

**THE PIRIR PAPERS
AND
OTHER COLONIAL PERIOD
CAKCHIQUEL-MAYA TESTAMENTOS**

**by
Robert M. Hill, II**

**Vanderbilt University
Publications in Anthropology
No. 37
Nashville, Tennessee**



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and Other Colonial Period
Cakchiquel-Maya Testamentos

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Robert M. Hill, II Ph.D.

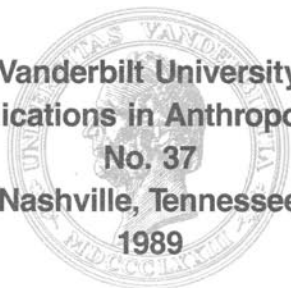
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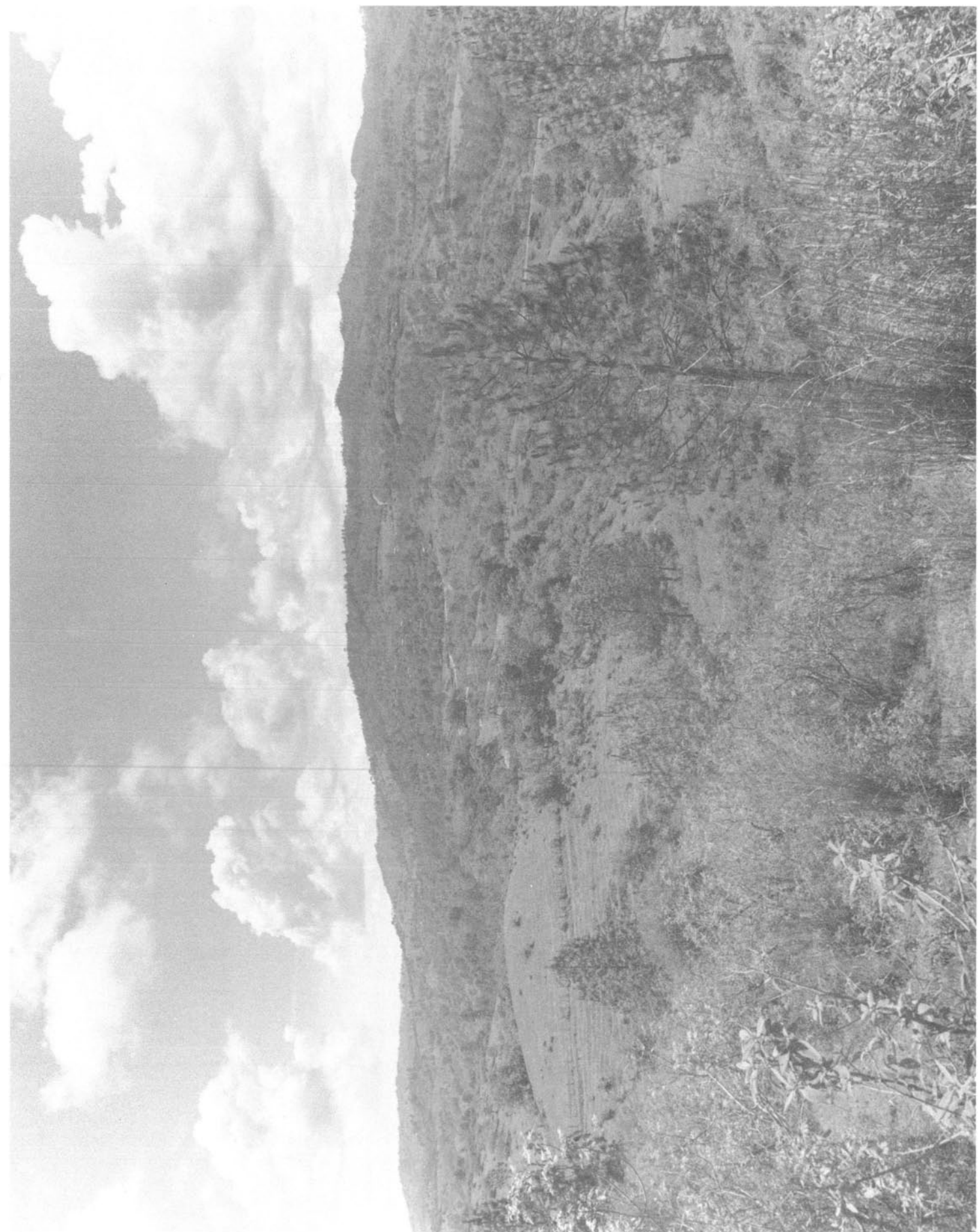
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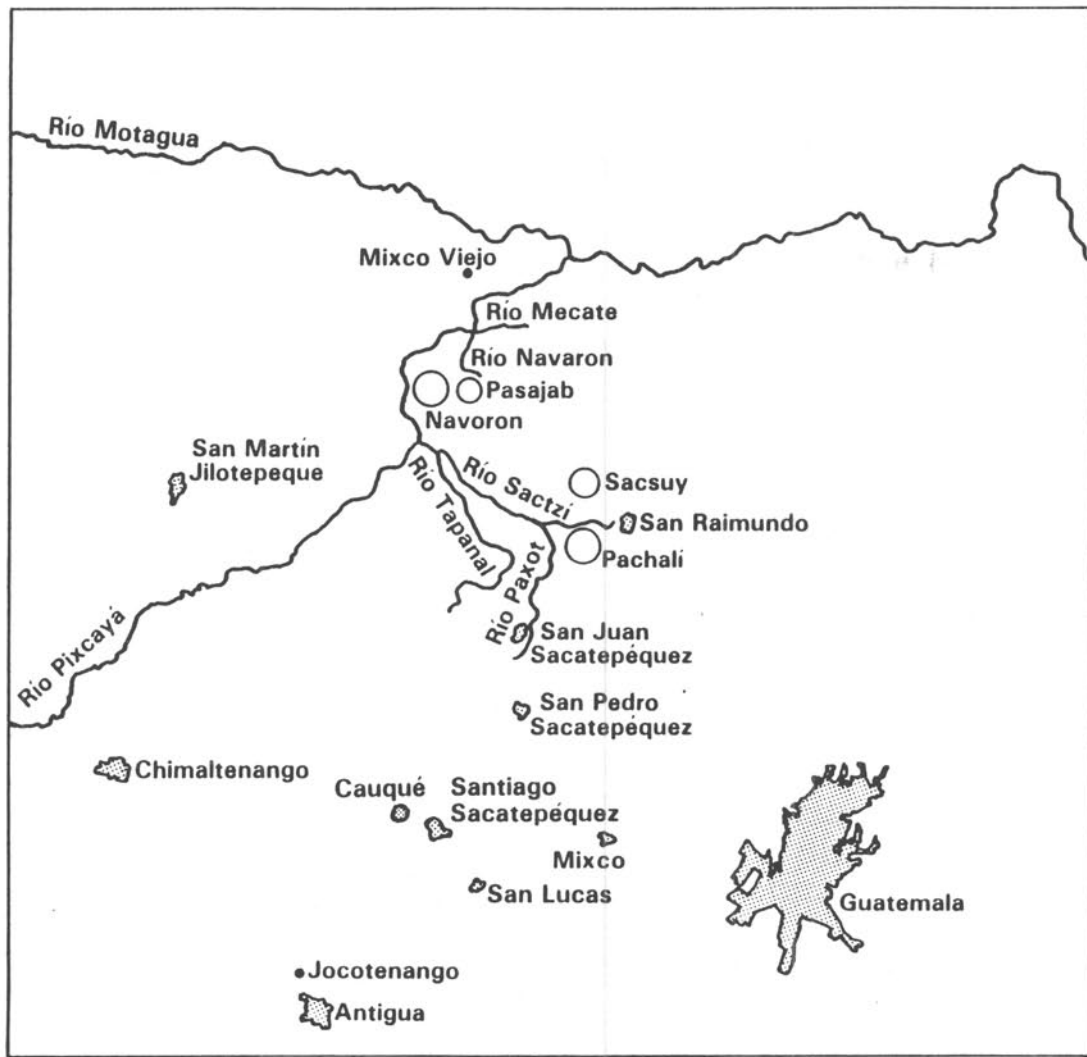
To My "Jaguar Cubs" Rebecca and Alexander



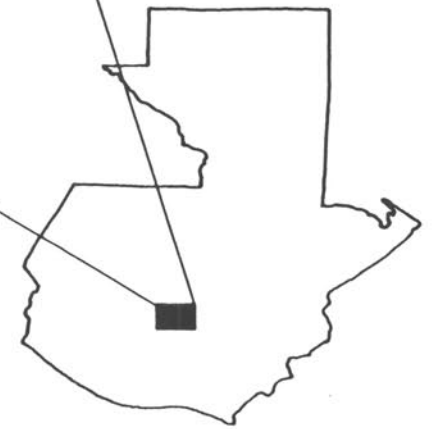
THE PIRIR PAPERS

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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 *chinamit* 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.³ 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.⁴ 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.

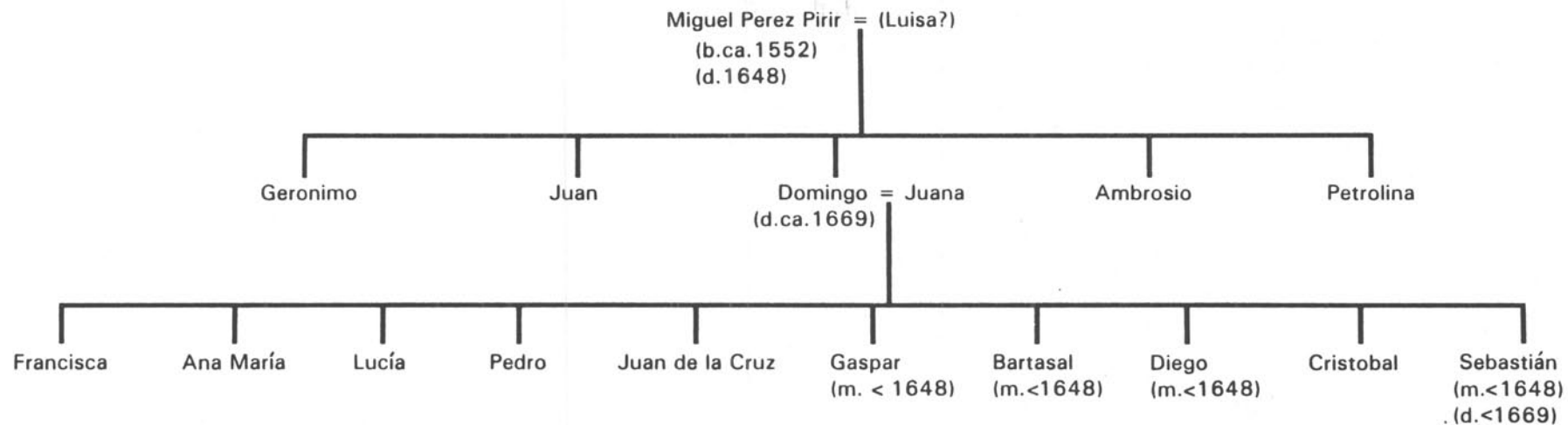
Beyond their intrinsic value as examples of a rare type of document, the wills are potentially significant for other reasons. As private papers, they provide information about individuals and families as opposed to communities and regions (the tendency in most of the public or official types of documents). 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.⁵ 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

The Pirir Family



Luisa (b.<1648) Ana (b.<1648) Antonio (b.<1648) Barbara (b.<1648) Ceilia (b.<1648) Paula (b.<1648) Gregorio (b.<1648) Melchior (b.<1648) Domingo (b.<1648) Marta (b.<1648) Mateo (b.<1648) Domenica (b.<1648)

Sebastián (b.>1648) Luís (b.>1648) Nicolás (b.>1648) Salvador (b.>1648) Jacinto (b.>1648)

