs and the Pirir family, now evidently headed by Bartolomé who, at the time, was also serving as Governor of San Juan Sacatepéquez. This may be the same Bartolomé who served as the scribe of San Juan Sacatepéquez in 1715. He was then 55 years old, indicating that he was born ca. 1660 and that he was 65 years old at the time of the 1725 dispute. He was described in 1715 as being "ladino en la lengua Castellana" (A3.16 Leg. 2816 Exp. 40841). Early in May of 1725, Pablo, Gregorio, Martín and Antonio Jocón filed a petition with the Audiencia in which they complained of having been dispossessed by Governor Bartolomé of lands and a house which they inherited from their father as per his will, which was presented in the original Cakchiquel and a Spanish translation. The petitioners also stated that they had maintained the fiesta of San Antonio, a key condition in the will regarding their inheritance of the property in question.

The Pirires, led by Bartolomé, responded in their own communication to the Audiencia. He, Diego Jorge, Gregorio and Diego Pirir clarified matters by stating that the dispute was about the land in Pachalí. They claimed that the Jocones had no right to the land since Thomas came into its possession only through marriage, not descent. As the Pirires told it, Thomas Jocón acquired the Pachalí land by virtue of his marriage to Melchora Bor, an orphan girl from San Raimundo who had been raised by Pedro Pirir. Upon Pedro's death, Melchora had remained in possession of the Pachalí land as a guardian, "como tutora," and meeting the expense of the fiestas of San Antonio and San Nicolás with the proceeds.

Melchora died childless and Thomas, as her husband, remained in control of the land. He later married Catharina Sian, with whom he had his family. The Pirires thus argued that the Jocones had no relationship whatsoever to Don Domingo while they themselves were his legitimate nephews. They attempted to prove this latter point by presenting another Spanish copy of Don Domingo's 1669 testamento though they were not mentioned in it. Still, they argued that they were the true heirs to Don Domingo's estate and that the Pachalí land should be returned to them. The Pirires closed by requesting that the Audiencia collect information on the statements they had made from knowledgeable people in San Juan.

The Audiencia complied and, early in June, an official duly recorded statements from three Spaniards and four Indian principales, including a former Governor. All confirmed the Pirires' story, though it was also noted that the Jocones did faithfully maintain the fiesta of San Antonio.

The last of the surviving documentation records an initial decision by the Audiencia in September to award the land to the Jocones. The Spanish officials seem to have felt that too much time had passed (17 years since Thomas Jocón's death) for the Pirires to suddenly claim land occupied in good faith by the Jocones. They might also have noted that several Pirires were signatories to Thomas' will, thereby indicating their approval of the documents provisions. The Audiencia left the door open to an appeal by the Pirires, and one would assume that they exercised this option, though it is not preserved in the record.

Although written about 40 years after Don Domingo's will, Thomas Jocón's testamento exhibits much of the same format and patterns of property distribution that characterized the two earlier documents, despite the fact that Thomas' estate was considerably smaller. He again began with the invocation of the Trinity and Saint Mary, and his first concern was for the care of his soul and those of others through the performance of masses. Interestingly, Thomas claimed the Pachalí land by virtue of his "father," Pedro Pirir, having left it to him in his testamento. Since this latter document is lost to us it is not possible to verify the claim or determine how Thomas Jocón could have been Pedro Pirir's "son," except through his
marriage to Melchora Bor and/or adoption by Pedro. Still, it is true that Don Domingo did leave the Pachali land to Pedro so there may be more truth to Thomás' claim that Bartolomé Pirir and his relatives were willing to admit.

Questions of parentage aside, the only significant difference between Thomás' will and the earlier documents was the inheritance of land and livestock by his wife, Catharina. Otherwise, only sons inherited land, presumably with the two eldest jointly holding the Pachali land and sharing the main responsibility for the fiesta of San Antonio. It seems likely that Martín, Antonio, Gregorio and Estevan were still children at the time of the testamento's writing, hence the absence of land in their inheritances. Still, they must have been included in the joint holding as they matured since three of them (the survivors?) joined Pablo (Diego Ramos already being deceased?) in the 1725 petition to the Audiencia. Similarly, the saint's cult was well endowed with land, livestock and farrier's equipment, as well as the obligations of the users of the Pachali land.

In an interesting final statement, Thomás asked his wife not to leave the children (half of which are already adults) so that she may continue to care for them. At the same time he suggested she marry a poor man who, in turn, will take care of her. The document was dated and signed by witnesses and the scribe of San Juan.

Summary of Property Distribution from the Testamento of Thomás Jocón - 1708

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catharina Sian (wife)</th>
<th>San Antonio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>land called pacaq'hay</td>
<td>land in horba choi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 cows and their calves</td>
<td>4 mares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mare</td>
<td>horse-shoeing equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mule</td>
<td>1 bull, 7 cows, calves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domingo Ramos</th>
<th>Pablo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/2 house and solar at Pachali</td>
<td>1/2 house and solar at Pachali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obligation of Fiesta of San Antonio</td>
<td>obligation of Fiesta of San Antonio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land bought from Cristóbal Jocón</td>
<td>land bought from Miguel Jocón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mule</td>
<td>1 cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hoe</td>
<td>1 mule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Juan Bizente</th>
<th>Martín</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>land bought from Martín Coz</td>
<td>1 cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cow</td>
<td>1 mule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mule</td>
<td>1 axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 asadon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antonio</th>
<th>Gregorio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 cow</td>
<td>1 mule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mule</td>
<td>1 hoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hoe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estevan</th>
<th>María</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 bull</td>
<td>1 heifer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agueda</th>
<th>Manuela</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 heifer</td>
<td>1 heifer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 axe</td>
<td>1 axe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Texts

The following pages contain the texts of the four testamentos. All have been translated into English. In the cases of Don Miguel's, Miguel Juan Queh's, and Thomás Jocón's testamentos, Maya, English and Spanish texts all appear. Since the original of Don Domingo's will was not preserved, only the Spanish and English translations are presented. A minimum of changes have been made to the texts. The Parra characters (not used systematically in the texts anyway) were changed to their standard equivalents. Some Spanish orthographic affectations (such as the use of double t's) were dispensed with in order to render those texts more readable. Finally, the division of the texts into lines (and some of the paragraphs) was made by the translators.
Last Will and Testament of Miguel Perez Pirir

A. Will July 25 to August 7, 1642

In miguel peres pirir
Na ban dios tta
R uquim dios caholah
R uquim dios spiritu sancto
R ox ichil personas
R uquim nu nima soq’ohau
Sancta ma.
Sa u r uquim nu nima tta
San juan bapdista
Ch u vi nu tzih
In ya va miguel perez firir

R uquim nu loq’olah angel
San miguel
S ul nu binaah
Ru loq’olah bi
Va ve ch u vach uleuh
Mi s in ul
Ca ce qui q’quih
Qui ya huna
Va ve ch u vach qu e r etan
Ti in nimah ru tzih
Nu tta dios
S u ya nu vinaq’quil
Cazlem ch u vach uleuh
Vacamic ave nu q’quih
Tan qu in el ch u vach uleuh
Quere nabey vi dios

Translation by Munro S. Edmonson and Robert M. Hill

I, Miguel Perez Pirir,
Remember God the Father,
And God the Son,
And God the Holy Ghost,
All three persons,
And the great lady,
St. Mary,
And also my great father
St. John the Baptist,
Upon my word.
I give this, Miguel Perez Pirir,
And my beloved angel
St. Michael
Finishes my naming,
The blessed names
That may be on earth.
I have come
To finish the days
That the years give
This is so that they would witness
That I honor the word
Of my father God.
He gave my people
Life on earth.
Now if this is my time
To leave this earth,
Because God is first,
Before these my words,
My testament
Before my sons
Who came to the fiesta:
Geronimo,
Domingo,
Juan,
Ambrosio
(And) the little girl
Will celebrate the word
Of me their father.
And so before my daughter Petronila,
Just our little girl,
Our witnesses appear:
Our Alcaldes
(And) Regidores,
And those of the chinamital
I have spoken,
I, Miguel Perez Pirir,
You will be accountable for this my commandment,
My testament
If there is conflict,
Lest there be evil eye.
These are my words
Which I speak before God.
Thus this will be accepted of me
On earth.
Thus you will go and affirm
What is written
In my testament,
True by the ornaments in the Holy Church,
The home of my father St. John.
Thus Have I spoken,
Miguel Perez Pirir,
At the festival of our father
St. James the Apostle
On the 25th day

nuestro señor
sobre esta mi testamento
que es mi poder dexo en esta vida
estando presente mis hijos
Geronimo
primero Domingo,
Juan
Ambrosio
estando oyendo con atencion
mis dichos que tengo que yo padre de ellos
y delante mi hija Petronila

siendo testigos partes en
presencia de los alcaldes
y Regidores
y mis parientes chinamitales
justamente a todos oyendo

el dicho testamento
sin que a nadie distinta
ninguna personas no tocan
que es mi poder mis dichos
Ante dios nuestro señor

esta escripto
primero los hornamentos estan
en la santa yglesia
de San Juan Paputista

en el dia de fiesta
Of the month of July
Of the year 1642.

(9 Misa)

This is for my soul:
Nine sung masses payment
For my beloved soul
Before my Lord Jesus Christ
And before the great Lady Mary,
The one mourning
Before her beloved son Jesus.
Then I say that it be done
By my lord father vicar
In the town of St. John the Baptist.
I have spoken.
I give this.

hagan nueve misas cantadas
que es para ayudar mi alma
ante su divina magestad de mi
señor Jesucristo
y la virgen madre de dios
que Ruegue
a su presioso hijo por mi

yo pecador digo
yo enfermo
9 misa

digo que unas tierras esta en
la orillas del agua llamado
rio mecate
doy por limosna en la cofra-
dia de nuestra señora
he gastado doscientos
tostones

Then this land at Jicama River
At Puluq' on Big River,
Which is for St. Mary;
Only Quiz Coh is its boundary.
I bought it
From the deceased Joaquin
Only (because) he asked us for me to buy it,
I have spoken.
I give that:
The boundaries should be viewed together
By the mayordomos.
For St. Mary Jicama then is
this land.
Lahuh are cos trico
R ichin s. juo. bapdista
Chi loq'bes glaus
Ch u i ocho Dios --

Vae chic voo are cos trico
R ichim sancta ma.
Ch u pan trisalar chel
Chi ya pa limosna pe. vicario
Chi mayordomos chi r ih
   sancta m
Chi cach vi
Tan qui cha
In ya va

Vae vaco q'qui tostones
   chi ya
Chi r ichin pe. sacerdotes
Ru samahel Dios
Ch u ziquin Dios pa nu vi
In ya ua --

Aca uae ornamendo
Coh ch u pan santa yglesi
R ochoch san juo.
Hun obra ru vachibal sancto
San jhacindo
Vae hechura x in ya
R uqni andos
Oslahu cal dostones

Vae chic ru loq'olah vachibal

Ten are these (measures) of wheat
For St. John the Baptist,
To buy nails
For the house of God.

Here too are these five measures of wheat
For St. Mary
In the threshing yard,
To be given in alms to the Father vicar.
Let the mayordomos of St. Mary
Take it then.
I have spoken.
I give this.

Here are these six tostones
To be given
To the priest Father.
The messenger of God
At the ear of God above me,
I give this.

Here are these ornaments
Which are in the Holy Church,
The house of St. John,
(And) a work of art, my image of the saint St. Hyacinth.
These works I have given
With litters:
Thirteen score tostones.17
   (260 tostones)

This is my beloved image

dios para siempre.
doy limosna diez anegas de14 trigo para mercar los clavos para clavar llagobras de la yglesia de San Juan pauptista. 10 fag.
doy limosna a la virgen madre de dios cinco anegas de trigo entreguen a los mayordomos de la dicha cofradia. 5 fag.
doy sies tostones limosna al padre vicario que es ministro de dios que Ruegue a dios por mi yo enfermo. 6 tos.
doy limosna en la yglesia
una hechura ymagen de San Jaçinto
me costo doscientos y sesenta tostones por la hechura con las andas 260 tos.
Santa cruz de mayo  
Coh par ochoch dios  
Sa vi vo cal tos. hechura  
X in ya  
In miguel perez.  
-----  
Vae ru loqolah vachibal  
Angel san graviel  
Beleh cal tostones hechura  
S in ya  
In miguel perez pirir  
In ya va --  
-----  
A chic vae santo  
San andonio  
Sa ui coh ch u pan santo  
yglesia  
Sa ui belleh cal tos. hechura  
Mi s in ya  
In ya va --  
-----  
Uae nu limosna  
Nabey chi r ih retablal  
Oher laihu r os cal tostones  
S in ya  
In ya va  
Fr bernardo de oreca  
vicariyo  
-----  
Huvinaq tos. nu limonsna  
Mi su nu ya chi r ih pasion  

Of the Holy Cross of May,  
Which is in the House of God.  
Thus five score tostones  
I have given,  
I, Miguel Perez.  
(100 tostones)  

This is my beloved image  
Of the angel St. Gabriel  
Nine score tostones of work  
I have given.  
I, Miguel Perez Pirir,  
I give that.  
(180 tostones)  

And then this saint,  
St. Anthony,  
Which is in the Holy Church.  
There are these nine score tostones of work  
That I have already given.  
I give that.  
(180 tostones)  

This is my alms,  
The first for the retablo.  

Formerly ten of the third score tostones  
I gave.  
I gave that  
To Fray Bernardo de Oreza,  
Vicar.  
(50 tostones)  

One score tostones is my alms  
That I have given earlier for the Passion  

mas otra hechura  
de santa cruz celebra en Mayo  
me costo cien tostones  
esta en la yglesia.  

la otra ymagen esta en la yglesia que as hechura de  
san gabriel Angel  
me costo ciento y ochenta tostones  
180 tos.  

mas otro ymagen  
de san Antonio  
esta en la yglesia  
me costo la hechura ciento y ochenta tostones  
180 tos.  

he dado limosna  
quando hicieron Retablas en la yglesia y a muchos años era  
vicario fray bernardo horega  
cincuenta tostones  
50 tos.  

he dado limosna veynte tostones  
para el pasion del señor anda
en la prosision día de Jueves
santo

Which I have done
For seven saints.
(20 tostones)

But here is another of my alms
For a lamp:
Thirteen score tostones
And ten on the next
With all my heart
I have given it.
I give that.
(270 tostones)

This is fifteen tostones of
my alms
For the custodian
That is in the Holy Church.
My gift:
I give that.
(15 tostones)

Jesus.

And again this is my alms
For them to give the flag
For the Most Holy Sacrament:
One score fifteen tostones
Already given.
I give that.
(35 tostones)

This again is a black chasuble¹⁹
For the souls,
Those in purgatory:
Six score tostones
I have given.

limosna le di en la santa
glesia cuando hicieron la
bandera del santísimo sacra-
mento tranyta y cinco tostones

35 tos.

Page 2.

j.

(páginas 2.)

Meanwhile, I have done seven
For a lamp: I have given it.
I give that.
(20 tostones)

he dado limosnas trescientos y
veinte tostones cuando hicieron
lambra en la iglesia

320 tos.

y cuando hicieron custodia en
la iglesia le di quince
tostones

15 tos.

limosna le di en la santa
glesia cuando hicieron la
bandera del santísimo sacra-
mento tranyta y cinco tostones

35 tos.

limosna le di en la santa
glesia cuando mercaron
hornamento casula para los
Animas de purgatorio
ciento y veinte tostones
In ya va
R ichin sancta yglesia
Nu yaon --
-----

Mi s oc santo sanc jhacindo
Ch u pan retapla
Ch u pan santa yglesia
R uquim vo sanctos
Mi s oc
Quere mi s quiz
Cay mil dostones ch u vach v omal
In miguel perez
In ya va --
-----

Vae chic mi çach
Ch u vach prondal
R uquim manteles
R ichim sancto san jhacinto
Lahuh ru beleh cal tostones
S nu ya
In ya va
Coh ch u pan sancta yglesiya
Vacami --
-----

A chic vae mi su nu cach
Chi r ih cay retapla
R ichim sancta ma.
Coh ch u pa altar
Osi mil dostones
R uquim lauhu r os cal tos.
Mi s nu çach in ya va
Miguel perez firir --
-----

I give that
To the Holy Church
As my gift.

(120 tostones)

[The image of] St. Hyacinth is entered,
limosnas le di en la santa
yglesia quando hicieron
Retablos entrado las ymagenes
cinco con el San Jacinto
he hastado dos mil tostones
del limosna

(2000 tostones)

Here again I forgot:
For the altar hanging
And linens
For the image of St. Hyacinth:
Ten into the ninth score tostones
I have given;
I give that.
It is in the Holy Church
Now.

(170 tostones)

And again I had forgotten
About the two retaplas
For the St. Mary
That is on the altar
Three thousand tostones
And ten toward the third score tostone
I had forgotten I gave this,
Miguel Perez Pirir

(3050 tostones)

And then I forgot:
For the St. Mary when they bought the images:
Ten into the ninth score tostones
I have given;
I give that.
It is in the Holy Church
Now.

(170 tostones)

And again I had forgotten
About the two retaplas
For the St. Mary
That is on the altar
Three thousand tostones
And ten toward the third score tostone
I had forgotten I gave this,
Miguel Perez Pirir

(3050 tostones)

limosnas le di en la santa
yglesia cuando hicieron
Retablos entrado las ymagenes
cinco con el San Jacinto
he hastado dos mil tostones
del limosna

(2110 tostones)
Huncama Abed
R ichim sanctisimo sacramedo
Sa ui vaq’ cal tostones
Ny yaon
Coh ch u pan santa yglesia nu
limosna
In ya va
-----

Hun bason
R ichin dios
Hu molah chiramias
R uquim hu çacapucha
Hu cu naq’ ya ri bason

Hu much nu yaon chirimias
R uquim çacapucha
Quere vo cal
Nu yaon
In ya ua
-----

A ca vaer onohel ornamendos
Nu yaon
Ch u vach dios tta
Ah dios caholah
Dios espiritu sandos
R os ichal presonas
R uquim ch u vach nu nim tte
Sancta ma.
Sha ui ch u vach nu tta
San juan bapdista

Seis mil tostones
Y siete ciendos tostones
(6 mil tos.
700 tos.)

A bed
For the Most Holy Sacrament:
Just six score tostones
I have given
It is in the Holy Church,
my alms.
I give that.
(120 tostones)

A bassoon
For God,
A pile of flutes,
And one sackbutt. 20
Once and for all, I gave the bassoon;
I had given a score of flutes
And the sackbutt,
So it is five score
I have given.
I give that.
(100 tostones)

And so these are all the ornaments
I have given
To God the Father,
God the Son,
God the Holy Ghost
Each of the three persons,
And before my great mother
St. Mary,
And before my father
St. John the Baptist:
Six thousand tostones
And seven hundred tostones.
(6700 tostones)

limosna le di en la santa yglesia quando hicieron
la obra del santissimo sacramento ciento y veinte
tostones

limosnas le di en la santa yglesia cien tostones por
un bason y chirimias,
çacapuch lo entregue en la
dicha yglesia

100 tos.

Sumario las limosnas
que yo he dado
Ante dios mi señor

y en presencia de la virgen
madre de dios
y mi padre
san Juan pauptista
con toda mi boluntad y gusto
he presentado en la santa
yglesia casa de dios
por todo so seis mil tostones
y setecientos tostones

120 tos.
Nu yaon
Ch u vach r onohel ornamedos
Sa ui qu etaaon c onohel patre

Cah chi ha
Ch u pan q'a dinamit
A nic si rucacae vi
Lahuh r o cal huna

Ch u vach vleuh
In mama
Miguel perez firir
R uquim nu cahol
R uquim nu mam
Quere ca at ahilas
Vae nu tzih
Ve coh chaoh r omal chic ui

Vae t in tiquiba ui ru tzibaxic

Ha la qu ichin nu cahol.
Yn ca casah altes
Regidores
Ch u pan q'a tinamit
S. juo.
Dan qui cha
In ya va --
-----
Vae hun ha
R uquim solar
R ichim grmo.
Ru nimal nu cahol
Sa ui r uquim
Hun chi chudi hay
Nu loq'om chi r ichin acustin
chamale
R ichin grmo.
Tan qui cha
In ya va

I have given
For all the ornaments
As is already known to all the fathers
Living in the houses
In our town.
Ten toward the fifth score of years
On earth.
I the Elder,
Miguel Perez Pirir
With my sons
And my grandsons.
So that you can account for
This my word
If there is fighting over it again then.
Here I have finished its recording.
This then is for my sons
I have notified the Alcaldes
(And) Regidores
In our town,
St. John.
I have spoken
I give this.
There is this one house
And plot
For Gerónimo,
The oldest of my sons.
Just for him
Another small house
I bought from Agustín Chamale
For Gerónimo.
I have spoken.
I give this.
por el dicho hornamentos
y que vieron los ministros de
de dios con la vista que es
verdaderamente y como dios me
ha hecho tantas mercedes de-
boleverme la vida
de mi nobenta años me lo dio
dios que yo viejo de tantos
años y assi digo que

Aquí estan mis hijos y mi hija
mis netos delante de ellos
y en presencia de los alcaldes
y Regidores estando oyendo
mi testamento si acaso de aquí
adelante ningunos de los otros
hijos mios no hagan agravios
ni pleytos bien savia todo el
pueblo cosa mia de mi sudor
trabajos suso dicho
6 mil tos. 700

doy y entrego una casa
y solar
en poder de mi hijo mayor
Gerónimo

y otra casa pequeña
lo merque con Agustín Chamale
también es sera de mi hijo
Gerónimo
A va hay
Coh ah cic jho, vi
R uquim vleuh
Coh pan caa

Sa ui r icchin grmo.
Nu cajol
Tan qui cha
In qui tta
Vae chic ha la vleuh
Chi q'quetzan sr. me ce
Se tzaq'
Ch ul pan era
Ru culbat
Tan qui cha
In ya ca

(page 3.)
Pa ru culbat grmo.
Boch r icchin nu cahol grmo.
Qui ra an culbat qui uinaq yavas
Qu e ru çamahibeh nu cahol
gromo.
Tan qui cha
n qui tta --
-----
Nu cahol dogo. r icchin vaa hay
In cohin r onohel in qu in ru
cahol
Sa ui coh chich La. taq' solar

Nu loq'om chi r ih samue coh
Ru cahol ru dogo.
Chi cuchum ru huhail chiri
Ti ban ui r ochoch
Tan qui cha
In ya ua

And this house
That is above (St.) John then
With the land
That is at Ca

Is just for Gerónimo,
My son.
I have spoken,
I, their father.
There is another house and its land
From the deceased Sr. [Bernabé] Cech
Below Tzaq'
Entering Era
Is its boundary.
I have spoken
I give that.

