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Colonial Masca in Motion: Tactics of Persistence of a Honduran Indigenous Community



Russell N. Sheptak

Colonial Masca in Motion:
Tactics of Persistence of a Honduran
Indigenous Community

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Chapter 1: Writing Histories

This is a study that follows the experience of the people of one indigenous town, originally called Masca, and later renamed Nuestra Señora de Candelaria, from the late sixteenth century through to the nineteenth century. Masca, located adjacent to the Ulúa river valley on the Caribbean coast, came under Spanish colonization efforts in the 1520s and 1530s. After a decade long effective military resistance to colonization centered in the "provincia del rio Ulúa", the leader of that local resistance surrendered and agreed to convert to Christianity. This started a long decline in the local indigenous population, in parallel with the political stagnation of the newly founded Spanish city of San Pedro. Yet as this study will show, by the end of the colonial period in the early nineteenth century, Candelaria's population was growing, it had secured its rights to land legally, residents of the town had been recognized for their roles in the defense of the colony, and it was effectively persisting as a recognized *pueblo de indios*-- an autonomous town of indigenous identity.

In a manner not unlike that of microhistory, but rooted more explicitly in the work of Michel de Certeau (1984, 1988), this study examines the way in which this colonized town tactically used a space not its own: the colonial *pueblo de indios*, a kind of settlement governed by Spanish administrative theories and subject to Spanish administrative demands. By drawing on methodologies rooted in the dialogics of Mikhail Bakhtin, and the theory of practice of Pierre Bourdieu, this study demonstrates that Spanish colonial documents, often viewed as only representing the official perspective, or the dominant Spanish perspective, can be "read against the grain" to surface indigenous arguments, understandings, and tactical moves.

For the people of Masca, which was one of a small number of indigenous towns in the jurisdiction of San Pedro that survived the devastating conditions of the sixteenth century, and an even smaller number of towns to maintain itself to the date of formation of the Central American Republic in the nineteenth century, persistence as a community with its own values and history was a product of the successful tactics they adopted in coping with Spanish colonial structures.

Masca was particularly effective in its use of the Spanish legal system. This produced the petitions what are the core of this study. It involved the people of Masca sometimes seeking justice directly from the *Audiencia* of Guatemala, bypassing the local Honduran authorities in San Pedro and the provincial government in Comayagua. Through these petitions we see not only the tactical use of Spanish administrative means for dispute resolution,

but the way that the jurisdiction of San Pedro constituted, until about 1750, a backwater from the perspective of the central colonial authorities, perhaps providing unique potential for the people of Masca to act tactically to maintain the community.

The tactics that the people of Masca used, including movement of the town from its original location; effective use of the Spanish language; identification of the community with the church; emphasis on service in a Spanish-organized coastal watch; and marriage with people from outside the community, including African descendant spouses, are those that another analyst might have viewed as evidence of loss of community identity. By instead viewing these activities and practices as tactics, this study stresses the way the people of Masca actively maintained those things they valued and worked to shape the colony to allow them to persist.

Nor was Masca unique in these strategies. By bringing in evidence from other towns with which Masca shared service in the coastal watch, continued cultivation of cacao for their own uses well into the eighteenth century, identified church and community, and integrated outside community members as spouses, this study shows that far from being, as traditionally represented, an area where indigenous population disappeared in the early colonial period, the Rio Ulúa district that became the jurisdiction of San Pedro was a place where indigenous people actively used what the colonial situation afforded them in order to remain in place, with their own histories, and to maintain those social practices that mattered to them.

In order to demonstrate all of this, this study starts with a series of petitions that originated with the people of Masca, all of which were ultimately successful. Spanning the period from 1675 to 1714, these petitions provide the material to demonstrate how dialogics can be used to “read against the grain”, to understand indigenous arguments and perspectives from documents created in the Spanish courts.

Before addressing these petitions, this study will explore how the practice theory of Pierre Bourdieu allows a different analysis of the social context that ultimately gave rise to the petitions made by the people of Masca. This involves critical re-reading of the sixteenth century history of colonization and an in-depth examination of the way that Masca was integrated into the economic structure of the colony through the *encomienda* system.

Because studies of indigenous society in Honduras have often left the impression that indigenous people disappeared long before the nineteenth century, this study extends the historical scope of analysis after the last of the successful community petitions analyzed. Using a variety of records

from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it begins to demonstrate how Masca – by then called Candelaria—was strengthened by its relation to the newly founded Fortaleza de San Fernando de Omoa, with a population that was growing before independence from Spain in the nineteenth century ushered in a period of profound upheaval across the jurisdiction of San Pedro. While the documentary record of Candelaria as an independent pueblo de indios ceases at this time, Candelaria became part of the newly founded city of Choloma, where modern traditions recognize it as a barrio of the city, even as they convey a misleading history that says Candelaria was abandoned in the eighteenth century.

The next two chapters deal with the sixteenth century. They outline the likely cultural affiliation of the people of Masca, advance an argument about the languages they spoke, and review the history of the colonization campaign, first giving the standard view that foregrounds Spanish actors, and then re-reading this from the perspective of indigenous actors.

In Chapter Four, this study presents the first of the petitions that are the core of the analysis: a petition made by a specifically named indigenous resident of Masca against the labor demands by the city of San Pedro. Marshaling arguments against the added labor demands, this petition refers to Masca's participation in the coastal watch, and also to its assignment in encomienda to a distant encomendero. Responses to this petition, contained with it in the archives, show that the latter argument was received and understood in the capital city, while the former was ignored.

Chapter Five turns to the institution of encomienda, as experienced by the people of Masca in the late seventeenth century. Using the encomienda grant petition from the encomendero who was the subject of criticism in the previous chapter, this chapter shows that the encomienda can be re-analyzed as a series of overlapping social fields, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu. Taking up positions in these fields was accomplished in part by engaging in dialogues, like those represented in the petition previously examined, and like others re-cited in the encomienda document itself.

In Chapter Six, the study analyzes a second set of petitions from the first decades of the eighteenth century, in which specific named indigenous actors in Masca again seek the support of the Spanish colonial authorities. By this time, Masca had relocated inland, with official approval, and also adopted a new name, Candelaria, but was experiencing difficulties with what now were close neighbors in the city of San Pedro. As with the earlier petition, the new petition includes arguments recognized by the authorities, and other statements that suggest differences in the way people of Candelaria viewed their position in the San Pedro district. In a major change

from the earlier petition, service in the coastal watch was now recognized by the Spanish authorities. The new petitions provide a clear indication of the way community was viewed by the people of Candelaria, including the importance of their church and the continued importance of their cacao groves. Comparing the petitions from Masca to similar contemporary petitions made by other pueblos de indios of the Ulúa valley, it is clear that these persistent indigenous communities had shaped their own social world in the colonial order.

Chapter Seven and Eight trace the continuing history of Candelaria in the eighteenth century, when the perception of a threat from the British, allied with the independent Miskito of eastern Honduras, led to the building of a new fortress on the coast. Candelaria was one of just two pueblos de indios to come under the jurisdiction of Fort Omoa. Ticamaya, the other town related to Omoa, has been the subject of archaeological investigation. The results from archaeological research and documentary research are combined in these chapters.

Men from these communities worked at Omoa in rotation. There they met, and in some cases married and brought back to their pueblos, spouses who were classified as from other groups in the emerging casta system. These chapters propose that even as outsiders were entering the town as spouses, a “community of practice” was reproduced that engaged the people in these pueblos, regardless of whether the practices involved had persisted for centuries or were relatively new developments of the process of ethnogenesis. These chapters show that a concept of “community of practice” provides a different way to think about identity and persistence of indigenous communities, one that allows for historical change and does not demand a history of isolation and stasis.

Chapter Nine presents a final set of conclusions about the specific history of Masca/Candelaria, its implications for understanding Honduras, and more broadly, for how study of the colonial histories of other pueblos de indios could be attempted by re-reading Spanish documents with an understanding of dialogics and tactics.

Before turning to the specific histories of Masca/Candelaria and its neighbors, however, we need to step back and look at the various contexts for this study, in historical research generally, in the historiography of Central America, and in the study of Honduran colonial history specifically. These topics occupy the remainder of this chapter.

The Larger Context: Microhistory

What today is called microhistory was exemplified by a few seminal works in the mid-1970s. Emmanuel le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou* was first published in 1975 but it is Carlo Ginsburg's *Il formaggio e i vermi*, published the very next year, that is considered to have exemplified a microhistory approach to social and cultural histories. Ginsburg's book arises from the review of the Inquisition documents of Domenico Scandella, better known as Menocchio, the miller, in a small Italian town (Ginsburg 1980). Menocchio, who lived in the sixteenth century, had been exposed to books, and interpreted them in ways that defied conventional religious orthodoxy. Rather than identify Menocchio's interpretations as misunderstandings, Ginsburg embraces them as a reading of these books, giving an insight into Menocchio's world view. Ginsburg traces the transformation of ideas from written text through to Menocchio's spoken/written re-elaboration, recreating Menocchio's world in the process.

Ginsburg's earlier book from 1966, *I Benandanti*, (published in English in 1983 as *The Night Battles*), about witchcraft and agrarian cults in sixteenth century Italy, is an earlier attempt to work out some of the ideas that are now recognized as microhistory, particularly the changing of scale to the local. It lacks only the addition of a strong set of more general conclusions arising from the study of the smaller scale. It is set in the same Italian community as his later book, and centers on using the Inquisition documents to provide insight into the mindset of peasants who thought they did god's work battling witches, but whom the inquisition determined were doing the devil's work, and were witches. Ginsburg shows us how, through their conversations with their inquisitors, they came to change their views, and (from the perspective of the inquisitors) see the error of their ways. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie was a member of the *Annales* school who had written many traditional *Annales* style histories, focused on large questions which could be addressed statistically as well as descriptively (e.g. Le Roy Ladurie 1974). Thus it was somewhat a surprise in 1975 when *Montaillou* came out. This work is now also considered an early microhistory. Le Roy Ladurie, like Ginsburg, used Inquisition documents to get at the mental life, social structure, and even the economy of a small French medieval village and how it connected to the larger world around it. Its originality is not, however, in the description of a village, but rather in the attempt to paint a portrait of the community at a particular juncture through the words of its inhabitants. Le Roy Ladurie, influenced by Levy Bruhl's ideas on the *mentalités* of early modern people, saw the thoughts and attitudes of the peasants as part of the structure of a pre-industrial economy

(1980:335-41). For him, these peasant attitudes were a cultural stumbling block, which retarded economic development.

While these are the commonly recognized precedents, they leave us with the question, what is microhistory? Microhistory, Italian practitioner Giovanni Levi (2001:97) tells us, is a historiographic practice with no body of orthodox practice and varied theoretical roots. He sees it as arising in the 1970s as a reaction to the kinds of histories produced under the French *Annales* school. "Called into question is the idea of a regular progression through a uniform and predictable series of states in which social agents were considered to align themselves in conformity with solidarities and conflicts in some sense given, natural, inevitable" (Levi 2001: 98). The kind of positivism criticized permeated late nineteenth century historical narrative and was preserved within *Annales* historical narratives.

Both Levi (2001) and Iggers (1997) note that many of the practitioners of microhistory moved to it from Marxism, having become dissatisfied with the hegemony of economic systems Marxism espoused. Microhistorians, Levi argues, were looking for better models of human behavior, ones that gave human actors agency within the norms and constraints of prescriptive systems. "Thus all social action is seen to be the result of an individual's negotiation, manipulation, choices, and decisions in the face of a normative reality which, though pervasive, nevertheless offers many possibilities for personal interpretations and freedoms" (Levi 2001: 98-99).

Some microhistorians trace their intellectual origins to anthropologist Clifford Geertz's ethnographic model of "thick description" (Iggers 1996; Levi 2001). Levi notes that anthropology and history differ: "One of main differences between microhistory and anthropology is that the latter seeks a homogenous meaning in public signs and symbols whereas microhistory seeks to define and measure them with reference to a multiplicity of social representations they produce" (2001: 107). Brewer, in contrast, traces the origins of microhistory to what he calls a "critical cultural theory of everyday life" in the Marxist tradition (2010:92). Here he cites (among others) Walter Benjamin, Mikhail Bakhtin, Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau, many of whom are theoretical resources for this study. Brewer singles out de Certeau's coincidence on issues of scale, and especially the use of tactics as the way in which the strategies of power are transformed by the weak to their own ends in the practice of every day life.

Changing the scale, from macro to micro, allows one to describe vast social structures without losing sight of the scale of each individual's social

space (Levi 2001; Brewer 2010). Following Barth (1978), Levi argues that scale is an important factor in all social systems:

What the dimension of the social worlds of different categories of people and different structured fields of relationships demonstrate is the precise nature of the scale operating in reality...the segmentation of complex societies emphasizes the explanatory value of discrepancies between the constraints emanating from various normative systems and of the fact that, in addition, any individual as a different set of relationships which determine his or her reactions to and choices with regard to the normative structures (Levi 2001: 100-101).

Universal to microhistories is the idea that changing scale will reveal factors previously unobserved. Microhistories link interactions among events on a small scale to structures and general tendencies on a large scale (Froeyman 2010:125).

Levi says microhistories focus on social differentiation. Individuals create their own identities; groups define themselves "according to conflicts and solidarities which, however, cannot be assumed a priori but result from dynamics which are the object of analysis" (2001: 108). Levi sees microhistorians as concentrating on the contradictions of normative systems because it is those contradictions that provide the spaces that make society open and fluid, as Jacques Revel put it, paying attention to the "exceptional norms" (1995), or de Certeau's "exceptional details" (1988).

Another characteristic shared among microhistories is the way narrative is constructed. In microhistories, narrative shows the relationship between normative systems and freedom of action which individuals create within those spaces, freedoms brought about by the internal inconsistencies of the norms and normative systems (Levi 2001:109). Microhistory also incorporates into the main body of the narrative "the procedures of research, the documentary limitations, techniques of persuasion and interpretive constructives" (Levi 2001:110). It breaks from the authoritarian narratives of traditional historical discourse and involves the reader in the process of constructing an historical argument. Froeyman adds that unlike *Annales* school works, microhistories directly incorporate causation (2010) into their narratives.

So where do I fit within microhistory? In what follows you will see that as an archaeologist and historical anthropologist, I share a commitment to making methodology explicit as part of the

presentation of any written argument. Like the microhistorians, I am concerned with everyday practices, the traces of which show up both in the archaeological record, and in historical documents. This necessarily shifts the focus from macro to micro. In looking at those everyday practices, I derive inspiration and models from the ideas of De Certeau and Bourdieu, and from Bakhtin I find models for looking at language use in documents.

My goals are related to those of some scholars who have talked about voice and language use by indigenous actors. Histories written about Latin America often reserve agency for Spanish actors, reducing indigenous ones to passive objects of action (Wood 2003). This gives priority to Spanish accounts of the conquest and colonization, and ignores indigenous authored documents covering the same events. In reaction to this state of affairs, some authors have turned to indigenous authored documents as a way to get at native perspectives. These can be both alphabetic and pictorial.

Miguel León Portilla (1962) presented indigenous Aztec accounts of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, disrupting the then-dominant image of indigenous people as "shocked out of their senses", amazed, bewildered, overwhelmed and paralyzed (Wood 2003:193). Nathan Wachtel (1977) contributed similar work for Spanish conquest of the Inca, making it clear that indigenous actors used a variety of tactics in response to Spanish aggression. Wachtel documented both the acts of conquest by the Spanish, and of indigenous resistance. Martinez-San Miguel (2003:30) suggests that the main contribution of scholars following this route was the building up an archive of indigenous texts from which to construct a new vision of the conquered.

Wood notes that many of the colonial documents used by these scholars date from times far enough removed from the conquest itself that their authors may already reflect hybrid ways of thinking. She argues that identities in the colonial period were permeable and changeable, so that any strict assignment to Spanish, Indian, or mestizo is flawed (Wood 2003:9). This leaves a challenge: how do we get at indigenous voices and agency?

A second generation of scholars addressing the issue provide some possible answers. James Lockhart (1993) provided a multilingual version of key texts describing the Aztec conquest, along with analysis of the context of their composition, forms of expression, and ways of indigenous thinking which he derived from the documents. Lockhart demonstrates that these indigenous documents are complex, representing a variety of genres, and that they display multiple viewpoints. Where indigenous authored

documents don't exist, Lockhart looks at Spanish responses to indigenous petitions to find the indigenous voice.

Wood (2003) argues for moving beyond documents about the conquest, and using sources by both indigenous authors and Spanish authors to get beyond narratives of conquest and resistance. As one example, Gruzinski (1989), perhaps influenced by microhistory, turned attention to exceptional life stories in the colonial period. Linguistic methods provided a richer view of the Nahuatl language in his work.

Wood (2003:11) points to pictorial manuscripts as a particular challenge for interpretation. Jansen and Pérez Jiménez are particularly constructive in finding both voice and agency through the analysis of pictorial manuscripts (2011). The pictorial manuscripts they analyze are advocacy documents, one advocating for a particular lineage to become cacique, and one used in ritual. They show that the pictorial documents also have genres, and that they can be hybrid, containing both Spanish and indigenous elements. Like Jansen and Pérez Jiménez, I examine documents engaged in advocacy. Like them, I believe that genres and the selection of arguments involved reveal what indigenous actors believed would be effective forms of argument. To the extent that these actors succeeded, it shows that authorities reacted positively to the elements and arguments advanced. The documents I examine are, like the pictorials studied by Jansen and Pérez Jiménez, hybrid documents. They are not written in indigenous languages, and cannot be described as being indigenous authored because Spanish scribes shaped the final form of the text; but they are indigenous "authored" in the sense that the arguments they present represent perspectives rooted in the *pueblo de indios*, arguments that would never have been made by someone from outside the community.

In the remainder of this chapter, I present an overview of the thematic emphases in historical writing that has dealt with colonial Honduras. In order to do that, I will need to place the Honduran work in the broader context of the themes of historical writing about Central America as a region, and its colonies, particularly Guatemala, of which Honduras was a province, in particular.

The Regional Context: Guatemala and Central America

Honduras was one of six provinces in the Captaincy General of Guatemala, the top level of colonial government below Spain. These provinces were Guatemala, Chiapas, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. As part of the Captaincy General, Honduras's top colonial

official, a Governor, reported to the Audiencia of Guatemala and to its President. The themes in writing about colonial Guatemala form a broader context for the writing about colonial Honduras. The histories of Central America are histories of the Captaincy General of Guatemala, writ broadly, and so these too will be included.

Writing histories about colonial Central America began shortly after the Spanish arrival in the region, but it wasn't until Central American Independence in 1821 that historical writing about Central America as a region caught on. Colonial writing about Central America begins with the work of Antonio de Remesal, Francisco Antonio Fuentes y Guzman, Francisco Ximenez, Domingo Juarros, and others in the 17th and 18th centuries. Gustavo Palma Murga (1994) called authors of this time period the historical chroniclers.

The priests, such as Remesal (1932), and Ximenez (1932), wrote about the missionary work of their respective orders. These works were set in the context of contention between the orders for dominion over space and souls in Guatemala. They served to correct earlier statements of "history" and to preserve the territorial jurisdiction of the religious order, and broadly can be seen as in dialogue with the works by members of other religious orders. For the religious orders and their historians, the indigenous people represented souls lacking in agency. It was only in 1524 that the church determined that the indigenous people of the Americas had souls, and therefore were human. It was up to the priests of these orders to shape and guide the destiny of the souls in their care.

Antonio de Remesal was an educated Dominican priest who came to Honduras in 1613 with the newly appointed Bishop of Comayagua, Alfonso Galdo. While in Honduras he read through the scarce documents in the Archivo Ecclesiastico in Comayagua. Six months later, he was assigned to the Dominican convent in Santiago de Guatemala, then the seat of Audiencia of Guatemala. His history of the Central America to 1619 dwells on Spanish treatment of the indigenous populations, documenting both the abuses, and the good works of those like Bartolomé de las Casas. His focus is on the institutional regulations, such as the new laws of 1542, and their effect on the life of indigenous people. He never portrays the Indians as having agency, outside of the occasional rebellion against Spanish authority. They are subjects of Spanish institutions and their rules.

Ximenez, a Dominican, wrote a detailed history of his order. In it were accounts of the life and death or martyrdom of Dominican priests in Guatemala. As part of the order's history, his account necessarily recorded their interactions with unbaptized Indians. He described the unchristian

beliefs of the Cakchiquel and Quiche of highland Guatemala, including a version of the Popol Vuh, and some of the beliefs of the Manché Chol of Verapaz. However, Indians for Ximenez were savage, unchristian souls who need to be baptized and taught Christian beliefs. At one point he takes great delight in telling readers about priests burning a Manché temple in which human sacrifice took place.

The secular historians, such as Fuentes y Guzman, Herrera y Tordesillas, and the secular priest Domingo Juarros, while still part of the historical chroniclers for Palma Murga (1994), wrote what Cal Montoya (2010:199) described as more general and impartial works of colonial history, not embroiled in the institutional conflicts between the missionary orders. Instead, their work takes on a more descriptive nature, focusing on geographies, demographics, economics, politics, and the cultural life of the colony, described through the lens of their social and intellectual upbringing. In these secular histories there are few named indigenous people; these are histories of the actions of Spaniards. Where indigenous people are mentioned, it is as laborers, as slaves, as sources of uprisings and rebellions, as a population that inconveniently shrank leaving the Spanish with no in-place work force.

Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas was one such secular historian, named an official chronicler of the Indies in 1596. This gave him access to the various archives in Spain, including the royal archives, as source material. He published his history of the Province of Guatemala and Chiapas between 1601 and 1615. Mariano Cuesta Domingo, in his critical edition of Herrera y Tordesillas (1991) studies the identifiable sources of Herrera, chapter by chapter. He found that the section on Honduras was not based on other histories, but rather on primary documents, though many of them were unidentifiable. Herrera, like the religious historians, provides a Spanish history of the actions of Spanish actors. His Indians are at the same time valiant, and barbarians. He describes the rituals and beliefs of some of the indigenous people of Honduras (Decade IV.VIII.III - VI) including duplicating material from Torquemada on Comizagual, a Lenca tradition. He names two specific leaders of the Lenca around Cerquin: Tapica (in Decade IV.VIII.III) and Lempira (Decade VI.III.XIX), and another leader of Piraera called Diego (Decade IV.VIII.V). All of his narratives of named indigenous leaders are generic tales of the defeat of the Indian by clever Spaniards.

There was a degree of advocacy in all of Herrera's sources from Spanish archives. These included different kinds of Spanish documents, though he seems to have relied primarily on Royal decrees, petitions for

pensions and encomiendas known generically as *Meritos y Servicios*, and the reviews of administrative officials, called *Residencias*. Each of these kinds of documents advocates for something and that advocacy shapes their narratives. Royal decrees are orders to the colonial authorities; Meritos y Servicios are self serving accounts of the service of a Spaniard (or Afrodescendent person, or Indian) in the conquest and colonization of the various provinces of the Indies. Residencias document the good or bad behavior of colonial officials in their assigned position.

Herrera's account of the defeat of Lempira appears to draw heavily on information in Meritos y Servicios cases for Spaniards who accompanied Montejo in his campaign against the Lenca uprising of 1537 (for Alonso de Caceres and Cristobal de la Cueva, among others). In the 1980s Honduran historian Mario Felipe Martinez Castillo found a completely different description of the events in a different Meritos y Servicios case, from Rodrigo Ruiz, a conquistador who served in Honduras and Mexico, retiring in Mexico (1569 AGI Patronato 69 R.5; Martinez Castillo 1987). In it, Ruiz tells a very different story about the death of Lempira, one that involves personal bravery against Lempira, portrayed as a savage, dressed in the clothing of slain Spaniards. The contradictions between these different accounts, all based on colonial archival records, are just one illustration of the inherent perspective introduced in documents that were making an argument, in these cases, in part by using indigenous people as generic examples of fierce enemies overcome by conquistadors.

Following the historical chroniclers of the colonial period, Palma Murga (1994) identified the next period (1825-1949) as that of the official historians; "official" because they were often writing histories commissioned by and serving the nationalist interests of governments or tracing the roots of the political movements in Central America at this time. These authors were by and large entirely secular. Palma Murga (1994) divided these authors into Conservative and Liberal, depending on whether they advocated change based on local representation derived from the colonial oligarchy, or wanted to reposition what they saw as a stagnated society which they sought to transform with knowledge and liberty. In general, these authors, according to Palma Murga, viewed history through a lens of their contemporary Central American society. While this reminder of political perspective is useful, William J. Griffith (1997:767) warns against this dichotomization, and sees a greater diversity of threads of opinions during Independence. Although these historians deal in most depth with events after the colonial history that concerns us here, they had a critical role in erasing the history of the pueblos de indios. Some deliberately began their accounts of the history

of the new republics in the colonial period. Like the historians before them, they treated Indians as not having agency and thus began a tradition of declaring indigenous cultures as something that had disappeared, or were disappearing, identifiable only when the Indians were not conversant with Spanish language, culture, and society.

José Cecilio del Valle (1982), a Honduran, thought it necessary to write a history of Central America from the start of the colonial period through independence. In 1825 formulated the first methodological principles for how to write history in Central America, in his "Prospecto de la Historia de Guatemala". In this, he follows Fuentes y Guzman in devoting time to indigenous Guatemala. He arrived at a periodization of Central American: Indian Guatemala, Guatemala as a Province of Spain, Guatemala as a Province of Mexico, and the Free Republic of Guatemala. Indians before the Spanish arrived were described as living in small kingdoms governed by elected and hereditary kings. He rejected the barbarian-civilization dichotomy for this period, noting that indigenous civilizations were sometimes equal to or better than the Spanish. He was critical of the colonial Spanish for tearing down the Indian civilizations. However, he was not so kind to Indians in the colonial period who were indigenous or mestizo, with a mixture of Spanish and indigenous beliefs (in *Jesus de la Sol y la Luna*, for example), and hybrid languages (*lengua de Chinautla*). Del Valle thought that mestizaje and ladinoization led to homogenization of the races and a kind of social equality, the sharing of the Spanish language removing the barriers between Spaniard and ladino.

In 1831 Mariano Galvez was elected President of Guatemala, then part of the Federal Republic of Central America. In that same year, he commissioned two historical works, one on colonial Guatemala, by Francisco de Paula Garcia Peláez (1968), and one on the Republic, by Alejandro Marure (1877-1878) to consolidate the liberal victory in Central America. Marure's book was originally published in 1837, but Garcia Peláez's book was delayed until 1851. Garcia Peláez's work consisted of short historical sketches on themes that resulted from his encounters with various historical documents in civil and religious archives. Topics like "Hostility of the Zambos-Miskitos" were immediately followed by "Governors of the Provinces" without any regard for continuity of a theme or chronology. What is interesting about Garcia Pelaez is that he refers to specific documents and publications as the sources of his information. Cal Montoya (2010:203) notes that these sketches themselves served as reference material for later authors.

In Chapter 70 on the "Hostility of the Zambos Miskitos", Garcia Pelaez called the Zambos Miskitos barbarous and without religion, speaking a wild mixture of languages and English. They were "a rebel population and rival of Guatemala [un pueblo rebelde y rival de Guatemala]" (1968-73: 164). In referring to the Zambos Miskitos as barbarians, Garcia Pelaez is typical of nineteenth century histories in viewing indigeneity as primitive and problematic.

Cal Montoya (1994:204) does not include Garcia Peláez's work among the official histories, and rather starts that period with Marure's (1877-78) *Bosquejo Historico*, published in 1837. This is because it is the first Liberal history. In it Marure constructs a historical vision that liberalism arose out of the Central American independence movement with intellectual roots in French, British, and North American thought. This vision is, in turn, challenged by conservative administrations and their historians.

It has been argued that for Liberal intellectuals in nineteenth century Central America, indigeneity was a problem to be solved, an obstacle in the way of political progress. For example, Virginia Tilley (2005:193-194) writes

Everywhere, intellectuals understood that economic growth was dragged down by the Indians perceived backwardness, superstition, poverty, insularity, and inefficiency. Hence debates were pursued all over Latin America under the rubric of "the Indian problem"... In a 19th century polemic about the Central American *patria*, Salvadoran writer Miguel Román Peña offered a more poetic vision of the Indian problem, coupling a vision of Indian suffering to a lament about their obstructing progress.

Gundmundson (1995) noted that Liberals and Conservatives shared a common social origin and a common disdain for the masses. Both Liberals and Conservatives were the patriarchs of colonial society. Gundmundson characterized Central American Liberals as elitist and racist, calling them insensitive to the masses, especially Indians.

For both Palma Murga and Cal Montoya, the "official histories" are by definition not about colonial Central America because colonial Central America was not Liberal (or Conservative). I would argue that they saw the colonial period as a period where nothing really happened; that the colonial order was established by simple conquest and made more solid after that. Both colonial Spanish and indigenous peoples were assigned unchanging roles, the Spanish as the active agents of civilization, the indigenous people

as the passive objects of subjectification. From the perspective of Liberalism, the colonial period was stagnation, lacking the realization of liberal values, and living in an indigenous community would (at best) have held back the people from realizing their potential. From the Conservative perspective, the colonial period fostered values (including those of religion) that needed to be freed of the heavy hand of European domination, but that were the basis of a solid independent Republic-- including a social hierarchy in which Indians were a racialized lower class.

Griffith (1960) views historical writing of this period about Central America as broadly relevant to western European historical writing, but also largely governed by passion, a passion that grew out of origins in the civil strife after independence from Spain. Griffith (1960:549) writes: "Most modern works on political and military subjects are dominated by the spirit of passion perhaps more thoroughly than were the events which they record". He notes that Conservatives sought to enshrine their view of history with the work of Manuel Montúfar y Coronado (1832). Montufar y Coronado's history is mostly devoid of Indians except as labor, and as tribute payers. After the colonial period they cease to exist completely.

During this same time, in the United States, Hubert Howe Bancroft (1882-1887) employed researchers to gather together the documents and thematic essays he combined into his *History of Central America*. In the preface to the first volume Bancroft (1882:xi) wrote of the historian's task:

There is only one way to write anything, which is to tell the truth, plainly and concisely. As for the writer [of history] I will only say that while he should lay aside for the time his own religion and patriotism, he should always be ready to recognize the influence and weight of the value of the religion and patriotism of others....The exact historian will lend himself neither to idolatry nor detraction and will positively decline to act as the champion or assailant of any party or power.

Griffith (1960) notes that in the third volume, Bancroft aligns himself with the Liberal historians in his interpretation of Central American history. Bancroft saw native peoples as impediments to the Spanish project of colonization and the objects of colonization once it was effected. He described the Indians of Honduras as savages. He felt that once the colonial period was over, the Christianized Indians were no longer authentic Indians.

His three volume work on the History of Central America provides the first extensive historical sketch of the conquest of Honduras, in which the Ulúa Valley was central, and establishes many of the arguments continued by later writers in English. For example, he presents the conflict

between Pedro Alvarado and Francisco Montejo as a central event in the conquest, later taken up by Chamberlain (1953). Bancroft pioneered the focus on viewing a few named Spaniards as the active agents in constructing history in Honduras. His writing sought to contextualize the Central American history more broadly in Spanish history, and provided less attention to individual provincial histories.

Although he relied on primary documents, Bancroft's narrative often is inaccurate. For example, he relates an incident, which happened when Andres de Cereceda was moving people from Trujillo to Naco, passing through the Ulúa valley (discussed in detail in Chapter 3 below), but gets many of the details wrong. He writes:

On reaching a spot where the river flows through a narrow defile, they found their passage obstructed by a barricade erected by the Cacique Cizimba, who thought thus to prevent the invasion of his territory. The natives were routed at the first onset, and those who were taken captive suffered mutilation, their hands being cut off and were suspended with cords from their necks. (Bancroft 1883, volume 2: 157)

In Chapter 3, I use letters written by Cereceda in 1533, and Diego Garcia de Celis in 1535 to discuss the same incident. Cereceda's description places this battle on the Rio Balaliama (Rio Choloma) which flowed across the floodplain and back swamps of the Ulúa and Chamelecon rivers at this time. The only time this river flowed through a narrow defile was near its origin, in the mountains behind modern Choloma, which is nowhere near the path Cereceda described. What Bancroft describes as a "barricade" was an Indian town surrounded by a palisade. Instead of an account of an indigenous act of aggression against the Spanish, the actual letters from the Spanish participants relate an attack made in passing on an indigenous town, specifically motivated by a desire to avenge a previous exchange of hostilities at one of the coastal Spanish towns. By arguing that historians need to tell the truth, Bancroft set a goal he himself could not reach. His writing echoes the advocacy contained in the documents he referenced, and, as this example shows, can even go beyond it. It leads him to not question that Çocamba should have accepted Spanish presence and allowed them unobstructed access across his territory. For Bancroft, the natural superiority of the Spanish is an unexamined taken for granted.

Slightly later, Antonio Batres Jáuregui, one of the founders of the Academia de Geografía e Historia in Guatemala, and a liberal historian, began a three volume work on Central American history, issuing the first volume on prehispanic history in 1915, the second volume, a history of the

colonial period, in 1920, and a final volume on the Republic written in 1921 and published posthumously in 1949. Cal Montoya (2010:210) calls this the second most outstanding example of liberal history of Central America. It describes a homogeneous Guatemalan state with a ladino identity and intellectual roots influenced by England, France, and the United States.

With the 1950s and 1960s marking a transition period, Cal Montoya (2010) places the work of Severo Martínez Peláez in the 1970s as the beginning of professional history in Guatemala. Martínez Peláez, a student of Wecelao Roces (known for his translations of Marx) and Silvio Zavala (known for directing attention to the formation of institutions in the colonial period) provided a Marxist historical analysis of the social structure of Guatemala. As Cal Montoya (2010:215) characterized it, this would be

a history which would suggest comprehensive structures of the determinative historical processes in the making of an exclusionary economic system to which were clinging a diversity of social, political, and ethnic conflicts unresolved since the colonial period.

[un historia que planteara estructuras comprensivas de los procesos históricos determinantes en la constitución del régimen económico excluyente al que estaban asidos diversidad de conflictos sociales, políticos, y étnicos irresueltos desde la Colonial.]

To accomplish this, Martínez Peláez reused the work of earlier chroniclers while providing a “deep interpretation” of their motivations in writing the chronicles.

For example, Martínez Peláez's *La Patria Criollo* is a Marxist reading of Fuentes y Guzmán's *Recordación Florida*, to show Fuentes y Guzmán's intellectual development into a class conscious writer, and the origins in colonial society of the class structures that allowed the criollos and Spaniards to exploit the lower classes of society (Indians, Afrodescendants). "Taking a broader view allows us to see the work and its author [Fuentes y Guzmán] as historical phenomena in and of themselves" (Martínez Peláez 2009: 146). Martínez Peláez notes that Indians are everywhere present in the *Recordación Florida* of Fuentes y Guzmán, but in a sketchy fashion, often discounted as less than human, with many shortcomings. He attributes this to an intention to obscure the exploitation of Indians as the source of a Criollo's wealth in colonial Guatemala. In those few instances where Fuentes y Guzmán speaks out against exploitation, it is exploitation of the Guatemalan born Criollo by the Iberian born, and serves to preserve his own class status.

In contrast to Fuentes y Guzman's Indians, for Martinez Pelaez, Indians are active agents trying to persist in the face of domination and exploitation. In discussing religious syncretism, Martinez Pelaez wrote: "They kept their own traditions alive not simply out of inertia, but because they refused to be passive and bow to a set of beliefs imposed on them by the people who had defeated them and were their class enemy" (2009: 122). He attributes what others might call religious tolerance by the Catholic priests "to the resolute opposition natives showed". Ximenez (1930, volume 1, page 5), a chronicler and priest discussed previously, wrote of what Martinez Pelaez called syncretism: "It is the Doctrine they imbibe with their mother's milk". Martinez Pelaez would agree, but reach a very different judgment of the significance of this persistence of religious belief under Catholic proselytization.

The historians of this period were influenced by a reaction to anthropological work of the 1950s and 1960s looking at the nature of indigenous cultures in Guatemala and attempting to identify indigenous and ladino aspects, using a concept of syncretism rather than hybridity. These works dealt with the idea of the formation of a Guatemalan citizen through the ladinoization of indigenous peoples. In reacting to this, Guatemalan historians and anthropologists turned to Marxist tools and more inclusive histories that attempted to give indigenous peoples a voice, albeit a somewhat reactive voice of resistance.

Martinez Peláez argued that the contemporary Indian was an intellectual product produced by the colony to justify its economic regime of forced labor for the economic elites. He wrote, "explaining Indians involves explaining how conquest and colonialism transformed pre-Hispanic natives into Indians" (209:281). That is, Indians of today are not the same thing as pre-Hispanic indigenous people, but rather something that has been transformed to fill the needs of colonial society. They are the product of the pressures indigenous people had to endure, the functions they performed, and their responses (including resistance) to colonial domination. Cal Montoya (2010) identifies this as the point at which Guatemalan history passed from being descriptive, to having a methodology and being about interpretation. This is also the point at which the theme of Indian resistance, a view of Indians as somewhat active social agents, emerged in Guatemalan historical writing. Unfortunately, resistance seemed to be the only way in which Indians could be active social agents, not by making their own choices, but by resisting the choices of others.

The "professional histories" that follow are social histories. They are less about institutions and more about people and society. Jorge Lujan

Muñoz (1993-1999) sought to enlarge the historical field of enquiry to include cultural phenomena through concepts he called "history of culture" and "history of ideas". Cal Montoya (2005), in an article on the historiography of the history of culture in Guatemala, a post-1990s phenomenon, writes of the influence of the French historian Roger Chartier on Lujan Muñoz and those who came after, leading to recent histories on various fields of cultural production in music, art, politics, national identity, and religion, for example. We can add to this the many histories of resistance to colonial and modern governments by the indigenous people, which has become the legacy of syncretism studies.

In this vein, Pinto Soria (1995) argues that colonialism and its emphasis on the nuclear family brought about a tendency in Indian communities in colonial Guatemala to form extended multigenerational households, and that the religious institutions of *cofradía* in particular served to create Indian-only ways of practicing religion in their communities. Sonia Alda Mejía (1994) analyzes the indigenous community as the unit of resistance and persistence in Guatemala's colonial period, particularly focusing on what it had to absorb to persist. She notes that all of the evidence of resistance should upset the notion of Indian passivity, but that because of the exigencies of local communities, it necessarily only brings them to a pre-industrial level of community consciousness. These studies contrast sharply with recent work on colonial Mexico (Rodríguez-Alegria, Neff, et al. 2003) that recognizes much more clearly that indigenous people had agency in daily life.

This is not to say that institutional, economic, demographic, and descriptive histories have disappeared. As Woodward (1987:43) noted, since 1960 there has been a certain professionalization of historical writing over what preceded it, but like any period of change, the new is intercalated with the old style of writing to laud particular ancestors, or defend particular political or economic positions. Examples from Honduras include the collected works of Marco Antonio Cáceres Medina. He wrote about historical topics as diverse as Maya odontological practice (2003) and General and President Terencio de Sierra (2011). Cáceres Medina, himself a physician, not a historian, documented the craziness of an unpopular nineteenth century dictator of Honduras, mixing documentable facts and rumors about his behavior into a narrative of Sierra's life.

What has still not developed is history that takes as its object indigeneity, particularly the view of indigenous people of their own place in colonial society. Missing are histories that focus on indigenous actors specifically, or that focus on a single *pueblo de indios* in the Guatemalan

colony. There are still no histories that ask or attempt to answer the question "how long and through what tactics did the pueblos de indios persist?" My goal in this dissertation is to do precisely this: trace the history of a single pueblo de indios from its earliest appearance in Spanish documents; to read those documents as evidence of indigenous perspectives and tactics; and trace how a pueblo de indios managed to persist and even began to thrive, before the upheavals of the independence and Republican periods.

The Local Context: Honduras

Honduran historiography has had a somewhat different trajectory than the larger context of Guatemala and Central America. Woodward (1997:46) largely dismisses Honduran history published before 1983. He singles out the 1983 doctoral dissertation by Jose Guevarra Escudero, at New York University, on nineteenth century economic history in Honduras as a turning point leading to professionalization of history in the country. In contrast, two prominent Honduran historians, Argueta (1981, 1983) and Euraque (2010), both consider the founding of the Department of History at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Honduras (UNAH) in 1977 as the beginning of professionalization of Honduran history. Each also identifies national historians trained outside of Honduras as early as the 1950s as having shaped events that led to the arrival at that foundational moment.

While Argueta (1981, 1983) eschews a periodization of writing of Honduran history, Euraque (2010) provides a view of the post 1950 Honduran writing on history, dividing it into two periods, 1955-1977, and 1978-present. Argueta (1981:11) states that there has been scant attention paid to the colonial period by Honduran historians. Euraque (2010) basically agrees. A review of the major emphases in Honduran history shows that even when the colonial period has been the focus, little or no attention has been paid to indigenous communities as actors or agents.

The 1955-1977 period of Honduran historical writing is marked by the return to Honduras of historian Medardo Mejia from political exile in 1954 (Euraque 2008). Mejia is the first to use Marxist models in interpreting the history of Honduras. His six volume work (Mejia 1969) was mostly published posthumously as only the first two volumes were published during his lifetime. However, the first volume dealt with the prehispanic period and the colonial period, making his contribution particularly important to this study. Instead of focusing on the means of production as a route to periodization, he focuses on changes in the formation of the state (Sierra Fonseca 2008). Mejia writes that he follows Louis Henry Morgan in viewing

the Maya of Copan, and the Maya Toltecs that he says came after them, as barbarians (1983:27). Indians in the colonial period are only mentioned in the context of Spanish activities, as passive recipients of the effects of Spanish activity and law.

Euraque (2008; 2010:96) viewed Mejía's contribution as not so much his use of Marxism or social sciences in general, but rather his changing the view of positivism that had marked Honduran history since the previous century. Pragmatically, Euraque also notes that Mejía promoted the development and use of the national archives, helping disrupt the historiographic vision that had dominated Honduras by providing new kinds of sources for analysis. For example, included in the National Archives are land titles, including some for pueblos de indios (Archivo Nacional de Honduras 1901). Sources like this could provide a basis for renewed study of indigenous communities in the colonial and early Republican period.

Also writing in this period were Mario Argueta, José Reina Valenzuela, and Victor Caceres Lara. Combined, their work introduced the concept of Honduras as an enclave into the historical writing in Honduras. The "enclave", a concept borrowed from political economy, is an economically autonomous region within a country that runs on foreign capital and exports resources or products from a region to other countries. Modern examples in Honduras itself include special economic development zones and Paul Romer's model cities, but in the historical literature, we are concerned with the banana enclave (Lainez and Meza 1974). The banana enclave disrupted the landscape when land grants dispossessed existing communities of their lands while preserving their names in the names of banana plantations (Quelequele and Tibombo for example). The enclave experienced labor shortages that resulted in bringing Afrodescendent workers into north coast Honduras, primarily from Jamaica, reintroducing "blackness" into Honduras as a racial category separate from everyone already living in the country (regardless of existing strains of African descent), and further associating blackness with foreignness.

Studies of the banana enclave are political economic accounts, not social histories. As Euraque writes, they looked at "elite masculine protagonists and the institutions they founded" (2010:101). They are rooted in traditional Honduran narratives which Euraque says are about patronization and are overly romanticized, recalling Griffith's (1960) comment about passionate histories dominating the nineteenth century. Euraque notes that these authors treat Indians and Afrodescendent people as the object of, rather than the subject of, investigation.

Such studies are basically the inheritors of the liberal histories of the previous century, such as that of Vallejo (1882). Authors in this group, like Victor Caceres Lara (1978) and Jose Reina Valenzuela (1969) did not use formal historical frameworks. This period also saw the impetus for Honduran novelists like Ramon Amaya Amador to write semi-historical novels like *Los Brujos de Ilamatepeque* (1979) and *Prision Verde* (1974). These were inspired by historical events. *Prision Verde* dealt with events within recent memory, working conditions on the banana plantations before the banana workers' strike of 1954. *Los Brujos de Ilamatepeque*, based on an 1843 document in the national archive, fictionalized the experience of former *morazanista* soldiers returning to their village.

In the 1970s, four important figures in Honduran historiography returned from political exile in Spain and Brazil: Ramon Oquelli, Leticia Oyuela, Marcos Carias Zapata, and Mario Felipe Martinez Castillo (Euraque 2010:107-8). Euraque notes that all four wrote on the colonial period in Honduras. This was a major contrast with other Honduran historians. Martinez Castillo is the only one of these scholars to have studied history and the only one whose work focused exclusively on the colonial period. Carias Zapata was a novelist, and all of these four used literary references similar to much postcolonial historical writing. Oquelli (1982, 2004) took Jose Cecilio del Valle as a topic numerous times. Oyuela wrote primarily about religion and art (Oyuela 2007), but also wrote the first Honduran history about women in the colonial and republican period (Oyuela 1993). Martinez Castillo wrote about a wide range of colonial topics, from the formation of the Alcadia Mayor of Tegucigalpa (Martinez Castillo 1982) to the Cathedral in Comayagua (Martinez Castillo 1988). His 1980 dissertation on colonial art in Honduras was published in 1992.

For Euraque (2010), the period from 1978 to 2000 is dominated by the formation of a history profession at the UNAH and the influence of its graduates in shaping the discourse and dialogue of national identity. Honduran history at this time is notable for the domination of dependency theory. Derived from historical sociology, dependency theory characterized writing about Honduran contemporary history of the 19th and 20th century. Dependency theory places indigenous people in a passive position. Euraque (2010:109) credits Molina Chocano (1975) with introducing the concept in Honduras.

Euraque (2010:112) notes that outside of modern studies of the banana enclave that developed in the 19th and 20th centuries there is no recent historical work about the north coast of Honduras, much less work on the colonial period in this area. Euraque sees his own work, much of which

does concern the north coast (e.g. Euraque 1993, 1996b), as fostering a transition from discussing Honduras as a banana enclave, to focusing on identity, race, and nationality (Euraque 1996a). This important work re-introduces questions concerning the indigenous experience in the Republican and colonial periods, questions this study seeks to explore.

Recent Historical Writing on Colonial Honduras

It was in the 1970s that US scholars took an interest in Honduran history and historiography, mainly centered on the colonial period (MacLeod 1973; Newson 1981, 1986; Sherman 1979). After this, there is practically no continued tradition of Honduran history in English. A notable exception is the study of Mercedarian missionization in the Department of Santa Barbara, carried out in conjunction with work by historical archaeologists (Black 1995, 1997).

Much of the writing about colonial Honduras in the 1970s and 1980s focused on the theme of the demographic collapse in Honduras following the Spanish Conquest. Argueta (1981, 1983) identified Molina Chocano (1975) as providing a first approximation to a quantitative study of the population decline. Both MacLeod (1973) and Newson (1982) examined the effects of the colonial mining industry on indigenous population, seeing it as one of the principal causes of decline or even disappearance of indigenous people in Honduras.

MacLeod (1973) pioneered a kind of economic history of Central America in which the colonial period had an increased visibility, primarily due to the importance of mining. In this tradition, West (1959) explored the economic impacts of mining in Honduras in general, while Thompson (1973) provided an economic overview of the historical geography of mining. MacLeod (1973) discussed how in the sixteenth century, the Spanish saw a potential for gold mining from placer stream deposits near Trujillo, San Pedro Sula, and Puerto Caballos, making those areas the focus of the earliest Spanish settlement. In the seventeenth century, a reorientation to silver mining shifted the Spanish focus inland. While there was some silver inland from Trujillo in Olancho, the largest deposits were located farther south, in the south central part of the province, near what would become the capital city in the nineteenth century, Tegucigalpa.

During the early years of the colony, MacLeod (1973) sees indigenous people mainly as a labor force. He notes that the indigenous population was the main engine of wealth in Central America. In Honduras, that wealth was quickly squandered by Europeans selling indigenous people as slave labor

for Caribbean plantations, and employing them for working the metal deposits. This resulted in a drastic indigenous population decline in the sixteenth century that MacLeod believes became so great that there were no longer economically exploitable concentrations of indigenous people. Once mining became important again in Honduras, in the eighteenth century, Indians again are seen as important as part of the labor force that supported this endeavor, along with the numerous mixed-race peoples who formed the bulk of the day laborers in Honduras at this point.

Newson (1981, 1986) documented the collapse of indigenous population in sixteenth century Honduras using archival data. For the region of this study, the Ulúa Valley, she notes that data are lacking. Nonetheless, she suggests there were few, if any, indigenous people left in the region by the end of the colonial period. According to her research the number of indigenous communities in the jurisdiction of San Pedro (a proxy for the Ulúa Valley) decreased between 1582 and 1811 from twenty to four. Her data also show that if a community survived until the end of the sixteenth century, then throughout the rest of the colonial period, it experienced population growth.

Sherman (1979) examined the abuse of indigenous people in Central America in the first half of the sixteenth century. He includes the enslavement of the indigenous population of Honduras, which Newson (1987) credited with depopulating the north coast. He also looks at practices forcing indigenous people to provide labor for a Spanish *encomendero*, something not a jural part of the *encomienda* system. With the establishment of the New Laws in 1542, and the Audiencia of Los Confines in 1544, new indigenous slavery was abolished, and Spanish owners of existing indigenous slaves had to prove they had legal title to them, or free them. Sherman says this was perceived in Central America as undermining the *encomienda* system, and as such, was not initially implemented until Alonso de Cerrato was appointed President of the Audiencia de los Confines in 1547. Sherman credits Lopez de Cerrato (who was President of the Audiencia from 1548 to 1555) with implementing the new laws in Central America and remedying the abuses corrected by it. These reforms created a labor shortage (Sherman 1978:191), and indigenous forced labor continued even after the reforms. The Spanish New Laws were meant to create a free indigenous day labor pool that had to be paid, with the assumption that indigenous people would want to work for the Spanish (Yaeger 1995), but that turned out not to be the case. In practice, personal service continued in Central America throughout the sixteenth century under the fiction that it was done in exchange for a reduced or eliminated tribute responsibility.

Indian labor allowed for public works was reinterpreted as an assignment for individual Spaniards.

There are a few hints of indigenous agency in these demographic and economic histories. Sherman (1979) has little to say that is specific to Honduras. He does indicate that free blacks, mulatos, and Indians exercised a collective agency in refusing to work for Honduran cattle owners at the prices the cattle owners were willing to pay (Sherman 1979:259). Newson (1987:220) identifies both the Ulúa and Aguan valleys, centers of pre-Columbian cacao cultivation, as areas where cacao continued to be produced in the colonial period. While some towns in the Ulúa valley paid tribute in cacao into the seventeenth century, most colonial cacao production in northern Honduras was for indigenous consumption and reflects indigenous intentions, even if Newson did not emphasize this.

While economic development fueled the formation of colonial society, equally important was the establishment of Spanish settlement patterns. Mario Felipe Martinez Castillo wrote on the urbanization of Comayagua (1980), the original colonial capital, and on Tegucigalpa (1982), which succeeded it. Chamberlain (1946) and Lunardi (1946) also contributed to this theme. Indigenous people play ambiguous roles in these histories of Spanish settlement. The Indians in Chamberlain's history are either savage barbarians who came to Honduras as allies of Pedro de Alvarado, or rebellious natives that needed to be put down. Lunardi adopts the practice of quoting from colonial documents about Comayagua, and so portrays Indians only as the recipients of Spanish actions.

Colonial Comayagua was the focus of Reina Valenzuela (1968) and Daniela Navarrete Calix (2008). Navarrete Calix writes about the institutions within the city set up for Indians, but otherwise refers to them as the objects of *encomienda*. Spanish urbanization was also the topic of Rodolfo Pastor Fasquelle's master's thesis (1975). His subsequent book on the history of San Pedro Sula (1989) is a unique resource, focusing on the north coast region that is the topic of this study. Pastor Fasquelle shows that San Pedro, after an initial promising start, stagnated into the seventeenth century as it was no longer a mining center. It remained somewhat important because of its connection to the port of Puerto Caballos. Threats to shipping security in the eighteenth century along this coast resulted in the construction of a fort at Omoa, and this region experienced a slight boom as a result of increased economic activity with the founding of the fort. However, it was not until the nineteenth century, with the development of the banana enclaves and railroad, that San Pedro grew to its present dominance as Honduras's second largest city and industrial capital.

Studies of illicit commerce in colonial Honduran history do include the region of northern Honduras. Sariego (1977, 1978) noted that such commerce favored the French and English. Popular goods included staples (flour and salt pork) but more often wine, cane alcohol, vinegar, olive oil, used clothing and table china. Illicit commerce was also the topic of studies by Szaszdy Nagy (1957), and Martinez Castillo and Chaverri (1975). None of these authors focus on Indian participation in illicit commerce. In later chapters, I will show the deep involvement of residents of pueblos de indios on both sides of the illicit commerce on the north coast.

While many of the studies of colonial history of Honduras mention indigenous people in passing, there is very little writing prior to 2000 that takes the indigenous populations of Honduras either as a focus, or as actors with agency. William Davidson, a cultural geographer, looked at the historical geography of the Bay Islands, off the north coast of Honduras (1974), and attempted to trace the geographic location of the Tol in the eighteenth century (1985). Davidson and Cruz Sandoval (1995) describe the movements of the Sumo and Tahuaca from 1690 to the 1990s. Lara Pinto (1980) examined colonial Spanish documents about the conquest and attempted to locate named indigenous places across the country. Lara Pinto (1996) also tried to identify indigenous forms of social organization just prior to the arrival of the Spanish.

The main intellectual work that these authors contributed was a definition of the historical boundaries of different indigenous groups defined by a shared language. In each case, the effort was made more complicated by historical sources that show more fluidity in boundaries than might have been expected, and the displacement of entire groups to other regions in Honduras. It is noteworthy that most of these studies concentrate on indigenous groups that were largely outside the control of the Spanish colonial administration. Many of the sources are from military campaigns and missionization efforts. Only Lara Pinto (1980) takes a country wide approach, but her unit of investigation is the named place, not the linguistic or ethnic group. Her primary sources are early colonial period documents, including those that I discuss in the next chapter.

In unique studies focused on the history of indigenous groups, Offen (2002, 2009), Ibarra (2007, 2009) and Garcia (2007) examine the history of the Miskito and Afrodescendent Zambos in eastern Honduras during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Miskito and Zambos maintained their independence from Spanish colonial control by allying themselves with the English. They used tactics like raiding the Spanish colonial parts of Honduras for indigenous slaves, an economic alliance with the British for

commodities, and an openness to escaped Africans who became the defensive bulwark of the core Miskito settlement area. I will show in later chapters how these slave raids, which extended from the Gulf of Honduras down to Costa Rica, impacted pueblos de indios in the Ulúa Valley.

The spiritual conversion of indigenous peoples and their religious life has been a topic of particular interest for Honduran historians. Argueta (1979) looked at the "spiritual conquest" of Taguzgalpa, an indigenous province, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Black (1995) provided a similar focus on the work of the Mercederian order in western Honduras, among Lenca speaking people. Reina Valenzuela (1983) published a two volume work collecting in one place a series of seminal documents about the ecclesiastical history of Honduras in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Tojeira (1990) presents religious history of Honduras from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries and even attempts to characterize what indigenous religions were like before the Spanish conquest.

These histories draw on both civil and ecclesiastical documents. While Indians are present in such histories, they tend to be combined into the general population, reducing the visibility of indigenous actors. In all of these histories, indigenous people are seen as the passive recipients of evangelization, if they are present at all. In subsequent chapters I will show how indigenous people took an active role in their own Christian practice, and how elements of religion were tactically deployed as part of the work of persistence.

Several anthropological studies of contemporary indigenous groups also include information relevant to historical studies of pueblos de indios. Chapman (1978) traced the history of Spanish contact with various Lenca groups in the interior of Honduras in the sixteenth century, promoting a concept of Lenca tribes corresponding to different languages that my own work, described in the next chapter, challenges. Her ethnographic studies examining modern Lenca field and agricultural ritual provide important evidence of persistence in traditional practices on the level of the individual farmer (Chapman 1985). Castegnaro de Foletti (1989) examines the practices of modern Lenca potters who she demonstrates reproduced traditional technologies throughout the colonial and Republican periods.

In 1983, Argueta (1983) identified several themes not present in Honduran work to that date about the colonial period, particularly writing about encomiendas, land and land policy, and agrarian policy. Argueta (1983) also cites Central American commerce and how it articulated with Spain through the Honduran flotilla as an unexplored topic. Another theme undertaken in Guatemala, but not in Honduras, Argueta (1983:10) states, is

the transition from an Indian majority population to a mestizo majority population in the eighteenth century. While Valenzuela (1978), Mayes (1956), and Diaz Chávez (1973) wrote about the transition from a colonial province to independent state, they did not make the question of change in population composition a central one.

Euraque (1996a) took up Argueta's challenge and looked at the erasure of indianness in the 18th through 20th centuries through an emphasis on *mestizaje* (the development of a population of mixed ethnic or racial extraction), and the concept of a lack of authenticity brought about through loss of indigenous languages. He examines *mestizaje*'s role in the obscuring of indigenous and Afrodescendent people from the official national identity in the 19th and 20th centuries. With the introduction of an explicit discussion of *mestizaje*, Honduran historians turned to exploring the presence and absence from historical accounts of the many different groups that made up the population in the late colonial and early republican periods.

Barahona (2002) examined the evolution of *mestizaje* and attitudes towards Afrodescendent peoples from the colonial period forward to the present day. Pastor Fasquelle (1994) discusses the portrayal of black slaves, freed slaves, and escaped English slaves in the writing of Thomas Gage and Fuentes y Guzman, setting their comments in a historical context. Thompson (2012) discusses the life of run-away English slaves around Trujillo in Honduras. Rebecca Earle (2007) follows Euraque (1996) in contextualizing the redefinition of Honduras as a mestizo population in a larger Latin America-wide process of the development of different national identities.

In a unique study based on historical archaeology, Charles Cheek (1997) describes how different Afrodescendent groups interacted in Honduras during the transition toward independence. His data came from three sites dating from 1799 to the 1880s near Trujillo. One site was occupied by refugees from Haiti. Another was a settlement of Garifuna forcibly resettled from Saint Vincent Island in the 1790s. Cheek argues that the Garifuna living near Trujillo preferentially used products of English manufacture, simultaneously distinguishing themselves from the Haitians, and from the unconquered indigenous Miskito of eastern Honduras.

The colonial Atlantic coast of Honduras, previously only represented by work on the fort of San Fernando (Hasemann 1979; Zapatero 1997), became a topic of interest for more historians after 2000. Payne (2009) documents the proposal in 1556 to move the trans-isthmus gold shipment from Panama to Honduras, ultimately departing from Puerto Caballos on the Atlantic coast. She also examined the history of the port of Trujillo, in eastern Honduras (Payne 2006, 2007). Fernandez Morente (2001) described

Honduras's economic relations with the Caribbean region. Despite the development of these examples, in 2010 Euraque (2010) noted an almost complete lack of colonial histories for the Atlantic coast of Honduras, and a complete lack of colonial histories for the region that treat indigenous people as agents instead of objects.

Discussion

What this review should make clear is that there is a gap in the existing literature on colonial Honduras, a lack of works that take as their focus indigenous people as agents crafting their own persistence, rather than as passive objects affected by forces over which they had no control. In such crafting lie the roots of modern Honduran civilization; the social transition through the colonial history to where Euraque takes up the question of race and identity in modern Honduras. That historical research in Honduras has focused on the data-rich regions of the interior of the country comes as no surprise. This makes it all the more important to focus on the history of the Atlantic coast of Honduras, since without understanding how it articulates with the colonial centers, and with Spain and Guatemala, one cannot understand the Honduran colony.

My own work derives from similar sources to those used by recent historians of the Honduran colonial period. Rather than accept that there was no effective way to study the indigenous experience along the north coast of Honduras, I sought out resources for the region in a variety of archives. These sources, as I will demonstrate in the chapters that follow, allow me to develop a historical account in which indigenous people were active agents in their own community persistence. They were central actors in the shaping of the Honduran colony.

While conventional histories argue that indigenous people disappeared early from the area, my research has located a large body of documents about indigenous communities here. While some kinds of documents traditionally privileged (such as economic records) are missing, the kinds of documents available (in particular, petitions and legal cases) are especially illuminating sources when analyzed in new ways that I will introduce in the chapters that follow. Those documents allow me to tell a more complicated history.

In that history, indigenous people employed Spanish institutions to reinforce their continuity as communities. They reproduced traditional practices of particular value in relating community and land, such as cultivation of cacao, but also drew on practices introduced through

colonization to reinforce community identity, for example, through community churches. Indigenous communities in the late colonial period recruited residents from outside the pueblo.

In order to show how pueblos de indios persisted, I take one community-- originally called Masca, later Candelaria-- and follow it as it relocated twice to safer positions inland; successfully petitioned colonial authorities at points over multiple generations to resist increased labor demands and insist on relief from threats of excommunication and debt; became embroiled in economic activities, both legal and clandestine, around a new military fort; and gradually rebuilt its population size from a low point at the end of the sixteenth century. I will stress the way that indigenous people in the region probably became conscious of the differences in fundamental assumptions that guided practice during the sixteenth century (drawing on Pierre Bourdieu) and the tactical use by the community of new practices begun under the colonial authority (following the concept of Michel de Certeau); will re-read Spanish documents to move toward an understanding of the indigenous perspectives they echo (employing the dialogics of Mikhail Bakhtin); and show how, far from simply being part of a socio-political hierarchy determined elsewhere, indigenous people in colonial northern Honduras took up positions in social fields through their practices of speech and everyday action.

We begin with an orientation to the region of Honduras called the río de Ulúa in the sixteenth century, a province where a decade-long military resistance to Spanish colonization ended in 1536. Over the course of the next two chapters I will establish where indigenous settlement was in 1536, and how it changed over the course of the sixteenth century. I will explore how indigenous and Spanish actors together created the conditions of the early colony, emphasizing what each might have understood about the other. Masca, in these chapters, is in the background, as the centers of military leadership against the Spanish received more attention from the early Spanish writers. Masca remains just one of a number of pueblos de indios that experienced new regimes of administration as a result of the imposition of a colonial order. Drawing on what documents and archaeology say about other pueblos de indios in the sixteenth century, the next two chapters set the scene for when Masca emerges in the seventeenth century, as the home community of leaders actively negotiating for their community based on what by then were multiple generations of participation in new hybrid practices that allowed the district of San Pedro to survive as a part of the Honduran province of the colony of Guatemala.



Plate I: Ulua River near its head of navigation at Cerro Palenque, looking east



Plate II: View of the floodplains of the Ulua River, looking west toward Cerro Palenque



Plate III: View northeast across the floodplains of the Ulua River, from Cerro Palenque

Chapter 2: The Rio de Ulúa in the Sixteenth Century

This is a study of one town, inhabited when the first Spanish expeditions entered northern Honduras, and its history of persistence on the landscape, including episodes of relocation and renegotiation of its status in the Honduran colony. My approach explores how the indigenous people of this town used a variety of tactics to persist as a community and perpetuate their own views of the world under centuries of Spanish colonial authority. In this chapter, I situate Masca, later known as Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, in the landscape and network of other inhabited places to which it was related.

The Ulúa Valley: Geography and Geomorphology

Honduras's north coast borders on the Caribbean Sea, stretching from the Gulf of Honduras on the west, to Cape Gracias a Dios on the east. This coast consists of a narrow coastal plain for most of its length backed by mountain ranges. These mountain ranges are interrupted every so often by river valleys, some narrow, some wide, where rivers flow from the interior of the country into the Caribbean. In the far west is the Ulúa river valley, the largest river valley in Honduras west of the Mosquitia (Figure 1). Only the Patuca and Cocos rivers have larger valleys, though mostly swamp. The lower Ulúa river valley is a long, fairly narrow valley of 2400 square kilometers of bottom lands, and ranges from 10 to 35 kilometers in width.

Today the valley is formed by two rivers that enter the Caribbean, the Ulúa and Chamelecon rivers. But it is important to remember that tropical rivers are dynamic. In the sixteenth century there was only one river flowing into the sea, the Ulúa River. All the other rivers that entered the valley were tributaries of the Ulúa. The tributaries that form the Ulúa River begin high in the intermountain valleys of central and southern Honduras and flow northwards to drain into the Caribbean Sea. All told, these rivers drain nearly a third of the country.