Bartolomé (Gov. in 1725) (b.ca.1660?) Gregorio Diego Jorge Diego

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."⁶ Not coincidentally, eight individuals with the name Pirir are listed in the so-called Título del Pueblo de San Martín Jilotepéque, 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).⁷ 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.⁸ 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 Jilotepéque. 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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 plums and dance costumes.¹¹ 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 <i>andas</i>	200 <i>tostones</i>
Commissioned image of Santa Cruz	100 <i>tostones</i>
Commissioned image of San Gabriel	180 <i>tostones</i>
Commissioned image of San Antonio	180 <i>tostones</i>
Donation for retablos	50 <i>tostones</i>
Donation for procession of Pasion del Señor	20 <i>tostones</i>
Donation for lamps for church	320 <i>tostones</i>
Donation for shrine (custodia) in church	15 <i>tostones</i>
Donation for flag for Santísimo Sacramento	35 <i>tostones</i>
Donation for casulla	120 <i>tostones</i>
Donation for retablos for saints' images	2000 <i>tostones</i>
Donation for ornaments at altar of San Jacinto	170 <i>tostones</i>
Donation for retablos for Virgin Mother and Jesus	3050 <i>tostones</i>
Donation for work at Santísimo Sacramento	120 <i>tostones</i>
Donation for musical instruments	<u>100 <i>tostones</i></u>

Total:

6720 *tostones*

Summary of Property Distribution From the Testamento of
Don Miguel Perez Pirir - 1642

Gerónimo

House and lot
Small house purchased from Agustin 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

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)

Domingo

Father's house
Half of land at Juan Camey
Land house on the mountain
Land at Pachalí
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

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

Petronila

5 fanegas wheat
3 cows

Ambrosio

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

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.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 *hornamentos* 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 Gabriel 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, Santísimo 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 Gabriel
Share of land above Tapanal River
Lands at Chicastro
Lot bought from Marta Canel
House at ranch (Navoron)
San Nicolás
5 cows
Gun

Bartasal

Half of Paparqui 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

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 Agustin Cus
Lands and house at Pacjab
Gun

Lucía

Lands at Chiyaz
Coffer
Lands in ravine

Antonio

2 cows with calves

Tomás Chovis

Land bought from Juan Pirir

Guachibales - Forge

San Jacinto - Half of Cactzuy lands, cow
San Gabriel - cow
Santa Cruz - cow
San Antonio - cow
San Nicolás - cow

Juan de la Cruz

Share of Panca land
Half of Chua Zah land
Coffer
Guachibal San Gabriel
Share of land above Tapanal River
Land bought from Berrito Yoc
House and lot on river bank
Land in sugar cane
5 cows

Cristóbal

Half of Paparqui 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

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

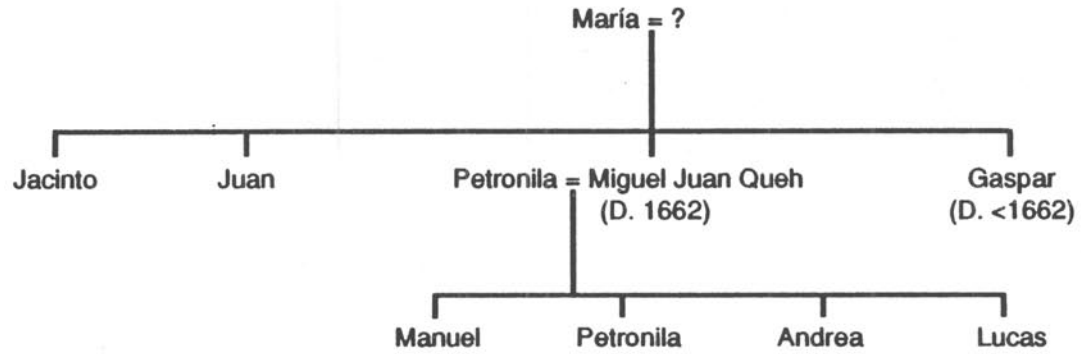
Tomás Boq

Land bought from Juan Mosin

unnamed grandson

Lands of Sebastián, deceased

The Queh Family



The Jocón Family

(Melchora Bor =) Thomás Jocón = Catharina Sian
(D. 1708)



Structure and Content of Miguel Juan Lopez Queh's Testamento

The *testamento* of Miguel Juan Lopez Queh and the statement of his mother, María, were both made on November 12, 1662 in Santiago Sacatepéquez.¹² 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 *ámparo* 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 María, Santísimo 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 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.¹³ 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, María, 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 Santísimo 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 one 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 Thomás Jocón's Testamento

This document was preserved by virtue of its presentation in a dispute between Thomás' heirs and the Pirir family, now evidently headed by Bartolomé who, at the time, was also serving as *Governador* of San Juan Sacatepéquez.¹⁴ 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 *Governador* 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 Thomás came into its possession only through marriage, not descent. As the Pirires told it, Thomás Jocón acquired the Pachali 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 Thomás, 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 *Governador*. 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 Thomás 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 Thomás' 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, Thomás Jocón's *testamento* exhibits much of the same format and patterns of property distribution that characterized the two earlier documents, despite the fact that Thomás' 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, Thomás 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 Thomás 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 Pachalí 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 Pachalí 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 Pachalí 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

Catharina Sian (wife)
land called pacaq'hay
2 cows and their calves
1 mare
1 mule

Domingo Ramos
1/2 house and solar at Pachalí
obligation of Fiesta of San Antonio
land bought from Cristóbal Jocón
1 mule
1 hoe

Juan Bizente
land bought from Martín Coz
1 cow
1 mule
1 asadon

Antonio
1 cow
1 mule
1 hoe

Estevan
1 bull

Agueda
1 heifer
1 axe

San Antonio
land in horba choi
4 mares
horse-shoeing equipment
1 bull, 7 cows, calves

Pablo
1/2 house and solar at Pachalí
obligation of Fiesta of San Antonio
land bought from Miguel Jocón
1 cow
1 mule
1 hoe

Martín
1 cow
1 mule
1 axe

Gregorio
1 mule
1 hoe

María
1 heifer

Manuela
1 heifer
1 axe

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

Translation by Munro S. Edmonson and Robert M. Hill

A. Will July 25 to August 7, 1642

In miguel peres pirir

I, Miguel Perez Pirir,

Na ban dios tta

Remember God the Father,

R uquim dios caholah
R uquim dios spiritu sancto
R ox ichil personas

And God the Son,
And God the Holy Ghost,
All three persons,

R uquim nu nima soq'ohau
Sancta ma.
Sa ui r uquim nu nima tta
San juan bapdista
Ch u vi nu tzih
In ya va miguel perez firir

And the great lady,
St. Mary,
And also my great father
St. John the Baptist,
Upon my word.
I give this, Miguel Perez Pirir,

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

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

Cazlem ch u vach uleuh
Vacamic ave nu q'quih

Life on earth.
Now if this is my time

Tan qu in el ch u vach uleuh

To leave this earth,

Quere nabey vi dios

Because God is first,

Yo Miguel Perez Pirir,
natural del pueblo de San
San Juan Sacatepequez,
digo primero en el nombre
de Dios padre
y del hijo
y del espiritu santo
que son tres personas
pero es una solo dios
todo poderoso creo
y la santisima
Maria
y mi nuestro padre
San Juan Pauptista
sobre mi palabra
yo el Miguel Perez Pirir

y mi Angel
San Miguel mi devoto
fui por su nombre

en este mundo naçi
y vivi muchos anos
en esta vida

y cumbla su divina boluntad
mi dios
me a hecho muchas merçedes
favores de mi salud
en esta vida
y agora estandome en los
trabajos enfermedades
de acabamiento de mis dias
estandome ultimo de mi vida
y assi digo primeramente dios

Ch u ui vae nu tzih
Nu testamendo

Chi qui vach nu cahol
E aca nima q'qui
Grmo.
SSi. dogo.
Juo.
Ambrosio
Tan chica
Ca sah nu tzih
In qui tta
Sa ui ch u vach nu meal ponila.
Sa vi ca dan chica
Ca sah qu naguina
Q' altes.
Regidores
C uquim chinamidal
Tan qui cha
In miguel perez firir
At ahilas vae nu pisa

Nu destamanto
Ve coh chaoh
Sa vi ma ni coh chi yoho
Vae nu tzih
Tan qui cha ch u vach dios
Sa ui ru cam va ve
Ch u vach uleuh
Sha vi a sin nabeyah
Ru tzibaxic
Ch u pan nu destamento
Ha ru oranamendo ch u pan santa yglesia
R achoch nu tta san juo.
Tan qui cha
In miguel perez firir
Ch u pan ru nima qquih nu tta
Sandiaco aspostoles
Ch u pan huuinaq voo q'quih

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 chinamital¹³
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

Yc julio
De 1642 anos

(9 Misa)

Aca r ichin v anima vae
Belehe misa cantatas chobal
R ichin nu loq'olah anima
Ch u vach v ahaval jhesu xpo

R uquim ch u vach nima soq'ohauh ma.
A dahdichao
Ch u vach ru loq'olah al jhesus
Tan qui cha chi ba
R omal nu tta pe. vicario
Ch u pa chinamit san juan baptisda
Tan qui cha
In ya va --

Aca vae ulev chicama ya
Chi puluq' tan nim ya

Chi r ichin sancta m.

xa ui quizcoh ru culbatal
Nu loq'om
Chi r ichin qqetzan yaqui
Sa ui c oh cat u nu loq'ben

Tan qui cha
In ya va
Hu cumah chi tzat culbat
C omal mayordomos
Chi r ih sancta m chicamah
ui ri uleuh --

Of the month of July
Of the year 1642.

(9 Masses)

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.

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 majordomos.
For St. Mary Jicama then is
this land.

de Santiago Apostol
en 25 dias
del mes de Julio
de 1642 anos

hagan nueve misas cantadas
que es para ayudar mi alma
ante su divina magestad de mi
señor Jesuchristo
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 dosçientos
tostones

y luego que bayan los mayor-
domos de la dicha cofradia a
ber los monjose que esta seña-
lado que es para la madre de

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

19 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 ornamento
Coh ch u pan santa yglesia
R ochoch san juo.
Hun obra ru vachibal sancto
San jhacindo
Vae hechura x in ya
R uqn 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. Mary¹⁵
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 dosçientos y sesenta
tostones por la hechura
con las andas

260 tos.

Santa cruz de mayo
Coh pa r 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 behel cal tos. hechura
Mi s in ya
In ya ua --

Uae nu limosna
Nabey chi r ih retablal

Oher lahu r os cal tostones

S in ya
In ya ua
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.¹⁸

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 çelebra en Mayo
me costo çien tostones
esta en la yglesia.

la otra ymagen esta en la
yglesia que as hechura de
san gabriel Angel
me costo çiento y ochenta
tostones

180 tos.

mas otro ymagen
de san Antonio
esta en la yglesia
me costo la hechura çiento y
ochenta tostones

180 tos.

he dado limosna
quando hiçieron Retablas en la
yglesia y a muchos años era
vicario fray bernardo horega
çinquenta tostones

50 tos.

he dado limosna veynte tostones
para el pasion del señor anda

chi ba yn
ch u pan jucu sanctos

A vae chic nu limosna
Chi r ih lanpara
Voslahu ah tostones
R uquin lahu r os
Chi r onohel nu cux
S in ya
In ya van --

Vae volahuh tostones nu
limosna
Chi r ih custodia
Coh ch u pa santa yglesia
Nu yaon
In ya va --

(page 2.)

j.