As the boundary of Gerónimo,
The request for my son Gerónimo.
They will inherit their twenty mares;
My son Gerónimo will work them.
I have spoken,
I their father.

My son Domingo for this house.
I add everything I have (given)
this son.
But then there is (for his) mother Luisa, those plots
I bought from Samuel Coh.
This son, this Domingo
Together with the house there,
Since he built the house.
I have spoken.
I give that.

y la otra casa que esta aqui
arriba
y tierra
esta en otra parte llamado
panca
es tambien di
mi hijo

y otra tierra
que merque con bernabe çech
debajo çimiento
culpán

esta señalado lo mojones digo
y padre de ellos esta en la
mojon de Gerónimo boch doy
a mi hijo geronimo
y con veinte yeuas
que trabaja a mi hijo
Geronimo
digo
yo padre de ellos.

y a mi hijo domingo doy esta
casa a donde estoy viviendo
todo entregue en su poder
que esten con sus hijos que
son mis netos hijo de
domingo
y los solares que he mercado
que toma a mi neto porque
pidio para hacer su casa
mi neto hijo de domingo
de etro era el solar
R uquin sin tte chi coha
R uquin ma u chic
Chi qui poq’ona ri cah

Tan qui cha
In qui tta --
A ca bae vleuh chi juo. camay

R onohel
R ichin dogo. nu cahol
Sa ui c quin ru cahol
Sa ui r uquin ri vleuh
Mi x nu ya chaq’a
Chi r ichin dogo.
C uquin ru cahol grmo.
E ra qui culbat
Sa ui r ichin dogo.
C uquin ru cahol
Tan qui cha
In qui tta
-----

A chi ca vae vleuh
Ch u vi juyu
Sa ui r ichin dogo.
C uquin ru cahol
Ma ni chi qui cayh
Ja qu ecamaj ch u pan
Tan qui cha
In ya ua r onohel
Chi q’os le
A sa ui qu etaan culbat
Tan qui cha
In qui tta
-----

And one tree at Coha,
And there aren’t any more
Since the lightning split them.

I have spoken,
I their father.
So then there is this land at John Camey

All of it
For Domingo my son
But with these sons:
But with this land
I have already given half
To Domingo
And (my) son Geronimo.
The boundaries are known to them
Just for Domingo
And the (two) sons.
I have spoken,
I their father.

And then too there is this land
Up the mountain.
It is just for Domingo
And the (other) son,
But not for the two of them
Is the house standing in it.
I have spoken,
I gave all that.
To our third generation,
But just so the boundary is understood.
I have spoken,
I their father.

haga su casa que estarán sin
que lles hagan mal agravios
digo yo
padre de ellos
y la tierra de Juan Camay doy
a mis hijos de ella y otra
tierra pedaço que le di a
geronimo partir en dos partes
de la tierra geronimo y
domingo tomará su parte
es sera monjón era llamado
entrego a domingo con sus
hijos que trabajan de hacer
no se lo bentan que tengan
bien todo hasta adonde lega
llamado bien savia
las monjones
A chic vae vleu pa chali
Ch u culbat ma

Dio. caruiana
Bay coq’ohibal chul nicah

S cohe ui puerta nabey
Sa ui r ichin dogo.
Ca a chi bano choh
Pa qui vi ru cahol
Tan qui cha
In ya ua --
R uquim havinaq yeval
R ichin dogo.
Tan qui cah
In qui tta --
-----

Nu cahol juo.
Sa ui hun hay
Nu bano nah ui
Sa ui r ichin china
Ma ni coh china
Qo ch u pan
Tan qui cha
In ya ua --
-----

A chi ca vae vleuh
Ch u va huyu pa
Ru culbat Q’quetzam

Cul patan Dio.
Oher qa chebal
Sa ui qu ichin juo.
R uquim ru cahol
Ma ni chica
Is
Tan qui cha

A chic vae vleu pa chali
Ch u culbat ma

Dio. caruiana
Bay coq’ohibal chul nicah

S cohe ui puerta nabey
Sa ui r ichin dogo.
Ca a chi bano choh
Pa qui vi ru cahol
Tan qui cha
In ya ua --
R uquim havinaq yeval
R ichin dogo.
Tan qui cah
In qui tta --
-----

And again there is this land at Chali
At the boundary of the elder

Diego Carviana
Hence the tamal pot in the middle.

It used to have a gate formerly.
It is just for Domingo.
Then he can make a division
In favor of his sons.
I have spoken,
I give that.
And twentieth mares
For Domingo.
I have spoken,
I their father.

My son Juan
Just one house
I made far off.
It is just for him.
There isn’t anything
That is on it.
I have spoken.
I give that.

My son Juan
Just one house
I made far off.
It is just for him.
There isn’t anything
That is on it.
I have spoken.
I give that.

And then there is this land
Facing Mt. Pa
At the boundary of the deceased

Tribute collector, Diego.
It was formerly our field.
It is just for Juan
And his son.
It has no more jicama
And yams.
I have spoken.

y la otra tierra esta llamado
pachali en la monjon de matheo
garcía primero estaba montanas
llegan en medio a donde estaba
la puerta
de primero doy a mi hijo
domingo la dicha tierra
ella partira su parte de cada
un de sus hijos de domingo
tomaran sus tierras mis netos
y ceynte yevas
tomara mi hijo domingo
digo
y padre de ellos.

y mi hijo Juan doy y entrego
una casa que esta aqui
arriba que hice la casa bacio
y unas tierras llamado citavi
do a mi hijo Juan
y otra tierra esta en el texar
hiçimos monjones con el viejo
gregorio en la frenta del
piedra que es la monjon
es para mi hijo Juan
y la otra tierra esta en
frente del cerro en la monjon
del difunto llamado diego
culpatan ya muchos años tengo
donde cortamos llas llenas
doy a mi hijo Juan
y con sus hijos del dicho
Juan que son mis netos
ella partira entre sus hijos
a Juan no se benda digo yo
In ya ua
Sa ui r etaam juo.
Ru culbatal ri vleuh
Tan qui cha
In ya ua qui tta
Lahuh yeuas r ichin juo.
C uqun ru cahol
Dan qui cha
In qui tta in ya ua --
-----

In ya ua I give this padre de elias
Sa
ui r etaam juo. Just so Juan will understand y mi hijo Juan sabe los
Ru culbatal ri vleuh The boundaries of this land. mojones de la tierra esta
Tan qui cha I have spoken, senalado
In ya ua qui
Ua
I, their father, give this.

Lahuh yeuas r ichin juo. Ten mares for Juan y diez yevas doy a mi hijo
C uqun ru cahol And his son. Juan
Dan qui cha I have spoken, I, their father, I give this.

C uqun ru cahol
Dan qui cha
In qui tta in ya ua --
-----

In ya ua I give this
Sa ui r etaam juo.
Ru culbatal ri vleuh
Tan qui cha
In ya ua qui tta
Lahuh yeuas r ichin juo.
C uqun ru cahol
Dan qui cha
In qui tta in ya ua --
-----

My son Ambrosio. y a mi hijo Ambrosio doy y
Sa
ui nu loqom hun solar entregó una solar en poder del
Chi r ichin manuel cotzehay ella lo merque por veynte
tostones con manuel cotzehay solar bajo

Ma ni china Twenty tostones I paid for it. ella
Ooch u pa
Tan qui cha
In qui tta in ya ua --
-----

Nu loqom chi r ichin baltasar doy a mi hijo Ambrosio la
Huininaq tos. nu yaon r ichin and together with the land dicha tierra y la otra tierra
ta en el poder del
Ma ni china There isn't anything que merque con Juan Čech
Ooch u pa That is on it. tostones con manuel cotzehay solar bajo
Tan qui cha I have spoken, y a mi hijo Ambrosio
doy a mi hijo Ambrosio
In qui tta in ya ua --
-----

Nu loqom chi r ichin baltasar I bought from Baltasar
camey for my son Ambrosio.
R ichin nu cahol Ambrosio
Sa ui r uquin ri vleuh it is just for my son Ambrosio. doy a mi hijo Ambrosio
No loq'on chi r ichin juo. cech It is for my son Ambrosio.
Ta q'as se huyu I bought from Baltasar
Sha ui r ichin nu cahol ambrosio CAMEY.
Tan qui cha It is for my son Ambrosio.
In qui tata in ya ua But together with the land doy a mi hijo Ambrosio
A chic vae vleuh I bought from Baltasar
Pa ya chi sot

Ocher nu chembal

R ichin nu cahol Ambrosio
Ma ni china It was formerly our field.
Qo ch u pa
C uqun nu mam And (for) my grandson.
Sa ui r edaan Ambrosio

It was for my son Ambrosio.
There isn't anything doy a mi hijo Ambrosio la
ta en el poder del
It is just for my son Ambrosio. que merque con Juan Čech
ta en el poder del
I have spoken, mas otra tierra
I, their father, I give this esta en la orilla del rio al
ta en el poder del And further there is this land texar
I have spoken, antiquamente donde lo sembroma-
I, their father, I give this a mucho
ta en el poder del And (for) my grandson.
doy a mi hijo Ambrosio
I have spoken,
doy a mi hijo Ambrosio no le ynpiden ni sacar en su
I, their father, I give this poder mis actos hasta cuando
ta en el poder del And (for) my grandson.
savi a mi hijo el mojones de
doy a mi hijo Ambrosio mas otra tierra
I have spoken, la dicha tierra y si acaso
I, their father, I give this esta en la orilla del rio al
ta en el poder del And (for) my grandson.
doy a mi hijo Ambrosio mas otra tierra
I, their father, I give this esta en la orilla del rio al
The boundary.
If he fixes it
As I told him,
This Gregorio here
Can divide that land
Above Ibah.
I have spoken.
I give this, their father.
And then there is this land
That I bought from Diego
Uit.
It is just for my son Ambrosio.
It is not yet in pasture.
I have spoken.

But then again on the land
That was formerly our field (at) Deer Squatted:

This is the land that is for Ambrosio
And his son.
I have spoken.
I give this.

I have already spoken, I,
Miguel Perez Pirir.
The gleaning has already been done on the land
at Chali,
And the land of Twenty too.
This is not for Ambrosio either,
Because they broke their word,
Since it was already gleaned,
R: x u bi ch u pa nu 
  destamedo
Amen
Jesus y --)  

(In the following passage, parentheses 
indicate material that has been crossed out.)
(A chi ra vae vleuh pa chabe 
  Ch i jule 
  Chi pa missa ui pe dogo. 
  Chi pe ca anbrosio 
  Chi ri ja 
  Tan chi pe chul pa 
  Ru culbat dio. lopez bach 

Coh ui co (page 4.) ral 
  R ichin anbrosio 
  Cuquin ru cahol 
  Tan qui cha 
  In ya va qui tta 
  Ma ri china q'o 
  Nu cahol anbrosio 
  Tan qui cha 
  Sa ui qu etaan he culbat 

Tan qui cha 
  In ya va qui tta 
  Ruquin lauhu yevas 
  R ichin nu cahol anbrosio 
  Tan qui cha 
  In ya va 
  Which it says in my testament. 
  Amen 
  Jesus. 

Again then there is this land at Chabe 
  In Jule. 
  Domingo came to mass there, 
  And then Ambrosio came 
  For baptism. 
  It used to run all the way in 
  To the boundary of Diego Lopez Bach. 

It has a corral 
  For Ambrosio 
  And his sons. 
  I have spoken. 
  I give this, their father. 
  There is nothing (on it). 
  (It is) for my son Ambrosio. 
  I have spoken 
  Just so he understands this boundary. 

I have spoken. 
  I give this, their father. 
  And ten mares 
  For my son Ambrosio. 
  I have spoken 
  I give this. 
  And then there is this land above 
  Nacoq' 
  I bought from the deceased 
  Luces Toy. 
  It is just for my son Ambrosio. 
  At the boundary of Diego Lopez Bach 
  It begins from the mouth of the river Pa. 

Ti tza el chi a ya pa
Taan qui cha
In ya va--
-----
A ca vae cay prava\textsuperscript{21} di molena

Camahibal r onohel ca tte
Chi hach
Chi qui vach nu cahol anbrosio
C uquin dogo. grmo.
Tan qui cha
In qui tta
Huhun hay ch u chahih
Ri gravadel chiri
Ta coh qui vacamic
Osi nu cahol
Ch u qui ri hu molah ch oq' ch vi
O'qu e qui çamahibal hu molah

Ch u cam anbrosio
Tan qui cha
In qui tta
In pe ya va
Chi tzaq'at na
Huhun macho t u chahih
R uquin dormillo
Martillo
Dinaca
Tan qui cha
In ya va--
-----

A ca uae nu mial ponila.
Osi ru quch potro
R ichin nu mial
R uquin vo oaneacas trico
Del ch u pan trilar chi ya
Chi r ichin nu meal ponila.
Tan qui cha

I have spoken.
I give this.

And then there are these two mill forges
And all the tools of our fathers
To be divided
Before my son Ambrosio
With Domingo and Geronimo.
I have spoken,
I, their father.
Each house is to keep
The equipment that is in it
Since it is theirs now,
My three sons.
There is a pile of cord tumbled
there,
A pile they have (all) worked with.

Ambrosio is to get it.
I have spoken,
I, their father.
I came to give this.
It is arranged then:
Each one is to keep a machete,
A screwdriver,
Hammer,
And pliers.
I have spoken.
I give this.

And then this daughter of mine, Petronila.
Three of the horses, fillies
For my daughter,
And five fanegas of wheat
Of that in the threshing place by the river,
Which is for my daughter, Petronila.
I have spoken

digo yo
padre de ellos

el prava para el hiero que se
junt en todo las heramientos
conten ino no lles falten ni-
gunas del dicho heramientos
junte entonces Repartir de
cada uno tomar suy su parte
de mis hijos Ambrosio y domi-
go geronimo digo yo padre de ellos
y que en una casa est en el
dicho prava que sacan adonde
estaba que guardan en otra
casa la prava tres hijos de mi
sobre la dicha prava cuando
terna todos hechos y derechos
las heramientos porque son dos
prava la una parte tomar
mi hijo Ambrosio queda otra
para los dos hermanos de
Ambrosio

en adercando todo heramiento
tengan cada uno macho
y tornillo
martillo
y tenacas
digo yo
enfermo

y mi hija petronita doy
tres bestias potros
a mi hija
y cinco fanegas de trigo
sacan en la trilar
entreguen a mi hija
digo yo
In ya va qui tta --

A ri qui queh
nu cahol anbrosio
Mi s nu ya ch u pam nu testamendo

Sa ui r uquin r ichin juo.
Lahuh i daq' qui yeuas
Canih do cal chic costa

Chi qu ih hu cumah
Tan qui cha
In qui tta in ya ua --

A ri nu cahol anbrosio
He hu hay vae huna elenaq'
Uquim in ru tta
Cahi quèh s u camel
E ru çamahibal
Ch u pa vae huna
De 1634 anos
A ca ri tan qu e ru çamahibah
vacami
Tan qui cha
In ru tta
R ichin nu yaon
Ma ni china
Q'o ch u vi
Tan qui cha
In ya va --

R uquin osib yuta novillo
boyes
Nu yaon chi r ichin
R uquin ru resaru camo
Ri nu cahol anbrosio

I, their father, give this.

Then there are their horses,
My son Ambrosios's
I have given in my testament:

But also for Juan
Ten head of their mares.
There are still five score left it seems

After one was taken.
I have spoken.
I, their father, I give this.

And this my son Ambrosio
Indeed one house this year was removed
With me his father.
Four animals died
Of those he was working
Within the year
Of 1634 A.D.
So then they must work them
now.
I have spoken,
I, the father.
As for my gift,
There is nothing
That is on it.
I have spoken.
I give this.

And three yokes of young
oxen
I have given him.
And the rosary of thanks
(For) this my son Ambrosio.

y las bestias de mis hijos
ya estan entregado como
Reça mi testamento
Ambrosio Juan ya tomaron
sus partes a diez yevas
de cada uno y que pongan
las hieros de ser leugo
digo yo
enfermo

y mi hijo Ambrosio ya muchos
años que salio de mi casa
tomo quatros bestias
lleba para trabajar con ella
en el año
de 1634
y le entregue tres machos
para buscar su bida
digo yo
su padre de ellos
no le sacan en su poder
cosas suya yo he dado las
dichas bestias

y doy tres yuntas novillos
bueyes
y las Re _____ as ya tomado su
parte no les agravan.
I have spoken.
I give this.

And then there is this land at Chabaq'
In pasture,
at Zoq'om
For my son Gerónimo
He knows the boundary.
The edge of it is at Ah Pixóla
Only it is below Tula.
There is nothing
That is on Gerónimo's land.
I have spoken,
I, their father.

And then there are these lands that are at Zuta,
And we bought them from the regidor.
(Note: the land of Zaq'Tzo)
For my son Domingo.
Only there is a title.
There is nothing.
That is on it.
I have spoken.
I, their father, give that.

And then too there is this house that is at Zoq'Tzuy.
Only with it is the land at the house
For Domingo,
My son Domingo
But with his sons.
I have spoken,
I, their father.
And the land that is over by

Carchá.

We paid the price

For my son Domingo,

But with his sons.

I have spoken.

I, their father, give it.

y la tierra esta otra parte

otra banda del río llamado

patocar esta en la corral
doy a mi hijo domingo
digo yo
padre de ella.

And this forge

Bought from Chonis Cu.

I gave five score tostones,

I, Miguel Perez,

But my son Ambrosio gets it.

I have spoken.

I, their father, give it.

But Ambrosio doesn't get it yet.

digo mas por el dicho prava

me costo ducentos tostones en
dinero
doy a mi hijo Ambrosio
digo

por que mi sudor y trabajo
gane la dicha prava y no se
pierda ni haga agravios el
dicho Ambrosio porque yo
les pague

los oficiales de enseñar el
Ambrosio aviendo aprendido el
oficio a mi hijo Ambrosio
he gastado tantos dineros de
yo he sacado dinero de que
enseno e oficial quando fue
ensenando a mi hijo Ambrosio
llamado geronimo natural de
miscu ducentos tostones tomo
el official el salario de ella
por un año de enseñar a mi
hijo

paso a otra official
llamado Diego
Ambrosio will have to pay in just one more year, since I already gave each one a forge.

So for Ambrosio

Five score tostones is my gift.

And then there is the other big one

I bought in Pan Choy,

I gave six score tostones

But it was for something of his older brother's.

I have spoken.

Only together they should look after it.

He should not get into a fight with them,

Ambrosio with his older brothers.

I have spoken.

I, their father, I came to give this.

There is this Holy Cross,

And Saint Hyacinth

For my son Domingo

To remember for a whole year;

To remember masses

And sermons

Before the fathers.

I have spoken.

I, their father, I came to give this.