Kevin Pope (1985) studied the geomorphology of the remains of abandoned river courses in the valley, using geomorphology and the cultural remains of prehispanic settlements along them to date the abandonment of these river courses. He found that in the sixteenth century the Chamelecon river was a tributary of the Ulúa River, with a confluence in the northern part of the valley, somewhere near the modern town of Tibombo. The Choloma River flowed into the Chamelecon south of modern Choloma, before the Chamelecon joined with the Ulúa. According to Pope, sometime in the



Figure 1: Map of 16th century Spanish colonial settlements

sixteenth century the Chamelecon separated from the Ulúa and found its way into an old abandoned Choloma or Ulúa river course to enter the sea.

Documentary evidence suggests that separation happened sometime between 1570 and 1590. Prior to 1590 I have not found any documents that mention the Chamelecon River. In 1590 it is described as flowing into the sea just to the east of Puerto Caballos, west of the mouth of the Ulúa River (1590 AGI Patronato 183 N. 1 R. 16). The Choloma River has also abandoned a number of river courses in the northwestern part of the valley, at times occupying an old Ulúa river course to flow into the sea. It abandoned the course that makes it a tributary of the Chamelecon sometime in the sixteenth century, but Pope is unable to date that abandonment. Pope also describes a major change in the course of the Ulúa in the seventeenth century in the southern part of the valley, with the river moving further west, abandoning a long segment of its course.

The valley today is divided into several different ecological zones. The northern part of the valley largely consists of the river delta, swampy land, and was largely uninhabited in prehispanic history. Along the broader bays to either side of the river delta, however, there were coastal settlements. The riverbanks themselves were the locus of prehispanic settlements. Along the flanks of the mountains on either side of the valley, quebradas drain into the rivers, with further prehispanic settlements along them. Finally the northwest and southwest parts of the valley have a series of hills, one to five hundred meters in height, with prehispanic settlements along their flanks and in one case, Cerro Palenque, on top of the 300 meter hill and along surrounding hilltops. The northwestern hill zone contains three lakes, Jucutuma, Carmen, and Ticamaya, with pre-Columbian settlement along the lakeshores.

The valley was characterized by tropical forests composed of tall trees, and zones of swamps, when the Spanish arrived. Juan Bautista Antonelli wrote a report to the Spanish Crown in 1590 describing the area from Puerto Caballos to San Pedro. About Puerto Caballos he wrote, “the town was surrounded by thick brush and swamps right up to the houses [toda la Villa cercada de arcabucos y çienegas hasta las casas](1590 AGI Patronato 183 N.1 R.16).” He noted that the entire valley north of the Rio Blanco was swampy. Only around San Pedro was the land suitable for cattle. Indigenous settlements in 1590 were on the riverbanks or adjacent to smaller water courses.

Indigenous Settlements of the Ulúa Valley in the Early Sixteenth Century

There has been limited systematic search by archaeologists for contact period indigenous communities in Honduras, except in one small area near the city of Santa Barbara (Black 1995, 1997; Weeks 1997; Weeks and Black 1991; Weeks, Black, and Speaker 1987). Gloria Lara Pinto (1980) included a general proposal of where indigenous communities might have been in her dissertation, based on her review of archival documents. Undertaken at the scale of the entire country, and with an emphasis on reconstructing economic relations, she restricted herself to identifying likely locations of colonial towns using modern maps. While this was a valuable and path breaking study, my own research revises many of her identifications, particularly for the Ulúa valley and adjacent areas.

Pedro de Alvarado provided the best document for this purpose, a *repartimiento* (assignment of labor obligations) to his Spanish supporters of the Indian towns (*pueblos de indios*) near a town he formally established in 1536, San Pedro de Puerto de Caballos (1536 AGI Patronato 20 N. 4 R. 6). Alvarado would continue as nominal Governor of Honduras until 1540, although he was recalled to Spain in 1537. There, he was confronted with the parallel claim of Francisco de Montejo to be the legitimate Governor of Honduras. In 1533 the King of Spain had granted another Royal patent to conquer and pacify Honduras to Montejo, who had recently tried and failed to conquer the Maya of Yucatan. In 1540, Alvarado lost his petition to remain governor of Honduras, and the King named Montejo as Governor, ushering in the beginning of formal Spanish colonial administration.

Pedro Alvarado's 1536 Repartimiento de San Pedro de Puerto de Caballos (1536 AGI Patronato 120 N.4 R.6) demonstrated Alvarado's personal knowledge of Honduran geography (Sheptak 1983). Yet this document, like others, needs to be critically examined before it can be used. In any text, the fact that certain information was recorded reflects a decision not to record other information (Voloshinov 1986: 91). This selection process points to underlying motivations for recording some things and not others.

The interpretation of the document is complicated by a sixteenth century controversy about the 1536 Repartimiento de San Pedro de Puerto de Caballos (1536 AGI Patronato 120 N.4 R.6) and a contemporary Repartimiento de Gracias a Dios also issued by Alvarado. They became a point of contention between Alvarado and Francisco de Montejo, the Governor of Yucatan who was appointed governor of Honduras in an

overlapping royal grant. Many scholars have accepted a claim made by Montejo that Alvarado knew nothing of the geography of Honduras, supposedly allocating the same community multiple times, or mistaking rivers and mountains for towns (Montejo 1864:225). It was actually the repartimiento of Gracias a Dios to which Montejo (1864: 205) was referring when he wrote in 1539 that

because the Adelantado Pedro de Alvarado, because he had not seen nor pacified the land when he issued his repartimiento, and because those who received the repartimientos did not know, he left made in this town [Gracias a Dios] 110 repartimientos, done in this manner: he gave to one a province but all of its towns and ranches he gave to others; to another he gave a town by three or four names to three or four people; to still others he gave peaks, mountains, and rivers in repartimiento; and to others he gave the old sites of towns now depopulated...

[como porque el Adelantado don Pedro dalvarado, como no habia visto ni pacificado la tierra cuado la repartio, no los que recibieron los repartimientos lo sabian, dejo hecho en esta cibdad (Gracias a Dios) ciento e diez repartimientos, que fueran desta manera: daba a uno una provincia y repartio todos los pueblos y estancias dellos a otros; y a otro daba un pueblo por tres o cuatro nombres a tres y a cuatro personas; e a otros daba penas y sierras y rios por repartimientos; y a otros asientos de pueblos viejos despoblados].

This may well have been true about the area covered by the Repartimiento of Gracias a Dios, whose conquest Alvarado had delegated to another; but Alvarado personally visited many of the areas assigned in the San Pedro document.

Alvarado entered Honduras in the southwest, near modern Ocotepeque, and marched immediately to the aid of Cereceda's colony of Santa Maria de Buena Esperanza (Figure 1), located west of the Naco valley (Montejo 1864:217,224). Buena Esperanza had been established near "el asiento de Zura" [the settlement of Sula] or "un pueblo de indios llamado Sula" [a pueblo de indios called Sula] (Pedraza 1898:423, 427). Montejo (1864:224) claimed that Alvarado marched taking slaves and destroying the country until "llego cerca del valle de Zura" [he arrived near the Sula valley]. This was the same area through which Bernal Diaz passed on Cortes' march to Honduras. Diaz (1980:483) stated that "fuimos luego a unos pueblos que se

decian Girimonga y a Zula, y a otros tres pueblos que estaban cerca de Naco" [we then went to some towns that are called Selimonga and to Sula, and to three other towns that are near Naco]. Scholars often incorrectly locate Buena Esperanza in the Ulúa valley, today called the Sula valley (e.g. Chamberlain 1953), but the association of name and place long postdates these sixteenth century documents. Buena Esperanza was clearly in the plains of the Rio Chamelecon near the modern town of Sula, west of Naco, and thus far to the west of the Ulúa valley (Figure 2).

After establishing control of the area around Buena Esperanza and Naco, Alvarado established a temporary base at Tencoa on the Ulúa River in the Department of Santa Barbara, south of the Sula-Naco area. Consequently, we know that Pedro de Alvarado was personally familiar with the territory of northwestern Honduras up to the Naco valley. At Buena Esperanza, he could draw on the knowledge of the existing Spanish colonists who were familiar with the territory from there into the western Ulúa valley, and along the north coast as far as Trujillo, where they were originally settled and from which they had marched to the Naco valley in 1533 (Figure 1).

Speaking specifically of the Repartimiento de San Pedro, Montejo (1864:218-219) states that it includes an area extending to Olancho in eastern Honduras, and adds that the *Repartimiento de Gracias a Dios* also extends this far. This does not imply that the two grants included the *same* places to the east. It is rather a criticism of Alvarado for spreading out too thinly from the only established Spanish centers, a lesson Montejo had learned the hard way in Yucatan. It is perhaps not coincidental that Montejo is urging, in this letter, a project to settle the gold-rich valley of Olancho, a project which would not only bring him wealth but also consolidate his holdings on the eastern edge of his growing personal empire. Invalidating grants made in Olancho in Alvarado's two repartimientos would have the effect of freeing up this gold rich area for re-assignment to himself and his own partisans.

It is the Repartimiento of San Pedro, based on Alvarado's personal knowledge and that he could gain from the existing colonists at Buena Esperanza, that covers precisely the area central to this study. This document refers to three rivers (the Ulúa river, the Balaliamá, and the Lauła) and four valleys (Yoro, Naco, Sula, and Caguantamagas) as geographic signposts used to locate the towns being allocated in repartimiento (Figure

Mar Caribe

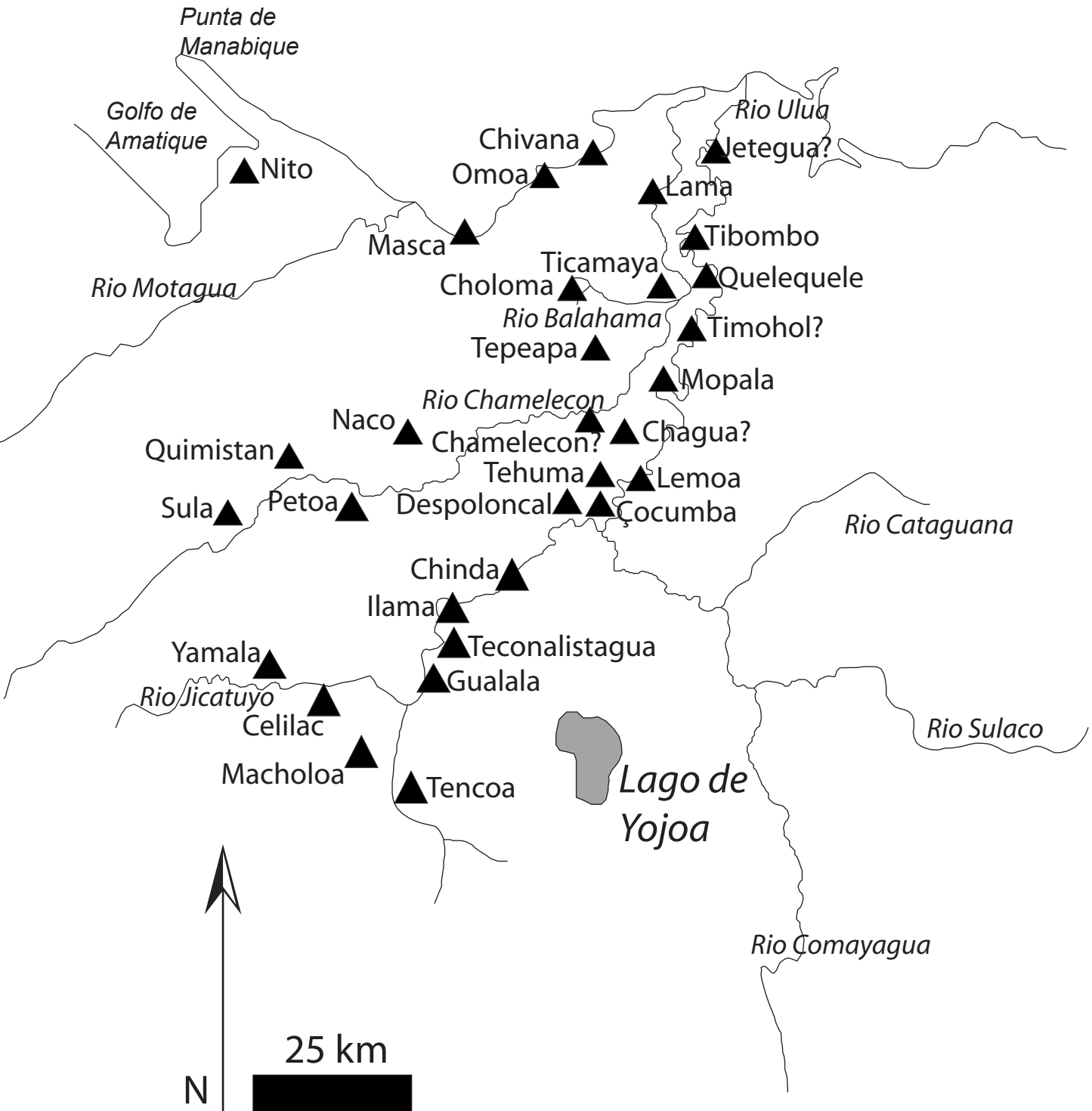


Figure 2: Map of indigenous 16th century settlements

2). The document uses a formula "name of grantee, town name(s), geographic region" to describe each of the 110 indigenous towns allocated:

To Francisco Martin, I give and signal his lordship in repartimiento, the towns of Temterique and Nantrao, which are of the other part of the Ulúa river, with all the nobility and Indians of those towns, for which he has a written document [A Francisco Martin, dio y senalo, su senoria, de repartimiento, los pueblos de Temterique y Nantrao, que son de la otra parte del rio de Olua, con todos los senores e indios de los dichos pueblos, de que llevo cedula.] (Alvarado 1871b:30).

Here "Francisco Martin" is the individual being granted a town in repartimiento, "Temterique y Nantrao" are the names of the towns being given, and "the other part of the Ulúa river" is the geographic region.

The notion that Alvarado is expressing personal knowledge of town locations is even clearer when varying degrees of specificity are used:

To Miguel Garcia de Linan, citizen and town official of said city, I give and signal, by repartimiento, the town of Tepetapa, with the town of Chichiagual, subject to it, three leagues from this city, and the towns of Chorochi, Chicoy, Cecatan, and Temaxacel which are, two of them towards Manianai, and two towards the road to Guatemala; and in addition the town of Peuta, which is towards the Yoro valley, with all the nobility and Indians of said towns

[A Miguel Garcia de Linan, vecino e regidor de la dicha villa, dio y senalo, de repartimiento, el pueblo de Tepeteapa, con el pueblo de Chichiagual, a el sujeto, ques, tres leguas desta villa; y los pueblos de Chorochi, y Chicoy, y Cecatan, y Temaxacel, que son, los dos hacia la parte de Maniani; y los dos, hacia el camino de Guatemala; y mas el pueblo de Peuta, ques, hacia el valle de Yoro; con todos los senores e indios de los dichos pueblos] (1871b:23-24).

The distinction between the precise "three leagues from this city" and the imprecise "towards Maniani" in the above entry is indicative of the varying degrees of geographic knowledge being expressed in the document.

Given that the document reflects real geography, the locations of towns should be internally consistent, and towns listed as in the same region should cluster together on the real landscape as well. Identifications that violate these expectations should be avoided unless continuity from the sixteenth century can be demonstrated. Some early town names were applied

in subsequent centuries to other places in Honduras, which would confuse identification that did not use historical documents as a guide.

In order to control for such erroneous attributions, I used later sources which include town names in Honduras grouped into regions, such as a listing, grouped by district, of the towns in Honduras in 1582 (Contreras Guevara 1946), a 1632 list of towns in the region of Tencoa (Gonzalez 1957), an ecclesiastical survey of 1791 (Cadiñanos 1946), and a civil census from 1804 (Anguiano 1946). Often these documents allow names to be traced within a known region, even when no positive identification of the precise location of the town could be made.

The Ulúa river valley and surroundings is a large and complex area, and Alvarado uses a variety of descriptions to refer to the same areas. In Table 1 these descriptions are grouped so that descriptions that refer to the same region appear in the same table cell.

Table 1: Alvarado’s descriptions of regions in the Repartimiento of San Pedro

Description	Detailed Listing of Towns
“en el rio de Olua”	See Table 2
“en el rio balaliamama” “en el rio calaliamama” “en el rio balalianca” “en el rio balachama” “en el rio balahama”	See Table 3
“en las sierras comarcanas a dicho rio” “hacia la parte de las sierras del rio de Olua”	See Table 4
“en la costa de la mar” “en las cordilleras de las sierras de la mar” “en las sierras comarcanas a la mar”	See Table 5
“en la ribera del rio de Olua, arriba”	See Table 6
“desotra parte de las sierras del rio de Olua” “de la otra parte del rio de Olua, en las sierras” “en las sierras de la otra parte del rio de Olua”	See Table 7
“de la otra parte del rio de Olua” “de la otra parte del rio de Olua”	See Table 8
"en el valle de Naco" "juntos al pueblo de Naco" "en las sierras comarcanas al valle de Naco" "sujeto a Naco"	See Table 9
"en el valle de Sula" "en las sierras comarcanas del valle de Sula" "las sierras confines al valle de Sula" "las sierras comarcanas a Sula"	See Table 10

"hacia Caguatexmagar" "en las sierras de Caguantamagas" "de que es señor Ciguatamagar"	See Table 11
"hacia el valle de Yoro"	See Table 12
"hacia el Maniani" "hacia la parte de Maniani"	See Table 13
"en el camino de la provincia de Guatemala, aguas vertientes al rio de Laula" "en el camino de la provincia de Guatemala" "hacia el camino de Guatemala" "hacia la parte del camino de Guatemala"	See Table 14

The region “on the Ulúa River” is perhaps the most easily identified of the geographic descriptions. This location is specified for 15 towns, four with double or alternate names. Many of these towns can be precisely located today. They range from Quelequele in the north, to Esboloncal in the south, where the Ulúa enters the valley. At first, the designation of Chamelecon as “on the Ulúa River” appears anomalous, because today the town of Chamelecon is on the Chamelecon River. However, as discussed above, in 1536 when the document was written, the Chamelecon was a tributary of the Ulúa River and was treated as part of the Ulúa by the Spanish.

Table 2: Towns located on the Ulúa River

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Quitola/Quitamay	Ticamaya, Cortés	1582 San Pedro 1791 San Pedro
Chamolocon/Toninlo	Chamelecon, Cortés	
Tichel y Lequele	Quele Quele, Cortés	
Tibombo y Caquera	Tibombo, Cortés	1582 San Pedro
Despolonal	Esboloncal, Cortés	1582 San Pedro
Mopalalia	Mopala, Cortés	1582 San Pedro
Teuma	San Manuel Tehuma, Cortés	1582 San Pedro 1791 Tehuma or Ulúa 1804 Chinda
Lemoa/Marcayo	Lemoa, Cortés	1582 San Pedro
Chagua	Jaguas, Cortés	1582 none given
Chetegua	Jetegua	1582 none given
Chupenma		
Istacapa		
Maliapa		
Penlope		
Timohol		1582 none given

A second region is described as “on the balaliamia (or balahama) river” where some of the towns can be identified. These identifications rule out Stone’s (1957) suggestion that the Balahama/Balaliamia is the Ulúa River. The location of Choloma, south of the modern town in the sixteenth century, and of Lama, confirm this was the name for what today is called the Choloma river, running in a course that has since been abandoned. Andres de Cereceda described Conta y Cholula as being two leagues along the same river as Ticamaya in 1533. Pope (1984) identifies this course of the Choloma River as having been current in the sixteenth century, and has the Choloma joining the Chamelecon river right at the archaeological site that represents the remains of the pueblo of Ticamaya (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006).

Table 3: The Choloma River

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Choloma y Teocunitad	Choloma, Cortés	
Lama y Milon	Lama, Cortés	
Conta y Cholula		
Pocoy		

“In the mountains near said river” and “towards the mountains near said river” refers to a small hill zone located on the northeastern edge of the valley. There are only five towns in the region, of which four were said to be tributary to Ticamaya in the sixteenth century. While none of these towns can currently be identified, one of them was described as being in the jurisdiction of San Pedro in 1582, which locates this area in the northern Ulúa valley.

Table 4: Towns in the mountains of the Ulúa river

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Toloa	Toloa, Yoro	1582 San Pedro
Yux		1582 none given
Estupil		1582 none given
Pepel		1582 none given
Tonaltepeque		1582 none given
Mecuxa	Mezapa, Atlántida?	

The region described in the Repartimiento as “on the seacoast” or “in the mountains of the coast” is associated with the Caribbean coast between the Ulúa River and modern Guatemala. All of these towns are either on the coast itself, or in the Sierra de Omoa. Five of these towns can be associated with modern locations, while a sixth, Quelepa, is known to have been in the same region based on the testimony of Bernal Diaz, who visited it on a foraging mission from Nito on the Golfo Dulce in 1525 (1980:480). The original location of Masca, the focus of this work, is among these towns north and west along the coast. In the late seventeenth century the people of Masca moved inland away from this original location, reflected in their shift from the jurisdiction of Puerto Caballos to that of San Pedro.

Table 5: Towns on the coast

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Comoa y Chichiaguala	Omoa and Chachaguala, Cortés	
Tecucaste		
Techuacan	Tecuan, Atlantida?	
Maxcaba	Masca, Cortés	1582 Puerto de Caballos 1791 San Pedro 1804 Chinda
Quelepa		
Yama		
Xacala		
Chabana	Chivana, Cortés	
Tolian	Tulian, Cortés	
Petegua		

The region “on the banks of the Ulúa, above (or upriver)” most likely refers to the geography around the modern town of Chinda, upriver from Esboloncal. The identifiable towns in this region are outside of the Ulúa river valley.

Table 6: Towns upstream on the Ulúa River

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Chintaguapalapa	Chinda, Santa Barbara	1582 San Pedro 1791 Petoa 1804 Chinda
Coapa		
Quechaltepete	Quezaltepeque, Santa Barbara	1582 Gracias a Dios 1632 Tenco
Quitapa		
Chapoapa		1582 San Pedro
Motochiapa		
Yscalapa		
Tetacalapa		
Comila		

A number of other towns are located “on the other part of the Ulúa River”. Identifications of towns described in this way make it clear that this refers to tributaries of the Ulúa River. Early maps of the region (Davidson 2006) describe the river systems from the point of view of someone entering the streams by boat. Tributaries are seen as branching from the original river, rather than, in modern terms, as discrete bodies of water flowing into the Ulúa. There are multiple tributaries to the Ulúa that are not otherwise described in the repartimiento: the Chamelecon river, which flows west; the Rio Blanco, which flows southwest; and the Comayagua river, which flows southeast, each with their own tributaries. All of these are candidates for the "other part" of the Ulúa River.

Multiple towns are said to be located in the region “in the mountains” of the "other part" of the Ulúa River. The three identifiable towns, Oloman, Cataguana, and San Jose Guayma, are in the department of Yoro along the Rio Cuyumapa, a branch of the Comayagua River. Oloman and Cataguana are mentioned in the description of a foraging mission led by Gonzalo de Alvarado during the 1530s (Alvarado y Chavez 1967). All three places are mentioned in documents reporting a campaign against "infidel" Jicaque Indians in 1623, described as in the "valle de Cataguana, del rio Olua" and "las montañas de Cartaguana, Oloman, i Guaymar" (Garavito 1925a, 1925b). Other towns with this designation may have been located near Agalteca, further east along the Sulaco River, another tributary of the Comayagua River.

Table 7: Towns on the "other part" of the Ulúa River, in the mountains

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Catoguama	Cataguana, Yoro	
Oloma	Oloman, Yoro	
Guyamacan	San Jose Guayma, Yoro	1582 Comayagua
Atauchia		
Axuragapa		
Celot		
Contela		
Coateco		
Suchistabaca		
Chapalia		
Chapoapa		
Chondaguz		

Table 7 (continued)

Chongola		
Xuay		
Istabaca		
Maula		1582 Trujillo
Oricapala	Oricapila, Comayagua	1582 Comayagua
Tepetuagua		
Tarate		
Timolo		
Tisucheco		
Toscale		
Tulapa		
Yoqui		

Three towns are identified simply as "on the other part of the Ulúa River". While at first, this seems similar to the previous designation, the omission of "sierras" in these cases distinguishes them. One of these places, Chapanapa, granted to Andres de Cereceda in 1536, was listed in 1539 in the posthumous account of his estate, in a list of mines near Quimistan, which is along the Chamelecon River west of the Ulúa valley.

Table 8: Towns on the other part of the Ulúa River

Town Name	Modern Identification
Chapanapa	
Nantrao	
Temterique	

Naco, where Spanish officers sent south by Cortes established themselves in 1525, is one of the regions already well known to Alvarado in 1536. Places are described as in the Naco valley, near the town of Naco, subject to Naco, or in the mountains surrounding the Naco valley. Some of these can be identified with towns in the Naco area today. Others were mentioned in letters written by Andres de Cereceda in 1534. Along with these, the report on the 1525 campaign by Bernal Diaz allows us to place Selimonga and Soluta close to Naco, Quimistan, and Sula. First hand knowledge is emphasized by the estimate of a combined strength for Naco and Ilamatepeque of up to 300 men.

Table 9: The Naco Valley

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Naco	Naco, Santa Barbara	
Quimistem	Quimistan, Santa Barbara	1791 Petoa 1804 Chinda
Tapalampa y Tetecapa	Tapalapa, Santa Barbara	1582 none given
Acapustepec y Sonalagua		1582 none given
Soluta y Tenestepet		
Selimonga		1582 San Pedro
Copanique		1582 Gracias a Dios
Motochiapa y Chapoapa		1582 San Pedro
Chumbaguapalapa	Chumbagua, Cortés	1582 San Pedro
Maciguata		
Petoa y Acachiauyt	Petoa, Santa Barbara	1582 San Pedro 1791 Petoa
Ilamatepet	Ilama, Santa Barbara	1582 San Pedro 1791 Tencoa 1804 Tencoa
Teconalistagua	Teconalistagua, Cortés	1582 San Pedro

A second location referred to in a similar way was the "valle de Sula". Great confusion has been caused by Doris Stone's (1941) identification of this location with the modern city of San Pedro Sula. However, historic documents show that this is the area around the present-day town of Sula, west of Quimistan, along the middle Chamelecon. Because it was an area with gold mines whose output was sent to San Pedro for processing, the city came to be called "San Pedro de las Minas de Sula", later shortened to San Pedro Sula. Two towns, Chiquila and Pozuma, can be identified, and are close to the modern town of Sula, west of the Naco valley.

Sula had been among the earliest named towns known from Honduras, and all the early references reinforce identification with modern Sula, Santa Barbara, west of Quimistan. The route followed by the expedition Cortes sent from Nito to Naco passed up the Motagua valley, entering the Sula valley, proceeding via Quimistan to Naco (Diaz 1980:480-483). In the early 1530s, when Spanish colonists abandoned Trujillo for the Naco area, they established Santa Maria de Buena Esperanza, their new capital, near Sula.

In 1536, Sula itself was not assigned in repartimiento. Andres de Cereceda reportedly destroyed the town when he abandoned it for Naco. The modern town of Sula derives its name from Cereceda's *encomienda* (grant of labor rights) in the same area, and the mines of Sula which were remembered and revived in the late eighteenth century, simultaneous with a growth of ranching population there to provision the fortress at Omoa (1786 AGCA A3 Legajo 507 Expediente 5264). In 1791, Sula was identified as a valley in the curate of Tencoa. Otherwise, none of the towns named in 1536 as located in or near Sula are mentioned in 1582, 1632, 1791, or 1804.

Table 10: The valley of Sula

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Chiquilar	Chiquila, Santa Barbara	
Aplaca		
Sicapez y Jalmatepet		
Chumbazina		
Tascoava		
Acapa		
Secaloce		
Chilapa		
Tepoltepet		
Prosuma	Pozuma, Santa Barbara	

A third valley identifiable with an area of the modern Department of Santa Barbara was described as "towards" or "in the mountains of" a specific person, Caguantamagas. He is specifically named as the *señor* of a town called Tranan. While none of these town names survive, in 1632 Yamalera was described as in the area of Tencoa, Santa Barbara, as was a Tamagasapa in 1791 and 1804. Today, the area around San Jose Colinas, Santa Barbara, in the Tencoa area, is called the valle de Tamagasapa.

Table 11: Near Caguantamagas

Town Name	Identification
Yamalera	
Guatecay y Cuena-aguapelo	
Tranan	

A final valley used as a term of reference is Yoro, east of the Ulúa valley. The Spanish colonists of Honduras would have known Yoro in 1536 because it was in the hinterland of Trujillo, from which they had moved to the Naco-Quimistan area only a few years earlier. Two towns named in this location are identifiable today.

Table 12: The Yoro valley

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Yoro	Yoro, Yoro	1582 San Pedro 1791 Yoro
Mapagua	Maragua, Yoro	1582 none given
Guatepegua		1582 none given
Peuta		1582 none given

Also east, but towards the south, was a cluster of towns described as "towards Maniani" or "towards the area of Maniani". Maniani was a town known to the relocated colonists living in Santa Maria de Buena Esperanza, according to letters from interim governor Andres de Cereceda to the king of Spain. Maniani itself was just north of the Comayagua valley and all the identified towns mentioned were part of the Comayagua jurisdiction in 1582.

Table 13: Towards Maniani

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Maniani	Maniani	1582 Comayagua 1791 Comayagua 1804 Comayagua
Agalteca	Agalteca	1582 Comayagua 1804 Cedros
Comayagua	Comayagua	1582 Comayagua 1791 Comayagua 1804 Comayagua
Sulaco	Sulaco	1582 Comayagua 1804 Yoro
Aramani		1582 Comayagua
Chicoy		
Chorocho		
Intiquilagua		
Lenga		
Macolay		
Maleo		

A relatively large number of towns were described with reference to a "Rio Laua". The same river was combined as part of a description referring to the "road to Guatemala". Located to the west, at a greater distance from the Ulúa valley, these towns were well known to the Spanish colonists because they were along the established route from the Naco and Quimistan valleys to the capital city of Guatemala. One town, Naoponchota, is actually described in both ways. Culúacan is probably the town Cuyuacan, 7 leagues inland along the Rio Motagua valley, mentioned by Bernal Diaz writing about the campaign of 1525 (1980:482). Chapulco today is a town south of the ruins of Quirigua, Guatemala, in the mountains which separate Honduras from the Motagua plain. These identifications, along with the inference that the Rio Laua was not a tributary of the Ulúa, based on it having a distinct name, suggest that Rio Laua is best identified with the Rio Motagua.

Table 14: The Rio Laua and road to Guatemala

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Achiete	Achote, Cuyamel	
Lalaco		
Culúacan		
Naoponchota		
Cecatan y Temaxacel		
Caxete y Laguela	Laguala, Gracias	1582 Gracias a Dios 1791 Gracias a Dios
Chapulco	Chapulco, Guatemala	1582 Gracias a Dios
Abalpoton		

A single town, Toquegua, has a related but distinct geographic location. It was described as "de la otra parte del rio de Olua, hacia el mar". Toquegua is the name of a prominent early colonial indigenous family in the Ulúa valley and the zone west to the Gulf of Amatique (Sheptak 2007). A town with this name was reported in other Spanish colonial documents, located east of Laguna Izabal. From the perspective of San Pedro, this location was towards the sea from one of the upstream branches of the Ulúa, the Rio Chamelecon.

Eight towns given in the San Pedro repartimiento have no geographic location indicated. Four are easily identified (Table 15). They include Meambar, a town described in the correspondence of Andres de Cereceda, where, as in a few other instances, the repartimiento gives an estimate of population size, in this case, 400 houses. The inclusion of San Gil de Buena

Vista, only one league from Nito on the Golfo Dulce in Guatemala, marks the western boundary of the *Repartimiento de San Pedro*, while one half of the island of Utila marks the boundary with an early repartimiento made when the colonists were in Trujillo to the east.

Table 15: Towns not assigned a geographic location

Town Name	Identification	Later Jurisdictions
Chinamin	Chinamit	1582 none given
La Isla de Utila	Utila, Bay Islands	1582 San Pedro
San Gil de Buena Vista	Golfo Dulce, Guatemala	
Gualala	Gualala, Santa Barbara	1582 Gracias a Dios 1632 Tencoa 1791 Tencoa 1804 Tencoa
Miambar	Meambar, Comayagua	1582 Comayagua 1791 Siguatepeque 1804 Comayagua
Taomatepet		
Patuca		
Oquipilco		
Chuyoa		
Ayaxal		

Finally, the Repartimiento describes two other towns simply as being three leagues from San Pedro, Tepeapa and Chichiactal, the latter described as "with" Tepeapa in a double naming pattern common in the Ulúa valley. San Pedro was founded just south of modern Choloma. The 1536 foundation document for San Pedro was actually written at Choloma:

being in a large building that is at the seat of the *pueblo de indios* that is called Choloma, where there is a tree that they call *madre cacao* [estando en una cabaña grande que esta junto al asiento del pueblo de indios que se dicen Choloma, donde esta un arbol que se llama madre de cacao]

The town of Tepeteapa is the place where Anton de la Torre (1874:244) says Cristobal de Olid and Gil Gonzalez Davila met on the way to Naco in 1524. This was a point described as about three leagues from Choloma. Tepeaca, currently an eastern barrio within the modern city of

San Pedro, meets these requirements. Montejo moved San Pedro near here when he became governor of the province of Honduras (Montejo 1864:221).

In total, there are some 42 Indian towns given by Alvarado in repartimiento that were located in the Ulúa river valley, or along the coast between the Ulúa River and Guatemala. Another 27 towns were located with reference to the Ulúa River and its tributaries. After Spanish colonization, the town became the basic governmental and administrative structure of indigenous life. Spanish colonial structure actually reinforced and perpetuated what was already the basic focus of social relations in the Ulúa valley, the internally stratified, largely autonomous, indigenous town.

Social Identity in Indigenous Honduras in the Sixteenth Century

Honduras at the beginning of the sixteenth century had a complex social geography. Settlements ranged from small towns to cities with hundreds of houses and public buildings. Indigenous communities spoke many languages. Some of these, like the Chorti and Lenca, are well known, while others, such as the Pech and Tol, are less well known (Chapman 1978a, 1978b, 1985, 1986; Davidson 1985, 1991, 2006; Gomez 2002, 2003; Henderson 1977; Lara Pinto 1980, 1991, 1996).

Traditional studies of indigenous language distributions rely on Spanish colonial documents that never were meant as a comprehensive resource on language. As Van Broekhoven (2002:129) notes there is no necessary tie between ethnic identity and a community, nor do language and culture necessarily lead to a single identity. Campbell has shown that people of one culture can speak several different languages, and one language might be shared by people of several distinct cultures (Campbell 1998).

Previous reconstructions of language distributions in Honduras (Campbell 1976, 1979; Davidson 1985; Davidson and Cruz 1991; Stone 1941) have viewed the Ulúa valley as a meeting place of Maya, Lenca, and Tol/Jicaque. Studies of the distribution of Lenca in the sixteenth century have raised questions about the existence of Caré, Colo, Popoluca, and other recorded terms, whether as distinct dialects or independent languages (Chapman 1978b; Davidson 1985; Fowler 1989; Lara Pinto 1991). Are these labels for distinct languages? Lineages? Tribes? Campbell (1978) identifies only two Lenca languages, Honduran Lenca and Salvadoran Lenca. Sachse (2010) notes that for another of the troubling languages of Southeast Mesoamerica, Xinca, colonial documents record different distinct dialects being spoken in different barrios of the same town.

Interpretations of the Ulúa valley being a Maya speaking part of western Honduras in the sixteenth century have generally followed arguments made in the sixteenth century by Francisco Montejo, that there was all one language from Campeche to the Ulúa river, as part of his claim to govern from Yucatan to Honduras. Modern scholars who follow this model use Montejo's statement to craft models of language distribution that fit the culture area concept that predicted that the Ulúa valley was the frontier of the Maya languages, because of the existence of Mesoamerican area traits like polychrome pottery and ball courts that were considered typically Mesoamerican, and on the eastern edge of Mesoamerica, typically Mayan (Thompson 1938).

Arguments have also been made for the distribution of Tol/Jicaque in the lower Ulúa valley. These resulted from a flawed identification of towns inhabited in the early twentieth century by Tol speakers, actually in the Department of Yoro east of the Ulúa valley, with colonial towns of the same name in the valley itself. This is a problem I return to in my final chapter, as one of these misplaced towns was confused with Candelaria, the focus of this study.

The distribution of Nahuatl place names in Honduras has been treated as evidence of a prehispanic distribution of people speaking Nahua-related languages (Fowler 1986), but mainly reflects colonial period resettlement of Spanish auxiliaries, and the use of Nahuatl as a prestige language. The practice of using Nahuatl calendric day names as personal names, and the use of Nahuatl toponyms in Mesoamerican regions not known to have had Nahua populations, is amply documented in Southeastern Mesoamerica. These two patterns are known from Honduras as well.

In general, those working in Honduras have sidestepped the question of prehispanic multilingualism, preferring to view multilingualism as a product of colonialism. Archaeologists have generally ignored Fox's call for recognition of prehispanic multilingualism (Fox 1981). The Ulúa valley situation is somewhat similar to the Xinca case studied by Sachse (2010), and the Chontales case in Nicaragua studied by Van Broekhoven (2002). Sachse (2010) attributed the multi-lingualism of single communities to colonial processes. Van Broekhoven (2002:130) uses Campbell's methodology of seeing where the preponderance of evidence leads to determine language distributions.

In studying the Ulúa valley, I reached the conclusion that the evidence suggests the communities were multilingual and that language was not the same as personal identity, as Van Broekhoven (2002) also suggests. I argue that many of the subdivisions of Lenca in particular might be better viewed

as naming localized identities with towns and their dominant families, not languages or dialects.

The Spanish colonizers were neither linguists nor anthropologists. At times they gave offensive names to indigenous groups, such as using the word “Jicaque” to refer to the Tol of Yoro. “Jicaque” in the Nahuatl languages means a savage, an uncivilized person, and was applied not only to the Tol in Honduras, but also to rebellious Indians in other parts of the Spanish colonies. Honduran colonial documents thus contain phrases like “indios jicaques de Campeche” or “indios jicaques Miskitos”, in addition to using the unmodified term Jicaque for the Tol, for example, in documents reporting a campaign against "infidel" Jicaque Indians in the Cuyumapa Valley in 1623 (Garavito 1925a, 1925b).

While today it is common to equate a nation with its language, this is a modern idea. The intellectual roots of this association are in the seventeenth century, but it was first codified as a concept in 1772 by Johann Gottfried Herder who proposed the unity of language, national character, and territory (Gal 2006:164). This idea developed in Europe with the establishment of dictionaries, grammars, and language academies. Even though the first non-Latin language grammar, the *Gramatica de la lengua castellana* of Antonio Nebrija, was published in 1492, it was not until 1713 that the Royal Spanish Academy was founded to elaborate the norms and rules of the Spanish language. In the sixteenth century, Spain was a multilingual country, and its colonies were multilingual as well. Because of this, we must be careful when we use colonial documents, or the words they use for the language of an indigenous community, as definitive evidence of their ethnic identity, maternal language, or community identity.

The colonial documents in fact so far are mute on what language the indigenous people of northern Honduras spoke. There are no explicit statements of the form, “they spoke XXX” where XXX is some known indigenous language. Nor when interpreters are used in colonial documents is there any indication of what language the interpreter speaks, as this example from Masca in 1662 illustrates:

in the name and with the power of attorney of said encomendera I made appear before me the Mayor of said town Miguel Cuculi and the town official Roque Chi, and their being present along with the rest of the town, through Simon Lopez who performed the role of interpreter and understands the language of said Indians, made them understand said title (of encomienda)

[en nombre y com poder de dha encomendera hize
parezer ante mi a el Alcalde de dho pueblo Miguel
Cuculí y regidor del Roque Chi y estando presenttes con
los demas de dho pueblo por Simon Lopez que hizo
ofiçio de yntterprete y enttiende la lengua de dhos
yndios les dia enttender el dho ttitulo].
(1679 AGI Guatemala 104 N.9)

This differs from the situation in Nicaragua where Patrick Werner reports (personal communication) that it was common for colonial documents to mention the language used by the interpreter. In Honduras, in contrast, the documents only refer to the language spoken, if they refer to it at all, as the "lengua materna" (mother tongue) of the Indians.

Many investigators (Feldman 1975, 1998; Hellmuth 1971; Henderson 1977; Milla 1879; Roys 1943:114; Sapper 1985; see also the maps in Chapman 1978:25 and Newson 1986:19) have followed Thompson (1938) in identifying a language and ethnic identity "Toquegua" in northern Honduras, including the lower Ulúa valley. Toquegua is further identified by these authors as a Maya language and ethnicity. This is largely based on the writing of Spanish priests who in 1605, after visiting a series of Chol speaking towns in the Verapaz region, visited a *reducción* (Spanish resettlement, which could concentrate people of different origins) of "Toquegua" in Amatique, located near the mouth of the Motagua River. They describe speaking to the people in the Amatique settlement in Chol, and say the people answered back in badly spoken Chol (Ximenez 1932).

Rather than interpret Toquegua as the name of a language and a people named for that language, it is more consistent with other information to interpret the word "Toquegua" as a reference to a group of people (Sheptak 2007). The people described in Amatique could speak a Cholan language, but in a way notably distinct from the native Cholan speakers with whom the expectations of the friars were formed. The individuals involved had been resettled, and it is possible they came from a town originally named Toquegua, as Toquegua occurs in historical documents as the name of a town in the Motagua Valley area. Interestingly, it also appears in historical documents as the name of a prominent family.

Social Relations: Town, Family, and Personal Names

Instead of projecting a modern equation of language, nation, and identity into the past, we can infer identity from the way people name

themselves. In most cases, in Honduran colonial documents the Indians use Spanish surnames, but there are also indigenous surnames used in this region in the colonial period. Pastor Gomez (2002, 2003) has shown that “Çocamba”, the personal name of a cacique in the valley in 1536, is used in 1576 as both the family surname of the cacique of the town Santiago Çocamba, and as part of the town name. This example shows that “Çocamba”, which prior to the conquest was the identifier of a specific person, and possibly already a town name, was transformed into a Spanish surname (*apellido*) in the colonial period.

At least four of the towns that were part of the *provincia del rio Ulúa* (province of the Ulúa river), the colonial administrative territory centered on the Ulúa river, included historically documented individuals who had indigenous surnames (Figure 3). These included Masca, where the indigenous-surnamed Cuculí family produced members who functioned as *alcaldes* (mayors) and *regidores* (councilmen), and individuals who petitioned the Audiencia in Guatemala. In 1672, Miguel Cuculi, alcalde of Masca, participated in the ceremonial transfer to its new *encomendero* (holder of labor rights) of the encomienda of Masca (1679 AGI Guatemala 104 N.9). In 1675, Blás Cuculi, who identified himself as a *vecino* (resident with legal rights) of San Pedro Masca, presented a petition on the part of the indigenous community to the Audiencia of Guatemala in Santiago Guatemala (1675 AGCA A3.12 Legajo 527 Expediente 5525). In 1704, Simon Cuculi, acting as alcalde, assumed the debt of a Spanish resident of San Pedro in order to secure land near San Pedro for the relocated town, by then known as Nuestra Senora de Candelaria de Masca (1714 AGCA A1.45.6 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413).

Another notable indigenous family present in Masca was the Chi family. Roque Chi was a regidor participating in the ceremony transferring the encomienda of Masca from one holder to another in 1662. In 1711 both Diego Chi and Guillermo Chi were regidores. Another family member, Juana Chi, appears in a 1781 list of town residents (1781 AGCA A3.1 Legajo 1305 Expediente 22217 folio 15).

Chavacan is a third indigenous family name that appears in Masca, as well as in neighboring Ticamaya. Again, at Masca the use of this surname is a marked practice of a family with members in political offices. Martin Chabacan appears in a 1610 list of coastal watchmen at the point of Manabique on the coast near the original location of Masca (1610 AGCA A3.13 Legajo 527 Expediente 5505). In 1711, Marcos Chavacan was regidor and Augusto Chavacan was alcalde of Masca. In 1712 Marcos Chavacan was located in Puerto Caballos as part of the coastal watch. In

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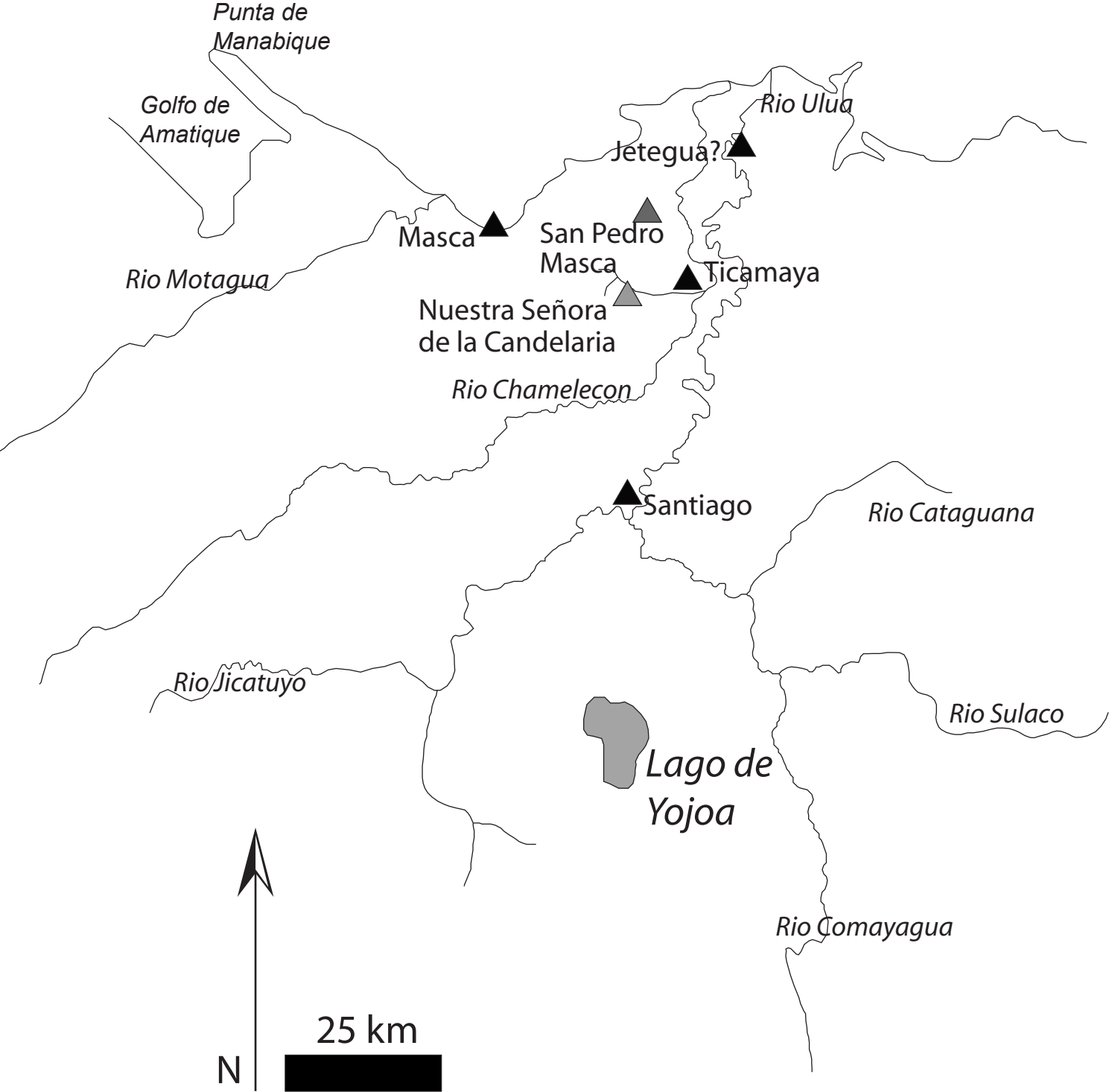


Figure 3: Towns in the Ulua province with individuals with indigenous surnames

1781, Masca's residents included Pascual Chavacan and Angela Maria Chavacan. At that time, an Ana Maria Chavacan lived in Ticamaya, whose residents were ultimately counted together with those of Candelaria in 1809 (1781 AGCA A3.1 Legajo 1305 Expediente 22217 folio 14).

Jetegua, another pueblo de indios in the Ulúa valley, also had a number of families with indigenous surnames, again acting in governance roles. In 1679 Gaspar Sima was alcalde, with Sebastian Calao as *mayordomo* (town official) and Luis Toquegua as regidor (1679 AGCA A1.60 Legajo 5364 Expediente 45339). In 1710, Fabrian Calao, also described as mayordomo, and Marcelo Alao, Luis Toquegua, Jacinto Sima, and Bartolome Calao are listed among the *indios principales* of Jetegua (1710 AGCA A1.12 Legajo 50 Expediente 493). Literally meaning "principal Indians", *indios principales* are understood to comprise a separate social stratum, an indigenous upper class present before the Spanish colony that continued to be recognized by others in the town even when not formally part of colonial structures.

In the colonial towns where indigenous surnames were preserved, individuals with these names are prominent in government and are denoted *indios principales*. They are even occasionally described with a distinctive Nahuatl-derived term *tlatoque*. Immediately after listing Fabrian Calao, Marcelo Alao, Luis Toquegua, Jacinto Sima, and Bartolome Calao, along with Pablo Perez and Pedro Garcia, as officers of Jetegua, the 1710 document invokes "los demas tlatokes chicos y grandes del pueblo", "the rest of the small and great tlatokes of the town". "Tlatoque" is the plural of the Nahuatl word "tlatoani", which literally means "speaker" and was the word used by the Mexica for their rulers. Even more than the term *indio principal*, *tlatoque* implies the existence of a recognized group distinguished in social rank, an indigenous nobility still acknowledged in the early eighteenth century.

Toquegua itself was clearly a surname for such a high-ranking family in colonial Honduras. At the same time, it was a town name. Again, this is not unique. There are other indigenous towns whose names appear as surnames of prominent indigenous families in the colonial period. Cuculi, in addition to being the name of a prominent family in Masca, named an indigenous town located west of the mouth of the Golfo Dulce, on the coast. Alao was a family name in Jetegua, along with variants like Calao, but it was also the name of an indigenous town in the mountains between the Ulúa and Motagua rivers. Gualala, the name of an indigenous town on the Ulúa River in Santa Barbara south of Naco, appears as the surname of one of the

last indios principales in Naco in 1588 (1588 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 511 Expediente 5347).

The group of resettled residents at Amatique in 1605 identified as "Toquegua" included people with surnames Achavan, Ixchavan, and Chavan (Feldman 1998), the first two likely Maya-style male and female names using the prefixes ah- and ix- along with Chavan, recognizably related to the family name Chavacan recorded in colonial towns of the Ulúa valley. Chivana, an indigenous town today located between Puerto Caballos and Omoa on the coast, was also spelled Chavana, and may be related.

Most important for this study, both Masca and Mascaban are indigenous personal names recorded in the Amatique area. Mascaba or Masca was an indigenous town originally located on the coast east of Amatique, near Manabique. Even when the residents of this town relocated inland, they preserved the name Masca as part of their town name, into the eighteenth century.

All the indigenous town names that appear as surnames in the colonial period in this area should be considered as naming an individual or a group of residents in an indigenous town, each town perhaps headed by one family in particular that shared the town name as a personal name. Considerable evidence suggests that the families who shared the names of towns were higher ranking than other families in those towns. These families of indios principales were cosmopolitan: possibly multilingual, and certainly critical participants in long distance connections with other Mesoamerican peoples.

Multilingualism and Cosmopolitanism

Colonial documents suggest that the indigenous towns of the Ulúa region incorporated two classes of people, one of which retained indigenous names and monopolized community governance. The use of a Nahuatl term to refer to some of these individuals brings us back to the question of the language spoken in the region, and the contribution that identifying the dominant language of this region might make to understanding indigenous identity here.

Names for prominent indigenous families in the colonial period often were also names of specific towns, across an area extending from the Golfo Dulce (today in Guatemala) to the Ulúa river valley (Figure 4). This is the same area identified by others as the zone of a "Toquegua" language or ethnic group. Toquegua is a town name in the 1536 Repartimiento of San Pedro by Pedro Alvarado, and a family name in Jetegua in the 1600s. The argument for Toquegua being a language (and by extension, a language-

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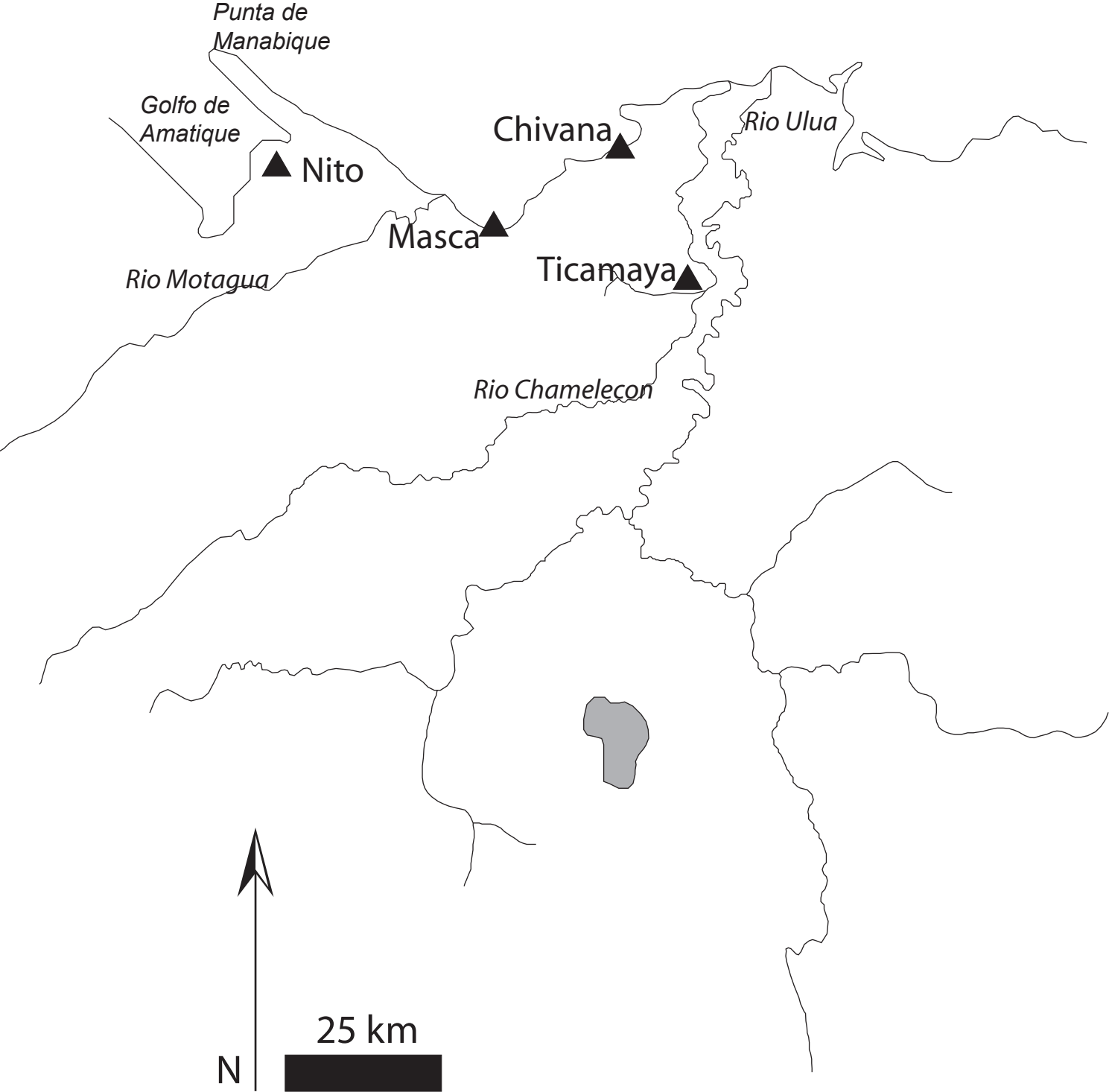


Figure 4: Map of the Toquegua area

based ethnicity) comes from analyses of colonial era documents concerning the area around the mouth of the Motagua River from 1605 through the 1620s. With the discussion of the pattern of prominent families in the colonial pueblos de indios using indigenous names of towns as surnames, we can revisit the evidence for the early seventeenth century Motagua Valley, and demonstrate that here, too, it is better to interpret Toquegua as a genealogical or town identity, not a language or a language-based ethnicity. Further, this evidence points to the presence of individuals or families with cosmopolitan connections, including linguistic practices.

A list of 190 names from Amatique of people identified as "Toquegua" includes names that appear to be derived from Nahuatl, others that may be Yucatec, and still others that may be Chol (Feldman 1975, 1998). Some of these are day names in the Mesoamerican calendric system, in different languages. Using calendric day names as alternative personal names was a Mesoamerican practice, employing a 260 day calendar shared across linguistic and ethnic boundaries. Different groups used words in their own languages for the numbers and day signs that made up the 260 day cycle. The use of day names in "prestige" languages (for example, Nahuatl day names used by Yucatec speakers) is well attested historically. For this reason, none of the three languages used for calendric day names by some of the people resettled in Amatique should be assumed to be the single language of birth of the community. Instead, these probably should be considered prestige naming patterns among a socially restricted group with connections to Cholan, Yucatecan, and Nahuatl speaking or Nahuatl identified peoples elsewhere.

Only a small percentage of the population living at Amatique in the early 1600s uses such exotic names. Nor are the majority of the recorded names that are not calendric identifiable as Yucatec or Chol. Instead, many are similar to names of towns on the Ulúa River, and to the names of the prominent indigenous families recorded there in the colonial period. We can take the distribution of these place- and family- names as an indication that a network of related families and interlocked towns was present in the region from the Golfo Dulce to the Ulúa river, extending inland up the Motagua river to near Quirigua. In Honduras, this distribution coincides with the territory called the "Provincia del Rio de Ulúa" in Spanish colonial documents. This "province" extended upriver to at least the area around modern Santiago, Cortés (in the late sixteenth century, Santiago Çocamba).

The ancestors of the people in this zone, including those called Toqueguas in seventeenth century Spanish documents, had been peers, trading partners, of Maya in Belize and Yucatan before colonization. When

the Ulúa river people needed help defending against Pedro de Alvarado in 1536, the lord of Chetumal in eastern Yucatan sent 50 canoes with warriors to aid Çocamba (Gomez 2003; Sheptak 2004; see also Chamberlain 1953; Roys 1943, 1957:162). Roys (1943:116-117, 1957:162) indicates that Nachan Can, the cacique of Chetumal, probably had representatives in the Ulúa river area himself.

The Maya of Yucatan and of Acalan-Tixchel, far west on the Gulf of Mexico, considered this zone, from the Golfo Dulce to the Ulúa river, one of the major areas for the production of cacao. Early Spanish archival sources from the colonization of Honduras highlight the importance of the province of the Rio de Ulúa in the regional cacao trade. Diego Garcia de Celis wrote in 1534 that Çocamba was “the most principal cacique in all this region and the Indians called him the great merchant of cacao” (“el mas principal cacique que ay en toda esta governacion y los yndios llaman el gran mercader de cacao”) because of his cacao trade with Yucatan (1534 Guatemala 49 N. 9).

Landa (1973) tells us that the Yucatec Maya had premises at Nito, near Amatique, and on the Ulúa river, where they came to live and to trade in cacao. Ralph Roys (1957) narrates an incident where a Cocom family member escaped being killed in Yucatan, because he was away trading for cacao on the Ulúa river. Landa tells us specifically that the Yucatecan Maya Chi family had agents living in the Ulúa region to trade for cacao in the early sixteenth century. Masca is the only Honduran colonial town with a record of a family named Chi. This makes it likely that it was Masca, originally located on the coast, that Yucatecan Chi family members visited while trading for cacao in the sixteenth century, some possibly remaining as residents or even spouses of high status local families. At least three distinct Maya noble families have been identified with discrete relations in the Ulúa region: the Chi, Cocom, and the Chan of Chetumal.

We know from colonial documents that the residents of the Ulúa river communities divided themselves into two ranks, the “indios principales” and “los demas”, that is, the elite, and everyone else. The indios principales were a group that consisted of a few families who alternated in service as alcaldes and regidores for the town. Some of these families continued to use indigenous names. In some colonial documents the principales are referred to using the Nahuatl term “tlatiques”, and in one settlement, calendrical day names were recorded in the early seventeenth century. In contrast, the majority of the residents of indigenous pueblos took on Spanish surnames beginning in the sixteenth century.

The people of this zone were active traders dealing across language barriers. Some must have spoken Yucatec to maintain active alliances with trading partners in Yucatan and Belize. Spanish priests spoke to some in Chol around Amatique, and received answers in that language, albeit spoken with a notable accent. Some of those living near Amatique used Nahuatl calendric day names. They were comfortable using some Nahuatl words in Spanish documents. All of this points to the people called Toquegua in Spanish colonial sources being multilingual rather than monolingual. At the same time, the majority of evidence supports identifying the principal language of the people of the area, their "lengua materna", as a form of Lenca.

Place names from the region, including Toquegua itself, suggest Lenca origin. Toponyms ending with the syllable "-gua", like Motagua, Quirigua, Jetegua, Chapagua, Teconalistagua, Chasnigua, Chapulistagua, are common in the area. Fox (1981:399-400) cites John Weeks and Lyle Campbell as arguing that "-gua" ending names in the Motagua valley are probably not from a Maya language. While they proposed Xinca as the language originating these place names, the distribution of such names is broader than the known Xinca distribution, extending from Guatemala to Honduras and El Salvador. South of the coastal zone modern scholars have identified as occupied by speakers of a proposed "Toquegua" language, the distribution of the -gua place name ending corresponds with the location of populations known to speak Lenca languages in sixteenth century colonial Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador.

One town name in the Toquegua area is undeniably Lenca. Quelepa, located near the Motagua valley, shares its name with Quelepa, El Salvador, and Quelepa, Comayagua. In Lenca it means "place of the jaguar". The root, -lepa, also forms part of the name of the cave Taulabe, on Lake Yojoa (not recorded in colonial sources to date), which as a word in a Lenca language can be glossed as "cave of the jaguar".

The personal name of Çocamba, the cacique who directed resistance to the Spanish in the Ulúa valley, contains sound clusters not recorded for Maya languages, notably "-mba". In contrast, this cluster is attested in Lenca, and the name is intelligible on the basis of the scant sources for Lenca. In Lenca languages "-camba" or "-yamba" is the gerund ending of a verb. In collecting Lenca vocabulary in El Salvador, Campbell (1976) noted that the word "sho" in Salvadoran Lenca means "rain". "Sho" in Salvadoran Lenca is equivalent to "so" in Honduran Lenca. Based on the Salvadoran Lenca vocabulary, "socamba" would mean something like "raining" or "it's raining".

Language does not equate with identity. Shared language does, however, facilitate communication. The evidence is strong for identifying the native tongue of the people of the "Toquegua" area as a Lenca language, potentially facilitating social relations with other speakers of Honduran Lenca languages living south of this area, in what today are the modern political departments of Santa Barbara and Comayagua. The leading families also valued and used multiple Maya languages and employed some Nahuatl terms. These are indirect traces of commercial and social ties, cosmopolitan connections of a multilingual network of independent towns along the Caribbean coast that preserved indigenous identity at the level of the town and the family even under the pressures of colonization.

Population of Indigenous Towns in the Sixteenth Century Río Ulúa

The sixteenth century saw a sharp population decline in the province of the río Ulúa. In total, some 42 Indian towns assigned by Pedro Alvarado in Repartimiento in 1536 were located in the Ulúa river valley, or along the coast between the Ulúa River and Guatemala. Of those 42 towns, only 29 still existed in 1582 (Figure 5). At that time, these 29 towns had 415 tributaries. Depending on what multiplier you care to use for the relationship of tributaries to household size, that means the indigenous valley population in 1582 would have been somewhere around 2324 (1:5.6) to 3320 (1:8) individuals. While the decline in number of pueblos de indios (from 42 to 29) already represents a 31% reduction in inhabited towns, it is likely that overall population fell more. In one case, Ticamaya, described in 1536 as having up to 80 men, in 1582 had only 8 tribute-payers, a loss of 90% of the population, based on the standard equation of tribute payers with adult males.