A chic vae nu limosna
Chi r ih qui yon ru bantera
Ra sanctisimo sacramendo
Huuinaq'volahuh tos.
Mi yaon
In ya va --

Vae chic hun casula q'queq'
Qu ichin animas
Ah purcadoriyo
Vaq' cal tos.
S in ya

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.

en la prosision dia de Jueves
santo

20 tos.

he dado limosnas trescientos y
veynte tostones quando hiçieron
lambra en la yglesia

320 tos.

y quando hiçieron custodia en
la yglesia le di quinze
tostones

15 tos.

limosna le di en la santa
yglesia quando hiçieron la
bandera del santissimo sacra-
mento traynta y çinco tostones

35 tos.

limosna le di en la santa
yglesia quando mercaron
hornamento casula para los
Animas de purgatorio
çiento y veynte 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 sacra 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 lahuh 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,

In the retablo
In the Holy Church,
And the five saints
Are entered
So that it winds up
Two thousand tostones for it from me
I, Miguel Perez,
I give that.

(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 retablos
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)

120 tos.

limosnas le di en la santa
yglesia quando hiçieron
Retablos entrado las ymagenes
cinco con el San Jacinto

he hastado dos mil tostones
de limosna

2110 tos.

limosnas le di en la santa
yglesia
quando mercaron los hornamen-
tos prontales
manteles
y otras çiento y setenta
tostones

en el altar de San Jaçinto
170 tos.

limosnas le di en la santa
yglesia
quando hiçe dos Retablos
una de la virgen madre de
dios y otra de santo christo
he gastado
tres mil tostones y çinquenta
tostones en dinero cabalmente
de las obras

3110 tos.

Hun cama
R ichim sanctisimo sacramento
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 vae r 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 hiçieron
la obra del santissimo
sacramento çiento y veynte
tostones
 120 tos.

limosnas le di en la santa
yglesia çien 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

Nu yaon
Ch u vach r onohel ornamedos
Sa ui qu etaan c onohel patre

Cah chi ha
Ch u pan q'a dinamit
A nic si rucace 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
 Chamalé
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-
bolverse la vida
de mi nobenta años me lo dio
dios que yo viejo de tantos
años y assi digo que

Aqui estan mis hijos y mi hija
mis netos delante de ellos
y en presençia de los alcaldes
y Regidores estando oyendo
mi testamento si acaso de aqui
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
Geronimo

y otra casa pequena
lo merque con Agustín Chamale

tambien es sera de mi hijo
Geronimo

A va hay
Coh ah cic jho. vi
R uquim vleuh
Coh pan caa

Sa ui r ichin 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 ichin nu cahol grmo.

Qui ra an culbat qui uinaq yavas
Qu e ru çamahibeh nu cahol
grmo.
Tan qui cha
n qui tta --

Nu cahol dogo. r ichin 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 averything 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
culpan

esta senalado lo mojones digo
y padre de ellos esta en la
mojon de Geronimo boch doy
a mi hijo geronimo
y con veynte 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 haçer su casa
mi neto hijo de domingo
de etro era el solar

R uquin sin tte chi coha
R uquin ma ui 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 uquim 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 estaran 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 tomara su parte
es sera monjon 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 çoq'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
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 uquin ru cahol
Ma ni chica
Is
Tan qui cha

And again there is this land at Chalí
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 twenth 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.

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
garçia 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 su hijos de domingo
tomaran sus tierras mis netos
y veynte 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 baçio
y unas tierras llamado çitavi
doy 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 çerro 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 uquin ru cahol
 Dan qui cha
 In qui tta in ya ua --

 Nu cahol anbro시오
 Sa ui nu loqom hun solar
 Chi r ichin manuel cotzehay
 Huuinaq tos. nu yaon r ichin
 Ma ni china
 Qo ch u pa
 Tan qui cha
 In qui tta in ya ua --
 A ta uae vleuh
 Nu loqom chi r ichin baltasar
 camey

R ichin nu cahol anbro시오
 Sa ui r uquin ri vleuh
 No loq'on chi r ichin juo. cech
 Ta q'as se huyu
 Sha ui r ichin nu cahol anbro시오
 Tan qui cha
 In qui tata in ya ua
 A chic vae vleuh
 Pa ya chi sot

Oher nu chembal

R ichin nu cahol anbro시오
 Ma ni china
 Qo ch u pan
 C uqn nu mam
 Sa ui r edaan anbro시오

I give this
 Just so Juan will understand
 The boundaries of this land.
 I have spoken,
 I, their father, give this.
 Ten mares for Juan
 And his son.
 I have spoken,
 I their father, I give this.

My son Ambrosio.
 I have just bought a plot
 From Manuel Cotzehay.
 Twenty tostones I paid for it.
 There isn't anything
 That is on it.
 I have spoken.
 I, their father, I give this.
 And then there is this land
 I bought from Baltasar
 Camey.

It is for my son Ambrosio.
 But together with the land
 I bought from Juan Cech
 When it fell down the mountain.
 It is just for my son Ambrosio.
 I have spoken,
 I their father, I give this
 And further there is this land
 By the river at Xot [tile].

It was formerly our field.

It is for my son Ambrosio.
 There isn't anything
 That is on it.
 And (for) my grandson.
 Just so Ambrosio will understand

padre de ellas
 y mi hijo Juan sabe los
 mojones de la tierra esta
 senalado

y diez yevas doy a mi hijo
 Juan
 es lo que digo
 yo padre de ellos.

y a mi hijo Ambrosio doy y
 entrego una solar en poder del
 ella lo merque por veynte
 tostones con manuel cotzehay
 solar baçio

y una tierra lo merque con
 bartasal camay

doy a mi hijo Ambrosio la
 dicha tierra y la otra tierra
 que merque con Juan Cech
 en los llanos debaxo del çero
 doy a mi hijo Ambrosio

mas otra tierra
 esta en la orila del rio al
 texar
 antiguamente donde lo sembra-
 mos a mucho
 doy a mi hijo Ambrosio
 no le ynpiden ni sacar en su
 poder mis netos hasta quando
 dios fuere servido y bien
 savia a mi hijo el mojones de
 la dicha tierra y si acaso

Ru culbatal
Ve ca coh
Ru cha yn
Ri gregorio chiri
Ca chi hach ri uleuh
Ch u vi ybah
Tan qui cha
In ya va qui tta
A chi ca vae vle
Ich nu Loq'om chi r ichin dio.
uit
Sa ui r ichin nu cahol anbro시오
Ma ni chi cheren
Tan qui cha

Sa ui chic chiri vleuh

Oher q'q chenbal s tuyu q'queh

Ri ri vleuh r ichin anbro시오

C uqn ru cahol

Tan qui cha
In ya va

(Marginal note:

Mi c tzih in
Miguel peres firir
Mi x ban boron ri vleuh
pa chali
R uquin vleuh huvinaq oq'
Ma ui chic r ichin anbro시오
R omal que e ra ru tzih
Qu e ru mi x bam boron

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 gleanings have already been done on the land
at Chalí,
And the land of Twenty too.
This is not for Ambrosio either,
Because they broke their word,
Since it was already gleaned,

llebantar algunos Ruidos o
daños de gregorio - entonces
partiran la dicha tierra o el
tierra esta ençima despoblado
de los antiguos llamado
chuiybah

y otra tierra
lo merque con diego vit

doy a mi hojo Ambrosio
sin que a nadie les quite ni
inpiden en su poder de mi hojo
Ambrosio
y la otra tierra que esta
veçino de la dicha tierra
a donde sambramos ya mucho
que hagan de una parte de
tierra eran dos partes pero
agora haran una de todo la
tierra
doy a mi hojo Ambrosio

y on sus hijos de Ambrosio
mis netos
digo yo
padre de ellos
y diez yemas doy a mi hojo
Ambrosio
yo enfermo padre de ellos

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
Chi jule
Chi pa missa ui pe dogo.
Chi pe ca anbro시오
Chi ri ja
Tan chi pe chul pa
Ru culbati dio. lopez bach

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

Tan qui cha
In ya va qui tta
R uquin lahuh yevas
R ichin nu cahol anbro시오
Tan qui cha
In ya va
(A chic vae vleuh ch u vui
nqcoq'
Nu loq'om chi r ichin q'quetzan
luses toy
Sa ui r ichin nu cahol anbro시오
Ch u culbat dio. lopes bach)
Ti tza el chi a ya pa

Which it says in my testa-
ment.

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.

Taan qui cha
In ya va --

A ca vae cay prava²¹ di molena

Camahibal r onohel ca tte
Chi hach
Chi qui vach nu cahol anbroisio
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'
 chi vi
Q'qu e qui çamahibal hu molah

31
Ch u cam anbroisio
Tan qui cha
In qui tta
In pe ya va
Chi tzaq'at na
Huhun macho t u chahih
R uquin dornillo
Martillo
Dinaca
Tan qui cha
In ya va --

A ca uae nu mial ponila.
Osi ru queh potro
R ichin nu mial
R uquin vo oanecas 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
juntan todo las heramientos
conteniendo no lles falten nin-
gunas del dicho heramientos
junte entonces Repartir de
cada uno tomara suyo su parte
de mis hijos Ambrosio y domin-
go geronimo digo yo padre de ellos
y que en una casa esten el
dicho prava que sacan adonde
estaba que guardan en otra
casa la prava tres hijos de mi
sobre la dicha prava quando
terna todos hechos y derechos
las heramientos porque son dos
prava la una parte tomara
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 çinco fanegas de trigo
sacan en la trilar
entreguen a mi hija
digo yo

In ya va qui tta --

A ri qui queh
nu cahol anbro시오
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 anbro시오
He hu hay vae huna elenaq'
Uquim in ru tta
Cahi queh 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 anbro시오

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.

padre de ellos.

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 quattros 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 agravian.

Tan qui cha
In ya va --

A ca vae vleuh pa chabaq'
Chi coz
Chi çoq'om
R ichin nu caho grmo.
Sa ui qu etaan culbat
Chi ah pisola ru chi
Sa ui coh cetula
Ma ni china
Q'o gromo. ch u pan vleuh
Tan qui cha
In qui tata --

A chi ca vae vleuh coh çuta

C uquin q'a loq'om ch u vi
ruq'adores
(Note: vleuh caq' tzo)

R ichin nu cohol dogo.
Sa ui coh ditulo
Ma ni china
Q'o chu u pan
Tan qui cha
In ya ua qui tta --

A chi ca ri hay coh çoq' tzuy

Sa ui r uquin he ri vleuh chi ri
hay
R ichin dogo.
Nu cahol dogo.
Sa ui c uquin ru cahol
Tan qui cha
In qui tta --

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 Pixolá
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.

y la tierra esta
en la çienica
llamado chiçoq'om
doy a mi hijo geronimo
y sabe ella las mojonos
llamado chi ahpixola
hasta llega llamada tula
no les quiten en su poder
mi hijo geronimo
digo yo
padre de ella.

y la tierra que esta en la
parte llamado çutucic quim
lo merque con el tores

doy a mi hijo domingo
y tiene titulo de la dicha
tierra y el de araba suso-
dicho tambien tiene titulo de
ella

y la otra casa que esta mas un
poco apartado y solar esta
traça de la dicha casa todo
tomara
mi hijo domingo

con sus hijos que son mis
netos doy de ella digo
y padres.

R uquin ri vleuh coh pa do
carcha
Q'a ya pago r al
R ichin nu cahol dogo.
Sa ui c uquin ru cahol
Tan qui cha
In ya qui tta --

(page 5.)

A ri prava
Mi loq'om chonis gu
Vo tuc tos. nu yaon
In migl. perez
A tu can nu cahol anbro시오
Tan qui cha
In ya va qui tta
Ma ni chu cach ri anbro시오

Pa nu q'asel qui tos.
S ti ho bes ri anbro시오

C omal cay fizcial
Grmo. or u bi
Mama ah mez gu
Vo tuc tos. r ahil mamaa

Su nu ya in ru tta
Sn ho bos anbro시오 hun huna

Sa ui ma ni sn ho tah

Mi cahol chiri
Sa ui s nu ban chic concierdo

R uquin hun chic ofizcial
Dio.
Sa ui a mes cu

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.