So then my word is done.
Vae baca r ichin nu cahol
anbrosio
R ichin tan mi ya
Ch u camel
Chacel chic chi qu ih
Tan qui cha
In qui tta in ya va --

These cows are for my son
Ambrosio.
I have given them to him
To take
And cut fodder for.
I have spoken.
I, their father, I give this.

digo yo que mi hijo
Ambrosio tomará cinco bacas
será suyo
doy a mi hijo
digo yo
digo yo doy a mi hijo juan
cinco bacas tomará el lo sabe
si lo mata o no como quiere
digo y padre de ellas

y los dos mis hijos gerónimo
y domingo ambos quiere cogen
las bacas juntar porque son
hijos de mi trabajaron tanto
quando peso comienza la
hacienda ambos mis hijos
buscaron trabajaron de
Recoyer y así quedan ambos
sobre las dichas bacas y que

si acaso llebantar algunas
pleytos entre ellas bean con
buena consenscia partir las
bacas

y el estancia llamado navoron
digo yo
padre de ellas
Osib baca r ichin nu meal
ponila.
Chi hachel
Tan qui cha
In qui tta in ya va --
-----
Osi ru misa qui tte
Chi qui caslaah vae dogo.
Naq’ ch u pan q’quih chic
Ru tzih dios pa ru ui chiri
Ti ban osi missa
H u ui r anima qui te
Comal dogo. nu cahol
T u ban pe. sacerdodes

Ch u vach dios tta
Ah dios caholah
Dios espiridu sando
Ros ichal presonas
Ch u vach ca nima loq’ohav a

Ta qui cha
In ya va --
-----
Hun tos. limosna chi ya

Qu ichin ah r ochoch dios
Qu in ul qui cama
Ch u va hay
V ochoch
In caminaq’
Ch oq’
Tan qui cha
In ya va --
-----
(page 6.)

A ri ha la q’uq’ coh

Three cows for my daughter
Petronila,
To be divided.
I have spoken.
I, their father, I give this.

Three masses for their mother.
Let them remind this Domingo
To remember again at the time
The word of God over him here
To hold three masses
For the soul of their mother
By Domingo, my son,
To be done by the Father priest

Before God the Father,
God the Son
And God the Holy Ghost,
All three persons,
And before you great beloved Lady.
I have spoken.
I give this.

Let one toston of alms be given
To those of the god house
When I come to die.
Before the house,
My home,
When I am dead
Let them mourn.
I have spoken.
I give this.

Then this house there at Q’uq’Coh

digo yo que mi hija petronila
tomara tres baca doy a mi hija

digo yo tres misas hara a mi
hijo domingo por el alma de su
madre de ellas en el dia de su
muerte estara senalado en ese
dia

hara la misa nuestro vicario

ante dios nuestro senor

y en presencia de la madre de
dios por el alma
digo yo
enfermo

digo yo que de un toston de
limosna
a los cantores que bengan
acompanarme de mi cuerpo

quando yestarme difunto

digo yo que el plumas de
la tierra llamado quetzali
y unos bestidos para los bala-
Sa ui r uquin culsahbal
Sa ui pa r u q'a dogo.

Tan t in ya qui cam
Ma ni coh chi yacochaah

Q'quitzh nu pisa vae
Ta ti tzi tas
In u tata
Ma ni medio
Ch u nim e u yaon
Pa nu q'a
R eleb c u uquin
In ru tta
Quere ma ni t u yac chaah

Q'ta domim nu yaon
In ru tta
Sa ui ru camon nu cahol
ambrosio --

-----
A ca ri huyu r alibal queh
Nu loq'om
Sa ui vecoh alabon mi madi raal

Ch u pan nu cahol dogo.
Ti chahin
Qui ya ri nu loq'om
Sa ui coh he ce t u la caybal ri
Chiri ri ya huyu ca --
-----

Only with the dance costume. 24
It was just in Domingo's hands.
Then I gave it for them to have.
Only let there not be an argument.
Truly this is my command.
An arrangement must be made.
I am his father.
There is no way
He can obey by paying
Into my hands
A quittance with me.
I am the father.
Since he didn't give them a fight --
Our four older brothers,
Then he received
Two head of cattle
(And) many tomins (as) my gift,
I being the father,
But my son Ambrosio got (the house).

And then the hunting range for deer 25
That I bought.
It is just fallow, and the boys hunt the deer with lazos
In to my son Domingo
To keep,
(And) they give me my payment.
But there is a deed for the two of them
There on the river at Mt. Ca.
He re ca nu tzih
Vae
Mi s ca casah altes.
Regidores
Jusa.
Ch u pan uq'u q'quih
Yc
Acosto
De 1642
Anos.
Mi hu tzin vinu destameddo

Quere ca dios qu eloq'
Moyh chahin
Ca altes.
C uquin chinamital
Mi s q'a ban ru chohmil
Ch u chi chaah
Nima chaoh v ichin
Ru vach vleuh
Quere go dios
Qu eloq' chahin can
Tan q cha
In ya va
Sa chi vach dios tta
Ah dios caholah
Dios espiritu sancto
Ros ichal presonas
Ch u vach ca nima loq'ohav
Sancta ma.
Quere chi qui firmayh
Vae nu tzih
Nu pisa
Nu destamendo
Mi s casah c u pan vae q'quih
7 acosto
De 1642
Anos --

Inde this is my word
Here.
We have roused the Alcaldes,
Regidores,
Justicias
On the seventh day
Of the month
Of August
Of the year
1642.
Already my testament has been spoken once.

So may God then love
And keep
Our Alcaldes
And those of the Chinamital.
So we can make the division
Against fighting.
There is a great fight with me
On the face of the earth,
But there is a God
Who watches the guarding of homes.
I have spoken.
I give this.
Only before God the Father,
God the Son,
And God the Holy Ghost,
The three persons,
And before our Great beloved Lady,
St. Mary,
Wherefore they sign
This my word,
My commandment,
My testament,
Which is blessed on this day,
August 7,
In the year 1642.

Mi hu tzin vinu destameddo

Aquí se acaba mi testamento
mi poder dexo en esta vida
estando los alcaldes y
Regidores estando oyendo mis
hijos
en este día que es el siete
días de mes
de Agosto
de 1642
años
ya esta escripto mi testamento
por su divino boluntad de dios

que dios guarde
los alcaldes
y los chinamitales
juntamente a todos guardar
dios nuestro senor
Amen Jesus
y por ser verdad firme
el escribano mi nombre
y los demas

Miguel perez pirir
B. codicil of January 23, 1648

Ch u pam vac huna
Mi x nu ban nu destamento
In
Miguel perez firir
De 1642
Anos
Chiri s in ya chalatac
Qu ichin nu cahol

In this year
I have made my testament,
I,
Miguel Perez Pirir,
In the year
1642.
Here I am giving an audience
For my sons,

Jesus Maria Joseph
yo
miguel perez pirir viejo
Since I am still alive today
On the 23rd of January
Of 1648.
Now we shall listen because of the fight
By my sons, Gerónimo,
Juan
(And) Ambrosio.
Since they had a fight with his Domingo,
And so a collection was made over it.
I, the Elder,
Miguel Perez Pirir,
This year
I have divided them.
I have already done it
In my testament of 1642
My son Gerónimo.

Fifteen score tostones he got
- 300 tostones
A score and twelve mares he got
- 32 mares
A score and ten head he got
- 30 cows
Fifteen tame mules he got
- 15 male mules
Eight yoke of oxen he got
- 8 yoke oxen
Five score of those honey trees that are at Ca
he got
-100 hives
My son Ambrosio.

Fifteen cows Ambrosio got:
- 15 cows

Ten mares he got
- 10 mares

Four yoke of oxen
- 4 yoke oxen

Two mules, four hores he got
- 6

One forge Ambrosio got:
six score tostones.
- 120 tostones

Petronila, my daughter,
The wife of Gaspar Chamalé,
Got five measures of wheat
That is in my testament.
- 5 tostones

Three cows my daughter got,
Two of them paired off.
My daughter got them.
(Now two are my older brother’s.)
- (3 cows)

Miguel Perez Pirir.

Petronila nu meal
R izhail Gaspar chamle
Mi x u cam vo tas trigo
Coh ch u pan nu destame
- 5 tos.
Oxi baga mi x e ru cam nu mial
Caicay u quch
Mi x e ru cam nu mial
Vacami ca in catz --

Miguel perez pirir

C. Insert by Domingo Perez Pirir, 1650

In this year
I have already divided
One pair

y mi hijo Ambrosio lo entregue
quince bacas tomo
y diez yevas tomo
y quatro yuntas bueyes tomo
y dos mulas y quatro bestias
y una pragua
y ciento y veynte tostones
Recibio a mi hijos Ambrosio
susodicho de ariba ya estan
entregado cosas suyas no aya
de ber con otro mi hijo que es
domingo el Repartimento de
ellas esta cumblido del dicho
testamento

--------------------
(With) this lady, Petronila,
Wife of Gaspar Chamalé,
I,
Domingo Perez Pirir,
A reddish black horse,
In the year
1650 A.D.

D. Codicil of June 19, 1648

Jesus
Ma.
Yn mama
Miguel perez pirir
Ari vae nu destamento
X nu ban ch u pan me pasato
De 1642
X u ya chi ca dias
U q’uval x q’qui huna
Ch u vi chin vacamic
A xa uio q’i r aho
Tan qui cam ri qui cix
Tzaq’ chic nu chuq’a

Jesus
And Mary.
I am the Elder
Miguel Perez Pirir.
This is my testament
Which I made last month,
In 1642.
It gave to our God
The treasure of days and years
So that now for me
It is just the time of the Lord.
They have taken what they liked.
Already my strength is failing,

I, the Elder, then.
Wherefore before the faces
Of the Alcaldes
Regidores
Justices
(And) before the faces
Of those of my chinamital
So I have again left
Indeed this is the sign of my word
My command.
This then is the division of my word
Before God.
My son Ambrosio.

Fifteen cows Ambrosio got
- 15 cows

Ten mares he got
- 10 mares

Four yoke of oxen
- 4 yoke oxen

Two mules, four horses he got
- 6

One forge Ambrosio got:
six score tostones.
- 120 tostones

My daughter, Petronila,

The wife of Gaspar Chamalé,

Got five measures of wheat
That is in my testament.
- 5 tostones

Three cows my daughter got,
Two of them paired off.
My daughter got them.
(Now two are my older brother's.)
- (3 cows)

In this year
I have already divided
One pair
D. Codicil of June 19, 1648

Jesus
Ma.
Yn mama
Miguel perez pirir
Ari vae nu destamento
X nu ban ch u pan me pasato
De 1642
X u ya chi ca dios
U q'uvah x q'qui huna
Ch u vi chin vacamic
A xa uio q'i r aho
Tan qui cam ri qui cix
Tzaq' chic nu chuq'a

Yn mama chic
Quere chi qui vach
Alcaldes
Regidores
Just.
Chi qui vach
E nu chinamital
Tan t in canah chic
Ha la r etal nu tzih
Nu pixam ay pe
Vac ca ru chohmil nu tzih
Ch u vach dios --

(With) this lady, Petronila,
Wife of Gaspar Chamalé,
I,
Domingo Perez Pirir,
A reddish black horse,
In the year
1650 A.D.

Jesus
And Mary.
I am the Elder
Miguel Perez Pirir.
This is my testament
Which I made last month,
In 1642.
It gave to our God
The treasure of days and years
So that now for me
It is just the time of the Lord.
They have taken what they liked.
Already my strength is failing,

I, the Elder, then.
Wherefore before the faces
Of the Alcaldes
Regidores
And Justices
(And) before the faces
Of those of my chinamital
So I have again left
Indeed this is the sign of my word
My command.
This then is the division of my word
Before God.
This land on Jicama River
At Puluq’
I have already given
For St. Mary.

The mayordomos have collected
At first light
For our blessed mother today.

Only ten measures of wheat
To buy nails
For the roof of the house of our father
St. John the Baptist.
It just goes
To buy and bring the nails.

Only five measures of wheat
I have already given
For my beloved mother Mary.

I have just ordered
Delivery at the entrance
Or else it’ll come for the expenses
Of the mayordomos,
And then this I have written
In my testament.
A collection of the price of jicama
I have donated.
It wound up in your coffers,
Which is for my God,
Since I have just had it
Given in my lifetime.
Xa ui quere nu cahol ambrosio
Xa ui x u cam r onohel r ichin

X in ya
Ch u pan nu destamento
Xa ui ch u pan vac q'quih
Chi qui vach justa.
Mi s nu hach setula
Pa ru q'a
Re chahibal r onohel r ichin
Coh ch u pan nu destamento
Xa ui ca x qui cam r onohel

Qu ichin gm. rih

Xinya That I gave
Chi qu vach justa. Before the Justices
tomé de todo que Récha el
testamento cosas suyo y Récibi
todos contenido en el
testamento en este día lo
terri
guedas para que

Ch u pan vae q'quih
Just so they will get everything

That is for him and Gerónimo, the eldest.

Xe re va cu chohmil nu tzih
Ch u ach dios
R uq'n chi uleu
R omal nu dios
Quere s tiquistic maih vacami

A 19 de junio
Ano de
1648 --

Domico alvarez taras
Altes.
Gaspar lopez
Altes.
Juo. moxin
Regr.
Pable chitay
Regr.
Juo. patzan
Regr.
Agustin carcia uy
Gaspar lopez taras

Only them my son Ambrosio,
Only so he'll get everything for him

That I gave
In my testament.
Just on this day
Before the Justices
I have divided the deed
In their hands
Of all that is kept for him
That is in my testament.
Just so they will get everything

That is for him and Gerónimo, the eldest.

So this is the division of my word
Before God
And on earth,
By my God.
So it is finished, done and past now,

On the 19th of June,
Year of
1648.

Domingo Alvarez Taras,
Alcalde.
Gaspar Lopez,
Alcalde.
Juan Moxin,
Regidor.
Pablo Chitay,
Regidor.
Juan Patzan,
Regidor.
Agustín García Uy
Gaspar Lopez Taras,

y mi hijo Ambrosio
tomo de todo lo que Récha el
testamento cosas suyo y Récibi
todos contenido en el
testamento en este día lo
terri
guedas para que

hice años pasados y así si mi
muere o y manana cumbla su
divina boluntad /mi dios y así
hago esta senales o y en diez
nuebe días del mes de junio de
1648 años

domingo alvarez
gaspar lopez
juan maxin
regidores
pablo chitay
juan patzan
agustin garcia
gaspar lopez
Destigo
Juan xaitz
Franco. hican
Domigo perez pirir
Grmo. pirir
Juo. pirir --
Ambrosio pirir
Sebastian ah tzib
Cabildos

Witness.
Juan Xaitz
Francisco Jicama
Domingo Perez Pirir.
Guillermo Pirir.
Juan Pirir.
Ambrosio Pirir.
Sebastián, Scribe,
Cabildo.

(jpage 11.)

E. Final Codicil October 11, 1648

Jesus
Ma.
1648
Ans.
Once
De octubre
Pa ru bi Dios tta
Ah Dios caholah
Dios espirido sando

R uquin nu loq'olah te
S. ma.
Nu qu in me tta
S. miguel argagel
T atriga sak vac testamedo
Tan t in ba chic
R omal mi na eq'

Va s in ia ca caii santo
Va ru q'a nu cahol ambrosio

Juan xais
francisco hican
domingo pirir
geronimo pirir
juan pirir
Ambrosio pirir
sebastian
ah tzib cabildo

Jesus
(And) Mary.
1648
A.D.
Eleventh
Of October.
In the name of God the Father,
God the Son,
And God the Holy Ghost,

And my beloved mother
St. Mary,
And the Elder father
St. Michael Archangel.
To give clean this testament
Which I have made
So there will be no burden

If I have given two saints to keep
That are in the hands of my son Ambrosio:

dc san gabriel
St. Gabriel,  
(And) St. Anthony.  
And yet it is a burden that he will make their procession,  
The ceremony of the Lords.  
That is not yet when it is done,  
Because it is still a burden I have given  
In my great testament  
To witness my death  
As they will die:  
So then I say to keep  
To this my word,  
Which remains.  
So that then there will be no trouble  
Created for my eldest, Domingo,  
When they care for the saints.  
If he does make trouble there  
He can do penance then.  
Let him not do it.  
It is on earth  
One begins to die.  
And he will keep that image of  
Jesus Christ,  
And our mother,  
St. Mary,  
And St. Anthony,  
St. Gabriel,  
Holy Cross --  
All the ornaments  
Are in the holy Church  
Not in (their) place.  
Good then is the Father:  
Good is the Castilian Father  
And the Justicias  
Who will take care of it.  
It is not their storage place,  
Because what good would that do?
It won't happen.
I have given it to the house of God
Without the knowledge of my sons.
Thus there are five coins of one tomin,
Since I already made
This my testament.
If they give trouble --
Ambrosio,
Gerónimo,
And Juan --
Each of our retablos
Have gone as their loan to
The priest father of the church
Which makes two there then
That are carried,
Or there are those five tostones.
Because they are not yet their tostones.
I have set them aside.
I just kept them,
But then that is because they gave trouble.
Since this is the end of my testament,
I give these their tostones.
Amen
Jesus

And then these five boxes
That have latches on the front
And three bags,
I give them to my son Domingo,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Casados</th>
<th>Casados</th>
<th>Casados</th>
<th>Casados</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caspar</td>
<td>Gaspar</td>
<td>caspar</td>
<td>caspar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- sebastia</td>
<td>Sebastián</td>
<td>- sebastian</td>
<td>- sebastian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- diego</td>
<td>Diego</td>
<td>- diego</td>
<td>- diego</td>
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<tr>
<td>- baltazar</td>
<td>Baltazar</td>
<td>- baltazar</td>
<td>- baltazar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- cahí ri casato</td>
<td>The four who are married</td>
<td>- cahí ri casato</td>
<td>- cahí ri casato</td>
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<tr>
<td>- petar</td>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>- petar</td>
<td>- petar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ala juo. te la curuh</td>
<td>The boy Juan de la Cruz</td>
<td>- ala juo. te la curuh</td>
<td>- ala juo. te la curuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- cristobal</td>
<td>Cristobal:</td>
<td>- cristobal</td>
<td>- cristobal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ma ha ni gu eculc</td>
<td>But we don't have their sisters.</td>
<td>- ma ha ni gu eculc</td>
<td>- ma ha ni gu eculc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- c ana ma.</td>
<td>Our Ana Maria</td>
<td>- c ana ma.</td>
<td>- c ana ma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- franca.</td>
<td>Francisca</td>
<td>- lucia</td>
<td>- lucia</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Lucía</td>
<td>- lucia</td>
<td>- lucia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- vaue ca cal gu val</td>
<td>And then the great grandchildren</td>
<td>- vaue ca cal gu val</td>
<td>- vaue ca cal gu val</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ci nima e onohel</td>
<td>All of them.</td>
<td>- ci nima e onohel</td>
<td>- ci nima e onohel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- luvisa</td>
<td>Luisa</td>
<td>- luvisa</td>
<td>- luvisa</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ana</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Barbara</td>
<td>- barbula</td>
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<td>- pabul</td>
<td>Puala</td>
<td>- pabul</td>
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<tr>
<td>- marta</td>
<td>Marta</td>
<td>- marta</td>
<td>- marta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- mateo ru chaq'</td>
<td>Mateo, her younger brother</td>
<td>- mateo ru chaq'</td>
<td>- mateo ru chaq'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- domenica</td>
<td>Domenica</td>
<td>- domenica</td>
<td>- domenica</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And then since I survive
Before my son Domingo,
So it is understood they work

Asi dexo las cosas suyas y sus
hijos del dicho domingo porque
me ha hecho tantas mercedes
favores me esta sirviendo y
Vichin in qui mama
Ta qu in quitzet
Pa nu iavabil r onohel
Ta ti qui loq'obeh uleu
Xa ui quere e qu e hach io
Vichin nu mocanil
In qui mam
Ve chuaq'
Ve ca bih
Ma ni ve ta in cah
Xa ru io min u tta dios
Etamaion nu cazlem
Ame
Jesus
1648
Anos.
Mah q'o sah oh
Teztico
Va te qa pirma
Po perez tocaij s. pe.

For me their Elder,
As they looked after me
All through my illness.
Then they should purchase land
Just so they can divide it
For my burial.
I am their grandfather.
Either tomorrow
Or the next day
Perhaps I shall no longer be living.
Only by my father God
My life is known.
Amen
Jesus.
1648
A.D.
We have not tired
(As) witnesses.
Here then we sign.
Pedro Perez, namesake of St. Peter,
Scribe of St. Peter.

I am
Miguel Perez Pirir.
This
Is a memorial
For the holy church,
For St. John the Baptist,
The home of St. Mary.
This is our work,
My gift to the house of God,
Only it is in my testament.
I the Elder,
Miguel Perez.

Los hijo de ella juntamente de
acudirme en mis traba xo enfermedades que mis netos me sir- ben bien que yo a que lo de ellas me estan favoreciendo en mi enfermedad y ellas me haran mercedes de mi cuerpo mi entierro

En cinco dias del mes de abril
de 1692 anos lo traslade el
testamento del dicho difunto

(page 14.)