Masca, located on the coast west of Puerto Caballos in 1536, was among the 29 Indian towns that still survived in 1582. At that time, Masca had 20 tributaries, for an estimated population of around 112 to 160 individuals. This would be Masca's lowest colonial population, and the number of residents rose steadily until the nineteenth century, when it once again fell during the tumult of the Central American Republican period. Exploring how the residents of sixteenth century Masca managed their persistence throughout the colonial period is the goal of the chapters that follow. First, it will be useful to explore how I propose to re-read documents written by and for Spanish administrators, in order to see the traces of indigenous action.

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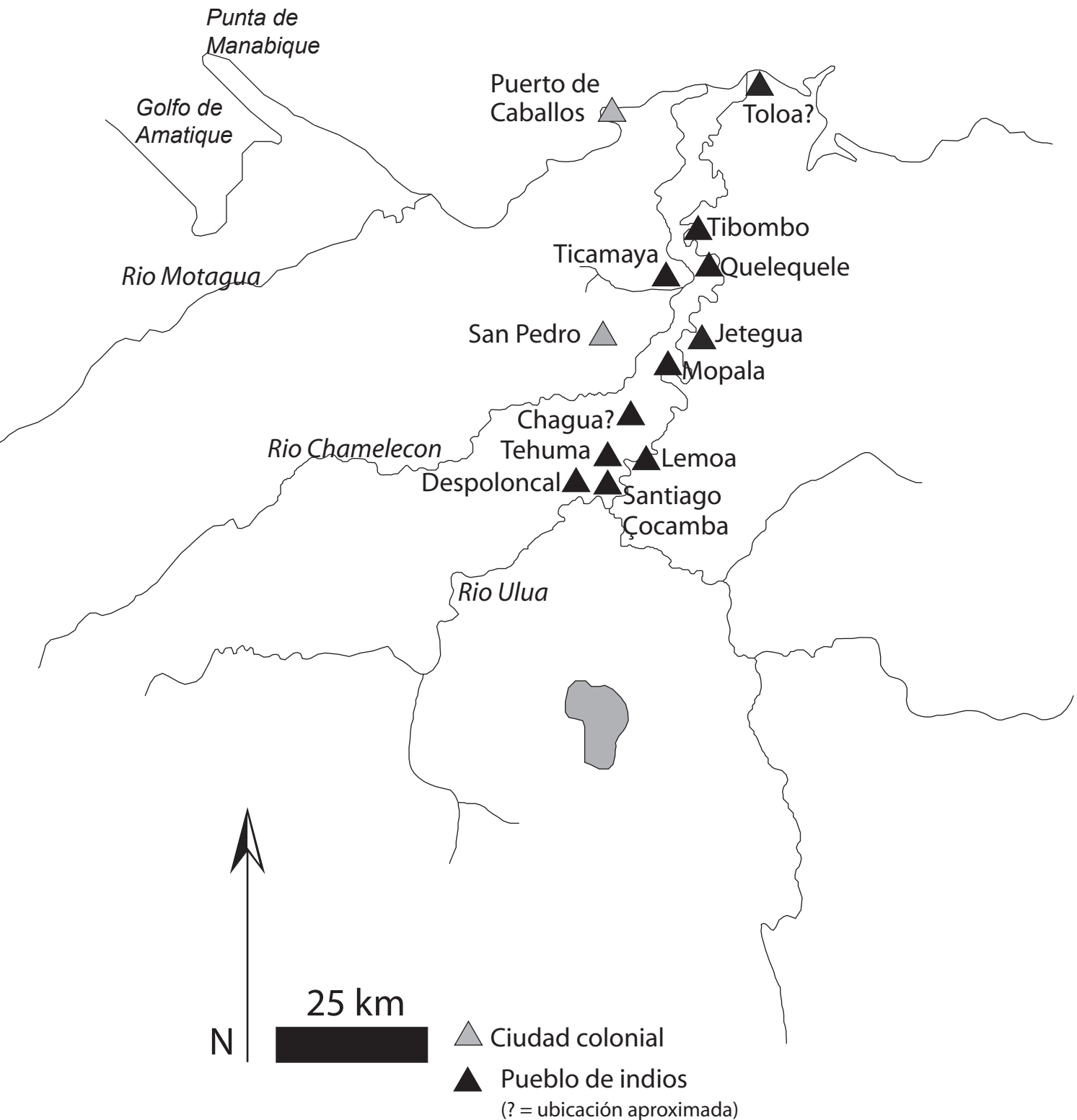


Figure 5: Indian towns in the Provincia de Ulúa in 1582

Chapter 3: Re-reading the Documentary Record of Spanish Colonialism

By the time of the first colonization attempt by Hernan Cortes in Honduras, the native populations had already experienced at least 22 years of sporadic and largely undocumented interchanges with Europeans. Before we can shift the focus to teasing out the indigenous experience from colonial sources, it is critical to review what is often presented as the normal history of colonization, which emphasizes the actions of the Spanish while presenting indigenous people as passive objects of action. Even here, I will show, it is possible to begin to re-read the traditional historiography and move toward an account that treats indigenous people as participants in events, not merely the objects of the actions of others.

Spanish *Entradas* and Early Settlement in Northern Honduras

The first contact between Europeans and native peoples of Honduras documented in European texts happened in 1502 when Columbus came upon a canoe that appeared to be going from the island of Guanaja to the mainland of Honduras (Edwards 1978). Columbus pressed the occupants of this canoe, who he and others on his ship identified as traders, into guiding him to the mainland before letting them leave.

Between 1502 and 1524 there were continuing, supposedly limited, contacts with the native peoples of the north coast of Honduras by Spanish groups from Nicaragua and Guatemala (by 1523) and El Salvador (by 1523). Substantial, documented, yet unauthorized ship traffic landed in Honduran ports after 1524. It is likely that the stretch of coast along northern Honduras was used by other ships undocumented in archival sources throughout the early decades of the sixteenth century.

In 1524, for example, Cortes (1989:391) started to build a ship from parts of shipwrecks washed up around Nito, west along the Caribbean coast (Figure 1):

I had already made great haste to repair a caravel which the Spaniards in Nito had allowed to fall into pieces, and had also begun to build a brigantine from the remains of others which had been wrecked thereabouts.

Cortes (1989:391) writes in his fifth letter about the unexpected visit of a ship loaded with provisions: "Our Lord God...sent thither a ship from the islands, not in the least expecting to find me there". That ship contained

potential colonists and provisions. Cortes bought the provisions, and the ship.

It was not until twenty years after Columbus first stopped in Honduras that a serious Spanish attempt was made to colonize northern Honduras. This came with the arrival of Cristobal d'Olid and a group of 300 Spaniards, sent by Cortés from Mexico in 1523 to "conquer and pacify" Honduras in his name (Chamberlain 1953). Olid set out from Vera Cruz, Mexico with five ships, several hundred Spaniards, and indigenous allies from Mexico. These ships were wrecked in storms along the north coast of Honduras. Survivors landed at sites where colonial Puerto Caballos and Triunfo de la Cruz would be founded (Figure 1). They established their main settlement at Trujillo, far east along the coast. There Olid claimed the new Honduran colony for himself.

In response, Cortes sent a relative, Francisco de las Casas, to take over from Olid. Las Casas, in turn, was shipwrecked and captured by Olid. In Mexico, Cortes heard about the shipwreck and capture of las Casas. As a result, in 1524 he started his famous march overland from Mexico to Honduras. By this time Olid had divided his forces between Triunfo de la Cruz and the indigenous town of Naco, located on a tributary of the Chamelecon River, west of the Ulúa Valley (Figure 1). When Cortés arrived near the mouth of the Motagua river, at the indigenous town of Nito, he sent some of his forces, including Bernal Diaz, up the Motagua and overland to Naco, while he continued along the coast. There, in 1524, Cortes founded the town of La Natividad de Nuestra Señora, with twenty Spaniards, some of them relocated from Olid's Naco group (Cortes 1990). La Natividad was apparently located along the south shore of the Laguna Alvarado near modern Puerto Cortes, in the colonial period, Puerto de Caballos.

At the same time, Cortes sent an expedition inland from Puerto Caballos to near Choloma, in the lower Ulúa River valley (Cortes 1990: 347-351). This is the first specific report of Spanish interaction with indigenous people in the area that is the focus of this study. Here his lieutenants met with unnamed native leaders and, Cortes claims, successfully explained his peaceful intent to them. The native participants in this meeting gave Cortes gifts, and he departed.

From Puerto Caballos, Cortes then sailed to Trujillo, to the east along the coast, a location known from reconnaissance carried out by the Olid group. He spent about six months establishing the political and social order among the Spanish required to support his claim to the colony under Spanish law, writing a founding document for a city at Trujillo (Cortes 1990). He reports meeting with local indigenous leaders from whom he obtained food

and some labor. After only six months in Honduras, Cortés was called back to Mexico in 1525, leaving Trujillo as the main Spanish settlement.

Leadership of the Honduran colony eventually fell to Andrés de Cereceda, who in 1523 had been exiled from Nicaragua and joined the Honduran colonists (Chamberlain 1953). Pedrarias Davila, in Nicaragua, had tried to annex Honduras for himself, and sent numerous expeditions into the eastern Honduran province of Olancho to mine for gold in the 1520s, enslaving the native population. Andres de Cereceda fell out with Pedrarias Davila was exiled to Honduras.

Cereceda became treasurer (*contador*) of the Honduran colony in 1526, and then acting governor of the colony as the appointed governor died days after arriving in Trujillo. By 1533 Cereceda had moved a large portion of his colonists away from Trujillo to a spot west of Naco, four leagues to the east of the indigenous town of Quimistan, where placer gold deposits had been reported. Here he founded a new town, Santa Maria de Buena Esperanza (1535 AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 4). This brought the colony into direct confrontation with a named indigenous leader based in the Ulúa River valley, Çocamba.

By 1535, facing rebellion from Spanish settlers who were lured by rumors of the discovery of gold in Peru, Cereceda wrote to Pedro de Alvarado, in nearby Guatemala, offering to share governance of Honduras in return for military help (Chamberlain 1953). Alvarado had been given a Royal patent to conquer and pacify Honduras in 1532, but had not acted on it. It wasn't until December 1535 that Alvarado arrived in Honduras. Over the next several months he engaged in campaigns in Comayagua and the valleys west of the Ulúa River valley. In late June 1536, he took on the Ulúa valley and its cacique, Çocamba. Alvarado founded the cities of San Pedro, Puerto Caballos, and Gracias a Dios, and issued two documents assigning the labor of indigenous towns to Spanish participants in his campaign, one for the northern area under the jurisdiction of San Pedro, the other for the southern area to be administered from Gracias a Dios.

Rethinking the Conventional Narrative of "Conquest"

This outline of events is the conventional story of the "conquest" of Honduras (e.g. Chamberlain 1953). However, it accepts a number of interpretations made by Spanish participants without examining how they could have understood the indigenous actions they reported, nor does it consider what the indigenous participants in events understood about them. I employ the dialogics of Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) as a way to begin to see

these events as involving two sets of actors, not simply Spanish agents acting on reactive indigenous objects of conquest. Bakhtin's core concept of *dialogue* is based on the idea that every utterance (whether oral or written) is formed in anticipation of a response from another (the addressee), and in conformity with what he calls a "super-addressee": "Language lives only in the dialogic interaction of those who make use of it" (Bakhtin 1984: 183). From the perspective of dialogics, every text is full of sideways glances at others. Nor is this perspective limited to utterances, spoken words or written texts. Like utterances, actions are dialogic. One undertakes a series of actions with an expected response, in light of similar experience from one's past. These actions take into account one's previous experience with past actors in similar situations, and the expected responses are conditioned by past outcomes.

Andrew Wiget (1991), a folklorist with a background in literary criticism, advocated using a process of "reading against the grain" (a reference to Benjamin 1968 [1940]) to examine similar issues in native North American and western traditions. He noted that in dealing with non-western texts it becomes clear how much we depend on fundamental assumptions to understand European texts, and suggests that for such texts we need to look for clues about the fundamental assumptions of both the writers and actors. Other scholars have used such methods of "reading against the grain" to tease information about indigenous experience and perspectives from Spanish colonial documents in Mexico (Clendinnen 1982; Hanks 1986; Tedlock 1993).

While dialogics provides one methodological tool for this process of re-reading, also critical to this process is the concept of *doxa*, from the work of the phenomenologist Edmund Husserl (Myles 2004), especially as it has entered anthropological archaeology through the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1977:166) describes *doxa* as the unconscious, unquestioned commonsense forms of knowledge particular to one society and even to one social class or faction. *Doxa* is shared by members of a social group or segment and enacted in practices that are taken as natural and unquestioned. Bourdieu (1977:72-78) calls this internalization of *doxa*, achieved through practice, *habitus*. Sometimes *doxa* becomes subject to conscious reflection, and may break down (Bourdieu 1977:168).

For Bourdieu the transition from *doxa* to reflexivity is brought about either by radical social structure change, such as culture contact, or through adopting the *doxa* of a superior reference group. *Doxa*, for Bourdieu, limits the boundaries of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Myles (2004:91) argues that Bourdieu's reading of Husserl over polarizes *doxa* and reflexivity. Bourdieu,

he argues, treats the transition from doxa to orthodoxy as a move from practical action to discourse. This necessarily separates language from its embodiment, an argument most phenomenologists would reject. Myles suggests that Husserl argues for a more nuanced doxa, identifying a number of intervening states of consciousness (including judgment and predictiveness). He shows that Husserl argues that doxa is an unreflexive state only where perception is unmotivated by experience that is immediate or mediated by cultural objects. Husserl defines a proto-doxa that is a passive pre-living consciousness of objects. Doxa, in contrast is the "natural attitude" commonsense that we act on when objects within the perceptual field are taken as given and negotiated by a practical sense (Myles 2004: 99).

When doxa moves from the realm of the unconscious to the conscious, it takes new forms, which Bourdieu (1977: 164-171) labels orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Orthodoxy is when formerly doxic practices come to be consciously recognized as subject to choice and are reiterated. Heterodoxy is when, under the same level of consciousness and choice, innovative, non-doxic practices result. In theory, doxa could never be articulated by an actor, since it would be unquestioned and taken for granted, naturalized. Yet Barry Smith (1995:401) notes that doxa itself, as conceived by Husserl, is already not "naive, it is fully conscious of the distinction between the way things are and the way things appear to be". Smith describes an unceasing process of reciprocal adjustment. Proto-doxa, Husserl's passive pre-living consciousness of objects, is not subject to repositioning (orthodoxy/heterodoxy) by changing circumstances and thus is not confronted in situations of culture contact. For Husserl, doxa is more like Bourdieu's orthodoxy, resulting from a manifold awareness of objects in embodied experience.

In trying to bridge Bakhtin's and Bourdieu's approaches, Burkitt (1998) uses Voloshinov's concept of a society's behavioral ideology, the unsystematized and unfixed inner and outer speech which endows our every instance of behavior and action and our every conscious state with meaning (Voloshinov 1986: 91) as an analogue to Bourdieu's doxa. Bakhtin and Voloshinov note that the use of certain words at certain times necessarily means that at the same time we are repressing or ignoring the use of others; they see this as conscious selection. It is in these dialogic moments that we can reshape the existing doxa (in the Husserlian sense) and change our way of relating to each other and to our surroundings.

In practice, one way doxa is recognized is when confrontation with alternative taken-for-granted makes it clear that either continuing in

traditional ways or changing is subject to choice by knowledgeable agents. A number of authors have shown that culture contact situations in the Americas provided precisely the kind of confrontations between different forms of doxa that can lead to more conscious orthodoxy and heterodoxy (e.g. Loren 2001; Silliman 2001).

Doxa manifests itself as practical knowledge carried out at a level below discourse (hence non-reflexive, but not unconscious). Giddens (1979:xxiv) uses the term structuration to refer to the active constitution of structure by differentially knowledgeable agents:

What agents know about what they do, and why they do it, their knowledgeable ability as agents is largely carried in practical consciousness... Practical consciousness consists of all the things which actors know tacitly about how to 'go on' in the contexts of social life without being able to give them direct discursive expression.

Conduct becomes reflexive when it becomes discursive, and this usually only happens when people question behavior that flouts convention or departs from the habitual norms of social reproduction.

Early contact between European and Native American populations created situations that highlighted some of the doxa of each group. The reiteration or transformation of these different forms of doxa as orthodoxy and heterodoxy can be traced through careful reading "reading against the grain" of the extant documentary record of these encounters. In Honduras specifically, what are conventionally described as a linear sequence of events can be seen as the creation of three intertwined dialogues between indigenous people living along the north coast and the Spanish people who over the course of three decades repeatedly appeared, engaged in acts of communication, and then departed. Treating the exchanges of actions that unfolded during the early sixteenth century as a series of dialogues between Spanish and indigenous actors, we can explore what was doxic for each group, and how each action and its dialogic response, at times orthodox, and at times heterodox, contributed to the creation of a world whose material traces archaeologists have only begun to document, and historians have yet to even attempt systematically to understand: indigenous life in early sixteenth century northern Honduras.

Trujillo, the First Dialogue

In 1502 Columbus initiated the first dialogue between Spanish and indigenous Honduran actors when he intercepted a canoe off the coast of Honduras and brought its people ashore at the site of present-day Trujillo (Chamberlain 1953: 9). Multiple European descriptions of these events exist (Edwards 1978). All of them are, to one extent or another, colored by inferences about the indigenous people and their roles and motivations that assume knowledge the Spanish participants were unlikely to have had.

Accounts from passengers aboard Columbus's ships describe the canoe and its occupants as traders, conforming to European assumptions about the motivations that would have led to voyage with a cargo like that witnessed. This does not mean these interpretations should be accepted uncritically. In a discussion of chronicles of contact in the southeast United States, Patricia Galloway (1992) proposed that first contact narratives need to be read carefully, to identify what the European participants could have known, and what assumptions they were likely bringing to the event from other similar situations.

Taking the approach advocated by Galloway, we can examine what statements of observations tell us, independent of the interpretations the Spanish witnesses made of them. The canoe reportedly contained metal ore, tools to produce metal ornaments, cacao, and other items that the Spanish interpreted as trade goods. In the Central American context, these are all wealth items. While traders could have carried such a cargo, these could also have been goods accompanying any wealthy traveler. The accounts of this event note that the occupants could only understand the language of the mainland people near Trujillo. This is inconsistent with the idea that this was a canoe voyaging to Yucatan on a trading mission, since ability to speak either a lingua franca (like Nahuatl) or multiple languages (as discussed in the preceding chapter) was normal for long distance traders in the region.

The reported presence of people of different ages and sexes forming families more closely conforms to what we might expect from an inter-elite visit, with the "trading goods" corresponding with the kinds of wealth known to have formed the basis of inter-elite exchange. Even the metal working implements and ores are consistent with the control of metallurgy as a prestige craft by indigenous leaders (Helms 1979). To call the occupants of this Honduran canoe "traders" naturalizes Spanish understandings of roles and relations. We are left wondering what the indigenous people in the canoe made of the Spanish galleon and crew, what accounts they left with their families and neighbors.

When Columbus set foot on mainland Honduras near Trujillo, he gave gifts to the native people living nearby, likely including the residents of the late prehispanic site today known as Rio Claro (Healy 1978), and had a priest say mass. Spanish colonists repeatedly describe taking actions to allow church services, because this was part of their doxa for claiming new lands for the Spanish Crown. While Columbus took some of the people from the canoe with him as he sailed east, he released them nearby when they could no longer communicate with the native groups he encountered along the coast.

The dialogue around Trujillo continued in early 1525 when about 40 Spaniards came from Triunfo de la Cruz, on the coast to the west, to found the Spanish town of Trujillo (Chamberlain 1953: 14-15). Later that year, Pedro Moreno, from the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, landed military forces that went inland and took slaves from the native peoples encountered, members of the Chapagua and Papayeca polities. The Trujillo colonists continued this practice of forcefully taking native people for labor after Moreno departed.

From the Spanish perspective, the local indigenous population had become subject to their authority with the establishment of Trujillo. We can assume that the peoples of Chapagua and Papayeca had a different view of things. Far from seeing themselves as colonized by an entirely new kind of government, they would have interpreted Spanish actions in terms understandable to them. They were familiar with established practices of more centralized polities to the west, which raided other towns for slaves as part of a political economy that Wonderley (1985) described as based on raiding and trading. Thus, we can suspect that with the actions of Moreno and others after him, the impression of the Spanish was shifted from one of incidental visitors (Columbus) who gave gifts as did other peaceful visitors from distant lands, to that of offensive forces, but within an established doxa of inter-group hostility.

Hernan Cortés arrived at Trujillo, whose Spanish colonists owed their loyalty to him, in mid 1525, and caused a church to be built, using native labor to clear the lot and build the structure. In this he echoed one of the colonizing actions of Columbus. Cortes tells us that he reached out to the Papayeca and Chapagua caciques as he had elsewhere, sending Nahuatl speaking auxiliaries from Mexico to talk to them, and offering gifts. This also repeated actions taken by Columbus, who used the people he seized from the canoe he encountered as translators, and also presented local leaders with gifts. The two indigenous polities sent people and gifts of their

own to Cortés. Cortes in turn gave these representatives more gifts and sent them back to their respective towns.

The giving of gifts, likely accompanied by words explaining they were now subjects of the Spanish Crown, was another action through which Spanish colonists claimed to have "pacified and conquered" indigenous peoples. Yet gift-giving was also part of the repertoire of indigenous social practices, through which peers established peaceful relations (Helms 1993). We might consequently reconsider whether gift giving by the Chapagua and Papayeca was intended to acknowledge Cortes, as overlord, or as equal.

Shortly thereafter, two secondary leaders of Chapagua and Papayeca brought Cortés another round of gifts of food and asked why he came. Cortes (1989:418-419) reports that he replied "to found there towns of Christians to instruct them in the mode of life they were to follow for the preservation of their persons and their property as well as for the salvation of their souls". For Cortes, this speech would have concretized the incorporation of these people in the Spanish realm. Again, he gave these Papayeca and Chapagua representatives gifts and asked them to send food and labor to Trujillo, which they did.

Cortés reported that native leaders from far inland came to Trujillo to submit. Others offered what he described as resistance. When Cortés attempted to leave Honduras late in 1525, the native people refused further to provide food and labor for the Spanish who were remaining in Trujillo. The inhabitants of both Papayeca and Chapagua fled into the mountains. Cortés, whose departure was delayed by a storm, says he was able to convince some of the Papayeca to return to their village and continue to help the Spanish, but he failed with the Chapagua, against whom he then led a military campaign, enslaving many.

To understand this sequence of exchanges from an indigenous perspective we need to consider what might have been doxic for the Chapagua and Papayeca people involved. There was a long history of contact and exchange of goods between native peoples both within Honduras, and between the north coast of Honduras and various Maya polities in Belize and Yucatan. Sixteenth century historic sources identify the principal goods coming from Honduras to Yucatan as copper, feathers, and cacao (Henderson 1977). Sixteenth-century sources clearly indicate that the Maya of Belize and Yucatan were making trips to the Ulúa valley, meeting with people there, and bringing goods back home (Landa 1973; Roys 1957; Scholes and Roys 1948). Thus, when the Spanish arrived on the north coast of Honduras, they encountered a people already accustomed to visits from outsiders. Native peoples of Honduras understood gift giving

between elites as a peer-to-peer activity, not one of domination and submission.

The canoe Columbus appropriated in 1502 carried both men and women, probably members of an elite household, and was stocked with copper, cacao, and other goods. The types of goods enumerated in Spanish sources are the kinds of things attested to in the historic and archaeological record as goods that were part of inter-elite exchange (Blanton 2001; Edwards 1978; Feinman 2001; Henderson 1977). This encounter would have fit with the indigenous doxa of elite households exchanging goods during visits and then leaving. As an expression of Spanish doxa, this encounter was portrayed as a peaceful claiming of Honduras by Columbus for the Spanish Crown. The actions reported for both sides fit the expected behaviors of both the Spanish and the native people around Trujillo, but the different parties would have had very different understandings of what had taken place.

The taking of slaves on Moreno's visit must have changed the way that subsequent Spanish arrivals were understood, but again, there were indigenous practices that framed those understandings: raids for slaves by neighboring peoples. What this additional experience did was define more than one kind of expectation for Spanish visitors. Cortés had to reach out to the local indigenous groups, and give them gifts before they would meet with him. Even then, it was the secondary elite of a subsidiary town, not the rulers of Papayeca and Chapagua, who met with him and exchanged gifts with him.

When Cortés began to leave (without taking all the Spanish in residence with him), the indigenous people in the area ceased to provide food and labor for Trujillo. The Spanish perceived this as a revolt, in conformity with their doxic, unquestioned understanding of events. Retreats into the mountains to escape visitors who turned out to be intent on raiding are repeatedly reported in Honduras as a response to Spanish colonial campaigns. It may have already been part of the doxic repertoire of indigenous people in the area, newly seen as appropriate for the Spanish visitors, now understood to be intent on more aggressive, hostile social relations. Needless to say, nothing in this series of verbal and pragmatic exchanges indicates that the indigenous population either understood the claim of sovereignty being made, or accepted it.

Naco, the Second Dialogue

Exchanges between Spanish and indigenous residents living together in the valley of Naco form a more complex dialogue. Cristobal de Olid, the captain sent south by Cortes following reports by the Mexica of a wealthy country who then claimed Honduras for himself, moved a portion of his forces from a short-term settlement on the north coast, Triunfo de la Cruz, to Naco in mid-1524 (Chamberlain 1953). By all accounts, the people of Naco were welcoming to the Spanish forces. We must assume they were acting on their own doxa, not (as the Spanish interpreted things) simply accepting Spanish rule.

Naco was a cosmopolitan place connected to a network of trading towns that extended west to the edge of the Mexica empire (Wonderley 1981, 1985, 1986b). Archaeological evidence of pottery typical of Naco recovered at the Rio Claro site (Healy 1978) suggests Naco also had links east to the Papayeca and Chapagua peoples around Trujillo, who may have been the source of Olid's specific knowledge of Naco's wealth, but equally could have shared their experiences of Spanish visitors with their inland allies.

Olid made Naco the locale for a series of conflicts with other Spanish troops. He captured and imprisoned two other Spanish leaders there. These captives ultimately executed Olid and took control of his forces at Naco. Factional infighting would not have been unfamiliar to the inhabitants of Naco, who hosted competing elites from Yucatan as trade partners (Henderson 1977; Wonderley 1981, 1985, 1986b). Shortly thereafter, in 1525, Cortés moved the surviving Spaniards from Naco back to the coast, to a newly founded city, La Natividad (Cortes 1990; Diaz 1980).

The people of Naco and surrounding towns appear to have ignored the opportunity presented by the factional conflict, an opportunity that they might have taken to evict the Spanish if they had thought of themselves as either under attack by raiders (as the Papayeca and Chapagua apparently did) or as being "conquered and pacified" (as these early Spanish actors claimed they had been). In reality the early Spanish presence in these valleys lasted only a matter of months, and then the Spanish left. From the perspective of local doxa, these were temporary visits by foreigners in a cosmopolitan town used to such visits, not a permanent change in local autonomy.

In 1533 Andrés de Cereceda and a large number of colonists relocated from Trujillo to the Naco valley. These Spanish had heard of gold in the Naco valley, perhaps from the Papayeca and Chapagua who traded with Naco. Evidence for prehispanic metal working in the Naco area includes the

recovery from a cave located along the edge of the Naco valley of a cache of over 100 copper bells, along with unworked copper (Blackiston 1910). Copper objects compositionally identifiable as from Honduran sources have been identified at Chichen Itza and Mayapan in the Yucatan peninsula (Lothrop 1952; Paris 2008). The copper that Columbus found in the trading canoe he intercepted could have come from near Naco. From the Spanish perspective, however, gold deposits would have been more highly valued, a doxic attitude that differed from the materially evident Honduran emphasis on copper working.

Cereceda reported that the town of Naco was depopulated, compared to the populations Bernal Diaz (1980) described during the Cortés campaign. Cereceda described the indigenous population that remained fleeing into the hills, which is not how they had reacted to earlier Spanish visits. The surviving population of Naco responded to Cereceda and his large force more like the Papayeca and Chapagua had to the colony established at Trujillo. Native people who remained in place near some of the towns in the Naco area, or returned later, were forced into labor for the Spanish population, an experience similar to that seen around Trujillo as well.

In a particularly clear example of different doxic regimes at work, Cereceda's colonists put horses out to pasture near Buena Esperanza, west of Naco. The local people slaughtered and ate the horses, leading Cereceda to complain about them not understanding that horses were not edible (1536 AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 6). As Tim Pauketat (2001:8) states, "practices are quite literally the embodiment of people's habitus or dispositions" and "dispositions that guide practice have doxic referents (e.g., unconscious, common sense forms of knowledge)". For the people of Naco, hunting large land animals was engrained practice, as it was for the Spanish colonizers. What differed as a result of their pragmatic experience being in historically separated traditions were the unquestioned assumptions about which land animals were appropriate to hunt and eat.

While we hear only Cereceda's side of this exchange, we can imagine that the people of the Naco valley also found their taken-for-granted assumption, that all land animals were undomesticated and available to hunt and eat, rising to the level of conscious thought. By hunting the introduced horse, they effectively recommitted to an orthodox understanding, refusing to shift to a new model incorporating a category of inedible large mammals, which would have been heterodoxy for them but conforming to Spanish orthodoxy.

The Spanish presence in the Naco, Sula, and Quimistan valleys disrupted social networks tied to those places. Responses by the indigenous

people varied, and eventually included some that seem consistent with an acceptance of the establishment of a Spanish hierarchy of control in a region centered on Naco, if not a full commitment to the position of colonized vassals. In 1535 a group of native leaders from Yamala, a town south of the Naco valley (Figure 2), came to ask Cereceda to intervene against another Spaniard, Cristobál de la Cueva, who had invaded and occupied their town (1535 AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 4).

Archaeological investigations of the town of Yamala failed to produce any examples of the fancy Nolasco bichrome pottery that would have indicated it was a peer of Naco (Urban 1993; Weeks 1997; Weeks and Black 1991; Weeks, Black and Speaker 1987). The people of Yamala treated Cereceda and his forces occupying Naco as if they were regional leaders, expected to defend dependent towns. Cereceda's actual failure to control de la Cueva, who unleashed dogs and "man-eating Indians" on the local indigenous population, would have undermined the expectations the local indigenous population would have had for someone who claimed the position of leadership that he asserted was his. While the Spanish continued to have difficulty understanding indigenous actions, indigenous people had, by 1533, a clear concept of what to expect from Spanish incursions, and a repertoire of actions to take to cope with them.

Third Dialogue: Rereading Çocamba's Documentary Record

Sixteenth century documents repeatedly describe the actions of an indigenous actor based in the lower Ulúa valley whose name was most commonly transcribed as Çoçumba, but is likely best rendered as Çocamba. He is described in the Spanish documents in various acts of "resistance" to colonization. Descriptions like these imply that Çocamba understood himself to be reacting to an inevitable colonization. Viewing the documents without this assumption, we can discuss how Çocamba exercised agency under the disruptive conditions that followed early Spanish arrival in northern Honduras.

The primary textual data for understanding Çocamba comes from a series of letters to the Spanish crown from individuals within the colony of Honduras. The earliest letter I use is from Hernan Cortes. The main source of letters is Andres de Cereceda, especially his letters from 1530 to 1536 while he was serving as governor. In addition, I draw on some letters from Diego Garcia de Celis, who in 1533 and 1534 was treasurer of the colony. All of these letters were motivated by the interest of their authors to justify actions that were in some cases questionable, by portraying Honduran

colonization as being unusually difficult. Each writer makes claims about the intentions and actions of indigenous actors that are interpretations based on Spanish assumptions. The challenge, again, is to read the sources for traces of native agency, orthodoxy, and heterodoxy.

Taking such an approach to exchanges in the northern Ulúa valley profoundly changes how we can understand the events reported by the Spanish. The first documented Spanish contact with indigenous residents of the territory of Çocamba was with Cortes, though there may have been prior contact with Gil Gonzalez Davila's people, and certainly must have been with Cristobal d'Olid and Francisco de las Casas's people who travelled through this region on their way between Naco and Triunfo de la Cruz and Trujillo (Figure 1). The first contact with the forces of Cortes, near Choloma (Figure 2), was reportedly peaceful and involved exchange of gifts. Cortes understood this to mean the indigenous inhabitants were conquered, and thus founded a settlement at La Natividad on the coast. Çocamba, acting on his doxic understandings, took the establishment of La Natividad to be a hostile act, and destroyed the settlement. The use of military tactics from virtually the beginning to actively oppose Spanish settlement sets this dialogue apart from either the exchanges centered on Trujillo or those witnessed in the Naco valley, the regions east and west of the lower Ulúa valley.

In 1533, Cereceda dispatched a group from Trujillo to the Naco valley. Turning inland at Puerto Caballos, the group marched past the indigenous towns of Choloma and Tepeapa. Along the way, the Spanish attacked a fortified site near Choloma that they said was subject to Çocamba, and briefly occupied it. There they executed two individuals they identified as subordinate caciques of Çocamba, mutilated their bodies, and sent the corpses to him.

In talking about Çocamba the Spanish use the term "cacique", adopted from Caribbean societies to mean political ruler. We don't know what title or role the native people gave to individuals in Honduras identified by the Spanish as caciques. The status is not singular. Many places, including the unnamed town in the northwest valley that Cereceda's forces attacked in 1533 were reported to have two individuals called caciques.

The Spanish single out Çocamba as the most important cacique in the Ulúa valley. For example, Cereceda writes about "the fort of Cacumba, principal lord" (la [albarrada] de Cacumba pncapl señor) (1536 AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 6). For the Spanish Çocamba was singularly important because he directed the military campaign against them. This cannot be taken as proof that he actually was the leader of the entire region, nor does it explain what form leadership took in this area. As Galloway

(1992) notes, the attribution of leadership to indigenous people at the time of initial contact must reflect more the assumptions of the chroniclers than any knowledge that they could have had. Çocamba's role could have been analogous to the Yucatec Maya "Nakom" or war chief, one authority in a system of shared or decentralized political organization (Roys 1957). Here we may see the imposition of the Spanish orthodox assumption of a single ruler on a native orthodoxy of shared, in at least some cases dual, leadership.

Spanish sources identify several towns as being subject to Çocamba. Çocamba's principal town was identified by the paired names of Quitola and Quitamay in the 1536 Repartimiento of San Pedro (AGI Patronato 20 N.4, R.6). The former name never appears again. Quitamay has been identified as a unique and never repeated erroneous spelling of the name Ticamaya (Sheptak 1983). A known archaeological site investigated archaeologically (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006) has been identified as historic Ticamaya, based on its location at the point where an abandoned course of the Rio Choloma (called the rio Balahama in the sixteenth century) met what at the time was the course of the Rio Ulúa. This location matches characteristics of the place described as the principal fortified town of Çocamba: on the bank of the Ulúa River, and also two leagues from the fortified place up river on the rio Balahama where the forces of Cereceda killed two people identified as caciques who were subordinates of Çocamba.

A number of towns, Toloa, Yux (or Yuca), Estupil, Pepel, and Tonaltepeque, were identified as "sujeto" (subject) to Çocamba. Pedro Alvarado's Repartimiento of San Pedro describes very few towns as having other towns as subjects. The document is not clear about what that means or how Pedro Alvarado or others would have known that one town was subject to another. The document adds that these towns had fifteen, eight, or as few as six houses, reinforcing a collective description as "small towns":

he singled out for himself, the Sr. Adelantado [Pedro Alvarado] / the town of Quitola and Quitamay, of which is lord Çocamba that is on the Rio de Ulúa that by visitation has been found to have as many as 80 men / and with them some small towns to them subject of 15 or 8 or 6 houses each one that are called Toloa, Yux (Yuca?), Estupil, Pepel, Tonaltepeque, that are toward the area of the hills of the Rio de Ulúa.

[señalo para si el dicho señor adelantado / el pueblo de quitola e quitamay de ques señor Cocumba que es [por?] rio de Olua que segun por visitacion se hallado tiene hasta ochenta hombres/ y con ellos unos pueblos pequeños a ellos sujet[os] de quinze o ocho o a seys

casas cada uno que llaman / Toloa/ yuca(?)/ estupil/ pepel /
tonaltepeque /que son hazia la parte de las sierras del rio de Olua.]
(1536 AGI Patronato 20 N. 4 R. 6)

Ticamaya itself is described as having "eighty men", suggesting an overall concern about the size of the fighting force for battles led by Ticamaya behind the unusual practice of enumerating the size of these towns.

Only one of the subordinate towns named can be located approximately: Toloa, in the northeast Ulúa valley. Because they are collectively described as in the same location, we assume the other small towns were in the same area. To these towns named as subject to Çocamba's principal town of Ticamaya we can add the unnamed fortified place on the western valley edge near Choloma, where the Spanish defeated and executed two men described as caciques subordinate to Çocamba.

All of these towns cluster in the north part of the Ulúa valley. At least some of these subject towns are also described as having their own caciques. The Spanish accounts imply a multi-level centralized hierarchy bound by tribute and military service; precisely the kind of system they were trying to impose on the colony. What we do not know, from this description, is what the indigenous view of this same group of settlements and people might have been.

Çocamba's principal town of Quitola/Quitamay was described as being a palisaded fort with features not unlike a Spanish castle. The palisade is described by Diego Garcia de Celis (1534 AGI Guatemala 49 N. 9) as being made of rustic timber, with promenades for guards (andañas), and guard towers (cubitos), with a moat surrounding it and a single entrance facing the river:

the governor was informed that this Çoçumba was very fortified by strong palisades of thick wood and that there were made a great quantity of holes covered by their lids.

[se ynformo el governador que este çoçumba estava muy fortalecado de recias albarradas de gruesa madera y que estaban echos mucho cantidad de oyo en cubiertos por los casquitos dellos]

In another letter (1535 AGI Guatemala 49 N. 11) Garcia de Celis adds more detail about the kinds of fortification there: "Su albarrada fortalecida de much andanas y cubos en su albarrada que tambien es muy poblado" [His palisade fortified by many guardwalks and guardtowers in his palisade that is also very populated].

Cereceda (1535 AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 4) claimed that palisaded towns were common in the Ulúa Valley region:

on the Rio Balahama [Choloma] where our road was we found a palisade of the kind that I wrote about to your majesty that the indians of that region and of the Rio Ulúa make for their fortress. [en el rio de balahama / por donde hera nro. camyno hallamos una albarrada de las que escrevi a vra. mg+. que hazra los yndios de aquella comarca y del rio de Ulúa / para su fortaleza]

The Spanish did not describe native towns elsewhere in Honduras, such as around Naco or Trujillo, as being palisaded, nor does the archaeological evidence from Naco or other documented fifteenth or early sixteenth century archaeological sites with surface architecture include any indication of such features (Healy 1978; Henderson 1977; Neff, Urban, and Schortman 1990; Wonderley 1981, 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1986a, 1986b). In the eyes of Spanish observers, it was a strategic practice distinctive of Ulúa River society, that contrasted with their neighbors, not part of taken-for-granted practices that might have made up doxa throughout Honduras.

Naco and the Papayeca and Chapagua towns apparently formed part of a network extending to the Mexica empire, based on their being pictured on a map showing the overland route to Honduras provided to Cortes at the trading enclave of Acalan (Scholes and Roys 1948). The Ulúa towns were partners on a different network, one extending by water up the east coast of Yucatan. The Spanish did report palisaded and walled towns in Yucatan. This raises the possibility that the palisaded towns in the Ulúa Valley may have been products of a practice adapted from a local network of allies, perhaps even in the early period of Spanish contact. Fortified towns in Yucatan protected the residences of the wealthy nobility (Cortes Rincon 2007:179-180). Tulum is perhaps the most well known late prehispanic example, located on the eastern coast of Yucatan (Lothrop 1924; Miller 1982).

Archaeological investigations at the archaeological site identified as historical Ticamaya provide an opportunity to assess what life was like for the people of the lower Ulúa valley during this period of active military campaigns against Spanish invasion (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006; Sheptak, Blaisdell-Sloan and Joyce 2011). Blaisdell-Sloan (2006) carried out systematic augur testing that confirmed that buried site components extended continuously across a well-defined area of 140 by 215 meters. Artifact densities were highest near the riverbanks, suggesting a concentration of settlement in this area, consistent with Spanish descriptions

of the riverbank settlement. Unfortunately, a planned investigation using a cesium magnetometer, which might have produced evidence of any palisade, was truncated when the instrument stopped functioning. Nonetheless, the small size (just over 2 hectares) and compact nature of the settlement are consistent with an enclosed site.

If the report of 80 "men" at Ticamaya can be taken as meaning there were approximately 80 households there, then the settlement would have been crowded, with 26 households per hectare, consistent with Ticamaya being a bounded settlement as described in Spanish texts. Clusters of artifacts and other cultural material identified at Ticamaya covered areas of 10 to 20 meters in diameter. This is within the range documented for groups of buildings and associated exterior spaces that were the normal residential architecture in prehispanic sites in the Ulúa valley, where house compounds averaged 12-15 meters in width (Sheptak, Blaisdell-Sloan and Joyce 2011). The mapped area of Ticamaya would have accommodated approximately 75 residential compounds represented by clusters of artifacts at the large end of the size range (20 meters across) documented there, consistent with Spanish reports of 80 "men" at Ticamaya.

Blaisdell-Sloan (2006) excavated features dating to the sixteenth century in three areas of the site, including part of two different buildings, an oven, and traces of use of exterior space. These features provide a window into indigenous experience that contrasts with but can be related to the Spanish texts already discussed (Sheptak, Blaisdell-Sloan, and Joyce 2011).

Structure 3A

One sixteenth century house was partially excavated in Operations 3A, 3B, and 3D (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:134-136, 249, 254-255). A single posthole and hearth were completely excavated. Inside the hearth were the remains of a single broken ceramic vessel. A burned clay wasp's nest was probably attached to the building here when it was burned. Within a short distance outside the house, large pieces of utilitarian pottery were recovered on the same level as the hearth and posthole. The hearth, the broken pot in it, and the range of artifacts found securely indicate that this was a residential area.

Artifacts included obsidian blade fragments, six projectile points uniaxially chipped on blades, broken pieces of pottery, fragments of deer antler, and a small piece of sheet copper. All the obsidian came from a distant source, Ixtepeque, in southeast Guatemala. Deer antler was widely used in prehispanic Honduras for tools including awls and punches, and for tools like those used today in removing corn kernels from the cob. The

pottery included utilitarian unslipped and red slipped bowls and jars used for food preparation and serving, as well as red painted on white slip Nolasco Bichrome, interpreted as imported from the indigenous town of Naco to the west where it was preferentially used in wealthy, high status households, primarily occurring in the form of dishes used in food serving (Urban 1993; Wonderley 1981, 1986). In light of the reported presence of copper on the canoe intercepted by Columbus, the presence of lost or discarded copper at Ticamaya is a significant indication of participation by the residents in exchange for and use of metal objects.

Animal bone from turtles, rodents, and white-tailed deer, and crustaceans and riverine snail shells, attest to hunting and fishing for food, with a strong emphasis on animals available due to the riverine location of the settlement. Fragments of tubers, probably manioc, and *Helianthus* (sunflower) and *Artemisia* seeds (a medicinal plant) were recovered from inside the structure itself, near the hearth (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:254-255).

Overlying sediments were mixed with large amounts of carbon, as if the building had been burned, an event also suggested by the finding of a burned wasp's nest probably originally attached to the house. Blaisdell-Sloan (2006:152) obtained a radiocarbon date from this building that when calibrated fell either between AD 1480-1520 or 1560-1630. The presence of the painted pottery typical of Naco, which ceased to be made once the region was colonized, indicates that this burning most likely happened in the first half of the sixteenth century. It is not unreasonable to suggest that this may have been a building impacted by the attack on Çocamba's palisaded fortress made by Pedro Alvarado in 1536.

Structure 1A

Remains of a second sixteenth-century structure, which differed from Structure 3A in significant ways and may not have been purely residential in nature, were outlined in Operation 1A and 1D (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:122-124, 228, 248). Two large (30 cm. diameter) post holes were identified, lined with plaster, located 4 meters apart on an east-west line. Artifacts were rare, but included red and unslipped bowls and jars and some obsidian blades. Animal bone recovered likely came from deer but could have been from sheep or goat, as the preservation did not allow discrimination between these three related species.

Structure 1A was the most recent of a series of buildings in the same location. Structure 1B, the version immediately preceding Structure 1A, had been used by residents still engaged in ritual practices that were discouraged by the colonial authorities (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:125). In each of the corners

of this building there were buried deposits, containing a total of five ceramic incense burning vessels, tobacco seeds (a plant used for ritual), and ocelot and coyote teeth (animals whose skulls, teeth, and skins were worn as costume). It is possible that the sixteenth-century structure with large plastered posts (an innovation) that replaced this sacralized building may also have been used for ritual. One possibility is that this became the location of the colonial church.

The oven

The remains of a sixteenth century pit oven or ceramic kiln one meter in diameter pit, 50 cm. deep, lined with burned clay, was excavated in Operation 2C and 2D (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:131-132, 152, 169, 228-229, 249, 254). After it stopped being used, the oven was filled with garbage including obsidian projectile points, turtle, peccary, white-tailed deer, and other animal bone fragments, and riverine snail and bivalve shells. Carbonized maize seeds and tuber fragments were also found. Ceramics included red, incised, and burnished wares, all domestic ceramics for food preparation and serving. Blaisdell-Sloan (2006: 152, 309) obtained a radiocarbon date from the fill in this oven that calibrated as either between AD 1440-1520, or between 1590-1620. The artifacts present, especially the projectile points, suggest that the earlier dates are more likely, and that use of this oven may have been abandoned as a consequence of changes following the early sixteenth century campaign against Ticamaya.

Other exterior space

In Operation 2A and 2B two successive surfaces were defined that could be assigned to the sixteenth century. Both were marked by small pits, with dispersed bits of burned daub from local wattle-and-daub buildings (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:130, 254). Plant remains including food plants, coyol palm seeds and lumps of tubers such as manioc or sweet potato complemented these indications of ephemeral structures. *Carex* and *Paspalum*, plants used for bedding or matting, were also found here.

Discussion

The excavations at Ticamaya provide a glimpse of life at about the time that its residents, guided by Çocamba, were fighting Spanish attempts to gain control of the Ulúa valley. Two radiocarbon samples from burned Structure 3A and an abandoned oven have likely dates of AD 1480-1520 and 1440-1520, consistent with wood from around the time of these events.

Support for the idea that these areas were sites of engagement during

this period comes from the inventory of artifacts. Obsidian dart or arrow points like those recovered at Ticamaya are understood as made for use in battle, originally based on artistic depictions, and reinforced by edge-wear analysis and their recovery from deposits at Aguateca, Guatemala associated with intensive warfare (Aoyama 2005:204; Pendergast, Jones, and Graham 1993:67). Of the 34 points recovered at Ticamaya, 21 (61%) were from early sixteenth century contexts that also showed evidence of burning of household features (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:134, 154, 236, 238). This included the area around the early sixteenth century oven, where a group of six obsidian projectile points were recovered.

While Spanish documents are almost silent about life in indigenous settlements, these archaeological data demonstrate that for the people who lived at Ticamaya, the struggle of more than a decade against Spanish colonization had profound effects on everyday life. The closeness of houses within palisaded towns would have created constant awareness of others. Threats of attack intruded on everyday life, as the evidence of burned houses and the deposit of stone points in domestic settings illustrates. Women, the very young, and the very old would have experienced the constraints on mobility more, creating conditions for adult males to form a distinct camaraderie based on their participation in raids outside the town (Sheptak, Blaisdell-Sloan, and Joyce 2011). In this context of gender segregation, militarization, and sustained hostility at least two people of Spanish origin engaged with the town and people of Çocamba between 1526 and 1536.

Men and Women, Captives and "Cousins"

Çocamba was in the position to have knowledge of Spanish doxa from networks reaching along the coast even before Spanish entry into Honduras. Through these networks, he was connected to one of the earliest culture contact situations in the region, in which the Spanish doxa of a shipwrecked sailor gave way to a heterodoxy that aligned him with the interests of indigenous military leaders strategizing against Spanish invasion.

In one of his letters to the Spanish monarch, Andres de Cereceda described assistance sent to help Çocamba fight the Spanish (1536 AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 6). They were led by a Spaniard, Gonzalo Aroca, identifiable as the same person as the Gonzalo Guerrero who refused Cortes's offer to rejoin the Spanish in 1519 in eastern Yucatan (Diaz 1980). According to Bernal Diaz, Guerrero had been taken prisoner by the Maya of Yucatan at the same time as Jerónimo de Aguilar in 1511. Guerrero married

a daughter of the lord of Chetumal and was reported to be a war leader for him.

Cereceda wrote that around December 1535, 50 canoes of warriors arrived in Çocamba's town with Gonzalo Aroca, who he described as a Spanish Christian... he who went among the Indians of the province of Yucatan for twenty years... they say that he destroyed the Adelantado Montejo.

[un cristiano español....el que andaba entre los indios en la provincia de Yucatan veinte años... dicen que destruyo al adelantado montejo] (1536 AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 6)

In an earlier letter, Cereceda said that he had heard that Çocamba had taken a Christian woman as his "mujer" (1535 AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 4):

I had and have the desire to discover if this is so, to find out my possibility of removing from the power of that Cacique Çoçumba a Christian Spanish woman who, by clues and investigation I have discovered is from Seville, of those that were killed at Puerto de Caballos ten years ago, that was married to one of the dead, and from information of the Indians I have learned that that Cacique Çoçumba has her as his woman.

[yo tenia y tengo deseo de hallarme a esto asy por has allo my posybilidad / como por sacar de poder de aquel Cacique Cacamba / una muger Xpriana espanola que por señas y pesquisa he sabido ques de sevilla / de los q. mataron a puerto de Cavallos diez años ha que hera casada con uno de los muertos y por ynfir^{on} de yndios he sabido quel Cacique Cacamba la tiene por muger.]

The "captive woman" is a familiar image from histories of the Spanish colonies where conflicts with indigenous people continued for multiple generations. James Brooks (2002) argues that such exchanges of captured women and men were processes of colonization that engaged ideas of kinship, shame, and honor. He suggests that "the capture of 'enemy' women and children was...one extreme expression along a continuum of exchange...they could serve as agents and objects of the full range of exchanges, from the peaceful to the violent" (Brooks 2002:17-18).

In Honduras, the capture of the woman from Sevilla paralleled a history of Spanish men moving into outlying farmsteads in the Naco valley to live with indigenous women there (Sheptak, Blaisdell-Sloan, and Joyce 2011). In each case, sexual liaisons across group boundaries were viewed by the Spanish as violations of their doxic expectations. Çocamba's relationship

with the woman from Sevilla, seen by the Spanish as heterodoxic marriage across racial categories (inappropriate for a conquered native person) was orthodox by indigenous standards, where marriages across political boundaries were part of the repertoire of political relations.

Captured in the attack on La Natividad, this "woman from Sevilla" provided Çocamba a second source of information about Spanish doxa.

Cereceda (1535 AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 4) wrote that

she is held as much among the Indians that arrive there in friendship; from whom he [Çocamba] has learned that there are Christians in the territory, saying that he cannot for his strength resist; even though he has killed Christians he could be pardoned.

[y que le atribuye a mucho con los yndios que venian en amistad desde quel ha sabido q. ay Xprianos en la tierra diziendole q. no se pueda por su fuerza de Resystar q. aunque aya muerto Xprianos sera perdonado]

This is in fact what happened. Cereceda described the final battle between Çocamba and Alvarado as an attack by land and water on one of the palisaded towns on the Ulúa River (1536 AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 6). In the end, Alvarado prevailed, and Guerrero was found dead on the battlefield. Çocamba surrendered, and he and the other principal lords of his province converted. The Spanish crown acknowledged Cereceda's report in a letter dated June 30 of 1537 (1537 AGI Guatemala 402). In a marginal note, the passage is titled "el gran señor se llamaba soamba, el que se redujo a christiano" [the great lord that they called Soamba, he that was made a Christian]. The Spanish monarch cites Cereceda's report that Alvarado undertook a successful campaign against

a Great Lord that they say they have in that land that is called Soamba who is the one that has done all the damage to the Christians that have occurred to them in that land, who he [Alvarado] came near and took prisoner with all the principal people of the land and they converted to Christian by their own will and they undertook to continue in peace, which has been the cause that all the rest of this province has given obedience.

[un Gran Señor que diz que hay en esa tierra que se llama Soamba que es el que a hecho a los christianos todos los daños que les an venido en ella, al qual cerco y lo tomo preso con todos los principales de esa tierra y se tornaron christianos por su voluntad y se concertaron de

seguir de paz, lo qual habia sido causa que todo el resto de esa provincia diese la obediencia]

This is the most compelling evidence that Çocamba had an understanding of Spanish doxa, perhaps from his dialogues with Guerrero or the "woman from Sevilla". By surrendering and converting to Christianity he followed Spanish doxa, and was allowed to live, though not to govern. This tactical appropriation of Spanish doxa was apparently effective in helping Çocamba's kin survive and maintain their status as recognized community leaders. In research on accounting documents, Pastor Gomez (personal communication) identified Çocamba as a family name used around 1548 by the alcalde of a colonial pueblo de indios, Santiago Çocamba, that emerged as one of the persistent indigenous settlements that survived throughout the sixteenth century (Gomez 2002).

While Çocamba stood out for Spanish writers (and thus, for those of us who are dependent on the documents they produced) because of his active military campaigns, these campaigns were only one among a range of tactics he employed. The tactics he employed were also used by other indigenous people who actively created new practices in the early colonial period through their exercise of agency, shaped by new consciousness of what had formerly been unexamined ways of acting.

Tactics and Practical Politics: Beyond "Resistance"

Michel de Certeau's (1984) concept of everyday practices as "tactics" emphasizes the decentered and everyday nature of the ways that people shape their own lives, even when they are not in positions of apparent power. Tactics are how people occupy social situations that they do not entirely control. The "appropriation" of what is offered in colonial situations may be tactical, achieving goals different from those intended by people who seek control (Sheptak, Joyce, and Blaisdell-Sloan 2011). People employ tactics to seize the moment for pragmatic ends, bringing a "repertoire of practices... into a space designed for someone else" (Poster 1992:102). Beyond the military opposition to Spanish invasion carried out by Çocamba, his adoption of the Christian religion and his surrender to Spanish authority also have to be seen as tactical. Indigenous people who lived through the imposition of colonial order, and their descendants who endured, and gained security for more than 250 years in the Spanish partido of San Pedro, the former province of Çocamba, employed a wide range of tactics that involved using the Spanish system for their own ends. These tactics included

successfully petitioning to reduce tribute requirements by asserting population declines had taken place, pursuing claims based on adherence to the introduced Catholic faith, and advancing novel arguments for standing in Spanish courts (Sheptak, Joyce, and Blaisdell-Sloan 2011).

The history of tribute assessment recorded for Despoloncal, an indigenous town located upriver from Çocamba's territory, illustrates how indigenous persistence in producing cacao, important for indigenous practices, was balanced against a population that declined steadily in the first century of colonial exploitation (Sheptak, Joyce, and Blaisdell-Sloan 2011). In 1548 the cacique of Despoloncal, speaking through an interpreter and thus dependent on the translation made by this intermediary, stated that his town had 35 laborers, and could pay tribute in cacao and chickens (1591 AGCA A3.16.1 Legajo 236 Expediente 2421). The actual tribute ordered was much more than offered by the cacique, but the justice also include passages that suggest the people of Despoloncal had a degree of autonomy: "given the said tribute, they will be free to do what they will with their persons", he wrote, warning the Spanish recipient of tribute not to take "any other thing" from the people of the town. In 1571, tribute burdens were reduced. Again in 1583, the colonial government reduced tribute obligations, stating that "the living do not have to pay tribute for the dead, nor those present for those absent, and when some die or absent themselves, the community may ask for justice", that is, a reduction in tribute. Documents like these became the basis for successful legal cases brought by the people of many indigenous towns including Masca, the focus of this study, in the following centuries.

Tribute demands were based on population size, but population size was initially based on statements by community leaders, whose sworn testimony substantiated how many people obligated to pay tribute lived in each town. By the early eighteenth century, indigenous leaders were required to produce church registers of births, marriages, and deaths, to support their testimony (for example, 1722 AGCA A3.16.3 Legajo 514 Expediente 5402). A step taken to try to confirm who lived where, this requirement also demonstrates that it was still indigenous authorities who controlled both the records and the knowledge they supported, and who could employ those sources and that knowledge tactically.

Claims based on religion were particularly important grounds for tactical moves by members of indigenous communities throughout the colonial period (Sheptak, Joyce, and Blaisdell-Sloan 2011). Already in 1583 the "Indians that serve in the church of the town" at Despoloncal were required to pay the same tribute as others, but could use community goods for this purpose (1591 AGCA A3.16.1 Legajo 236 Expediente 2421).

Communal property held as support for religious practices was developed through independent religious confraternities, *cofradías*. In 1742, the priest serving, but not resident in, Despoloncal reported that the origins of its *cofradías* were not documented, but were knowledge held by the indigenous members themselves (1742 AGCA A1 Legajo 222 Expediente 2479).

In the neighboring town of Petoa, a cura responding to the same request for information asked that an Indian of Christian habits would be appointed, who would maintain the security of the chapels where he claimed the indigenous people were entering and carrying on "their ancient idolatry", likely a reference to devotions to images of saints, central to *cofradías*. Indigenous people maintained and used the church buildings in their towns throughout the year, even when the official cura was not in residence. Their use of these spaces was clearly seen by this cleric as heterodox, tactical appropriations of the imposed religion (Sheptak, Joyce, and Blaisdell-Sloan 2011).

As the spatial focus of locally controlled, locally meaningful Roman Catholic rituals, town churches became sites of particularly complicated tactical action (Sheptak, Joyce, and Blaisdell-Sloan 2011). In 1778, the indigenous community of Yamala petitioned for relief from taxation, in order to have the resources to complete rebuilding of the church (1778 AGCA A1.11-25 Legajo 42 Expediente 364). Instead, they were told to use income from their *cofradía* land and cattle to cover the costs. In 1796, they initiated a new request for relief from tribute payments, again to pay for completing the roof of the church (1796 AGCA A1.25 Legajo 123 Expediente 1432). The epitome of a "space designed for someone else", churches were occupied tactically by indigenous communities which used the moral authority of church tactically, to advance claims for relief from economic demands of many kinds.

Thus, some of the most important tactics for indigenous persistence in Honduras employed discourses, institutions, spaces, and objects that have long served as evidence that the imposed Spanish colonial order won out over a quickly lost Honduran indigenous heritage. This is what de Certeau (1984:29-42) described as "making do": the repeated actions of everyday life through which people make their own place in spaces designed for someone else. That their history and identity changed, rather than remaining static, should not make us treat the descendant communities as less authentic (Hanks 1986). Consequently, this study avoids judging the authenticity of the people and town of Masca, whether on the grounds of adherence to use of language, to cultural practices such as foodways, or to racialized lines delimiting acceptable kin relations.

Çocamba, and other native people living in the first decades of the sixteenth century, presumably did not view themselves as being subjects who accepted Spanish authority or rebelled against it. Rather, they would have had their own doxic understandings of practices against which to measure these new experiences. Steve Silliman's notion of practical politics as "the negotiation of the politics of social position and identity in daily practices" is useful as a way to think about situations like this. In a colonial situation daily activities can take on explicit political significance for those carrying them out (Silliman 2001:192). Continuing to do what they had always done may have been as effective a form of resistance for indigenous people in the northern Ulúa valley as were the outright battles recognized as rebellion by the Spanish. It is not just actions that actively ward off incorporation in a colony that are "practical politics", but those through which incorporation in the colony was given a shape that was not entirely in the control of Spanish authorities.

From the inter-elite visit by canoe interrupted by Columbus, to the failures to contract enduring alliances through marriage with the woman of Sevilla on the one hand and the repeated presentation of gifts by the Spanish on the other, the early history of Spanish interaction with indigenous Hondurans was not simply a story of mistranslation and cultural ignorance. It was a process through which each party came to see some of its normal practices as truly choices. As the institution of colonial control began to reshape the landscape in northern Honduras, the choices that indigenous people made were part of what led to the continued persistence of some settlements, while others declined and were abandoned. One place that persisted from the first period of colonization into the nineteenth century, a place originally called Masca and later named Candelaria, provides the case for tracing the unfolding history of indigenous agents remaking their world that will occupy the remainder of this study.

Chapter 4: Blas Cuculí and Masca

Documents are material remains of people's interactions with the colonial Spanish bureaucracy. As material things, we need to consider their creation, circulation, and storage. They were created most often by scribes, though occasionally by other individuals. The emphasis on using scribes had two purposes. First, as Kathryn Burns (2005:350) notes, scribes and notaries were the writers of official truth, and “their truth was recognizable not only by its singularity but by its very regularity; it was truth by template –*la verdad hecha de molde*”. That is, by the simple act of affixing their signature or stamp to a document, scribes made it legal, official, and truthful. The “by template” part of Burns' argument, a pun on the use of “molde” to describe script, refers to the fact that scribes molded the narratives they recorded into genres understandable to the Spanish authorities. This is the second function of scribes. Scribes made sure documents followed prescribed forms which kept them legal, valid, truthful, and understandable. These forms, in turn, shaped a reader's perception of the documents. Indeed, a *cédula* from 1587 took the President of the Audiencia of Guatemala to task for allowing a servant to pen a letter for him rather than a scribe, noting that it robbed the letter of validity (1587 AGCA A1 Legajo 1513 folios 667-668).

Once written, documents circulated, first through lower levels of the bureaucracy, then to successively higher levels (Sellers-Garcia 2009). At each level, documents or their copies were stored. As early as 1525, a *cédula* ordered scribes in the Caribbean to periodically deposit indices of notarized documents with the governing bodies of the islands (1525 AGCA A1 Legajo 2195 Expediente 15749 folio 217v). As a result, there were municipal archives (largely lost from this time period in Honduras), provincial archives (now amalgamated into the Archivo Nacional de Honduras), and Audiencia level archives (now the Archivo General de Centroamerica). Separately, ecclesiastical documents were archived at multiple levels, in the individual churches, in the curates, in Comayagua in the Archbishop's archive (the Archivo Eclesiastico de Comayagua, recently destroyed in a fire), and in the Inquisition archives in Mexico (now part of the Archivo de la Nación of Mexico).

Other kinds of documents written by individuals, for example letters and diaries, either did not circulate (like diaries), or circulated through a different system (such as the mail system) and therefore were not subject to being collected, registered, and archived in repositories. As a result, the public writings of the scribes are often our only window into everyday life in the Spanish colonies. They can be complemented by archaeologically recovered materials, where available.

The provincia del rio Ulúa has been left out of most historical studies to date because of the lack of most official kinds of documents for the region. There are scant census documents from the rio Ulúa, and tribute volumes for the area are incomplete. When I first became interested in the region, I was told by several historians that there were no documents about the Provincia del río Ulúa. That turned out not to be true; it's not that there are no documents, but rather that there are no documents of the types historians were looking for to create histories of demographics, labor, and economic institutions. There are, in fact, hundreds of documents that I have registered, with data about the provincia del río Ulúa in the colonial period. They require different methods of analysis, but can produce rich understandings of social history in the Spanish colony.

I became interested in sixteenth century Honduras when I first came there to do archaeological survey in 1981. We found a myriad of sites, but nothing we recognized, at the time, as being from the late prehispanic or colonial period. I already knew there should have been numerous indigenous communities occupying the valley in the sixteenth century, but when I asked where they were, no one had any idea, outside of Naco. I began my research at that point, using published transcriptions of sixteenth century documents in an attempt to see if they could be used to locate where indigenous people had lived in the sixteenth century. It worked. We quickly found both Ticamaya and Despoloncal right where I said they should be located (Wonderley 1984a). But that's also where my research ended for seventeen years while I took time off for a career designing computer software, continuing to excavate in prehispanic sites in and around the Ulúa valley.