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.

These tostones are in my loan.
Ambrosio will have to eke it out

With two officials,²²
Guillermo Or by name,²³
An Elder from Mixco.
Five score tostones was the Elder's price.

I gave it, I, his father.
Ambrosio can eke it out in a year.

But if he doesn't scrape it together,

My son here,
I'll just make a new arrangement

With another official,
Diego,
Also from Mixco.

y la tierra esta otra parte
otra banda del rio llamado
patocar esta en la corral
doy a mi hijo domingo

digo yo
padre de ella.

digo mas por el dicho prava

me costo duçientos 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 ofiçiales 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 official quando fue
enseñando a mi hijo Ambrosio
llamado geronimo natural de
miscu duçientos tostones tomo
el official el salario de ella
por un año de enseñar a mi
hijo

paso a otra official
llamado Diego

Sa ui hun chic huna sn hos
 anbrosio
Quere sin ya cu hun ri pragua

Chi r ichin anbrosio
Vo tuc tos. nu yaon.

A ca ri nima chic
S in loq' pan choy
Va q' cal tos. nu yaon
A chi qui chinah ru nimal

Tan qui cha
Sa vui chi mole çamahibal chi
 r ih
Ma ni qu e ru chohih
Ru nimal ri anbrosio

Tan qui cha
In qui tta in pe ya va --

A ri sancta cruz
R uquin san jhacinto
Nu cahol dogo.
Chi cuslaan ch u pan r onohel
 huna
Ch u cuslaah missa
Sermo
Chi qui vach p.
Tan qui cha
In qui tta in pe ya va

Tan chi ca casah nu tzih --

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.

tambien de miscu
bolvio enseño otra ves
prendio la offiçio a mi hijo
Ambrosio hiçe conçierto por un año

tambien duçientos tostones
he gastado de enseñar a mi
hijo y asi no les diga ninguna
cosa mi dichos doy una prava
para trabaja y que calle la
boca no diga otras cosa
contrarias porque duçientos
tostones me costo el dicho
pragua cosa mia

y no diga plabras contrarias
a sus hermanos ni molestias ni
danos agravios que esten con
buena boluntad entre hermanos
al uno al otro hagan lo que
quisieren en sus pragua que
que entregue todos las
heramientos para la Reparti
miento de ellas el dicho
Ambrosio entregara a sus
hermanos digo y padre de ellos

digo yo enfermo que el santa
cruz y san Jaçinto
mi hijo domingo hara la fiesta
de cado años çelebrar la dicha
fiesta ella dara limosnas de
la misa
sermon queda en su cargo a mi
hijo domingo
digo yo
padre de ellas

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 --

E ca ri grmo. dogo.
 E qui nimal nu cahol

Qu e qui mol ri chicop baca

Qui cab ichal

Ch u gui ru canoxic choq' ich

Querri acienta
 Quere qui cab ichal
 Nu cab ichal grmo. dogo.
 Ch u ui ri baca
 A ca ri vecoh qui chaoh

Chi qui ya e chi qu ibil
 Qui chiri ca ti hach chi qui
 vach

Ta qui cha
 In qui tta qui cab ichal

Chi qui tzet c ochoch

Ri astncia navoron
 Tan qui cha
 In ya ua --

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.

And then there are Gerónimo and Domingo
 They are the eldest of my sons.

They herd the livestock,

Both of them

Are over the keep of the property

Since it is agreed,
 Since there are both of them,
 Both my Geronimo and Domingo
 Over the cattle.
 And so if there should be any trouble

They give each other,
 Then they should divide between
 them.

I have spoken,
 I who am father to both of them.

Let them look after their (own) homes.

(And) the ranch of Navoron.
 I have spoken.
 I give this.

digo yo que mi hijo
 Ambrosio tomara çinco bacas
 sera suyo
 doy a mi hijo

digo yo

digo yo doy a mi hijo juan
 çinco bacas tomara el lo sabe
 si lo mata o no como quere
 digo y padre de ellas

y los dos mis hijos geronimo
 y domingo ambos quere cogen
 las bacas juntar porque son
 hijos de mi trabajaron tanto
 quando peso comiença la
 haçienda ambos mis hijos
 buscaron trabajaron de
 Recoyer y asi quedan ambos
 sobre las dichas bacas y que

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

y el estançia 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
R os 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 ru q'a dogo.

Tan t in ya qui cam

Ma ni coh chi yacoahaah

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

Cahi ca nimal
Ca s u camel
Cay ru chacat vaq'a
Q'qui taq' 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 deer²⁵
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.

dores mando que mi hijo domin-
go tomara ella queda en su
poder todo como esta los
dichos plumas y bestidos sin
que ninguna de ellas no
agraviar ni ynquietando a mi
hijo domingo y a mi hijo
Ambrosio ya abra nueve años
salio de mi casa poco me
servio y no me a dado ni si
quiere medio Real dende que
salio nunca me a dado cosa y
asi mi hijo Ambrosio no tiene
que ber con su hermano no le
agraviar ni toca sosadicho a
mi hijo Ambrosio ya tomo su
parte quartro metates de moler
y dos bantequillos me costo
a seis Reales le di cada uno
banquetillos

digo y

digo yo enfermo que el montaña
a donde caçar los caçadores
y el dicho montana tiene rios
he mercado tengo titulo de
ella queda en poder de mi hijo
domingo que los muchachos mis
netos caçaran en ella

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 iloq' chahin can
Tan q cha
In ya va
Sa chi vach dios tta
Ah dios caholah
Dios espiritu sancto
R os 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 --

Indeed 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.

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

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

Miguel perez pirir

Franco. lopes
Altes. --
Dogo. perez
Altes. --
Po. cabal
Regidores
Raymodo julu
Regidores
Franco. coz
Regidores

Grmo. firir

Dogo. fifir

Aaupin cus --
Dio. lopez bach
Principal
Gaspar firir
R uma yaua
Miguel ah tzib
Cabildo
Dogo. perez chamale
Principal

(page 10.)

B. codicil of January 23, 1648

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

Francisco Lopez,
Alcalde.
Domingo Perez,
Alcalde.
Pedro Cabal,
Regidor.
Raimundo Julu,
Regidor.
Francisco Hernandez Coz,
Regidor.

Geronimo Pirir
[Juan Pirir]
Domingo Pirir
[Ambrosio Pirir]
[Gregorio Pirir]
Agustin Cus
Diego Lopez Bach,
Principal.
Gaspar Pirir.
For the invalid.
Miguel, Scribe,
[of the] Cabildo.
Domingo Perez Chamale,
Principal.

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,

francisco lopez
alcalde
domingo perez
alcalce
____ Cabal
Regidores
Reymundo sulu

Francisco hernandes coz

gregorio pirir
juan pirir
domingo pirir
Ambrosio pirir
gregorio pirir
Agustin Cuz
diego lopez boch
principal
gaspar pirir
Ante mi yo Miguel Ahtzib
escrivano
de Cabildo
Domingo Perez chamale
principal

Jesus Maria Joseph

yo
miguel perez pirir viejo

Xa ui ca in caz vacami
Ch u pam 23 henero
De 1648
Vacami ca ton chi quer chaoh

C omal nu cahol grmo.
Juo.
Ambrosio
Tan ti qui chohih vae domingo

A tan t u ban ru camah ch uv ih

In ma
Miguel perez firir
Vae huna
Mi s e nu hach ui
S nu ban ui
Nu destamendao 1642 =

Nu cahol grmo. =

Volahu tos. s u cam
- 300 tos.
Huuinaq cablahuh yeuas s e ru cam

- 32 yeuas
Huuinaq' lahuh canados s e ru cam
- 30 bacas

Volahuh manso mula s e ru cam
- 15 mula macho --

Vahsaq'quil yunta boyes s e ru
can

- 8 yuntos boyes
Vo cal che cab e cah pan caa ca
ru cam
- 100 che cab =

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

oy en veynte y tres dias del
mes de henero de 1648 años
oy Repartir las cosas para mis
hijos porque queren hacer o
llebantar pleytos contradic-
ciones entre ellas mis hijos
contrarios estan pelendo
geronimo juan Ambrosio estos
tres contra a domingo legitimo
heredero de mi casa que esta
sirviendo de mi buena voluntad
de ella que yo padre de ellas
ya tantos anos me sirviendo
domingo que las otras
que el dicho testamento

de 42 año

mi hijo geronimo

treçientos tostones tomo

y traynta y dos yevas tomo

y traynta gando bacas tomo

y quince mulas masos tomo

y ocho yuntas bueyes tomo

y cinco colmena de miel tomo
geronimo mi hijo -----

= nu cahol anbrosio =

Volahuh bacos s e ru cam anbrosio

- 15 bacas

Lahuh yevas s e ru cam

- 10 yeuas

Cahi yuntas boyes

- 4 yunta boyes

Cay mula -- cahi caballo s e ru

ca

- 6

Hun prava s u cam anbrosio vaq

cal tos.

- 120 tos.

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

y mi hijo Ambrosio lo entregue

quinçe bacas tomo

y diez yevas tomo

y quatro yuntas bueyes tomo

y dos mulas y quatro bestias

y una pragua

y çiento y veynte tostones

Recibio a mi hijos Ambrosio

susodicho de ariba ya estan

entregado cosas tuyas no aya

de ber con otro mi hijo que es

domingo el Repartimiento de

ellas esta cumblido del dicho

testamento -----

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 --

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

Miguel Perez Pirir.

C. Insert by Domingo Perez Pirir, 1650

Ch u pan vae huna

Mi x nu hach chic

Hun ru quch

In this year

I have already divided

One pair

Va na ponila
R ixhail gaspar chamale
Yn
Domingo perez pirir
Caballo morcillo
Huna
1650 anos --

(page 7.)

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
Vae 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.

jesus maria joseph

yo viejo
miguel perez pirir
el dicho mi testamento
hiçe en el año pasado
de 1642
y asi fue bolberme en
esta vida me lo dio dios mi
salud termino unos siete
ocho años

enfermedad estando me echado
en la cama ya no tengo fuerçea
viejo de tantos años y asi
estando los Alcaldes y
Regidores en presençia de
ellas

y los Chinamitales
digo you que estoy muy
acabado y asi hago escripvir
algunos dichos
digo ante dios nuestro
señor

= nu cahol anbrozio =

Volahuh bacos s e ru cam anbrozio
- 15 bacas
Lahuh yevas s e ru cam
- 10 yeuas
Cahi yuntas boyes
- 4 yunta boyes
Cay mula -- cahi caballo s e ru
ca
- 6
Hun prava s u cam anbrozio vaq
cal tos.
- 120 tos.

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

y mi hijo Ambrosio lo entregue

quinçe bacas tomo
y diez yevas tomo
y quatro yuntas bueyes tomo
y dos mulas y quatro bestias

y una pragua
y çiento y veynte tostones
Recibio a mi hijos Ambrosio
susodicho de arriba ya estan
entregado cosas tuyas no aya
de ber con otro mi hijo que es
domingo el Repartimiento de
ellas esta cumblido del dicho
testamento -----

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 --

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

Miguel Perez Pirir.

C. Insert by Domingo Perez Pirir, 1650

Ch u pan vae huna
Mi x nu hach chic
Hun ru quch

In this year
I have already divided
One pair

Va na ponila
R ixhail gaspar chamale
Yn
Domingo perez pirir
Caballo morcillo
Huna
1650 anos --

(page 7.)