Yn
Miguel perez firir
Vae
Memoria
R ichin sancto yglesa
R ichin san J uo. bapdi sta
R ochoch sancta mariya
Vae ca obra
Nu yaon pa r ochoch dios
Xa coh ch u pan nu destamendo
In mama
Miguel pz =
miguel perez pirir natural del pueblo de san juan cacatepeque conforme lo que Reça el testamento estaba en lengua de popoluca digo yo yndio escribano del pueblo de Jocotenango Como christinamente Ante dios Domingo Jacinto
Last Will and Testament of Don Domingo Perez Pirir

(Page 1)

Jesus Maria y Joseph

Primeramente dios padre dios hijo dios Espiritu Santo

sobre de esta mi palabra y mis dicho mi testamento

- yo domingo peres pirir agora creo en dios

padre todo poderoso

creo en dios

hijo dios

Espiritu Santo

tres personas tistintas y un solo dios verdadero

- y tambien de mi madre virgen santa maria

y de todos los apostoles

- creo la Santa palabra de mi dios

yo biejo y bivi muchos dias muchos pascua por mi senor

Jesuchristo

es verdad un mi testamento

lo ago primero delante dios

y delante santa maria pero no esta bueno

falta un poco para ajustar

para que no le den sus cuidado de cada uno de mis hijos

porque son seis hombre

los alcaldes pasados

uno que es Gaspar

et outro bartasal

y tambien el diego

- pedro

- Juan de la Cruz

- xóbal

no he de borrar todo el sus parte

ci les di primero suyo de cada uno

para que no los quedaron dentro del pleyto

en algun tiempo o año

- y tambien de sus madre de mis hijos

que no le hagan mal con el corazon de mi mujer

ni algun personas no tocan que mi poder mis dichos

que me acuerda de mi alma

delante de dios dentro de cada un pasqua

Translation by Robert M. Hill and Munro S. Edmonson

Jesus, Mary and Joseph

First God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit

Above this my word, my statement, my testament

I, Domingo Perez Pirir now believe in God

The Almighty Father

I believe in God the Son

(And) God the Holy Spirit

Three distinct persons and only one true God.

And also in my Virgen Mother, Saint Mary

And in all the Apostles

I believe in the Holy Word of my God

I am old and have lived many days,

[seen] many festivals of my Lord

Jesus Christ

My testament is true

I make it first before God

And before Saint Mary

But it is not well

A little is still required to settle matters

So that none of my children should have any worries

Because they are six men

The past - justices

One of whom is Gaspar

The other Baltasar

And also Diego

Pedro

Juan de la Cruz

Christóbal

I will not change any part at all

Of what I have already given each of them

So that they have no dispute

At some future time or year

And also the mother of my children

Do not let them harm my wife's heart,

Nor any person touch my will, my statements

May my soul be remembered before God each Easter
y también que me ponga mi alma
delante mi santo domingo mis devoto
fui por su nombre en este mundo
por mi padre difunto miguel peres pirir
digo yo delante los testigos
en presencia de los alcaldes y Regidores
porque si acaso me muera yo luego
digo yo que ando
lo firmaron en este en 26 de abril de 1660 ano ----

Estas mi primer palabra delante dios
y delante Santa Maria
y tabien delante padre Santo San Juan Baupista
una misa cantada que asen para las animas comunes del purgatorio
que lo aga mi presbitero
estan en el pueblo
para que abla sobre de mi delante dios
quando yo me salcan en este mundo por mi dios
digo leuego que le dieron mis hijos los quatro tos. limosna
digo yo padre de ellos -
estas otro mi palabra yo domingo peres pirir
quando yo me muera que le den mis hijos la limosna
para cuatro misa mio cantada
para ayudar mi alma delante dios
basta que estando mis hijos
digo yo padre de ellos
otro palabra
quando se muera mi muger Juana
madre de mis hijos
que le dan limosna para tres misa cantada
para ayudar de su alma mi muger delante dios
que lo aga mi padre presbitero esta en el pueblo
digo yo padre de ellos

esta mi primer palabra
tiene sus parte de cada uno sus tierras solar
digo padre de ello
las tierras que esta en Pan Ca

And also may my soul be placed
Before my Saint Dominick, my namesake
I went by his name in this world
By my deceased father Miguel Perez Pirir
So say I before the witnesses,
In the presence of the Justices and Councilmen
Because if perhaps I shall die soon,
Say I, while I am still alive,
They signed it on this the 26th of April of the year 1669.

This is my only word before God
And before Saint Mary
And also before Holy Father Saint John the Baptist
That a mass be sung for the souls in Purgatory
Let my priest do it
He is in the town.
In order that he speak about me before God
When I leave this world by God's will.
I say now, let my children give him four tostones alms
So say I their father.

This is another of my words, I Domingo Perez Pirir
When I should die let my children give alms [to the priest]
To help my soul before God
It is enough that only my children attend
Say I their father.
Another word,
When my wife Juana should die,
The mother of my children,
Let them give alms
For the singing of three masses
To help her soul before God
Let my father priest in the town do it,
Say I their father.

This my first word
Each one has his part of the lands,
Say I their father.
The lands in Panca
son para los dos mis hijos que trabajen dentro
que no lo agan pleyto
parese los monjones y linderos
tiene sedula de compra en su mano
del difunto miguel peres yoc -
Gaspar hermano mayor [y] Juan de la Cruz
que trabajen dentro las tierras estos monjones
en Chuaz ah

(Page 2)
en sima del para chicoj salida
y ba derecho hasta llegar en la llano
binose delante Chalun en la orilla del camino
salida y ba a topar el camino
ba derecha en el camino delante un troncon
Chua Nima paq'
en la orilla de la puerta de a man derecho
quando benimos subiendo es para Gaspar
el que esta en Camino Real
hasta llegar sobre el Rio Cahiy
las tierras el que esta en la llano grande
para Juan de La Cruz
hasta llegar sobre de las tierras de boror
digo yo padre de ellos ----

un caja para capa tiene llabe es para Gaspar
un caja tiene llabe es para Juan de la Cruz
para que lo agan la fiesta y la selebrasion del santo Gabriel
dentro de cada un ano
no lo asen pleyto digo yo

el mi hijo diego
no se puedo repartir las tierra esta en Cachuy
parese todos los monjones
y tambien el de chised
que esten junto con sus hijos mis nieto
= matero miguel se llama
que le den de sus hijo las tierras quando e muera diego
parese onde paso la serca de todo

Are for the two of my sons who work it
Let them not dispute it
The boundaries are marked
It has a bill of sale
From Miguel Perez Yoc
Gaspar the elder brother and Juan de la Cruz,
Let them work within these lands,
These boundary markers,
In Chuaz ah.

It starts from the top of Parachicoj,
And goes straight until reaching the plain,
And arrives at Chalun on the edge of the road.
Passing on, it meets the road.
It goes straight along the road [arriving] before a large tree trunk,
Chua Nima paq' opposite Nima Paq',
By the edge of the gate on the right hand beside the gate.
Where we begin to go up, that part is for Gaspar.
That which is in the Royal Road
Until arriving at the Cahiy River,
The lands in the large plain
Are for Juan de la Cruz
Extending to the lands of Boror,
So say I, their father.

A coffer for capes, which has a key, is for Gaspar.
A coffer which has a key is for Juan de la Cruz.
Let them make the fiesta and celebrtion of Saint Gabriel
Each year.
Let them not dispute it, say I.

My son Diego
May not divide the lands in Cachuy
All the boundaries are marked
And also that in Chised.
Let him be together with his children, my grandchildren, Mateo, Miguel they are called.
Let him give the lands to his children when he dies.
It appears where the fence it runs all around it.
un caja tiene llave para diego
que no le agan pleyto
digo yo padre de ellos

el mi hijo pedro
que trabajan dentro las tierras que esta en pachali
no se puede apartar el de primero
son los dos
-- agora quedan mi hijo pedro solo en las tierras
para que no pletian ningun tiempo
digo yo
parese todo la orilla por todo
nay de que lo ynquieto
nay de le toca

-- un caja tiene llave
digo yo
tambien que lo da la limosna
para le celebracion del santo San tonio
dentro de cada un ano
los dos diego y pedro
los agan fiesta del santo dentro del pleyto
que lo asen buena obra merced y caridad de ellos
digo padre de ellos

estos los dos mis hijos bartasal y xpobol
ellos que trabajan dentro las tierras que esta en paparquiy
que se lo repartan en medio la mita para cada uno
porque ellos lo an de sacar la limosna
para celebracion de la fiesta
de santa cruz dentro de cada un ano
no lo asen dano
parese todo sus monjones de sus tierras
sale ensima del ojo de agua
bien pasando delante la casa onde esta la sanja
ba derecho en la sanjas
hasta llegar en Chua Nima Pac
delante un sanja
derecho en la sanjas

A coffer which has a key for Diego.
Let no one dispute him.
Say I, their father.

My son Pedro
Let him work the lands at Pachali.
One cannot divide one from the other.
They are two [tracts].
Now, my son Pedro remains alone in the lands
So that they shall never dispute it.
Say I.
It appears all along the bank all together

There is no reason to bother him.
There is no reason to touch it.
A coffer which has a key.
Say I.
Also, let him give alms
For the celebration of Holy Saint Anthony
Each year.
The two of them, Diego and Pedro
Let them not give the fiesta in disagreement.
Let them do it as a good work, a gift, a kindness of theirs.
Say I their father.

My two sons Baltasar and Cristóbal
Let them work the lands at Paparquiy.
Let them divide in the middle, one half for each,
Because they must produce the alms
For the celebration of the fiesta
Of Holy Cross each year.
Do not do them harm.
All the boundaries of the lands are marked.
It begins above the spring,
Passes in front of the house where the gully is,
And goes straight down the gully
Till it gets to opposite Nima Paq'
Before a gully,
Straight down the gully,
hasta encontrar el río Rual par quiy
y las tierras onde esta la casa es para mi hijo bartasal
- las tierras qustan abajo es para mi hijo Xpobal
hasta en la orilla de piscaya su monjon
hasta en la orilla de catziy es la Raya
nay de que lo enquieta
digo yo padre de ellos ----
un caja para bartasal
un caja para Xpobal
todo tiene llabe
digo yo domingo -

El mi hija lusia
las tierras questa en Chiyaz
ochenta tts le di
parese los mojonnes hasta llegar debajo la barancas parar
y con un caja tiene llabe es para mi hija lusia
nayde que lo enquieta digo yo ----

las tierras ensima del Río de tapanal
dos beses conpre en su mano de Francisco Cos
y tambien un pedaso en su mano de benito Seguad
dos mis hijos que trabajan dentro
Gaspar [y] Juan de la Cruz
nay de que lo pletean dentro
porque no tiene tierras Grande
por eso se la doy este pedaso
muy sabia el mojonnes
digo yo padre de ellos ----

el mi nieto tomas boq'
las tierras lo compré en su mano Juan Mosin
es para mi nieto tomas
nay de que lo enquieta
tiene Cedula compra
digo yo padre de ellos

Until arriving at the Rual Parquiy River.
And the lands at the house are for my son Baltasar
The lands below are for my son Cristóbal
Up to the banks of the Piscaya River, their boundary
Up to the banks of the Catziy, that is the limit
There is no reason to disturb it

Say I, their father.
A coffer for Baltasar,
A coffer for Cristóbal,
All have keys
Say I, Domingo.

My daughter Luisa
The lands in Chiyaz
I gave eighty tostones for it
The boundaries appear until arriving below the ravines and stop
And a coffer which has a key is for my daughter Luisa
There is no reason to disturb her, Say I.

The lands above the Tapanal River
I bought them twice from the hand of Francisco Cos.
And also a piece from the hand of Benito Seguad.
Two of my sons work it,
Gaspar and Juan de la Cruz.
There is no reason for them to fight over it
Because it is not a large tract.
For this reason I give him this little piece,
Well known are its boundaries,
Say I their father.

My grandson Tomás Boq'
The lands I bought from the hand of Juan Mosin
Are for my grandson Tomás
There is no reason to disturb him
There is a bill of sale
Say I, their father.
(Page 3)
las tierra biene subiendo chua nima che
parese su monjones todos
para mis hijo Xpobal
nay de que lo enqueinto dentro sus tierras
digo yo padre de ellos

las tierras tengo comprado en su mano benito yoc
es para mi hijo Juan
sale delante los monjones de yoc
ba derecho entrar los monjones
de pistin cruz
ba derecho sale hasta llegar delante ysinche
= es para mi hijo Cruz
el que biene subiendo en chicavia
biene llegando delante un tocar
es para Juan Cruz
digo yo padre de ellos

las tierras questa en chicastro
por todo para mi hijo Gaspar hasta llegar en chicoslen
sabia muy bien todos los monjones
nay de quien le tocan dentro
digo yo padre de ellos

las tierras en paquejoh, detras el rancho
es para bartasal
hasta llegar dentro en el chiaualichia quejay
todo paresido todo la orilla para mi hijo bartasal
nay de que le tocan
digo padre de ellos

las tierras questa enfrente del camino chi Juan camey
dentro de ella sera por todo la ladera es
para mi hijo diego
nay de que lo tocan dentro de ellas
digo yo padre de ellos

The land running up opposite Chua Nima Che,
All its boundaries marked,
For my son Cristóbal.
There is no reason to disturb him in his lands
Say I, their father.

The lands I bought from the hand of Benito Yoc
Are for my son Juan.
It begins before the boundary markers of Yoc,
Goes straight until encountering the boundary markers
Of Pistin Cruz
Goes straight until arriving before ysinche,
Is for my son [Juan de la] Cruz.
That which rises in Chicavis
Goes all the way to a boulder
Is for Juan de la Cruz
Say I, their father.

The lands in Chicasastro,
All of it for my son Gaspar up to Chicoslen.
He knows very well all the boundary markers.
There is no reason to touch him in it
Say I, their father.

The lands in Paquejoh, behind the hut
Is for Baltasar.
Up to Chiaualichia quejay,
All along the edge for my son Baltasar.
There is no reason to touch him
Say I, their father.

The lands that are across the road from Juan Camey,
Within the fence, all the hillside is
for my son Diego.
There is no reason to touch him within them
Say I, their Father.
las tierras tambien queda en Paquehoh
en la orilla del aua de Blas Q'olon
es para mio hijo pedro
nay de que le tocan
digo yo

las tierras queda dentro la barranca
tengo comprado de Domingo Coloj
diye tost. le di
es para mi hija Luisa
tiene sedula de compra
nay de que lo en quieto
digo yo

las tierras queda en Cactzuy
muchos anos poseo
muchos anos tengo poblado
pares paso la serca del coral en la orillas
ni un bara a de pasar ningun personas
que la tocan de mis hijos
porque son del santo San Jasinto
nay de que lo enquieto
son del santo
ay sacran la limosna para emenester para la fiesta
dentro de cada un ano
estas la monjones
primero sale en el Chiabital delante un ensino Grande
ba derecho adelante la hacienda de la casa beija chuavit
ba derecho hasta llegar ensima de la cuesta
biene bajando en la serca beijo
biene ensima de la cuesta a topar la cerca de maz
hasta llegar onde estaba la rancho beijo de maj
son las esquinas
sale de ay
ba derecho abajo
en la otra begado paresido
onde paso la pies del coral
biene subiendo hasta llegar en Chipaq
en la orilla del sacate

Also the land in Paquehoh,
On the bank of the waters of Blas Q'olon,
Is for my son Pedro.
There is no reason to touch him
Say I.

The lands in the ravine,
I bought them from Domingo Coloj,
Ten tostones I gave him,
It is for my daughter Luisa.
It has a bill of sale.
There is no reason to disturb her
Say I.

The lands in Cactzuy,
Many years I have possessed them,
Many years I have inhabited them,
They begin at the corral fence on the side,
Not even a yard should go to other people.
Let it go to my sons
Because they are of the Holy Saint Hyacinth.
There is no reason to disturb them
They are the Saint's.
From it they will get the alms to put on the fiesta
Each year.
These are the boundary markers:
It starts first from Chiabital before a large live oak,
Goes straight ahead to the property of the old Chuavit house,
Goes straight until coming to the top of the slope,
Comes down to the old fence,
Comes to the top of the rise up to the fence of Maz,
Until arriving where the hut of Maj used to be.
Those are the corners.
It goes from there,
Goes straight down,
Goes in the other similar tract,
Goes where the foot of the corral passes,
Goes up until arriving at Chipaq
On the edge of the grass,
biene todo caminando dentro la paja
biene a contrar en un Richuela
biene derecho en el Richuela chiaric
derecho a topar la serca biejo donde empeçamos em Pacal
no mas desta su orilla y su monjones
las tierras del santo
que dan las tierra de comun en su mano de mis hijos
no le tocan ninguna en algo tiempo
dogo yo padre de ellos

las tierras sobro sercunbesino destas tierras
ban por abajo hasta llegar en
la orilla de la serca biejo
las milpiandes
un lado para diego
- un lado para el santa cruz
esta la monjon
sale en la orilla de la baranca chised
esquina del coral de los milpiandes
biene derecho en el Rio
hasta encontrar el mojones de diego
biene derecho en el coral de diego
hasta llegar en la Sienega
no mas esta monjones
es para Santa Cruz
digo yo padre de ellos -----

Goes all the way through the straw,
Goes until encountering a creek
Goes straight along the Chiaric Creek,
Straight across to the old fence where we began in Pacal.
No more than this its edge and boundary markers,
The lands of the Saint.
They remain in the hands of my sons, in common.
None of them should be touched ever
Say I, their father.

las tierras tengo comprado de diego curup, difunto
lo mismo tiene sedula de compra
parece todo la orilla es pa mis dos hijo bartasal
y xobal
nay de que le tocan las tierras questa en papec soch
el solar tiene sedula de compra en su mano difunto, marta cornel
tiene sedula de compra
es para mi hijo Gaspar
hermano mayor de mis hijo
dogo yo padre de ellos -----

The additional lands surrounding these lands
Run down until arriving
At the edge of the old fence
Of the cochineal field 29.
One side for Diego,
One side for Holy Cross.
This the boundary;
It goes from the edge of the Chised ravine,
Corner of the corral of the cochineal field,
It goes straight along the river
Until reaching Diego's boundary,
It goes straight along Diego's corral
Until reaching the marsh.
These are the only boundary markers it has
It is for Holy Cross
Say I, their father.

The lands I bought from Diego Curup, deceased,
It also has a bill of sale.
The entire bank [extent] is for my two sons Baltasar
And Cristóbal.
There is no reason to touch these lands in Papec soch.
The lot I bought from the deceased Marta Cornel
It has a bill of sale.
It is for my son Gaspar,
Eldest brother of my sons
Say I, their father.
las casas y solar tengo comprado en su mano
de agustín Cus
es para mi hijo diego
nay de que lo tocan digo yo

el solar tengo comprado en su mano del difunto chen
tiene casa y dos troja dentro
es para mi hijo bartasar
con el otro pedaso tengo comprado en mano
del difunto luis queh
pero que lo agan un roja para esta casa donde estoy
porque es para mi hijo Xpbal
digo yo padre de ellos

esta casa y solar
onde esta las casa de los santos
es para mi hijo pedro
que lo agan una casa para que bi dentro
las casa del santo es suyo
digo yo -

las casa y solar questa en la orilla del Rio
esta seriado toda la orilla
es para mi hijo Juan Cruz
que lo agan una casa suyo dentro el solar
digo yo -

esta casa onde estoy
casa antigua de sus aguelo
me dio en el testamento
es para mi hijo Xpbal
nay de que lo enquieto
digo padre de ellos

un baca es para santa maria del Rosario para la cofradia
un baca para smo sacramento
un baca santa cruz
mi limona primero lo aparte quando le di parte de mis hijos
digo yo padre de ellos

The houses and lot I bought from the hand
Of Augustín Cus
It is for my son Diego
There is no reason to touch him, Say I.

The lot I bought from the hand of the deceased Chen,
It has a house and two storehouses,
It is for my son Baltasar
Along with another piece I bought from the hand
Of the deceased Luis Queh.
But let them build a storehouse in the house where I am
Because it is for my son Cristóbal.
Say I, their Father.

This house and lot
Where the house of the saints is
Is for son Pedro.
Let them build him a house to live in,
The Saint's house is his
Say I.

The house and lot on the bank of the river,
The entire bank is fenced,
It is for my son Juan de la Cruz.
Let them build him a house on the lot
Say I.

This house where I am,
Old house of their grandfather,
He gave it to me in his testament.
It is for my son Cristóbal.
There is no reason to bother him
Say I, their father.