I returned to my research in 2000 with the first of two trips to the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain. This archive contains the Spanish side of the bureaucratic paperwork of the colonies in Latin America. At the time, one still had to request an investigator's card and pass an interview, and the catalogue was not yet on line. I was able to secure access and was introduced to the in-house digital catalogue of documents and was shown the rudiments of how to search, but left to my own resources. I had come to the archive with a list of documents about the sixteenth century Ulúa valley I wanted to see based on published references to documents in Chamberlain, Newson, and others. I was able to locate and print many of them for later reading, since at the time I had no experience with sixteenth century paleography. Many of these documents were subsequently used for the research discussed in Chapter 3.

A second trip in 2002 was more productive and I located many documents about the Ulúa valley and north coast of Honduras. Documents in this archive are generally in good shape, today preserved under climate controlled conditions, though some documents I have sought to use are unavailable for research because

of their current fragility (notably, tax records from the late sixteenth century for the Ulúa valley).

The catalogue at the Archivo General de Indias indexes only Spanish actors, Spanish city names, and economic and political topics. Notably lacking are indigenous town names and indigenous actors, which made it difficult, at first, to locate documents about the Ulúa valley unless they had been cited by another researcher. I had learned, in the meantime, not to expect to search for names, but to examine classes of documents (such as Meritos y Servicios for the named conquistadors of Honduras, and correspondence from the governors of Honduras). This yielded about 500 documents about the early colonial history of this part of Honduras. I regularly now use the online digital catalogue of the Archivo General de Indias to both locate documents, and where images exist on line, to read and potentially transcribe them. Nonetheless, only about 20% of the collection has been digitized, so this approach alone would not have been sufficient.

In 2002 and 2004 I made visits to the Archivo General de CentroAmérica, the archive of the Audiencia of Guatemala, first organized by the Spanish scribe Ignacio Guerra y Marchan in the late eighteenth century. This archive, housed in the same building as the Biblioteca Nacional in Guatemala City, contains the paperwork of the Audiencia of Guatemala, with sections for its business with all of its colonies. It has a card catalogue for locating documents of interest, with a large collection for the section of Guatemala. This pertains to the top-level government of the Audiencia, but also to everything specific about the province of Guatemala.

There are separate catalogues for documents from each of the provinces of colonial Guatemala (Chiapas, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Yucatan, which includes modern Belize). The catalogue cards were grouped by the archivist in the 1930s by what they considered the document was about (such as Indian festivals, land, plagues or piracy) but suffers from sometimes misleading descriptions of the contents of the document (for example, "ejidos" for when a town requests the right to settle in a new location). Descriptions on the cards for Honduras are terse, and often don't mention the names of indigenous towns or actors. As in the Archivo General de Indias, I began here by looking at documents for which I had a published reference (several of which were not locatable), again looking for information about the indigenous towns in the Ulúa valley, and at this time, Ticamaya in particular. I quickly turned from requesting specific documents to asking for whole legajos of documents so I could scan a large body of related documents for information about the valley. This approach was quite productive, producing records of *expedientes* not previously referred to in published sources, and not easily found within the card catalogue. These two trips yielded records of

over 500 documents from which it began to be possible to build more detailed histories of the Ulúa valley.

This archive suffers from a lack of climate-controlled storage. It binds its legajos of documents with cotton ties that abrade the edges of the pages. There are notable losses of parts of documents (holes, insect damage, tears, and missing edges of pages from abrasion) that make it difficult to use the collections today. Documents and parts of documents have simply gone missing and are unavailable to researchers.

In 2006 the library of the University of California, Berkeley, purchased a microfilmed copy of the complete Archivo General de CentroAmérica on 3,250 reels of microfilm. This microfilm was originally made in the late 1970s by McMaster University in Canada, and lacked any sort of index or finding aid. The microfilm itself is of uneven quality, having been photographed by archive volunteers without the benefit of adequate lighting. There are often dark shadows on parts of the documents which make them difficult to read. There are page images that are out of focus and sometimes, improperly exposed. They are nonetheless important because they image original documents, some of which have disappeared in the intervening years, and the images include pieces of documents now missing from the originals, so that it is possible to reconstruct missing text.

I began designing a finding aid that provided a concordance between the reels of microfilm and expedientes, so that one could find a document already known to exist on the microfilm. That finding aid is accessible at the website of the current publisher, Ross Publishing (www.rosspub.com). I also began training Spanish-speaking student researchers in how to read colonial handwriting, to begin producing an enhanced finding aid, discussed below.

In 2004 I became aware of a microfilmed collection of the Archivo Eclesiastico de Comayagua at the University of Texas, Arlington. A project headed by Maritza Arrigunaga Coello microfilmed everything except the church registers (which have been microfilmed separately by the Church of Latter Day Saints) in the 1970s. This collection is especially important because the archive burned to the ground in April 2009, and only a few bound *legajos* were saved. While there were a few seventeenth century documents in the archive, the bulk of its contents are from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The online finding aid (<http://libraries.uta.edu/speccoll/findaids/ComMicroflm.html>) lists many eighteenth century church *padrones* (listings of residents by name) for towns in northern Honduras, including Ticamaya and Candelaria/Masca. In 2004 I borrowed and printed many of the padrones for the north coast of Honduras. An undergraduate, Lisa Overholtzer, an anthropology and Spanish major who also

was trained in reading Nahuatl, was employed in producing a preliminary transcription from the printouts of documents from the Ulúa valley.

I have not made systematic use of other archives and collections of documents about Honduras that I know about. These include the Archivo Nacional Historico (ANH) of Honduras, organized for researcher access only beginning in 2008. The University of Texas Arlington also has a microfilmed collection of these documents (see <http://libraries.uta.edu/SpecColl/findaids/HondurasMF.html> for their complete holdings). Nor have I consulted the Inquisition records for Central America housed in the Archivo General de la Nacion in Mexico City.

Instead, in 2008, I began to design an enhanced finding aid that incorporated the kinds of data I wished had been indexed in the Archivo General de Indias and the Archivo General de CentroAmérica but wasn't, namely detailed document descriptions, place names (both indigenous and Spanish) and people's names (again both indigenous and European). In the process, I began a research project that trains undergraduates who already are comfortable with Spanish to read colonial handwriting and inventory reels of microfilm collecting all of the data required for the enhanced finding aid.

Why did I start building such a finding aid? To do research in Guatemala City is expensive and many researchers in the United States, Latin America, and Honduras in particular, cannot afford to do extensive research there. The microfilm collection, now held by several research libraries in the United States, is a possible solution to the cost of research, but it requires an adequate finding aid before it can be used that way. I currently support several students writing about colonial history of Honduras, including students from Honduras, helping to provide them access to the microfilms. Currently one goes to Guatemala and spends time combing through the card catalogue to find documents of interest, and only then requesting them to read. The finding aid will computerize that and provide adequate indexing of the documents, to let the researcher spend their time looking at documents rather than searching for them. It will allow them to use several different strategies to find relevant documents using different criteria, something either not possible, or very time consuming, using the current physical card catalogue. This will be of benefit both to users of the microfilm and researchers who use the archives in Guatemala. It will allow them to better plan their time in the archive.

The Documentary Record for the History of Masca/Candelaria

Among the available documents I have reviewed, I draw on seventeen documents that provide direct information about Masca, twelve in the Archivo

General de CentroAmérica (AGCA), one from the Archivo Eclesiastico de Comayagua (AEC), three from the Archivo General de Indias (AGI), and one in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. The documents span the period from the late sixteenth century through to the early nineteenth century. A sixteenth century *relacion* (narrative account) provides information about the number of tributaries and an encomendero of Masca (1582 RAHM). Five documents deal with the assignment of Masca in encomienda to other individuals in the seventeenth century (1627 AGI Guatemala 99 N. 13; 1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9; 1690 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 190 Expediente 1926; 1690 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 190 Expediente 1927; 1692 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 190 Expediente 1928). Five other documents record payments owed or made to the government or the church by the residents of Masca from the late seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries (1685 AGI Guatemala 29 R. 2 N. 37; 1733 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 498 Expediente 10209; 1768 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 527 Expediente 5533; 1781 AGCA A3.1 Legajo 1305 Expediente 22217 folio 15; 1809 AEC Padrones Caja No. 1). Two government reports describe the involvement of the town in eighteenth century controversies (1745 AGCA A1.20 Legajo 83 Expediente 972; 1770 AGCA A3 Legajo 496 Expediente 5200). Finally, there are three legal petitions filed by the Indians of the pueblo of Masca in the Audiencia of Guatemala, and responses to these petitions, from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1675 AGCA A3.12 Legajo 527 Expediente 5522; 1714 AGCA A1.45.6 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413; 1714 AGCA A1.24 Legajo 1581 Expediente 10225).

These documents provide the core materials for this study, along with documents of the same categories from other indigenous towns in the Ulúa valley. Altogether, I draw on 52 documents in this study (all listed in the References Cited) and provide transcriptions of four key documents in the Appendix. I will use a method of “reading against the grain” (Benjamin 1968 [1940]; Schwarz 2001) to give a detailed examination of what key documents tell us about colonial society both from the viewpoint of the Spanish colonists and from the viewpoint of the people of Masca. In the process I draw on Mikhail Bakhtin’s dialogics to look at the co-construction of the colonial reality through the production of a new language not assignable to the colonial authorities or the indigenous actors alone. It originates in their dialogues, some of which are preserved for us as colonial administrative documents. This new language was formed by processes similar to those described by Hanks (2010) for Yucatec Maya.

For Hanks, central to the colonial process is *reducción*, by which he means the pacification, conversion, and ordering of the indigenous population (2010:iv): “Reducción was a total project aimed at the transformation of space, conduct, and language”. The transformation of language happened through the process of ordering native language (through the production of grammars and dictionaries)

and then a translation process that moved Spanish concepts (religion, government) into the Maya language. Maya came to appropriate and internalize new forms of expression shaped by *reducción*.

The act of reducing implies, for Hanks, an analysis of the object of reduction and the attempted imposition of a different regularity. Ultimately the products of reduction are ordered towns, ordered Indians, and ordered beliefs, and in Yucatan, ordered language. Hanks (2010:xv) notes that "the ordered landscape of the towns and jurisdictions was the field in which colonial language and action was embedded". This is not syncretism, which implies a hidden core of indigenous values with a Spanish overlay, but something wholly new. Spanish values expressed in core Maya concepts through translation that results in the "dynamic fusing of elements in a new social world." In Yucatan, it was reducing Maya to a grammar (a set of rules) and dictionaries (a set of meanings) that brought about the colonial language Maya *reducida*. Once established, the new language moved outward, from religion into the spheres of government.

In Honduras, it was the Spanish ordering of the landscape into Spanish cities, jurisdictions, and *pueblos de indios* that in dialogue recreated indigenous people. These dialogues set indigenous peoples' expectations of, and shaped understanding of, both colonial society and their place in it. These understandings were expressed as the positions indigenous people took up in different fields, through their language and action. Just as the Yucatec spoken today is not the same as the Pre-Columbian language, but rather a co-construction in the sixteenth century and after by Yucatec Maya people, the priests struggling to understand them, and colonial administrators, the nominally Spanish text of colonial documents about Masca represents a co-construction between colonial administrators, the indigenous people of the Ulúa province, and the scribes who placed their words and arguments into genres.

I use Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social fields as a formal way to describe social relations as positions taken up by speakers/writers within the documents (Bourdieu 1993). For Bourdieu, a field is a form of social organization, with social roles, agent positions, and the structures they fit into, as well as the historical processes by which those roles are taken up (Hanks 2005). Fields are dynamic forms of organization, not fixed structure; and the positions taken up embody an element of opposition. Agents who take up positions are therefore related by struggle and opposition (Hanks 2005:73). Bourdieu borrows from Foucault in seeing fields as a space of strategic possibilities where agents have many possible actions. Values circulate within fields. They are a locus for dialogue. Hanks (2005:73) notes, "speaking and discourse production are ways of taking up positions in social fields, and speakers have trajectories over the course of which they pursue various values." Hanks (2005:74) is particularly interested in

the deictic field, the socially defined context of utterance in which language is used for a variety of purposes, particularly reference and description. Values, in turn, are embedded within social fields that constrain an individual's access to positions. Hanks (2010:95) also notes that engagement with a field shapes an actor.

Central to the sketching out of social fields identifiable through dialogics are the three petitions presented by the people of Masca. The first petition, a transcription of which is included in the Appendix, requests that the people of Masca not be required to give personal service in the city of San Pedro. It is conserved in the Archivo General de CentroAmérica as Signatura A3.12 Legajo 527 Expediente 5525, and is composed of two sheets of paper, of which three sides contain writing and the last side is blank. Although *papel sellado* (paper with tax seals affixed, used to identify legal documents) had been introduced in Central America in 1638, long before this document was produced, it is written on plain paper. The earliest date in the document is January 19, 1675. A response is dated 30 January, and the final order, February 2, 1675.

The handwriting appears to have been done by at least three different people. The text consists of five separate segments, which are not confined to distinct pages. They nonetheless are clearly indicated by changes in the speaker/writer. In most cases, the change of speaker is also indicated by blank space, sometimes substantial. The different segments, not all written at the same time or by the same scribe, are nonetheless parts of a single whole, a dialogue.

There are six persons named in the text: Blás Cuculí, indio of Masca; Alonso de Osaguera, encomendero of Masca; Manuel de Farinas, a notary (*procurador del numero*); Don Juan Bautista de Urquiola, *Oidor* (hearing officer) of the *Audiencia de Guatemala*; Lorenzo de Montufar, *Justicia* (justice) of the *Audiencia de Guatemala*; Don Fernando Francisco de Escobedo, *Presidente de la Audiencia*, (presiding officer of the colonial government), *Capitan General*, and *Gobernador* (governor) of Guatemala. Unnamed but made present are other persons: the justicias of Masca, and those of the city of San Pedro de Ulúa, both in Honduras; the residents of San Pedro; and other Indians of Masca, the latter including *indias molenderas* (women who grind grain) and *indios y indias tesines*. "Tesines" were persons drafted as laborers in such industries as dyeworks, that is, not for personal or household labor (Sherman 1979:325-327). Even an unnamed Spanish monarch is included by reference to royal *cédulas*, perhaps the documents confirming the encomienda of Masca for Alonso de Osaguera, dated February 17, 1669, signed by Queen Mariana of Austria, regent for her son, Charles II, until 1677, that were recopied in other documents discussed in the next chapter.

Speaking as an Indian: Blás Cuculí

Every document is dialogic, in the Bakhtinian sense, because all human speech is dialogic. The first question to ask, consequently, is who the speakers were who engaged in dialogue in any document. At a minimum, the writer explicitly addressed some other, perhaps a group of authorities, or an individual representative of an institution. But beyond this simple dichotomy, each person engaged in a dialogue also speaks with what Bakhtin calls "a sideways glance" towards others with whom the speaker identifies or disidentifies. Using such clues as pronouns ("we", "I", "you" each implying a positioning of a speaker with respect to others), an analyst can begin to separate out some of the positions in fields taken up through dialogues.

In the beginning of the dialogue recorded directly in this document, although not first in order of presentation, is a narrative whose speaker identified himself as "Blás Cuculí, Indian, resident, and native of the town of San Pedro Masca [Blas Cuculi indio vecino y natural del pueblo de San Pedro Masca]". A closing statement on this section labels the entire narrative as having been spoken: "as said [por el dicho]". The written text is not speech, but it is what Bakhtin calls cited speech. It is not the same as hearing the voice of the person, but the writer who cites first person narrative does so for a reason: the claims made have a specific efficacy that derives from their association with the attributed speaker. While Blás Cuculí need not have said precisely these words, the words cited as his were understood as intelligible for such a subject, and so illuminate the scope of action open to indigenous subjects in the colony. They serve to illuminate the context of an Indian in this time and place.

A close examination of the Blás Cuculí narrative is instructive. He tells us that he has been sent on many occasions to the *corte* (court) by the justicias of his town (*mi pueblo*) on business that touches on their community (*su comunidad*). He positions himself as part of the pueblo of Masca, but at the same time, he places himself to some degree outside the community. I will return to the implications of this disjuncture between pueblo and comunidad. For now, I am more concerned with the implied positioning of Blás Cuculí himself. He is a person who can move between the pueblo and the corte. To the extent that his citation of this positioning allowed him to speak for the pueblo in an official transaction, this kind of biography must have been acceptable to officials in the Guatemalan colony, and its Honduran province.

Although he differentiates himself from the justicias of Masca, Blás Cuculí bears a surname that is shared by earlier and later community officials. In 1662 Miguel Cuculí was named as alcalde in the context of the conveyance of the encomienda of Masca to a new encomendero. In 1713, Simon Cuculí succeeds Justo Chabacan as alcalde. The Cuculí family thus demonstrably was part of the group of residents who were recognized as eligible to lead the town. Nonetheless, Blás Cuculí was not one of the officers when this document was created. He probably was a member of the group of principales of Masca, a position implied when he notes that "*los demas indios*" ["the rest of the Indians"] of the town were being asked to provide personal service in San Pedro. The equivocal status claimed by Blás Cuculí is thus doubly striking, as presumably he might have based his authority to speak on his membership in a principal family of the pueblo, but instead, he cites his own personal history of representing the town in the corte as his authority.

Speaking with Others: The *Pueblo de Indios* and the *Corte*

The remainder of the Blás Cuculí narrative uses the first person plural ("we") in reference to the pueblo and the issues that faced its population. "We... are selected to serve as watchmen for Puerto de Caballos, which occupies us all year"; "We should enjoy some rest"; "We pay all our tribute to the encomendero" ["Nosotros... estamos señalados para servir las vigias de Puerto de Caballos que nos ocupamos todo el año". "Debieramos gozar de algun descanso". "Nosotros pagamos por entero nuestros tributos al encomendero"]. These straightforward statements are the main grounds on which he bases the petition not to have people from the pueblo sent to the city of San Pedro for additional labor service. In these passages, Blás Cuculí voices a collective narrative of the experience he shares with "los demas indios" of the pueblo. He addresses the authorities in the corte from whom he evidently expects comprehension and agreement with these claims.

Blas Cuculi's words are explicitly directed to the corte, the Guatemalan authorities, who can overrule the local Spanish authorities in San Pedro, but they also take what Bakhtin called "a sideways glance" at others. The core concept of dialogics is that every utterance, whether spoken or written, is formed in anticipation of a response from another (the addressee) and in conformity with what Bakhtin calls the "super addressee". The addressee is the person (or persons) to whom the text is expressly directed. A super addressee is someone who is never explicitly addressed in the utterance, but whose presence is nonetheless made concrete by the utterance. While Blás Cuculí does not address her directly, the monarch of Spain serves as an obvious superaddressee in his petition.

Of course, Blás Cuculí does not directly write the petition that is assigned to him through the use of the first person. That is the work of the scribe, who writes "as said". Bakhtin called citing, quoting, or simply employing terms used previously, in other contexts, by oneself or others, revoicing. Blás Cuculí's narrative is revoiced as indirect cited speech even in the original petition, which is actually written (and signed) by a scribe. It is revoiced again by the Guatemalan authorities who use his words to justify auditing the accounts of the encomendero to determine if he is fulfilling his role in the encomienda of Masca. Through revoicing, terms gain some of their meaning from their previous use but are endowed with further significance as they are reused.

Because revoicing ties words to their previous contexts of utterance, it links the contexts of utterances in space and time, creating distinctive characteristics of what Bakhtin calls a chronotope. In a dialogic analysis, the nature of the time and space as understood by the speaker is part of what gives meaning to what is said. In Blás Cuculí's petition, the abundant references to place hint at the kind of chronotope he envisions, one that is at odds with how officials in Guatemala understand the context.

There is some ambiguity about the location of the corte where Blás Cuculí informs us "I have been sent by the justicias of my pueblo on different business [he sido enviado por las justicias de mi pueblo a diferentes negocios]". Where has he been in the habit of representing the pueblo? In the city of San Pedro? Comayagua? Santiago de Guatemala? There are clues that lead us to identify this corte as the Audiencia in Santiago de Guatemala. First, there is the siting of San Pedro Masca for the corte not only as in the jurisdiction of San Pedro, but also as in the Province of Honduras, a relative reference. Would he need to do this if the corte was in Comayagua, capital of Honduras, or San Pedro de Ulúa? Second, Manuel de Farinas, who signs Cuculí's testimony, is a notary who practices in Santiago de Guatemala. In addition, Lorenzo de Montufar, who pens the earliest date in the document, preceding Cuculí's testimony, works in Santiago de Guatemala.

It is in fact the audiencia of Guatemala that provides us the record of this dialogue. In it, Blás Cuculí's narrative is represented as a form of indirect cited speech. Although presented as a first person narrative, which would be direct cited speech, his petition is framed between two other sections of the document, an introduction by Lorenzo de Montufar, and the conclusions of the hearing officer, Don Juan Bautista de Urquiola. At the end, the status of Blás Cuculí's narrative as a spoken testimony is reinforced by the terse signature of Manuel de Farinas. While he signs it "as said" ("por el dicho"), his signature, of course, immediately calls that into question. He includes no title or other information to let us know who he is or where the testimony was given. We know from his appointment

papers that in 1670 (AGI Guatemala 90 N31) Farinas was appointed notary for the audiencia of Guatemala. This would again imply that the spoken testimony of Blás Cuculí was heard in Santiago de Guatemala.

Blás Cuculí's speech glances sideways at super-addressees that we might try to understand in order to gain a better sense of the moral order under which he is speaking. Who (or what) might be the super-addressees, a consciousness of whom shapes Blás Cuculí's narrative? There is no evident recourse to divinities here. No formulaic "may god witness" (although such formulas are abundant in other documents of the time and place). Blás Cuculí invokes royal authority, when he says that the actions of the citizens of San Pedro are "prohibited by the royal decrees" ("prohibido por reales cédulas"). His claim here will be followed in later petitions from Masca by an even more explicit citation of chapter and verse of the *Recopilacion de leyes*, the published laws of the Indies of the Spanish crown. For indios de Masca in the late seventeenth century, the rule of Spanish law was a moral force that shaped social life.

The direct nature of this appeal to Spanish law contrasts with another claim Blás Cuculí advances on behalf of the pueblo of Masca. "The paying of the tithe and church instruction...is charged to us but we don't owe it [El pagar el diezmo y doctrina...le cobra de nosotros siendo asi que no la debemos]." His indirection here is governed by another super-addressee. He is asking the Audiencia of Guatemala for relief from being charged for the church tithe when the pueblo pays its tribute in full to their encomendero, who is then by law financially responsible for the payments to the church. Cuculí states "we completely pay our tribute to the encomendero...it is his responsibility to pay the tithe and instruction [nosotros pagamos por entero nuestros tributos al encomendero...es de su obligacion al pagar el diezmo y doctrina]." While the encomendero, Alonso de Osaguera, is never explicitly addressed in this petition, he is named in this part of their complaint.

Speaking in Relation to Others: Social Fields and Genres

By carefully looking at the use of pronouns which imply a positioning of the speaker with respect to some other, we begin to see how Blás Cuculí positions himself with respect to others through this dialogue. The positions being taken up define what Bourdieu has called social fields, each a social universe that has its own laws of functioning (Bourdieu 1996:102). Fields are also a locus for dialogue. Social fields are overlapping and embedded in a field of power (1996:215). Bourdieu (1996:214-215) identifies three steps necessary to understand fields. First one needs to analyze the position of a social field within

the field of power, and then look to the evolution of this position over time. Bourdieu's second step is to evaluate the internal structure of the field, its laws of functioning, transforming, meaning, and culture. Third, from these, we should derive an understanding of the *habitus* of the occupants of these fields.

Bakhtin recognizes something analogous to social fields, what he refers to as spheres. As spheres grow and develop, occupants of the sphere develop styles of language usage. These styles, which Bakhtin calls genres, denote participation in the sphere, or in Bourdieu's terms, social field. "Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own relatively stable types of these utterances...which we may call speech genres" (Bakhtin 1986: 60). Through the recognition of genres we acquire the ability to intuit and anticipate the content, length, and structure of another's speech from their first few words, refining that understanding as they continue to speak (Bakhtin 1986:79). By using a genre, an agent takes up a position in a social field, or fields (Bourdieu 1993:312, Hanks 2010:97). As Bakhtin puts it, speech genres serve to orient the speaker/writer in their relationships and interactions. Written genres orient the reader. The generic documents that make up the petition of Blás Cuculí and its responses can thus be used as evidence for the taking up of positions in social fields.

As we saw above, Blás Cuculí identifies with the "pueblo de San Pedro Masca de la jurisdiccion de San Pedro de Ulúa, en la provincia de Honduras". This is a precise definition of a social field in which the pueblo de Masca exists within a jurisdiction centered on what he later specifies is the city of San Pedro, within the province of Honduras. Here we see politics in the Honduran colony as envisaged by an Indian subject. Left out of this vision are the overarching political levels: the provincial power centrally located in Comayagua, the colonial capital city, and the Audiencia of Guatemala to which it belongs. This vision is based on local experience and does not take into account the fact that the encomienda of Masca is responsible to a vecino of Comayagua, not of San Pedro.

Before the Blás Cuculí narrative, the document presents a preamble referring to the Fiscal of the President of the Audiencia de Guatemala, ending with the date 19 January 1675. This framing suggests that the testimony first entered into the court system in Santiago de Guatemala itself. The field constituted by the legal decisions in Santiago de Guatemala is primarily effected, not by the narrative of Blás Cuculí, but by the written utterances of the officers of the Audiencia itself.

The field in which Blás Cuculí most securely locates himself is actually not the pueblo de Masca. He actively disidentifies with Masca as

constituted as the *comunidad* of the *justicias*. Blás Cuculí's narrative is founded on the existence of a field that traverses the administrative, and likely geographic, space between *pueblos de indios* and the higher levels of the Spanish colonial administration. This mobility of specific persons brings sharply into focus the degree to which indigenous towns, rather than being understood as hierarchically administered, closed points on a landscape, need to be seen as actively engaged in broader, cross-cutting fields of social relations that afforded opportunities for tactical action.

From this perspective, the *pueblo de indios* of Masca not only is a *pueblo* (to which Blás Cuculí belongs) and a *comunidad de justicias* (to which he is responsible), but it is also a participant in wider fields of social relations through its status as *encomienda*, and the participation of its residents in the coastal watch. These relations are discussed in detail in later chapters. Here, it is useful to sketch out the general implications of Blás Cuculí's reference to these fields in his petition.

The *encomienda* was a field that revolved around the mutual obligations of an *encomendero* and the Indians held in *encomienda*. The *encomienda* could summon Indians outside their community to participate in ceremonies granting the *encomienda*, and could take *encomenderos*, or their representatives, into Indian communities otherwise not part of their life. From a dialogic perspective, Blás Cuculí multiplies the social fields with which he engages outside the *pueblo* by introducing an utterance aimed indirectly at the *encomendero* of Masca.

The *indios* of Masca also extended their social fields outside the limits of the *pueblo* itself through their role in patrolling the Caribbean coast to catch illicit ship trade and enemy ships coming to raid towns in the region. Such service as *vigiles* (watchmen) by the *indios* of Masca stands in the narrative of Blás Cuculí as a counter to demands for personal service in the city of San Pedro. While his other arguments are explicitly pursued by Guatemalan authorities, these claims for special consideration are not.

The lack of consideration for this form of service in the Guatemalan documents written about this petition is in dialogic terms a response that refutes or turns away the original claim. The social field that framed this relationship was internal to the Honduran colony, more specifically, to the part of the colony administered by San Pedro and Puerto de Caballos. The lack of response from authorities in Guatemala in no way discourages the *indios* of Masca, or of other communities in the vicinity, from reminding the other residents of the *partido* (district) of San Pedro and Puerto de Caballos of the unique role of the indigenous watch in ensuring their safety. Petitions by *Indios* of Masca from 1711 to 1714, discussed in later chapters, would

again cite service in the coastal watch as a rationale for having their rights protected. In dialogic terms, this claim was subject to different responses within and outside the district of San Pedro.

The proposal to apply to Masca a requirement for some residents to go to the city of San Pedro as domestic laborers can be seen as a proposition to form yet another field in which the *pueblo de indios* would have been entangled. The implied incorporation of Masca in a religious ministry, the *doctrina* for which *diezmos* (tithes) were provided to compensate the priest responsible, represents another field connected to the city of San Pedro as the center of the *curato* (religious jurisdiction), but in this case, the *cura* (priest) travelled to the *pueblo* bringing the sacraments to them.

Masca, as represented by the narrative of Blás Cuculí, is thus a complex of overlapping social fields. Participation in those fields was not uniform, as suggested by his own identification and disidentification with different fields in which Masca figured. At a minimum, the population of the town was divided in two groups. One, later characterized as *principales*, included members who served as officials. But it also included the ambivalently positioned Blás Cuculí himself, who seems deliberately to refrain from crediting to his membership in this class his own knowledge of wider fields, and his ability to negotiate. Contrasting with these *principales* are those Blás Cuculí calls "los demas". They also were engaged in wider fields: the *encomienda*; the coastal watch; the *doctrina*; and the demands for personal service in the city of San Pedro that were successfully contested in this document.

Nor was the complexity of the colony only visible from the position of the indigenous middleman, Blás Cuculí. If we turn our attention to the seemingly more generic utterances from Spanish colonial authorities that respond to his narrative, using the same approach, we find in them equally strong evidence of a colonial world in the process of creating novel social fields and new social meanings.

Genres of Colonial Administration

Speech genres originate in spheres of activity as in dialogue participants develop styles of usage. Styles of usage become established in groups such as bureaucracies and professions, but also in social groups, movements, regions, and so on. Texts like the Blás Cuculí petition and replies to it bring into play a multiplicity of voices and genres. Hanks (1987:670) writes that "genres can be defined as the historically specific conventions and ideals according to which authors compose discourse and

audiences receive it". Genres constrain the set of possible meanings:

Genres then, as kinds of discourse, derive their thematic organization from the inter-play between systems of social value, linguistic convention, and the world portrayed. They derive their practical reality from their relation to particular linguistic acts, of which they are both the products and the primary resources (Hanks 1987:671).

The first-person narrative of Blás Cuculí is embedded in a typical colonial administrative document. The preamble that refers to the Oidor of the Audiencia of Guatemala is echoed in a segment that immediately follows the signature of Manuel de Farinas. Together, these two segments actually reinfect the narrative of Blás Cuculí as a form of cited speech, not the apparent direct speech suggested by the verb forms in the petition. As cited speech, the dialogic forms of the petition are used by the document's author(s) to create a new dialogic ordering among the speech genres represented.

The Oidor of the Audiencia of Guatemala is identified in the third segment of the *expediente* (dossier) as Don Juan Bautista de Urquiola. His narrative parallels that of Blás Cuculí in structure and content. It begins, like the other, with his name and titles followed by a phrase that identifies his standing to speak in this matter: "who exercises the office of prosecutor [que ejerce el oficio fiscal]" of the audiencia. The major difference is that the fiscal does not speak in the first person for any group or institution. His speech is directed to another, who in the next section is clearly identified as the President of the Audiencia. But this speech itself is indirect: the fiscal "says" in the third person: "dice que siendo Uds. servido podra mandar librarles su despacho": "he says that if it pleases you, you could order" a document be sent in support of the indios de Masca. By whom is his speech being cited? That only becomes clear at the end of the document.

The cited speech of Urquiola goes on to suggest three legal options that the President of the Audiencia might take in response to the petition from Masca. First, Urquiola notes that the President might order a document supporting the position of the Indians of Masca that they do not owe labor service to the residents of San Pedro, nor anywhere else, as specified in the royal cédulas. Second, Urquiola suggests a note might be sent proposing that the Indians pay their tribute in advance in some way. Third, Urquiola suggests the President might order the Lieutenant Governor of Honduras to audit the Indians' payments to the encomendero to see if they are owed a refund, and to report back his findings quickly to the President.

Urquiola revoices the words of Blas Cuculi with regard to the labor service. With the other two orders he is voicing new concerns, partially echoing Blas Cuculi with regard to church payments, but evincing a particularly bureaucratic concern in the third order, with the possibility that the encomendero might be profiting from the Indians and not making the required payments for their religious ministry.

The section that follows represents a similar doubled voice. The order being given is that of Don Fernando Francisco de Escobedo, the president of the Audiencia. The sole sentence preceding his signature reads "hice como lo dice el dicho fiscal": "do as the fiscal says". The phrase recalls the similarly positioned "Por el dicho" preceding the name of Manuel de Farinas.

Following the names, titles and signature of this apparent final speaker, the President of the Audiencia, comes an additional and truly final signature: Lorenzo de Montufar. Otherwise unidentified in the text, he signs at the end of the phrase "en el distrito en Guatemala los dos de febrero" of 1675. Montufar's name occupies a similar location at the end of a marginal note that completes the first segment of the document: "en su distrito en Guatemala en diez y nueve de enero" 1675. Apparently saying nothing in the text, in fact, Montufar is the writer who assembled the whole dossier, and who witnesses the exchange from start to finish. It is Montufar who is citing Urquiola's speech to obtain the orders. It is Montufar who carries out the President's order to "do as the fiscal says," and write the necessary communications of the decision on this petition.

Montufar was a member of a category of functionaries who shaped the dialogues emerging in the colonial context into recognizable administrative genres. He arrived in Santiago de Guatemala in 1666 from Spain. He was a cousin of Don Jose de Aguilar y de la Cueva, regidor for Guatemala. He married Doña Luisa Alvarez de la Vega y Toledo in Santiago de Guatemala. She was a distant relative of Pedro Alvarado, the first governor of Guatemala in the sixteenth century. Montufar's name appears in a series of documents during the 1670s concerning legal issues in the Partido of San Pedro, and in 1679 he is specifically identified as a "Justicia" of the Audiencia.

In the documents produced by Montufar, the common-language view of genre overlaps with a more specialized use of the term distinctive of the work of Bakhtin. Dialogues emerge from utterances shaped with a direction towards other speakers from whom a response is expected. They revoice the language of other speakers in part to call out a specific kind of response. Bakhtinian genres can consequently be understood as emergent forms whose

retrospective regularity is evidence of mutual orientation, rather than of some prior categorical identity. In his study of a group of letters written in Yucatec Maya, William Hanks (1987:687-688) explores how such a generic group of documents can shed light on experience:

By officializing and regularizing their discourse, the principals brought themselves into line with aspects of the given social context, including the colonial government along with its contemporary representatives, as well as the Catholic morality imposed by the friars. At the same time, they contributed to the establishment of terms in which officialdom and regularity were defined, at least locally. They did this by combining and merging Maya representations with those of the Spanish, producing new blends and ambivalent linguistic expressions.

The generic quality of a petition like the one that begins with the narrative of Blás Cuculí is equally obvious. Even in this small region, there are many similar documents, including those drafted thirty-five years later by successors of Blás Cuculí, discussed in Chapter 6. There are evident traces in these later petitions of the kinds of social fields constituted by the 1675 dialogue.

Yet at the same time, as in the case of the Yucatec Maya letters studied by Hanks (1987), the production of such generic documents needs to be understood as an active process through which social relations were given a quality of matter-of-factness. The citation in Blás Cuculí's petition of three separate arguments against further demands on the indios de Masca illustrates this point. The argument given reinforcement-- the utterance heard and positively evaluated in Guatemala-- was the least clearly stated one: that the encomendero should be responsible for the payments of diezmos and doctrina "pues ellos no lo deben sino el encomendero [since they do not owe this, but rather the encomendero [does]". The fiscal orders that the lieutenant governor of Honduras be made to communicate with the encomendero to verify his accounts and return what may have been charged inappropriately. He further affirms the claim that royal cédulas prohibit the vecinos and justicias of the city of San Pedro from requiring indian labor, again sending a formal notice of this finding.

These are the orders that revoice the legal requirements of the labor regimes authorized by the Spanish crown for the colonies. The silence of the same official concerning the argument that the people of Masca should be allowed to "enjoy some rest" because of their service in the coastal watch is equally eloquent. The coastal watch was a heterodox practice that, although

well established in northern Honduras, had no generic reality for the officials of the audiencia in Guatemala.

People in Place: "Form-shaping Ideologies" in Colonial Honduras

By taking a dialogic approach to the set of documents bound together as an expediente, we have identified a large number of parties to the development of the colonial genre of which these documents formed part. The actual inscription of the petition of Blás Cuculí that forms the center of this expediente was clearly the charge of persons rooted in the colonial administrative perspective, a position reflected in the arguments they found worthy of re-citation and affirmation in other documents in the dossier. But the same administrative functionaries also cite (while not responding to) arguments that represent a distinct understanding of the relative duties and privileges of actors, an understanding that emerges from the *pueblo de indios* and the social fields of which it was part. The dialogic production of this document foregrounds the way Spanish colonists and colonial administrators occupied shifting positions that at times aligned some Spanish colonial interests with those of indigenous residents, against the practices of other Spanish colonists.

Dialogics emphasizes the relationship between speakers and genre, what Bakhtin called the "form-shaping ideologies" that are instantiated in dialogues. Far from simply being a literary convention, dialogic forms can be understood as both shaped by and shaping experience of the world. To follow a dialogue is accordingly to follow the flow of the shaping of worldviews. For Bakhtin, that form-shaping itself has an unavoidable historical character. Defined in relation to genres, Bakhtin's (1981) concept of the *chronotope* relates lived understandings of space and time to their representations in everyday speech and in formalized written form (Holquist 1990:107-148; Todorov 1984:80-85). Because every dialogue is specific to its context, each participates in the orientations speakers have toward history. Dialogues are thus more than mere exchanges of words; values are affirmed, contested, revised, and reborn through the patterns of responses. Dialogics is, from this perspective, a way to move from an analysis of speech to an understanding of action and its meanings to different speakers.

Utterances from the perspective of the *pueblo de indios* of Masca that are directly or indirectly cited in the brief document under discussion provide a sense of the understanding of place and time from which these subjects speak. Masca is, from the first words of Blás Cuculí, a place with a history of seeking justice in the highest level of the colonial world, the *corte*

of the Audiencia of Guatemala. The principales on whose behalf Blás Cuculí has carried out business before see their town as part of larger social fields from which they expect, and indeed receive, response. Their vision of their own place emerges from a history of shifting physical location in the San Pedro partido, and a continuous colonial engagement as participants in a coastal watch, both for the benefit of the Spanish cities of Puerto Caballos and San Pedro, and of their own and other indigenous towns. The relationship of the pueblo and Alonso de Osaguera is represented in their words as one of obligations from the Spanish encomendero towards the pueblo, obligations to provide religious doctrine and to pay for it on their behalf. One notable characteristic of the conception of space time that shapes the arguments of the indigenous leaders is an apparent vision of the organization of the colony that moves directly from the partido of the city of San Pedro to Guatemala, leaving the actual capital city of Honduras, Comayagua, out of consideration.

This stands in contrast with the ideological understandings of Spanish colonists and pueblos de indios that shapes and is shaped by the responses of the colonial administrators. For the Oidor, Justicia, and Presidente of the Audiencia, the shape of the colony is hierarchical. Authority flows from Guatemala to Comayagua, and domination is exercised from there over the vecinos of the city of San Pedro, the encomendero, and the indios of Masca alike. The officials in Guatemala assess the arguments advanced by Blás Cuculí in terms of this formal structure of the colony, conceived of as a web of obligations. They share with the people of Masca an understanding of the encomienda relationship as reciprocal, and they also envision it as excluding other relations of labor or tribute with other citizens of the colony. It is from this perspective that perhaps the claim for consideration based on additional service in the coastal watch does not fit and thus is not even referred to by these officials.

A final set of historical relationships emerges from the close reading of this document guided by Bakhtinian dialogics. This is the challenging position of Blás Cuculí, not in relation to the Spanish colonial authorities, but to the other inhabitants of Masca. Blás Cuculí's narrative portrays him as a traveller who more than once moved between his own town and the distant seat of the Audiencia. The perspective provided by distance emerges from the way he positions himself at several points in his narrative, as of the town, but not of the community justices, as acting on behalf of the principales and of the rest of the indios of the town, while discursively excluding himself from both of these categories. The history that shapes the position he shares with no one else in this text is most powerfully indicated by the biographical

phrase "he sido": "I have been". Even the most agentive speakers in the document, the oidor and presidente of the Audiencia of Guatemala, report their own words and deeds indirectly.

For Blás Cuculí, the colonial world was different than for anyone else in this text: a sphere encompassing the partido of San Pedro where the residents of his town carried out their lives like their predecessors, and extending to the corte in distant Guatemala where he successfully negotiated matters, and also including Comayagua, the residence of the encomendero whose name he places into the record in such a way that he sets in motion a review of the encomienda. For him, and for others like him operating throughout the history of the colony, the world was not completely described by the paired sites of Spanish city and Indian town.

Chapter 5: The Encomienda as a Social Field

In this chapter, I argue that the encomienda should not be viewed as a single social field, but rather as a Bakhtinian chronotope that encompasses a series of fields that a prospective encomendero would take up in the process of gaining, administering, and relinquishing the encomienda, and the corresponding fields that residents of the Indian towns given in encomienda took up. An encomienda grant included the encomendero in the field of officials and pensioners appointed by the Crown. The encomienda united the encomendero and residents of Indian towns in fields of governance, labor, and religion. As a chronotope, the encomienda linked time, space, and place. Over time it developed its own genres of documents.

The Encomienda Grant as a Genre of Documents

The genre of documents that shapes the encomienda as a social field includes both formal requests for an encomienda, and other documents called "*Meritos y Servicios*". These are requests from a colonial citizen to the crown for an income. In the case of *Meritos y Servicios*, the income requested is a cash pension. Encomiendas instead provided tribute, in the form of goods and/or cash. The basis of the argument for privileges is different in the two kinds of documents. In an encomienda petition, the basis for the request is the family's service in the original formation and protection of the colony. In the case of *Meritos y Servicios*, the service is to the Crown itself, through conquest, colonization, pacification: things that brought the crown new land and wealth. These actions need not have been in a single colony, but were often services in the founding of multiple colonies in the Americas.

A characteristic that fundamentally distinguishes the encomienda request from the *Meritos y Servicios* petition is whether witness testimony was required. With encomienda petitions, witness testimony was optional. This is perhaps because the service was within a single colony, and knowledge of the actions of the ancestors of an individual often fell into the category of knowledge that was "*publico y notorio* [public and notorious]". The narrative sketched by the prospective encomendero necessarily had to match the public oral history of the colony itself, and as such, had to already be publically known within the colony.

In the case of *Meritos y Servicios*, the narrative of service being constructed differed, involving the "history" of more than one colony. It could not necessarily be considered public knowledge in the colony where

the petition originated. Therefore witnesses were needed to attest to the public and notorious nature of the service claimed. The difference in required testimony also probably stemmed from the actual decision process. In the case of *Meritos y Servicios*, the decision to award a pension, or not, was solely the crown's prerogative. In the case of an *encomienda*, the President of the Audiencia where the towns to be given were located awarded it, and the crown confirmed the grant. The crown was able to rely on the Audiencia President or colonial Governor to be familiar with the specifics of the history of service in a local region.

Masca in the Genre of Encomienda

Masca is among the towns assigned as an *encomienda* by Pedro de Alvarado in 1536, to Carlos Ginoves (Table 16). In 1582, Masca, along with Yama, also originally assigned to Ginoves, was in *encomienda* to Pedro Jaymes, recorded as coming to the Americas in 1516. We know that when Montejo took over as governor he re-assigned towns in *encomienda* to his own followers, and this succession from Ginoves to Jaymes probably can be understood as representing this replacement process. We do not have any information on the number of tributaries or tribute owed in the original *encomienda*. In 1582, the town was listed as having 20 tributaries (e.g. adult male heads of household).

Table 16: Chronology of Grants of Masca in Encomienda

Year of grant	Encomendero
1536	Carlos Ginoves, through the repartimiento of Pedro de Alvarado
1582	Pedro Jaymes
ca. 1623	Diego de Zuñiga, <i>vecino</i> of Trujillo
1627	Andres de Zuñiga, <i>vecino</i> of Trujillo
1662	Alonso de Osaguera y Quevedo, <i>vecino</i> of Comayagua
1690	Antonio de Osaguera, <i>vecino</i> of Comayagua

By 1623, the town had passed to a different family prominent in the early colony (1627 AGI Guatemala 99 N. 13). A 1627 confirmation of succession to an *encomienda* that included Masca (as well as two other Ulúa valley towns, Quelequele and Timohol) named Diego de Zuñiga, *vecino* of the coastal city of Trujillo, as *encomendero*. The *encomienda* was confirmed as passing to Andres Martin de Zuñiga, his son, after his death in 1625. In

the 1627 confirmation of his assumption of the encomienda *en segunda vida* (for a second lifetime), Masca was credited with 11 tributaries. Like his father a resident of Trujillo, Andres de Zuñiga held the encomienda that included Masca until he died, shortly before 1662.

After that, the town became part of a new encomienda granted to a vecino of Comayagua, Alonso de Osaguera. The circumstances of his receipt of the encomienda provide the main basis for this chapter, and are covered in a series of documents created between 1662 and 1669 (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9).

After Alonso de Osaguera's death in 1682, his son, Antonio de Osaguera, solicited the same encomienda for a second lifetime, under the terms of the grant to his father. Like his father a resident of Comayagua, Antonio de Osaguera became governor of Honduras from 1693 to 1698. He is the last recorded person to assume the encomienda of Masca.

In 1683, right after the death of his father, Antonio requested the encomienda of all of his father's towns, although due to negligence by his attorney, his petition was not pursued. Nevertheless, he seems to have continued to enjoy the receipts from his father's encomienda. His name is included as encomendero of Masca in a document written in response to a Royal Cédula requesting a listing all of the encomenderos of Honduras and their holdings in 1690 (1690 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 190 Expediente 1927). Perhaps as a result of this survey, Antonio renewed his petition, originally begun in 1683, to have his father's encomienda confirmed again, asserting that the solicitor engaged in 1683 had simply failed to act in the interim (1690 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 190 Expediente 1926). Eventually, the encomienda was confirmed, backdated to begin officially in 1690 (1692 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 190 Expediente 1928).

Sometime during the period when Antonio Osaguera was exercising control over his father's encomienda without it having been confirmed, the town of Masca moved inland from the coast to unclaimed lands along the Río Bijao in the northwest Ulúa valley, along the main road from Puerto Caballos to San Pedro. Around 1698 the town moved again, this time to lands designated by then-governor of Honduras, Antonio de Ayala. By the time of this second move, Masca was clearly no longer held in encomienda by anyone. The timing coincides with the end of Osaguera's term as governor of Honduras.

While it is not the earliest known expediente granting Masca in encomienda, the 1662 grant that includes Masca and 22 other towns (AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9) is perhaps the longest and most detailed encomienda dossier in the history of Honduras (Libny Ventura, personal communication

2011). It consists of two documents, the first of four sides, and the second of 142 sides (see the Appendix for the transcription). The first document, dated later than the longer second document on which it is based, contains the request to the Spanish Crown from the encomendero to confirm the encomienda grant. The second, longer, document, written first, contains the heart of the justification for the encomienda, as well as the details of how control of the encomienda was formally assumed.

Everything in the dossier is indirect cited speech in the Bakhtinian sense. We lack the original formal petition of Alonso de Osaguera for a grant of towns in encomienda, though a copy is present in his son's request for reassignment of the encomienda for a second lifetime (1692 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 190 Expediente 1928). Instead of the formal request for the encomienda we might expect, in document two of the 1662 dossier we have a scribal copy of two separate grants by the President of the Audiencia of Guatemala; one for two lifetimes to Alonso de Osaguera, and one for a single lifetime to Maria Laso de San Ramon, with residual rights residing in Osaguera on her death. Also contained in this second document are the conveyance of the titles to the governor of Honduras, and the certification of the taking of possession of each town included in the grant.

The document is a scribal copy of these varied sources, prepared by Bernabe Rogel, a royal scribe in Guatemala. Annotations on the document make it clear that this copy was requested by Osaguera so that he could file it with document one in the dossier, his letter to the Crown requesting confirmation of the encomienda grant for both himself and Maria Laso de San Ramon. Through these documents Masca was granted in encomienda to Maria Laso de San Ramon, to pass to Alonso de Osaguera on her death.

Not only is the entire document indirect cited speech; parts of it can be seen as evidence of repeated revoicing of utterances of the kind that Bakhtin notes create and recreate chronotopes. Contained within the second document is a scribal summary of Osaguera's original request for an encomienda grant (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, pages 5-37). This copy was created by Antonio Martinez de Ferrera, a scribe for the Audiencia in Guatemala, for the President of the Audiencia. Osaguera filed his request for encomienda on January 5, 1662, three days after the notice of vacant encomiendas was posted on the Cabildo door in Comayagua. In his request, Osaguera asked for all the vacant encomiendas in Honduras, and for those in San Miguel (El Salvador) as well. Osaguera either included or summarizes twelve other documents as justification of this request.

The twelve documents listed by the scribe describe some of the services to the Crown and colony of Honduras performed by Osaguera's

ancestors. Some of these were likely recopied from Meritos y Servicios petitions, such as that of Juan Ruiz de la Vega. At least two of the documents incorporated were copies of letters from the Crown acknowledging the service of noted ancestors. The original archival copy of one of these letters can still be located in the Archivo General de Indias. With these twelve documents Osaguera laid out the service of his ancestors to the colony of Honduras. He advanced the claim that his ancestors contributed to the conquest and pacification of Honduras in the sixteenth century, and defended the port city of Trujillo from pirates on numerous occasions in the seventeenth century. Osaguera traced service both through his maternal and paternal lines, using their combined social credit to justify the request for an encomienda of unprecedented scale.

His claim of cumulative service was revoiced by the fiscal in Guatemala, Don Pedro Frasso, who wrote, in recommending the grant of encomienda:

In consideration of the many and particular services which the ancestors of this petitioner have given to your Majesty, also those of his wife and those that the petitioner on different occasions has done himself...

[en considerazion de los muchos y partticulares servicios que los azendientes desta parte han hecho a su magestad y asi mismo los de su muger y a los que este partte en diferentes ocaziones a hecho por su persona...]

The President of the Audiencia in Guatemala endorsed the request in a letter to the crown included as part of the expediente, and on May 6, 1662 assigned in encomienda a total of 17 towns for two generations, noting their current tribute amounts and assigning that tribute to Osaguera (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, pages 37-51). The encomienda was then registered in Guatemala and conveyed to Osaguera, who on June 12, 1662, informed the governor of Honduras about the grant and documented his taking possession of most of the towns (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, pages 52-93). We lack documentation that he formally took possession of four of the towns (Tatumbula, Utila, Manguiche, and Tomala). The first three of these are separately listed as sources of payment of specific taxes for which Osaguera became liable.

On May 10, as part of the same transaction, the President of the Audiencia of Guatemala granted six towns to Doña Maria Laso de San Ramon for the duration of her life, with the towns reverting to Alonso de Osaguera on her death (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, pages 102-114). On

June 6, 1662 she then conveyed the title to the governor of Honduras, along with documents confirming her taking of possession of these towns (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, pages 114-138).

This series of documents that creates a dialogue surrounding the new assignment of Masca as part of this encomienda can be seen as instruments through which people took positions, or were positioned, in a variety of social fields. While those overlapping fields are complex we can isolate each one and see how the people of the Indian town of Masca were positioned or positioned themselves in them.

The Encomienda as a Field of Labor

The Spanish institution of encomienda, from the Spanish verb *encomendar*, to entrust, consisted of a grant by the Spanish Crown to a conquistador or other Spanish official of specific pueblos de indios in a colony. The grant included the right to extract tribute from the Indians in the form of goods, money, or labor, but also included a responsibility to protect the Indians and instruct them in the Catholic faith and the Spanish language. The system was first codified in 1503, re-codified for the Spanish colonies in 1524 and 1542, and formally abolished in 1720 (Simpson 1950). The law of 1524 specified that an encomienda was inheritable for up to two generations, after which the encomienda reverted to the Crown. In 1542 the law changed to make an encomienda not inheritable, but by 1545 that clause had been revoked. In practice, Honduran encomenderos continued to argue, often successfully, for inheritance, even into a third generation.

Repartimiento, from the Spanish verb “repartir”, to divide up, is another Spanish institution closely related to encomienda that affected Indian communities in Honduras in the sixteenth century. Unlike the encomienda, repartimiento involved unpaid labor tribute by a community of Indians to a Spanish individual. The type, the amount of labor and the location where it was performed was up to the Spaniard. In Honduras repartimientos were issued by the Spanish Governor and did not require the approval of the Spanish Crown. Repartimiento was primarily an institution of the early sixteenth century in Honduras, as Spanish colonization began. It often facilitated early gold exploitation. By the 1540s repartimiento had completely ceased, being replaced as an institution by grants of encomienda for many of the same Indian towns, including Masca.

Several Indian towns in the Provincia del Río Ulúa, like Santiago Çocamba, were never allocated to individual conquistadors, but instead provided tribute only to the Crown. These towns were held as

corregimientos with tribute administered by a *corregidor* (chief magistrate). Corregimientos were districts of towns organized under a single crown-appointed corregidor whose job was to collect the tribute from all the towns assigned to his corregimiento. As encomenderos died, and their right to the encomienda ceased to be inheritable, Indian towns passed into the corregimiento system and the Crown benefited from their tribute payments. At the Crown's option, these towns could then be reallocated to someone else in encomienda.

Encomiendas have attracted substantial attention from researchers. In a review essay in 1988, John Kicza summarized work to that point on a variety of topics, including encomiendas. Kicza (1988:463) presented the encomienda as a precursor to haciendas, designed "to gain access to the agricultural wealth of the new colonies, to control the conquered peoples, and to reward the conquerors". Along with authoritative work on encomiendas by Zavala (1935) and Lesley Byrd Simpson (1950), Kicza singled out the work of Lockhart (1969) in setting out the succession from encomienda to hacienda. Lockhart (1969:413) pointed to a "lack of knowledge about the encomienda as a functioning institution" in studies like those of Zavala and Simpson, which he characterized as "juridical history" (Lockhart 1969:413): "Both Zavala and Simpson" Lockhart wrote "recognized that in practice encomenderos could own land, but they tended to give the impression that there was literally *no* juridical link between the encomienda and landholding" (emphasis original). Premm (1992) makes a similar historical argument, examining how encomienda organization changed over time in Central Mexico and led to hacienda organization. The kind of structural analysis that Lockhart critiqued was exemplified by Keith's (1971) comparative study of encomienda, hacienda, and corregimiento.

Lockhart describes the general social relations between the urban-dwelling encomendero, his representatives, and the indigenous people living in encomienda. Keith instead examines the encomienda as an ideal, in which indigenous tribute structures would simply have been redirected to the new colonial government. He notes that this ideal was only found in peripheral places where a strong labor market did not develop, a characterization that fits the area of northern Honduras that is the focus of this study (Keith 1971:436-437):

In most cases, the real encomiendas of Spanish America failed to maintain Indian communities in the kind of isolation that would have been necessary for them to survive relatively unchanged. Instead, encomiendas tended to divide into two distinct parts: one associated

with the traditional indigenous economy of subsistence and local markets, and another associated with the new and expanding economy of the Spanish mines and cities.

Lockhart (1969:421-422) discusses the role of the church as well, writing that "each encomienda was supposed to have its doctrinero to minister to the Indians, and this person would also serve as the encomendero's private chaplain". In the Honduran encomienda discussed here, the cura ministering to the encomienda was from the local city, and had no apparent relationship with the encomendero, who was a vecino of the distant capital city.

The economic role of the encomienda has dominated scholarship. In 1995, Timothy Yaeger presented an argument concerning adoption of the encomienda rather than slavery as the main economic structure of the early Spanish colonies, writing that encomiendas "lowered revenue by more quickly depleting human capital, restricting labor mobility, and promoting higher average costs", but was preferred by the Spanish Crown "because it allowed rents to be earned from native labor and gave the Crown greater security of rule...while not reducing Native Americans to the status of slaves" (Yaeger 1995:857).

Every encomendero had to take possession formally of each and every Indian community granted in encomienda. The ceremony of taking possession as described in the 1662 encomienda grant that included Masca, explicitly enacted the taking of a position in a social field by the Indian population, a position as laborers.

Osaguera took possession of some of his towns by inviting the Indian alcalde and regidor to come to Comayagua for a ceremony. There, they met with him in a room. In addition to Osaguera, there was a scribe, an interpreter if the Indians didn't speak Spanish, and various other Spanish participants. Antonio de Zuniga, a deputy to the Mayor of Comayagua, asked the Indians their names and what town they were from, and the scribe recorded their answers. In the case of ceremonies of possession held in Comayagua, the documents report that they said they were present "as voice and in the name of the other Indians and collective of their town [en vos y nombre de los demas indios y comun del dicho su pueblo]" (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, page 59). Zuniga took the Indians by the hand and led them to Osaguera, who showed them his encomienda document. Osaguera then asked them to move some water jars (or, in one case, a table) from one part of the building to another. Through these actions he took possession as if (*vel quasi* – a Latin phrase is used by the scribe) taking possession of the

town. Zuniga told the Indians that because there was no contradiction by those present, Osaguera then possessed the town. This would hold until they saw a written document naming a new encomendero. Pointing to a relationship between Osaguera and the temporary beneficiary of some of the towns ultimately part of his encomienda, Maria Laso de San Ramon, her brother Marcos Laso de la Vega signed as one of the witnesses for Osaguera's taking possession of several towns in ceremonies of this kind.

These ceremonies enacting labor service for Osaguera took place in Comayagua, the colonial capital, an overwhelmingly Spanish place. As the seat of Spanish power in the colony, it immediately placed the Indians in a subordinate position to all others who took part in the ceremony. The city itself can be viewed as a social field that included both Indians and Spaniards. From its initial settlement in 1537, colonial Comayagua always had a Spanish core, and Indian barrios to the north and west of the city center. Osaguera lived somewhere in the city center.

The setting of this ceremony was a room inside a building in Comayagua, though which building is not indicated. From the presence of water jars in another room, it sounds like a house, possibly Osaguera's own house within Comayagua. Such a room in a rich person's house would have contained the materials of an upper class colonial household: tiled floors, tables, chairs, candle holders, perhaps even paintings. Osaguera and Zuniga could have sat, perhaps at a table, along with the scribe and other witnesses. The Indians would have stood with any interpreter next to them in front of Osaguera and Zuniga. Such a material setting would have reinforced the power differential between the Indians and others present.

The use of the Latin phrase "vel quasi" -- "as if"-- to refer to the town officers symbolically representing the entire town is interesting. Zuniga takes the Indian officials by the hand and literally leads them to Osaguera, causing him to take their hands in his own. He then gave them "in possession (to Osaguera) as if of said town [le dio la posesion uel cuasi del dicho pueblo]" (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, page 70). The use of Latin implies a legal formula that is part of this genre of documents; its use emphasizes that the town officers symbolically are the town. Its use is a peculiarity of the scribe Antonio de Zuniga in Comayagua.

The use of an interpreter with those Indians who didn't speak Spanish would have heightened the social distance between authorities of the pueblos de indios and Osaguera. Indians not fluent in Spanish could not speak for themselves in this venue; they had to speak through an interpreter. No record of their words is provided by the Spanish scribe, nor any indication that they spoke beyond reciting their names, office, and name of the town

they represented; they are essentially voiceless. Instead, they are presumed to speak through action.

Even when an interpreter was not needed because the Indians spoke Spanish (literally, were *ladinos*), they had no more voice in the ceremony than this. Just as in the instances with an interpreter, the scribe gives no indication that the indios Ladinos spoke in the proceedings beyond reciting their names, office, and the name of their town. Like all the other Indians called to Comayagua, their actions are presumed to speak their assent to the new encomendero.

Osaguera asked for and received symbolic labor tribute (moving the water jars and table) from the officers of the pueblo de indios as a symbol of their acceptance of his title as encomendero. Yet labor was not one of the things Indians owed their encomendero. It was a common abuse of the encomienda relationship in colonial Honduras, as we saw in the previous chapter, where Blás Cuculí successfully argued against Masca supplying personal labor to San Pedro residents. Indians were often asked to provide labor service to their encomenderos. The symbolic labor enacted in the ceremony of taking possession might also have recalled the older form of encomienda in Spain, where labor was something the encomendero could expect from their charges. The acquiescence of the town officials to these demands for labor, and their performance of them, the scribe tells us, indicated they recognized Osaguera as their encomendero.

For towns too far away for the Indians to travel to Comayagua, Osaguera appointed a deputy to handle the taking possession ceremony. For the towns in Olancho he appointed Juan Fernandez to act as his agent. Perhaps because Fernandez was not located in the colonial capital of Comayagua, he used slightly different procedures. He visited each pueblo de indios. In addition to bringing out the alcalde and regidor of each town, he also commanded the presence of “the rest of the nobles and principal people of the pueblo [lo demas de los principales y tlatoques de dicho pueblo]" (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, page 76). Fernandez assembled not only the community leaders recognized by the colonial government (the alcalde and regidor) but also all of the community’s nobility (principales and tlatoques). Don Fernando de Giron de Guzman, head judge (*justicia mayor*) of Olancho conducted the possession ceremony. Juan de Hypolito translated for the Indians, and explained the title of encomienda. Juan Fernandez took their hands as a sign of their having understood and agreed to the title, while the interpreter explained to them that they owed all their tribute to Alonso de Osaguera. Here, passivity and quietness were explicitly taken as a sign of

assent, linking these renditions to the more performative ceremonies in Comayagua.

We are not told whether the ceremony in each town took place indoors or outdoors. There were more Indians present than for the indoor ceremonies in Comayagua. Nevertheless, it is only the two town officers who have an active role in the ceremony. The broader indigenous audience would have begun a process of creating a social memory of the events of the day that extended beyond the two town officers to all the nobility, e.g., anyone who might hold office in the future. In contrast with the Comayagua ceremony, the taking up of positions would have been more broadly shared and pervasive among the members of the *pueblo de indios*.

The scribe presented these Indians as being just as voiceless as those in Comayagua. As in Comayagua, their only recorded words were to state their name, office, and the name of the town they represented. In this case, the scribe informs us explicitly that it is by their passivity and quietness that they assent to the new *encomendero*. Fernandez makes no claim of symbolic labor from his charges. He simply took the two Indians by the hand and had the interpreter explain the title and their obligations to pay tribute.

Similar procedures happened with Osaguera's appointed representative in the lower Ulúa valley, Diego Perez de Cervantes, *alcalde ordinario* of San Pedro, who rode out to the towns Osaguera had been granted. He held the ceremony, officiated by Francisco de Castro y Ayala, an aide to the Governor in Comayagua, in each town. Like Fernandez, Diego Perez de Cervantes took the hands of the town officials as the interpreter explained to them the meaning of the title and possession. Like Fernandez, he did not seek symbolic labor from the town representatives.

Whether by simply witnessing or by taking part in the taking possession ceremony, each member of the *pueblos de indios* was taking up a position in the field of labor with respect to the *encomendero*. The symbolic labor performed by indigenous town officers in Comayagua made the relationship between the *encomendero* and the *pueblo de indios* explicit: the *encomendero* had rights to the Indian labor, through receipt of the agricultural products of that labor. An asymmetry of understanding is inherent in the different ways that the taking possession was enacted: Osaguera and the other Spanish officials presumably would have understood even the ceremonies whose actions were limited to a proxy taking the *alcalde* and *regidor* by the hands as equivalent to the more complicated events played out in Comayagua, accepting labor obligations. Not mentioned

in any of these ceremonies was the legal fact that the encomienda also created obligations for the encomendero.

The Encomienda Grant as a Field of Religion

An encomienda grant, as we have seen in the previous chapter, involves the encomendero in a religious field. As the President of the Audiencia noted in the encomienda grant to Osaguera

I declare that said encomendero [Osaguera] and pensioner [Maria Laso de San Ramon] each have to pay half the Salary and Pension tax that falls to them, and the tithe and Christian education ...

[declaro que dicho encomendero y pinçonera ha de pagar cada uno la media anatta que le tocasse diesmo y doctrina ...]" (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, page 44).

The encomendero takes up a position in a field of religion, as a patron of the Indian community's parish priest. As noted by the President, it is the encomendero who pays the tithe of the community to the parish priest, partially funding his salary. The Indians were credited for this because they paid tribute to their encomendero. The tithe obligated the priest to provide religious services to the Indian community, visiting to say Masses and provide sacraments such as confession and communion.