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
Vae 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.

jesus maria joseph

yo viejo
miguel perez pirir
el dicho mi testamento
hiçe en el año pasado
de 1642
y asi fue bolberme en
esta vida me lo dio dios mi
salud termino unos siete
ocho años

enfermedad estando me echado
en la cama ya no tengo fuerçea
viejo de tantos años y asi
estando los Alcaldes y
Regidores en presençia de
ellas

y los Chinamitales
digo you que estoy muy
acabado y asi hago escripvir
algunos dichos
digo ante dios nuestro
señor

A ri uleu chicama ya
Chi puluq'
X in ya chi
R ichin sancta ma. --

X qui cam mor.domos
Tan chi sa
Chi r ih q'a loq'olah te
vacami --

Xa ui lahuh ts.a trigo
Loq'obal clavs
R ichin xuui r ocho q'a tt.a

San ju.o bappta.
Xa ui x oc
X loq' pe ri clavs --

Xa ui voo tsa. trigo
X in ya chi r ichin
Nu loq' te ma. --

Xa ui nu banom
Chi entrecar oquinaq'
Chi nay pe ch u pan castos
C omal mor.domos
A ca vae x in tzibah
Ch u pam nu destamento
Eoq' r ah xicam
X in cochih
Chi cahala termino
Chi r ichin nu dios
Quere x in ban ui
Entreca ch u pan nu cazlem --

This land on Jícama 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.

que la tierra he dado de
limosna de la santa Cofradia
de nuestra señora en el rio de
mecate chipulul

ya asta en poder de los mayor-
domos que es para
la virgen madre de dios

y mas diez anegas de trigo
doy por limosna para mercar
los clavos para la obra de
nuestro padre
san juan pauptista
y lo dichos anegas de trigo
ya esta escrito todo en mi
testamento

Xa ui quere nu cahol anbro시오
Xa ui x u cam r onohel r ichin

X in ya
Ch u pan nu destamento
Xa ui ch u pan vae 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

Xere vae ru 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
Regor.
Juo. patzan
Regor.
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
y tomo de todo lo que Reça el
testamento cosas suyo y Reçi-
bio todas contenido en el
testamento en este dia lo
entregue çedulas para que
guarde y cumpla en mi mandado
en ella y mi hijo geronimo
y juan ya tomaron cosas suyas
conforme el testamento que
hiçe años pasados y asi si mi
muere oy manana cumbla su
divina boluntad /mi dios y asi
hago esta senales oy en diez
nuebe dias del mes de junio de
1648 años

domingo alvarez
alcalbe
gaspar lopez
alcalbe
juan maxin
Regidores
pablo chitay

juan patzan

Agustin garcia
gaspar lopez

Destigo
Juan xaitz
Franco. hican
Domingo perez pirir
Grmo. pirir
Juo. pirir --
Ambrosio pirir
Sebastian ah tzib
Cabildos

(page 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 vae 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

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

juan xais
francisco hican
domingo pirir
geronimo pirir
juan pirir
Ambrosio pirir
sebastian
ahtzib cabildo

jesus maria joseph

en Catorçe dias del mes de
octubre
de 1648
años
en el nombre de dios padre
y del hijo
y del espiritu santo
son tres personas pero es
una solo dios poderoso
y la santissima maria
madre de dios
y mi padre
san juan pauptista
y san miguel Archangel
higo mi testamento
yo enfermo viejo
miguel perez pirir
hice mi testamento en el año
1642 que avia dado
a mi hijo Ambrosio dos ymagen
de san gabriel

Sa cabriel
San antonio
A na eq' ti bano qui procesio
Qui sexemo xu aho
Ma ni cata t u ba

R omal quexe na eq' nu iaan

Ch u pa ru nimal testameto
Ca vach cam icha
Qui cam
Ta ca qui chacan
Ch u pan vaie nu tih
Ta ti canah
Quere ma ni ca chaoh
T u ia r omal ru nimal domingo
Ta qui camahin vi sato
Ve ai t u ia e chaoh
T u xa vi
Ma ni ti ia
Coh ch u vach vlev
Hu c u mah ti cam
R uquin t u chahi ri ra vachibal
hesu xo.
R uquim q'a te
S. ma.
R uquin S. anto.
S. cabiel
S.ta. curuz
R onohel orameto
Coh pa s.ta. yglesia
Ma ui r oquibal
Uta ta padre
Utz ta pe castilan
Justa.
T ul chohin
Ma ni c oquibal
R omal xa pa s va an

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?

y san antonio
para acudir haçer çelebrar
las fiestas de los santos
y no hiço caso de ella
quebrando mi mandado el dicho
Ambrosio desobediente mal
agradeçido envidioso y asi
digo no hara ni deçir
ni ynquieten sus hermanos
con agravios

mando
en este testamento

no les hagan mal
a mi hijo Domingo
porque es una obediente
esta sirviendo los dichos
ymagen de çelbraçion en las
fiestas de cada años
el dicho mi hijo Ambrosio
no tiene que ber con las de mi
trabajo ganado las platas de
que haçer los hornamentos
es de mi sudor y trabajo
he ganado que mi hijo
Ambrosio no tiene
que ber que en mis manos salio
el dinero que he gastado
en las hornamentos
en la santa yglesia
y que mis hijos no lo saben
como he hallado el dinero
quando hice las doras

en la santa yglesia
y asi ningunas de ellas
no tiene que ber
con mi haçienda

Ma x pe vi
x in ia pa r ochoch dios

Ma ni qu etan nu cahol

Ba sin coil me. hu tomin

Quere x t in ban vi
Ca vaie nu testameto --
x ve ca t u iac chaoh
Anbroxio
Grmo.
Juo.
Huha ca retabla
Ti be qui boq'o
El pa. s.do. iglexia

Ti gui caih chiri
Ca tel vi
Ve ti caho toz.

R omal nu nibila qui tos.

Mi s in calic
Xa ta nu chahin
A ta ca r omal ti qui iac
chahoh qu e =
Ta tiquibal vaie testameto

In ia va qui tto.
Ame
Jesus

(page 12.)

A ca vaie voo casa
Coh ceroso ch u vach
R uquin osi ah chim e
Q' e n ya nu cahol Dominco

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 then 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 boxes²⁷
That have latches on the front²⁸
And three bags,
I give them to my son Domingo,

y asi quere mis hijos dinero
que buscan como yo
he buscado mis bienes
mando ninguna de ellas
no llebantán pleytos
porque cosa mia
están en la santa yglesia

digo yo ningunas de ellas
ni Ambrosio
ni geronimo
ni juan
que callen todas
lo que he dado
poco o mas
que dios fuere servido
porque yo ningunas dinero
he tomado para ellos
mis hijos
esta es mi testamento
sin ninguna persona
no puede destruir
que es mi mandado
mi poder
dexo en esta vida

Amen
Jesus

digo mas que los cinco casa
tiene cerosos
y mas tres casas de totonica-
pan queda con mi hijo domingo
estara sobretodo porque tiene
hijos mis netos otros que no

Ti cohe ch u vi
R omal e vuq'u v i nu mam

- caspar
- sebastia
- diego
- baltazar
 cahi ri casato
- petar
- ala juo. te la curuh
- cristobal
 ma ha ni gu e cule
- c ana ma.
 franca.
 lucia
- vaue ca cal gu val

 ci nima c onohel
- luvisa
- ana
- banto.
 barbula
 cecilia
 pabul
 gregorio
 melchior
 dominco
 marta
 mateo ru chaq'
 domenica

(page 13.)

A ca r omal ta t in canah
Ch u vach nu cahol domingo
R omal etan qu e camahin

Which are for him
Because of (his) seven of my grandchildren.

Gaspar
Sebastián
Diego
Baltazar
The four who are married
Pedro
The boy Juan de la Cruz
Cristobal:
But we don't have their sisters.
Our Ana Maria
Francisca
Lucía
And then the great grandchildren

All of them.
Luisa
Ana
Antonio
Barbara
Ceilia
Puala
Gregorio
Melchior
Domingo
Marta
Mateo, her younger brother
Domenica

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

estan casados otros casados
para ayuda de casar mis netos
el suso dicho de ariba el de
domingo tiene hijos
Aqui estan nombrados
el siguiente
gaspar
sebastian
diego
bartasal
son casados
pedro
juan de la cruz
christobal
y muchachas hermanos de ariba
maria
francisca
lucia
y pisnetos hijos de ariba

luvisa
Ana
Antonio
barbla
sesilla
paula
gregorio
melchor
domingo
marta
mateo
dominica

asi dexo las cosas suyas y sus
hijos del dicho domingo porque
me ha hecho tantas merced
favores me esta sirviendo y

V ichin 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
V ichin nu mocanil
In qui mam
Ve chuvaq'
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.

Es uo s. pedro

(page 14.)

Yn
Miguel perez firir
Vae
Memoria
R ichin sancto yglesa
R ichin san Juo. bapdista
R ochoch sancta mariya
Vae ca obra
Nu yaon pa r ochoch dios
Xa coh ch u pan nu destamendo
In mama
Miguel pz =

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 trabaxo enfer-
medades que mis netos me sir-
ben bien que yo a que lo de
ellas me estan favoreciendo
en mi enfermedad y ellas me
haran merçedes de mi cuerpo
mi entiero

siendo testigo

pedro perez to(c)ais de
San Pedro
Amen Jesus thomas de aquino
escrivano del pueblo de
san pedro çacatepeque

en cinco dias del mes de abril
de 1692 años lo traslade el
testamento del dicho difunto

miguel perez pirir natural del
pueblo de san juan çacatepeque
conforme lo que Reça
el testamento estaba en lengua
de popoluca digo yo yndio
escribano del pueblo de
Jocotenango
Como chrstinamente
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 otro bartasal

y tambien el diego

- pedro

- Juan de la Cruz

- x^obal

no he de borar todo el sus parte

el que 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 corason 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 tambien 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 eneste en 26 de abril de 1660 ano ----

Estas mi primer palabra delante dios
y delante Santa Maria
y tabien delante padre Santo San Juan Bautista
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 leugo 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 mujer 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 trabajan dentro las tierras estos monjones
en Chuaz ah

(Page 2)

en sima del para chicoj salida
y ba derocho 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 nieta
= 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 llabe 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 llabe
digo yo
tambien que lo da la limosna
para le selebrasion del santo San tonio
dentro de cada un ano
los dos diego y pedro
los agan fiesta del santa 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 selebrasion 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
biene 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 rio Rual par quiy
 y las tierras onde esta la casa es para mi hijo bartasal
 - las tierras questan 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 mojones 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 Rio de tapanal
 dos beses conpre en su mano de Francisco Cos
 y tambien un pedaso en su mano de benito Segvad
 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 mojones
 digo yo padre de ellos -----

el mi nieto tomas boq'
 las tierras lo compre 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 Segvad.
 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.

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las tierra biene subiendo chua nima che
parese su monjones todos
para mis hijo Xpobal
nay de que lo enquiento 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

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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 chiauitalchiah 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 serca 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 Chicastro,
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 Chiavitalichiah 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 questa en paquehoh
en la orilla del aua de blas q'olon
es para mijo pedro
nay de que le tocan
digo yo

las tierras questa dentro la barranca
tengo comprado de domingo coloj
dies tos. le di
es para mi hija lusia
tiene sedula de compra
nay de que lo en quieto
digo yo

las tierras questa 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 en quieto
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 hasicnda de la casa bieja chuavit
ba derecho hasta llegar ensima de la cuesta
biene bajando en la serca biejo
biene ensima de la cuesta a topar la cerca de maz
hasta llegar onde estaba la rancho biejo 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 onde empesamos 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

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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 Sienea
no mas esta monjones
es para Santa Cruz
digo yo padre de ellos -----

las tierras tengo comprado de diego curup, difunto
lo mismo tiene sedula de compra
parese 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 comprado 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 -----

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.