One cow is for the cofradia of Saint Mary of the Rosary,
One cow for Holy Sacrament [cofradía],
One cow [for] Holy Cross [cofradía].
My alms I divided first when I gave my sons their part
Say I, their father.
en este año de 1669
las casa questa en la estancia [es para] miho Gaspar
porque bibi dentro las casa que mira onde sale el sol
es para para Gaspar mi hijo
el otra casa que mira en San Pó
es para mioj Xpobal
y san Nicolas tambien
con los dos mis hijo que biben dentro las tierras
nay de que lo tocan dentro

sinco baca para Gaspar
y sinco baca para Xpobal
dos baca tiene su cria para mi nieto anton
digo yo padre de ellos

las tierras questa en pacjab
tambien tiene casa dentro y con cinco bacas
es para mi hijo diego
le doy su parte las tierra questa en Jorbachoy
tengo comprado
y con sinco baca es para mi hijo bartasal
bien tengo casa dentro

las tierras questa dentro del monte es para mi hijo Pó
no tiene casa
que

(P)ado 5)
lo comunicaron una casa de Pó
las tierras questan en la orilla del plantanallo
que lo agan la casa de comun
y cinco bacas para Pó

las tierras questa en dentro las cana
es para mioj Juan Cruz
que lo ysieron una casa porque no tiene casa
y sinco baca para Juan Cruz

In this year of 1669.
The house at the ranch is for my son Gaspar
Because he lived in the house that faces the rising sun.
It is for Gaspar, my son.

The other house, which faces San Pedro,
Is for my son Cristóbal
And also Saint Nicolas,
With my two sons who live on the lands.
There is no reason to touch them.

Five cows for Gaspar,
And five cows for Cristóbal,
Two cows with calves for my grandson Antonio
Say I their father.

The lands in Pacjab
Also have a house within and with five cows
Is for my son James.
I give him his part of the lands in Jorbachoy,
I bought them
And with five cows they are for my son Baltasar.
It contains a house.

The lands in the woods are for my son Pedro,
It has no house.

Let them build Pedro a house.
The lands on the edge of the plantation,
Let them altogether build a house,
And five cows for Pedro.

The lands which are in the sugar cane
Are for my son Juan de la Cruz,
Let them build him a house for it has no house.
And five cows for Juan de la Cruz
digo yo padre de ellos --

las casa del difunto sebastian mi hijo se murio 
quen o lo benttan el mis nieto 
sino tiene ni algun Reses 
que digan las tierras despoblado 
tambien le di su parte 
casa sus tierras bestias 
su jacha açadon le di yo su padre 
porque hizo su testamento quando murio 
digo yo

tres escopeta tiene 
un para Gaspar 
one para diego 
one para bartasal 
queno lo bentan suyo de cada uno 
digo yo

el pedaso solar tengo comprado en su mano 
de difunto Juan Pirir 
es para tomas chovis 
tiene cedula de compra 
digo yo

el pragua por todo jeramiento 
es para quatro santos 
san Jasinto 
san antonio 
san Gabriel angel 
santa cruz 
quen le dieron mis hijos enprestando 
para sacar el ayudar para Fiesta por todo dentro un ano 
y tambien si quisieren aser sus obra de cada un mis hijos 
quen lo agan 
no le asen pleyto porque era de los santos 
si ay algun mis hijos tiene mala boluntad 
no entran con ellos porque no son suyo 
on los mayordomos sobre de ello

Say I, their father.

The house of my deceased son, Sebastián, who died,
Let him, my grandson, not sell it,
Even if it is said it doesn't have a single steer,
That the lands are abandoned.
Also I give him his part
House, his lands, animals
His ax, hoe I gave them, his father
Because he made his testament when he died
Say I.

There are three guns30,
One for Gaspar,
One for Diego,
One for Baltasar.
Let none of them sell his
Say I.

The lot I bought from the hand
Of the deceased Juan Pirir
Is for Tomás Chovis.
It has a bill of sale
Say I.

The forge for all ironwork
Is for the four saints:
Saint Hyacinth,
Saint Anthony,
Archangel Saint Gabriel,
Holy Cross.
Let my sons rent it out
To set the support for the Fiesta each year
And also if they want to do their own work,
Let him do it.
Do not make a dispute because it is of the saints.
If one of my sons has ill will
Let him not enter with the others because it is not his,
They are the major-domos of it.
este su nombre los jerramiento
dos macho grande y un macho chiquito
y un martillo chiquito
dos denasa
un denaca para jeradura
tres lima grande
y tres lima chiquito
un clavera
un sierra para que sopara el cabo de machete
un jeradura para las bestias
este todo el jerramiento para los santos
ni un mis hijos que lo bentan
digo yO padre dello
digo yo, padre de mis hijos, domingo peres pirir
un baca para San Nicolas, el santo questa en la estasia
un para san antonio, san Jasinto, San Gabriel, santa cruz
5 bacas para los 5 santos

otra mi palabra
si me muera yo leugo porque agora estoy en la justicias de mi dios
mis dias mi salud por mi dos
yre asaber lo que me mando nuestro SF Jesuchristo
primeramente me a de perdonar mi dios
y mi Pce saserdote
esta en el pueblo
quando yo me muera que benga mi Pce por mi aqui de mi casa
dare quinse tts limosna
por el gran trabajo lo ase por mi
y un peso para los cantores
digo yo padre de ello
yo biejo domingo peres pirir
hijo del difunto miguel peres pirir
no mas este mi misa sobre de misjos
y tambien el de su madre de mis hijos
no lo corran ninguna que lo tocan dentro esta mi casa
digo yo
que an si firmaron los testigos en presensia de los alcaldes
y Regidores

Those are the tools:
Two large sledge hammers and one small sledge hammer
And a small hammer,
Two tongs,
A tong for horse shoes,
Three large files,
And three small files,
A nail-head mold,
A saw for separating the head of a machete,
A farrier's tool kit,
All these tools for the saints.
Let none of my sons sell them
Say I, their father.

Say I, father of my sons, Domingo Perez Pirir
A cow for Saint Nicholas, the saint of the ranch
One for Saint Anthony, Saint Hyacinth, Saint Gabriel, Holy Cross;
Five cows for the five saints.

Another word
Should I die soon because I am in God's hands.
My days, my health by my God,
I will go to learn what our father Jesus Christ has ordered for me.
First my God must forgive me
And my father priest
Who is in the town
When I should die, let my father come for me here at my house.
I will give fifteen tostones
for the great effort he makes for me.
And a peso for the singers
Say I, their father.
I, old Domingo Peres Pirir,
Son of the deceased Miguel Peres Pirir,
No more, only this, my mass, my sons' responsibility
And also the responsibility of the mother of my children.
Let no one who belongs to this house run from this responsibility
Say I.
Thus let the witnesses sign in the presence of the Justices
and Councilmen
dentro en 27 de abril de 1669 año.

Juan peres curup alcalde
Jasinto varesvit regidor
Gaspar peres chamale regidor
Gaspar peres chamale
bartasal peres pirir
Juan de la Cruz pirir
Francisco Pirir escribano

On this the 17th of April of the year 1669.

Juan Perez Curup - Justice
Jacinto Varesuit - Councilman
Gaspar Peres Chamale - Councilman
Gaspar Achovis - Councilman
GasparLeves Boch - Councilman
Gaspar Peres Pirir
Baltasar Peres Pirir
Juan de la Cruz Pirir
Francisco Pirir, scribe
Will of Miguel Juan Queh, Nov. 12, 1662

(In the name of the God the Father,  
And God the Son,  
And God the Holy Ghost,  
As a prayer to the house.  
Amen. Jesus.

On the 12th day  
On the count of November  
Of the year 1662,  
Thus I make my will,  
I, the invalid Miguel Juan Queh,  
Believing in the words:  
The word of my God,  
My lord Jesus Christ,  
And the word of my blessed mother,  
The Holy Catholic Church,  
Thus I give my soul  
Into the hands of my Jesus Christ.  
There will be no lies,  
Past  
Or present.  
This is my word  
That I have set down  
In this my will.  
This is my first word before  
God.

One fanega of fresh corn  
For my father, St. James.  
I have spoken,  
I, the invalid.  
One load of fresh corn  
For my mother,  
St. Mary.

Translation by Munro S. Edmonson and Robert M. Hill

En el nombre de dios padre y dios hijo  
y dios espiritu santo  
Assi scu Amen Jesus  
con doze dias del mes de noviembre de 1662 anos  
hago este mi testamento  
yo enfermo Miguel Juan ques  
y estoy creyendo en la palabra de mi dios  
y senor Jesuschristo  
y la palabra de la santa madre  
yglesia catolica  
y encomiendo mi anima en las manos de mis senor Jesuschristo  
y por ninguno (h)a de traspasar  
esta mi palabra que dejo en este mi testamento =  

Esta es mi palabra ante dios =  
una fanega de masorcas ha de ser  
para mi padre Santiago  
que lo digo yo el enfermo =  
una carga de masorcas para mi madre  
Santa Maria =  
Una carga de masorcas para  
el Santissimo Sacramento  
digo yo el enfermo =
One load of fresh corn
For the Most Holy Sacrament.
I have spoken,
I, the invalid.
One load of fresh corn
For the souls
of Purgatory.
It is spoken:
I, the invalid.

This is my first will.
Just all at once;
Just in the words
Spoken by my Gods [sic].
Let there be no one
Who gives trouble.
Hence we come here.
This is my will.

Two plots of land
That are in Ibah:
One plot is at the estate
Of Baltazar Nuaq'.
One plot is at the boundary
Of Marcos Tzii.
That is to belong to my daughter,
Petronila.
I have spoken
I, the invalid.
Let nothing disturb it.

One plot of land
Is in Chali
At the boundary
Of Tomás Gonzales.
It is for my daughter,
Petronila.
Says the invalid.

una carga de masorcas para
las Animas de purgatorio
digo yo el enfermo =
esto es el primero
de mi testamento
y principalmente estoy creyendo
en la palabra de mi dios
que ninguno lo ponga en pleito
este mi testamento =
dos tierras esta en panybah =
y otra esta con el mojon de
baltasar nuag =
y otra esta en mojon de
Marcos Tzuy =
a de ser para mi hija
Petronilla
que lo digo yo el enfermo
y nadie se entrebenga en ello =
otras tierras
que esta en los pinales
con mojon de
Tomas Gonzales
a de ser para mi hija
Petronilla
disc el enfermo =
Hu liah ulveh
Coh pa chali
Chi ru culbat Juo. chioc
Chi bey
Chi r ichinah nu meal
An[treya]a
Cha yava =

Hun açaron ti r ichinah
nu meal
An[treya]a
Qui ni ti hachq'
Cha yava =

Ca liah chembal uleuh
Ti r ichinah nu nimal
Juo.
Hu liah
Coy chi q'ol
Chi x u culbat
Domas conçales =

Hu liah
Coh pan ybah
Chi x u culbat
Sebastian pox
Ruquin hun açadones
Ruquin hun macho
Richiim nu nimal
Juo.
Tan cha
Yava =

Hu liah ulch
Coh pa chali
Chi ru culbat
Agustin culahay =

One plot of land
Is in Chali
At the boundary of Juan Chioc.
It is to belong to my daughter,
Andrea.
Says the invalid.

One hoe which is to belong to my
daughter,
Andrea.
You are to divide it for me,
Says the invalid.

Two plots of worked land
Which are to belong to my older brother,
Juan:
One plot
Is at Q'ol (Incense),
Which bordered
Thomas Gonzalez.

One plot
Is in Ibah
Which borders on
Sebastián Pox,
With one hoe
And one machete
For my older brother,
Juan.
He has spoken,
The invalid.

One plot of land
Is in Chalí
Which borders on
Agustín Culahay.

Hu liah ulveh
Coh pa chali
Chi ru culbat
Agustin culahay =

unas tierras que esta asimismo
en los pinales
junto con mojon de
Juan Chioc
junto del camino
a de ser para mi hija
Andrea
dise el enfermo
un asadon a de ser
para mi hija
Andrea
que luego se le entregue
dise el enfermo =
dos tierras de sembrar milpa
a de ser para mi hermano
Juan
la una esta donde le llaman chiqol
con mojon de
Tomas Gonzalez =
y otra
esta donde le llaman panybah
con mojon de
Sebastian Pax
y un asadon
y un macho
a de ser para mi hermano
Juan
dise el enfermo =

unas tierras que esta donde le llaman
Pachali
con mojon de
Agustin Culagay =
Hu liah uleuh
Coh pan ybah
Chi ru culbat
Agustin tzumahay
Riquin hun nima acabones
Che q' ichinah nu meal
Antreya
Ma ni naq' bi cheren
Tan qu i cha
Yn yava =

One plot of land
Is in Ibah
Which borders on
Agustin Tzumahay.
And one large hoe
Which is to belong to my daughter,
Andrea.
Let nothing disturb it.
I have spoken then,
I the invalid.

A plot of land
Is in Ibah
It reaches to below the cross,
And four cuerdas of land
That are on the land I refer to,
Which are to belong to my son
Lucas (Queh),
The son of my later younger brother,
Gaspar (Queh),
Let there be nothing to disturb it.
I have spoken,
I, the invalid.

Hu liah uleuh
Coh pan ybah
Tan tapon ch u xe cruz (+)
Ruquin cahi cam uleuh
Coy pa ru uleuh qu in tzih
Chi r ichinah nu cahol
Lucas
Ru cahol q'etzan nu chaq'
Gaspar
Ma ni naq' ti cheren
Tan ch i cha
Yn yava =

(Lu) liah uleuh
Coh pan ybah
Tan tapon ch u xe cruz (+)
Ruquin cahi cam uleuh
Coy pa ru uleuh qu in tzih
Chi r ichinah nu cahol
Lucas
Ru cahol q'etzan nu chaq'
Gaspar
Ma ni naq' ti cheren
Tan ch i cha
Yn yava =

One plot of land
Is in Ibah
By the land of Pablo Ruval Yc,
Is to be the property of my younger
brother,
Jacinto (Queh) of San Juan.
Says the invalid.

A plot of land
That is in Ibah
By the land of Chamale
Is to belong to my wife,
Petronila.
Says the invalid.

 unas tierras esta donde le llaman
Panybah
con mojon de
Agustin Rumagay
y un asadon grande
a de ser para mi hija
Andrea
sin que Nadie entrebenga en ello
dise el enfermo =

 unas tierras que esta donde le llaman
Panybah
que allega junto de la cruz
y otros cuatro cordelas de tierras
que est a con tierras di
quintzis
a de ser para mi hijo
Lucas
hijo de mi hermano
Gaspar
nadie se entrebenga en ello
dise el enfermo (=)

 unas tierras que esta donde le llaman
Panybah
con tierras de Pablo Ruval Yc
a de ser para mi hermano
Jacinto
de San Juan
dise el enfermo =

 unas tierras que esta en
Panybah
con tierras de Chamale
a de ser para mi muger
Petronila
dise el enfermo =
Hu açadones
Chi r ichinah nu cahol
lugas
Cha yava =

A ca ri va hay
Ruquin solar
Coh pa ru culbat
Q'etzan domas queche
Oxi macho
Ruquin cahii açadones
Chi r ichinah nu meal --
Cha yava
Ma ni coh ti cheren =

A ca ri hun nima li(ah)
Coh ch u cul va p ig sotz

Ti qui vaybeh quiq
Nu meal
Nu cahol
Chi be q'ih
Chi be caq'
Ta cha yava =
Ma chica yu ri uleuh
Tan qu i cha
Yn yay(a) =
Ve coh chica yu uleu(h)
Ch in chi ban nima justicia

Chan
Cha yava =

A vac cam uleuh
X in loq' chi r ichon Juo. quex
Xa q'i chi gohe
R umal xan aq' ab oc
A vac nu testamento

One hoe
Is to belong to my son,
Lucas (Quech)
Says the invalid.

But then there is this house
And lot
That is on the boundary
Of the late Tomás Queché,
Three machetes
And four hoes,
Which are to belong to my daughter [Petronila]
Word of the invalid.
Let there be nothing to disturb it.

But then there is the one big plot
That is at the narrows of Iq' Zotz' (Wind Bat),
Where they can pasture the stock of
My daughters,
My sons,
On the road of the sun,
On the road of light.
So speaks the invalid.
The land is not to be sold.
I have spoken,
I, the invalid.
If it is that the land is sold,
I say you should bring a great suit against
them
It is spoken,
Says the invalid.

But the six cuerdas of land
That I bought from Juan Quex,
May they just increase
Because night is just falling.
But this is my will,

un asadon
para mi hijo
Lucas
dise el enfermo =
y esta casa
y solar
que esta con mojon
del difunto Tomas queche
y tres machos
y cuatro asadones
a de ser para mi hija Petronilla
dise el enfermo
sinue nadie se lo ympida =
y unas tierras grandes
que esta por encima
donde le llaman yapic sotz
que es potrero
se queda para donde coman
sus bestias de
mis hijos
y hijas
en todos tiempos
dise el enfermo =
ninguno de las tierras
se a de bender
dise el enfermo =
si alguno dellos bendiese tierras
que se le aga gran justicia contra ellos
dise el enfermo =
y las seis cordeles de tierras
que compra con Juan Pasqual
eso se queda de mas que aora
poco a lo ube y (=)
y este mi testamento
Recounting what I have done:
An excellent division
Before the chinamital

Whatever may still be left
Of my estate,
Because God gave it to my care,

Let there not be any complaining
By my daughters about it.
Then there is a plot
Of wheat
Which is about knee high:
This is for
Another will
I have left it to leave here
To be made known
In the will.
I have left it for
The Holy Catholic Church.

He should not claim it my older brother Juan
Or Manuel (Queh),
My child.
It is just for
The Holy Church.

In case I have not remembered
everything
In this memorial,
I am not yet finished
In this my will.
Let them obey the word
Of my Lord Jesus Christ.
I have already given my soul
Into the hands of my God
R uquín ox ichal personas
Chi qui vach alcaldes
Regidores
C uquín nu chinamital
Tan t in calnahn

Vae nu testamento
Yn yava
Miguel Juo queh --
En 12 de noviembre
De 1662 anos =

Agustin gomes aldes. =
Pablo ernandes
Lugas perez =
Migl. basques =
Diego lopez =
Alonso basques regidores =

Domingo perez cuy
Sebastian concsales =
Juo. queh
acinto alis
Juo. domas aquino sot =
Sebastian lopez tzata =

Pedro ernandes
Excriuano

And the three persons
In the presence of the alcaldes
And regidores
And my chinamital
I have already passed over.

This is my will,
I, the invalid,
Miguel Juan Queh.
On the 12th of November
Of the year 1662.

Dejo este mi testamento
yo el enfermo
Migual Juan ques =
en 12 dias del mes de noviembre
de 1662 anos =

Agustin Gomez alcalde
Pablo Gernandes alcalde
Lucas Peres =
Miguel Basques =
Diego Lopes =
Alonso Basques, regidor

Domingo Perez Suy
Sebastian Gonzalez
Juan Queh
Jacinto Aliz
Juan Tomas Aquino Sot
Sebastian Lopez Tzatz

Pedro Hernández,
Scribe
Codicil to Will of Miguel Juan Queh by His Grandmother, Maria, November 12, 1662

On the 12th of the month
Of November
Of the year 1662
I am going to give testimony
An Excellent memorial
As his grandmother
Maria
With my child
Juan (Queh).
This deceased is no longer here
To testify to it.
This is of the dead,
The late Miguel (Juan Queh).
Really this is I, the grandmother,
But because there is no one
It is up to me.

One plot of land
Is above Great Parax,
And one plot
Is above Little Parax.
I paid 20 tostones
To the late Diego Queché.
Let it be sold,
Says the invalid.

One plot of land
Is behind the home
Of Gaspar Yani.
Let it be sold,
Says the deceased.

One plot of land
Is by Juan Goq'ín
Expensive land

mas tierras
en cima de Nima Parax le llaman
y otra
esta por en cima de Chuti Parax
en biente tostones lo compro
con Diego
que ese que se venda
dijo el difunto

unas tierras
detras de las casas
de Gaspar Yaniz
que se venda
dijo el difunto

unas tierras
que esta junto a Juan Tzaquin
grandes tierras
Chi cayx
Cha caminaq’ = Let it be sold,
Cha nimaq’ liab uleuh chembal Says the deceased.
Y hu go sahum Four large plots of cleared land
X u yuq’em vi And one that is at Sahum.
Rii v o tuc tostones nu yanon It is just pasture.
Xa vi a ti be vi The 100 tostones I paid
Cha caminaq’ = That is what it should go for,

V o liah uleuh Says the deceased.
Coh chi rapel Four large plots of cleared land
Xa vi v o tuc tostones And one that is at Sabum.
Ti be vi de sembrar trigo
Cha = caminaq’ = que estan incorporados
Hu liah uleuh doscientos tostones di por ello
Coh pa coral en eso mismo se venda
Chi ru culbat sebastian dixo el difunto
tzatz that is what it should go for,
Chi cayx en eso mismo se venda
Cah caminaq’ = se benda

Hu liah uleuh Says the deceased.
Chi maroquin Unas tierras juntos
Chi cayx que esta en Chirrapel
Cha caminaq’ = asimismo en doscientos tostones

Hu liah uleuh se benda
Xa vi chiri coh vi que esta en el corral
Chi maroquin que esta con mojon de Sebastian
Chi cayx Tzatz
Cha caminaq’ = que se venda

Hu liah uleuh dixo el difunto
Xa vi chiri coh vi unas tierras
Chi maroquin que esta junto a Marroquin
Chi cayx que se venda
Cha caminaq’ = dicho el difunto

Hu liah uleuh otras tierras
Xa vi chiri coh vi asimismo esta junto
Chi maroquin a Marroquin
Chi cayx catorse tostones le di
Cha caminaq’ = a Francisco Vir

Hu cholah cam uleuh que en el dicho precio se benda
Coh chi maroquin dijo el difunto
Pa ru uleuh po. taquis = mas otras tierras

One strip of the common land
Chi maroquin que esta junto a Marroquin
Pa ru uleuh po. taquis = y de Pedro Taquis
6 ttos. nu yaon
Ya vi a ti be vi
Cha caminaq' =

I paid 6 tostones for it.
That is what it should go for,
Says the deceased.