The encomendero's position was one of power in these relationships. If the Indians didn't pay their tribute, the encomendero could forcibly collect goods from them to cover the unpaid tribute. The encomendero was in a position of power over the parish priest as well. If he did not pay the priest for the tithe, the only action the priest could take was to withhold Mass and communion from the Indian community, not likely to be of consequence to the encomendero. The Indians had some agency in the field of religion against the encomendero, however. They could petition the colonial government if for some reason, having paid their tribute in full, the encomendero failed to pay the tithe to the priest. This was the concern Blas Cuculí introduced in the 1675 petition discussed in the previous chapter.

The religious field united the encomendero, parish priest, and Indian community in asymmetrical relationships. The priest received money to pay for Christian education from the encomendero, but delivered these services to the Indian community. At the same time, the encomienda grant created a legal obligation on the part of the encomendero to make these payments, and on the Indian community to pay tribute to the encomendero. If the

encomendero did not pay for the services, it was the Indian community that did not receive the services of the priest. It was the Indian community that must complain to Crown authorities. The priest had no power to act against the encomendero for cutting off his revenue stream; he had to coerce the Indians into doing so by withholding mass, communion and Christian education until paid. The Indians, in turn, had little power over the priest. They had to pay the encomendero and formally complain to government authorities to restore religious services to the community.

The Encomienda as a Field of Governance

The position taken by Osaguera in the opening words of the first document established him in a field of governance and citizenship in the Spanish colony. “Sir, Alonso de Osaguera, citizen of the city of Valladolid de Comayagua in the province of Honduras [Señor, Alonso de Osaguera, vezino de la ciudad de Valladolid de Comayagua en la provincia de Honduras](1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, page 1)”. So begins the letter from Osaguera to the Crown requesting the confirmation of encomienda grants for himself and Maria Laso de San Ramon. This is indirect cited speech transcribed by the scribe as a letter from Osaguera to the Crown. In that phrase the scribe placed Osaguera in the field of *vecindad* in Comayagua within the province of Honduras.

Vecindad was the legal status that granted rights to participate in the political life of the town, to vote for town officials, and to hold office. *Vecindad* was reserved for those who had paid their town taxes. Both Osaguera and his parents were *vecinos*, he of Comayagua, and they of Trujillo. Invoking *vecindad* as he did in his petition brought Osaguera into the political field of Comayagua, the colonial Capital of Honduras. The scribe noted he was an *alferez*, a junior officer in the militia, which placed him in the hierarchical field of power that was the militia of the colony. He commanded, but in turn, was commanded. Taking up his position in *vecindad* placed him in hierarchies of power.

Similarly, Maria Laso de San Ramon was a *vecina* of Comayagua, as the President of Guatemala tells us in the encomienda grant. She was the legitimate daughter of Urban de Turcios, and was “of the nobility, of good merit, descendant of conquistadors and original settlers of this province [Principal, de bene merita, desendiente de conquistadores y pobladores de esta provincia]" (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, 110).

In theory Osaguera had two years to gain a Royal confirmation of the appointment. A letter Osaguera sent to the Crown, undated but attributed to

1662 like the rest of the documents that accompany it, expresses more urgency:

He says that having asked for confirmation of the tribute that the President of the Audience of Guatemala entrusted him...which was sent to your legal representative and because of the lawsuit (or dispute) that may follow delay and risk in the prescribed time frame [Diçe que haviendo pedido confirmazion de los tributos que el Presidente de la Audiencia de Guatemala le encomendo...se remetio a vuestra fiscal y porque del litijio se sigue dilacion y riesgo en la prescripcion del tiempo]

(1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, page 1).

There is no other documentation to indicate what litigation or delay was causing concern, or why it threatened to prolong the confirmation beyond the required time. All of the encomiendas assigned had already been declared as vacant by the Governor of Honduras and the President of the Audiencia, and therefore were considered available for reassignment. Did one of the heirs of one of the previous encomenderos object that they still had heritable rights?

Osaguera takes the position of a petitioner to the Crown, a supplicant. His addressee is the Crown. He tells the Crown what outcome he desires. He references a “reporter”, probably Bernabe Rogel, in Bakhtinian terms a kind of “sideways glance” at the person who faithfully transcribed and certified all of the accompanying documentation:

He asks of your Majesty that if the pages suffer any defects, he asks that by virtue of that memorialized by your reporter you order given the confirmation to the petitioner, and to said Doña Maria Laso de San Ramon the pension in which she is situated and receives mercy. [Suplica a vuestra Magestad que si los paginas padecieren algun defecto se suplica en virtud de lo ‘cordado de vuestra cronis[ta] y se mande dar la confirmazion al suplente y a la dicha Doña Maria Laso de San Ramon de la pension que en ella se le situo en que recibira merced].

(1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, page 1)

By the time the encomienda grant was formally completed, positions had been taken, sometimes in literal performances, by people in governance at every level of the Spanish empire: from the offices of the King of Spain to the Audiencia of Guatemala; from the provincial government of Honduras centered in Comayagua (in which Alonso de Osaguera served) to the local governments of the several Spanish cities, including San Pedro, with

jurisdiction over pueblos de indios included in the encomienda; and incorporating as well the governance of each pueblo de indios assigned.

Masca in Encomienda

Diego Perez de Cervantes took possession of Masca for Maria Laso de San Ramon on June 25, 1662, through a ceremony held in the town of Masca itself. Maria Laso de San Ramon followed similar procedures to Alonso de Osaguera. She gave power of attorney to Antonio Dubon to act on her behalf in Gracias a Dios, and to Diego Perez de Cervantes to act on her behalf in the Ulúa river valley. Diego Perez de Cervantes was a town official (alcalde ordinario) of San Pedro and may well have already been known to at least some of the residents of Masca. Thirteen years later, Blas Cuculi would complain about San Pedro residents trying to require labor service from the residents of Masca. Perez de Cervantes was the same official who presided over the taking of possession by Osaguera in Ulúa valley towns, so he would already have been familiar with the forms involved.

Perez de Cervantes commanded the alcalde of Masca, Miguel Cuculi, and regidor, Roque Chi, to appear before him, and employed Simon Lopez as translator. Francisco de Castro y Ayala, lieutenant governor from Comayagua, acted as Master of Ceremonies and wrote the record of the event. Two witnesses, Alonso Lopez and Pedro Francisco del Arce, were also present. Because the ceremony was in Masca, the scribe notes that the town officials were present "with all the rest of said town [con los demas de dicho pueblo]" (1669 AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9, page 133). Simon Lopez translated the title of encomienda to the two town officials, at which point Francisco de Castro y Ayala formally gave the possession of the town to Diego Perez de Cervantes in the name of Maria Laso de San Ramon. Perez de Cervantes took the hands of the town officials and through the interpreter made the officials know the effects of this title and possession, that they owed their tribute to the new encomendera.

The field of possession is somewhat different in Masca than it was in Comayagua. The ceremony was apparently outdoors, with all of the town residents present. All of them would have been able to hear the title of encomienda translated for them by the interpreter, and see the actions by which Diego Perez de Cervantes took possession in the name of Maria Laso de San Ramon, and the town officials acknowledged that possession. Their role as witnesses created a social memory of the occasion lacking in towns from which officials travelled to Comayagua for the possession ceremony.

Taking Possession and Dialogics

The encomienda document is the least promising source to hear the voices of the pueblos de indios. Yet as Bakhtin's dialogics would lead us to expect, because the encomienda possession ceremony consisted of a series of statements and responses, we can still ask the question of the speaking position taken up by the indios of Masca (in particular) and other indios whose labor was committed through this ceremony.

The ceremony of possession practiced at Masca, like those in other distant towns, is an abbreviated version of the performative ceremony described for Comayagua. The links are clear in the shared and apparently necessary gesture through which the encomendero or his representative takes the representative of the pueblo de indios by the hand. This occurs in the context of a ceremony where, while the indios principales are literally speechless (beyond stating their names and offices), they are described as the "voice" of their people. In what way did they give voice to the intentions of the pueblo?

From the Spanish perspective, the representatives of pueblos de indios spoke without words. The dialogue here requires physical presence. The speakers-- the representatives of the encomendero-- call for a response, assenting to the new obligations. They define the expected response as silent, non-verbal acceptance of physical authority (the taking of hands) and subordination (enacted through moving objects in the elaborated version carried out in Comayagua).

It is when we consider who the superaddressee is for these ceremonies of possession that we see that despite their silence, the people of the pueblos de indios actually do have a voice in these dialogues. These ceremonies, especially their idiosyncratic form, fulfill a requirement made by the Spanish crown. But in fact, it is the witnesses-- and especially, "los demas" of the people in ceremonies like that at Masca-- who are the third party whose actual approval is being elicited.

The fact that these ceremonies required the witness of, and acceptance of, authority by the "voice of the people", sometimes enhanced by the actual presence of "los demas", suggests that while represented as a unilateral imposition of power on the powerless, the taking of possession actually established a dialogue that invited another reply. We can point to the petition by Blas Cuculi on behalf of Masca, discussed in the previous chapter, as one such response. While the representatives of Alonso de Osaguera may not have intended to invite a next word, they effectively did so with a public

ceremony that committed him to his responsibilities as much as it committed the people of Masca to theirs.

The positions taken up in the encomienda by the residents of Masca obligated them to provide tribute of specified kinds to Maria Laso de San Ramon, and after her death, to Alonso de Osaguera. In return, the encomendera was obligated to pay the costs of religious instruction and services. The relationship was reciprocal, and as we have seen, the residents of Masca were prepared to appeal based on the rights they knew they had when services due them were not provided.

While the tribute extracted obviously placed the residents of the town in the position of working for the benefit of the encomendera, it also placed a limit on what could be asked of the town, a limit to the relationship used when residents of San Pedro attempted to extract additional personal services after Alonso de Osaguera assumed possession following the death of Maria Laso de San Ramon. In 1662 Masca paid 73 tostones, 2 reales in tribute to Osaguera in the form of 108 zontles (400 beans) of cacao (43,200 cacao beans total, or 1.8 cargass) at an assumed value of 40 tostones /carga of cacao. (The Spanish math doesn't quite work. At 40 tostones/carga 1.8 cargass of cacao would be 72 tostones, leaving unaccounted 1 toston and 2 reales, or one and a half tostones).

The precise tribute obligations incurred by the people of Masca were specific to the traditional history of production of the town, and incorporated-- probably not by intent-- requirements that helped Masca maintain traditional practices of cultivation and use of cacao. In petitions made forty years later, initiated after the end of the encomienda relationship, the voices of the people of Masca are more clearly discerned. Despite covering some of the same time period, these later petitions recount a history that makes no reference to the encomienda relationship that from the colonial authorities perspective dominated the town in the seventeenth century. Instead, the people of Masca in the early 18th century recall the times of their ancestors, the history of the movement of their town, and mark the town as it moved place as a meaningful settlement precisely by invoking practices maintained in part through the encomienda: the furnishing of their church, and the cultivation of their maize fields and cacao groves. What these later petitions can tell us about Masca-- by then, Candelaria--is the subject of the next chapter.



Plate IV: The area near Lake Jucutuma and Quebrada San Agustin where Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria relocated around 1698

Chapter 6: The *Pueblo de Indios* and San Pedro

The town of Masca moved location at least twice in the colonial period: first from the coast to a location north of the modern town of Choloma, then to within two leagues of the known location of colonial Ticamaya. In the process, it also changed its full name from San Pedro de Masca to Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria. What did not change, however, is what, for the *pueblo de indios*, constituted a town: houses, cornfields, cacao trees, and church. Building on this indigenous definition of what made a town, this chapter will also look at the relationship between San Pedro and Masca at this time. What new social fields arose as a result of the new proximity of Masca to the Spanish city?

I will also talk about the continued importance of cultivating cacao for use, not just in Candelaria, but also in all the region's Indian towns (especially Jetegua, Despoloncal, Santiago and Ticamaya). Comparison to Lenca ethnography will show how cacao, important for field agricultural rituals in the twentieth century, may have been valued for similar reasons in the colonial past as well.

The indigenous people were allocated under the *encomienda* system by assignment of whole communities, rather than individuals. These were the residents of distinct *pueblos de indios*, a term developed to describe legally regulated towns where, in theory, only indigenous residents would be found. Solórzano Fonseca (1985:93) writes that *pueblos de indios* were established during the second half of the 16th century as a consequence of the process put under way beginning with the "New Laws", in 1542...we could say that the colonial indigenous communities constituted a synthesis of the previous prehispanic village organization in combination with the new dispositions established by the political will of the colonial administration....the indio was subject to a determined *pueblo de indios*, subjected to a series of obligations and the control both of the colonial authorities as well as of the local indigenous authorities. Their essential characteristic was their category of *tributary*. (my translation; emphasis original).

He goes on to outline the ideal structure of *pueblos de indios* (Solórzano Fonseca 1985:94-98), beginning with governance by a *cabildo* made up of *alcaldes*, *regidores*, *alguaciles*, and *justicias*, modeled on Spanish precedents, charged with collection of tribute and oversight of land use by residents (see also Solórzano Fonseca 1982; Quezada 1985). *Pueblos de indios* held a common economic reserve, although over time, the control

and administration of this resource moved out of control of the local population. Solórzano (1985:118-121) also acknowledges a key role in the life of the *pueblo de indios* for the church. In contrast to the position taken in this study, he characterized the church as responsible for spreading an ideology of subordination, making it clear that he sees the church as contrary to indigeneity. This extends to an analysis of *cofradías* that emphasizes the way that they were sometimes manipulated by Spanish authorities and church officials to extract funds from *pueblos de indios*, without any consideration of the experiential dimension of community that they might foster.

Kicza (1988:474) recognized a very few studies at the time of his review that dealt with individual *pueblos de indios*, singling out the work of William Taylor as illuminating "the values, bonds, and tensions of Indian Society and to show how these varied according to the type and degree of contact that villages had with the outside world". This summary reflects a traditional construction of the *pueblo de indios* as a closed community opposed to an equally uniform "outside". Kicza (1988:474) also noted the work of S. L. Cline on Culhuacan, dealing with "family structure and relationships, inheritance patterns, and social differentiation", based on wills by indigenous people.

It is in the context of maintenance of an autonomous *república de indios* that the legislation governing *pueblos de indios* was formulated.

Keith (1971:439) pointed out that

the closest ties of the *encomienda* were with the *corregimiento*, in which the tribute system and the tradition of maintaining a separate *república de indios* were continued with some changes from the 1550s through the end of the colonial period.

Zeitlin (1989:24) discusses the variation in historical experiences of different indigenous towns, saying that

what remains to be explained satisfactorily is how some Indian groups managed to adapt themselves to dramatically different circumstances in ways that continued to support their cultural and linguistic separation from ladino society, while others, less successful at achieving a creative accommodation, saw their economic viability broken and their sons and daughters leave communities which no longer maintained ceremonial or social links to a distinctive tradition.

She cites work by Taylor (1974), Osborne (1973), and Grieshaber (1979) as exploring control of land as a factor in persistence of indigenous

communities. Lovell (1983:216) builds on Taylor's suggestion that there will not be a single historical trajectory of ever greater land dispossession in the transition from encomienda to hacienda, but rather a range from Spanish appropriation of land to indigenous retention of land, depending on local characteristics. Lovell's study of a region in highland Guatemala explicates the way that indigenous towns maintained communal title to land under Spanish law (Lovell 1983:220).

The 1711 and 1714 Petitions

The principal documentary sources for this chapter are petitions made by Masca in 1711 and 1714 (1714 AGCA A1.45.6 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413) in a land dispute with Juan de Ferrera. The outcome of these petitions is given in the Crown's assent (1714 AGCA A1.24 Legajo 1581 Expediente 10225) which granted them the land they came to inhabit near Ticamaya.

In 1711, the Indians of the town of Masca thought they had settled a land dispute with their relatively new neighbor, Juan de Ferrera, over lands on which the Governor in Comayagua gave them permission to settle. Their move followed Antonio de Osaguera's delayed request for confirmation of his father's encomienda, including Masca, in 1690. At the time, only eight encomienda grants totaling twenty-eight pueblos de indios still were listed in Honduras, including the then-unconfirmed but continuing Osaguera encomienda (AGCA A3.16 Legajo 190 Expediente 1927).

The Indians of Masca and Corporal Juan de Ferrera met in 1711 before Captain Juan Gutierrez, the teniente of the Governor of Comayagua, in the City of San Pedro, to subscribe to a land purchase of the site known as San Agustin, or later, the Estancia de San Agustin, by the indios of Masca, for 360 pesos. The 360 pesos was the equivalent of a debt that Juan de Ferrera owed to the Church. The Alcalde of Masca, Juan Chabacan, and Regidores Guillermo and Diego Chi, agreed to pay his debt within two years. This 1711 document is referred to in later documents as the "obligation" (*compromiso*).

It is in this context that we learn about the circumstances surrounding the movement of the town from its original location. Simon Cuculi, Mayor of Masca, in testimony from 1713 included in the 1714 petition tells us:

Our pueblo was in ancient times on the beach of the sea halfway between Puerto Caballos and Manabique, where the pirate enemy sacked and robbed it various times mistreating the sacred images and carrying off some families because of which and because we lacked spiritual care and our cura only

makes one visit each year it would be about 25 [years ago?] that, with a license from the Royal Justice we left to populate a place that they call Río Bijao, eight leagues from Puerto Caballos, inland.

[Nuestro pueblo fue antiguamente en la playa del mar en la mediania entre Puerto de Caballos y Manabique, donde el enemigo pirata les saqueo y robo diferentes veces maltratando las imagenes sagradas y se llevo algunas familias por lo qual y por que careciamos del pasto espiritual y sola una visita nos hacia nuestro cura cada año habra como veinte y cinco que con licencia de la Real Justicia salimos a poblar un parage que llaman Río Bijao, ocho leguas del Puerto Caballos, tierra adentro]

(1714 AGCA A1.45.6 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413, page 15)

In 1713, Simon Cuculi said it was 25 years ago (around 1688) when Masca moved to the Río Bijao location. A document listing payments from towns in all of the Audiencia of Guatemala in 1684/85 says of Masca:

That of Masca, if it is distinct from that of San Pedro Masca of the Corregimiento of Amatique, has to pay three reales; and if it is the same it need not pay a thing of these.

[El de Masca, si es distinto del de San Pedro Masca del Corregimiento de Amatique, ha de pagar tres reales; y de ser el mismo no ha de pagar cosa de condenaciones.]

(1685 AGI Guatemala 29 R. 2 N. 37)".

This text could be used to argue that there were two Mascas at this time, one still on the coast, and one inland at the Río Bijao. More likely, the move from the coast to the Río Bijao location had already been authorized, and either had already happened, or was imminent. The coincidence in timing, just after the death of the encomendero Alonso de Osaguera in November 1682, is noteworthy; especially as the succession in encomienda was not immediately pursued and confirmed, the period starting in 1683 may well have allowed greater flexibility for the people of Masca. It may also be at this point that the patron saint of the pueblo de indios, previously San Pedro, was changed to Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, a circumstance that would have added to the confusion expressed by officials in 1684-1685. After the questionable mention in this document there are no further references to a Masca along the coast during the colonial period.

In Simon Cuculi's narrative, it was only 25 years ago that Masca was located on the Caribbean coast, increasingly being raided by pirates. Simon Cuculi particularly noted the attention the pirates paid to the town's sacred images in their church, and commented on several families having been carried off. He also noted that their parish priest only visited them once a year because they were so far from San Pedro. This recalls the 1675 complaint from Masca in Chapter 4, about not receiving religious training from their encomendero Alonso de Osaguera. Part of the reason then offered was their distance from San Pedro, where the cura who ministered to the community resided.

In 1662, this might have been the result of a recent change in religious jurisdictions. There is some indication in Ximenez (1932, vol. 2, p. 20) that around 1600 a group of Dominican priests was stationed in Puerto Caballos by the Bishop of Comayagua to provide religious services and care for the indigenous communities along the north coast from Puerto Caballos as far west as Amatique in Guatemala. By the 1660s they were no longer there, and religious services and instruction for this region fell to the curate of San Pedro. Puerto Caballos itself may have been a vacant town for much of the 17th century, repopulated from San Pedro only when ships called at the port, because of pirate and privateer activities along Honduras's north coast.

Interpolating from the 1711 and 1714 petitions, by no later than 1689 Masca had abandoned its location along the coast, and moved inland, closer to San Pedro, relocating initially to a location on the Río Bijao, where the road between San Pedro and Puerto Caballos crosses a river, north of modern Choloma. They did so with the permission of the Governor at the time.

It is not a small undertaking to move an entire town from one location to another. Simon Cuculi wrote:

And being populated with houses, church, and having formed some gardens and planted fields, the enemy entered by the Río Ulúa, and by night through the pass that is called Bardales entered into our pueblo and robbed us and carried off some tributaries.

[Y estando poblado con casas, yglesia, y formadas unas guertas y sembrados, entro el enemigo por el Río Ulúa, y de noche por el paso que se llaman de Bardales entro en nuestro pueblo y nos robo y llevo algunas tributarios.]

(AGCA A1.45.6 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413, page 15)

In Simon Cuculi's timeline, it was about a decade later, in 1698, when with the express permission of the Governor Antonio de Ayala, and the permission of San Pedro, and, according to Simon Cuculi, with the consent of Juan de Ferrera, Masca moved from the Río Bijao location to a place called "boca del monte":

We went to settle at the Boca del Monte in a plain in the midst of the said ranch (San Agustin) where for 16 years we have been settled with houses, church, cacao groves, platano fields, corn fields, and other and cultivated fields and plantings without in this time having had contradiction or harm, living in peace and the town growing, enjoying spiritual care with frequency.

[Salimos a poblar a la boca del monte en una sabana yn media a dicha estanzia [San Agustin] donde a dies y seis años estamos poblados con casas, yglesia, cacaguatales, platanales, milpas, y otros sembrados y plantios sin que en este tiempo ubiesemos tenuta contradizion ni perjuizio, vibiendo en pas y aumentandose el pueblo, gozando de pasto espiritual con frecuencia.]

(1714 AGCA A1.45.6 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413, pages 15-16)

The name of San Agustin remains preserved in the name of a stream at the north end of Lake Jucutuma, north and east of San Pedro. The site where Masca moved is described as "en la boca del monte", a description that matches the land immediately west of Lake Jucutuma, where a small plain is surrounded by low hills. This area is actually known today as El Boqueron. It was described as located on the road between San Pedro and the port town of Puerto Caballos, 4 leagues from San Pedro. This also fits the plain north of El Boqueron, which also matches the description of Candelaria as being two leagues from Ticamaya.

By 1711, the town was known formally as Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de Masca, though the town officers still referred to it simply as Masca in documents from 1714. The change in the name of the town, from San Pedro Masca to Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de Masca, may have something to do with having moved so close to San Pedro Sula. Having two towns named San Pedro so close together would have potentially created confusion.

The change in location was good for the town. They were able to establish new cacao groves, plantain groves, milpas, and other plantings, in

addition to building houses and a church. They indicated that they were still located on the road between San Pedro Sula and Puerto Caballos, and as such continued to act as watchmen to warn San Pedro of pirate activity.

But in February 1711, a dispute erupted between the occupants of Masca and Corporal Juan de Ferrera, the alleged landowner. Juan de Ferrera ran a cattle ranch, and his cattle were getting into the milpas and cacao groves, eating everything. Simon Cuculi, testifying in 1714, described the problem:

for three years the cattle of Juan de Ferrera owner of the neighboring estancia have been let into this area and it began to make notable damage to the cacao groves and other cultivated fields so much so that we did not realize a harvest and finding the pueblo afflicted we took advantage of the occasion of Juan de Ferrera to exonerate himself in a certain sense that he was obligated offering to remove the cattle within three months with which the pueblo would be obligated in the sense and in conformity to redeem the vexation that they suffered with the cattle and without knowledge of the quantity that is that of 360 pesos the alcalde who was in office in that season made the commitment and obligation.

[de tres años a esta partte se an me[ti]do el ganado de Juan. de Ferrera dueño de la estanzia ynmediatta y nos enpeso a ser notable daño en los cacaguatales y demas sembrados tanto que no logrado cosecha y allandose el Pueblo aflixido Valiendose de la ocasion Juan de Ferrera al Yntento exonerarse de sierto senso a que estaba obligado ofresiendo sacar dentro de tres meses el ganado con tal que el Pueblo se obligaze al senso y en esta conformidad por redimir la bejazion que padesian con el ganado y sin conosimiento. de la cantidad que es la de tresientos y sesenta pesos hizo el alcalde que era a la sason el conpromizo y obl[i]gasion...]

(1714 AGCA A.45.6 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413, page 16).

Unfortunately for Masca, Juan de Ferrera died shortly after the compromiso was struck, and by 1714 his heirs were pressing for payment of the funds to the church. In this, they enlisted the aid of the priest, Juan Lopez de Chavarria, who threatened the people of Masca with excommunication for not paying the amount owed. So in 1713 they began, with the testimony of Simon Cuculi, to petition first the Governor of Comayagua, then the Audiencia of Guatemala for relief from the compromiso, which they characterized as an illegal document because it was not permitted for them to engage in such a contract for land. Anyway,

they argued, Governor Ayala had given them that land to live on, without objection by Ferrera at the time.

In the 1713 petition submitted in Comayagua for the Governor of the Province of Honduras, Enrique Logman, Simon Cuculi speaking “en nombre y en voz del comun y naturales de su pueblo [in the name and with the voice of the community and natives]” gave a power of attorney to Captain Don Miguel de Uria, a regidor of Guatemala, to act on their behalf. He attached copies of a decree in their favor by the Governor of Comayagua, and two additional background documents. He requested that they be supported in the possession of “the land they settled with a church [tierras que tienen pobladas con iglesia]” where they have lived for the last 12 years. Cuculi requested that the Audiencia nullify the obligation and that it declare they didn't have to pay the debt. They asked that the 365 pesos held by a third party in San Pedro, Captain Francisco Gomez de Tejada, be returned to them and that the ecclesiastical judge be required to reverse the excommunication if the priest had already acted.

In support of his argument, Cuculi again recited the history of the town, of its original location on the beach between Manabique and Puerto Caballos, of the move to the Río Bijao location 25 years previously, and how they were attacked yet again at that location, and how they then sought and obtained Governor Ayala's permission to move to their current location, where they had been for the last 16 years. He argued that Juan de Ferrera did not remove the cattle, per the agreement, until 1712, and that as a result “with that time, the cattle destroyed the pueblo because we could not harvest, which is well known [con cuia tiempo se aniquilo el Pueblo por no lograr cosecha alguna como es publico]”.

Simon Cuculi then cited the tenor of Reales Cédulas and the laws that instructed the colonial authorities to give native people the land that they needed for their towns, plazas, common land, sowing crops, and herding cattle. Cuculi cited the Recopilacion de Leyes de las Indias Book 4, Law 14, title 12 of the new edition which instructed colonial authorities to give Indians the lands they needed for their livelihood, and prohibited the sale of that land to others. He also cited Book 4, Law 16 as conditioning the sale of lands on the good and use of the nearby Indians, as well as Law 18. Cuculi also cited their service as watchmen greeting ships that arrived at Puerto Caballos.

In December 1713, the Governor of Comayagua, Enrique Logman, found in favor of the pueblo de Masca, and issued an order instructing the priest, Juan López de Chavarria, to refrain from pursuing the 360 pesos.

In May, 1714, the Fiscal in Santiago de Guatemala found for the residents of Masca, noting that under royal law, they could not enter into contracts, and that if the heirs of Juan de Ferrera really held a just title, which was unlikely, they should be required to show it, and then be compensated by lands elsewhere. On the 17th of May of 1714, the Audiencia found in favor of the Indians of the town of Masca, ordering that the heirs of Juan de Ferrera pursue any appeals of this decision to the justices of the Real Audiencia, and that the Governor of Comayagua ensure that the Indians of Masca were not charged any kind of rent. It granted them the land they lived on and used for subsistence.

Social Fields

The 1711 and 1714 petitions demonstrate that by moving, the pueblo de indios of Masca entered into a series of new social fields with the city of San Pedro Sula and the government of the province in Comayagua, all the while maintaining their ties to the Audiencia in Guatemala. Both petitions show that Masca, by positioning itself differently on the landscape, also positioned itself differently in its relationship to the city of San Pedro Sula.

As we saw in Chapter 4, in 1675 the residents of Masca, through their agent Blas Cuculi, petitioned the Audiencia in Guatemala to relieve them from the requests by residents of San Pedro Sula to provide labor. Their argument consisted of indicating that they already provided service to the crown through their participation in the coastal watch, and they owed and provided tribute to their encomendero, even though they were not receiving the religious instruction for which he was obligated to pay.

The Audiencia in Guatemala was where the earlier petition from Masca was first heard, and the Audiencia found in their favor, recognizing that their tribute to the encomendero was all that they owed and ignoring their argument about service in the coastal watch. Their complaints about not getting religious instruction caused the Audiencia on that occasion to ask the provincial government in Comayagua for an audit of the encomendero's spending for religious education for the town. In 1675, the provincial government in Comayagua was inconsequential to the town, and the city of San Pedro Sula was too far away for its residents to interact regularly with the residents of Masca. The Audiencia in Guatemala was the first place they turned to for justice.

The 1711 and 1714 petitions transform that relationship. The first evidence of this is in the 1711 compromiso, a document written in San Pedro Sula with the participation of the provincial authority, Capitan Juan

Gutierrez Marquez, representing the Governor (Antonio de Monfort), and of Diego Herrera, then Alcalde and Regidor of San Pedro. This could be the same Diego Herrera who had previously represented Masca's encomendero, Alonso de Osaguera, in collecting their tribute for him, or perhaps a son. The agreement carried out with the Alcalde and Regidores of Masca, Juan Chabacan, Guillermo and Diego Chi, and Marcos Chabacan, set a legal framework for the purchase of the land claimed by Corporal Juan de Ferrera (of the San Pedro militia) called San Agustin, by the Alcalde, Regidores, and “*demas principales y comun*”. The document noted that “*parecieran los naturales del pueblo de la Candelaria y el cabo de esquadra Juan de Ferrera todos juntos en comun*”: the people of Masca (or Candelaria) appeared along with Juan de Ferrera. The presence of the governor’s representative made the governor himself a super-addressee of the *compromiso*.

The “*compromiso*” was an agreement made by the entire community brought together with the seller of the land, in San Pedro, in front of a representative of the governor of Honduras. The people of the town took up a position as equals of Juan de Ferrera, able to make contracts, and engage in financial transactions other than the typical tribute. They told Capitan Juan Gutierrez Marquez that they (the town of Masca and Juan de Ferrera) had “*discussed and arranged [tratado y concertado]*” the purchase of San Agustin in exchange for paying Juan de Ferrera’s debt to the church within two years.

Not only was Masca in 1711 oriented to San Pedro as the first place to turn to receive justice, but also the people of the town saw themselves as potentially equal participants with Spaniards in the economic realm. Yet, two years later, in 1713, they found themselves launching a new petition.

This petition, featuring testimony by Simon Cuculi who by then was Alcalde of Masca, along with Diego Hernandez, regidor of Masca, was directed to the Governor in Comayagua. In some ways, it repudiated the position the town had taken as equal participants in the economy of the colony, by pointing out that it was against the law to sell lands that the Indians need to survive, that the law said to take into account the good of the Indians in any such sale. It required the Spanish authorities to give them the land that they needed. The authorities of Masca cited relevant book, section, and clauses from the *Recopilacion de Leyes de las Indias*, the rules that governed the colonies, and gave paraphrases of their meaning.

In this 1713 petition by Simon Cuculi, the people of Masca took up the position of Indians, demanding to be treated as Indians were supposed to be treated under Spanish law. They no longer claimed to be equals, able

to enter into contracts. They noted that the lands had been improved and planted in good faith for twelve or thirteen years and that it would put them back several years to leave their houses and church and go back to the old town (near the coast), to be at the mercy of the enemy and lacking in religious care.

By authoring the petition the people of Masca took up a position as supplicants of the Governor and as residents of the province of Honduras. Whereas in 1675 they ignored the Governor of Honduras in Comayagua, this time they recognized his authority and addressed their petition to him.

Moving Coastal Honduras

Because pueblo can be glossed as "town", we may think of "pueblos de indios" as fixed locations on the landscape, but in Northern Honduras, they were not. Instead, it is better to think of the pueblo de indios as a community, a people, who made their own place wherever they were through a series of practices.

Masca was not the only pueblo de indios to move in reaction to pirate and privateer activity along that coast. Both the pueblos de indios of Quelequele and Jetegua, located along the Ulúa and Chamelecon rivers, moved far inland as well. Jetegua reported being sacked by Dutch "pirates" in 1678 who took 40 residents as prisoner (1679 AGCA A1.60 Legajo 5364 Expediente 45339). The testimony offered makes it clear these were Dutch mercenaries serving the Spanish, who had been sent to Jetegua to get supplies. Among those giving testimony were Gaspar Sima, the alcalde of the town, and Luis Toquegua, a regidor. Their testimony indicates they went in search of a new place to locate the pueblo of Jetegua after this attack. It might be a coincidence, but this development dates to within a few years of Masca's first move inland to the Río Bijao, which indirect evidence suggests happened between 1682 when their encomendero died, and 1684 when a tax was levied with some uncertainty about Masca's current location.

In 1709, Jetegua renewed their complaints, and petitioned to move the town to the region of Yojoa, well inland, where the enemy could not go:

Let your [officials?] give us another place called Yojoa which is good for growing cacao groves and as well, to plant gardens for our foods; sir, the cause of this request that we make for the transfer is that we are very afflicted and disconsolate from the invasions of the enemy privateers every day robbing us, sir.

Now the Moskito Sambos are not lacking at the mouth of the

river and who took to Lemoa all the people, men and women on which occasion [they were] disconsolate; and every day afraid fleeing into the brush with the saints' images; and our women and children dying from the fright the sambos give us every day.

[Dexe sus ce nos concede otra paraxe que se llama Lloxoá que es propio para cenbrar cacaguatales y demas cenbrar huertas para nuestros alimentos ceñor las causas deste pedimento de que pedimos el traslado es que nos bemos y mui afligidos y desconsolados por las invasiones del Enemigo casario cada dia robandonos señor Casas oy los sombos de le mosquitos que no faltan de la boca del Río y que llevaron a lemoa todo el pueblo onbres y mugeres por culla ocasion desconsolados y cada dia sustados hullendo por los montes con los santos y muriendo nos nuestros ijos y mugeres con los sustos que nos dan los sanbos cada dia.]

(AGCA A1.12 Legajo 50 Expediente 493).

That Jetegua moved is incontrovertible. A map by Diego Navarro from 1758 in the AGI shows both the old and new locations of Jetegua along the Ulúa river, marked as "Jetegua" and "Jetegua Vieja" (Davidson 2006:115; 1758 AGI Mapas Y Planos Guatemala 49). While we have no documents petitioning a move, we see the pueblo de indios Quelequele relocated to the southern valley on the Diez Navarro map as well. Quelequele was originally located in the northern valley, along a river course that in the sixteenth century was a tributary of the Ulúa river. Today this channel is occupied by the Chamelecon River. The original location of Quelequele was just north of Ticamaya, near Timohol, where even today there are geographic features called Quelequele. In the Diez Navarro map, the town of Quelequele is in the southern valley, located near the confluence of the Comayagua River with the Ulúa, not far from relocated Jetegua.

Like Masca, one of the arguments that justified the relocation of Jetegua was the impact of uncertain conditions on their production of cacao. When Masca and Jetegua cited the destruction of their cacao groves or haciendas, they were doing more than making an economic argument: they were advancing a claim that has to be understood from an indigenous perspective, about the role of cacao in community life.

Cacao in Colonial Indigenous Practice

In 1713, when Simon Cuculi petitioned the governor of Comayagua to undo the 1711 compromiso, he stated

Sixteen years we are settled here with our houses, church, cacao groves, plantain groves, corn fields and other sown things and plantings....

[diez y seis añ.[os] estamos poblados con casas Yglesia Cacaguatales plantanales milpas y otros sombrados y plantios]”

(1714 AGCA A1.45 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413, page 16)

This claim was picked up and echoed by the lawyer given power of attorney in Guatemala, Salvador Cano, in 1714:

For 16 years my clients have been settled in the said place with houses and church, cacao groves and plantain groves, corn fields and other plantings which by the force of much toil and work they have acquired

[a diez y seis años que mis partes. estan Poblados en el dho. parage con Casas y Yglesia Cacaguatales Platanales Milpas y otros senbrados que a fuerza de mucho afan y trabajo an conseguido]

(1714 AGCA A1.45.6 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413 page 2).

This passage described the people's sense of Masca/Candelaria as a place situated in a landscape that was the product of their actions, an assemblage of houses, a church, and specific agricultural areas. Particularly noteworthy is the emphasis on cacao groves in the petitions by Masca and Jetegua.

Newson (1986), approaching the question from the perspective of the Spanish economy, considers it puzzling that cacao is still important this late in the colonial period. To understand the emphasis on cacao we have to take a different, local perspective. Cacao was being grown for cultural and social purposes. It perpetuated a regional network between the indigenous producers and consumers of cacao, and only secondarily was grown for tribute. The continued growing and use of cacao was one of the tactics of persistence used by the indigenous people of the lower Ulúa river valley.

Cacao had been grown and consumed in the lower Ulúa river valley for a long time. Its first appearance in Honduras is in the valley, about the time that the first settled villages were developing, where Joyce and Henderson (2007) argue that it was consumed as a fermented alcoholic

beverage. They confirmed cacao use through residue analysis of samples dating from 1150 BC to ca. 400 AD, and it is likely cacao was continuously used after that, although no samples have been tested to confirm this.

In the sixteenth century, the province of Ulúa entered Spanish accounts as one of the major cacao producing areas in Central America. Landa mentioned that a member of the Cocom lineage of Yucatan was spared being killed by the Xiu lineage because he was away trading on the Ulúa River (Landa 1941:39). Landa also said of the Maya of Yucatan that they liked trading “taking salt, clothing, and slaves to the land of the Ulúa and Tabasco trading everything for cacao and stone beads that were their money”. Many early Spanish records for Honduras mention abundant cacao along the Ulúa River. The Chontal manuscript account of Acalan-Tichel (Scholes and Roys 1948:372 and 391) attributes the following to Martin Cortés:

Ruler Paxbolon, I have come here to your lands, for I am sent by the lord of the world, the emperor who is on his throne in Castile, who sends me to see the land and the people with whom it is populated. I do not come for wars. I only ask you to facilitate my journey to Ulúa, which is Mexico, and the land where the silver (mistranslation of Yucatec word *takin* meaning gold) and feathers and cacao are obtained, for that is what I wish to go see.

[Rey Paxbolon, aqui he venido a tus tierras, que so enviado por el señor del mundo, emperador, que está en su trono en Castilla, que me envia a ver l tierra y de que gente esta poblada; que no vengo a guerras, que solo te pido me despaches para Ulúa, que es México, y la tierra donde se coge la plata y la plumeria y el cacao, que eso quiero ir a ver.]

Roys (1943) has previously used this passage to argue for the presence of Nahuatl speakers along the Ulúa. Alonso de Avila wrote in 1533 that “from the pueblo de Campeche and the provinces of Guayamil and Tutuxio and Cochuah all trade in cacao and other merchandise in the said Ulúa river...all trade of this land is in the Ulúa river” (Scholes and Roys 1948: 130, footnote 15). He went on to note that all of the above places maintained agents in the Ulúa to trade for them.

According to Diego Garcia de Celis, Çocamba was a grand merchant in cacao. De Celis described his town, Ticamaya, as “of great enterprise for the abundant cacao which they collect, that is the Guadalcana of the Indians

[de mucho trabajo por el mucho cacao lo qual se coje que es el guadalcana de los yndios]" (1535 AGI Guatemala 49 N. 11).

After the Spanish conquest of Honduras, pueblos de indios along the Ulúa River, and the pueblo de indios Naco, in the Naco valley, paid cacao in tribute. By 1588, cacao tribute was limited to towns along the lower Ulúa River (Despoloncal, Santiago Çocamba, Ticamaya, and Tibombo). Cacao continued to be paid in tribute throughout the 17th century from towns like Despoloncal (1591), Masca (1627, 1662), Timohol (1627, 1662), Quelequele (1627), Lemoa (1662), and Santiago (1662). Linda Newsom (1986:147, footnote 144) refers to this as a late continued practice of paying tribute in cacao, and calls it unusual in Honduras.

The 1711 and 1713-1714 petitions from Masca give us insight into the persistence of cacao cultivation in this region. Petitions from Jetegua provide even more clarity on why cacao cultivation was important. In 1679 Jetegua petitioned the government in Guatemala, citing the need for protection of their cacao groves:

Since we are vassals of your Majesty, with the fruits of the cacao that god gave us we give comfort to all the land and since we moved away to the uncultivated areas, so we are with the other towns fearing the second invasion in this time the harvest of cacao that god gave us was lost....We ask aid in the name of your Majesty (that god grant many years) because in any other way we would be forced to go away and seek a place to settle if we are not aided our haciendas of cacao would remain lost and the land would remain lacking in the fruits that god gave us.

[pues somos vasallos de Su Magestad con los frutos de cacao que dios nos da soccorre toda la tierra es menos retiramos al monte asi nosotros como los demas pueblos temiendonos de la segunda embestida en este tiempo se perdio la cosecha de cacao que dios nos da....en nombre de su Magestad que dios guarde muchos años por que en otra manera nos sera fuera todo los del partido salirnos fuera que buscar donde poblarnos desamparado nuestras haciendas de cacao que tenemos con que quedara la tierra perdida y caresiendo de los frutos que dios nos da]

(AGCA A1.60 Legajo 5364 Expediente 45339, page 4).

The 1679 petition from Gaspar Sima (alcalde) and Luis Toquegua (regidor) and the rest of the nobles of the town of Jetegua calls cacao “the

fruits that god gave us” and says with them “we give comfort to all the land”. What did the people of Jetegua mean when they said “we give comfort to all the land”?

According to twentieth-century ethnography, modern Lenca use cacao in rituals, called *compostura* in Spanish, for the health of their agricultural fields (Chapman 1985). The modern Lenca towns involved, in central and southern Honduras, lie outside the zone in which cacao grows, so they must obtain cacao for these ceremonies from producers in low-lying areas, along the north coast of Honduras. Today, this is a market-based mode of acquisition. During the colonial period, in addition to market exchange, it is likely that informal exchanges following social relations between families and towns allowed cacao to move through the countryside. As late as the eighteenth century pueblos de indios in the Ulúa river valley were cultivating cacao, both for their own use, and for the use of others, potentially supplying towns far from the north coast.

The persistence of cacao production in northern Honduras puzzled Linda Newsom (1986), who expected it to die out by the end of the 17th century, as it did almost everywhere else in response to lower value in the Spanish market and a turn by European consumers toward plantations located closer to hand. The persistence of cacao production in Honduras might have something to do with cacao production never having been integrated in the late 16th century Spanish cacao exploitation centered along the Pacific coast from Central America to Colombia. Cacao from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Colombia was extensively traded to Mexico, where it was both consumed, and exported to Spain, but this trade declined in the 17th century, and production went back to being handled on an individual basis. In the Ulúa valley, a major prehispanic cacao growing area, pueblos de indios never abandoned cultivation even though the low Spanish population apparently never even attempted to maintain the large plantations of cacao that were present in the sixteenth century in the area.

When Jetegua says it comforted all the land it most likely meant they supplied cacao to the interior of the country to indigenous peoples for their use and consumption, just as towns in the north coast had done prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Smaller quantities of cacao were not seen by the Spanish as viable commercial levels of production, yet cacao continued to be an important part of the landscape of the lower Ulúa river valley to the turn of the nineteenth century. Honduran Bishop Candinaños, in 1791 (1791 AGI Guatemala 578) and Governor Anguiano, in 1804 (1804 AGI Guatemala 501) both comment on abundant “wild” cacao in the Ulúa

valley, and the fact that the local Indians used it every day. What appeared to these Spanish observers as "wild" may well have been managed groves.

The significance of cacao in persistence of indigenous communities can be seen in modern Lenca traditions about cacao. For the Lenca of central Honduras, cacao is a gift from god, given to them at the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. Lenca storyteller Julio Sanchez told the story of Adam and Eve and their expulsion from Paradise, and the first "veneration of the earth" or *compostura* ceremony (Chapman 1986:15-20). Once they were out of Paradise, God gave Adam and Eve nine grains of corn and nine of beans, and said one of each a day will be enough for you to eat. As Adam cleared the land to plant these seeds, the trees he cut screamed and bled, then grew back overnight. God told Adam to build a ritual altar and that nine angels would arrive:

I am going to give you nine grains of dead maize and nine cups and one large jar will appear; throw one grain into each ...then go seek a wild turkey and two doves....look for a palm frond and throw a drop of palm juice into each cup and jar....In returning to where you have to go, you will find some pods. Cut them open right there. In the pods you will find some seeds. These are cacao.

[te doy ahora otros nueve granos de maiz muertos y alla van a aparecer nueve copitas y un cántaro grande. En cada copita vas a echar un granito muerto (que se convertirá en chicha) y... los echen en el cántaro....ahora vas a buscar un pavo y dos palomas...Busca por allá ...una mata de palma. Vas echando una gotita del jugo del palma en cada copita y otra en el cántaro...en el regreso por donde vas a ir, hallarás unas bellotas, las cortas allá mismo. En las bellotas vas a ver unos granitos, estos son el cacao.] (Chapman 1986:17).

Nine angels showed up on time, and a tenth angel showed up late. They were served a meal that included *chilate*, a corn and cacao drink. Adam invited the angels to sacrifice the birds and they did so. The tenth angel then drank up the alcoholic *chicha* in the cups of the other nine angels. Everyone got drunk, and then the angels fought and went off at three in the morning. Adam went back to work clearing the field the next day and the vegetation didn't cry or bleed or grow back. The spirits responsible had been compensated, Sanchez told Chapman.

Such agricultural field rituals are called *composturas*, literally a thing made up of many parts, a way of repairing that which is mistreated or

broken, and an agreement between parties (<http://rae.es/compostura>). All of these senses of *compostura* come into play in the Lenca use of the term.

For the people of Masca, as for the people of Jetegua and others outside the cacao-growing region, cacao beverages quite likely served purposes not explicitly recorded in Spanish texts, but implicitly echoed in the phrases that are indirectly cited in their petitions. Cacao was “the fruits that god gave us” with which “we give comfort to all the land”. Salvador Cano perceived the argument advanced by Masca as one reflecting the industry of the town: “other plantings which by the force of much toil and work they have acquired”. The petitioners from Masca made no such reference to their labor. Instead, they link their cultivated place to freedom from harm, “living in peace and the town growing”. Their references to cacao are in effect parallel to their references to the spiritual care from the cura that they claimed explicitly as a right, spiritual care that is in fact cited immediately after the descriptions of cultivated fields and the peace they allowed.

As we will see in Chapter 8, cultivation and use of cacao is not the only material practice through which the people of *pueblos de indios* in northern Honduras maintained and reproduced their own community history and identity. The people of Candelaria were drawn into a new set of fields around the new Spanish town of Omoa in the second half of the eighteenth century. Yet with the background provided by the examination of petitions through which the people of Masca and Candelaria recreated their own community under shifting conditions of Spanish administration prior to the founding of Fort Omoa, it is possible to recognize how what appear to be novel or even destructive practices of the late eighteenth century were actually means of coping, tactics of persistence.

Chapter 7: Candelaria and Fort Omoa

Once securely established in its final location, the pueblo de indios of Candelaria was drawn into rapidly emerging social fields that burgeoned around the city of San Pedro Sula and Omoa, a newly founded Fort and town on the coast. Under the pressure of the demand to defend the coast against the British and their allies, the free Miskito of eastern Honduras, these cities elevated the importance of the previously established coastal watch. Service in the watch in turn engaged the people of the pueblos de indios in more direct and ongoing relations with people of other groups, and even of other colonial powers.

The Fortaleza de San Fernando de Omoa called for regular levies of labor (tequios in Spanish) from the two closest pueblos de indios, Candelaria and Ticamaya. These labor assignments in Omoa provided opportunities for men from the community to find wives from outside their communities. While we have no further petitions from Candelaria, we can trace the engagement of people from the community in the wider networks that formed in the eighteenth century, and assess how these relationships contributed to the persistence of the community into the early nineteenth century, from a variety of other documents, including legal cases that, like petitions, can be analyzed as dialogues, reading against the grain.

The Town and Fort of Omoa, 1745 – 1821

Candelaria and other towns in the Ulúa valley moved location in the late seventeenth century because of repeated attacks by privateers and pirates along the north coast of Honduras. The English settlements in the Black River (Rio Tinto) and in Walis (Belize) raised Spanish concern for the safety of its shipping along the Atlantic coast of Honduras. Spanish authorities also wished to control the flow of contraband merchandise from the English and French colonies in the Caribbean into the Spanish colonies. To that end, Spain decided to build a new Fort at a port along the north coast of Honduras, somewhere to the west of Trujillo.

Spain had been interested in securing a defensible port along the north coast since the sixteenth century. The original idea can be credited to Andres de Cereceda in the 1540s. The first study by Spain, undertaken in 1556-1570 examined building an overland connection from the Pacific to Puerto Caballos (Payne 2009). A second study in 1590 involved sending an Italian engineer, Juan Bautista Antonelli, to Honduras to survey the coast and estimate what it would take to bring cargo across Honduras from the

Pacific coast to the Caribbean coast at Puerto Caballos, which he rejected, suggesting instead the location originally occupied by a by-then abandoned pueblo de indios, Omoa (1590 AGI Patronato 183 N. 1 R. 16). Antonelli was the first in a long line of consultants to conclude that along this stretch of coast, only the bay at Omoa could be made defensible. By estimating the high cost of such a project, Antonelli left it to the Spanish Crown to conclude that it was too expensive to build a cross isthmus connection from the Gulf of Fonseca to Omoa, given the difficulty of the Honduran mountainous terrain and the width and depth of its rivers. Spain continued, off and on, to consider fortifying Omoa, but didn't act until the middle of the eighteenth century, shortly after expelling an English settlement in the bay of Omoa in 1722 (1722 AGCA A1.15 Legajo 58 Expediente 716).

Once Spain determined to build a fort on the north coast of Honduras west of Trujillo, it fell to Luis Diaz de Navarro to choose the exact site of the fort. He did so during an expedition to the bay in 1743 (Calderon Quijano 1942, 1943; Cruz Reyes 1985; Rubío Sanchez 1900; Zapatero 1953, 1997). By 1745 there were already people living and working in Omoa, including some Indians from Candelaria and mulatos from San Pedro as part of the coastal watch (1745 AGCA A1.20 Legajo 83 Expediente 972). By 1750, the Indian communities of western Honduras were being required to send residents to Omoa to help with the logistics and construction. These tequios were unpopular with the highland Lenca communities in western Honduras. Some petitioned for relief from the work requirement as early as 1752. Work began to clear the site and level the site in 1752, and by 1756 the small fortified structure of El Real, adjacent to the site chosen for the Fort of San Fernando de Omoa, was finished (Zapatero 1997). Construction of the fort itself began in 1756 and finished around 1775.

During the construction, the people working on the fort needed to live somewhere. A town began to grow around the construction site, with houses, stores, warehouses, boarding houses, a hospital, everything but a church. The Spanish Crown sent 611 African slaves to work on the construction of the fort, and they required their own living facilities (Cáceres 2008). After 1760 the Indians of western Honduras ceased to be required to come down to work at the fort (unpublished mss. dated 1760 accompanying the ejido title of Caiquin, in its municipal archives; paleography provided by Libny Ventura, 2010). In 1777 the fort commander, Joseph Gonzalez Fermin, a Catalan engineer, reported a population of 1343 for the town. Thus, Omoa became the geographical site of a field of labor and commerce, in addition to a field of power as constituted by the military contingent itself.

Omoa came to administrative prominence after 1760, when a new road between Omoa and Guatemala, that traversed the Sula and Quimistan valleys, was completed (Davidson 2006:157). Built by the Indians of western Honduras, this road connected Omoa with the colonial capital of Guatemala through Chiquimula, bypassing Comayagua and San Pedro. It gave the Audiencia in Guatemala more direct control over this part of the north coast of Honduras. Building of the road also contributed to the repopulation of the Quimistan and Sula valleys, previously abandoned in the sixteenth century, with specific industries designed to support the Fort and resupply ships docking in Omoa. In the 1770s these valleys even saw the redevelopment of the gold mines in Quimistan (Joyce 2008).

The establishment of Omoa, and the construction of this road, caused a reduction in the importance of San Pedro in the day-to-day lives of the remaining pueblos de indios in the region. With the establishment of Omoa, the residents of Candelaria and the neighboring pueblo de indios, Ticamaya, became integrated into the jurisdiction of Omoa, which in turn provided them with new opportunities to redefine their identities in terms of citizenship and *casta*. The traces of the tactical exploitation of these possibilities are the topic of the rest of this chapter.

Candelaria in the Jurisdiction of Omoa

Compared to earlier periods, there are a fairly large number of documents available during the late Colonial period that concerns Candelaria. A document called a *donativo* (a record of a special collection of payments ordered by the Crown) completed in 1783 provides demographic information about the community and its inhabitants. This, in turn, was followed up with an 1809 *padron* (1809 AEC Padrones Caja No. 1), an ecclesiastical census that was probably created to guide collection of church fees for communion. Both kinds of documents give us windows into who lived in Candelaria, and what their families were like. The *donativo* lets us know not just the names but also the ages of residents, and for the first time, systematically employs the concept of *casta*, the racial classification of someone through appearance, speech, and possessions, whose imposition in the late eighteenth century resulted from an increasing anxiety in Spain about "miscegenation" in the colonies. The recentering of the coastal watch from San Pedro Sula to Omoa in the late 18th century is represented through administrative documents beginning about 1745 and covering the rest of the eighteenth century.

For the first time in the documentary record, the late 18th century provides us with not just the names of a few community leaders, or a number of tributaries, but the names, marital status, in some cases ages, and other aspects of the identities of what previously was covered only by the phrase "los demas": all the people in the pueblo de indios of Candelaria.

In August of 1780, Carlos III of Spain ordered a special collection from all of his subjects in the colonies to defray his costs for the on-going war with Britain. The donativo ordered adult males from the colony, including Indians, to pay. The amount was set at 1 peso each, except that those identified as Spaniards or of the nobility (denoted by the use of the title "don") should pay 2 pesos. It took until 1783 for the ordered collection to be fully executed in the jurisdiction of Omoa. The Commander of the Fort collected the donativo for a region that included the *ranchos* (cattle ranches) newly developed in the valleys of Quimistan and Sula, and also the city of San Pedro and ranches around it (1783 AGCA A3.1 legajo 1305 Expediente 22217).

The document recording the donativo of 1780-1783 consists of 34 pages of text written on papel sellado stamped for 1780 and 1781, and two pages of plain paper that form the cover pages. This cover indicates that the donativo originally was bound with other documents as a notebook containing the entire register of collections made under the administration of Omoa. This notebook was also used for documenting other types of activities at Omoa. The donativo records begin on numbered page 6 of the notebook, and continue through page 33. The pages are not assembled in chronological order, implying they originated as a series of separate registers documenting different collections in different locations on different dates and were later bound together.

The first collection by date, found about halfway through the register, is from the pueblos de indios of Ticamaya and Candelaria. This collection, made on the 14th and 15th of December, 1781, was performed by Lieutenant Francisco Davila Galindo of San Pedro. The next collection, on August 9, 1782, also collected by Davila Galindo, was from the residents of San Pedro Sula and surrounding ranches. An undated collection by Andres Medrano, simply described as "en dicha valle" (in the said valley), probably followed next. Medrano gives his title as Comisario, a military title for an administrative officer, or in the case of the Navy, a purser. While the valley is unnamed, it is likely the countryside around San Pedro Sula, otherwise not indicated in any of the collections. The unmarked quality of this location only makes sense if it is from the place where Medrano normally was

located. Much less likely, but possible, is that it referred to the countryside inland from Omoa itself.

On December 10, 1782, Felix Santiago Arguelles, also listed as a Comisario collected the donativo from the valleys of Quimistan and Sula. On August 18, 1783, the commander of the Fort of Omoa, Colonel Felix Dominguez, collected the donativo from the residents of Omoa itself. He also separately lists amounts he collected from residents of San Pedro Sula and Candelaria who were living in Omoa at the time. Finally, there is a receipt, dated December 31, 1783, for the collections by Francisco Galindo Davila and Andres Medrano being added to the Royal treasury in Omoa, along with the register sheets that document those collections.

The donativo provides a window into the two remaining pueblos de indios north of San Pedro Sula: Candelaria and Ticamaya. Unlike registers of payments of the donativo for other localities, which list only adult males, the records for Ticamaya and Candelaria list complete households, in the genre of the town census or padron.

What the Spanish called padrones are essentially accounting records for the collection of tribute, fees, or other payments from a specific community. The AGCA contains documents described as padrones from as early as the late sixteenth century, probably produced to address specific moments in the transfer of tribute obligations to new encomenderos, or when petitions were made to reduce tribute. Beginning in the late seventeenth century there seems to have been a systematic government effort to collect padrones from across Honduras.

While no padron from this effort has been identified from pueblos de indios in the Ulúa valley itself, a number come from towns along the middle Ulúa valley, in the Department of Santa Barbara to the southwest. Some of these record people temporarily relocated in towns in the communities in the lower Ulúa valley, or spouses originating there (for example, 1722 AGCA A3.16.3 Legajo 514 Expediente 5402). This includes out marriage from the town of Jaitique to Candelaria in 1722 (1722 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 514 Expediente 5398). The padrones from Santa Barbara that we have studied state that they were created in response to orders from the governor of Honduras, in the case of a series dating to the first decade of the eighteenth century, explicitly specified as responding to a request from the Audiencia of Guatemala (1703 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 511 Expediente 5328). Many of those we have examined have evidence of revisits in subsequent years, sometimes indicated by annotations of the original records, or even incorporate copies noted as made in Guatemala to be sent to the pueblo de indios at its request (1722 AGCA A3.16 Legajo 514 Expediente 5398; 1722

AGCA A3.16.3 Legajo 514 Expediente 5402). From this point forward, there is a regular and repeated practice of recording the populations in pueblos de indios across Honduras, but records for towns in the San Pedro district are systematically lacking in these secular archives.

The ecclesiastical archives of the bishopric of Comayagua also contain padrones from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These include examples from towns in the Ulúa valley, including Candelaria and Ticamaya. These church padrones, presumably made to collect fees charged to adult males over the age of 16, also list women and children in the towns, grouping them into households. A notable feature of padrones in the last half of the eighteenth century, whether civil or secular, is that they commonly list the *casta* assignment of individuals.

The records for Candelaria and Ticamaya used to record collection of the 1780 donativo by the commander of Fort Omoa are, like the 1809 ecclesiastical document, padrones. The common pattern in both is to list the name of adult male, female, or both, followed by a reference to children (if there were any). In many instances, names were linked by a bracket, implying that each is a domestic group, a household. Additional information is included, such as ages, or references to specific community members being absent from the pueblo due to the conflict with the British.

The use of this format for the pueblos de indios distinguishes the residents of these places from all the others who are recorded as paying the donativo in 1781-1783. While only adult males are charged the amount, from the Spanish perspective the unit of administration in the pueblo de indios remains the household, while in the Spanish communities, each man is treated as an autonomous legal subject. The donativo padrones describe the residents of Ticamaya and Candelaria with a variety of terms for ancestry, classifying some residents as indios, and others as Ladinos, mulatos and españoles. Whether these identifications were a result of self-identification or ascription by the tribute collector, Francisco Davila Galindo, is an open question.

The first set of households in each of the pueblos de indios are listed under a heading "indios". Following that, either a heading "Ladinos", or specific identity terms in the margin mark people who, while living in the community, were somehow different from those identified as indios. In Candelaria, twenty households were listed, half headed by women. This included examples where the male spouse was listed as "in the enemy prison (en el enemigo prision)" or simply as "absent (ausente)". Eight men from Candelaria, listed in the complete padron of the town, paid their donativo at Omoa. They were presumably there fulfilling a labor requirement. The

periodic absence from the pueblo of groups of men working at Omoa would have greatly increased the proportion of the town population made up of women-headed households, even if temporarily.

One couple at Candelaria included a man explicitly labeled "mulato". As we will see below, the integration of Candelaria in the field of labor centered on Omoa provided an opportunity for the town to incorporate new people as spouses, simultaneously enhancing the survival of the town and complicating its identity in the Spanish colonial order, at a time when racialized identity became a focus of concern.

Residents of Ticamaya, the second pueblo de indios included in the donativo records from Omoa, appear by the 1780s to have begun to intermarry with the families of neighboring Candelaria. One Spanish surname was shared between the two indigenous communities in 1781. Ximenez or Jimenez occurs once in Ticamaya (Josef Jimenez), and three times in Candelaria (Figenia Jimenez, Antonia Ximenez, both widows, and Pedro Ximenez, a married male). Two families with indigenous names, in past generations associated with town leadership, still were represented in the record for Candelaria and Ticamaya. In Candelaria a married male, Pasqual Chavacan, bears a name held by people from Masca throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. In Ticamaya, the padron made for the donativo records a married woman, Anna Maria Chavacan, who might well have been from Candelaria originally. Juana Chi, a single woman, was listed as living in Candelaria in 1781. Chi was previously present among the people of Masca as an indigenous last name, possibly carried originally by people who came to Masca from Yucatan.

These were both small pueblos de indios, with Ticamaya having a population of about 23 and Candelaria 25 persons. Candelaria had 15 households described as indio, with an average household size of 1.39 persons. Households ranged in size from 1 to 4 persons, but most were made up of 1 or 2 people. This remarkably small average household size reflects the presence of six households composed of a widow (5) or widower (1). Ticamaya, on the other hand, had only six households identified as indio, with an average household size of 3.83 persons. There were no widows or widowers recorded there. Household sizes ranged from 2-5 persons, with 4 and 5 person households most common. The larger household sizes are due primarily to larger numbers of children.

Ticamaya appears to have been more internally diversified, with a separate section in the 1781 padron setting apart Ladinos from indios. A minority of the total of sixteen households recorded there were identified as households of indios: a total of six, including the household of Pedro

Ximenez, which consisted of only himself (absent at the time “taken by the English [se lo llebo el Yngles]”) and his wife. The other ten households listed as ladino were primarily headed by single women, either unmarried or widowed, with four single male households listed. Among the ladino males was one further specified as “Spanish”. Another ladino male had one child living with him. In the only ladino household with a couple, the husband was listed as forastero (a person from outside the community, owing his tribute elsewhere).

The padrones of these two pueblos de indios demonstrate that the notionally closed pueblo de indios was no longer-- if it had ever been-- entirely self-contained. Men from the pueblos were engaged in labor at Omoa, and in occupations that put them at risk of being captured and carried away by the enemy. Some of these experiences provided opportunities for men to marry outside the pueblo de indios, bringing back to the town women who came from different cultural backgrounds. Within Ticamaya, at least, there was also a stratum of the population recognized as of ambiguous identity, through the use of the term ladino. Even while the Spanish government was attempting to limit people's actions based on identity, the vecinos of these pueblos de indios were tactically exploiting the multiple fields of identity being deployed, taking up positions in novel ways evident both in documents, and in other material traces of action discussed in the next chapter.

Personal Identity: Casta, Race, Ethnicity, and Kinship

Casta ("caste", or racialized identity group), a lineage or race based classification system for individuals, developed in the eighteenth century in Spain, arising out of a concern about "miscegenation" presumed prevalent in the colonies. *Casta* vocabulary was most developed in the Spanish colonies of México and Peru, where an elaborated vocabulary of sixteen terms was expressed (Carrera 2003; Katzew 2006). These terms, in their orthodox usage, represented the degree of admixture of African, Spanish, and Indian blood, out to three generations. *Casta* classification proceeded by identifying these three *razas* (races) and looking at all the possible intermarriages between individuals of what were represented as fixed groups, to the third generation.