The additional lands surrounding these lands
Run down until arriving
At the edge of the old fence
Of the cochineal field²⁹.
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 agustin 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 bartasal
con el otro pedaso tengo comprado en mano
del difunto luis queh
pero que lo agan un roja para esta casa onde 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 sercado 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 Xpobal
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 cofradía of Saint Mary of the Rosario,
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 ano 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 Gaspar mi hijo

el otra casa que mira en San P^o
es para miho 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 P^o
no tiene casa
que

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lo comunicaron una casa de P^o
las tierras questan en la orilla del plantanallo
que lo agan la casa de comun
y cinco bacas para P^o

las tierras questa en dentro las cana
es para miho 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
que no 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
uno para diego
uno para bartasal
que no lo bentan suyo de cada uno
digo yo

64 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
que le dieron mis hijos enprestado
para sacar el ayudar para Fiesta por todo dentro un ano
y tambien si quisieren aser sus obra de cada un mis hijos
que 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
son 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 jeramiento para los santos
ni un mis hijos que lo bentan
digo y^o 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 S^r Jesuchristo
primeramente me a de perdonar mi dios
y mi P^c saserdote
esta en el pueblo
quando yo me muera que benga mi P^c 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 tostons
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 ano.

Juan peres curup alcalde	pedro morales ayapan alcalde
Jasinto varesvit regidor	Gaspar achovis regidor
Gaspar peres chamale regidor	Gaspar lopes boch regidor

Gaspar peres chamale	Gaspar peres pirir
bartasal peres pirir	Gaspar achovis regidor
Juan de la Cruz pirir	Xpobal pirir

Francisco Pirir escribano

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

Juan Perez Curup - Justice	Pedro Morales Ayapan - Justice
Jacinto Varesuit - Councilman	Gaspar Achovis - Councilman
Gaspar Peres Chamale - Councilman	Gaspar Lopes Boch - Councilman

Gaspar Peres Chamale	Gaspar Peres Pirir
Baltasar Peres Pirir	Pedro Pirir James Pirir
Juan de la Cruz Pirir	Cristóbal Pirir

Francisco Pirir, scribe

Will of Miguel Juan Queh, Nov. 12, 1662

(Page 1)

Pa ru bi dios tata
Ru uq dios caholah
R uq dios espiritu santo
Quere oq' t u ha
(A)men xesus

Ch u pan cab lahuq q'ih
R ahilabal de nobiembre
De 1662 ano
Tan t in ban vi nu testamento,
Yn yava miguel jua queh
Tan tira vi qui tz'ih
Y u tzih nu dios
V ahabal jesuchristo
Ruquin ru tz'ih nu loq'olah te

San yglesia catolica
Tan t in ya b animax
Pa ru q'a nu jesuchristo
Ma ni naq' tus
Ti co vi
Ben xe vi
Vae nu tzih
Tan t in vacan
Ch u pan vae nu testamento =

Vae nabey nu tzih ch u vach
dios =
Hun anegas hal
R ichin nu tta. Santiago
Tan qu icha
Yn yava =
Hun q'q'an hal
R ichin nu te
Santa Maria =

Translation by Munro S. Edmonson and Robert M. Hill

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.

En el nombre de dios padre
y dios hijo
y dios espiritu santo
Assi sea Amen Jhesus

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 Jesuchristo
y la palabra de la santa madre
yglesia catolica
y encomiendo mi anima en las manos
de mis senor Jesuchristo
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 =

Hun q'q'an hal
R ichin Santissimo Sacramento
Tan qu i cha
Yn yava =
Hun q'q'an hal
Qu ichin animas
Ah purgadorio
Tan cha
Yn yava =

Vae nabey nu testamento
Xa hu mul
Tan t u vi qui tz'ih
X u tzih nu dios
Ma ni hun
Ti ya qo
Chi oh chiri
Vae nu testamendo =

Ca liah uleuh
Coh pan ybah =
Hu liah coh chi r uleulbal
Baltasar nuaq' =
Hu liah coh chi ru culbat
Margos tzii =
Ti r ichinah nu meal
Po,nila
Ta qu i cha
Yn yava =
Ma ni bi ca ti cheren =

Hu liah uleuh
Coh pa chali
Chi ru culbat
Tomás conçales
A vi r ichin nu meal
Po,nila
Cha yava =

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.³⁴
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 Gonzalez.
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 ninqueno lo ponga en pleyto
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
dise el enfermo =

Hu liah uleuh
 Coh pa chali
 Chi ru culbat Juo. chioc
 Chi bey
 Chi r ichinah nu meal
 An[trey]a
 Cha yava =

Hun açaron ti r ichinah
 nu meal
 An[trey]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 uleh
 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 machete³⁵
 For my older brother,
 Juan.
 He has spoken,
 The invalid.

One plot of land
 Is in Chalí
 Which borders on
 Agustín 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 Gonzales =

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 açadones
 Che q' ichinah nu meal
 Antreya
 Ma ni naq' bi cheren
 Tan qu i cha
 Yn yava =

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

Hu liah uleuh
 Coh pan ybah
 Pa ru uleuh pablo ruyal yc
 Chi r ichinabal nu chaq'
 Jacinto ah san Juo.
 Cha yava =

Liah uleuh
 Coh pan ybah
 Pa ru uleuh chamale
 Chi r ichinah v ixhayl
 Po.nila
 Cha 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 land³⁶
 That are on the land I refer to,
 Which are to belong to my son³⁷
 Lucas (Queh),
 The son of my later younger brother,
 Gaspar (Queh).
 Let there be nothing to disturb it.
 I have spoken,
 I, the invalid.

One plot of land
 Is in Ibah
 By the land of Pablo Ruyal 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 Chamalé
 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 esta con tierras di
 quintzis
 a de ser para mi hijo
 Lucas
 hijo de mi hermano
 Gaspar
 nadie se entrevenga en ello
 dise el enfermo (=)

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

unas tierras que esta en
 Panybah
 con tierras de Chamale
 a de ser para mi muger
 Petronilla
 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 soztz

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

Chan
Cha yava =

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

One hoe
Is to belong to my son,
Lucas (Queh)
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.³³
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 Queh,
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
sinque nadie se lo ympida =

y unas tierras grandes
que esta por encima
donde le llaman yapic soztz
que es potrero
se queda para donde coman
sus bestias de
mis hijos
y hijas
en todos tiempos
dise el enfremo =

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 compre con Juan Pasqual
eso se queda de mas que aora
poco a lo ube y (=)
y este mi testamento

Ch ahilzx mi x in ban
Can utzilah hachbal
Chi qui va chinamital

(Page 2)

A ca richq'a chig
V acienta
R umal x u ya dios ch u
 cuchin

Ma ni bi la c oquibal
Nu meal chi r ichin
Ri uleuh riquin
Ri trigos
Ri tan coh ch u ui r aq'an
Vae r uma hu vi
Chi memoria
Tan t in canah vi can chiri
Chi q'alahin vi
Ch u pan ri memoria
Tan t in can chi r ichin
Santa yglesia catolica =

Ma ni x oquibal nu nimal Juo.
Chi r ichin manil
Gu algal
Xac r ichin vi
santa yglesia

Ri ma x nu canah r onohel

Ch u pan vae memoria
Ma ni nu x in u quicah
Ch u pan vae nu testamento
Mi x vi qui q'ibeh ru tzih
V ahaval jesuchristo
Mi x in ya v animax
Pa ru q'a nu dios

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

se a de leer
en que yo e hecho
buena reparticion entre

mis hijos (=)
y de lo demas de mi hacienda
porque dios me lo a dado a mi

no tienen mas que ber mis hijos en ello
las tierras
y el trigo que esta sembrado

porque en otra memoria
lo tengo de dejar
que alli a de dejar
que alli a deparecer
en le memoria que lo dejo
para la santa yglesia catolica =

no tiene que ber mi hermano
Juan en ello
ni mis hijos
porque ya es de
la santa yglesia
lo que dejo (=)

no mas de esta es
mi palabra
de mi senor Jesuchristo
que ya le doy mi anima
en sus manos de mi dios

R uquin r ox ichal personas
Chi qui vach alcaldes
Regidores
C uquin nu chinamital
Tan t in calnah

Vae nu testamento
Yn yava
Miguel Juo queh --
En 12 de nobiembre
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.

Agustín Gomez, Alcalde.
Pablo Hernández, Alcalde.
Lucas Perez,
Miguel Vásquez,
Diego Lopez,
Alonso Vásquez, Regidores.

Domingo Perez Suy
Sebastián González
Juan Queh
Jacinto Aliz
Juan Tomás Aquino Sot
Sebastián Lopez Tzatz

Pedro Hernández,
Scribe

que son tres personas (=)
por ante mis alcaldes
y regidores
y mis parientes
que es mi chinamital

dejo este mi testamento
yo el enfermo
Miguel 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 Cuy =
Sebastian Gonzales =
Juan Ques,
Jacinto de San Juan
Tomas Aguino sot =
Sebastian Lopes tzatz =

Pedro Gernandes
escrivano
Felipe de Molina

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

(Page 1)

en 12 del mes
de noviembre
de 1662 anos
Tan t in ba vi can
Hu utzilah o memoria
Un atit
Maria
R uq ri v alqual
Juo.
Ma ni coh este q'eah
Can chi r ichin.
Vae r ichin caminaq'
Q'etzan miguel
Q'itzih vae yn atit
A r omal ma ni hu
Es t uv e vah

Hu liah uleuh
Coh ch u vi nima parax
R uqin hu liah
Coh ch u vi chuti parax
Hu vinaq' tostones nu loq'om
Chi r ichin q'etzan dio. queche
Chi cayx
Cha yava =

Hu liah uleuh
Coh chi r ih r ochoch
Gaspar yanii
Chi cayx
Cha caminaq' =

Hu liah uleuh
Coh chi juo. goq'in
Nima uleuh

On the 12th of the month
Of November
Of the year 1662
I am going to give testimony
An Excellent memorial
As his grandmother
María
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'in
Expensive land

en 12 dias del mes
de noviembre
de 1662 anos
hago esta
una buena memoria
yo bieja
Maria
con este mi hijo
Juan
que no le puede ocultar nada
lo que es suyo
y es lo que era del difunto
Miguel que es mi hijo
yo bieja
por lo qual
ni uno puedo ocultar

mas tierras
en cima de Nima Parax le llaman
y otra
esta por en cima de Chuti Parax
en biente tostones lo compre
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,
Says the deceased.

que se venda
dixo eo difunto

Cha nimaq' liah uleuh chembal
Y hu go sahum
X u yuq'em vi
Rii v o tuc tostones nu yaon
Xa vi a ti be vi
Cha caminaq' =

Four large plots of cleared land
And one that is at Sahum.
It is just pasture.
The 100 tostones I paid³⁹
That is what it should go for,
Says the deceased.

cuatro tierras juntos
de sembrar trigo
que estan incorporados
doscientos tostones di por ello
en eso mismo se venda
dixo el difunto

V o liah uleuh
Coh chi rapel
Xa vi v o tuc tostones
Ti be vi
Cha = caminaq' =
Hu liah uleuh
Coh pa coral
Chi ru culbat sebastian
tzatz

Five plots of land
Are at Rapel.
Just 100 tostones
It should go for,
Says the deceased.
One plot of land
Is at the corral
Which borders on Sebastián

cinco tierras juntos
que esta en Chirrapel
asimismo en doscientos tostones
se benda
dixo el difunto
unas tierras
que esta en el corral
que esta con mojon de Sebastian

Chi cayx
Cah caminaq' =

Tzatz
It should be sold,
Says the deceased.