6 tts. me costo
en eso se benda
dixo el difunto

Hu liah uleuh
Coh ch u vi Cahii Cuchu
Chi ru culbat mig. Chirix
Chi cayx
Cha caminaq' =

One plot of land
Is above Cahii Cuchu (4 Burdens),
Which borders on Miguel Chirix
It is to be sold,
Says the deceased.

Unas tierras
que esta por encima de Cagicuchu
con mojon de Miguel Chirix
que se benda
dixo el difunto

Hu liah uleuh
Chi r ih cruz
Nima uleuh
Chi cayx =

One plot of land
Behind the cross,
It is a big field.
It is to be sold.

unas tierras
que esta por detrás de la cruz
grandes tierras
que se benda
dixo el difunto

Hu liah uleuh
Coh ch u vach san chi pasttor
Chi cayx
Cha caminaq' =

One plot of land
Is opposite St. Ch(ristopher) Pastor
It is to be sold,
Says the deceased.

unas tierras
que esta en el lugar que se llama Chipastor
que se benda
dixo el difunto

Hu liah uleuh
Coh chi pascar
Chi cayx
Cha caminaq' =

One plot of land
Is at Pascar.
It is to be sold,
Says the deceased.

unas tierras
que esta en Chipascar
que se benda
dixo el difunto

Xere vae uleuh.
Mi x in quix ru tzilaxiq
V o rexa
Coh oxii açadones
Coh oxii hoçes
Coh v o yunta gueyas
Coh r iquin hu gueyas
Uq'u costal
Coh cah molah sahbal cul
R ichin moros
Coh huu doçena pluna
Coh ru banon chig
Ru camah --

Five rakes;
There are three hoes;
There are three sickles;
There are five yoke of oxen;
There is one ox (more);
Seven sacks;
There are four dance costumes
For the Moors
There are a dozen feathers;
There is still something to be done
On the work;

no ay mas tierras
sin que e acabado todo de escribir
cinco rejas ay
tres asadones
y tres goses
cinco yuntas de bueyes
y mas un buey
y siete costales ay
quatro libreas
de moros ay
una docena de plumas
y a serbido sinco caballo que se daran
There are five horses;  
There are black ones;  
There are tan.

This is what is owing to  
The poverty of the deceased.  
It is from (various) people;  
These are their names:

6 tostones are from Joseph Burra.  
1 peso is from Estevan Hitz.  
6 tostones 1 real is from Lucas Rucal.  
6 tostones 3 reales are from Nicholas Vit.  
4 tostones are from Agustín Aquino Tzih.  
11 reales are from Francisco Ticum.  
22 tostones are from Diego Ruyalyc.  
3 tostones 2 reales are from Miguel Vit.  
1 toston is from Diego Xeq'.  
3 tostones are from Nicolás de lo Rey.  
7 tomines are from Juan Quech.  
9 tostones are from Juan Chiris.  
53 tostones are from the father-in-law of the deceased, Lucas Batzin.  
The regidor,  
And 2 more pesos  
Are the price of the land,  
Just from the Lucas Batzin Q'eq'al  
(= Lucas Perez?)

y esto es la pobresa del difunto  
los que le deben  
y son estos  
sus nombres

6 tts. debe Joseph Burra  
un peso dee Esteban Bitz  
6 tts. 1 Rl, Lucas Rruca

6 tts. y tres Rs. debe Nicolas Vit

4 tts. debe Agustín Aquintzih

11 Rls. debe Francisco Ticum

22 tts. debe Domingo Rruyaalyec

3 tts. 2 Rs. debe Miguel Vit

1 tts. debe Diego Rrez

3 tts. debe Nicolas de lo Rey

7 Rs. debe Juan Quech  
9 tts. 1 Rl. debe Juan Chiris

53 tts. debe Lucas Batzin  
consuegro del difunto

ques es regidor  
mas dos pesos  
demas todo unas tierras
Tu toh chagan
Caminaq' =
30 ttos. coh chi r ih pablo
tucha
Aldes.
3 ttos. coh chi r ih diego
loq =
7 ttos. 2 R. coh chi r ih po.
yaqhi =
1 peso coh chi r ih sebastian
tzatz =
1 peso coh chi r ih margos
chilte =
6 ttos. 2 coh chi r ih
agustin tzumahay =
5 R. coh chi r ih jacinto
tziic =
7 ttos. coh chi r ih Dgo.
cuy =
3 ttos. coh chi r ih joseph
yuq ah caoque
42 ttos. coh chi r ih marseo
tzirin ah san lagus =
36 ttos. 2 r. coh chi r ih
lagus tzirin ah san lagus =
8 ttos. coh chi r ih nicolas
tzunun ah popo ya.
Hu cumah ti qui toh
C onohel --

(Page 2)
20 ttos. coh chi r ih gaspar
espeq' =
6 ttos. coh chi r ih po. tu
Xere vae r onohel ri uzin
Ri caminaq mige juo.
Hu cumah chi qui toh

Tu toh chagan
Caminaq' =
30 ttos. coh chi r ih pablo
tucha
Aldes.
3 ttos. coh chi r ih diego
loq =
7 ttos. 2 R. coh chi r ih po.
yaqhi =
1 peso coh chi r ih sebastian
tzatz =
1 peso coh chi r ih margos
chilte =
6 ttos. 2 coh chi r ih
agustin tzumahay =
5 R. coh chi r ih jacinto
tziic =
7 ttos. coh chi r ih Dgo.
cuy =
3 ttos. coh chi r ih joseph
yuq ah caoque
42 ttos. coh chi r ih marseo
tzirin ah san lagus =
36 ttos. 2 r. coh chi r ih
lagus tzirin ah san lagus =
8 ttos. coh chi r ih nicolas
tzunun ah popo ya.
Hu cumah ti qui toh
C onohel --

To pay for the share
Of the deceased.
30 tostones are from Pablo
(Hernandez) Tucha,
The alcalde.
3 tostones are from Diego (Lopez)
Loq'.
7 tostones 2 reales are from
Pedro Yaqui.
1 peso is for Sebastian (Lopez)
Tzatz.
1 peso is from Marcos Chilte.
6 tostones 2 (reales) are from
Agustin Tzumahay.
5 reales are from Jacinto Tziic.
7 tostones are from domingo Suy.
3 tostones are from Joseph Yuq'
of Cauque.
42 tostones are from Marcelo
Tzirin of San Lucas.
36 tostones 2 reales are from
Lucas Tzirin of San Lucas.
8 tostones are from Nicolas
Tzunun of Popoyá.
They should immediately pay
All of them.
20 tostones are from Gaspar
Espeq'.
6 tostones are from Pedro Tu.
So these are all the assets
Of the deceased Miguel Juan (Oueh).
Let them immediately pay
que poco a poco la pagara
dixo el difunto
diego
totos debe Pablo
alcalde
3 tt. debe Diego Loq
7 tt. 2 Rs. debe Pedro Yaquis
un peso debe Sebastian Tzatz
un peso debe Marcos Chilte
6 tt. 2 rs. debe Agustin Tzumagay
5 Rs. debe Jacinto Tziic
7 tt. debe Domingo Cuy
3 tt. debe Joseph Yus
de Quiaguistan
42 tt. debe Mateo
Tzirin de San Lucas
36 tt. 2 Rs. debe
Lucas Tzirin de San Lucas
8 tt. debe Nicolas
Tzunun of Petapa
que lo paguen todo luego

20 tt. debe Gaspar Yzpeq'
6 tt. debe Pedro Tuch
esto es no mas los bienes
del difunto Miguel Juan
que luego paguen
todos este dinero
porque ya no es mio
todo este dinero
que ya es de la Santa Yglesia
que ya no tengo que ber en ello

deste dinero
que ya lo dejo para la
Santa Yglesia
que asi lo dijo el difunto
delante de los alcaldes
de las justicias
y el chinamital
y de los albaseas

And the chinamital
And the alguaciles.

Agustín Gomez, Alcalde.

Miguel Vásquez.
Alonso Alvarez.
Diego Lopez.
Lucas Perez.
They are the Regidores.
Sebastian Gonzalez.
Sebastian Lopez Tzatz.
Tomas Gonzalez.
Juan Quich.
Tomás Aquino Sot.
Miguel Chirix.

Pedro Hernández,
Scribe.

Pedro Ernandes
Escriuano

Sebastian Gonzalez
Pablo Fernandez alge.
Agustin Gomes alge.
Miguel Vasquez
Sebastian Lopes Tzatz
Alonso Albaraz
Tomas Gonzales
rregidor
Diego Lopes
Lucas Perez
Tomas Aquino Sot
Miguel Chirix

P. Gernandes
Escrivano

Felipe de Molina
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Jesus ma Joseph

Jan t in v oquilah
Dios tatattzin[31]
Dios caholah
R uquin Dios Espiritu Santo
Sa [hu Ds]
Chir ox ichal personas
R uquin nu loq'olah tte
Soq' ahau santta maria
Rutte Ds
Al Jesuchristto
Ttattzin tah46
Ti chao pa nu vi ch u vach
Ru qu ilah al qui run
Yn hun ah mac vacami
Ttan yn coh ch u pan ru nima Justta
Nu tta Dios vi
Q r ettan ti quij ru q'ih
Nu cazlen
Tt in nimah ru tzh
Nu Dios vi
Pi ma ni sa
Huna Dios etamayon vacami

Ca ttan t in canah
R etal nu tzh
Nu pisan u ttestigos
Pa qui vi v alcual
V ishail
Ma ni naq' ru qui al v ichin

Pa rumbail Dios
Yn coh vi sas qui vi
R etal tt in canah sato

Jesus Mary Joseph

I first call upon
God the beloved Father,
God the son
And God the Holy Ghost,
Just one [God]
In each of three persons,
And my most beloved mother
Queen Holy Mary,
The mother of God,
Her son Jesus Christ,
The beloved Father there,
To pray for me before him
And watch over her children.
I am a sinner today.
I am here in the great justice
Of my Father God then
To bear witness to the days
Of my life
And to obey the words
Of my God then
Inasmuch as (?)
He is the sole God now known.

So now I leave
The evidence of my word
My commands to the witnesses
Over my children
And my wife
So that their descendants by
me will not be touched
As [befits] children of God.
I leave this just to them
As a witness of what I leave the saint

Translation by Munro S. Edmonson and Robert M. Hill

Jesus Maria y Joseph

En el nombre de
Padre Dios,
hijo Dios,
Spiritu Santo,
tres personas distintas
y un solo Dios verdadero
y de la Virgen
Santa Maria,
la cual se digne de rogar
por mi, pecador,
a su preziosisimo
nuestro Senor
Jesuchristo

hago aora mi testamento
para que le quede
a mis hijos
y a mi muger
lo poco que tengo,
Before the witnesses then
Who are of my chinamital
Who are the trustees
Over these my words
So that then they shall sign
To say what I give
Thomas Joq'on,
Former mayordomo.
Since my body is suffering.
Amen Jesus.

Indeed then this is my first word
Of my testament.
Whatever belongs to God,
Whom I shall see before genuflecting.
It starts with one of their masses
For the souls of Purgatory.

And here is my wife for me
To divide the alms of our mother
To pay for having done for me
My sung mass,
Payment for my soul
Before my God,
Eventually to pay the alms

Into the hands of the father vicar,
Guardian of the town,
For the forgiveness of the
most beloved St. Mary
And the priest
The father of my soul.
So I declare
I give this,
Thomas Joq'on.

Then there is this house
Where I actually live,

Declaro que la casa
en que vivo
R ocho vi Santo
San antonio
Pa rú ttestamento
Q’etzan nu tta
po pirír vi
Qui cás e ri v alcual
Sa vi e ti qui boy
Qui samah’ chi r ih
Rí loq’olah santo
Laq’achel
Tu bih ttes[tt]o
Has tt in taq’eh
Ttan qu i cha
Yn ya va
Thomas --

Ha chi ca ri solar
R ichin can pa ttesmtto
Coh chi r ih hay
E cay nu cahol
Qui coh e can ch u pan pablo
R íquin Domingo ramos
Ti char chi qui vach
Ttan qu i cha
Yn ya va --

Ha chi ca vi ha la solar
Nu loq’on chi r e q’etzan
Peru cho tzian vah
Sa q’i s in ya ma ni s utzin
chic
S u hach can sedula pa nu q’a
R omal hu cumah s cam
Va ve ca ti tzet
Ru cholmil vahsaq’i tts.
S u cam
Ttan ca ti r ichinah
Nu [qa]hol Juan Vizente

The home of the saint
St. Anthony
In the testament
Of my deceased father,
Pedro Pirír, then
It is to be the home of my descendants.
Only let them shelter
And work for him
The best beloved saint
The cherished.
The testament says
How I have carried on.
So I declare
I give this,
Thomás.

There are then also the plots
To be left in the will.
They are behind the houses
Of my two sons.
They are here to be left to Pablo
And Domingo Ramos
To be divided between them.
So I declare
I give this.

Then there is another plot
I bought from the deceased
Pedro Cho, Tzian Vah
He just gave it to me but
without being able
To hand over the title to me
Because he eventually died.
But for this he did charge me
The price of 8 tostones,
And he died.
So that is to belong
To my son Juan Vicente.

la hube de Pedro Pirír,
mi Padre,
con el cargo de hacerle
la fiesta de cada año
a nuestro Padre
San Antonio
como lo mando
en su testamento
y ahora si mis hijos
quieren vivir en ella
que hagan la fiesta
del Santo
como yo lo he hecho =

Declaro que un solar
que declaro que esta
detras de la casa
que declaro me lo dejo
mi Padre en su testamento
mando que se parta
entre mis dos hijos,
Pablo y Domingo Ramos =

Declaro que un solar
que le compré
a Pedro ex cian bah
en ocho tostones,
no me dio sciptura de el
porque se murió luego,
mando que se componga
y lo dejo para mi [Roto]

[hijo Juan Vizente]
I so declare.

Then there is another tract
That I bought from Thomas Joq'on
At Red House
for 16 silver tostones
Which I paid him.
But he did not turn over the title
This then I have given in token
That it is to belong to my wife.
Let no man trouble my wife over it.
So I declare
I give this.

Then there is another tract
Which I bought from Christobal Jocon
I gave 12 tostones for it,
Only he did not surrender title
Eventually they should surrender title
So it is to belong to my son
Domigo Ramos.
Let no man trouble him over it.

Then there is this other land
That I bought from Miguel Joq'on
I paid 10 tostones for it.
Only he did not surrender title
Eventually they should surrender title
That is to belong to my son
Pablo.
Let no man trouble him over it.
So I declare
I [give this].

Then there is the land
Nu loq'on chi r e martín coz
V o t t s n u y a o n
Ch u v a c h t i t z ysoq'
Sa vi ma ni ru hachon sedula
Hu camah ti qui hach sedula
r om l
Ttan ti r ichinah nu cahol
Juan Vizinnte
Tan qu i cha
yn qui tta --

That I bought from Martín Coz
I paid 5 tostones for it.
It is opposite Cooking Woman.
But he did not surrender title.
Eventually they should surrender title for it.
It is to belong to my son,
Juan Vicente.
So I declare,
I, their father.

Then there is some more land
That I bought from Pascual [Bah]
Above Cold Lake.
I paid 8 tostones for it.
But he did not surrender title.
Eventually they should surrender the title.
So I give and bequeath it to
the most beloved saint
St. Anthony then
[For] my four sons,
So that they work before him;
So that they shall come to work for the saint.
So I declare
I give this.

7 cows and 1 bull
And their calves for the most beloved saint
The work for St. Anthony.
So I declare
I give this.

2 cows and their calves
For my wife.
So I declare

Declaro que otro pedazo de tierra
que le compre a Pascual bah
en seis tostones,
que se llama horba choi,
que no me hizo escritura,
mando que la haga y
que sea para todos mis hijos
y que trabajasen en ella
para que celebren la fiesta
del santo San Antonio =

Declaro que otras dos vaca
con sus crias,
que son de mi muger =
Yn ya va

Hu baca r ichin pablo --
1 cow for Pablo,

Hu baca r ichin juo --
1 cow for Juan,

Hu baquilla [r i]chin grego --
1 heifer for Gregorio,

Hu baca coh chi q'ul r ichin martín --
1 cow that is at Q'ul for Martín,

Hu baca coh chi Q'atte r ichin atto nu cahol --
1 cow that is at Q'ate for Antonio, my son.

Hu baquilla [r i]chin nu mial acata
1 heifer for my daughter Acata,

Hu baquilla r ichin ma
1 heifer for María,

Hu tor[o] ti va chi curup r ichin Esteban
1 bull that is there at Curup for Esteban,

Hu baquilla coh ch[i] q'ul r ichin Manuela
1 heifer that is at Q'ul for Manuela,

Cahi yevas r ichin santto --
4 mares for the saint.

H[u ye]yas r ichin v ishail --
1 mare for my wife,

Sa vi hu chutí macho
Only 1 little male

Sa vi r ichin v is[hail]
Is just for my wife.

Vaq'aq'i mula coh
There are 6 mules

Huhu qui chi
For each of them.

Vaq'aq'i nu cahol Dogo
6 for my son Domingo

R uquin c ru chaq' --
With his younger brothers.

Declaro que dejo otra vaca para mi hijo Pablo =

Declaro que dejo otra vaca para mi hijo Juan =

Declaro que dejo una vaca, que esta en Chichul, dejo para mi hijo Martin =

Declaro que una vaca, que esta en la esta[n]cia [Roto] ... Antonio =

Declaro que dejo una vaquilla para mi hija Agueda [Roto]

Declaro que dejo otra vaquilla a mi hija María =

Declaro que un toro, que come en caze Curup, dejo para mi hijo Estevan =

Declaro que dejo otra vaquilla que esta en Chichul para Manuela =

Declaro que cuatro yeguas son del Santo San Antonio =

Declaro que una yegua y un macho para mi muger =

Declaro que dejo seis mula para que las reparta mi hijo Domingo entre sus hermanos =
Hu asadon r ichin Domingo
1 hoe for Domingo,

Hu asado[n] r ichin pablo
1 hoe for Pablo

Hu asadon r ichin juo
1 hoe for Juan,

Hu asadon r ichin grego
1 hoe for Gregorio,

[Hu] ycah r ichin Antto
1 axe for Antonio,

Hu ycah r ichin martín --
1 axe for Martín,

Hu ycah r ich[ín] acata
1 axe for Acata,

Hu ycah r ichin ma
1 axe for María,

Hu ycha r ichin manuela
1 axe for Manuela.

1 tool just like this,
Which is to be their compensation
So they will sacrifice (burn) in the future
That is for that.
So that they will work for them
Which is a sacrifice for the saint.
Only this then is my word
Before God:
That they will call upon God,
My wife
And my children
For me every day
And every feast day.
There is no wine that I have saved up
For them to give my soul
Before God,
But they can just buy wine:
Wine is not too much.
If there should be anyone who
disputes them

Declaro un asadon para
Domingo =
Declaro dejo otro asadon
para Pablo =
Declaro que dejo otro
asadon para Juan =
Declaro que dejo otro
asadon para Gregorio =
Declaro que dejo una hacha
para Antonio =
Declara que dejo otra hacha
para Martín =
Declaro que dejo otra hacha
para Agueda =

H[u] fierro sa como ve
Ti cohe vi qui case
Tí qui pororo chuqui
Co chi r e
Sa vi ti samah chi qu ih
Rí hu cay r ichin sant[o]
Se re ca ri nu tzih
Ch u vach Dios
Sa ti qui siqiuñ Dios
V ishail
V alcual
Pa nu vi huuq’ih
Huuu pascua
Ma ni qui[i] qu i mes tah
Ti qui ya v animas
Ch u vach Dios
Sa vi sa qui loq’oh qui
Ma ni qui ti qui chi r ch qui
Ve coh ah chach qu ichin

Declaro que este es mi
ultima voluptad
y les ruego que me
encomienden a Dios,
y a mis hijos qu no
rinan unos a otros,
que veneren y respecten
a su madre y la cuiden,

y si algun plieto
Let him be taken to the justice
Just let them cherish their mother María
Who gave them birth in her heart
And just let no man undo my will
Not even a justice
Whatever it may be that [may] cause conflict
And troubled times then ...