Casta terms are rarely used in eighteenth century Honduras, and when they are, are not used as the idealized Spanish system would require. Terms come and go either depending on who is doing the classifying, or the self-expression of identities. The full vocabulary of *casta* that we have recorded

in documents from northern Honduras includes the terms “blanco”, “indio”, “mestizo”, “pardo”, “mulato”, and “negro”, signalling a lack of conformity with the most elaborate version of casta classification.

In the official casta logic, an "indio" would have had to be the child of two Indians; "mestizo" was someone who was the child of an Indian and a Spanish person; "mulato" meant one parent was African and the other Indian; "pardo" distinguished the child of one Spanish and one African parent; and "negro", like "indio", implied that both parents were of the same group, in this case African. "Blanco" was not, strictly speaking, a casta term, but rather served as an unmarked norm. It was used in Honduras to designate someone who was Spanish, either Peninsular (from Spain) or *criollo* (Spanish but born in the colonies). The most notable thing about casta terminology in Honduras is that in its reduced casta vocabulary, there are only terms for the three basic razas, and for the offspring in the first generation of marriages between individuals from these three groups. As we will see, even these terms were not used in ways consistent with the official logic.

The vocabulary for African descendant people used in Honduras is more complex than that used for any other group, but not systematic; for example, “pardo” and “mulato” are only infrequently used in the same document, and each seems to mark children of marriages between African descendants and other groups, rather than systematically discriminating marriages with Spanish and with indigenous partners. More important in the Honduran documents is the civil status of African descendant peoples, with many being described either as "esclavos", slaves, (without an added casta term) and others as "negros libres", free blacks. Individuals who would belong in the category “blanco” or “español” are often not marked with any casta term, for example, in listings of people from San Pedro Sula in the donativo. In Omoa, a place where the majority of the population was African-descendant, censuses made by Honduran authorities did include an explicit category of blancos, who there were not the norm.

The presence of one person described as "español" in Ticamaya has already been noted. What this designation means must be understood in terms of the local dialogue of identity, rather than any external rigid structure. The contrast being drawn in the padrones of Ticamaya and Candelaria made for the donativo is less about "race" and more about local origins, marking people who would be vecinos of other communities, not members of the community with rights in the pueblo de indios. This is the way español is used, and is also the case with the term forastero, used repeatedly to identify someone who had moved away from his or her natal

community. Forasteros would still be counted as a vecino of the pueblo de indios where they were born, and did not have the same status as local naturales (native born residents). The use of forastero to identify some residents of the pueblos de indios draws attention to the increased mobility of people, on the individual level, during the eighteenth century, including members of the pueblos de indios.

Most important for understanding the late history of Candelaria, however, is the term ladino. "Ladino" refers to someone who speaks Spanish well, and dresses as Spaniards do, uses Spanish goods, eats Spanish foods, and so on. It is applied in Central America to people who might have been described as "mestizo" in the casta system, but changed their status by moving out of indigenous communities and adopting Spanish dress and language. Jordana Dym (2006) has shown that in Guatemala, the term also was applied to some Afrodescendent people. In the 1780 Padron of Candelaria and Ticamaya, ladino is used to label people living in the pueblos de indios who are not identified as, or do not identify as, indio. The prominence of the term in description of the two pueblos de indios in the jurisdiction of Omoa points to changes in the way that indios were taking up positions in fields, literally, through dialogue with other members of the community, with those who came to record padrones, and with officials.

The outcome of these processes is evident thirty years later, when in 1809, Jose Manuel Troncoso recorded a padron of Ticamaya and Candelaria for the purpose of collecting the amount the residents of these pueblos de indios owed the church (1809 AEC Padrones Caja No. 1). Troncoso combined both communities together into one list but made subheadings for each community. Everyone listed is, by definition, indio, as it is described as a "padron de indios". Yet like the padron of 1781, the way that the people of these towns are described raises questions about identification and self-identification of the people who by 1809 were part of towns growing in population.

Changing Population Composition in the *Pueblos de Indios*, 1781 -- 1809

Like the 1781 padrones, the 1809 listing includes specific information about households, including the presence of children. There were twenty households in Candelaria, up from 15 in 1781, for a total population of 54. Ages were listed for most people, except for those described as wives. Widows were named along with their deceased husbands.

Many of the people named in 1781 were still present in the community in 1809. Pedro Ximenez, described as in the English prison in

1781, was listed as in English prison again or still in 1809. His family now included three children, ages 21, 14, and 12, all of them born long after Ximenez was initially imprisoned.

The increase in population from 1781, to an average of 2.7 people per household, is due to the large number of children present, including some fostered by people other than their parents. One single woman was listed as having two children. Jacoba de los Santos, a widow, was caring for a 15 year old orphan (“un huerfano en cargo”). Two other orphans were listed separately, without a family, as “brothers, orphans in the care of the community (huerfanos hermanos a cargo de la comunidad)”. These notations suggest that members of the community were actively working together to maintain the population.

The growing population of Candelaria contrasts with the neighboring pueblo de indios, Ticamaya. In 1809 Ticamaya had a total population of 21 individuals. While this is slightly fewer people than in 1781, the number of households of indios had risen, from six to ten. None of the Ladinos listed in 1781 were named in the 1809 padron of Ticamaya. They may have moved away from Ticamaya in the interim, and been living elsewhere in 1809, which would imply a continuation and perhaps intensification of the mobility in and out of pueblos de indios implied by the presence of forasteros in the padrones of 1781. It is possible that Ladinos previously noted were still living in Ticamaya, but not listed in the padron. This possibility is less likely, however. Another padron from the same source, while undated, has a similar format, and comes from Tehuma, formerly a pueblo de indios south of Candelaria on the Ulúa River (n.d. AEC Padron de Tuina [Tiuma]). It includes people of all casta categories, showing that the ecclesiastical officials who produced these records were prepared to record mixed populations.

In contrast, in the 1809 padron, only two people at Ticamaya were listed with any distinctive casta terminology. Both were married women described as “mulata”. One of the two had previously been included in the 1781 padron. At that time, Eugenia Gertrudis, a resident of Ticamaya, had been included in the unmarked list of indios, married to Santiago Ferrera. She had 3 children in 1781, ages unknown, and one of them was a boy. In 1809, a woman named Gertrudis Andara was listed as the widow of Santiago Ferrera, a “tribute paying Indian (indio tributario)”. She was described as having an Indian son, Juan Lazaro, single, age 24.

Having a son whose casta status was indio should have required both parents to be indio, if the casta system were being followed here. Andara's own record in 1809 identifies her as mulata, where in 1781 she was simply

included among the list of indios. The change in casta status could have been the result of a difference in perception between Galindo (in 1781) and Troncoso (in 1809). It is also possible that Eugenia Gertrudis Andara promoted her own re-identification as mulata.

There is indirect evidence that suggests Andara was of African descent. Andara is a name identified by Rina Cáceres (personal communication, 2008) as typical of people of African origin at Omoa. The Omoa census of 1776-1777 lists five people named Andara, one described as pardo and the rest described as negros libres (1777 AGCA A3.29 Legajo 1749 Expediente 28130). Eugenia Gertrudis Andara may have been a spouse who came originally from Omoa, and could have identified herself as mulata in 1809, which would have changed her tribute status as a widow and autonomous agent.

The 1809 population summary lists another mulata, Francisca Gomes, also married to an indio, whose child is also identified as indio. Normative models of casta would have led us to expect both women to have been consistently identified with a mixed casta designation, and their children to occupy a mixed casta status as well, as casta rules linked racial identifications to the mothers' status (see Newson 1986: 195). Instead, what we see in these two surveys of the population of the pueblos de indios associated with the Fort of Omoa are new ways of taking up positions in social fields that are tactical uses of the new attention to casta identity. Andara's changing identification reveals that even the apparently monologic genre of the padron was actually dialogic. The descriptive labels given individuals were responses to evolving understandings of identity in the late eighteenth century, and took shape with a "sideways glance" toward official pronouncements (in the case of the donativo, being formed quite literally as a response to a Real Cédula).

Participants in the process of recording identities of community members would also have responded dialogically to actions. In the 1780s, the way some people spoke Spanish, and presumably dressed, led to their being identified as Ladinos. Between 1781 and 1809, Eugenia Gertrudis Andara's speech (statements), appearance, or actions opened up the possibility of her being identified as mulata.

Such claims of identity and assignments were not just made on the formal occasions when populations were recorded for administrative purposes. They went on everyday, as people interacted with each other. We catch glimpses of these practice-based assessments and claims of identity tangentially, when people subjected to demands for tribute or labor based on their residence in pueblos de indios petition to be recognized as exempt,

based on other statuses exemplified in the actions they carried out. For example, in 1784, Juan Vargas and his brothers, from Mejicapa, asked to be exempt from tequios, labor demands. Their claim was that others recognized them as Ladinos, based on having served in the militia in Omoa (1784 AGCA A3.12 Legajo 509 Expediente 5302).

In late colonial Honduras, native born residents of pueblos de indios could move from their town of birth to marry, and were often required to travel long distances to carry out labor obligations. In-marrying spouses in pueblos de indios could come from other indigenous communities or from the nominally Spanish towns whose populations were descended from African, European, and indigenous ancestors. This fluidity created a context in which even the most small scale and intimate of daily practices might be a scene of identity reformation. In the next chapter, drawing on archaeological and documentary sources, we will see how this broad cosmopolitan participation in colonial social settings articulated with everyday life in the resilient and persistent pueblos de indios.



Plate V: Traditional wattle and daub house in northern Ulua Valley, near the Rio Bijao where Masca relocated around 1684



Plate VI: Group of traditional wattle and daub houses forming a small community, near Rio Bijao

Chapter 8: Candelaria: Practices and Social Fields

The intermarriage of African descendant women from Omoa like Eugenia Gertrudis Andara and men from pueblos de indios brought the Indian communities of the northern Ulúa River valley together with Omoa in new social fields that can be traced in the documentary record. In addition, archaeological excavations carried out in the town of Omoa in 2008 and 2009, compared to the results from excavations at Ticamaya, provide material indications of the ways Ticamaya, Candelaria, and Omoa came together in practice to form a single social field, mediated by marriage, labor, and commerce.

In the 1780s there were Indian men from Candelaria residing in Omoa. The pages of the donativo register listing the collections from the town of Omoa list eight residents of Candelaria (Eugenio Alcantara, Bartolomé Talavera, Gerardo Alcantara, Bernardino de la Cruz, Anastasio Alvarado, Manuel Ancelmo, Josef Martinas Mesa, and Ignacio Valero) as having paid their donativo in Omoa. Their contribution to the donativo is credited back to their community, showing that their absence was temporary and their identity with the pueblo de indios continued.

Living and working in Omoa brought men from the pueblos de indios into day to day contact with African descendent people who made up the majority of the town's population. This day-to-day contact, in turn, resulted in marriages in which Indian men brought African descendent women back to the pueblos de indios as wives. Many family names in the censuses from this area are not found in Honduras at this time outside of Omoa and Candelaria. "Alcantara", a family name prominent in Candelaria, in Omoa is exclusively associated with African descendent people who are identified as either "pardo" or "negro libre". "De la Cruz" is another name associated with African descendent families at Omoa, and with families at Candelaria classified as indios.

But it is not just kinship that links these communities. Analysis of materials recovered during excavations in 2008 in the Fortaleza, and 2009 in the town of Omoa (Joyce et al. 2008), and comparison with eighteenth and early nineteenth century materials from Ticamaya (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006), show that Omoa and Ticamaya (and by inference Candelaria) participated in shared material practices, the material markers of other social fields. The people living in these settlements in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries consequently were part of overlapping "communities of practice" (Sheptak, Blaisdell-Sloan, and Joyce 2012).

The concept of a community of practice, drawn from studies of learning and reproduction of knowledge (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger et al. 2002), provides a framework for thinking about persistence and change of practices from the vantage point of everyday lives and learning. A community of practice is a web of relations among persons, activities and objects over time and in relation with other overlapping and tangential communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991:98). A community of practice shares a certain way of doing things, learned within the community and reproduced in action over time. Not simply an inherent aspect of a static identity, communities of practice produce the similarities in the appearance of everyday objects that archaeologists seize on to define past identities (Roddick 2009). Roddick (2009:71) cites the "long-term living relationship between persons and their place and participation in particular communities of practice" (Lave and Wenger 2005:152-153) as creating recognizable identities among different people, rather than merely reflecting identities that were already there.

The reproduction over many generations of specific ways of doing things were the products of a persistent community of practice in the colonial period that the pueblo de indios, Ticamaya and some residents whose material traces were recovered at Omoa (Sheptak, Blaisdell-Sloan and Joyce 2012). In the late eighteenth century members of the community of practice at Ticamaya relocated temporarily to fulfill labor obligations at Omoa, like their neighbors from Candelaria whose term of service coincided with the donativo. The material record at Ticamaya showed new ways of doing things during this period, the result of formation of a new hybrid "constellation of practice", a network of communities of practice that while related, are not identical.

Wenger (1998:127) identifies many situations that contribute to the formation of constellations of practice. Among the causes he enumerates are sharing common historical roots, facing similar conditions, having members in common, sharing particular artifacts, geographic proximity, overlapping styles or discourses, and competing for the same resources. Candelaria was also a part of these relationships, of relocation for labor, marriage, and relocation of spouses, and would likely have shown similar evidence of participation in this constellation of practice. In the case of Candelaria, Ticamaya, and Omoa, an especially relevant cause for the formation of constellations of practice defined by Wenger is the rupture of social interaction networks and consequent reformation of new or changed networks. The original movement inland by Masca to sites that changed the field of social relations to encompass San Pedro more strongly, and after the

second move, to place Candelaria in proximity to Ticamaya, would have started a process of reforming social networks. The establishment of Fort Omoa, with its new labor and payment demands on Candelaria, would have initiated another phase of reformulating social networks.

By taking the learning of cultural practices as a focus, we can identify likely archaeological traces of the new social relations suggested in historical documents. These parallel bodies of data provide evidence of the emergence of new social identities in communities like Candelaria and Ticamaya, where African-descendant and indigenous people married and lived.

Archaeology of the Late Colonial río de Ulúa

Archaeological research on the colonial period in this region is limited; only the pueblo de indios of Ticamaya and the fort and town of San Fernando de Omoa have been investigated in any depth. Hasemann (1986) worked within the fort of Omoa in 1979 with the goal of establishing a chronology. More recent work in the town of Omoa in 2009 located an assemblage from the second half of the eighteenth century that likely resulted from the actions of a group of indigenous people who owed labor to the fort, drawn from the northern Ulúa Valley pueblos de indios of Ticamaya and/or Candelaria (Joyce et al. 2008). Ticamaya was extensively excavated in 2001 and 2003 (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006). Candelaria/Masca, although located near Ticamaya according to colonial documents, has not been relocated precisely and has not been archaeologically investigated.

Excavations in an area of the colonial town of Omoa across from the main gate of the fort yielded indigenous tradition materials immediately below the floors of substantial Spanish tradition houses (Joyce, et. al. 2008). These Spanish houses were dated to 1780-1800 by the European tradition ceramics and household good their residents consumed and discarded. The houses had prepared brick floors, and wall foundations of several rows of brick laid without cement mortar, apparently supporting more perishable upper walls, whose tile roofs were indicated by broken tiles in the excavations. Just below the ground surface on which those houses were built we found an assemblage of indigenous tradition ceramics, obsidian, and fired clay artifacts comparable to those recovered from Ticamaya. These are most likely from a short term habitation in this area by indigenous workers brought to Omoa during the construction of the fort, before the construction of substantial houses of wealthy townsfolk along the side of the plaza opposite the fort visible in maps dating to 1779 (Davidson 2006:XLI B).

Indigenous people from Ticamaya were recorded as living temporarily at the site of Omoa as early as 1745, in their service in the coastal watch (1745 AGCA A1.20 Legajo 83 Expediente 972). The practice of importing indigenous labor to construct the fort ceased in 1760. While historical documents demonstrate that indigenous construction labor was drafted from far distant areas of Honduras as well as from the local pueblos de indios, the materials recovered from this area of Omoa closely match those from Ticamaya, and likely are similar to the kinds of materials used at the same time in the town of Candelaria.

Blaisdell-Sloan (2006:178-186) originally proposed that shallow deposits at Ticamaya, from around 20 to 40 cm deep, represented occupation spanning most of the 17th and 18th century, and extending into the 19th century. In three areas, these deposits incorporated European-tradition materials that are consistent with late eighteenth or early nineteenth century dates, although only in one location were these abundant. The latest known colonial houses from Ticamaya postdate the assemblage from the town of Omoa, dating between AD 1780 and 1820.

Blaisdell-Sloan (2006:122) identified traces of late colonial surfaces at depths of 29 to 30 cm. in Operation 1, Operation 2A, Operation 2B, Operation 3, Operation 4, and Operation 5. Earlier excavations performed by Wonderley in 1983 also yielded a late colonial assemblage with European tradition materials at the same depth below the surface (Wonderley 1984). In addition, the materials recovered from the top 35 cm. of Operations 2D and 2E were comparable, even though no surface was detected during excavation.

None of the late colonial materials at Ticamaya were associated with construction features. The assemblages of ceramics, lithics, other artifacts, and faunal remains (Table 17) are nonetheless clearly residential. They likely reflect dwelling in houses of indigenous tradition made of perishable materials. The largest proportion of late colonial assemblages from both Ticamaya and Omoa is made up of pottery, especially indigenous tradition ceramics.

"Indigenous tradition ceramics" is the term used in a comparative analysis of hand-built, low fired unslipped and red-slipped earthenware ceramics from late eighteenth century contexts at Omoa as described by Rosemary Joyce, and at Ticamaya, recorded by Kira Blaisdell-Sloan (2006). This phrase acknowledges continuities from earlier generations in local ceramic production. These include the use of firing techniques that produce soft porous vessel walls that can be used with slips but not glazes.

Table 17: Archaeological Remains from 18th to 19th Century Sites in the río Ulúa

Location	indigenous tradition pottery	non-local micaceous non-local	other local materials	European tradition materials	fauna
Ticamaya Operation 1	red slipped incised brushed burnished unslipped bowls jars tecomates	present			artiodactyl (deer, goat, sheep?) turtles
Ticamaya Operation 2A/2B	red slipped brushed unslipped new techniques				snails (jutes) turtles
Ticamaya Operation 2C/2D	red slipped burnished unslipped	present	spindle whorl obsidian blades		snails (jutes) turtles
Ticamaya Operation 3	red slipped brushed unslipped bowls jars		obsidian blades, flakes		snails (jutes) deer opossum rodents
Ticamaya Operation 4	burnished unslipped		obsidian	lead pieces	turtles
Ticamaya Operation 5	red slipped brushed plain new techniques	present	obsidian blades ceramic net weight	lead shot bottle glass	snails (jutes) turtles

Table 17 (continued)

Ticamaya 1983	red slipped brushed plain	present	quartzite flakes	majolica glass	pig cow turtles
Omoa Operation	red slipped brushed plain new techniques		obsidian blades ceramic net weight		fish

At the same time, indigenous tradition ceramics are not static replicas of prehispanic materials: their makers changed vessel sizes, details of vessel forms, and techniques of manufacture over the several centuries of the colonial period. Especially significant, in the late eighteenth century, some of the indigenous tradition pottery shows new techniques of manufacture that may result from interaction with the population of enslaved and free African-descendant peoples at Omoa.

The vessel forms used at the two sites entirely overlap, including the use of a sharply demarcated lip on some vessels, a trait described as "crisply finished" rims at Ticamaya. The thin red slip used is matte in texture, and ranges to the orange end of the spectrum. Many examples are blackened. The principal distinctive surface treatment on both unslipped and red slipped vessels is brushing, with a very small number of sherds showing individual shallow incised lines.

Blaisdell-Sloan (2006) described twelve distinctive ceramic groups that were present in late colonial contexts at Ticamaya (Table 18). Most of these continued from at least the early colonial period. Variation in their presence or absence consequently primarily reflects differences between households in local practices. When examined individually, the six late colonial locations excavated at Ticamaya, and the one excavated at Omoa, each can be seen to reflect particular, localized practices within a wider range of shared options in the practices of everyday life.

Table 18: Late Colonial Ceramic Types Reported from Ticamaya

	Burnished 1	Plain 4	Plain 3	Plain 2	Incised 2	Incised 1
1983						
Operation 5						x
Operation 1			x	x	x	
Operation 3		x			x	
Operation 2	x				x	
Operation 4	x					

	Brushed 1	Brushed 2	Red	Plain 1	Plain 5	Micaceous non-local
1983	x	x	x	x	x	x
Operation 5	x	x	x	x	x	x
Operation 1	x		x	x	x	x
Operation 3	x	x	x	x		
Operation 2			x	x		
Operation 4				x		

Based on Blaisdell-Sloan 2006, Table 6.7

Excavated Houses

Ticamaya Operation 1: The top 20 cm of material excavated included red slipped, incised, brushed, burnished, and plain ceramics of local manufacture. There is significant diversity in the paste and finish of the plain and brushed ceramics, sufficient to allow the definition of multiple types. A range of bowl and jar forms were present. These notably include incurved rim bowls (tecomates) which are typical of the late colonial occupation and which may be multipurpose transport vessels. A small number of sherds with a micaceous paste that likely is non-local were also recovered.

Ticamaya Operation 2A/2B: Traces of a late colonial surface were detected at 30 cm (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:182). Ceramics from the upper levels here include a mixture of earlier types and typical red slipped, unslipped, and brushed types of the late colonial period. Notable among unslipped sherds recovered here are some that were "formed using a different, much more precise forming technique" than previously, and had rims that were described by Blaisdell-Sloan (2006) as "crisply formed, with distinctive hard edges". These characteristics match the assemblage of pottery from Omoa excavated in 2008 and 2009.

Ticamaya Operation 2C/2D: Late colonial ceramics here are comparable to those from Operation 2A/2B, including multiple plain types, red slipped, and rarer burnished and probably non-local micaceous wares. A single fired clay spindle whorl came from this operation (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:243-244).

Ticamaya Operation 3: A late colonial surface was identified at 30 cm. The upper 20 cm of deposits included the same range of red-slipped, unslipped, and brushed bowls and jars seen in late colonial deposits elsewhere on the site. An uncommon but distinctive burnished ceramic type diagnostic of the late colonial period appears to be absent. The late colonial residents in this area of the site left a distinctive collection of remains of hunted land animals, including both deer and opossum.

Ticamaya Operation 4: Late colonial materials were recovered in the upper 20 cm of deposits, above a surface at 29 cm. An early nineteenth-century date is suggested by the presence of lead fragments (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:242). While late colonial plain and burnished ceramics were reported, the distinctive micaceous ceramics likely imported to the region, present in other late colonial deposits at the site, were not recovered, nor were any of the most common red slipped and brushed types.

Ticamaya Operation 5: A late colonial surface was identified at 30 cm (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:183). Excavations recovered a number of items of

European tradition, including a piece of lead shot. The top 20 cm of deposits yielded historic bottle glass, at least one piece made in a three-part mold, a technology in use by about 1814 in England (source of much of the imported European material in late colonial deposits at Omoa), and patented by 1821. The European tradition glass from this deposit was found alongside worked obsidian (in the form of blades, with ground and striated platforms both represented). Also present were indigenous tradition ceramics comparable to those recovered from Omoa. They included apparent local plain, brushed, red slipped, and probably non-local micaceous types found in other late colonial deposits at Ticamaya. One unslipped type included examples of a distinctive smoothing technique leaving crisp marks that was innovative in late colonial assemblages. A notched fishing net weight made of fired clay came from this operation as well (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:243).

Ticamaya 1983 excavations: Anthony Wonderley (1984) excavated no more than 35 cm of sediments in his 1983 excavations, but recovered European-tradition majolica ceramics dating to the 1780s or later, fragments of glass, and pig and cow bones, the only evidence of European domesticates from the site. Blaisdell-Sloan (2006:248) notes that even beyond being the sole area with European domesticates, the fauna from this excavation "is distinctive...While the contexts [Wonderley] excavated were middenlike, they contained no *Pachytilus* (jute) shell, a species present in all of the other midden contexts at the site." The glass recovered included at least one piece from the base of a bottle. Despite their distinctive culinary practices, the residents in this area also used typical late colonial indigenous tradition ceramics, including local red slipped, brushed, and plain wares, and a possible non-local micaceous type.

Omoa Operation 61A and 62A: Below a surface defined at the point where the earliest brick-floored house was built along the edge of the plaza of Omoa, in waterlogged soil that flooded too much to allow clear delineation of any features present, excavations in 2009 recovered an assemblage of indigenous tradition pottery, obsidian blades, and one notched ceramic net weight, executed in the same clay body as the indigenous tradition ceramics. Also included in this context were a few very small, weathered fragments of European tradition glazed ceramics, too small for precise identification of origin and category. While it is possible that these tiny fragments moved downward into much earlier deposits, the simplest explanation for this assemblage is that it represents occupation immediately prior to the construction of the brick floored houses. We know from documentary sources that indigenous workers were relocated to Omoa in the 1750s to work on the construction of the fort. The identification as 18th

century is reinforced by the identical nature of the indigenous ceramics and notched net weight recovered here, and material from late colonial contexts at Ticamaya.

Hybridity of Practice in Late Colonial Omoa and Ticamaya

The main roots of variation between households at Ticamaya, and between the Ticamaya households and the one sampled at Omoa, most likely lie in the pragmatic activities carried out by each family. At the same time, there is a wider pattern that distinguishes the archaeology of the late eighteenth century from earlier colonial remains: innovations in how certain practices were carried out that demonstrate a new hybridity in the pueblo de indios. There is considerably more variation between late colonial households than was evident in the early colonial period.

The best evidence of this new hybridity comes from the most abundant material, ceramics. On some burnished, brushed, and plain vessels, there are traces of forming techniques that leave areas of vessel walls of uneven thickness. In the Omoa assemblage, several examples clearly show a central impact zone in the thinner part of sherds consistent with paddle and anvil techniques of forming also noted at Ticamaya (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006: 205-206). These same vessels often have distinctive "crisp" smoothing lines. Some plain sherds at Ticamaya were described as slab built, while at Omoa, piecing together of overlapping segments of adjacent clay slabs were noted.

The late colonial assemblages from Ticamaya and Omoa continue to employ surface treatment techniques popular as early as the Late Postclassic period (1250-1536 AD) at Ticamaya, and vessel forms do not vary greatly from the repertoire of bowls and jars already in use at Ticamaya when it came under Spanish colonial administration in the sixteenth century. Innovations in the late colonial period at both Ticamaya and Omoa instead reflect changes in fundamental techniques for forming vessels: how to do things, not what to do. These include the use of new forming methods and of new ways of smoothing vessels and terminating vessel rims, best described as evidence of efforts to make vessels that looked proper by people not immersed in the local tradition of ceramic production.

Foodways also testify to both continuity and innovation of hybrid practices. While analysis of the large assemblage of fish bones recovered from Omoa has not been completed, net fishing is attested by the presence of a fired clay net weight, a form already present at the Ticamaya before colonization. The late colonial net weight recovered at Omoa is remarkably similar to one from Ticamaya Operation 5, recovered from a mixed deposit

dating sometime after 1814. While fish bones were poorly represented at Ticamaya, coming only from a pre-Columbian context, fishing technologies show the practice of net fishing began before colonization, and continued in the late colonial period.

Variation in evidence for foodways at Ticamaya suggests practices that would have divided the townsfolk, even as some of them shared approaches to meals with some residents of Omoa. A wide array of river resources were used by the community at Ticamaya from the Late Postclassic to late colonial period, including turtles, fish, and jutes, or river snails (Table 17). But where river snails were consumed by most households of Ticamaya throughout the late colonial period, three households, in Operation 1, Operation 4, and the area sampled in 1983, did not consume these. The late colonial household in Operation 3 apparently relied more on hunting of land mammals than was true of its contemporaries, including hunting a species not consumed earlier in the history of the site, opossum. The greatest divergence from uniform practices related to food is represented by the household excavated in 1983, which is the only one in Ticamaya with confirmed evidence of consumption of European domesticates, both pig and cow. Elements from artiodactyls from late colonial Operation 1 are interpreted as more likely from deer than from goats or sheep. If so, this evidence of reliance on hunting land animals would align the residents of Operation 1 with those of Operation 3 in terms of subsistence practices.

The most distinctive material from what otherwise would be recognized as a uniform pueblo de indios comes from the house sampled in 1983, that not only consumed European domesticated animals, but served food on imported majolica pottery, likely made in the highlands near Antigua Guatemala, or possibly, in an offshoot ceramic workshop in the colonial capital at Comayagua. Yet two other households at Ticamaya, using only indigenous tradition ceramics, employed lead shot and some glass containers. A third household, while having no evident European-tradition materials, engaged in distinctive hunting practices, including consumption of a small mammal not previously identified in trash at the site. All three households with European tradition goods primarily employed indigenous tradition earthenware for storage and cooking, and two of these households must have used these local wares for food serving as well.

Access to European-tradition goods implies that some households were able to obtain goods through long distance exchange or other means. That cattle were being raised locally is evident in the 1711 petition by the people of Masca against the destruction of their fields by the cattle of their

neighbors. Whether the residents of the house sampled in 1983 kept their own cattle, or obtained meat from others who did, might have been assessed from a full zooarchaeological analysis, but unfortunately, the 1983 fauna have not been professionally studied.

The majolica found in the 1983 excavations at Ticamaya is of the same ware and likely origin as majolica from the substantial Spanish houses in the town of Omoa, dated there between 1780 and 1810. This ware could consequently index local access to glazed ceramics through rotation in work at Omoa. Lead shot and bottle glass consumed by three of the Ticamaya households could reflect the same route of acquisition. It is also worth noting the long history of contraband seized from ships trading in indigenous towns in the valley, with inventories of commodities stored in glass bottles, like wine and vinegar. One such boat was brought to Ticamaya in 1744 for an inventory of its contents, which also included small arms (1744 AGCA A1.60 Legajo 384 Expediente 3500). Such seizures might have provided other opportunities for residents of the pueblos de indios to see and acquire European-made goods.

Separate from this evidence of access to Spanish goods both on the part of strongly Spanish-identified residents and the population of the pueblo de indios at large, there is also evidence, albeit more controversial, for continued exchange of a commodity valued only by the indigenous population: obsidian, the black volcanic glass used for stone tools. At Ticamaya, four of Blaisdell-Sloan's late colonial operations produced worked obsidian (Table 17; Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:234-242). This contrasted with the 1983 excavations, where no obsidian was recorded. Yet chipped stone technology was in use in the Spanish-identified household sampled in 1983, where three chipped quartzite flakes were recorded. This contrasts with an almost complete lack of chipped stone material other than obsidian in Blaisdell-Sloan's excavations (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:233).

While earlier in the site's history there is a wider range of objects made of obsidian, including evidence for production from cores on site, in late colonial contexts in Operations 2, 3, and 4 the primary obsidian artifact type was a prismatic blade struck from a polyhedral core. The same form was found in Operation 5, but here the late colonial material was mixed with earlier material.

The late presence of segments of obsidian blades, apparently being used as tools, raised the issue of how long, and through what means, the technological expertise and access to source materials continued into the colonial period. Blaisdell-Sloan (2006:241-242) recorded the presence of reworked blades with patination in prehispanic contexts at the site, but this

form of evidence of recycling obsidian was absent from the late colonial assemblage. She noted greater heterogeneity in the preparation of striking platforms for blades at Ticamaya than at the late prehispanic site of Naco, and variation between households in the finish of small points on blades that reached their highest frequencies in the early colonial period (Blaisdell-Sloan 2006:238-239). Both observations would be consistent with a shift from more centrally controlled technology just prior to Spanish colonization to more diverse technologies at colonial Ticamaya. Her evidence also shows that people of Ticamaya were practiced in the craft, and continued its practice at least into the early colonial period.

Results of chemical compositional analysis of a sample of blades from late colonial contexts (Table 19) shows that while the majority come from the distant Ixtepeque source, near the El Salvadoran border of Guatemala, at least some of the late colonial obsidian in use was from a near-by source, El Venado, located about 40 km southwest of Ticamaya. The unresolved question remains: were Ticamaya's residents simply reusing obsidian they found discarded in deposits created by their predecessors there? Blaisdell-Sloan (2006) adopted a conservative approach, treating the late colonial obsidian as most likely recycled.

Table 19: Sources of Obsidian Used in Late Colonial Ticamaya

Operation	Source: Ixtepeque	Source: El Venado	total
Operation 3	19	1	20
Operation 4	2	0	2
Operation 5	8	0	8

Source: Blaisdell-Sloan 2006: Appendix D

Excavations at Omoa, however, raise the question again. The deposit excavated there included a large number of obsidian blades. Because there is no evidence of an *in situ* indigenous village with a long depositional history at the location occupied by the town of Omoa, it is harder to claim that the blades deposited there were produced by recycling. Unfortunately, political events in Honduras made it impossible to borrow the obsidian for either detailed study of manufacture, or chemical compositional analysis. This leaves open the possibility that, as was the case in Spanish colonial California (Silliman 2001), obsidian continued to be obtained by indigenous people from traditional, sources, even, potentially, through persisting exchange relations between pueblos de indios in the eighteenth century.

At colonial Conchagua Vieja in the Gulf of Fonseca, Gomez (2010:128, 129) demonstrated the persistence of obsidian acquisition from "a wide range of obsidian sources at a time when social networks were greatly altered during the colonial period", concluding that "indigenous actors did not change their practices dramatically during the colonial period" despite missionization of the island. While Conchagua Vieja was abandoned in 1672, when the population was relocated to the mainland, the basic principle involved may apply even more strongly in the Ulúa valley. There is more evidence for access to metal tools at Conchagua Vieja than at Ticamaya, implying a greater pragmatic need for continued stone tool technology, and/or a cultural preference for stone tools, in the Ulúa valley. It would be premature to rule out continued access to obsidian during the colonial period, and it certainly is appropriate to note at least a preference for obsidian as part of the cultural repertoire of all but the Spanish-identified household at Ticamaya.

Excavated materials from Ticamaya suggest a complex situation in what might otherwise be thought of as a homogeneous pueblo de indios. Excavations at Omoa demonstrate material participation by residents at both towns in a single community of practice related to production of indigenous tradition ceramics, and some overlap in practices related to food acquisition and consumption. One household at Ticamaya can practically be described as Spanish-identified, through the use of imported majolica and the consumption of beef and pork. Three other households show evidence of innovative practices, two in ceramic production, one in hunting. The material evidence of archaeology is consistent with documentary evidence suggesting that the indigenous population of the northern Ulúa valley was engaged in new social relations that brought into the community people with different traditions, leading to the emergence of hybrid practices and identities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In the colonial period at Ticamaya we can see the reproduction over generations of specific ways of doing things that are the products of persistence of a viable community of practice. In the late eighteenth century members of this community of practice relocated temporarily to fulfill labor obligations at Omoa. After this, the material record at Ticamaya shows that some of the residents did things in new ways, forming a new hybrid community of practice. Documentary evidence helps identify how different actors in the northern Ulúa valley took up positions in new social fields centered on Omoa in the late eighteenth century.

Commerce as a Social Field

Once the town was established, shopkeepers in Omoa saw their market as including the Indian towns around San Pedro Sula. Doña Casilda de Arada, a wealthy African-descendant merchant, left a will attesting to her two stores, one in Omoa and the other in Tehuma (today San Manuel), an Indian town south of San Pedro (1797 AGCA A1.15 Legajo 69 Expediente 839). In both locations her goal was to trade for sarsaparilla, indigo, cacao, and other local products. Sarsaparilla and cacao were products primarily gathered (sarsaparilla) or cultivated (cacao) by indigenous people. Both were prized at this time in Europe, sarsaparilla as a cure for syphilis, and chocolate as a hot drink.

Both the shopkeepers in Omoa and at least some residents of the pueblos de indios around San Pedro Sula conspired to promote and engage in contraband trade, both with other colonies like Cuba, and with the “enemy”, the British. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the documentary record of ships seized along the Ulúa River suspected of illicit commerce includes records involving multiple indigenous communities.

In the seventeenth century, a ship was actually seized at the pueblo de indios of Tehuma, and the contents were stored at another pueblo de indios, Lemoa, across the river, while administrative processes continued (1685 AGCA A3.2 Legajo 129 Expediente 1061). A later ship was brought to Ticamaya for official inventory of its contents (1744 AGCA A1.60 Legajo 384 Expediente 3500). Both ships were carrying wine, vinegar, and oil, in the 1680s coming from Cuba, and in the 18th century incident, from the British colony at Roatan. Members of a variety of pueblos de indios took up a diversity of positions in these events, some reporting the incursions in their role as members of the coastal watch, others assisting Spanish officials in seizure and control of the contents of the ships, some acting as customers for trade from the contraband, and, in the case of the ship seized at Tehuma, serving as willing or unwilling hosts for residents of the city of San Pedro who came to trade for goods. As part of the proceedings in the earlier incident, a Spanish petty officer was actually stationed for six months in Lemoa, using the house of the regidor as a storeroom.

With the establishment of the Fort at Omoa in the mid-eighteenth century, the location of contraband trade shifted more towards the coast, instead of at pueblos de indios along the Ulúa River. One commander of the Fort of Omoa was dismissed for his role in contraband trade (1770 AGCA A3 Legajo 496 Expediente 5200). Another commander of the Fort kept

Doña Casilda de Arada and the other merchants confined to the town for over six months, in an attempt to keep them from engaging in illicit trade with the French and English (1791 AGCA A1.15 Legajo 66 Expediente 810).

The documentary record demonstrates that the commercial and labor relationships of the Fort of Omoa created a fluid social field that united residents of Omoa, Candelaria, Ticamaya, and other pueblos de indios, and created links across casta lines. Practices required for military defense had the same effect, and here we can see the role of the people of Candelaria as it changed in the late eighteenth century with greatest clarity.

The Coastal Watch as a Social Field

Contraband in the eighteenth century brought the indigenous people of Candelaria and the Spanish merchants in Omoa into conflict as well as into collaborative positions. Candelaria's residents had been members of the coastal watch since its inception in the late sixteenth century. According to a 1605 paybook this practice originally involved pairing Spaniards (who were paid) with Indians (who were not paid) to stand watch on the coast and report back to the nearest Spanish town if any ships were sighted and their nationality identified (1610 AGCA A3.13 Legajo 527 Expediente 5505). Such a watch served as a distant early warning system for pirate attacks as well as notice of the approach of Spanish ships for trade.

However, after the Spanish stopped paying for the coastal watch, the Indian communities involved in it continued the service. As we saw in Chapter 4, in 1675 Blas Cuculí made the town's participation in the coastal watch the essence of their service to the colony, and the reason they should not be required to provide labor for households in San Pedro Sula. The claim of service in the coastal watch was ignored in resolving Blas Cuculí's petition in the seventeenth century, but by the eighteenth century such service proved to be a claim that would resonate in the Audiencia of Guatemala.

Until the establishment of a military fort at Omoa, and its annexation of the control of northwestern Honduras in the late eighteenth century, indigenous people in the coastal watch from as far west as Manabique reported ship sightings to San Pedro Sula. Puerto Caballos was unoccupied for much of this period due to pirate activity and the transfer of port activities to Santo Tomas de Castilla in Guatemala in 1605 (Milla 1879, Vol. 2:225-226). Notice of ship sightings by the coastal watch would allow the residents of San Pedro to go up to the coast to receive ships from Spain.

The participation of Candelaria in the coastal watch played a part in the petitions discussed in Chapter 6 about moving the pueblo away from the coast to its final location near Ticamaya. Because the pueblo was located on the Royal road from Puerto Caballos to San Pedro, pirates occupied the town at least twice, forcing people of the town who were working in the coastal watch to sneak around their own town to alert the residents of San Pedro to the presence of pirates.

With the establishment of the military Fort of Omoa, the focus of the coastal watch changed from reporting to San Pedro Sula to reporting to the Fort of Omoa. Work for the coastal watch was dispatched from Omoa. With the construction of the fort, the job of the watch grew to include seeing and reporting contraband. Also at this time formal watch stations were established, with lookouts at named but unoccupied places on the landscape such as Barrancas and Puerto Caballos. The people of the town of Candelaria were intimately involved in this reorganized watch.

In March 1770, an English ship anchored off the coastal watch station at Barrancas, a few kilometers east of Omoa (1770 AGCA A3 Legajo 496 Expediente 5200). According to testimony from three witnesses, once the ship had anchored, the English Captain put ashore in a canoe and handed a sheaf of papers to an indigenous man named Lucas. Lucas then took the letters to Omoa, to the fort's commander, Pedro Toll. In testimony from Carlos Martinez, Francisco Rivera, and Marcelo Talavera, all men from Candelaria who were all part of the coastal watch at Barrancas and at Puerto Caballos, we learn that the ship unloaded barrels of wine and cane alcohol at Tulian Rio, and that those barrels of alcohol were later transported by a small ship from there to Omoa, where they were reportedly seen in the house(s) of Lorenzo Chavez and Jacoba de Paz. The ship also sold clothing to a Joseph Vivina while anchored for six days at Punta de Castilla, next to Puerto Caballos.

Aside from the narrative it provides, the section of this document containing the testimony of the indios from Candelaria is particularly informative about the positions taken up both by the people giving testimony, and those they gave testimony to, as well as others they interacted with as part of this particular incident.

The taking up of positions begins with the account by the Governor of Honduras, Don Antonio Fernandiz, and his order to bring indios from Candelaria who know something about an English ship calling at Omoa the previous June:

I, the said Governor, in light of the declaration or report which comes before this, in order to proceed in the form to justice, had

to send and command to appear before me all the Indians of the town of Candelaria to examine which had been, in the month of June of last year, part of the watch, to take their statement about the business and what it was about.

[Yo el dicho Gobernador en vista de la declaración o denuncia que antecede para proceder en forme a justicia devia de mandar y mande comparezcan ante mi los indios del Pueblo de Candelaria para examinar quales fueron los que en el mes de Junio próximo pasado estaban de Vixias para tomarles la expresada declaración sobre el negocio de que se trata.]
(1770 AGCA A3 Legajo 496 Expediente 5200: page 23)

Here Governor Fernandiz is positioning the people of Candelaria as citizens of Honduras whom he can order to appear before him to give testimony. This is also apparent in the way they are sworn in, affirming they will tell only the truth and making the sign of the cross (page 24). These are the same actions performed by other citizens in later parts of the testimony when they are sworn in. While the residents of Candelaria have claimed the position of citizen in earlier documents, Spanish officials often contested it. By 1770, in jural proceedings, at least the members of the coastal watch are not being distinguished from people of other statuses.

The first Candelaria resident to present testimony is Carlos Martinez, age 30, and married. His answers to the questions put to him by the Governor are recorded by the scribe in the third person (e. g. "he said...."). Martinez positions himself as a member of the community of Candelaria ("dixo es natural del pueblo de Candelaria y casado en dicho pueblo [he said he is born in the town of Candelaria and is married there]" (page 24), but he positions, Lucas, also indigenous, as different:

an Indian who was in the watch location [Barrancas] named Lucas, also of the town of Candelaria but not born there.

[un Yndio que estaba en dicha vigía llamado Lucas también del Pueblo de Candelaria aunque no esta Natural.]
(page 24)

Lucas is by Carlos Martinez's positioning a forastero, someone who lives in the community but is not from it by birth. Martinez does not state whether Lucas was married and hence in marrying, or not, but that is the principal explanation in other documents for forasteros in pueblos de indios.

Carlos Martinez testifies that he spoke with the captain of the English ship, and questioned the blacks who disembarked from it to sell clothing in Puerto Caballos. Martinez uses no language that would make such

conversations seem either unusual or uncomfortable. Later testimony by another Candelaria resident, Marcelo Talavera, discussed below, leads us to conclude that those conversations took place in Spanish.

Martinez positions himself with respect to the Captain of the Fort of Omoa, Don Pedro Toll, in two pieces of testimony. First, he indicates that it was Pedro Toll who had centralized the communications of the coastal watch, ordering that all communications about incoming ships be delivered to him, not to the Honduran Governor's official in San Pedro Sula:

the reason that he did not advise the Lieutenant [of the colony] of this partido was because commander Pedro Toll gave them the order that when they saw some ship, to pass the word watch station by watch station until it gets to Omoa.

[El motivo de no haver venido a avisar al Theniente de este Partido fue por que el Comandante Don Pedro Toll les tiene dada derecho que quando vean alguna embarcación, pase la palabra de vigia en vigia hasta darle parte a Omoa.] (page 28)

Martinez here is positioning himself as part of the hierarchy of the coastal watch that reports through a foreman to the Commander of the fort at Omoa. His description demonstrates that this positioning disrupted the previous hierarchy which had the members of the coastal watch reporting through their foreman in San Pedro Sula to a representative of the Colonial Governor in San Pedro Sula, the chain of communication described in 1745 (1745 AGCA A1.20 Legajo 83 Expediente 972).

The background significance of church practice in community identity is echoed in Martinez' testimony. He expressed no condemnation of his fellow Candelaria resident, Marcelo Talavera, for burying the body of Lucas, who died unexpectedly, in the woods near the watch station of Barrancas. Instead, Martinez reserves his condemnation for Omoa Commander Pedro Toll, who failed to provide a Christian burial for Lucas after being notified of his death:

that it was the Indian Marcelo who buried [Lucas] because he was alone and after burying him they advised the Commander of the event and he did not take any measure to bring the body to give it burial, and that up to this moment it is in the brush without being given burial in holy ground.

[que esta el Yndio Marcelo lo que enterró por estar solo y que después de enterrado avisaren al Comandante de lo acaecido y que este no dio providencia alguna para llevar a darle sepultura al cadáver y que hasta la hora de esta [testimonio] esta en el monte sin darle sepultura sagrada.] (page 28).

Martinez positioned Toll as not treating Indians as citizens or Christians, who deserve burial in a cemetery. He is doubly condemning of Toll's lack of action because Lucas served Toll as an intermediary and died as a result of his labor.

Like Martinez, Francisco Rivera positions himself, and is in turn positioned by the Governor, as a citizen and Christian. Francisco identifies himself as born in Candelaria, and married there (p. 29). He identifies his boss, the foreman of the watch at Barrancas, Alberto Guerra, as a "pardo libre, casado en el proprio Omoa [free pardo, married in the same Omoa]". He says that Guerra was the one who employed the Indian Lucas as his employee to run messages. Francisco also criticizes Pedro Toll for not retrieving the body of Lucas buried in the woods. When asked why Lucas did not receive a Christian burial

he responded that the Indian who buried him [Lucas] is named Marcelo and he was at the time a Watchman and because he was alone he made a hole and buried [Lucas] but later they made known to the commander of the said Port Don Pedro Toll what happened, and despite this news, he did not give nor has he given providence to move the cadaver to sacred ground. [responde que el indio que lo enterro se llama Marcelo que se hallava en aquel entonces de Vigiero y que para estar solo hize un oyo, y lo entierro pero que despues dierron parte al Comandante de dicho Puerto Don Pedro Toll de lo acaecido y sin embargo de esta noticia, no dio ni ha dado providencia de darle tierra sagrada al cadaver.] (p. 31)

In responding to the question about why the Governor's agent in San Pedro Sula wasn't notified of the presence of the English ship, Francisco replied "corresponde al Comandante el mando de la vigia [it falls to the Commander to order the watch]" (p. 31). Francisco also testifies that in 1769, when he was Alcalde of Candelaria, he heard about another English ship on the coast.

Marcelo Talavera testified next. His testimony indicates that he spoke with no one from the English ship, but did see the foreman, Alberto Guerra, speak with the Captain in Barrancas, "y en especial con un negro Paysano al expresado Mayoral [and expecially with a black countryman of the foreman]" (p. 34). In his own testimony, Guerra identifies himself as being born in Santa Ines Cumana, today in Venezuela (page 53). Thus, a black countryman of Guerra's would be from Venezuela, then part of the Vice Royalty of New Granada. Again the Governor positions Marcelo as a citizen and Christian, requiring him to swear to tell the truth and make the sign of the cross.

Participation in the coastal watch expanded the social fields that residents of Candelaria took up. The coastal watch itself, a field that was loosely hierarchical, was structured at this time with Pedro Toll at the top. In turn, he appointed a resident of Omoa, Alberto Guerra, an Afrodescendent described in testimony as a "pardo libre", as the foreman ("mayoral") of the group. Everyone in the coastal watch organized out of Omoa reported to Alberto Guerra, who made the work assignments. Reporting of ship sightings and activities were passed along from coastal watch station to coastal watch station until they reached Pedro Toll in the fort.

A criollo Spaniard named Don Gabriel Gonzalez Perdomo, who acted as a witness during the testimony of the indios of Candelaria, was also asked to testify about what he knew about the English ship. Gonzalez Perdomo, the representative of the Governor in San Pedro Sula, was originally from Gracias a Dios. He testified that he was away chasing deserters from the fort when the English ship arrived, but heard about it when he got back:

I heard about it from the Indians who had been on watch, and those that were in this city publicly [speaking about it], and given the statement I went to punish the Indians who had been on watch, as Justice of this partido, but the Alcalde replied that they were not at fault, that the foreman.... had given his consent. [lo oyo decir a los Yndios que estaban de vigias, y los que estaban de esta ciudad publicamente y pasando el declarante a castigar a los yndios que estaban en la vigia, como Juez de este partido, le respondió el Alcalde que ellos no tienen la culpa, que el mayoral...havia dado el consentimiento.] (p. 40).

Here Gonzalez Perdomo is taking up a position as the Governor's representative, which positions himself as the local head of the coastal watch. As supervisor of the people of Candelaria in their service in the coastal watch, he sought to punish them for not notifying him of the English ship, but changed his mind on finding out that Alberto Guerra had countermanded informing him. Also evident in this testimony is a third social field, that in which the alcalde of Candelaria has authority to respond for the people of the pueblo de indios.

The statements in this testimony show that the coastal watch formed two different social fields, one in which Pedro Toll positioned others as his subordinates, and the other in which the governor of Honduras, through his local representative, expected participants to follow his instructions. The conflicting demands of these two different fields, representing a single institution, placed the people of Candelaria at risk depending on which field they chose to step into. Indigenous members of the coastal watch were

exercising their own choice in enacting the coastal watch position, choosing between a position in a local field of power (centered on Omoa), and a more distant one (based in Comayagua). As the sideways glance to the alcalde of Candelaria suggests, the coastal watch was simultaneously a third field, one in which the residents of the pueblos de indios positioned themselves, as they had in previous generations, as serving a vital role in the defense of the colony, not as subordinates either of Pedro Toll (who they feel free to criticize) or of the governor's representative (whose interpretation of events the alcalde rejects, successfully).

While the precise details are different, the disjunction between the two views of the coastal watch as a field on the part of the Spanish authorities is the same structural gap that Blas Cuculí drew on in his 1675 petition on behalf of Masca. There, however, the interests of the pueblo de indios were advanced more by aligning the town with the ultimate colonial authorities in Guatemala, for whom Masca formed part of an encomienda. A century later, the people of Candelaria switched positions from a local hierarchy to a colonial one as needed during legal proceedings. Where Blas Cuculí's petition is not explicit in drawing out the two different fields of power that shaped the experiences of people of Masca as framing choices the people could make, testimony in the contraband case of 1770 clearly and deliberately shifts fields in such a way as to remove blame from the people of the town.

Fields Crossing the Caribbean

Employment in the coastal watch brought some of the men of Candelaria into face to face contact with English and Spanish individuals engaged in contraband in the Caribbean, broadening their network of connections and increasing their knowledge of the cosmopolitan world in which Candelaria had always been embedded. The English ship in the 1770 incident was crewed, apart from its Captain, by African-descendant people described as blacks (negros). At least one of its black crewmembers was identified as a countryman of Alberto Guerra, presumably from New Granada (present-day Venezuela).

The ship in the 1770 case is described as being a single masted sloop (balandra). Twenty years later, similar ships captained by a British slave owner with a crew of enslaved blacks came from Belize, and called at Omoa and Trujillo, trying to convince the commanders of these Honduran forts to return escaped slaves who had taken up residence in the region (1800 AGI Estado 49 N. 74 Cuaderno 1). Given the identification of the captain in 1770

as English speaking, and the known use of single-mast balandras primarily for local voyages in the Caribbean, it is more likely that the balandra from 1770 was of similar origin in the nearby Belize colony than that the 1770 contraband ship was a primary British trading ship.

The engagement of the people of Candelaria in the coastal watch also brought them into social fields that extended east into territory that remained under indigenous control by the Miskito people. The coastal watch was intended to provide early warning to the fort of Omoa of land attacks by English and their Miskito allies. At times, this exposed participants to the risk of being captured and carried away to the Mosquitia. In 1725, the Honduran colonial authorities investigated a group of eight such captives who escaped and made their way back to the colony (1725 AGCA A1.12 Legajo 50 Expediente 496). Included were two members of the coastal watch who had been captured while on duty.

Originally from Jetegua or Quelequele and Tehuma (different documents include contradictory information), these repatriated watch members were viewed with suspicion because they were found in the company of British escapees, so they were sent to give testimony about their experiences in the colonial city, San Jorge de Olancho. Also part of their party was an indigenous person from Campeche, who had been working in the Belize colony when taken as a captive. Returning to their communities, these individuals and perhaps others like them would already, in the early eighteenth century, have begun to shape a view of a wider world of which Candelaria was part, not limited by colonial political boundaries.

The coastal watch constituted a field in which people from the pueblos de indios could take up positions that gave them a degree of autonomy, access to paid labor and, at least in the eighteenth century, to contraband goods. It involved them in negotiations with the military leaders of the fort of Omoa. Developing out of a service on which successive generations of the people of Candelaria had already based claims for specific recognition by colonial authorities, the latest phase of participation in the coastal watch became a focus of new emerging social fields that linked pueblos de indios with each other, with the population of African-descendant workers at Fort Omoa, and with places and peoples far beyond Honduras. In a sense, this was a return to the kind of cosmopolitan engagement through the Gulf of Honduras that was typical of indigenous towns in the Río Ulúa in the sixteenth century.

New engagements mediated by the presence of Fort Omoa brought with them increased and innovative forms of cultural hybridity that challenged the existing Spanish colonial definitions of the pueblo de indios

as a bounded, racially distinct enclave at the bottom of a defined economic order. While service in the coastal watch was now definitively recognized as a public good, the credit for this service accrued less to the community as a whole, and more to individual participants, who represented themselves in proceedings as individuals, without the kinds of deliberate positioning with respect to the community, as *principales* or "los demas", typical in earlier generations.

In this individualization of agency, perhaps, we can see the roots of forces that in the course of the nineteenth century would lead to the disappearance of Candelaria as a distinct *pueblo de indios*, a corporate actor, and its transformation into a neighborhood within the city of Choloma (Bobadilla 1944:233). It should be clear by now that *pueblos de indios* like Candelaria that survived the sixteenth century decimation of indigenous population developed a variety of tactics through which they not only successfully persisted in what had been their ancestral homeland, but also remade the Honduran colony into fields of practices in which they were able to rebuild population and gain recognition for their contributions to building colonial society.

Chapter 9: Assembling the Pieces

Masca, later Candelaria, exemplifies the experiences of pueblos de indios in the northern Ulúa Valley that persisted from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. The people of Candelaria identified with a local community as defined by the presence of their houses, church, agricultural fields, and cacao plantations. This community originally spoke a Lenca language scholars have called Toquegua whose use persisted in the community through the mid-seventeenth century. Their decision to use Spanish after this point did not affect their sense of community.

The community of Candelaria used a variety of tactics to persist in the colony. These included understanding and exploiting the colonial legal system to achieve community goals, the continued use of indigenous family names by community elites, moving the entire community to avoid violence, and exploiting the casta system to change the perceived identity of individuals including those from other casta groups marrying into the community.

Indian communities in the Ulúa Valley of Honduras underwent a population collapse during the sixteenth century. Those communities that persisted from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries were able to rebuild population throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even into the nineteenth century.

At the scale of the valley a network of pueblos de indios integrated themselves in colonial society through service in a coastal watch, while resisting exploitation beyond the legal requirements of encomienda. The network of pueblos de indios of which Candelaria was a part served to perpetuate indigenous practices, most notably the cultivation, circulation, and use of cacao, likely for ritual purposes. The continued use of chipped stone tools by pueblos de indios in this network implies the persistence of exchange networks between pueblos de indios. The known circulation of people as in-marrying spouses among these pueblos de indios allowed for both the persistence of population and a sharing of colonial experiences. Successful tactics of persistence likely circulated between communities through these flows of people.

The viability of Spanish jurisdictions like San Pedro Sula and later Omoa depended on pueblos de indios. This is most visible in their service in the coastal watch, which they repeatedly cited as the basis for consideration of legal claims presented by the people of Candelaria/Masca. Especially in the later colonial period it is evident that the pueblos de indios exploited the possibilities for commerce created by conflict between European powers.

Pueblos de indios participated in the receipt of contraband shipments, which would have given them access to a broad, range of European goods, especially high value consumables such as sugar, wine, and oil that are highlighted in so many contraband cases. It also provided access to European clothing, necessary for the transformation from indio to ladino.

Pueblos de indios participated in the broader Spanish colonial economy beyond their participation in networks of contraband goods. After the end of the encomienda system in the 1690s, pueblos de indios were able to use Spanish merchants as buyers for cultivated products like cacao and gathered plants like sarsaparilla.

In common with other parts of the Spanish colonial world, distance from administrative centers and the presence of external threats may have provided more opportunities for residents of the pueblos de indios in the Ulúa valley to negotiate their position in the colony.

Simon Cuculi, alcalde of Candelaria in 1714, identified the important things that made up the town when he wrote: "we are settled with houses, church, cacao groves, plantain fields, corn fields, and other and cultivated fields and plantings...[estamos poblados con casas, yglesia, cacaguatales, platanales, milpas, y otros sembrados y plantios]" (1714 AGCA A1.45.6 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413, pages 15-16). Earlier, in talking about the town's first move, to the Río Bijao, Cuculi wrote something similar: "and being settled with houses, church, and with some gardens and fields planted...[Y estando poblado con casas, yglesia, y formadas unas guertas y sembrados]" (AGCA A1.45.6 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413, page 15). The repetition, houses then church followed by agricultural fields, reiterates what made Candelaria a place with which its occupants could identify. As they moved in from the coast, they remade their town in full, first at the Río Bijao, and then four leagues further south. In the process they moved their houses, church, agricultural fields, and established new cacao plantations, a process that literally takes years. Their investment in replanting cacao, in particular, demonstrates their values, rooted in a tradition of supplying cacao to the other people of Honduras who were not as fortunate as they were to live where cacao can be cultivated. That cacao from the mountains behind Omoa and around Choloma is still used today for agricultural ritual in central Honduran Lenca communities, as documented by Anne Chapman (1985:77), demonstrates the importance of this connection to other communities in Honduras. Nor was growing of cacao to benefit others unique to Candelaria. The leaders of Jetegua specifically mention that after they moved into the southern Ulúa Valley, they returned to their original town location to continue harvesting cacao until their new plantations were producing.

Indigenous people in Candelaria were either "naturales" meaning "born there", or "forasteros" meaning "stranger", "alien". The distinction was important for calculating things like tribute and fees, and governed the right to participate in the decision making of the community. At the same time the circulation of people between communities, both in and out marriages, became part of a tactic (perhaps even a strategy) to boost community population.

Candelaria (or originally Masca) formed part of the set of communities identified by anthropologists, geographers, and historians as Toquegua, though there is no evidence that the people in these towns shared a uniform identity at this regional scale that would approximate the kind of ethnicity suggested when Toquegua is treated as the name of a people. Speaking a specific language would not have been a requirement of identity for those in the community of Candelaria. With a long history of participating in face-to-face meetings with speakers of a variety of languages before the Spanish arrived, the community of Candelaria had developed an identity focused on the community and its outside relations. As a community engaged in long distance face to face exchange with Lenca, Yucatecan, Chol, and perhaps even Nahautl speakers, at least some members of the community must have been polyglot, and the community as a whole was multilingual. The presence of "Chi" as a family name in the community reinforces the account of Landa that some Yucatecan families had agents living in the Ulúa region to acquire cacao. "Chi" is a family name common in Yucatan, but uncommon outside of it, except in this part of Honduras. Residence of speakers of other native tongues would have consequently been a normal part of life in prehispanic Masca.

Through the mid seventeenth century translators were present when colonial authorities interact with the community. This does not by itself mean no one in the community spoke, or understood Spanish, but rather that no colonial authority recognized that they did. Our last evidence of the use of a translator is in the 1662 assumption of the encomienda of Masca by Alonso de Osaguera. Shortly thereafter, in 1675, Blas Cuculi delivered his testimony to the court in Guatemala in Spanish without the use of a translator, something he stated he was accustomed to do and had done several times before. These two events then mark the transition for the residents of Masca, soon to be Candelaria, from using an indigenous language to using Spanish when interacting with colonial authorities.

But what indigenous language was this? Von Hagen (1943) identified Candelaria as a reducción of Tol speakers from Yoro based on his reading of Espino (1977). However, a re-reading of Espino, along with careful

attention to the local history of Candelaria/Masca, clearly documents a different history for the Ulúa valley community. Von Hagen confused two different places with similar names. He misidentified a Candelaria that is in fact still today located northeast of Morazán, Yoro, with Candelaria/Masca. Espino is quite clear that his Candelaria, which was a reducción of Tol speakers, was paired with the nearby town of Guaymas, also a reducción of Tol speakers, both founded in the late seventeenth century. At the point, Blás Cuculí was writing petitions on behalf of a community that had a documented history in place in the San Pedro district beginning in 1536. Guaymas and Candelaria are still towns in Yoro today, located within the region commonly thought to be Tol. So we cannot conclude that the people of Candelaria/Masca spoke Tol.

J. Eric S. Thompson (1938) identified Toquegua as a Maya language, based on the fact that in 1605 they could reply to a priest in an accented Chol, hardly surprising for a polyglot community engaged in commerce with communities throughout the Yucatan peninsula. Feldman (1975) concurred and extended Thompson's argument to say that in Amatitlan, a collection of families gathered from the countryside had surnames that he identified at Chol, Yucatecan, and Nahautl, precisely the same set of languages that modern linguists (Campbell 1979; Costenla Umaña 1981, 1991) say have influenced Lenca.

Many elite community members in this region continued to use indigenous surnames in the colonial period, including many of those listed by Feldman (1975). These surnames were also town names used across a wider region that included both the "Toquegua" area and accepted Lenca areas further south. The same pattern of elites maintaining indigenous surnames that are also town names can be shown for parts of central Honduras known to have spoken Lenca. Toquegua, like Masca, is simply another family surname and town name, perhaps part of a local, community based identity, not a region-wide identity. The people who the Spanish identified as Toquegua in the Ulúa valley most likely spoke a Lenca language as their "lengua materna".

The community of Candelaria used a variety of tactics to persist in the colony. Reducing the scope of agency of Candelaria's residents to acts of domination and resistance places a higher value on some forms of action (violence) than on the repeated actions of everyday life. Candelaria persisted as a historically continuous descendant population that shaped the colonial context into a way of perpetuating their own community through countless small acts. That Candelaria persisted into the nineteenth century demonstrates that these acts were successful.

Beginning in 1675 with the petition of Blas Cuculi on behalf of his town of Masca, we get an image of a community already exploiting the Spanish colonial legal system to attain its own goals. Nor is this the beginning of such tactical action. Cuculi informs us that he had previously been many times before the court on behalf of Masca. The arguments that Blas Cuculi offers for not owing personal labor to the people of San Pedro demonstrate knowledge of Spanish colonial law as it relates to pueblos de indios. He further demonstrates an understanding of the rights and obligations of his town under the encomienda system when he complains his encomendero, Alonso de Osaguera, was not providing the required doctrina to Masca even though they had paid him the owed tribute.

A continued knowledge of Spanish colonial law is evinced in the 1713 statement of Simon Cuculi, who represents the community in a petition for clear title to the land they are living on after their second move. Cuculi cites book, chapter, and paragraph of the 1681 Recopilacion de Leyes to support his argument that the Crown has to give indigenous communities the land they need for their livelihood. He also advanced the legal argument that the actions of his predecessor as Alcalde, Juan Chabacan, who entered into a land contract with Juan de Ferrera, were illegal, since indigenous people could not enter into contracts. This knowledge and exploitation of the colonial legal system was key to helping the community secure and maintain land, and avoid uncompensated labor, helping to solidify the community's place on the landscape and define limits to its role in the labor regime of the colony. These were successful tactics to allow the community to persist.