Tzatz
que se venda
dixo el difunto

Hu liah uleuh
Chi marroquin
Chi cayx
Cha caminaq' =

One plot of land
At Marroquín
Is to be sold,
Says the deceased.

unas tierras
que esta junto a Marroquin
que se venda
dixo el difunto

Hu liah uleuh
Xa vi chiri coh vi
Chi marroquin
Cah lahuh tostones nu yaon
Chi r ichin fraco. vir
Xa vi a ti be vi
Cha caminaq' =

One plot of land
Is just right here
At Marroquín
I paid 14 tostones fot it
To Francisco Vir,
That is what it should go for,
Says the deceased.

otras tierras
asimismo esta junto
a Marroquin
catorse tostones le di
a Francisco Vir
que en el dicho precio se benda
dixo el difunto

Hu cholah cam uleuh
Coh chi marroquin
Pa ru uleuh po. taquis =

One strip of the common land⁴⁰
Is at Marroquín
By the land of Pedro Taquis.

mas otras tierras
que esta junto a Marroquin
y de Pedro Taquis

6 ttos. nu yaon
Ya vi a ti be vi
Cha caminaq' =

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One plot of land
Is at Pascar.
It is to be sold,
Says the deceased.
There are only these lands.
I have finished the listing.
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 costumes⁴¹
For the Moors⁴²
There are a dozen feathers;
There is still something to be done⁴³
On the work;

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

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

unas tierras
que esta por detras de la cruz
grandes tierras
que se benda

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

unas tierras
que esta en Chipascar
que se benda
dixo el difunto
no ay mas tierras
sin que e acabado todo de escribir
cinco rrejas 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

Coh v o queh
Coh xaq'i
Coh can --

Vae ca halataq'
Ru mebayl caminaq'
Coh chi r ih vinaq'
Vae qui bi =

6 ttos. coh chi r ih Joseph Burra =
hun peso coh chi r ih estevan hitz =

6 ttos. 1 R. coh chi r ih
lugas rucal =

6 ttos. 3 Rs. coh chi r ih
nicholas vit =

4 ttos. coh chi r ih agustin
aquin tzih =

11 r. coh chi r ih franco.
ticum =

22 ttos. coh chi r ih Dgo.
ruyalyc =

3 ttos. 2 R. coh chi r ih
migl. vit =

1 ttos. coh chi r ih Diego
xeq --

3 ttos. coh chi r ih nicolas
de lo Rey =

7 tomin coh chi r ih juo.

9 ttos. 1 R. coh chi r ih
Juo. chirix =

53 ttos. coh chi r ih r
achali camina

Lugas batzin

Regidores

Caii chic peso

R ahil eleuh

Xa vi chi r ih lugas batzin
Q'eq'al

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
Nicolás 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 Queh.

9 tostones are from Juan Chirix.

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 pobreza 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 Agustin Aquintzih

11 Rls. debe Francisco Ticum

22 tts. debe Domingo Rruyaalyc

3 tts. 2 Rs. debe Miguel Vit

1 tts. debe Diego Rrez

3 tts. debe Nicolas de lo Rey

7 Rs. debe Juan Queh

9 tts. 1 Rl. debe Juan Chiris

53 tts. debe Lucas Batzin
consuegro del difunto

ques es rregidor
mas dos pesos
demas todo unas tierras

T u 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.
 yaquii =
 1 peso coh chi r ih sebastian
 tzatz =
 1 peso coh chi r ih margos
 chiltte =
 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 lugas =
 36 ttos. 2 r. coh chi r ih
 lugas tzirin ah san lugas =
 8 ttos. coh chi r ih nicolas
 tzunun ah popo ya.
 Hu cumah ti qui toh
 C onohel --

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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

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 Sebastián (Lopez)
 Tzatz.
 1 peso is from Marcos Chilte.
 6 tostones 2 (reales) are from
 Agustín Tzumahay.
 5 reales are from Jacinto Tziic.
 7 tostones are from domingo Suy.
 3 tostones are from Joseph Yuq'
 of Cauque.⁴⁴
 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 (Queh).
 Let them immediately pay

que poco a poco la pagara
 dixo el difunto
 30 tts. debe Pablo Tues
 alcalde
 3 tts. debe Diego Loq
 7 tts. 2 Rs. debe Pedro Yaquis
 un peso debe Sebastian Tzatz
 un peso debe Marcos Chilte
 6 tts. 2 rs. debe Agustin Tzumagay
 5 Rs. debe Jacinto Tziic
 7 tts. debe Domingo Cuy
 3 tts. debe Joseph Yus
 de Quiaguistan
 42 tts. debe Mateo
 Tzirin de San Lucas
 36 tts. 2 Rs. debe
 Lucas Tzin de San Lucas
 8 tts. debe Nicolas
 Tzunun of Petapa
 que lo paguen todo luego
 20 tts. debe Gaspar Yzpeq'
 6 tts. debe Pedro Tuch
 esto es no mas los bienes
 del difunto Miguel Juan
 que luego paguen

C onohel vae puaq'
 R onohel
 R omal ma on v ichin
 chig vae puaq'
 R ichin chig santa yglesia
 Ma ni chig v ila vaquibal
 chi r cihin

Vae puaq'
 R ichin chig santa yglesia
 Ma ni chig v ila vaquibal
 chi r ichin

Vae puaq'
 Tan tun ya pan chi r ichin
 santa yglesia

Cha ru tzih caminaq'
 Chi pu c vach alcaldes
 Justicias

R uquin chinamital
 R uquin algubaçal

agustin mes Alde =

migl bague
 alonso albarez
 diego lopez
 lugas perez
 E regidores.
 sebastian concales
 sebastian lopez tzatz
 domas concales =
 juo, queh
 tomas aquino sot =
 migl chirix

Pedro Ernandes
 Escriuano

All of these moneys,
 All of it,
 Because this money should not
 still be mine.
 It is just for the Holy Church.
 It no longer has anything to do with me,

This money,
 It is just to be given to the
 Holy Church.
 The word of the deceased speaks.
 And it is before the alcaldes,
 Justicias,
 And the chinamital
 And the alguaciles.

Agustin Gomez, Alcalde.

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

Pedro Hernández,
 Scribe.

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 albaceas

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

P. Gernandes
 Escrivano

Felipe de Molina

(Page 1)

Jesus ma Joseph

Jan t in v oquilah
 Dios tattattz[in]³¹
 Dios caholah
 R uquin Dios Espiritu Santo
 Sa [hu Ds]
 Chi r ox ichal personas
 R uquin nu loq'olah tte
 Soq' ahau santta maria
 Ru tte 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 tzih
 Nu Dios vi
 Pi ma ni sa
 Huna Dios etamayon vacami

Ca ttan t in canah
 R etal nu tzih
 Nu pisan u ttesti[gos]
 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

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

para a mi me llevare,

hago aora mi testamento
 para que le quede
 a mis hijos
 y a mi muger
 lo poco que tengo,

Chi qui vach ttestigos vi
 E nu chinamital
 E q'anavinaq
 Ch u vi vae nu ttzih
 Sa vi s ti q'a qui firmo
 Ttan qui cha yn ya
 Thomas Jocon
 Pasado mayordo
 Qui ri oq' ttiy
 Amen Jesus --

Ha ca vae naby nu tziy
 Nu ttesmtto
 A to vi qui r echa Dios
 Ti qu in il ch u vach u luc
 Tti nabiyah hu qui misa
 Animas del furgatorio

Coh v ishail v olmal
 Ti hach ri limosna ca tte
 Ca toq' tti ban chin
 Hun nu misa cantado
 Ttobal v animas
 Ch u vach nu Dios
 Hu camah ttoc ri limosn[a]

Pa ru q'a pe vicario
 Chahal ttinamit
 T u cuy ru loq'olah sa mahri

Saserdottes
 Ru tta v animas
 Ttan qu i cha
 Yn ya va
 Thomas Jocon.

Ha ca vae hay
 Ttan yn coh vi sas

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
 Thomás 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,
 Thomás Joq'on.

Then there is this house
 Where I actually live,

ante los testigos
 Chinamital =

Digo yo
 Thomas Jocon,
 pasado maior,
 estando enfermo,

lo primero que mando
 en este mi testamento

para saliendo de esta vida
 se diga una misa
 por las animas de
 purgatorio =

y se diga otra misa cantada
 por mi alma

y la limosna de dicha y
 otra
 la paguen a el Padre Vicario
 mi muger y mis hijos =

Declaro que la casa
 en que vivo

R ocho vi Santo
San anttonio
Pa ru ttestamentto
Q'etzan nu tta
po pirir vi
Qui cas e ri v alcual
Sa vi e ti qui boy
Qui samah' chi r ih
Ri loq'olah santo
Laq'achel
T u biih ttesm[tto]
Has tt in ttaq'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 iquin Domingo ramos
Ti char chi qui vach
Tan 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 Pirir, 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 Piril,
mi Padre,
con el cargo de hazerle
la fiesta de cada ano
a nuestro Padre
San Antonio
como lo mando
en su testamento
y aora 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 compre
a Pedro ex cian bah
en ocho tostones,
no me dio sciptura de el
porque se murio luego,
mando que se componga
y lo dejo para mi [Roto]

[hijo Juan Vizente]

Tan qu i cha.

Ha chi ca ri uleu
Nu loq'on chi r e ttomas Jocon
Pa caq' hay
Vaq lahuh tts puaq'
Nu yaon chi r e
Sa vi ma ni ru hachon tah sedu[la]
Va ve s t in ya vi r etal
Ttan ti r ichinah v ishail
Ma ni hu vinaq' ti chi r e n[u] v ishail
Tan qu i cha
Yn ya va

Ha chi ca ri uleu
Nu loq'on chi r e Xo.bal Jocon
Cab lahuh tts nu yao[n]
Sa vi ma ni ru hachon sedula
Ha cumah ti qui hach vi sedula
Tan ti r ichiniah nu cahol
Domingo ramos
Ma ni hu vinaq' ti chi r e

Ha chi ca ha la uleu
Nu loq'on chi r e Miguel Jocon
Lahuu tts nu yaon
Sa vi ma ni ru hachon sedula
Hu camah tiqui hach ri sedula
Ttan ti r ichinah [nu cahol]
Pablo
Ma ni hu vin[a]q' ti ch[ire]
Tan qu i cha
Yn [ya va]

(Page 2)
[Ha] chi ca ri uleu

I so declare.

Then there is another tract
That I bought from Thomás Joq'on
At Red House
for 16 silver tostones⁴⁷
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 Christóbal Joq'on.
I gave 12 tostones for it,⁴⁸
Only he did not surrender title
Eventually they should surrender title
So it is to belong to my son
Domingo 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

...

que le compre a Thomas Jacon
que diez tostones de plata
que se llama pacaq' hay,

no me dio escritura de
ellas,
se las deajo
a mi muger,
y mando que ninguno tenga
pleyto con ella
ni las quite =

Declaro que otras tierras
que le compre a Cristobal Jocon
en catorze tostones,
no me hizo escritura, mando que la haga,
y que se le entriegue la escritura
y las tierras a mi hijo
Domingo Ramos,
y no le ponga pleyto ninguno =

Declaro que otro pedazo de tierra
que compre a Miguel Jacon
en dies tostones,
no me hizo escritura,
mando que la haga luego
y que se le entriegue
con las tierras
a mi hijo
Pablo =

Declaro que otro pedazo
de tierra

Nu loq'on chi r e martín coz
 V o tts nu yaon
 Ch u vach titz ysoq'
 Sa vi ma ni ru hachon sedula
 Hu camah ti qui hach sedula
 r oml
 Ttan ti r ichinah nu cahol
 Juan Vizintte
 Tan qu i cha
 yn qui tta --

Ha chi ca ri ba la uleu
 Nu loq'on chi r e pasqual [bah]
 Ch u vi horba choy
 Vahxaci tts nu yaon
 Sa vi ma ni ru hach tah sedula
 Hu cumah ti qui hach ri
 sedula
 Ttan t in ya can chi r [e] ri
 loq'olah santo
 San anttonio vi
 Qui cah nu cahol
 Ti qui sam[a]hih ru vach
 Ti peti xa mah chi r ih santo

Tan qu i cha
 Yn ya v[a]

Vuq'u bacas r uquin hu toro
 R uquin c al r ichin ri
 loq'olah [san]tto
 Ti samah chi r ih ri san anttonio
 Tan qu i cha
 Yn ya va