Declaro que ninguna persona ni justicia puedan revocar este mi testamento, por haver dado a cada uno

This is my testament
It remains for the witnesses to attest to it
With their sign:
To sign as witnesses.

On October 27th
Of the year 1708.

Witnesses:

Domingo Perez Pirir
Xobal pirir
Xobal Jocon
Graviel albares tzuruy
Domingo albares tzuruy
Dio Chacon
Marcos sinay
Mgl Jocon

Ha ca ri v ishail ti cohe
Cu qui te vi balmal
Qu e ru tzeta

Then there is my wife who is here
And is after all the mother of my jaguar cubs.
Let them cherish her,
Ma ni ti solon e cu c uquin
Ba la coh vi hu ru meba dios
Ti cule r uquin
Romal qʼitzih e quiy ri r al
Sa ti qui tzeta qui te ri nu
Ma ni ti qui ya poqʼon ch u cux
Ri qui te
Se re nu tzih
Dios qui loq’ maih chahin
V alcual
V ishail

Philipe de la Cruz
Escarban de cabildo

And let them not be uneasy
with each other either.
And if there happens to be
some poor man,
Let her marry him.
Because her children are
really sweet,
And my sons truly love their
mother.
Let them not break her heart:
She is their mother.
Only this is my word
God love and protect
My children
And my wife.

Felipe de la Cruz
Scribe of the Cabildo.
Analysis

Family Organization

One advantage of wills as documents is the view they provide of family organization. In this case, two wills and some ancillary documents permit glimpses of the same family at slightly different points in time, while two additional wills demonstrate that the Pirir family practices were not unique.

We must understand at the outset that, in 1642, the Pirir family we are glimpsing was mature in the extreme, both physically and in terms of its development. The patriarch was in his nineties and all of his sons were adults, some of them old men themselves. The size of the family must also have been at its peak. Surely, this was a stage of family development that few others attained and, by its very nature, could not be considered a stable type of organization. These facts, along with the limitations of the documents themselves, make it difficult to relate Pirir family organization directly to established family types. Fortunately, however, the series of wills allows the definition of some of the family’s strategies for continuity.

It is very tempting to characterize the Pirir family in the 1640’s as a patriarchal extended family headed by nonagenarian Don Miguel who still held sway over his sons, grandsons, and their families. Yet, while there is every indication that the Pirires were a family for social and economic purposes, there is no indication that they constituted a residential unit, and indeed there is some circumstantial evidence which suggests they did not. Ambrosio had clearly left the fold, though this seems to have been a personal decision rather than a normal development, and one heartily disapproved of by his father. Domingo alone was specifically given his father’s house, with no mention of any of his siblings and their families dwelling with him. It would seem that this house was in the town as it is unlikely that the sick old man would have made repeated trips there simply to dictate his will and codicils, or made the trip to San Pedro while on his deathbed. It is much more likely that the scribe, whether from San Juan or neighboring San Pedro, came to Don Miguel’s home to record his statements. However, the far-flung family land holdings would have made it difficult for the entire group to share a common residence. Pedro at Pachali and Gerónimo at Navoron could hardly commute with their sons back and forth daily to San Juan. Rather, the sons probably lived on their main land holdings and had done so for some time. In this way, the provisions of Don Miguel’s will may have been, for the most part, simply confirmations of land use already in place. A definite cause and effect principle seems to be at work. Many sons and grandsons made the acquisition and exploitation of so many scattered lands possible and even profitable but the cost must have included the dispersal of family members among them. Presumably, each of Don Miguel’s sons themselves acted like patriarchs on the lands they worked, directing their own sons’ labor.

Upon Don Miguel’s death, his sons and heirs came into their own. There was some emphasis on joint landholding between pairs of brothers and this was even more pronounced among Don Domingo’s heirs. It is tempting to characterize the participants in such holdings as a fraternal joint family or frereché. But, again, there is no evidence that the brothers and their families lived together. The fact that each heir received at least one, and usually several houses, argues strongly against co-residence.

By themselves, these land holding and inheritance practices would, over time, tend to fragment both the family and the land, resulting in numerous small families scattered around on correspondingly small tracts. However, two factors worked strongly against such fragmentation. One was death, the other was the value placed on over-all family leadership. Specific data on mortality rates and/or the deaths of
specific individuals are lacking for San Juan and the Pirir family and, to date, only three Colonial censuses containing more-or-less detailed demographic information have been reported for highland Maya communities, two of these for the same town.\textsuperscript{54} Yet studies of gross population show a precipitous, area-wide decline from preconquest levels early in the Colonial period.\textsuperscript{55} This decline continued at a slower rate through much of the 17th century, with a general resurgence beginning only in the mid-18th century. Thus, the Pirires, the Quehs, and the Jocones found themselves battling against the general demographic trend in their efforts to maintain family and land. Some idea of the problem faced by the Pirir family may be had if one remembers that only Ambrosio and Domingo seem even to have had living children in the 1640's (see below). Juan de la Cruz was the only one of six brothers still alive in 1707. Only four of Thomás Jocón's seven sons were alive 17 years after his death.

These deaths might also have resulted in the fragmentation of land among the younger survivors except for the factor of leadership. Don Miguel felt strongly enough about this factor to specifically name Domingo as his successor. As such, Domingo acquired the Royal Amparo to the large Navoron holding. Don Domingo made no such provision in his will and Cristóbal, a junior son, inherited Don Miguel's house. However, by the time of their dispute with the town of San Juan, the Pirir family was headed by its oldest surviving male member, Juan de la Cruz, who represented his sons and nephews.

Why should Domingo have been chosen as Don Miguel's successor? Why should so much of the family patrimony have passed to Don Domingo's children to the apparent exclusion of collateral relatives? The answer to both questions appears to be children--or lack of them. In a close reading of Don Miguel's will, we find that only Ambrosio and Domingo were specifically mentioned as having children. Domingo's were even enumerated in the final codicil. This strongly suggests that the other brothers either were unmarried (an old bachelor in Gerónimo's case?), had never had children, or, perhaps more likely, had no surviving children. Alternatively, their children may have moved away to escape the grandparental yoke of Don Miguel as did Ambrosio. Whatever the cause, only Ambrosio and Domingo appear to have had children. Ambrosio's progeny appear to have been excluded from any further participation in the family by virtue of their father's disassociation from it. Thus, Domingo was chosen because he was the only son who could ensure continuity of the family and its property. When the time came for Domingo to allocate the family patrimony, only his own children were eligible. Although Juan de la Cruz left no surviving will, it is clear from the 1707 dispute that he included his nephews along with his sons in the family corporation.

Indeed, rather than family types per se, we seem to be looking at a family corporation and the techniques it used to maintain itself and its lands in the face of high mortality. Seen in this way, family organization was a secondary consideration to the corporation's survival. Leadership was important but succession to the post could occur in various ways; as a patriarch, as a specified heir, or as the oldest survivor of a generation. Similarly, control of land, defined through its use or occupancy, was secured, at least in some larger tracts, by entrusting it to pairs of brothers, thus attempting to ensure a senior male presence in the event of one brother's death, as well as providing a larger work force. Even these precautions did not always work, given the mortality situation. Thus, Juan de la Cruz emerged by default as the head of the corporation and ran matters of family concern such as the 1707 dispute on behalf of his sons and nephews.

While perhaps an extraordinary example, the Pirir family was not unique or idiosyncratic. The Thomás Jocón and Miguel Juan Queh wills demonstrate the presence of similar goals and tactics. In some respects Thomás' career parallels that of Don Miguel. Both appear to have started out with land base (Navoron in Don Miguel's case, Pachali in Thomás') which they parlayed into a considerable estate through the purchase of additional tracts. When dividing his estate, Thomás, like Don Miguel and Navoron, left two
sons in charge of the Pachali tract. Yet these two were not exclusive owners of the land. They appear to have acted as its stewards for the entire family. Thus, when Domingo Ramos died, Pablo assumed control. But, by 1725, he had included his three surviving younger brothers as co-holders of Pachali and the petition to the Audiencia was in all their names. Similarly, most of Miguel Juan’s heirs received land in one area, Panýbah, and Juan, as the senior male, took control of the family acting as guardian for his nieces and nephews, even before the Spanish authorities. Clearly, their aim was to ensure continued family ownership of the land, despite the uncertainties of individual survival.

An additional piece of evidence supporting the assertion that the Pirir family was not unique in terms of its wealth, organization, or goals comes from 17th century chronicler Fuentes y Guzmán. Discussing the Pokomám-speaking town of Mixco (just east of the Sacatepéquez towns), he mentions the presence of many rich Indians. Among them, one who was still gratefully remembered was Sebastián Rey. He had donated many rich ornaments to the local church, including its expensive bells. He also left his children a fine fortune, such as that maintained by his son, Mathías Rey, at the time of Fuentes’ chronicle. Fuentes went on to state that there were individuals of other family lines in the town who similarly maintained their affluence through a combination of fine milpas, wheat fields, mule trains, and lime ovens.

El de Santo Domingo Mixco, pueblo no menos numeroso, pues por el citado padrón se reputa por cuatrocientos cuarenta y seis tributarios de la nación pocomán, entre quienes hay indios acaudalados: y es grata la memoria y devoción de Sebastián Rey, indio natural de aquel pueblo, y que donó a aquella Iglesia, muchas ricas alhajas, y campanas de grande precio, dejando a sus hijos buen canatal, como lo es hoy el de Mathías Rey; hay otros que de otros linajes, en este mismo pueblo, mantienen su opulencia, con buenas milperías, labores de trigo, recuas y hornos de cal (Fuentes y Guzmán [1690] 1969-1973, I: 383).

The parallels with Don Miguel are striking. They were roughly contemporaries; Sebastián Rey must have died around mid-century in order to be so gratefully remembered in the late 1600’s. His surname strongly suggests royal heritage and one suspects that he may have been a descendant of the area’s preconquest rulers, as has also been suggested for Don Miguel. If so, then both men maintained their respective families’ status through diversified commercial economic activities and lavish gifts to the church. Sebastián seems also to have had a specific heir, Mathías, who, because of his mention by Fuentes, may have functioned as family head in the same manner as Don Domingo. Yet, even in Mixco, the Rey family was not unique, only outstanding. Granted that Fuentes’ brief description contains only scanty information, the points of comparison with the Pirir family are so striking as to indicate the existence of an entire social stratum (albeit numerically small) of individuals (perhaps with aristocratic backgrounds) who made similar adaptations to the exigencies and opportunities of the conquest and Colonial regime.

This style of family economic organization is quite unexpected in the highland Maya region, especially given the extant ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature. Ethnographically, the dominant family pattern is the patrilineal extended family, with sons and their families ideally living in their father’s household until its breakup upon his death. At that time, arguments among the heirs over their respective inheritances typically eliminate the possibility of further economic cooperation. Ethnohistorically, the traditional social unit among the highland Maya was the chinamit of the Quiché and Cakchiquel, the same unit being called molam or molab by the Pokomám, Pokomché and Kekché. The chinamit/molam was, among its other functions, the basic landholding unit in preconquest highland Maya society. Members evidently held only usufruct rights to land they cultivated, similar to those enjoyed by members of an Aztec calpulli, which the chinamit/molam closely resembled in some respects. Therefore, inheritance practices would have to conform to the limitations of individual land ownership and
the prior claims of a *chinamit* to land used by its members. Indeed, prior to the Spanish conquest, only members of the native aristocracy appear to have held land on a family or individual basis. It has already been suggested that Don Miguel, the Pirir family patriarch, was originally from this aristocratic stratum of Maya society and began his career with individual ownership of the family seat at Navoron. There is no evidence to suggest that Miguel Juan Queh in the 1660's had any such connections to the preconquest aristocracy nor that Thomás Jocón had any pretensions beyond claiming to have been Pedro Pirir's son, probably through adoption.

The scanty ethnohistorical information on family organization and especially on its economic organization comes from later in the Colonial period and conforms to the ethnographically documented pattern described above. Archbishop Cortés y Larraz' description of family organization in later 18th century Mixco is both important and typical. He stated that each household head has all of his children and their families in the same residence, each one with its own kitchen and place for animals. Each one works on a different task and no one might interfere in the work of another. In fact, one daughter works on plates (*comales*), another on serving pieces, another on water vessels (*tinajas*), etc. Asking the reason for this arrangement, he was told that it was done so as not to interfere with each other's sales.

> ... la cabesa o principal de la generació (como en todas partes) tiene a todos sus hijos y familias en el mismo jacal y cada uno de ellos tiene su cocina y apartamentos para animalitos ... en cada uno se trabaja obra distinta y ninguno puede entender en la que otro trabaja, de suerte que una hija trabaja platos [*comales*], otra escudillas, otra tinajas, etc., y preguntando por qué era esto? se me respondió que para no estorbarse en la venta unos a otros (Cortés y Larraz 1958:204).

The pattern described above appears to be one of the co-residence but economic independence, the exact opposite of the Pirir, Jocón, and Queh families. How can the discrepancies be explained and, in both cases, how can the seeming emergence of the family as an economic and landholding unit distinct from the traditional *chinamit* be explained? While direct proof is lacking, extrapolation from existing evidence does suggest a possible developmental sequence. It is easy to posit a breakdown of the *chinamit* organization following the Spanish conquest and the catastrophic population losses of the 16th century. This would have been especially true of the Sacatepéquez area which was located so close to a major Spanish center. It should be noted in passing, however, that the *chinamit* principle of organization did not die out everywhere. Indeed, it is still a basic organizational principle in some of the Quiche communities farther west in highland Guatemala.58

While the passing of the *chinamit* may have presented new possibilities in terms of landholding for some highland Maya people, it does not explain why the family as a natural and pre-existing unit took on the form it did. Part of the answer must lie with the high mortality among Indian people, especially during the earlier part of the Colonial period. This reduced the Indian pressure for land, making it theoretically possible for an ambitious and long-lived individual to accumulate additional tracts. The cash economy and concept of land as a commodity were Spanish introductions which facilitated the process, but it must be noted that none of the transactions engaged in by these Maya people were officially sanctioned or recorded.

We are left, in my estimation, with one other factor to account for this corporate form of family organization; pre-existing cultural models. The *chinamit* itself may have provided an initial model of organization for a corporate, landholding entity, though there is no evidence to suggest that members of this extra-familial unit always acted in concert. The other model may have been that of the aristocratic Maya family. This is almost certainly the case for Don Miguel Pirir who, growing up in the early Colonial
period, would have experienced or at least have been indirectly exposed to the final days of indigenous aristocratic life. His efforts to maintain his family’s traditional social status well after the conquest suggest that his organizational preference may also have been traditional and reflective of the aristocratic level of Maya society which he knew best. That his heirs and successors should have followed his example is not too surprising. However, that Miguel Juan Queh and Sebastián Rey, unrelated individuals from other communities, should have followed a similar path strongly suggests that we are looking at institutionalized practice, or at least a strong cultural preference, for highland Maya people in this area, to perpetuate or emulate, when possible, the aristocratic family form.

However, as illustrated by the above quote from Cortés y Larraz, this form of family corporation does not seem to have endured far into the 18th century. Why should such a change have occurred? The answer would seem to lie in the dynamics of population and land in a pre-industrial, agricultural society. As suggested above, the corporate family was an adaptation to a particular set of circumstances, specifically a relatively low or even declining man/land ratio in a period of high mortality. As has been amply demonstrated by LeRoy Ladurie, such “institutions of lineage” are precisely the development one would expect given the declining populations and scattered mountain holdings which typified the area. With hired labor either scarce or non-existent, efficient, diversified operations could not be maintained by a nuclear family alone. “The alternative was to quit the land or else revert to the most archaic and most effective form of mountain land settlement—the large peasant family which supplied its own work force without recourse to hired labor” (LeRoy Ladurie 1974:36). One can argue that the Pirires, at least in Don Miguel’s time, were not exactly peasants and we have already noted that he did employ hired labor to run his forges (however, this was skilled labor and not that of unskilled field hands.) Still, the pattern holds. Whatever its origins in terms of preconquest practice, the family corporation was an adaptation to the man/land conditions of the 17th century. By the middle of the 18th century, however, the situation had changed. As noted earlier, historians of Guatamala’s population are unanimous in their opinion that population recovery was already underway by that time. With the changing man/land ratio, cooperation was replaced by competition which was especially keen due to the absence of marginal or frontier lands to be reclaimed or pioneered. Especially in the Sacatepéquez area, Spanish landholdings acquired in the late 16th and early 17th centuries were extensive and unassailable. Also, by the 18th century, livestock had long been an integral part of Indian agriculture. There was thus little chance of recovering lands claimed by Spaniards during the period of low ebb in Indian population. Nor could land already given over to grazing as an important part of the Indian economy be converted to agriculture without serious dislocation. That population pressure was already at work in the area by the early 18th century is made clear by the very land dispute in which the two Pirir wills were presented (see below). Population pressure within the family, community, and region would have made it difficult for the corporate family to survive. Within the family, an increasing number of members must have put stress on the corporation’s holdings. Once a certain level was reached, it would no longer have been possible for each male member to support his family and provide for their future on his now reduced portion of the holdings. The kind of competition among heirs over an inheritance unable to support all of them, which is such a prominent feature of the ethnographic record, would have been the result. The process was undoubtedly compounded by population growth in the community and region. Unable to expand their borders, competition within and between communities became more intense. At the same time, land could no longer have been as easily or as cheaply purchased. One result of all this was the kind of squatters on the Pirir lands who precipitated the dispute in 1707. As noted below, the Piries opted to cede a small portion of their lands to the squatters to appease the community and forestall further demands. The result was to reduce their holdings during a period when land was becoming scarcer and more valuable. It is easy to understand how these pressures could, by the middle of the 18th century, have produced the patriarchal extended family described by Cortés y Larraz. With reduced possibilities for land acquisition by individuals aside from inheritance, we can grasp the
motivations behind each nuclear family's economic independence despite being forced by necessity to occupy a common residential compound. Given the continuation of both traditional agriculture and population increase in Indian communities, it is clear why the 18th-century pattern of family organization has continued into modern times.

Family Relationships

The amount of direct information on interpersonal relationships within the corporate family contained in the wills is meagre and most of it comes from Don Miguel's testamento. The first feature one notes is that Don Miguel and Don Domingo, Miguel Juan and Thomás held on to their control over the family property until the last. Don Miguel did not even make his will until a close brush with death in his ninetieth year, and did not actually divide the estate until his ninety-sixth and last year. By that time, all of his children must have been middle-aged at least. Gerónimo, the eldest must have been in his sixties. Don Domingo followed a similar pattern, not making out his will until near death at what was also certainly a well advanced age. All four men were evidently still active mentally and relished the hard won role of patriarch. They may well, in addition, have feared (unlike King Lear) what would happen to them if they gave up control too early.

In Don Miguel's family, Domingo emerges as the dutiful son. Though undoubtedly a middle-aged man himself, he still lived, with his own family, with or very near his father, for whom he continued to care. He was also the son who could be relied upon to fulfill all ritual obligations. While his feelings are not subject to examination, Domingo ultimately received his reward in terms of his stewardship of the family domain.

Ambrosio appears by contrast as a troublesome son, but one of whom his father was nonetheless fond, if also exasperated. Don Miguel sternly admonished Ambrosio concerning the conditions under which he would inherit the forge, the way one would remonstrate with a contrary boy. Unchastened, Ambrosio evidently argued with his father over part of Domingo's inheritance (the dance costumes) and was a motivating force for the distribution of Don Miguel's estate before his death. Living up to the picture of a recalcitrant son that one gleans from the will, Don Miguel angrily removed two guachibales from Ambrosio's care for his failure properly to fulfill his obligations and gave them to Domingo who then became responsible for all of the family's ritual obligations. Still, one gets the impression that Don Miguel's anger was tempered by affection, since he did not take away any of the property which he originally apportioned to Ambrosio.

Another sign of parental affection is Don Miguel's reference to his adult, married daughter Petronila as "our little girl." We cannot tell if Petronila was his only daughter or not. If there were others, why were they not mentioned in the will? The answer may lie in the inheritance practices of the neighboring Quiché people in the 1930's as reported by Bunzel (1952). At that time, married daughters only inherited if they "... have stayed at home with their father to help him" (ibid:18). Therefore, we may have a case where one daughter remained, even after marriage, in her father's house, or perhaps returned to it after the death of his wife, her mother.

Unfortunately, even less can be gleaned concerning Gerónimo and Juan. As the eldest, Gerónimo received a considerable inheritance, including half-ownership with Domingo of the Navoron ranch. It is impossible to tell, however, if he felt this to be adequate recompense for an entire life spent in his father's
shadow. Juan’s inheritance seems small by comparison to those of his brothers, but there is no way of knowing the size of the plots left to him.