The continued use of indigenous surnames by some of the elite families in indigenous communities in the Ulúa Valley was another tactic that helped the community persist as a pueblo de indios. Not every elite family adopted the practice, but some in each community in the former provincia del río Ulúa did so. We also saw this in some Lenca communities in central Honduras. Such a practice would remind the community of their origins and history in daily interactions with members of these long-established families.

Candelaria moved twice during the colonial period, both times to avoid the violence of encounters with pirates. Nor was Candelaria unique in doing so. Both the pueblos de indios of Quelequele and Jetegua moved inland for the same reason. The violence of a pirate attack often included the abduction of community members, and raids on the contents of the town church, particularly the saint's images and silver objects. After the first move, while the town was located on the Río Bijao, it was once again sacked by pirates, who landed at Puerto Caballos and came along the road towards

San Pedro Sula. So Candelaria moved a second time, to lands further inland along the road to San Pedro Sula, a location designated by the governor of Honduras. Yet even here Candelaria was still within the range of pirates, who attacked the town in the early eighteenth century while on the way to raid San Pedro Sula. Both Quelequele and Jetegua were more successful in their moves, which put them much further inland than San Pedro Sula and apparently saved them from continued pirate attacks.

The casta system was also a locus of tactics revolving around identity. The residents of small eighteenth-century pueblos de indios like Ticamaya and Candelaria ensured their demographic survival through marriages that incorporated new people, including African descendants, who quite likely brought with them innovative foodways, and whose approaches to producing craft products may have introduced slightly different techniques to the local earthenware tradition.

Marriage across presumed racial or casta boundaries already had a long history in Honduras. This is best viewed as ethnogenesis, a concept that places an emphasis on what emerges from cultural exchanges rather than what precedes them. As Voss (2008) demonstrated in her study of Californio identity shaped at the Spanish Presidio of San Francisco, what emerges cannot be separated into component parts. In Honduras, the emergent identity may best be understood as Honduran, or even (in the area we study) more locally, as *sampedrano* (San Pedran). Attempts to disarticulate new identities into discrete pieces and trace their origins inevitably end up privileging some participants in the project of persistence over others. Thus, whether Eugenia Gertrudis was in fact an india or a mulata is less important than that her casta position was malleable, while her residency and membership in the pueblo de indios continued.

Like Stephan Palmié (2007:71), I see these processes taking place through "novel quotidian practices in the shadow of the Spanish colonial state-- new ways of eating, mating, comporting themselves, and interacting with one another-- that completely evaded the legal categories and ethnic labels". The north coast of Honduras provided "culturally rapidly homogenizing" social situations in which vecinos of Spanish towns, residents of pueblos de indios, and free and enslaved African descendants were often enlisted together in new social formations. My emphasis on the emergence of new forms through tactical engagement in linguistic and material practices aligns this study with the tradition represented by William Hanks (2010:93-94), who sees the attempt "to divide an indigenous inside from a Hispanicized exterior" as "sundering the person into two parts", possible only if each belongs to a distinct social field. In the Honduran

colony, despite the surface appearance of spatial segregation of distinct groups, what we see instead is the taking up of positions in fields that link those different spaces, and gave rise to the historically attested shared project of colonial survival.

The network of pueblos de indios of which Candelaria was a part served to perpetuate indigenous practices, most notably the cultivation, circulation, and use of cacao for ritual purposes. Cacao has a long history of cultivation in this part of Honduras, from at least the earliest settled villages before 1150 B.C. to the present. While Ticamaya was the home in the sixteenth century of "a great merchant in cacao" who specifically engaged in trade with the Maya of Yucatan, it is Jetegua that tells us the significance of the circulation of cacao during the colonial period when it wrote:

Since we are vassals of your Majesty, with the fruits of the cacao that god gave us we give comfort to all the land ...if we are not aided our haciendas of cacao would remain lost and the land would remain lacking in the fruits that god gave us...
[pues somos vasallos de Su Magestad con los frutos de cacao que dios nos da soccorre toda la tierra.....desamparado nuestras haciendas de cacao que tenemos con que quedara la tierra perdida y caesiendo de los frutos que dios nos da.....]
(AGCA A1.60 Legajo 5364 Expediente 45339, page 4).

That the "land would remain lacking" hints at both the importance of the circulation of cacao across the territory, and at its use for "the land", in agricultural ritual.

The continued use of chipped stone tools in Ticamaya and Omoa implies the persistence of exchange networks between pueblos de indios throughout the colonial period. Obsidian use at Ticamaya continued long after metal cutting tools became available. Metal was slow to be adopted in the pueblos de indios for which we have archaeological data. In the eighteenth century there was still substantial use of obsidian from both Guatemalan and more local sources at Ticamaya.

People circulated between pueblos de indios as well. Church and civil censuses document in marrying spouses (both male and female) as well as the presence of non-native born indigenous individuals in the communities. People would bring with them their experiences and exposure to other tactics in other communities that might have been suggested as responses to situations in their new

communities. Thus tactical responses to stresses on the pueblos de indios circulated as well.

San Pedro Sula and later Omoa could not have persisted without the pueblos de indios. Without them, the Spanish settlements would have suffered many more surprise attacks, from Dutch, French, English, and even American pirates, and later from the English enemy and their Miskito allies. The Spanish town of San Pedro Sula had to move twice in the sixteenth century after pirate attacks, yet still remained vulnerable in its present location. It was the presence of a coastal watch reporting back to San Pedro Sula that gave it enough advanced warning of attacks that it could minimize the effects of surprise and defend itself. It was indigenous runners from Candelaria and other pueblos de indios who advised San Pedro both when a trading ship had anchored off Puerto Caballos to trade, and when pirate ships had been seen off the coast. This service as both an early warning system and as a front line of defense for San Pedro was repeatedly cited by the residents of Candelaria in their legal claims presented to Spanish authorities.

The fort of Omoa depended on the newly reorganized coastal watch system to inform it when ships were sighted off the coast from Puerto Caballos through to Santo Tomas de Castilla in Guatemala. Also with the founding of the fort, residents of Candelaria re-located to Omoa both to work and as part of the coastal watch.

Yet at the same time, it is amply evident that indigenous communities, in addition to participating in the coastal watch, also were part of and benefitted from the possibilities for commerce resulting from conflict between the European powers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Pueblos de indios such as Tehuma received contraband shipments, which in turn gave them access to a broad range of European goods, especially high value consumables such as sugar, wine, vinegar, and oil. Service in the coastal watch also gave the indigenous people access to European clothing necessary for the transformation from Indian to Ladino. These same contraband goods showed up as the stock in stores owned by Spanish merchants in Omoa.

Beyond contraband, the pueblos de indios were able to participate in the broader Spanish economy after the encomienda system was abolished. By 1690 those Indians not still under encomienda grants were able to use Spanish buyers for cultivated products like cacao, and gathered commodities like sarsaparilla. In order to better obtain these, Spanish merchants began setting up stores in Indian communities such as Tehuma. The people of Candelaria easily had access to such stores, at least some of which were set

up to barter for sarsaparilla, then in great demand in Europe as a treatment for syphilis.

It may be that distance from the colonial capitals created more opportunities for residents of the pueblos de indios on the north coast of Honduras to negotiate their positions in the colony. The historical literature suggests that the province of Honduras was a backwater in the colonial economy, and that the north coast was the backwater of the colony. The lack of a microhistory comparable to that of Candelaria for any other indigenous community in another part of Honduras during this time makes it difficult to know how typical the experiences of this community were.

The illusion of control over colonial life provided by the construction of the fortress at Omoa is misleading. Not only was one of its commanders, Pedro Toll, complicit in contraband activities, others stood accused of allowing French and English traders to tie up at the pier connected to the fort to trade. In 1770 the governor of Honduras investigated one contraband case involving several families at Omoa and Pedro Toll, arresting all and getting ample testimony of the volume of illicit trade that passed through the region. My database of documents lists accounts of over twenty incursions by the English into the valley in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, nearly all of them involving illicit trade. The situation in Omoa got so bad that in 1790 Guatemala appointed a new commander of the fort at Omoa, Manuel Novas, to clean up the region. He immediately moved to restrict the movements of all of the civilian population in the town, including its merchants. For almost six months no one could leave Omoa, until one of the merchants petitioned the government in Guatemala for permission to go on pilgrimage to Esquipulas, breaking Novas's stranglehold on the town.

The effects of such lax control by Spanish authorities over the pueblos de indios provided opportunities for social mobility, for moving from indio to ladino either within the community, or by moving outside of it. In Mejicapa in central Honduras, Juan Vargas and his brothers argued that they were not Indians but rather ladinos because when they worked at Omoa, they were treated as ladinos (1784 AGCA A3.12 Legajo 509 Expediente 5302). By successfully making this argument, they relieved themselves of the need to pay their part of Mejicapa's tribute payment.

While it has been possible to come up with a rich description of many aspects of the colonial history of Candelaria, one element already alluded to above remains elusive; the religious life of the community. The importance of religion was documented in the petition against excommunication in the early eighteenth century, and in the petition for religious instruction in the seventeenth century. It was manifest in the repeated citation of the sacking

of their church and theft of their religious icons as motivation for moving the church and town to a new location. The last population listing from the town in 1809 is from a church document. Any richer perspective on religious experience is impeded by a lack of documentary sources on church life in this community.

From other pueblos de indios in Honduras we have documents suggesting the importance of church buildings to the community, through continued petitions to rebuild churches as bigger and made of less perishable materials. While indigenous people petition for the use of crown funds to rebuild their churches, they are often directed to use their own town and cofradia funds to carry out these improvements. The importance and wealth of cofradias is attested to in the documentary record for many pueblos de indios in central Honduras, but these are lacking for Candelaria.

At the same time, by reading documents from pueblos de indios in the Ulúa valley from the perspective of dialogics, it has been possible to hear an echo of what likely were persistent traditional rituals for the earth. These, combined with the emphasis on church as central to community, and claims for pastoral care, are sufficient grounds to argue that for pueblos de indios in the colonial period, community-level religious practices were probably, like the more visible foodways documented archaeologically, important everyday practices through which people coped with the challenges of the colony, and recreated the colonial world in ways that allowed them to persist as individuals, families, and communities. That it has been possible to reach such a conclusion for a town in the district of San Pedro, long considered to have been the earliest part of Honduras to see indigenous people "disappear", should, I hope, inspire others to pursue the project of placing indigenous actors and communities at the center of colonial history.

List of archival documents cited

Abbreviations used:

- AEC Archivo Eclesiastico de Comayagua, Honduras
AGCA Archivo General de Centroamerica, Guatemala City,
Guatemala
AGI Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain
AN Archivo de la Nación, Mexico D.F.
ANH Archivo Nacional de Honduras, Tegucigalpa
RAHM Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid

- 1525 "Real Cédula" AGCA A1 Legajo 2195 Expediente 15749 folio 217v
1534 "Cartas de oficiales reales de Honduras: Diego Garcia de Celis, Puerto de Caballos 6/20/1534" AGI Guatemala 49 N. 9
1535 "Cartas de oficiales reales de Honduras: Diego Garcia de Celis, Buena Esperanza 5/10/1535" AGI Guatemala 49 N. 11
1535 "Cartas de gobernadores: Andres de Cereceda, Buena Esperanza 8/31/1535" AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 4
1536 "Cartas de gobernadores: Andres de Cereceda, Puerto de Caballos 8/14/1536" AGI Guatemala 39 R. 2 N. 6
1536 "Repartimiento y Fundación de San Pedro" AGI Patronato 20 N. 4 R. 6
1537 "Real Cédula a Francisco de Montejo 6/30/1537" AGI Guatemala 402 L.1, Folio 176-177.
1569 "Méritos y servicios: Rodrigo Ruiz: Nueva España" AGI Patronato 69 R. 5
1582 "Relación de Alonso Contreras de Guevara, Gobernador" RAHM
1587 "Real Cédula" AGCA A1 Legajo 1513 folios 667-668
1588 "Información sobre probar la muerte de varios tributarios de Naco" AGCA A3.16 Legajo 511 Expediente 5347
1590 "Descripción de Puerto Caballos, Bahía Fonseca, etc." AGI Patronato 183 N. 1 R. 16
1591 "Encomienda de Gregorio de Alvarado" AGCA A3.16.1 Legajo 236 Expediente 2421
1610 "Cuentas de Oficiales Reales" AGCA A3.13 Legajo 527 Expediente 5505
1627 "Confirmación de encomienda de Maxaca" AGI Guatemala 99 N. 13
1669 "Confirmación de encomienda de Guarabuqui, etc." AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9
1670 "Confirmacion de Oficio: Manuel Farinas" AGI Guatemala 90 N. 31

- 1675 "Blás Cuculí por parte del pueblo de Masca" AGCA A3.12 Legajo 527 Expediente 5522
- 1679 "Jetegua saqueado por piratas holandesas" AGCA A1.60 Legajo 5364 Expediente 45339
- 1685 "Decomiso en Tiuma del Felipe de Guevara Topete" AGCA A3.2 Legajo 129 Expediente 1061
- 1685 "Carta de Audiencia: Penas de Camara" AGI Guatemala 29 R. 2 N. 37
- 1690 "Instancia de Don Antonio de Osaguera solicitando la encomienda" AGCA A3.16 Legajo 190 Expediente 1926
- 1690 "Lo que se libre liquido de las encomiendas" AGCA A3.16 Legajo 190 Expediente 1927
- 1692 "Confirmación encomienda Antonio de Oseguera" AGCA A3.16 Legajo 190 Expediente 1928
- 1703 "Padron de Zelilaca" AGCA A3.16 Legajo 511 Expediente 5328.
- 1710 "Auto en que se mando...mudar el Pueblo de Jetegua" AGCA A1.12 Legajo 50 Expediente 493
- 1714 "Los indios del pueblo de Nuestra Señora de la Candaleria piden ejidos" AGCA A1.45.6 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413
- 1714 "Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de Masca" AGCA A1.24 Legajo 1581 Expediente 10225
- 1722 "Padron de Jaitique" AGCA A3.16 Legajo 514 Expediente 5398.
- 1722 "Un padronimiento de los tributarios del pueblo de Teconalistagua" AGCA A3.16.3 Legajo 514 Expediente 5402
- 1722 "Diego Gutierrez de Arguelles sobre ingleses en Omoa" AGCA A1.15 Legajo 58 Expediente 716
- 1725 "Autos sobre prisioneros de los mosquitos y ingleses" AGCA A1.12 Legajo 50 Expediente 496
- 1733 "Intendencia de Comayagua: Tributos" AGCA A3.16 Legajo 498 Expediente 10209
- 1742 "Auto de cofradias" AGCA A1 Legajo 222 Expediente 2479
- 1744 "Acerca de la presencia de ingleses en la boca del rio Ulua" AGCA A1.60 Legajo 384 Expediente 3500
- 1745 "Sebastian Padilla mulato libre y vecino de San Pedro Sula, servicio cumplido como vijia" AGCA A1.20 Legajo 83 Expediente 972
- 1758 " Mapa que comprende desde el Golfo de Matina hasta el de Santo Thomas. Situacion del Rio Tinto; Bahia de Cartago poblada de Ingleses y otras Poblaciones" AGI Mapas Y Planos Guatemala 49
- 1768 "Autos sobre remata de tabaco y cuentas de tributos" AGCA A3.16 Legajo 527 Expediente 5533

- 1770 "Sobre la introduccion de una Valandra Ynglesa en el Puerto de San Fernando de Omoa" AGCA A3 Legajo 496 Expediente 5200
- 1777 "Estado que demuestran las personas de todas clases y castas contienen los curatos de la provincia de Honduras, en el gobierno de Comayagua" AGCA A3.29 Legajo 1749 Expediente 28130
- 1778 "Instancia de los indios del pueblo de San Juan Yamala de reedificación de su iglesia" AGCA A1.11-25 Legajo 42 Expediente 364
- 1781 "Padron de los individuos que moran en el pueblo de Ticamayi asi indios como ladinos" AGCA A3.1 Legajo 1305 Expediente 22217 folio 14
- 1781 "Padron de los indios naturales del pueblo de Candelaria" AGCA A3.1 Legajo 1305 Expediente 22217 folio 15
- 1783 "La cubierta de caja del descubierto del año 1780 Cuaderno Num. 3" AGCA A3.1 Legajo 1305 Expediente 22217
- 1784 "Juan Vargas y hermanos de Mejicapa que no obliguen a tequios" AGCA A3.12 Legajo 509 Expediente 5302
- 1786 "Oficio de comandante de Omoa sobre minas" AGCA A3 Legajo 507 Expediente 5264
- 1791 "Cartas y Expedientes" AGI Guatemala 578
- 1791 "Doña Casilda de Arada contra commandante de Omoa" AGCA A1.15 Legajo 66 Expediente 810
- 1796 "Indios de Yamala, de fabrica de su Iglesia" AGCA A1.25 Legajo 123 Expediente 1432
- 1797 "Doña Paula Hernandez contra las albaceas de Doña Casilda Arada sobre cumplimiento de un legado" AGCA A1.15 Legajo 69 Expediente 839
- 1800 "Negros que desde Wallis pasaron a Omoa" AGI Estado 49 N. 74 Cuaderno 1
- 1804 "Visita de Provincia de Honduras por sus Gobernadores" AGI Guatemala 501
- 1809 "Indios de los pueblos de Candelaria y Ticamaya, Curato de San Pedro Sula" AEC Padrones Caja No. 1
- n.d. "Padron del pueblo de tiuma y sus anexos" AEC Padron de Tiuna [Tiuma].

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Appendix: Document Transcriptions.

A Note About Transcriptions.

Transcribing a handwritten document necessarily involves interpretation. Spanish colonial documents may be standardized into genres, but lack standardization in almost everything else. There is no standard spelling; there are no standard abbreviations despite the numerous tables of supposedly standardized abbreviations available in paleography manuals. Words are both run together, and individual syllables are separated by spaces in the handwriting. Capitalization of words is random. Handwritten documents of this time mostly lack indications of accent marks, and completely lack punctuation. Thus it is up to the reader to follow along and understand where an utterance begins, and ends.

My goal in producing these transcriptions was to do as little interpretation as I could, leaving them open to multiple readings. In reading characters and words, and writing them down, I have performed an interpretation, albeit a low level one. I have attempted to preserve the original spelling and line breaks when interpreting the handwriting. I did choose to expand abbreviations both because of the inadequacies of typography in representing how it was written on the page in handwriting, and because it improves readability. I have divided the handwritten characters into words, sometimes joining together parts that were separated by a space. I have chosen to indicate physical breaks, folds, and tears in the text due to holes or other missing parts that render parts of the page unreadable.

I have used a number of conventions in these transcriptions. A single unknown character is represented by a '?'. Two question marks set off by a space on either side represents a missing word. Text inside square brackets is reconstructed.

The process of transcription necessarily introduces unintentional errors. These will mostly be errors of spelling, errors that do not change the meaning of what was written. There is a danger that in expanding the abbreviations I have introduced error as well since I might misunderstand what the author meant, but in most cases the expansion chosen is an obvious, and contextually meaningful one. Nevertheless, there will be unintentional errors, and for these I apologize.

AGCA A3.12 Legajo 527 Expediente 5525

This is the 1675 petition of Blás Cuculí, an Indian and member of the elite from Masca, writing on behalf of his community to get a ruling from the Audiencia of Guatemala that his community members not have to perform personal service in the Spanish city of San Pedro. In it, he raised the argument that they already paid their tribute to their unnamed encomendero but in return, have not been receiving either religious instruction or visits from the priest from San Pedro to say mass. He also pointed out they served in the coastal watch.

The Audiencia ordered an audit of the encomendero's finances to see if he was pocketing any of the tribute they pay, and ruled in their favor regarding person service to the residents of San Pedro.

This document is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

Transcription of AGCA A3.12 Legajo 527 Expediente 5525

[note that this is on plain paper, not papel sellado]

page 1

1. [roto] real [roto] el R fiscal lo de sus [roto]
2. [roto]su ssa (su Señoria) del señor Don Fern^{do} (Fernando) Francisco de Escovedo ge[roto]
3. de la artilleria del reyno de Jaens de las villas de samayo[roto]
4. y Santis en la religion De San Juan Presidente desta RI
5. audi^a Governador y capitán general en su distrito en
- 6.
7. [margin Guatt en diez] Blas cuculi yndio vezino y natural del pueblo de
8. [margin y nueve] San Pedro Masca de la jurisdiccion de San Pedro de Ulua
9. [margin de he] en la provincia de honduras que a esta corte e sido ynbiado
- 10.[margin nero de Mill] por las justicias de mi pueblo a diferentes negocios que tocan
- 11.[margin seis y setenta] a su comunidad paresco ante V. ss.^a (Vuestra Señoria) como mas aya lugar
- 12.[margin y sinco años] y digo que siendo assi que nosotros los del dicho pueblo de

- 13.[margin lorenc de] San Pedro Masca estamos señalados
para servir las bijias
- 14.[margin Montufar] de Puerto de Cavallos en que nos
ocupamos todo el año
- 15.los vezinos de la dicha ciudad de San Pedro y las justicias
- 16.nos compellen y apremian a que del dicho nuestro
- 17.pueblo les demas yndios de [ser]vicio y tesines sin em-
- 18.bargo de estar prohibido por [R]cedulas y tener la ocu-
- 19.pacion de bijieros que por solo [roto]o debieramos gosar
- 20.de algun descanso pues se convierte en utilidad suia el que
- 21.tengamos asistencia en dicho pu^o (pueblo) = y por que demas de lo
- 22.referido nosotros pagamos por entero nuestros tri-
- 23.butos al encomendero que lo es Alonso de oseguera
- 24.y que es de su obligacion el pagar el diesmo y doctrina
- 25.no solo la paga sino que se cobra de nosotros siendo
- 26.assi que no la debemos y que lo debe satisfaser el dicho
- 27.encomendero cuio agravio emos rresibido y para
- 28.en adelante no lo experimentemos sea de servir
- 29.Vssa de mandar que en manera alguna las jus
- 30.ticias de la dicha ciudad de San Pedro y sus vezinos con
- 31.ningun pretexto saquen yndios ni yndias del dicho

page 2

1. [N]uestro pueblo amp[aro] [roto]
2. bejados (vejados) y por lo que toca al [roto]
3. dar que en manera alguna ninguna pe[rson]a [co]
4. bre de nosotros diesmo ni doctrina que acuda
5. a haserlo el encomendero que es quien percibe
6. por entero los tributos probeiendo del remedio
7. conbeniente para que en lo de adelante por tanto ----
8. [paragraph]a V. ss^a. pido y suplico mande a librarme su mandamiento
9. en la conformidad que aqui llebo pedido que
- 10.en ello resevire (resiviere) Mrd (Merced) con justicia que pido
etcetera
- 11.Por el dicho Man[uel] de Farinaz [scribe]
[many blank lines]
- 12.[paragraph]Don Ju^a Bapta urquiola Oidor que esta real?
- 13.aud^a (audiencia) que ejerse el oficio fiscal a visto esta pettizion
- 14.y lo que en ella piden estos yndios = y dice que siendo

15.V.s. (Vuestra Señoria) servido podra mandar librarles su despa-
16.cho para que en conformidad de las reales cédulas quales
17.prohiven de ninguna manera las justicias
18.y vezinos de la ciudad de San Pedro ni de [o]tro lugar
19.y parte les obligen ni compelan a dar yn-
20.dios de servicio ni yndias molenderas que lla-
21.man tesines ni para otro efecto sobre que
22.sea de servir V.s. ymponerles para la c???

page 3

1. [roto][p?]rrezevimientos que fuere servido =
2. [roto] que a la paga del diesmo y doctrina que rre-
3. fieren aver pagado demas de sus tributos se
4. podra mandar librarles despacho para que
5. en manera alguna lo paguen en lo ade-
6. lante y ninguna perssona de cualquier cali-
7. dad que sea moleste por ello a estos yndios pues
8. ellos no lo deben sino el encomendero = y as-
9. simesmo mandar que el theniente de gobernador de aquel
10.partido breve y sumaria con sitoⁿ
11.del encomendero averigüe las cantidades
12.que Hubieren pagado por esta razon y luego
13.constando las que son les aya restituído
14.que montaren con apremio y avise a este g^{no} (gobierno)
15.por m^o(mandamiento) del fiscal de aver lo esecutado so[bre] pe-
16.na que Vs. fuere servido ymponerles Gu^a y
17.henero 30 de 1675
18.[rubric]
19.ese como lo dice el dicho fiscal = lo susodicho
20.beio y rubrico su ssa. del señor Don Fernando
21.Francisco de Escobedo perez de la artilleria del
22. Reino de jaen Señor de las villas de samoioir San-
23.tis en la religion san juan Presidente en esta Rl
24.audz governador y capⁿ general en el distrito en guat^a.
25.los dos de febrero de mill y seiscientos y setenta y sinco
26.años = [rubric] Lorenzo de Montufar [scribe]

Page 4

Blank

AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9

This document is the 1662 response by the Audiencia of Guatemala to an encomienda petition from Alonso de Oseguera to receive over 30 towns in Honduras, including Masca, in encomienda. In it we learn of Oseguera's meritorious family lineage and their service in the conquest and colonization of Honduras, and of the service of family members in Truxillo against the pirates that plagued shipping off the coast of Honduras.

The provincial government agreed and forwarded the request to the Audiencia in Guatemala, which agreed to recommend the grant of encomienda to the Spanish Crown, but divided the income produced by the various towns between Alonso de Oseguera and Doña Maria Lasso de San Ramon, so that she has an income for the rest of her life, and on her death, the encomienda of the towns providing her income transfers to Alonso de Oseguera. Oseguera was granted the encomienda "for two lives" which means the rights to it are heritable with Crown approval.

At the beginning of the document is Alonso de Oseguera's undated letter to the Spanish Crown requesting confirmation of the encomienda grant approved by the Audiencia for both himself and Maria Lasso de San Ramon.

This document is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

Transcription of AGI Guatemala 104 N. 9

page 1

1. Señor
2. Alonso de Oseguera y quebedo vez^o de la ciudad
3. de Valladolid de Comayagua en lla prov^a de Hon-
4. duras = Diçe que haviendo pedido confirmaz^{on} de los
5. ributos que el press^{te} de la Audiencia de Guate-
6. mala le encomendo por dos vidas con cargo de dar pesos
7. via de penssion 288 tostones y dos R^s a D^a Maria
8. Lasso de san rramon se rremitio al vro. fiscal y por
9. que del litijio? se sigue dilacion y riesgo en la presecrip-
10. çion del tiempo=

11. Supp^a a V. Mag^d que si los pag^s padecieren algun de-
12. fecto se supla en virtud de la cordado del vro conis?
13. y se mande dar la confirmaz^{on} al supp^{te} y a la dha
14. D^a Maria Lasso de ssⁿ Ramon de la penssion que en
15. ella se le situo en que reçivira mrd=

page 2

1. [page blank]

page 3

1. [page blank]

page 4

1. [different hand] Señor
2. Alonsso de Oçeguera
3. y Quebedo vez^o de la ciu^d
4. de Valladolid de Coma-
5. yagua en la Provincia de Hon-
6. duras=
7. [different hand]em? a 19 de en^o 1669
8. ?o este mem le ponga
9. con los autos y trayga
10. ?el relater que toca
11. [Marginal notes unreadable so far]
12. [different hand] en attençion a la certidad de esta
13. encomienda y fen que? ??
14. era para en adelante se da a esta p^{te} la
15. confirmaçion que poder sirviendo con qua-
16. trocientos to^s ?? ocho R^s puestos segun el
17. acerdado de lanss^o en poder del rreposttio
18. de estra dos vda. Feb. 1u de 669
19. Valle [signature]
- [another hand, written vertically]
20. e resivido quatro cientos pesos en
21. conformidad del ambo dista ofer
22. ?? doy febero 19? de 1669
23. Juan Ariz de la pena.

page 5

1. 1669 << text not yet transcribed>>
2. General Don Martin [titulo y mrd?]
3. Carlos Jemencos cavallero del [de encomienda]
4. horden de Santtiago, alcay de per- [de 10288 tostones]
5. pettuo de los palacios rreales de la [dos Reales a D.]
6. ciudad desta falla del rreal Con- [Alonso de Oçe-]
7. sejo de guerra y juntta de armada su [guera con car-/ ga de dar las]
8. Presidentte en la rreal audienzia [ducientos y ochen-]
9. que en esta ciudad reirde governador [ta y ocho tostones/ a Doña Maria]
- 10.y Capittan General en su distrito? [Lopano de San]
- 11.Ra por queantto por muertte de doña [Ramon todo]
- 12.Luysa de Garibay, bacaron los ttribu- [por dos ??]
- 13.ttos del pueblo de guarabuqui de la
- 14.jurisdiccion de las minas de ttegucigal- [en el conv.]
- 15.pa y por muertte de Buan de bargaz [ar? de ge debbi]
- 16.Cabrera, los de los pueblos de tteupazen- [vealo el señor?]
- 17.tte jurisdiccion de dichas minas [fiscal]
- 18.y chapuluca, jurisdiccion de la ciudad
- 19.de Comayagua, y por muerte de An-
- 20.dres de Aguirre bacaron los ttributos
- 21.del pueblo de ttattumbla en el balle
- 22.de ottoro y por muerte de Diego de Ze-
- 23.laya y Antonio de VillaFranca
- 24.los de la mittad del pueblo de ta-
- 25.mara jurisdiccion de dichas minas.

page 6

1. Por muerte de el dicho Diego de
2. Zelaya y Diego de zayas la mitad
3. del pueblo de Jojona de dichas minas
4. y por muerte del Capittan Andres Mar-
5. tin de Suniga Valcaron los tributos
6. de los pueblos de quelequele y mazca
7. jurisdiccion de la ciudad de San Pe-
8. dro y Timoxol en el rrio de Ulua

9. y por muerte de Cristobal de Lara
10. el tributo del pueblo de chinda
11. del partido de San Pedro y por
12. muerte de el dicho andres mar-
13. tin de zuniga el pueblo de Utila ju-
14. risdisçion de truxillo y por falta
15. de confirmazion de co?ene gonzalez
16. de los rreyes los ttributos de los pue-
17. blos de tomala y a nunguiche por
18. otro nombre ochoa jurisdiccion
19. de truxillo y el pueblo de Zapotal
20. del partido de olancho, el viejo?
21. y por muerte de bernardino de zerpa
22. bacaron los tributos de los pueblos
23. de punuara, Cotacral y guala-
24. co del dicho partido de olancho
25. el viejo y por muerte de bernar-
26. dino Jolier de arguiso? Serpa-

page 7

1. el pueblo de saguay de el dicho par-
2. tido y por muerte de francisco
3. mexia de Tovar la mitad del
4. pueblo de manto y por muerte
5. de doña Maria de Leon el pueblo
6. de xano de el dicho partido de olan-
7. cho y por muerte de Marcos Taso
8. el pueblo de guacao agregado
9. al de tambla en el balle de
10. comayagua y por muerte
11. de Ana de Guerara, los pueblos de
12. opoa y Guanca?la jurisdiccion
13. de la ciudad de Gradias a dios = y
14. el pueblo de yngrigula juris-
15. disçion de comayagua = todos los
16. quales dichos pueblos montan
17. los tributos dellos en cada un
18. año como consta de certifica-
19. ciones de los jueses de?erales de la

20. rreal hacienda de la provincia de
21. honduraz en ev?ajurisdiccion
22. stan los dichos pueblos mill seis-
23. cientos y tres tostones y dos reales
24. que por ser muy corto y estan

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1. muy distantes los rios de los
2. otros no se empadronaron
3. los tributarios de ellos por yn-
4. conbenientes que ser recono-
5. seinan y haver constado de lo
6. que cada pueblo tributa por dichas
7. certificaciones de oficiales al
8. que cobriron sus tributos ??
9. tiempo por bacos y gara encomen-
10. darlos de nuevo los declare por ba-
11. cos en suave de henero del año
12. corriente y declare ser pasado
13. el año de la bacante y ??
14. tiempo maz por haver contado
15. assi de las certificacionez de los
16. oficiales de la rreal hacienda
17. que los cobraron por tributos
18. bacos de unos pueblos quatro años
19. de otros cinco, seis, y seite y mande
20. poner edicto con termino competen-
21. te para que los que pretendiessen
22. derecho ses pusiesen el qual dicho
23. edicto se publico y ?? en las puer-
24. tas del cavildo de esta ciudad a los
25. dos de henero del año correinte

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1. y aviendose opuesto entre otros a to-
2. das las encomiendas bacas
3. al alferes alonso de ozueguera y
4. quebedo vezino de la ciudad de Comayagua

5. de la dicha provincia de honduras
6. se opusso en particular a lo bacio
7. en aquella provincia y en la de
8. San miguel pretendiendo se le
9. se le hizeise merced de dos mil pesos
10. de renta por los meritos y ser-
11. vicios que refiere al memorial a
12. jultado que por mi mandado hizo
13. el scrivano de camara y
14. gobernacion ynfrascrito cuis?
15. thenor es a que se sigue = el alfarez
16. [testimonial] Alonso de ozeguera y quebedo
17. vezino de la zitudad de comayagua
18. de la provincia de honduras se
19. pusso en cinco de henero del año
20. corriente a las encomiendas que
21. ay bacas en la dicha provincia de
22. honduras y en la de San Miguel
23. y pidio y suuplico se le hiziesen

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1. de dos mil pesos de renta por dos
2. bidas conforme a la ley de la subçesion
3. ?? fuese preferido a otros opositores
4. segun las Reales zedulas librados
5. en favor de los bene meri-
6. tos patrimoniales de aquella pro-
7. vinçia = alego ser hijo legitamo del
8. Capitan Deigo de Quebedo y Doña Le-
9. [margin servicio] oñor otis de ozeguera que dize fue-
10. ron vezinos de la zitudad de truxillo
11. de la dicha provincia de honduras
12. y que en rela? El dich su padre ca-
13. pitan de ynfanteria espano-
14. la y defendis aquel puerto en las
15. ocassiones que les ynfestaron ene-
16. migos = asi mismo alega que por
17. una paterna es nieto del capitan
18. diego lopez de los primeros conquis-

19. tadores y pobladores de la dicha ciudad
20. de truxillo y que dicho su abuelo
21. fortifico y defendio aquel puerto
22. y sus yslas y peleo con el enemigo
23. en diferentes ocassiones y que en
24. una de???llas rindio dos naos
25. en la ysla de la guanaxa y por
26. via materna dize es nietto del
27. Capitan Alonso de ozequera vezino

page 11

1. de la ciudad de olancho el viejo
2. donde sirvio a su magestad con mu-
3. chas ocassiones y ser bisnieto de
4. albar perez ortiz padre del dicho
5. capital alonso de oseguera la
6. berizdo de los primeros conquis-
7. tadores de la dicha provinçia de
8. honduras y poblador de la ciudad
9. de olancho el ?? y quien abrio
10. el camino al puerto de truxillo
11. y suhetto los yndios de aquella provinçia
12. a su costa y ser bisneito por via
13. materna del maestre de campo
14. Juan Ruyz de la Vega primer con-
15. quistador que dice fue de las pro-
16. binçias de Yucatan y rrio de gri-
17. jalva provinçia de honduras
18. y higueras y primer poblador y
19. fundador de la ciudad de comaya-
20. gua y que la dicha doña leonor Hortis
21. de oceguera madre del que pretende
22. es bisneitta ? orvia paterna de ??
23. hicote ?icayno de llos primeros

page 12

1. conquistadorez y pobladores de la
2. provinçia de san salvador y bisnie-

3. tto por via materna de Sebrían
4. de Andino, briscayno conquistador
5. y poblador de la ciudad de comaya-
6. gua = al;ega el pretendiente que
7. esta sirviendo el cargo de alfarez
8. de la dicha ciudad de comayagua
9. a su costa y que en una rrefiega
10. que se ubo con el enemigo
11. en el balle de truxillo y rio de
12. ??langua servio en compañía
13. de don Melcho Alonso??a
14. mayo governador y capitan
15. que fue de la dicha provinçia
16. de honduras Refiere asi mismo
17. otros servicios suyos personales
18. y estar cassado con doña maria de
19. de lara, persona noble y priincip.
20. y que tiene quatro hijos legitimos
21. y dos hermanas doncellas a sus
22. expensas y que sus servicios y los
23. de sus ascendientez no an tenido
24. remunerazion y quiere halla

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1. con nececidad presento recaudos
2. fue señorial e ubo por opuesto ymdo?
3. se hisiesse memorial azustado?
4. se me casse al señor fiscal = lo que
5. consta de los papeles presentados
6. por el dicho alferes Alonso de soeguera
7. y Quebedo es lo qeu se sigue = lo que
8. consta de los rrecaudos presentados
9. por probança hecha ante la jus-
10. ticia hordinaria de la ciudad de
11. comayagua de la dicha provincia
12. de honduraz por el año de mill
13. seisçientos y nueve apedimento
14. de Pedro de la Serna, como marido
15. de doña Maria Hortiz de oçeguera

16. hermana legitima de doña elonor
17. hortiz de oseguera madre de esta
18. pretende consta por depoçion
19. de quatro testigos que el capitan
20. Alonso de oseguera, abuelo ma-
21. terno del que pretende, consta
22. por depoçion de quantro testigos
23. que el capitan alonso de oseguera (repetition in original)

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1. abuelo materno del que
2. pretende fue hijo legitimo de
3. Diego de oseguera hermano legiti-
4. mo de digeo de oseguera que
5. murio sirviendo a su magestad
6. en la batalla que se truo en
7. el dicho puerto de truxillo con
8. ?? mias enemigo cosario donde
9. mataron al dich diego de oseguera
10. y que doña leonor hortiz de oseguera
11. madre del que pretende gue
12. hija legitima digo muger ligi-
13. tima del capitan diego de quevedo
14. padre del dich pretendiente
15. y que el capitan alonso de O-
16. seguera abuelo materno del
17. pretende sirvio a su magestad con
18. su arma y cavallo a sus costa
19. en el puerto de truxilla de la
20. dicha provinçia de honduras
21. en su defense contra enemigos
22. cosarios en las ocasiones
23. que lo ynfestaron y el susoyo?

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1. y diego de oseguera su hermano
2. servieron en la batall con otra
3. geremiaz francos cosario que fue

4. bençido presso y muerto por la
5. armada que salio del dicho puerto
6. de truxillo sobre el la ysla de utila
7. que donde mataron al dicho die-
8. go de oseguera peleando con los
9. enemigos y que assi mismo el
- 10.oyo capitán alonso de oseguera
- 11.abuelo materno del que preten-
- 12.de sirvio a su magestad en la
- 13.conquista y pacificasion de los yn-
- 14.dios jicaques y que saco del amonta-
- 15.ña quienientas personas los mas
- 16.ynfieles y los poblo en olancho
- 17.el viejo a sus costa en que gasto de
- 18.su hacienda mas de quatro mill
- 19.pesos = por otra provanca hecho
- 20.en la ciudad de San Salvador
- 21.por el año de seis ceintos nueve
- 22.ante el theniente de alcalde
- 23.mayor de pedimiento del dicho
- 24.Pedro de la Zerna consta por de

page 16

1. poçion digo que depone el ?? testigo
2. por que no passo adelante la pro-
3. banza que albaro peres hortiz
4. bisabuelo paterno del que pre-
5. tende fue conquistador de la
6. provinçia de honduras depone
7. el testigo, de publico y notorio
8. por provanza hecha en esta çiudad
9. de guatemala por el dicho año de
- 10.seisceintos y nueve ante la
- 11.Justicia hdordinaria de ella de pedi-
- 12.miento del dicho dero de la
- 13.Serna consta por depoçion de
- 14.quatro testigos que deponen
- 15.de publico y notorio que el dicho
- 16.Alvaro Perez ortiz bisabuelo

17. paterno del que pretende fue
18. conquistador de la dicha provincia
19. de honduras y que Juan Ruys
20. de la Vega bisabuelo materno
21. del pretendiente fue conquis-
22. tador de la dicha provincia de

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1. honduras y de la de yucatan y otras
2. partes de las yndias y que ambos
3. los dichos albaro perex hortis
4. y Juan Ruys de la Vega sirvieron
5. a su magestad en las dichas con-
6. quistaz y que el capitan Alonso
7. de oseguera abuelo materno
8. del pretendiente sirvio a sum magestad
9. con sus armas y cavallo a su costa
10. en la ciudad y puerto de truxi-
11. llo en su defensa contra ene-
12. migos cossarios y que ambos
13. y diego de oseguera tio del que pre-
14. tende sirvieron en la battalla
15. contra Jere mias fanzes cosa-
16. rio sobre la ysla de utila donde
17. fue bençido y muerto por la ar-
18. mada que satio de el dicho puerto
19. de truxillo y que en la dicha
20. batalla fue muerto el dicho
21. diego de oseguera ??ando con
22. los enemigos ??? dicho ca??

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1. Alonso de oseguera abuelo ma-
2. terno del pretendiente sirvio en
3. la conquista y pacificazion de los
4. yndios xicaques y queraes de la
5. montaña quinientos personas
6. los mas ynfielos y los poblo enne?

7. de su magestad en olancho el biejo en
8. cuya conquista servio con plaça
9. de capitan y que la hizo a su costa
- 10.y gasto en ella mas de quatro mill
- 11.pesos = por provanza hecha en la
- 12.Villa de santa maria del balle de
- 13.comayagua por el año de mill
- 14.y quinientos y quarenta y ocho
- 15.por la justicia hordinaria de
- 16.ella de pedimiento de el dicho Juan
- 17.rruyz de la vega bisabuelo ma
- 18.terno del que pretende consta
- 19.por depoçion deseis testigos
- 20.conquistadores que de poende
- 21.bista que avia beyntte y tres
- 22.años poco mas o menos que el
- 23.dicho Juan Ruys de la Vega estava

page 19

1. en las yndias sirviendo a su magestad
2. con sus armas y cavallo y que
3. en la governaçion de Yucatan
4. y rio de grijalva y en la gover-
5. naçion de Honduras sirvio en pla
6. sa de maestre de campo y otros
7. cargos y que fui de los primeros con-
8. quistadorz que entraron en la
9. dicha provinçia de Yucatan y rrio
- 10.de grijalva con el adelantado
- 11.montexo la digo que entra en
- 12.aquella matirra le hiso caudillo
- 13.de gente de acavallo de que dio buena-
- 14.menta el dicho maestre de campo
- 15.Juan Ruys de la vega bisabeulo
- 16.materno del que pretende y que-
- 17.de todo aquello que alsesso? Dicho
- 18.se le encomendo por el dicho adelan-
- 19.tado y por el capitan general alon-
- 20.so davila dio siempre buena quenta

21. el dicho maestro de campo Juan
22. Ruys de la vega al cual dexo en-
23. tre lugar el dicho general en ocazio-
24. nes que ybas a enoxadaz para

page 20

1. que tubiesse en puaro a la gente
2. del real sin embargo que pueda
3. bam con ella el maestro de campo
4. capitán y goberndor a los qualez
5. mandava el dicho general que
6. no saliessen de lo que hordenase
7. y mandasse el dicho Juan Ruys
8. de la vega el qual dicen los tes-
9. tigos que fue de los potreros que sa-
10. lieron de las provinçias de Yucatan
11. que andose des poblaron y que quedo
12. el susso dicho bino a las provin-
13. zias de higueraç y honduras lle-
14. bo conmigo arma y cavallo y es
15. tavos de su serviçio y todo lo n??
16. stando todo lo demas de aquella
17. tierra aliado y de guerra en cuya
18. ocasion servio el dicho Juan ruys
19. de la vega a ynstançia del oyo
20. adelantado y del capital alon-
21. de cazeres en que ayudo a con-
22. quistar y pacificar sirviendo
23. en plaza de maestro de campo
24. a su costa y que estando toda la

page 21

1. tierra de guerra con muy grande
2. necesidad de socorro el dicho
3. Juan Ruys de la vega fue a la vi-
4. lla de San miguel sin camino
5. ni hombre que ?? supiesse en cuyo
6. camino perdio su cavallo que

7. le costo ciento y cinquenta pesos
8. y que ara proseguir en el servio
9. de su magestad compro otro por
10. ciento y setenta y llevo el soco-
11. rro que fue avido y tenido por
12. hijodalgo de las montañas
13. y quede hordinario sustento
14. huespedes assi en la guerra co-
15. mo fuera de ella partiendo
16. con ellos de lo que tenia y que tu-
17. bo yndios en encomienda des-
18. pachado por francisco del bar-
19. co en la villa de San Jorge
20. por el año de mill y queni-
21. entos y noventa en nobre
22. de su magestad en albaro perz

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1. bisabuelo paterno del que
2. pretende los pueblos de guapino-
3. lapa y jano cucyolpo Lagate-
4. ca tres barrios y ?tancraz en Re-
5. muneraçion de sustravajos y
6. gastos y de los servieros que hizo
7. a su magestad en la conquista
8. y pacificaçion de aquellas provincias
9. por probanza hecha en la villa
10. de San Jorge del balle de olancho
11. de la governazion de higueras
12. y honduraz por el año de mill
13. y quinientos y naxenta y nueve
14. por la justicia ;hordinaria de pe-
15. dimiento de albaro perez bisa-
16. buelo paterno del que pretende
17. hecha en birtud de real prore??
18. librada por los señores de la Real
19. Audiencia de los confines consta
20. por depoçion de nueve testigos
21. que el dicho albaro peres bisabue-

- 22.lo paterno del que pretende a-
- 23.yudo a pacificar los terminos

page 23

1. de la ciudad de San Pedro la con-
2. quista pacificar y poblar la oya
3. villa de San Jorge y sus terminos
4. en compania del capitan alonso
5. de cazeres con sus armas cavallos y
6. criados a su costa sin sueldo y que
7. aviendose ydo el dicho capitan alon-
8. so de cazeres a la villa de comaya-
9. gua que daron quarenta hon-
- 10.bres en la dicha ciudad de san jorge
- 11.de los quales se fueron los beyntes
- 12.y nueve por que no se podrian sus-
- 13.tentar y por los muchos trava-
- 14.jos de la conquista y por la guerra
- 15.que los yndios haçian neçeçidades
- 16.y ambres que pasaban quedand-
- 17.do solamente en guarda de a-
- 18.quella tierra onze españoles
- 19.ne uno dellos fue el dicho alba-
- 20.ro perez sustentando el suso dicho
- 21.que no sea cabasse de despoblar
- 22.y poniendose contra los que que-

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1. rian yrse estorbando el
2. que no se fuesen y que despues
3. de cinco messes de como se fue el dicho
4. capitan alonso de cazeres fue
5. el capitan francisco de albarco
6. al balle de olanco con catorze
7. o quinze hombres con los qualz-
8. y con los once que alli abian que-
9. dado sustentando la dicha villa de
- 10.san jorge la poblo le qual no se

11. consiguera sul dicho albarao pe-
12. res y los dies hombres que con el quo-
13. daran no ubieran sustentado
14. lo poblado passado muchos tra-
15. vajos de neçeçidad y guerra de
16. los yndios comiendo y ervaz y fru-
17. taz sin mantenimiento
18. de pan ni carne y despues de po-
19. blada la dicha villa de san jorge
20. fue el dich albarao peres a abrir
21. el camino de truxillo por estar
22. mandado assi por una real ze-
23. dula y llevo sonsigo algunos com-

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1. pañeros partee de ellos pagados
2. a su costa cuyo camino abrio des-
3. de la villa de san jorge hasta la ciudad
4. de truxillo en que paso mucho
5. trabajo por estan de guerra mucha
6. partte de aqueulla tierra en cuya
7. remuneracion y de los demas
8. serviçios del dicho albaro peres
9. hechos en la conquista de aquella
10. tierra le encomendo el dicho
11. capitan francisco de albarco el
12. pueblo de agateca estando de guerraz
13. y con la buena y yndustria del oyo
14. albaro peres hiso a los naturales
15. de el dan la obediencias a suma po?
16. rereduciendolos de pas y que despues
17. se le quito el dicho pueblo y seyneo
18. poro en la rreal hacienda = de-
19. ponen los testigos que el dich al-
20. baro peres fue hombre muy onra-
21. do y hijodalgo y que fue rregidor de
22. de la dicha villa = por provanza he-
23. cha a en esta ciudad de guathemala

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1. por el año de mill y quinientos
2. y nobenta y siete por mandado
3. de los señores de la rreal audien-
4. çia de pedimentto de sebrían de
5. [above the line - consta por deposizion de nuestros que sebrían de andino] andino bisabeulo matterno de
6. doña leonor horttis de oseguera
7. madre del que pretende fue casado
8. con maria de munguia hija le-
9. gittima de Juan de munguia y ??
10. Juan Hicotte, bisabuelo patterno
11. de su madre del que prettende fue
12. poblador de la ciudad de san salvador
13. y ve los primeros conquistadorez
14. de la dicha ciudad y su parttido en
15. donde sirvio abentajada mense
16. como buen soldado con sus armas
17. y cavallos, a su costa y que era de
18. nacion viscayno hijodalgo
19. nottorio y que diego de oseguera
20. ttio del pretendiente murio des
21. balazo en la battla que se a dicho
22. de jere miaz y que el dicho sebrían
23. de andino sirvio a su magestad

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1. en puerto de cavallos en todas las
2. ocasiones que se ofresieron a sus costa
3. con sus armas cavallos y negros sus-
4. tentando de hordinario dos o trez
5. soldados de los que fueron a ser-
6. vir a sum magestad y que en las oca-
7. siones que no puedo, acudir perzonal-
8. mente por estar enfermo con
9. tribujo para ayuda al gasto de la
10. gentte = por abbtto proveydo por el
11. señor doctor francisco desande pre-

12. sidentte que fue en esta rreal audiencia
13. a los sieyntte y nueve de noviembre
14. de mill y quinientos y noventa
15. y cinco años consta aver constado
16. por papeles sientos de la ciudad de
17. ttruxillo de la dicha provinçia de
18. honduraz que en la jornada ? se
19. hisso con la armada que salio de la
20. ciudad de ttruxillo contra franze-
21. ses cossarios que estavan en la ysla
22. de utila de guera general un
23. frances nobrado jeremias
24. murrieron entre los ?? fueron

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1. diego de oseguera bezino de la ziudad
2. de comayagua y otros peleando
3. en la battalla en serviçio de os??
4. y de su magestad por duyos serviçios
5. se mando por dicho señor presidense
6. que a sus herederos se les diessen
7. duplicadas las partez de la presa
8. que se hisso y en nombre de su ma-
9. gestad hisso mrd al que cassase con la
10. hermana mayhor del dicho diego de
11. oseguera de dan le una encomienda
12. de yndios y que a las otras her-
13. manaz se le diesse ttodos los años
14. de las ayudas de costa cinquenta
15. ttostones a cada una = por pro-
16. bança hecha en la ciudad de
17. ttruxillo de la dicha provinzia
18. de honduras por el año de mill seys-
19. cientos tresyntte ante el theniente
20. de governador de pedimiento de paz
21. parsolier de aaguido hijo ligiti-
22. mo de ana de quevedo consta por
23. depoçion de cinco ttestigos ?? elea-

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1. Pittan diego lopes abuelo patterno
2. del que prettende sirvio a su magestad
3. en la dicha ciudad de truxillo mas-
4. de veinte años en plaça de capitan
5. y que aviendo ttenido abiso de que
6. en la ysla de la guanaca entrava un
7. navio con yngleses para desalo-
8. xan los fue a la dicha ysla el dicho ca-
9. pitan diego lopez con gente de ynfan-
- 10.teria y un navio y hallandolos alo-
- 11.xados en la cass ade la comunidad
- 12.de la dicha ysla de la guanaxa ???
- 13.embistio el dicho capitan diego lopz
- 14.y mato y hirio la mayor partte de
- 15.los yngleses y prendio partte de ellos
- 16.los llevo a la ciudad de ttruxillo
- 17.adonde fueron ahorcados en que hizo
- 18.muy gran serviçio a su magestad
- 19.y bien al attreara y a los natturalz
- 20.de la dicha ysla = con los rrecaudos
- 21.presenttados esta traslado de dos
- 22.cartas que parecen de su magestad V.
- 23.critaz al dicho capitan diego lopez
- 24.sus ?? la una de aranjuez

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1. de quinze de mayo del año de
2. mill y quinientos settenta y
3. seis y la ottra delgardo de??
4. te y siete de septtiembre de mill y
5. qunientos y settenta y tres
6. en ?? dize su magestad al dicho
7. capitan diego lopezf haver rezucido
8. su cartta y haver enttendido por ella
9. lo que en aquella costa havia sub
- 10.zedido con los cosarios y el cuydado
- 11.con que el dicho capitan diego

12.lopez avia procurado la quanda
13.y defensa de la costa y tenerlo
14.en serviçio en cargandoles y man-
15.dandole que siempre tubiesse cuyda-
16.do como combenia y de supensa
17.se confiava y que en quanto a lo
18.que dezia de la nezeçidad que avia
19.de artilleria y muniziones
20.que y a estava mandado se em-
21.biasen a aquel puerto y que abisa
22.sse de lo que subcediesse y por la o-
23.ttra carta dize su magestad al dicho
24.capittan diego lopez haver bisto

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1. la suya con aviso se haver negado
2. a la costa de honduras un navio
3. de cosarios y aven salido a ellos con
4. cantidad de gentte y ttienden de lo, en
5. servicio, en cargandole hisiesse lo mis-
6. mo en ttodas las ocasionz que se o-
7. fiesiesse como de su persona y buen
8. telo se confiava = assi mesmo
9. esta con dicho recados presentados
10.traslado de un privilegio que pareze
11.librado por su magestad su datta
12.en madrid a tres de febrero del
13.año de mill y quinientos y setenta
14.y nueve que rrefiere que por parte
15.de el dicho capitan diego lopes bezino
16.de la ciudad y puertto de ttruxillo
17.de la provinzia de honduras se hizo
18.relaçion a su magestad que avia
19.mas de dies y seis años que avia pa-
20.sado a aquella tierra y que ent-
21.dose ellos avia a servido a su magestad
22.con su persona armas y cavallos
23.en susttentar poblar y defender
24.aquel puertto con mucho cuydado

25.y diligencia y teniendo muchas

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1. beçes su persona a peligro
2. por los muchos cosarios yngle-
3. ses y franceses que de hordinario
4. andavan en aquella costta
5. y que por ser nesaria su asistencia
6. en aquel puerto por pueno fiesse de
7. poblado y rrovado de cosarios el go-
8. bernador de aquella provincia eligio
9. y nombre al dicho diego lopes por ca-
- 10.pitan de la gente de el dicho puertto
- 11.de ttruxillo y le señalo doscientos pesos
- 12.de sueldo en cada un año y que aunque
- 13.no se podia sustenttar con ellos confor-
- 14.me a la calidad de su persona y car-
- 15.go = rsto que haciendo avzen era
- 16.el dicho capitán diego lopes de la dicha
- 17.dicha ciudad de ttruxillo pudiera
- 18.ser perdida yrrovada sustentto
- 19.su bezindad con grande gasto de
- 20.su hacienda procurando cues tras
- 21.muchas personas amigos y a llega-
- 22.dos suyos hisiessen lo mismo que
- 23.si ante lo qual yba en aumento
- 24.la bezindad y poblazon della dicha
- 25.ciudad de ttruxillo y haver srdo?

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1. de mucho frutto por ser llave de toda
2. la provincia y que al tiempo quelle
3. y aron a aquel puerto dos capitanz
4. franceses que se dezian Juan Buente po
5. y Juan bautista de La rroczelta con
6. dos navios de armada estuvio el dicho
7. capitán diego lopes con beyntte solda-
8. dos arcabuzeros guardando la puerta

9. y playa del puerto con much ani-
10.mo y ttoda buena horden con que
11.los dichos franceses no se atebieron a en
12.trar en el dicho puerto fue causa para
13.que no le rrobazen como otras bezes
14.lo havian hecho y que quando otro
15.navio frances llego a la ysla de la gua-
16.naxa a roscar las naos que eyban
17.a los reynos de españa fue el dicho ca-
18.pitan diego lopes el primero que salto
19.en ttiera en cuya occasion fueron
20.presos los franceses y se les tomo la nao
21.el que al dicho privilegio ??fiere??
22.ttudo lo rreferido consto por ynfor-
23.maziones que se dieron en el real
24.consejo de las yndias por duyo ser-

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1. biçio le conzedio su magestad
2. al dicho capitan diego lopez que
3. tubiesse por armas un escudo que en
4. medio del estubiesse una puertta
5. de una ciudad de pCatta Con ttrone-
6. xas y saetteraz y almenas sali-
7. endo de ella un hombre armado
8. con una rodela en la mano
9. ysquierda y en la derecha una es-
10.pada a comettiendo a dos leonz de coro
11.que esten sobre campo verde a co-
12.mettiendo al dicho hombre el uno
13.al lado ysquierdo y el otro al
14.derecho y avajo de ttodo unas aguaz
15.de mar azules y por ttimbre y
16.divissa un y elmo a biento con
17.plumajes azules blancos y colo-
18.rados con sus trascolez y de pende-
19.çias la follages de azul y oro las
20.uales dichas armas le cozedio
21.su magestad para el dicho capitan

22. diego lopes sus hijos y descendientes
23. y que las pudiesen poner en sus
24. reposteros cassas y gliciaz = servicio

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1. del pretendiente = por certificación
2. de Juan grancisco peres capitán
3. y Cavo que fue de las fragatas que sa-
4. lieron del puerto de truxillo en
5. busca del enemigo garabuc (quella
6. uo la caxoneria del golfo dulce)
7. su ?? en el puerto de truxillo
8. en veyntte y dos del julio del año
9. de sisientos y treyntta y ocho
10. consta que uno de los soldados que fue-
11. ron en esta ocasion fue el dicho
12. alonso de oseguera pretendiente
13. el qual en todas las ocasiones
14. que se fiessen en el biage fue
15. el primero que se puso a los ma-
16. yores riesgos y trabajos assi en la
17. mar como en la ysla de rruatan
18. donde se le quitto una lancha al
19. enemigo matando le la gente
20. que llevaba siendo siempre el
21. dicho alonso de oseguera el de la
22. manguardia y que en todas
23. las ocasiones que sean ofressida

page 36

1. de emboscada en el dicho puerto
2. y riesgos de enemigos que han sido
3. muchos dio muy buena cuenta
4. de su persona y valor el dicho alonso
5. de oseguera hallandolo siempre
6. muy valeroso soldado = por titu-
7. lo despachado en la ciudad de coma-
8. yagua en dies y seis de septiembre

9. del año de seisçientos y cinquenta
10.y tres por manuel mendes capitan
11.de ynfanterria española de la dicha
12.ciudad de comayagua por ttitulo
13.despachado. Por el señor lizençiado
14.con diego de abendaño siendo pre-
15.sidente en la rreal audienzia
16.que en esta ciudad rreside governador
17.y capitan general en su distrito
18.consta haver nobrado dicho ca-
19.pitan por alferes de su compania
20.al dicho alonso de oseguera y que-
21.bedo ~~pretendiente~~attendiendo
22.a sus parttez calidad y serviçios
23.y en partticular a los que hisso a
24.su magestad en la rrefriega-

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1. con el enemigo en la ysla de Rua-
2. tan y en otra en el balle de ttruxillo
3. peleando y guardando las hordenz
4. que se le dieron a su costa de que dio
5. buenna cuentta y por ser hijo nieto
6. y bisnierto de los primeros conques-
7. tadores y fundadores de las provincias
8. de honduras de cuyo nobramento
9. consta que pago el dicho alferes alon-
10.so de oseguera beyntte y nueve tosto-
11.nes y tres rreales por la media an?
12.en la rreal caixa de aquella provinçia
13.el qual dicho nombramiento de
14.alferes confirmo don juan de
15.bustamantte herrera cavallero
16.del horden de santiago governador
17.y capitan general de la dicha provincia
18.de honduras = consta assi mismo
19.de ttestimonio de escribano que el
20.dicho alferes alonso de oseguera
21.fue alcalde de la hermandad en la

- 22.dicha ciudad de comayagua y que en
- 23.las enttencia de su rrezidenzia le
- 24.declaro haver lesado el dicho cargo

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1. con toda justificazion = por
2. ynformacion hecha en la mis-
3. ma ciudad de comayagua por el
4. año de seisceintos y cienquenta y
5. quatro ante el governador de
6. aquella provinçia de pedimento
7. del dich alferes alonso de oseguera
8. y que uedo consta de la pettiçion
9. haver sido alcalde hordinario
- 10.en la dicha ciudad de comayagua
- 11.y de la ynformazion estan cassado
- 12.y uelado con doña maria de lara
- 13.y ttener por sus hijos ligitimos
- 14.a antonio, alonso , juana y leonor
- 15.meorez y aver sido el dicho alferes
- 16.alonso de oseguera ~~pre-sidente-tendi-~~
- 17.ente alcalde hordinario en la dicha
- 18.ciudad de comayagua el dicho año
- 19.de cinquenta y quatro y el de qua-
- 20.rentta y nueve alcalde de la hermandad
- 21.y alferes de ynfanteria b??o y aver
- 22.dado buena cuentta de ttodo y ttenes
- 23.casa poblada consta mas criados
- 24.cavallos para las ocaziones del

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1. servicio de su magestad coco persona
2. noble y de calidad descendientes de
3. casas solariegas de las monttañas
4. y del señorío de Viscaya y aver
5. servido en las ocasiones que se a dicho
6. de enemigos cosarios en el puertto
7. de santo thomas de castilla ysla

8. de utila maja y ruattan a su
9. costa sin sueldo alguno a ?? que se
10. dio a otros y en el puerto de truxi
11. llo y savanas de ylanpa pelean
12. jo con el enemigo consta a su mismo
13. que el dicho alferes alonso de soguera
14. pretendiente es hijo legitimo de
15. diego de quebedo y de doña leonor hor-
16. ttis de oseguera y que el eicho su padre
17. por via materna fue hijo legitimo
18. del capitán juan de quevedo nattu-
19. ral de las montañas y de maria
20. lopes y que fue de los primeros pobla-
21. dores de la dicha ciudad de truxillo
22. y tubo en ella oficios de republica
23. y ocupaciones militares como persona
24. de calidad consta de dicha informacion
25. que el dicho alonso de oseguera es ??