Cay bacas r uquin c al
 R ichin v ishail
 Ta qu i cha

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

que compre a Martin Coz
 en cinco tostones,
 que le puse por senal una
 cruz,
 que no me hizo scriptura,
 mando que la haga luego
 y se le entriegue
 a mi hijo
 Juan Bizente por ser
 suyo =

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 clebren la fiesta
 del santo San Antonio =

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

Yn ya va	I give this.	
Hu baca r ichin pablo --	1 cow for Pablo,	Declaro que dejo otra vaca para hi hijo Pablo =
Hu baca r ichin juo --	1 cow for Juan,	Declaro que dejo otra vaca para mi hijo Juan =
Hu baquilla [r i]chin grego --	1 heifer for Gregorio,	
Hu baca coh chi q'ul r ichin martin --	1 cow that is at Q'ul for Martín,	Declaro que dejo una vaca, que esta en Chicul, dejo para mi hijo Martin =
Hu baca coh chi Q'atte r ichin atto nu cahol --	1 cow that is at Q'ate for Antonio, my son.	Declaro que una vaca, que esta en la esta[n]cia [Roto] ... Antonio =
u baquilla [r i]chin nu mial acata	1 heifer for my daughter Acata,	Declaro que dejo una vaquilla para mi hija Agueda [Roto]
Hu baquilla r ichin ma	1 heifer for María,	Declaro que dejo otra vaquilla a mi hija Ma[ria] =
Hu tor[o] ti va chi curup r ichin Esteban	1 bull that is there at Curup for Esteban,	Declaro que un toro, que come en caze Curup, dejo para mi hijo Estevan =
Hu baquilla coh ch[i] q'ul r ichin Manuela	1 heifer that is at Q'ul for Manuela,	Declaro que dejo otra vaquilla que esta en Chicul para Manuela =
Cahi yevas r ichin santto --	4 mares for the saint.	Declaro que cuatro yeguas son del Santo San Antonio =
H[u ye]vas r ichin v ishail -- Sa vi hu chuti macho Sa vi r ichin v is[hail] Va q' a q' i mula coh Huhu qui chi Va q' a q' i nu cahol Dogo R uquin e ru chaq' --	1 mare for my wife, Only 1 little male Is just for my wife. There are 6 mules For each of them. 6 for my son Domingo With his younger brothers.	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

Hu asado[n] r ichin pablo

Hu asadon r ichin juo

Hu asadon r ichin grego

[Hu] ycah r ichin Antto

Hu ycah r ichin martin --

Hu ycah r ich[in] acata

Hu ycah r ichin ma

Hu ycha r ichin manuela

H[u] fierro sa como ve

Ti cohe vi qui case

Ti qui pororo chuqui

Co chi r e

Sa vi ti samah chi qu ih

Ri hu cay r ichin sant[o]

Se re ca ri nu tzih

Ch u vach Dios

Sa ti qui siquih Dios

V ishail

V alcual

Pa nu vi huhu q'ih

Huhu pascua

Ma ni qu[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 eh qui

Ve coh ah chach qu ichin

1 hoe for Domingo,

1 hoe for Pablo

1 hoe for Juan,

1 hoe for Gregorio,

1 axe for Antonio,

1 axe for Martín,

1 axe for Acata,

1 axe for María,

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 deajo otro asadon
para Pablo =

Declaro que deajo otro
asadon para Juan =

Declaro que deajo otro
asadon para Gregorio =

Declaro que deajo una hacha
para Antonio =

Declaaro que deajo otra hacha
para Martin =

Declara que deajo otra hacha
para Agueda =

Declaro que deajo otra hacha
para Manuela =

Declaro que el hierro
para herrar

es del Santo

y que hierren con [Roto]

Declaro que este es mi

ultima volumptad

y les ruego que me

encomienden a Dios,

y a mis hijos qu no

rinan unos a otros,

que veneren y respeten

a su madre y la cuiden,

y si algun plieto

Ti ti hos pa justta

Sa vi ti qui tzeta ri qui te
ma

Ti qui ya poq'on ch u cux
Sa vi ma ni hu vinaq' ti yojo
nu [testamen]tto

Ma ni [jus]tta
Ha na coh ti [sa] ca chaoh

Naq' q'ih tah i[..
lo que le toca.

(Page 3)

tto
Vae nu ttesm
Sa to mi s qui q'anavinaq'ih
testigos

Qui r e[tal]
Firmaih testigo

Ch u pan en 27 de octubre
De 1708 as.

Testigos

Domingo Peres Pirir
Xobal pirir
Xobal Jocon
Graviel albares tzuruy
Domingo albares tzuruy
Dio Chahon
Marcos sinay
Mgl Jocon

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

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 ...

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 Pirir⁴⁹
Cristóbal Pirir⁵⁰
Cristóbal Joq'on
Gabriel Alvarez Tzuruy
Domingo Alvarez Tzuruy
Diego Chahon
Marcos Sinay
Miguel Joq'on

Then there is my wife who is here
And is after all the mother of my jaguar cubs.⁵¹
Let them cherish her,

hubiese,
acudan a la justicia =

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

y asi lo otorgo
en el pueblo de
San Juan Sacatepequez en
beinte y siete de octubre
de Mil settesien[tos y
ocho]

Xpl Piril
Christobal Jocon
Gabriel Alvarez Surui
Domingo Alvarez Suruy
Deonizio Chahon
Marcos Sinai
Miguel Locon

y ruego a mi muger
no se des aparte de sus hijos
para que los cuide,

Ma ni ti solon e cu c uquin

Ba la coh vi hu ru meba dios

Ti cule r uquin

R omal q'itzih e quiy ri r al

Sa ti qui tzeta qui te ri nu
cahol

Ma ni ti qui ya poq'on ch u cux

Ri qui te

Se re nu tzih

Dios qui loq' maih chahin

V alcual

V ishail

Philipe de la Cruz

Escban 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.

y que mi muger busque
un pobre
con quien casarse
para que la cuide,

Phelipe de la cruz
escrivano de cavildo

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.⁵² 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 Pachalí 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.⁵³

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.⁵⁴ Yet studies of gross population show a precipitous, area-wide decline from preconquest levels early in the Colonial period.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, Pachalí 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 Pachalí 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 Pachalí and the petition to the *Audiencia* was in all their names. Similarly, most of Miguel Juan's heirs received land in one area, Panybah, 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 candal, 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.⁵⁶ 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, Pokomch'í and Kekch'í. 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.⁵⁷ 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 cabeza o principal de la generación (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 Quiché 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 Piries, 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.⁵⁹ 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).⁶⁰ 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 *cofradía* 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.⁶¹ Evidence from the Quiché 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.⁶² 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 Quiché 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 *ámparo* 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 *caballerías* (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 Provisión* granted to Domingo was imprecise since it failed to mention boundary markers. They therefore requested that the *Real Provisión* 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 Provisión* 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 pedasos*) 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 *caballerías* 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.
2. Examples of monographic studies based, at least in part, on such documents would include: Miles (1957), Aguirre (1972), Carmack (1979), Cox (1980), Orellana (1984), Lovell (1985), Hill and Monaghan (1987).
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).
4. See Hill and Monaghan (1987).
5. Archivo General de Centro America A3.15 Leg. 2787 Exp.40301.
6. Calepino Cakchiquel:252, Vocabulario Cakchiquel, Coto:347.
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 Sacatepéquez 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 Chamalé 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 *tomín* 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 *tomín* was simply used here as a synonym for *tostón*.
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 *cofradías*.
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 María Cauqué which is located just west of Santiago Sacatépequez, 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 María Cotzumalguapa, Dept. of Escuintla, on Guatemala's south coastal plain.
46. The use of the Nahuatlism *tatzin* 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 *Governador* 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.
54. See Carmack (1982) and Feldman (1981).
55. See McLeod (1973), Veblen (1982), Lovell (1982, 1985), Hill and Monaghan (1987).
56. See especially Bunzel (1952).
57. See Hill and Monaghan (1987).
58. See Hill and Monaghan (1987).
59. See McLeod (1973:343-344), Veblen (1982:96) and Lovell (1982:110, 1985:144, 154, 171-172).

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).
61. See Coto [1699] (1983:203, 270-271).
62. See Hill and Monaghan (1987:127-128).

Iesus y Joseph
 Santa Boguich Dios Hataath Dios colohah vaguin Dios E, piri Hataath
 Durosi chel personas vaguin nulo colohah ne lodohau san Hama Maria re the
 al Jeuchris Ho Hataath tak h chaopana vi chui bach vaguilah al yu reu
 yn hun ahmos vacarni ttan yncoh chu parvanima Hataath nu ttan Dios Ho
 re Hantiguis rucih nu cas Len ttini mah rathik nu Dios Depemari sal
 huna Dios e tamayon vacarni cattan ttincasuh ve tal nu yih napu sa nattepa
 pagui vi valcuad vi hait mam vad ragui al Vicin parum bail Dios
 yn coh vi Sasguere vi retal ttincanah saochigui Bach Hestigos sa ttenu
 Chinamittel edana binacchu vi Vannu thih sa vi Shiagui firmo ttangua
 Chayn ya Thomas Jocon paladomay brdo guve o'ituy Amra Iesus
 haca vac na bey nu yih nattepa^{to} atoi biquere cha Dios tiqui nel chu
 Bach u lue ttina be yah hui guimi sa animas del furga Horio Coli vi
 hait volcuad ti hach vi limos na catte ca to'it ttin ban chin hui namis
 Canstado Ho bol Vanimos cha bach nu Dios hucumah Hoeri limos
 parucap Vicario cha hal ttina mit tucuy ru loco lah samah vi
 sa seralo ttig rutt a Vanimos Hantiguis chayn ya va Thomas Jocon
 haca vac hay ttanyucoh vi Sas rocho vi santo san an ttanio paruth
 ta men Ho e gan natta p' p' p'irir vi quicaseri volcuad sa vi e tiqui bo
 qui samah ch' rih ri lo do ttin santo saochel ta bish ttigui
 hait ttin Hach ttanguichayn ya va Thomas hachicari o'it
 vicin canpattepa^{to} coh ch' rih hay ceay nuca hol quicoh concha
 pan pa blo riqun Domingo ramos n' charchigui Bach ttiqui
 Chayn ya va hachicari hatu lo lor nu lo'on chire e ttan p'ru
 cho ttien vah sa'it sin ya mani ttigui chie su hachon sedula panuco
 vomol hucumah ttam va vaca ttiget rucio l mit vah sa'it Ho
 lucam ttancatirichinah nu hol ttion vizente ttanguich
 hachicari u lu nu lo'on chire ttomoy Jocon pacad hay ba'ela
 kuh tt'puad nuy aon chire sa vi manivu hachon tah sedula
 va tt' ttin ya vi retal ttantirichinah vi hait ma ni hutu
 nat tteluren vi hait ttanguichayn ya va
 hachicari u lu nu lo'on chire x^o to bol Jocon cahlahuh tt' nuyao
 sa binanivu hachon sedula hucumah tiqui hach vi sedula
 ttantirichinah nuca hol Domingo ramos manni ttin binat ttichir
 hachicari hal u lu nu lo'on chire niquel Jocon lahuh tt' nu
 yaon sa binanivu hachon sedula hucumah tiqui hach vi se
 dula ttantirichinah nuca hol na ttamari ttin binat ttichir
 ttanguichayn ya va

Vae nulli ^{no} satomis quicava binatich tey tigo quisi
fir maich tey tigo cheu pan en 27 de octu bre De 1708

Le tigo Domingo perspirir Lobalpirir
Lobal Joion

Gra bual abare haruy - ha caris hait hie ma

Domingo al bery haruy - quini hual quira

Dio chahon - mam hie lora caucan

Marco. si nay - baluch hie hie ma dadi

mit solon - ficu lera quira mal tigh

qua terinucalid maritiquiya poton chucuripate

serenupih die qualoe maich chahin balual tigh hait

Philip delal de
Espana

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