Additions from Spanish Culture

The first major additions to come to one’s attention while reading the wills are in the domain of world view and religion. Apart from the formulaic invocations of the Trinity and various Saints, we are faced with the enormous total of Don Miguel’s gifts to the Church. These can only be interpreted as acts of a man sincere in his beliefs and devotion. Otherwise, Don Miguel could certainly have avoided such lavish gifts and still managed to convince the local priest of his Christianity simply by outward observances of ceremony. On the other hand, the detailed enumeration of the gifts and their value seems boastful and strongly suggests that this behavior was related to claiming and maintaining social status.

Indeed, other sources attest to the element of noblesse oblige accounting in part for the size of his endowment. If Don Miguel really was of an aristocratic line as the available evidence suggests, then his responsibilities for sponsoring rituals were greater than those of commoner-Indians. According to Fuentes y Guzmán, guachibales in particular were supported by the rich members of a calpul (alternate term for chinamit), presumably its aristocratic leadership. Such individuals were evidently highly esteemed for thus maintaining the cult out of their own resources.

... así se ve que los que asisten a estos sagrados cultos con las expensas de sus propios caudales son los más nobles y sobresalientes caciques de los pueblos; habiendo en cada Calpul, o linaje de los conocidos por principales, cuatro o cinco Guachibales repartidos en los de más lucido y asegurado caudal, y que en la duración de la vida temporal aventajan a los demás. (Fuentes y Guzmán [1690] 1969-1973, I:332)

Beyond just the possible desire for, and obligations of his status, Don Miguel’s gifts to the Church also strongly suggest that he had been exposed to, and grasped, something of the concept of salvation, in the Catholic sense, through good works. He also seemed genuinely to have accepted the cult of the Saints in both the guachibal and cofradia forms and was completely familiar with their accoutrements, including such European musical instruments as the bassoon, shawm flute and trombone. The devotions to the Saints were dutifully continued by Domingo, and later Domingo’s sons, but without the lavish endowments. These practices are in complete accord with the description of Fuentes y Guzmán.

... pues de los padres pasa como herencia a los hijos, y así se van sucediendo de una generación en otra sin que jamás falte esta devota piedad en la familia que le dió principio, porque se continua por herencia con la posesión de las tierras, casas y otros bienes que quedan por muerte de los mayores, mirándola no solo como obligación, sino como rica alhaja y preciosa joya habida en el derecho y porción hereditaria. Y es así que las virtudes son los bienes verdaderos y que su resplandor alcanza a los sucesores, y en quien posee la virtud, se sigue gran consecuencia de nobleza. (Ibid:332).

Also striking are the many European animals, crops and technologies mentioned in the wills and their apparent total incorporation in the Pirir family’s economic life. Animals constituted a very large part of both estates. There may have been an emphasis on horse breeding, given the number of these animals distributed among heirs, but cows, oxen, and mules are also mentioned, so too a specialized livestock estancia or ranch. Thus, stock breeding (including mule breeding), seems to have been a commercial
rather than just subsistence activity for the Pirires. The family was also involved in wheat, based on bequests of the grain to daughters and the Saints. A special threshing place is even mentioned in Don Miguel’s will. These activities, along with sugar cane, strongly suggest commercial activities, supplying the nearby capital of the Audiencia with draft and food animals, wheat, and sugar. Given the involvement with various kinds of draft animals, the presence of Indian-owned and operated forges is not totally surprising, though the fact that Don Miguel had two of these to dispose of in his will, and that they were worked, at least in part, by Indians of another town and language, again strongly suggests a commercial rather than subsistence orientation.

Associated with this seeming commercial focus was a set of practices tied to a European-style money economy. Don Miguel in particular had handled a great deal of money in his lifetime and knew how to use it to acquire land, houses, a vast array of goods, and even knowledge (as in the case of the two blacksmiths from Mixco). Don Miguel, Miguel Juan, and Don Domingo also understood raising money through rental, of dance costumes in the case of the former two, of a forge in that of the latter.

Of course, the wills themselves seem European, at least in concept, though some such practice might have been followed in preconquest times, at least by the aristocracy. Terms exist in 17th century Cakchiquel for inheritance, and inherit, but there is no indication as to what people followed such practices. Evidence from the Quiche region indicates that commoners simply held use rights to land held corporately by the chinamit to which they belonged and that such land reverted to the chinamit upon the death of the user. Thus, there would have been no need for wills among the majority of the population, save perhaps for allocating household goods. By contrast, inheritance of land, apart from corporate chinamit holdings, by members of the aristocracy, may have been practiced. Indeed, if it were not, one is at a loss to explain how Don Miguel came to be in possession of the large Navoron property. He could not have purchased it from the Crown, since it was his son Domingo who first received formal Spanish recognition of its ownership through a Real Provisión de Amparo for the property well after his father’s death. Nor does Don Miguel mention having purchased it as he does for numerous other tracts. Thus, one is left with the strong suspicion that Don Miguel began his career with a considerable advantage over most of his fellows, an individually or family-owned tract of considerable extent at Navoron. Yet his ultimate economic success is probably even more attributable to the ways in which he managed his patrimony during the otherwise catastrophic years of the early Colonial period.

Don Miguel Perez Pirir: Colonial Maya Innovator

As noted above, available evidence suggests that Don Miguel was a descendant of local preconquest aristocrats and this probably explains why the large Navoron property was in his possession rather than that of a chinamit. The land and its potential for producing wealth placed him in a position to innovate acculturatively. Indeed, even what little we know about Don Miguel allows us to categorize him as an “innovator” or “early adopter” in the classification of adopters of innovations proposed by Rogers (1983:247-249). Simply by noting the array of Spanish-derived economic activities in which he ultimately engaged his family, we would call Don Miguel highly “venturesome” and able to “understand and apply complex technical knowledge” (Ibid:248). Yet, in his Navoron property, Don Miguel possessed the resources necessary “to absorb the possible loss owing to an unprofitable innovation” (Ibid:248). In other words, he could literally afford to take economic chances.
What might his motivation have been? Why run the risk of failure with innovations when traditional or only slightly modified economic practices continued to be used by others? Part of the answer may lie in the venturesomeness inherent in Don Miguel's personality. Yet perhaps the greater motivation came from the situation in which Don Miguel found himself, growing to maturity in the later 16th century.

Don Miguel was almost certainly subject to what we might call "status anxiety". He was a member of a conquered people, their sovereignty gone and their land occupied, often expropriated, by the conquerers. The indigenous aristocracy was suddenly redundant. Though Spanish law provided for the recognition of native nobility and afforded its members certain protections and privileges, these were not always recognized in practice. Don Miguel also lived in an area that was highly attractive to Spaniards for their own commercial agricultural enterprises. As a member of the aristocracy, how could Don Miguel preserve his social status? As an individual or family landowner, how could he preserve his patrimony? One alternative could have been through some form of nativism, yet this would almost surely have failed him in the long run. The other alternative, and the one he took, was to become more like the conquerers. Part of the process was to adopt the religion of the conquerers. Yet, the spectacular way in which Don Miguel supported the new cult indicates not only his sincerity but also his intention to establish or maintain an elite status. The other part was to adopt the Spaniards' economy in order to acquire the kind of wealth they recognized and respected.

There is no record of Don Miguel's ever having petitioned the Spanish authorities for formal recognition of any aristocratic status to which he might have been entitled and, as noted earlier, the honorific term don was never applied to him or any of his descendants in the available documents. It is impossible to tell if this represents a failure of some plan Don Miguel may have had, but, on the chance that it might, a reason for his not being accorded the status of Indian nobility by the Spaniards may have been his conservatism in two areas. The first of these is language. The will itself was composed in Cakchiquelized Quiche and appears to be a verbatim transcription of his statements (albeit highly stylized). Apart from a few mangled Spanish loan words used to describe borrowings from Spanish culture, there is no indication that Don Miguel knew much Spanish at all. As we shall see later, even his grandchildren required an interpreter in order to communicate with Spanish officials. This linguistic conservatism, in turn, demonstrates that Don Miguel and his descendants did not wish to change their ethnic identity. They were Maya and wished to remain such. The question of whether the local Spanish society would have permitted such a change (especially for someone wishing to enter at the middle or upper range of that society) is therefore moot.

Regardless of any other objectives Don Miguel might have had, it seems clear that one purpose of his will and that of his son, Domingo, was to preserve the family corporation. We have already seen how this was attempted, by endowing individual or pairs of family members with their own portion of the estate. The next question to be addressed is, how well did this strategy work?

Later History of the Pirir Family

The first and only Colonial-period threat to the Pirir lands centered on Navoron occurred in late 1707 and 1708. At about that time, thirty-nine Indians of San Juan Sacatepéquez had attempted to settle on the Pirir lands. The Pirires, led by Domingo's only surviving son, Juan de la Cruz, retained Spanish counsel and requested a writ of amparo be granted them, based on the Real Provisión ceded to Domingo in 1655 for the Navoron lands. This was duly granted in December of 1707. In early March of 1708, the squatters
retaliated. They hired their own counsel and petitioned the Audiencia for a redress of their grievances against the Pirires. In defense of their encroachment, the squatters cited a dispute in 1675 in which the community of San Juan won a judgment against a Spanish landowner for control of approximately two caballertas (200 acres) of land. These were ultimately purchased from the Crown by the community of San Juan and were thus community lands, open to use by any of its members. They also argued that the Real Provision granted to Domingo was imprecise since it failed to mention boundary markers. They therefore requested that the Real Provision be nullified or at least modified to recognize the lands the squatters already occupied.

Juan de la Cruz filed a petition simultaneously with that of his opposition, explaining how the men of his family held the land together, though each controlled his own part. He also registered a complaint about the squatters and requested that they be evicted.

Formal Spanish investigation of the case did not begin until late May of 1708, when an official finally arrived in San Juan Sacatepéquez. The Pirires and the community of San Juan were ordered to present all relevant documents in their possession for examination. It was at this point that the testamentos of Don Miguel and Don Domingo were presented, along with a copy of the Real Provision of 1655. On the other side, community leaders presented a mid-16th century map of their traditional holdings and a very brief translation of their native título or history. In the middle of the proceedings, the Pirires and the community leadership announced a compromise to the presiding Spanish official. Because they were all related and members of the same community, they agreed that the Pirires would give up a few pieces of land (unos pedazos) to the community where a dozen or so of the squatters could plant their milpas. In exchange, the community would not challenge their claim to the rest of their holdings or ask for more at any future date. The Spanish official was delighted to be able to end the dispute at that point, though he dutifully passed on to his superior all the documents and information he had amassed, thus preserving them for us. The actual dimensions of the pieces surrendered to the community were not measured by the official, so their extent cannot be established. Presumably, however, they constituted only a small portion of the four to six caballertas he estimated for the total holdings. Thus, Don Miguel and his descendants were indeed successful in preserving their land holdings. That conditions ultimately arose which rendered the corporate form of family organization inappropriate could not have been foreseen by them at the time. The innovations made by Don Miguel served his family well.
FOOTNOTES

1. To date, only six other Colonial-period testamentos have come to light in the area. Three of these are from the later 16th century. For a description of these documents, see the "Testament Catalina Nijay", "Testament Ajpopolajay", and the "Testament Magdalena Hernandez" (in Carmack 1973: 63-64, 66-67, 70-71). Edmonson has located three late 18th-century testamentos from the Quezaltenango area (Edmonson, personal communication). By comparison to the Pirir testamentos, all the above documents record only short, simple statements and lack the elaborate structure and property distribution.


3. For more on wills and their analysis by anthropologists for Central Mexico, see Anderson, Berdan and Lockhart (1976), Cline (1981), and Kellog (1981). For Yucatan see Roys (1939), and Thompson (1978).


5. Archivo General de Centro America A3.15 Leg. 2787 Exp.40301.


7. See Crespo (1956) for a Spanish translation of the document and Carmack (1973) for a description.

8. AGCA A.315 Leg. 2787 Exp. 40301.

9. Gage mentioned a man from Santiago Sacatepequez who, like Don Miguel, had endowed the church to a total of 6,000 "ducats", but who later was found to have been a "wizard and idolater" (Gage 1958:210). The amount of the donation suggests that Gage may be referring to Don Miguel, despite the error in town names. It is also unlikely that another Indian from the area could have so endowed the church. At the same time, however, Don Miguel had not yet died at the time Gage left Guatemala, casting doubt on the proposed identification. However, Gage's claims as to the superficiality of the man's Catholicism fits with his systematic and rabid anti-Catholic statements throughout his work. Perhaps, then, the reference in Gage is part truth and part propaganda.

10. For an extended discussion of guachibales see Hill (1986).

11. Some interesting information on the use of feathers and costumes are presented by Gage (1958). Feather plumes, affixed to frames and headgear, as well as being carried as fans and attached to feet, were an important part of the costume worn by dancers celebrating community fiestas in the seventeenth century. The feathers were so scarce and valuable that they (and presumably the rest of the costume as well) were rented out by their owners. Thus, this part of Domingo's inheritance represented a source of continuing income to help him meet his other ritual obligations.
On their backs they hang long tufts of feathers of all colors, which are fastened with glue into a little frame made for the purpose and gilded on the outside. They tie this frame fast around their shoulders with ribbons, so that it does not fall nor slacken with the motion of their bodies. Upon their heads they wear another smaller tuft of feathers either in their hats or in some gilded or painted headpiece or helmet. In their hands also they carry a fan of feathers, and most of them will use on their feet feathers also bound together like short wings of birds. Some wear shoes; some do not. And thus from top to toe they are almost covered with curious and colored feathers (Ibid:244).

These Indians get much money by letting out great tufts of feathers, which the Indians use in their dances upon the feasts of the dedication of their towns. For some of the great tufts may have at least three score long feathers of divers colors, and for every feather they charge half a real, besides what price they set to every feather if any should chance to be lost (Ibid:210).

12. AGCA AI Leg. 5945 Exp. 52040.

13. Despite the unusual name, Miguel Juan’s wife, Petronila, was almost certainly not Don Miguel Perez Pirir’s daughter since the latter Petronila was married to one Gaspar Chamale of San Juan (see insert by Domingo Perez Pirir in his father’s codicil of January 23, 1648).

14. This document is in the keeping of the municipality of San Juan Sacatepéquez where the document was photographed by Hill in 1986 with the gracious permission of its authorities.

15. The Real Provisión was presented in the dispute AGCA A3.15 Leg. 2787 Exp. 40301. It also appears in AI.24 Leg. 1561 Exp. 10205, Fol. 17, and in AI.25 Leg. 1576 Exp. 10220, Fol. 366.

16. The chinamit was the basic unit of preconquest highland Maya social organization above the family level. It appears to have consisted of an aristocratic core family and their subjects/dependents, all occupying a specific territory. In many places these units survived the Spanish conquest and have endured down to the present. For an extended discussion see Hill (1984), Hill and Monaghan (1987).

17. A fanega (anega in the text) is a unit of dry measure equal to one and one-half bushels.

18. Mayordomos - the title given to the leadership of a cofradía, itself a type of religious sodality introduced by the Spanish friars.

19. A tostón was a Spanish coin equal to four reales or one-half peso.

20. The original Cakchiquel text of the will exhibits continuity of the vigesimal Maya number system in that all large quantities are numbers or portions of scores (20). The translator of the will was either unused to this system, a poor mathematician, or both, as he frequently errs in converting sums to their decimal equivalent.

21. A retablo is an altar piece.

22. The word in Spanish is casulla. It refers to a chasuble or the vestment worn by the celebrant of a mass.
23. A sackbutt is an early form of trombone.

24. The Spanish word is *pragua*, meaning forge.

25. The Spanish term *oficial* in this case refers to one who practices a particular *oficio* or trade.

26. Mixco is a Pocomám speaking community to the SE of San Juan, at the northern edge of the Valley of Guatemala.

27. The Cakchiquel text should probably read *culxabal*. The 17th-century Coto dictionary defines *xabal* as "el instrumento con que bailan" and renders *ru xabal x-in kah* as "el alquilado vestido, plumas, etc." (Coto [1699] 1983:60). Further information on this point is provided by Thomas Gage. See footnote 11.

28. *Ralibal* is derived from *ralih* which was the Maya technique of hunting deer with lazos. Coto defines *ralih* as "cazar animales o aves con lazos". *Ralibal* refers to the lazo itself. Coto further specifically renders the phrase "Nu huyu, nu tuq’ah, nu ralibal x-ya can rumal nu tata" as "mis tierras que me dejo mi padre para cazar" (Coto[1699] 1983:80-81). This last example suggests the inheritance of hunting lands was a well known custom, since Coto would not have used an obscure formulation in a work designed to clarify the language and its usages.

29. The use of *tomin* is confusing as it technically refers to a gold coin of the early 16th century equal to one eighth of a gold *peso*. What is even more confusing is the use of *tostones* a few lines later to refer to the same coins. While it is possible that a man of Don Miguel's wealth may have had some old gold coins, it seems more likely that *tomin* was simply used here as a synonym for *toston*.

30. Both the Cakchiquel and Spanish texts spell *caja* as *casa*. It is clear, however, that in both cases "box" or "coffer" was meant.

31. Again, "s" was substituted for "j" in *ceroso*. It should be *cerrojo*, "latch".

32. The rendering of *milpiandes* as "cochineal field" is purely conjectural and is based on an assumed relationship with *milpies*, the Spanish term for the insect which produces cochineal.

33. Today, *escopeta* denotes a shotgun. However, in the 17th century, when virtually all firearms were smoothbores, this term would be redundant. During this earlier period, *escopeta* properly referred to a short-barreled cavalry weapon or carbine, though it is far from certain the translator used the term in this technical sense.

34. These are presumably four *cofradias*.

35. In this context the term *macho* seems to refer to a machete rather than a male mule.

36. A *cuerda* is equal to approximately 1/5 to 1/6 of an acre.

37. Miguel Juan's reference to Lucas as his son seems to indicate the latter's adoption after the death of his own father, Gaspar who, as stated in the will, was Miguel Juan's younger brother.
38. That is, forever.

39. Note the discrepancy between the text and the Spanish translation regarding the value of this plot and the next.

40. The rendering of "cam uleuh" as "common land" is based on the resemblance to "caman-milpa de comunidad" (Varea:43). If correct, the passage refers to the community's ejido land which was, at least informally, bought and sold locally (Hill and Monaghan 1987:123-129).

41. This is apparently another rendering of "xahbal", which, as noted above in footnote 27, refers to a dance costume. In this case the "cul", which denotes clothing generally, follows "xahbal" rather than preceding it as in Don Miguel Perez Pirir's will.

42. It seems likely that "moros" in this context refers to the Moros y Cristianos dance which is a prominent part of Mesoamerican Indian fiesta celebrations as reported ethnographically (see Kurath 1967:168-171, Bode 1961). If so, it suggests that the transformation of the drama from the victory of Christians over the Moors to Spaniards over the Indians (Baile de la Conquista) had not yet taken place in this part of Guatemala by the 1660's.

43. Probably better rendered in English as "There is still some work to be done on them." Presumably this refers either to the preparation of the costumes/feathers or their repair.

44. This is Santa Maria Cauqué which is located just west of Santiago Sacatepequez, across a ravine.

45. Popoyá was rendered as Petapa, a Pokomám-speaking town in the Valley of Guatemala, presumably on the basis of "pop" which means mat or petate. The only other Popoyá this author could locate refers to a river in Santa Maria Cotzumalguapa, Dept. of Escuintla, on Guatemala's south coastal plain.

46. The use of the Nahua tlatzin or tatatzin is noteworthy.

47. The Spanish text is in error as to the number of tostones.

48. Again the error is in the Spanish translation.

49. Unless this represents a clumsy attempt at forgery, the signature of one Domingo Perez Pirir was not that of Don Domingo whose testament was composed in 1669, but of a later Domingo who was of the generation above Governor Bartolomé.

50. Similarly, the signature of Cristóbal Pirir was almost certainly not that of Don Domingo's son, but of a later Cristóbal, also a generation senior to Bartolomé.

51. Literally, "jaguar cubs", this passage is remarkable for its sentimentality, which seems to have been suppressed by the presumably Indian interpreter, perhaps out of embarrassment.

52. It is possible that Ambrosio's departure followed a formal ceremony such as one described by Bunzel for the Quiché in the 1930's (Bunzel 1952:132-139).
53. We cannot determine if this arrangement involved the customary surrender of all income to the family head as is reported ethnographically.


56. See especially Bunzel (1952).


To give some idea of the magnitude of the change involved, San Juan Sacatepéquez boasted a population of only 337 tributarios (about 1,300 people) in 1562 (AGI Guatemala 45). By the late 17th century, the population had mushroomed to 1,089 tributarios (well over 4,000 people) (Fuentes y Guzmán [1690] 1969-1973 I:372).

60. Population resurgence in the 18th century has been deemed responsible for a marked increase in land litigation by several scholars including Carmack (1973:202-203), Lovell (1985:129-130), and Hill and Monaghan (1987:56, 115-116).


Vae notitii licet mihi habere hinc testigis quae
in maestro dico fausti Henrici
Luce domino perspiraverunt et ab hoc

S. Johannes

Quaeris sancti Henrici

Sanctorum

S. Johannis

Sanctorum

S. Ioannis
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