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1. nieto materna del capitán
2. diego lopes el dicho alferes alonso
3. de oseguera pretendiente es ^nieto hijo legitimo
4. por via materna de lo app
5. alonso de oseguera y de doña maria
6. hortiz de pedraza y descendiente
7. por ambas lineas maternas y ma-
8. terna de los meritos y servicios
9. de Juan Ruys de la Vega su bisabuelo
10. materno y de los de alcaro peres
11. hortiz su bisabuelo materno ??
12. de manguia y Juan hicote fue-
13. ron conquistadores de las provincias
14. de honduras higuera Yucatan
15. rio de grixalva san salvador
16. y otras partes de las yndias de to-
17. do lo qual de ponen los testigos de
18. publico y notorio publica ba y fa-
19. ma y que la dicha doña maria de la-

- 20.ra muger del dicho alferes alonso
- 21.de oseguera y que uedo prettendiente
- 22.es hijo ligitima de Anttonio de Lara
- 23.y de doña Ysavel mexia nietta
- 24.por via patterna de francisco de lara
- 25.y de Ynes de mercado y por la ma-

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1. terna de balthassar mexia y de doña
2. francisca de monterrojo primeros
3. pobladores de la provincia de hondu-
4. ras y que los padres abuelos y bisabue
5. los y azendientes del dicho alferes alon-
6. so de oseguera y quevedo y los de la dicha
7. doña maria de lara su muger fue-
8. ron christianos viejos limpios de ttodoa
9. mala raza de moros judios ni de
- 10.los nueva mente conquistadores
- 11.bertidos y que fueron personas de cali-
- 12.dad = como todo lo rreferido consta de
- 13.las probanças y de mas rrecaudos
- 14.presentados por el dicho alferez alonso
- 15.de oseguera a que me rrefiero guatthe-
- 16.mala doce de henero de mill y seis
- 17.cientos y sesentta y dos años = Anttonio
- 18.marttines de ferrera = el qual dicho
- 19.memorial susso yncerto mandelo
- 20.brese el señor fiscal de dicha rreal audiencia
- 21.lizenciado Don Pedro Frasso que lo es
- 22.en ella queres pondio lo que se sigue
- 23.el fiscal dice que en considerazion
- 24.de los muchos y partticulares
- 25.servicios que los azendientes desta
- 26.partte han hecho a su magestad y a

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1. si mismo los de su muger y a los que
2. esta partte en diferentes ocaziones

3. a hecho por su persona podra buessa
4. siendo servido hazerle mrd la que
5. hubiere lugar en sattisfacion y re-
6. munerazion de ellos para que a su
7. exemplo los demas sea delantem
8. al mayor serviçio de su magestad
9. guatemala cattorce de henero
- 10.de seisçientos y sessenta y dos = y
- 11.en considerazion de los meritos y
- 12.servicios personales del dicho alferez
- 13.alonso de oseguera y quebedo y ??
- 14.sus azcendienttes y por que no se premi-
- 15.an con partte de las rrentas de las Va-
- 16.canttes refereidas y attento a la corte
- 17.de ellas assido presisso Unirlas ttodas
- 18.las quales como queda dicho montan-
- 19.sus ttributos mill seisçientos y dies
- 20.tostones y dos rreales de los quales per-
- 21.tenecen al derecho de la armada de
- 22.barloventto la quintta partte que son
- 23.tresçientos y veyntte y dos tostones
- 24.los quals sacados de la suertte prin-
- 25.cipal que dan mil dosçienttos y o-
- 26.chenta y ocho ttostones y dos rreales

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1. los quales yo por el presentte en nom-
2. bre de su magestad y en birttud de
3. los pderes que suyos ttengo los deposito
4. y encomiendo por ttitulo de nueva
5. encomienda en el dicho alferes
6. alonso de oseguera y quebedo para que
7. los goce por dos bidas la suya y la de
8. un heredero ensegunda conforme
9. a la ley, de la subcesion con cargo
- 10.que a de dar de los dichos mill dosçientos
- 11.y ochentta y ocho tostonez y dos Reales
- 12.que assi se le encomiendan los dos-
- 13.cientos y ochenta y ocho tostones

14. y dos reales en cada un año de
15. Pinçion a Doña Maria lazo de
16. San Ramon, bezina de la ciudad
17. de Comayagua de la dicha provinçia de
18. honduras hija legitima de lirban?
19. de turcios para que la susso dicha lo
20. goce ttodo el ttiempo de su vida en
21. el estado que ttubiere de religiosa o
22. cassada y por muertte de la dicha
23. Pençonaria a de que dar como desde
24. luego para quando llegue el casso que da
25. la propiedad de lla dicha pinçion

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1. en el dicho alonso de soeguera
2. y su heredero en segunda vida
3. y declaro que dicho encomendero
4. y pinçonaria an de pagar cada
5. uno la media anatta que le tocasse
6. diesmo y doctrina y el augmentto
7. o disminuçions en dichos pueblos hubie-
8. re ttodas las beces que se conttaren a de
9. correr por cuenta de los susdichos
10. y el derecho de barlobentto a cada
11. uno lo que le ttocare y ande pagar
12. prorratta la limosna de cinco y azeite
13. que su magestad manda a la rreli-
14. giones de la qual dicha rrenta pin-
15. çion y quanto an de comenzar
16. a goçar el encomendero pinçiona-
17. ria y derecho de barlovento desde
18. veyntte y nueve de abril del año
19. correinte en adelante porque todo
20. lo caydo perteneçe a ttributos vacos
21. y a cada yntteresado se le a de dar
22. ttitulo apartte para la cobranza
23. que los tres cientos y veyntte y dos
24. ttostones que ymportta el quinto

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1. Por el presentte los sittuo y señalo
2. en los ttributtos de los puebloz de tta-
3. ttumbla utila y munguiche en esta
4. manera = çiento y ochenta y cinco
5. tostonez y dos rrealz en el pueblo de tta-
6. ttumbla, los qualz se an de cobbran
7. en dies y seitte manttas quanrentta
8. gallinas y ttreyntta y una fanegas
9. de mays a balia desas manttas
- 10.a siete tostones las gallias a dos Reales
- 11.y el mays a seis rreales y ciento y
- 12.treçe ttostonez y dos realz sittuo
- 13.y señalo en el pueblo de utila que se an
- 14.de cobrar en diez mantas ttreynta
- 15.y seis gallinas y dies y siete fanegas
- 16.de mays a los dichos precios y los veyn-
- 17.te y tres ttostones y ttres rreales res-
- 18.ttanttes Los señalo en el pueblo de
- 19.de munguiche que se an de cobrar
- 20.en treynta y cinco conttes de cacao
- 21.seiz galloinas y dos ganegas y media
- 22.de mays = el cacao a raxon de qua-
- 23.rentta ttostones carga y lo demas a los
- 24.dichos precios con lo qual queda ente-
- 25.rado el quinto = y declaro que atento
- 26.a que sum magestad tiene mandado

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1. que el an renta que un aves? Segun
2. ttare no se cuinte mas quanco
3. llegue el casso de boluerse a encomen-
4. dar esta encomienda no a de quintar
5. y el dicho encomendero alonso
6. de oseguera a de cobrar los mill
7. ttostones que le ttocan librer de quinto
8. y pinçion en esta manera = del
9. pueblo de chapuluca çiento y beyntte

10. y tres tostonez y tres reales en diez
11. mantas de a quatro piernas
12. veynnte y dos fanegas y media de
13. mays y quarenta gallinas a bali-
14. ado los mantas a seitte ttostones
15. las gallinas a dos reales y el mays
16. a seis = y del pueblo de ttamara
17. a de cobrar çiento y quarentta y ocho
18. ttostones y tres reales que es lo que
19. bale la mittad de los ttributos
20. de el que ttocan a esta bacantte en doce
21. mantas y tres piernas çinquenta
22. gallinas y veynnte y tres gallinas
23. fanegas de mays a los dichos precios
24. y del pueblo de ojaxona a de cobrar
25. sesentta y un ttostones que es lo que
26. bale la mitad de los ttributos

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1. de el que ttocan a esta encomienda
2. en quarentta y seis ttostonz en rreal-
3. les doce gallinas y seis ganegas de
4. mays a los dichos precios = y del pueblo
5. de tteupazentte a de cobrar sesentta y
6. nueve ttostones que es lo que balen to-
7. dos los ttributtos de el, en cinco man-
8. ttas y dos piernas beyntte y dos ga-
9. llinas y ttreçe fanegas de mays a los
10. dichos precios = y del pueblo de peumbara
11. a de cobrar beyntte y seis ttostones
12. y dos reales en diez piernas de mantas
13. quatro fanegas y media de mays
14. quatro gallinas y una polla a los dichos
15. precios = y del pueblo de cottaçial
16. a de cobrar quarentta y seis ttostones
17. en diez y ocho piernas de mantta siete
18. fanegas de mays y ocho gallinas
19. a baliado a seitte reales pierna de
20. mantta y lo demas a los dichos pre-

21. cios = y del pueblo de gualaco a de
22. cobrar ochenta y tres ttostones
23. y ttres rreales en ttreyntta y ttres
24. piernas de mantta treçe fanegas

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1. de mays = y ttreçe gallinas
2. a los dichos precios = y del pueblo de
3. saguay a de cobrar quarenta y ocho
4. ttostones y ttres rreales en dies y
5. nueve piernas de mantta siette
6. fanegas y media de mays ocho
7. gallinas y una polla a los dichos precios
8. y del pueblo de çapotta a de cobrar
9. treyntta y ocho ttostones en catorçe
10. piernas de manta siette fanegas
11. de mays y seis gallinas a los dichos
12. precios = y de la mittad del pueblo
13. de mantto a de cobrar beyntte y
14. dos ttostones en ocho piernas de
15. mantta quattro fanegas de
16. mays y quatro gallinas a los dichos
17. precios = y del pueblo de xano a de
18. cobrar çientto y quinze ttostones
19. y un rreal en quarentta y quatro
20. piernas de mantta diez y nueve
21. fanegas de mays dies y nueve ga-
22. llinas y una polla a los dichos precios
23. y del pueblo de quelequele a de
24. cobrar settenta y tres tostones

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1. y dos rrealz en ciento y ocho sontz
2. de cacao y no ottra cosa a rrazon
3. de quarenta tostones carga = y
4. del pueblo de timohol a de cobrar
5. settenta y nueve ttostones en ziento
6. y dies y seis conttes de cacao a dicho pre-

7. cio = y en el pueblo de ttomala
8. a de corar ttreynta y un ttostones
9. en dos mantas y tres piernaz qua
10. tro fanegas y media de mays y dies
11. gallinas a los dichoss precios = y del
12. pueblo de guacao a de cobrar treynta
13. y dos ttostones en dies y ocho ttosto-
14. nes en rreales dies gallias y seys
15. ganegas de mays a los dichos precios
16. con que queda entterado el dicho
17. encomendero de los mill ttostones
18. que le ttocan libres de quinto y pin-
19. çion = y a la dicha pinçonaria se le
20. señala su pinçon en los ttributos
21. de los pueblos de guarabuqui, maz-
22. ca chinda opoa guancapla y yngri
23. gula para cuya cobranza se le dara
24. despacho apartte en averndo ente-
25. rado la media anatta y lo demas que le

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1. tocare = y declaro que en con-
2. formidad del rreal aranzel
3. que ttratta de la media anatta
4. enttero el dicho encomendero
5. dosçientos y cinquenta ttostones
6. de la primera paga de conta de
7. de los mill ttostones de dicha encomienda
8. y aseguro ottra ttanta canttidad de
9. la segunda paga con mas el valor
10. de los ttributos de los primeros
11. quattro messes aplica dos para
12. ayuda al rreparo de las casas de
13. esta ciudad por havesse determi-
14. nado assi en junta de Real Ha-
15. cienda que ese hisso para buscare fectos
16. de que haziersse sin ttocar a los de la
17. Real Hacienda del qual en tteno
18. consta dezirttificasion de los jueses

19. oficiales de la rreal caxa desta
20. cortte cuyo ttenor es como se sigue
21. en guatemala en quatro de
22. mayo de mill y seisçientos y
23. sesenta y dos pago y meddtio en la
24. real caxa de nuestro cargo el capitan

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1. joseph Augustin destrada
2. vezino y rregidor desta ciudad en
3. nombre de la alferes alonso
4. de oseguera y quebedo becino de la
5. ciudad de comayagua doscientos y
6. cinquenta tostones por el derecho
7. de la media anata antigua de la
8. primera paga de conado que corres-
9. ponden a mill tostonz de rrenta
10. de que lea hecho mrd el gobierno
11. superior por dos bidas conforme a la
12. ley del la subçesion sittuados en ttri-
13. butos de dibersos pueblos de la provinçia
14. de honduraz y los ottros dosçientos
15. cinquenta tostones que a de pagar le
16. segunda al pimero mes de la segun-
17. do año del goce de dicha merzed los
18. dexo asegurados confiança que otorga
19. el dicho cappitan Josseph augustin de
20. estrada y consta de ttestimonios de
21. antonio martines de ferrera
22. scrivano de camara y mayor de
23. governacion a que nos remittimos
24. este dia vexo el susso dicho aseguradaz

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1. los quatro messez que ymportan
2. ttresçientos y ttreyntta y tres ttostones
3. un rreal y doze mvs. Confianza
4. que dio y ottorgo el dicho capitan Joseph

5. Augustin de estrada obligandosse
6. a pagar los en esta caixa para ma-
7. ??dad deste año aplicados para la o-
8. bra de estas cassas rrealz conforme
9. al ttestimonio de dicho scribano
- 10.de carmara = Don Francisco de monto-
- 11.ya y balencia = don augustin
- 12.mattutte = concuerdacon la par-
- 13.ttida original escriptta y cargada
- 14.en el libro rreal deste derecho
- 15.a ??nos remittimos don francisco
- 16.de montto y a Yvalencia don
- 17.augustin mattute = y la dicha
- 18.mrd le ago al dicho encomendero
- 19.y pinçionaria con cargo y obligazion
- 20.que an de ttener de enseñar e yn-
- 21.dustriar a los naturalez de los
- 22.pueblos que a la da uno ttocare en las
- 23.cossas de Nuestra santta fee catho-
- 24.lica y pagar diezmo doctrina

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1. sobre que les encargo la conciencia
2. y des cargo la de su magestad y larma
3. en su rreal nombre y con que
4. guarden las zedulas y hordenanzas
5. reales hechas y qeu se hisieren en fa-
6. bor de los yndios para su augmentacion
7. y conservaçion = y assi mesmo
8. a de ser obligado el dicho encomendero
9. dentro de quanttro años primeros
- 10.siguietes conttados de do y ?? de la
- 11.?? a de esta ttitulo a ttraer confir-
- 12.maçion de su magestad de esta enco-
- 13.mienda y de la pinçikon attento
- 14.a que le e dado la propedad de ella
- 15.y si denttro del dicho ttermino no
- 16.la ttruxere pierda la dicha renta
- 17.y sus ttributos cobraran los ofi-

18. ciales de la rreal hacienda desta cor-
19. te para que pongan su procedido
20. en la rreal caixa de su cargo con-
21. formelo mandado en esta rrazon
22. pur su magestad y para efecto de
23. pedir la dicha confirmazion
24. ave ynbiar poder expecial

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1. y bastantte a persona que en nombre de
2. el dicho alonso de oseguera la pida
3. en el rreal conejo de las yndias
4. y para que sigz con el señor fiscal de el
5. o Con otra persona que sea o se mues-
6. tre parte qualquier pleyto demanda
7. con tradicion o diferencia ?? en
8. esta rrazona ya o se ponga en ttodo
9. ynstancias hasta la concluzion y oy?
10. senttencia para lo qual desde luego
11. lezitto y emplzo la perzivo que
12. en su auziencia yrrevel dia se
13. haran y nottificaran los autos
14. y sentencias en los estrados del
15. dicho rreal consejo y le paraaran el
16. mesmo que ex juicion que si en su
17. persona se nottrificassen sin que
18. senescitte de otro llamamiento
19. ni a perzebimento = y mando a loas
20. justiciās de la dicha provincia de
21. honduras en cuya jurisdiccion estan
22. los dichos pueblos den y hagan dar
23. la posecion de ellos al dicho encomendero
24. declarando a los naturalz la cantidad
25. con que an de acudir al susodicho

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1. y en la dicha posecion le ampren y
2. defiendan y no consienttan que sea

3. desposeydo sin que primero sea oydo
4. y bensido lo qual cumplan pena de
5. cada doscientos pesos para la Real
6. Camara y que de este titulo ttomen
7. la rrazon el señor fiscal de esta
8. real audiençia y los oficiales de la
9. real hazienda de esta corte susdicho
- 10.en la ciudad de Santiago de Guattemala
- 11.en dies dias del mes de mayo de
- 12.mill y seisientos y sesentta y
- 13.dos años = Don Martin carlos de
- 14.mencos = Por mandado de sus seño
- 15.ria = Antonio Marttines de
- 16.ferrera -----
- 17.El docttor Don diego de balber de
- 18.horosco que haze oficio de fiscal ttomo
- 19.la razon de este titulo guatthemala
- 20.y mayo onse de mil y seisçientos y
- 21.sesentta y dos años -----
- 22.queda tomada la rrazon a la
- 23.lettra de este real ttitulo en esta
- 24.caxa y conttaduria de guatthe-
- 25.mala en onse de mayo de mill
- 26.y seis çientos y sesentta y dos años
- 27.Don francisco de monttoya y valençia

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1. Don agustin mattutte -----
2. En la ziudad de comaya
3. gua en doce dias del mes de junio
4. de mill y seis çientos y sesentta
5. y dos años antte Don diego de
6. olmedo y ormaza gobernador
7. y capittan general de esta pro-
8. vinçia se presentto esta petizion
9. por el conthenido en ella -----
- 10.El alferes alonso de szegue-
- 11.ra y quebedo vezino y pro-
- 12.curador cindico de esta ciudad

13. como mas aya lugar digo = que
14. comon constta y pareze de este
15. ttitulo que presentto en forma
16. legal anm se me hizo merced de
17. una encomienda en yndios
18. bacos en esta provinçia hasta
19. en cantidad de quinienttos
20. pessos como del dicho ttitulo pa-
21. reze en el qual se hordena
22. se me haga dar la poseçion de
23. dicha encomienda y pueblos
24. en ella señalados y por que de
25. presentte se hallan en esta
26. dicha ciudad los alcaldes y

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1. regidores de los pueblos de
2. chapuluca = y de guacao de esta
3. jurisdiccion combiene a mi ??
4. V. Md. Se sirva de mandar que
5. el aguacil mayor de esta dicha
6. ciudad o qualquiera de sus the-
7. nientes me deposeçion de los
8. dos pueblos referidos come-
9. ttiendolo en forma yntterpo-
10. niendo en ello su autoridad
11. y decreto judicial para que balga
12. y haga fee en jesu cristo y fiera de
13. y que se me entregue origin
14. con dicho ttitulo para usar
15. de mi derecho mediante lo
16. qual = V. Md. Pido y
17. suplico con vista de dicho
18. ttitulo asi lo probea y mande
19. que en ello resevire merçed
20. con justizia que pido y en lo
21. necessario vecina = Alonso de
22. oçeguera y quebedo -----
23. Vista por su merçed del

24. dicho gobernador Dixo que el
25. alguacil mayor de esta dicha

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1. ciudad o a qualquiera de sus
2. thenientes le de la posezion
3. velc uasi de los pueblos que
4. refiere el alferes alonso de
5. ozeguera y quebedo en la qual
6. desde luego su merçed le am-
7. para en nombre de su magestad
8. y fue entriegue este auto y
9. las poseziones originales para
10. que Ose de su derecho en que
11. su merçed yntterpone su attori-
12. dad y decreto judicial y assi lo
13. probayo mando y comettio = Don
14. Diego de olmedo y ormaza =
15. ante mi Bernabe Rox el scrivano
16. rreal -----
17. En la çiuudad de comayagua en
18. treçe dias del mes de Junio de
19. mill y seisçientos y sesentta y
20. dos años ce alferes alonso de
21. ozeguera quebedo vezino della
22. por ante mi el scrivano requiro
23. a antonio de suniga theniente
24. de alguaçil mayor de esta ciudad
25. le de la posezion u el cua assi que
26. por el auto de ariva se manda

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1. por lo que toca al pueblo de cha-
2. puluca en dos yndios que estavan
3. presenttes en cuio cumplimiento
4. cd dicho ttheniente preguntto a los
5. dichos dos yndios sus nombres y de
6. que pueblo eran y refirio a como

7. llamanse Lucas Sanches y ser
8. alcalde de hordinario este presente
9. año del pueblo de chapoluca = y
10. el otro dixo llarse Miguel
11. Sanches y ser alguaçil mayor del
12. dicho pueblo y que avian benido a
13. esta dicha çiudad en bos y nombre
14. de los demas yndios y comun
15. del dicho su pueblo aber a su en-
16. comendero por aber thenido
17. nottiçia lo era el dicho alferes
18. alonso de ozeguera quien los
19. coxio por la mano de mandato
20. del dicho tthenientte y les hizo
21. algunas pregunttas y en señal
22. de poseçion les mando mudaser
23. unas ttinaxas de agua que esta
24. van en una sala de una par-
25. tte a otra diziendo que en dicho
26. yndios y otros llama Don
27. Geronimo de Grandes principal

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1. del dicho pueblo que se hallo pre-
2. sentte aprehendra la posezion
3. uelcuasi del dicho pueblo en
4. la qual el dicho tthenientte
5. dixo le an parava en nombre
6. de su magestad para que no sea des
7. poseydo sin scrprimero oydo y
8. por fiero y derecho bensido com-
9. formelo dispuesto en esta razon
10. y de aber passado asi y no aber
11. abido contra dizon de persona
12. alguna lo pidio por testimonio
13. el qual doy segun que me son puedo
14. y de Do a lugar y lo firmaron
15. siendo ttestigos el alferes Joseph
16. de la Torre Juan de Xeres y Marcos

17.Lazo de la Vega presenttes = Antonio
18.de Suniga = Alonso de Ozeguera
19.y Quebedo = en fee de lis losigne
20.en testimonio de verdad =Ber-
21.nave Rox el scrivano rreal -----
22.En la ciudad de comayagua en
23.el dicho dia ttreze de junio de mill
24.y seisçientos y sesentta y dos años
25.el alferes alonso de ozeguera que-
26.bedo por ante mi el scrivano requi-
27.rio con el auto de la foxa antes
28.a Antonio de Zuniga theniente

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1. de alguaçil mayor de esta dicha
2. ziadad para que le de la poseçion de
3. la encomienda de que se le hizo
4. merçed por es que toda al pueblo de
5. l guacao en dos yndios que estaban
6. presenttes del en cuio cumplimiento
7. el dicho ttheniente preguntto a dichos
8. yndios como se llamaban y de que
9. pueblo sean y refirieron el uno
10.nobrase Andres Lopez Alcalde
11.y el otro Marcos Lopez alguaçil.
12.mayor ambos ofiziales de este pre-
13.sentte año del dicho pueblo del gua-
14.cao y que en nombre de su pueblo
15.avian benido a ver al dicho alferes
16.Alonso de Oçeguera por saver ser
17.en el eraya su encomendero
18.mendiantte lo qual el dicho theni-
19.ente coxio los dichos dos yndios
20.y los entrego al dicho alonso de
21.oseguera quien enseñal depo-
22.seçion les dixo algunas razones
23.y les mando mudar una tina-
24.xas de agua que estaban en una
25.sala a otro lugar y dixo que en

26.dichos yndios tomava la poses-
27.çion vel cuasi del dicho pueblo

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1. en la qual le amparo el
2. dicho tthenientte en forma
3. como su magestad lo manda
4. y de aver passado el acto refe-
5. rido sin contrr diszion alguna lo
6. pidio por ttestimonio el qual doy
7. segun que mejor puedo y de don
8. a lugar y lo firmaron siendo
9. ttestigos marcos Lazo Joan de
- 10.Xeres y Joseph de la Torre = An-
- 11.tonion de Zuniga = Alonso de
- 12.Ozeguera y quebedo = sen fee
- 13.de ello lo signe en testimonio
- 14.de verdad = Bernave Rox el
- 15.Scrivano Real -----
- 16.en la ciudad de comayagua
- 17.en beintte y seis dias del mes
- 18.de Junio de mill y seisçien-
- 19.tos y sesentta y dos años ante
- 20.Don Diego de Olmedo y Ormaza
- 21.gobernador y Capittan general
- 22.de esta provinçia por su magestad
- 23.se presentto esta pettizion -----
- 24.El alferex Alonso de Ozeguera
- 25.Quebedo vezino de esta ciudad
- 26.como mas ay a lugar digo =

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1. que como consta y pareze de
2. este titulo que presentto en for-
3. ma legal a mi se me hizo merçed
4. de una encomienda en cantti-
5. dad de quinienttos pesos en di-
6. ferenttes pueblos de esta provin-

7. cia y combiene por lo que toca a los
8. pueblos de ttamara ojojona y tte-
9. upasentte ynclussos en dicho titulo
10. se me deposeçion velcuasi de los
11. pueblos referidos haziendose
12. dicho actto en los yndios que se halla
13. en esta ciudad amparandome en
14. ella pues se dispone asi en dicho
15. ttiulo comettiendolo al alqua-
16. çil mayor de esta ciudad o a qual-
17. quiera de sus tthenienttes para
18. lo qual = A V. Md. Pido y suplico
19. con bista de dicho ttitulo asi lo
20. probea y mande que sen ello refe-
21. vire merçed con justizia que pido
22. juro en form lo neçessario Vezino
23. Alonso de oceguera y quebedo ----
24. Vista por su merçed del dicho
25. gobernador y a ttitulo pre-
26. senttado mando que el alquaçil

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1. mayor de esta dicha ciudad o a qual-
2. quiera de sus tthenienttes en
3. dich ofizio le den poseçion vel-
4. quasi al dicho alferes alonso
5. de ozeguera quebedo de los pueblos
6. que refiere en su pedimiento
7. attento a constar por el titulo
8. aberse le encomendado en la qual
9. dicha poseçion se amparado co-
10. mo su magestad lo manda que
11. desde luego lo haze y que se le
12. entregue este auto y lo que en su
13. birttud se obrare originalmen-
14. te en todo lo qual yntterpone
15. su autoridad y deçertto jundicial
16. y asi lo prebeyo mando y firmo
17. Don diego de Oledo y Ormaza

18. ante mi Bernave de Roxel scrivano
19. real -----
20. en la ciudad de comayagua
21. en el dicho die beintte y seis de
22. junio de mill y seisçientos y
23. sesentta y dos años por ante mi
24. el scrivano el alferes Alonso
25. de ozeguera Quebedo requierio con
26. el auto de arriba a Antonio

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1. de Zuniga theniente de al-
2. guaçil mayor de esta dicha ciudad
3. para que le metta en poseçion
4. por lo que ttoca al pueblo de ttamara
5. en tres yndios que estaban pre-
6. senttes del dicho pueblo en duia vir-
7. ttud el dicho theniente pregunto
8. a los dichos yndios que eran ladi-
9. nos de donde eran y que nombrew
10. y ofizios thenian y respondi-
11. ron el uno llamanse Fernando
12. Lopez y ser alcalde y el otra Mi-
13. guel Martin regidor y el ulti-
14. mo Joan Garcia alguacil todos
15. naturales y ofiziales de re-
16. publica de esta presentte año
17. en el dicho pueblo de ttamara
18. mediante lo qual el dich the-
19. niente los coxio por la mano
20. y los entrego al dicho alferes
21. alonso de ozeguera quebedo
22. y en ellos le dio la psezion
23. belcuasi del dicho su pueblo y en-
24. señal de ella les mando mu-
25. dasen unas ttinaxas de auga
26. de una parte a otra y lo hi-
27. çieron refiriendo dichos yndios

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1. avian benido en nombre del
2. dicho su pueblo a visttar al dicho
3. alonso de ozeguera por aber
4. ttendio notticia fue abia en-
5. comendado el dicho su pueblo
6. y de aver passado asi el dicho
7. actto y aprehendido la dicha
8. posezion quieta y pasifica-
9. mente y sin sontra dizion al-
- 10.guna me lo pidio por ttestimo-
- 11.nio el susso dicho el qual doy
- 12.segun qui mejor puedo y de do
- 13.a lugar siendo testigos Joseph
- 14.de la Torre Joan de Xeres yMi-
- 15.guel de Jaldibar presenttes
- 16.y lo firmaron = Antonio de
- 17.Suniga = Alonso de Ozeguera
- 18.y Quebedo = en fee de ello
- 19.hago mi signo en ttestimonio
- 20.de berdad Bernave Roxel
- 21.scrivano real -----
- 22.[margin posezion del pueblo de ojojona] En la ciudad de Comayagua
en pri-
- 23.mero de julio de mil seisçien-
- 24.tos y sesentta y dos años por ante
- 25.mi el scrivano el alferes Alonso
- 26.de Ozeguera quebedo requirro con
- 27.el auto de la for a anttes destas

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1. a Anttonio de Zuniga ttheniente de
2. algauçil mayor de esta çiudad para
3. que le meta en la posesión que se
4. manda por lo que ttoca al pueblo de
5. ojojona en ttres yndikos que esta-
6. van presenttes por ser uno de
7. los pueblos señalados en el ttitulo

8. de encomienda que le feu despa-
9. chado en cura? Virttud el dicho the-
- 10.nientte preguntto a los dichos
- 11.yndios que eran ladinos en len-
- 12.gua casttellaqna de que pueblo eran
- 13.y que nombres yo fieros ttenian
- 14.y respondieron el uno llamarse
- 15.Joan marttin y ser alcalde y
- 16.ottro Pedro gonsales regidor y
- 17.el ultimo miguel vasquez
- 18.alguaçil mayor todos tres natu-
- 19.ales y oficiales de Republica
- 20.de este presentte año entre dicho
- 21.pueblo de ojaxona mediante el
- 22.qual el dicho ttenientte los co-
- 23.xio por la mano y los entrego
- 24.al dich alferex alonso de
- 25.ozeguera y entre los le dio la
- 26.posesion uel cuasi del dich pueblo

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1. y en señal de ?? los mando
2. a los dichos yndios mudasen unas
3. ttinaxas de agua de una partte
4. a otra las quales estavan en una
5. sala y es hisieron refieriendo
6. dichos yndios aver benido en nombre
7. del dicho su pueblo avisrttar al dicho
8. alonso de ozeguera por aver thenido
9. notticia que era su encomendero
- 10.y jel dicho thenientte dixo
- 11.que en nombre de su magestad
- 12.le ampara en la dicha posesion
- 13.y de aver passado el actto referido
- 14.sin contrtabension de ttereero
- 15.lo pidio por testimonio el suso
- 16.dicho el qual doy segun que me
- 17.jor puedo y de derecho al lugar
- 18.y lo firmaron siendo ttestigos

19. el alferes Joseph de la torre
20. Joan rodrigues de palasios y
21. Joan de xeres presenttes =
22. Antonio de Zuniga = Alonsso
23. de Ozaguera y quebedo = en fee
24. de ?? hago mi signo en ttes-
25. ttimonio de berdad = Bernave
26. Roxel scrivano real

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1. [margin Posezion del pueblo de ttopasentte] En la zitudad de Comayagua
2. en cinco dias del mes de jullio
3. de mill y seisçientos y sesentta
4. y dos años por antte mi el scrivano
5. el alfares alonso de oseguera
6. y quebedo requirio con ?? auto de
7. las dos foras antes de esta a Antonio
8. de zuniga thenientte de alguazil
9. mayor de esta zitudad para que le de
10. la posesion que se manda por lo que
11. ttoca al pueblo de teupaqsentte en
12. dos yndios que estaban presenttes
13. por ser uno de los pueblos señalados
14. en su ttitulo de encomendero
15. en cuia virttud el dicho thenien-
16. te preguntto a los dichos yndios que
17. eran ladinos de que pueblo eran
18. que nobres y ofisios thenian
19. y respondieron el uno llamarse
20. Miguel hernandes y ser alcalde
21. y el otro Joan vasques regidor
22. ambos naturales y ofisiales
23. de republica este presentte año
24. en el dicho pueblo de teupasente
25. mediantte lo queal el dicho thenien-
26. te los coxio por la mano y los
27. enttrego al dicho alferes alonso

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1. de ozeguera y en ?? le dio la
2. posesion vel cu asi del dicho pueblo
3. y en señal de ella les mando
4. a los dichos yndios quetar unas
5. tinaxas de agua que estavan en
6. una sala y lo hiseron refi-
7. riendo los dichos yndios aver be-
8. nido en nobre del dicho su pueblo
9. a visitar al dicho alonso de ozeguera
10. por aber tthenido nottisia era
11. su encomendero y asi mismo avi-
12. an benido ottros seis? yndios prin-
13. cipales que se allaron presentes
14. a este actto del qual me pidio ttes-
15. timonio de aver passado quieta
16. y pacificamentte y sin contra-
17. diçion alguna el cual doy segun
18. que mejor puedo y de ?? a lugar
19. ? el dicho tthenientte dixo que
20. en nombre de su magestad ampara
21. al dicho alonso de ozeguera en
22. la poseçion que a aprehendido
23. y lo firmo con el susso dicho tes-
24. ttigo joseph de la ttorre miguel
25. de falduiar y Joan de xerex
26. presenttes = Antonion de zuniga
27. alonso de ozeguera y quebedo

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1. En fe de ello hago mi signo
2. en testimonio de berdad = ber-
3. nave Roxel scribano real -
4. [margin poder] En la ciudad de Comayagua
5. en dies dizas del mes de junio de
6. mil y seisçienttos y sesentta y
7. dos años ante mi el scrivano y
8. testigos el alferes alonso de oze-

9. guerra y quebedo bezino y procurador
10. zindico de esta dicha ciudad a quien
11. ?? fie conosco ottorgo su poder cum-
12. plido el que de ?? se requiere
13. a Joan fernandes vesino del
14. partido de olancho especialmente
15. te para que sen su nombre y repre-
16. sentando su persona en birtud
17. del tittulo que se la despacho por
18. el gobierno superior del encomen-
19. dero en esta probinçia parasca ante
20. las justiçias de su magestad que
21. con derecho deba y en birtud del
22. pida se le de posesion de los pueblos
23. de xano = saguay = gualaco = manto
24. zapotta = cottaseale = y punuala del
25. dicho partido de olancho men-
26. sionados y señalados en el dicho
27. titulo y merced que fue hizo

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1. y la tome en su noble real con-
2. poral actual velcuasi en la
3. qual pida amparo y hasta que
4. tenga efecto y se consiga la poses-
5. çion de dichos pueblos haga todos
6. los pedimentos autos juramen-
7. tos y diligencias judiciales y
8. extra judiciales convenientes
9. que el poder que es necesario para
10. lo referido es el le da y ottorga con
11. general administracion y rele-
12. bacion en forma y para que le
13. remitalos autos originales que
14. se hisieren para usar de su d^o
15. asi lo ottorgo y firmo siendo
16. testigos el alferes Joseph de la
17. torre y Joan de Xerex y Tomas
18. de morales presentes = Alonso

19. de ozequera y quebedo = en tes-
20. timonion de verdad Bernabe
21. Roxel Scriviano R^l
22. [margin petiz^{on}] Joan fernandes vezino de este
23. partido de olancho el viejo
24. en nombre y con poder del al-
25. feres alonso de ocequera y que-
26. bedo vezino de la zuidad de

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1. comayagua de que hago demos-
2. trasion con la solemnidad le-
3. gal digo que como consta del ttesti
4. monio del ttitulo de encomien-
5. da librado en favor del dicho mi
6. parte de que asimismo hago de-
7. mostrasion con el juramentto
8. necessario suss^a el señor general
9. Don Marttin Carlos de Mencos
10. cavallero de la horden de Santiago
11. al cayde perpettuo de los palacios
12. R^s de azuedad de ta falla del
13. R^l audi^a que rreside en la cui^d
14. de Guatthemala governador y
15. capitangeneral en su distrito
16. le hizo merced al dicho mi partte
17. de quinientos pessos de a ocho R^s
18. de rentta en cada unano en
19. encomienda por dos vidas en los
20. tributos que pagan los yndios ve-
21. zinos y nattuales de los pueblos
22. expresados en dicho ttitulo, entre
23. los quales vieren señalados en
24. la jurisdicion de este partido

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1. Jano, Saguay, gualaco, Mantto, zapotta, cottaziale y Punuara, pa
2. que los goce conforme a la ley de

3. la subcesçion y porque en dicho ti-
4. tulo se manda se le de dicho mi parte
5. la poseçion de dichos pueblos = a V. Mtd.
6. pido y suplico se sirva de mandarme
7. la dar de los que llebo referidos ay
8. en esta jurodision para aprehen-
9. derla en nombre del dicho mi parte
10. y que se me buelban y entreguen po
11. der titulo poseçion y demas
12. autos para enguarda del Dr^o de
13. mi partte Pido justisia Vz^a =
14. otra si digo que por quanto no ay
15. papel sellado en este partitido se
16. me admita este escrito en papel
17. comun = Joan fernandes -----
18. [margin Auto] En el pueblo de mantto ca-
19. becera de este partido de olancho
20. el viejo en treintta dias del mes
21. de junio de mil y seis çientos
22. y sesentta y dos años ante mi
23. Don fernando Xiron de gusman
24. persona que administra justizia
25. en dich parttido se presentto

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1. esta petision con el poder y tes-
2. timonio de que el contthenido
3. hase demostrasion y por mi
4. visto mando se haga como lo pide
5. y araa su cumplimentto se des-
6. pache los recaudos necessarios
7. asi lo probey mande y firme
8. con los testigos que me asisten
9. por faltta de scrivano publico
10. que lo fieron Diego de Velasco y
11. Pedro Fernandes de figueroa
12. vezinos de este parttido = Don
13. fernado Xiron de gusman =
14. testigo diego de velasco = tto. Do.

- 15.gernandez de figueroa -----
- 16.[margin posez^{on} del] en el pueblo de mantto
- 17.[margin pu^e de manto] en treintta dias del mes de
- 18.junio de mil y seisçienttos
- 19.y sesentta y dos años en cum-
- 20.plimientto del tittulo de enco-
- 21.mienda librado en favor de el
- 22.alferes Alonso de Ozeguera
- 23.y quebedo vezino de la ziudad
- 24.de comayagua y don fernando
- 25.Xiron de gusman Justisia mayor

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1. en este parttido de pedimento
2. de Joan fernandes vezino del
3. en nombre y con poder del dicho
4. encomendero mande parezer
5. ante mi a joan mexia alcalde
6. de este dicho pueblo de mantto
7. a Jaun de archiaga Regidor
8. a Juan hernandes alguaçil
9. mayor y de mas principales y
- 10.tlatoques de dicho pueblo y estan-
- 11.do presenttes me dia ante Joan de
- 12.y politto que hiso ofisio de yn-
- 13.tterprete por que enttiende la
- 14.lengua de los yndios les di a en-
- 15.ttender el dicho ttiulo y avien-
- 16.dolo enttendido en su complimn^{to}
- 17.le disposession del dicho pueblo
- 18.al dicho joan fernandes el
- 19.qual la ttomo y aprehendido
- 20.en nombre del dicho encomen-
- 21.dero y en birttud de su poder
- 22.y en señal de el la corio de
- 23.las manos a los dichos alcaldes
- 24.y regidores del dicho pueblo a los
- 25.quales le dia entender me-

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1. diante dicho yntterprete el
2. efecto de dicho ttitulo y que an
3. de acudir con sus tributos al dicho
4. alonso de oçguera como a tal
5. su encomendero conforme
6. vienen señalados en el sin
7. faltarle cossa alguna en la
8. que al poseçion le metti quitta
9. y pacificamentte al dicho Joan
- 10.fernandes en nombre de su
- 11.parte y zertifica la ttomo sin
- 12.contradision alguna todo lo
- 13.qual paso entte mi y lo firme con
- 14.el dicho Joan fernandes y ttes-
- 15.tigos que lo fieron por faltta de
- 16.scrivano Diego de velasco y
- 17.Pedro Fernandes de figueroa =
- 18.vesinos de este parttido = Don
- 19.fernando Xiron de gusman =
- 20.Joan fernandes = Diego de Ve-
- 21.lasco = testigo fernandez de figue-
- 22.roa -----
- 23.[margin Posez^{on} de] En el pueblo de san fran^{co}
- 24.[margin zapotta] de zapotta en priero dia del
- 25.mes de jullio de mil y seisçien-
- 26.ttos y sesentta y dos años en

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1. cumplimientto del ttitulo de
2. encomienda librado en favor
3. del alferes alonso de ozeguera
4. y quebedo vesino de la ciudad
5. de comayagua y don fernando
6. Xiron de gusman justisia
7. mayor en este parttido de pedi-
8. mentto de Joan fernandes
9. vesino del en nobre y

10. con poder del dicho encomen-
11. dero mande paresen ante mi
12. a Simon de licona Geronimo
13. hortis Joan alonso alcaldes
14. y regidores y demas ttatque del
15. dicho pueblo y estando presenttes
16. mediante joan ypolitto que hizo
17. oficio de yntterprete por que enti-
18. ende de la lengua de los yndios les
19. dia al entender el dicho ttitulo y
20. aviendo lo entendido en su compli-
21. miento le di posesion del dicho
22. pueblo al dicho Joan fernandes
23. el qual la ttomo y aprehendio
24. en nombre de su pder y en se-
25. ñal de ella coxro de las manos
26. a los dichos alcaldes y regidores

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1. de dicho pueblo a los quales le di
2. a entender mediatte dicho
3. yntterprete el efectto de dicho
4. ttitulo y que an de acudir con
5. sus tributos al dicho alonso de
6. oçeguera como a ttal su enco-
7. mendero conforme vienen
8. señalado en el sin falttarle
9. cossa alguna en la qual pose-
10. çion le metti quietta y pacifica-
11. mente al dicho Joan fernandes
12. en nombre de su parte y zerti-
13. fico sin contrtradision alguna tto-
14. do lo que passo ante mi y lo firme
15. con el dic ho Joan fernandes
16. y los ttestigos que lo fieron diego
17. de vvelasco y Pedro fernandes de
18. figueroa vesinos de este partido.
19. Con fernando Xiron de gusman
20. Joan fernandes = Pedro fernan-

21. des de figueroa = Diego de
22. [margin poses^{on}] velasco -----
23. [margin del pue^o de] en el pueblo de San-
24. [margin xano] tta ana de Xano en ttres
25. dias del mes de jullio de este
26. año de mil y seisçientos y
27. sesentta y dos en complimn^{to}

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1. del ttitulo de encomienda
2. librado en favor del alferes
3. alonso de ozeguera y quebedo
4. vezino de la ziudad de coma-
5. yagua y o don fernando Xiron
6. de gusman justisia mayor
7. en este parttido de pedimento
8. de Joan fernandes vezino
9. dee en nombre y con poder
10. del dicho encomendero man-
11. de parezer ante mi a Geronimo
12. rodrigues sebastian de montte-
13. rroso y joan de quinttanilla al-
14. caldes y regidores y demas tta-
15. toque de dicho pueblo y estando
16. presenttes mediante joan de y-
17. politto que hiso ofisio de yn-
18. tterprete por que entiende
19. la lengua de los yndios les
20. dia enttender el dicho ttitulo
21. y aviendolo enttendido en su cum-
22. plimientto le disposesion del
23. dicho pueblo al dicho Joan fernan-
24. des el qual la ttomo y apre-
25. endio en nombre del dicho
26. encomendero y en birtud de
27. su poder y en señal de el la

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1. la coxio de las manos a los dichos
2. alcaldes y regidores de dicho
3. pueblo a los quales le dia en-
4. ttender mediante el dicho yn-
5. tterprete el efecto del dicho
6. ttitulo y que an de acudir con sus
7. tributos al dicho alonso de oze-
8. guera como a tal su encomen-
9. dero conforme biernen señalados
- 10.en el sin falttarle cossa alguna
- 11.en la qual posesion le metti
- 12.quietta y pacificamente al dicho
- 13.joan fernandes en nombre de
- 14.su parte y zertifico la ttomo sin
- 15.contradizion alguna ttodo lo qual
- 16.passo ante mi y lo firme con el dicho
- 17.Joan ferandez y ttestigos que lo
- 18.fieron por faltta de scrivano
- 19.Diego velasques y Pedro fer-
- 20.nandes de figueroa vesinos
- 21.de este parttido = Done ferando
- 22.Xiron de gusman = Joan fer-
- 23.nandes = testigo Diego de
- 24.Velasco = Pedro ferandes de
- 25.[margin posez^{on} del pue^o] figueroa -----
- 26.[margin gualaco] En el pueblo de San Geroni-
- 27.mo de gualaco en çinco dias

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1. de el mes de Jullio de mil y seis-
2. çientos y sesenta y dos años en
3. complimn^{to} del tittulo de encomi-
4. enda librardo en favor del alferes
5. alonso de oçeguera y quebedo vesino
6. de la çiudad de comayagua yo don
7. fernando Xiron de gusman justi-
8. cia mayor en este parttido de pdimn^{to}
9. de Joan fernandes vesino de el
- 10.en nombre y con poder del dicho

11. encomendero mande paseçer ante
12. mi a diego maldonado anttonio suares
13. y sebastian garçia alcaldes
14. y regidores y demas ttattoques del
15. dicho pueblo y estando presenttes
16. mediante Joan de ypolito que
17. hiso ofisio de ynterprete por
18. que enttiende la lengua de
19. los yndios les di a enttender
20. ce dicho ttitulo y aviendolo en-
21. tendido en su complimentto
22. le disosesion del dicho pueblo
23. al dicho joan fernandes el
24. qual la ttomo y aprehendio
25. en nombre del dicho encomen-
26. dero y en birtud de su poder
27. y en señal de el la cojio de las
28. manos a los dichos alcaldes y

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1. regidores del dicho pueblo a los queales
2. les di a enttender mediante dicho
3. ynterprete el efectto del dicho titulo
4. y que an de acudir con sus tributos
5. al dicho alonso de oçeguera como
6. a ttal su encomendero comfor-
7. me bienen señalados en el sin
8. falttarle cossa alguna en la qual
9. poseçion le metti quietta y pacifica-
10. mente al dicho Joan ferandes
11. en nombre de su parte y zertti-
12. fico la ttomo sin contrradision de
13. persona alguna ttodo lo qual passo
14. ante mi y lo firme con el dicho
15. joan fernandes y testigos que es
16. fieron por faltta de scrivano
17. Diego Velasco y Pedro fernandez
18. de figueroa besinos de este par-
19. ttido = Don ffernando Xiron de

- 20.gusman = Joan fernandes =
- 21.testigo Diego de velasco = Pedro
- 22.[margin posesçion del] fernandes de figueroa -----
- 23.[margin pue^o de zaguey] En el pue^o de San Pedro de Sagway
- 24.en seis dias del mes de Jullio año
- 25.de mil y seisçientos y sesenta
- 26.dos en cumplimn^{to} del tittulo de
- 27.encomienda librado en favor
- 28.del alferes alonso de oseguera
- 29.y quebedo vesino de la siudad

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1. de comayagua yo Don fernando
2. Xiron de gusman justtiçia mayor
3. en este partido de pedimientto
4. de Joan fernandes besino del
5. en nombre y con poder del dicho
6. encomendero mande pareçer
7. ante mi a Raphael gomes a este-
8. ban hernandes y a sebastian
9. martin alcaldes y regidores
- 10.y demas principales y tatoque
- 11.de dicho pueblo y estando presen-
- 12.ttes mediante Joan ypolitto
- 13.que hizo ofisio de yntterprete
- 14.por que enttiende la lengua de
- 15.los yndios les dia enttender el
- 16.dicho ttittulo y aviendolo entten-
- 17.dido en su cumplimn^{to} le di po-
- 18.sesion del dicho pueblo al dicho
- 19.joan fernandes el qual la tto-
- 20.mo y aprehendio en nombre del
- 21.dicho encomendero y en birtud
- 22.de su poder y señal de el la
- 23.coxio de las manos a los dichos
- 24.alcaldes y regidores de dicho
- 25.pueblo a los quales les di a enten-
- 26.der mediante dicho yntterprete
- 27.el efecto de dicho ttittulo y que

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1. an de acudir con sus tributos al
2. dico alonso de oseguera como
3. a ttal su encomendero confor-
4. me viene señalado en el sin
5. falttarle cossa alguna en la
6. qual poseçion le metti quietta y
7. pacificamentte al dicho Joan fer-
8. nandes en combre de su partte
9. y zertifico la ttomo sin contra-
10. diçion de persona alguna a todo
11. lo qual paso ante mi y lo firme
12. con el dicho joan fernandes y tes-
13. ttigos que lo fieron por falta de
14. Scribano Diego Velasco y Pedro
15. fernandez de figueroa vesinos
16. de este parttido = Don ferando
17. Xiron de gusman = Joan fernandes
18. testigo diego de velasco = Pedro
19. [margin posesion del] fernandes de figueroa -----
20. [margin pue^o de punu] En el pueblo de punuara
21. [margin ara] en siete dias del mes de jullio
22. del año de mil y seisçientos
23. y sesentta y dos en cumplimn^{to}
24. del tittulo de encomienda li-
25. brado en favor del alferes Alonso
26. de ozeguera y quebedo vesino
27. de la ziudad de comayagua yo

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1. Don Fernando Xiron de guz-
2. man justizia mayor en este
3. parttido de pedimentto de Joan
4. fernandez vezino de el en
5. nombre y com poder del dho (dicho)
6. encomendero mande parezer
7. ante mi a fran^{co} hernandez

8. a gonzalo de oçeguera a bal-
9. ttasar mexia alcaldes y regi-
- 10.dores y de mas ttattoque de dho (dicho)
- 11.pueblo y estando presenttes me-
- 12.diantte Joan de Ypolitto que
- 13.hizo ofizio de ynterprette
- 14.porque enttiende la lengua
- 15.de los yndios le dia a entten-
- 16.der el dho (dicho) ttitulo y aviendolo
- 17.enttendido en su cumplim^{to}
- 18.le di posesion del dho (dicho) pueblo
- 19.al dho Joan fernandez el
- 20.qual la ttomo y aprehendio en
- 21.nombre del dho encomendero
- 22.y en birttud de su poder y en
- 23.señal de ella coxio de las manos
- 24.a los dhos alcaldes y regidores
- 25.de dho pue^o, a los quales les di
- 26.al enttender mediante dho
- 27.ynterprette el efecto de dho

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1. ttitulo que an de acudir con sus
2. tributos al dho alonso de oçeguera
3. como a tal su encomendero com-
4. forme vienen señalados en el
5. sin falttarle cossa alguna en la
6. qual posezion le metti quetta
7. y pacificamentte al dho joan fer-
8. nandez en nombre de su parte
9. y zertifico la ttomo sin contradiz^{on}
- 10.alguna ttodo lo qual paso ante
- 11.mmi y lo firme con el dho joan fer-
- 12.nandez y ttestigos que lo fueron diego
- 13.de velasco y pedro fernandez de
- 14.figuroa a vezinos de este partido
- 15.Don fernando Xiron de guzman
- 16.Joan fernandez = to^o diego de
- 17.velasco = Pedro fernandez de

- 18.[margin Posecion del] figueroa
- 19.[margin pue^o de Cota-] en el pueblo de San Pedro
- 20.[margin siale] cottasiale en ocho dias del mes
21. de jullio del año de mill y seis-
- 22.cienttos y sesentta y dos años en
- 23.complim^{to} del ttitulo de en-
- 24.comienda librado en favor del
- 25.alferes alonso de oçeguera y
- 26.quebedo vezino de la ciudad
- 27.de comayagua yo don fernando
- 28.Xiron de guzman Justizia mayor

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1. en este partido de pedim^{to} de Joan
2. ffernandex vezion de el en nom^e
3. y com poder del dho encomen-
4. dero mande parezer ante mi a do-
5. mingo luis a fran^{co} lopez a matheo
6. lopez alcaldes y regidores y de
7. mas principales y ttattoques des
8. dho pueblo y estando presentes
9. mediante joan de ypolitto que
- 10.hizo oficio de yntterprete por
- 11.que el entiende la lengua de
- 12.los yndios les di a enttender
- 13.el dho ttitulo y aviendolo en
- 14.ttendido en su cumplim^{to} le di
- 15.posezion de dho pueblo al dho
- 16.joan fernandez el qual la to
- 17.mo y aprehendio en nombre de
- 18.el dho encomendero y en birtud
- 19.de su poder y en señal de ella
- 20.coxio de las manos a los dhos al
- 21.caldes y regidores de dho pue^o
- 22.a los quales le di a enttender me
- 23.diantte dho yntterprete el efetto
- 24.de dho ttitulo y que an de acudir
- 25.con sus ttributos al dho alonsso
- 26.de oçeguera como a ttal su en-

- 27.comendero comforme vierene
- 28.señalados en el sin faltarle

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1. cossa alguna en la qual posesion
2. le metti quietta y pacificamentte
3. al dho joan fernandex en nom^o
4. de su parte y zerfficio la ttomo sin
5. conttradizion alguna ttodo lo
6. qual passe ante mi y lo firme con
7. el dho joan fernandez y ttes
8. ttigos que lo fieron por falta de
9. scrivano Deigo de velasco y Pedro
- 10.fernandez de figueroa vezinos
- 11.de este parttido = Don fernando
- 12.Xiron de guzman = Juan fernan
- 13.des = Pedro fernandez de figueroa
- 14.ttestigo Diego de velasco
- 15.[margin zertificaz^{on}] Yo Don fernando Xiron de guzman
- 16.justizia mayor en este parttido
- 17.de olancho el viejo zertifico
- 18.a los señores que la presentte vieren
- 19.que los autos de posesion de attras
- 20.que ante mi an passado van en papel
- 21.comun por no averle sellado en
- 22.este parttido y Para que conste lo fir
- 23.me con los ttestigos = Don fernando
- 24.Xiron de guzman = Diego de
- 25.velasco = Pedro fernandez de
- 26.figueroa
- 27.[margin Poder] En la ziudad de comayagua
- 28.en dies dias del mes de mayo

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1. de mil y seiscienttos y sesentta
2. y dos años ante mi el scribano
3. y ttestigos el alferez alonso de o
4. zeguera vezino y procurador zin

5. dico de esta dha ciudad a quen
6. doy fee conosco ottorgo su poder
7. cumplido el que de Di^o Serrequil?
8. re para baler a Diego perez de
9. zerbantes thessorero de erre al
10. aver del papel sellado de la ziu^d
11. de San Pedro y alcalde hordinarrio
12. en ella por su mag^t y a alonsso
13. Rodrigues de figueroa vezino
14. ansimesmo de dho ciudad y a cada
15. uno de los susso dhos de por si yn
16. solidum especialmente para que
17. en su nombre y representtando
18. su persona en birtud del titulo
19. que se le despacho por el gobierno
20. superior de encomendero en esta
21. provincia parescan ante las Jus
22. ticias de su magestad que con d^o
23. deven y pidan se le de posezion
24. de los pueblos de timojol = quele
25. quele, del rio de Ulua señaladaos
26. en dho ttitulo y merced que se le
27. hiso y la ttome en su nombre
28. Dⁱ corporal actual velquasi

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1. en la qual pida amparo y asta que
2. tenga efectto y se consiga haga tto
3. dos los pedim^{tos} autos juramentos
4. y diligencias judisiales y extrajudi
5. ciales combenientes que el poder
6. que es necessario para lo referido
7. ese les da y ottorga con general
8. administrasion y relebasion
9. en forma y para que le remitta
10. los autos que se hisieren origi
11. nales para usar de su derecho
12. y asi lo ottorgo y firmo siendo
13. testigos joan de xeres el alferez

14. Joseph del attorre y ttomas de
 15. morales presenttes = Alonso de
 16. ocegüera y quebedo = Paso ante
 17. mi y lo signe en ttestimonio de
 18. [margin Petiz^{on}] verdad Bernabe Roxel scriv^o R¹
 19. Diego peres de cervanttes vezi
 20. no de esta ziudad de San Pedro
 21. y thess^o del rreal aver del papel
 22. sellado alcalde de hordinario en
 23. dha ziudad y su jurisdision por su
 24. magestad en nombre y com poder
 25. de el alferes Alonso de ozeguera
 26. y quebedo vezino de la ciudad de
 27. comayagua de que hago demostra
 28. çion con el juramento neçess^o

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1. Digo que como consta del testimo
 2. nio del titulo del encomienda
 3. de que hago demostrasion con la
 4. solemnidad legal suss^a del señor
 5. general Don Martin carlos de
 6. mencos cavallero de la orden de
 7. Santiago alcay de perpetuo de los
 8. palacios R^s de la ziodad detta
 9. falla del rreal consejo de guerra
 10. y juntta de armadas presidente
 11. de la rreal aud^a que reside en
 12. la ziudad de Santiago de Guatt^a
 13. gobernador y capittan general
 14. en su districtto le hiso ??
 15. al dho mi partte de quinientos
 16. pessos de a ocho rreales de plata
 17. en cada un año en encomienda
 18. en los ttributtos que pagan los
 19. yndios vesinos y naturales
 20. de los pueblos expresados en
 21. dho ttitulo entre los quales
 22. vienen señalados Timojol y

23. quele quele de esta jurisdision
24. partido del rio de Olua para
25. que los goce por dos vidas confor
26. me a la ley de subçeçion y
27. por que en dho tittulo se manda
28. se le de al dho mi partte la

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1. Posesion de dhos pueblos =
2. A V Md. pido y suplico mande
3. se me denlos que llebo referidos
4. en esta jurisdision para apre
5. hender la en nombre del dho
6. mi partte y que se me buelba poder
7. tittulo y posesion con los demas
8. autos para enguarda del dr^o del
9. dho mi partte pido justizia esz^a =
10. Diego peres de cerbanttes
11. [margin decreto] En la ziudad de San Pedro
12. provincia de honduras en veinte de
13. junio de mil y seiscienttos y
14. sesentta y dos años ante mi el mre.
15. de campo ^{fran de castro} ayala alferes mayor de
16. la ziudad de comayagua y thenien
17. tte de gobernador y capittan gen
18. en esta jurisdision se presentto
19. esta pettision poder y testimonio
20. de que se hase demonstrasion
21. que vistos por mi dhos recaudos man
22. do se aga como lo pide y que se despachen
23. los neçessirios asi lo probey firme
24. siendo ttestigo por faltta de scriv^o
25. alonso lopez y joan melendes
26. ffran^{co} de castro ayala = alonso lopez
27. joan melendes
28. [margin posezion de timojol] En el pueblo de ttimoxol

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1. en veintte dos de junil de il
2. y seis cienttos y sesentta y dos años
3. en cuplimentto del tittulo
4. que en fabor del alferes alonso
5. de ozeguera esta librado vezino
6. de la ciudad de comayagua y
7. el maestro de campo Don ffran^{co}
8. de castro y ayala alferes mayor
9. de la ziudad de comayagua tthe-
10. niente de governador y capittan
11. general en esta jurisdision de
12. pedimn^{to}, de Diego peres de zerban-
13. ttes dicho encomendero hise pa-
14. reser alcalde y regidor de
15. dicho pueblo anttonio maziela y
16. roque cambal y los demas vesinos
17. presenttes mediante simon espez quien
18. hizo ofision de yntterpret y en
19. lengua de dhos naturales les
20. di a enttender el dho ttittulo
21. y aviendolo enttendido en su cum-
22. plimentto le di poseçion a diego
23. peres de zervantes podattario en
24. nombre de dho encomendero
25. del dho pueblo el qual la tomo
26. y aprehendio y en señal de ella
27. cojio de las manos a los dhos alcal-
28. de y regidor de dho pueblo

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1. y les di a enttender por dho yn-
2. tterprete el efectto de dho titulo
3. y que mediante el ande acudir con
4. sus tributos al dho alferes alonso
5. de ozeguera y quebedo como a su
6. legitimo encomendero segun
7. bienen señalados en el en dha
8. poseçion le metti quietta y pacifica-
9. mentte a el dho diego peres de

10. zerbantes en birtud de dho poder
11. presenttado y lo dho ttheniente
12. zerttifico en la mejor forma que
13. puedo aver pasado ttodo lo refe-
14. rido ante mi y ttestigos por de-
15. fectto de scriviano que fueron alonso
16. lopes y juan melendes que firma-
17. ron con dho ynterprete y lo
18. dattario = ffran^{co} de castro ayala
19. diego peres de zerbanttes = alonso
20. lopes = joan melendes = simon
21. lopes
22. [margin Posesion] en el pueblo de quelequele
23. [margin del pueblo de] en vennte y dos de junio de
24. [margin quelequele] mil y seisçientos y sesentta y
25. dos años en cumplimentto del
26. tittulo librado en favor del
27. alfares alonso de oçeguera
28. y quebedo vesino de la çiudad

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1. de comayagua y el maestro de
2. campo Don fran^{co} de castro ayala
3. alferes mayor de ella y
4. theniente de governador y
5. capittan general en esta juris-
6. dision de pedimientto de Diego
7. preres de zerbanttes vesino
8. de esta dha çiudad podatario
9. de dho encomendero hise pa-
10. reser a el alcalde de dho pue^o
11. Simon rramires y Regidor don fran^{co}
12. naranjo y presenttes los demas
13. vesinos mediante simon lopez
14. quien hizo ofisio de yntterprete
15. y en lengua de dhos yn-
16. dios por el dho yntterprete
17. se le di a enttender dho ttitulo
18. y aviendolo enttendido en su

19. cumplim^{to}, le di posesion a el
20. dho diego peres en nombre
21. del dho encomendero de dho
22. pueblo a los quales dhos yndios
23. di a entender por dho yn-
24. terprete el efecto de dho
25. titulo y que an de acudir con
26. sus tres butos a el dho alonso

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1. de ozeguera como a tal su enco-
2. mendero segun bienen señalados
3. en el en la qual posesion le
4. metti quietta y pacifica a dho
5. diego peres en birtud del poder
6. que tiene de dho encomendero
7. y lo dho theniente zertifico
8. como mejor aya lugar de di^o
9. que todo lo referido paso ante mi
10. y testigos por falta de scriv.
11. que lo fieron Alonso Lopez y Joan
12. melendes que firmaron conmigo
13. podattario y ynterprete =
14. ffran^{co} de Castro ayala = Deigo
15. peres de zerbantes = Alonsso
16. Lopez = Joan melendes =
17. Simon Lopez -----
18. [margin Presen] en la ziu^d de comayagua
19. [margin tazion] en veinte y nueve de julio
20. de mil y seisçientos y sesenta
21. y dos años ante Don Diego de
22. olmedo y ormaza? Gobernador
23. y capittan General de esta
24. provincia se presentto esta
25. pettizion -----
26. [margin Petiz^{on}] El alferes Alonso de O

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1. zeguera y quebedo vezino
2. de esta ziadad como mas
3. aya lugar = Digo que como
4. consta y parese del titulo
5. que presentto en forma le-
6. gal a mmi se me hizo merced
7. de encomendarme dife-
8. renttes pueblos en estas pro-
9. vincia de que aprehendido
10. posezion y para pobder ocu-
11. rrir al supremo consejo de
12. las yndias a pedir y supli
13. car a sum magestad que dios g^{de}
14. me haga merced de confir-
15. marme dha encomienda
16. que es hasta en cantidad de
17. quinientos pessos sin la pin-
18. çion de D^a Maria Lazo de
19. San Ramon de que tambien
20. e de sumplicar su confirmaz^{on}
21. a V. Md. Pido y suplico mande
22. que el presentte scrivano
23. me de un traslado dos o mas
24. del dho ttitulo y sus pose-
25. çiones autorisados en manera

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1. que hagan fee que en ello
2. resevire merced con Justiz^a
3. que pido juro en forma
4. lo neçessario Vz^a = Alonso
5. de ozeguera y quebedo -----
6. [margin deçreto] En vista por su merced del
7. dho Governador mando se le
8. den parmi el presentte scriv^o
9. los ttestimonios que pidrere
10. al alferez Aloonso de oze-
11. guera del ttitulo y posesiones
12. que presentta en los quales

13. su merced desde luego ynter-
14. pone su autoridad y deçretto
15. Judicial y asi lo probeyo man-
16. do y firmo = Don Diego de
17. olmedo y ormaza = antte mi
18. Bernave roxel Scriv^o Rl.
19. [change of hand] Concuerta con su orijinal de donde se saco este
20. traslado a que me refiero ?? saque en bir-
21. tud de lo mandado por el auto de susso, en
22. la ziudad de comayagua en primero de
23. agosto de mil y seisçientos y sesenta y dos
24. años siendo testigos el Bachiller Joan
25. de Xeres Serrano el Alferez Joseph de las

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1. torres y mieguel de saldivar presentes =
2. entre renglong / consta por deposizion dezino?
3. testigos. que sibrian de andino / mi / fran^{co} de
4. castro = testado pretendientes/ ydente quistad
5. Gallinos / ti / publico -----
6. En ffee dello lo signe (rubric) en testim^o de ver^d
7. X / Bernabe Roxel
8. X / Scriv^o Rl.
9. [change of hand?] Nos el Capittan Don Diego de olmedo Y ormza
10. Gobernador y Capitan General de esta provi^a de honduras
11. el Sargentto mayor Joan Fran^{co} peres alcalde hordin^o
12. mas anttiguu en esta ziudad y Miguel de zaldivar
13. nottario mayor del tribunal de la santa cruzada
14. de la ziu^d de Guathemala y sus Provincias zertifica-
15. mos que Bernave Roxel escalante de quien pareze
16. va signado y firmado este testimonio es scriv^o Rl.
17. como se nobra y los escritos y testimonios que ante
18. el an passado y pasan se le a dado y la entera fee y
19. credito en juiçio y fuera del, y para qu e conste dimos
20. el presente en la ziu^d de comayagua en primero
21. de agosto de mil seisçientos y sesentta y dos años –
22. Don Diego de olmedo / Juan Fran^{co} perez / Miguel de Saldivan
23. yormas / / nott^o may^{or} del cruz^{da}

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1. [blank]

page 102

1. [blank]

page 103

1. [blank]

page 104

1. [blank]

page 105

1. [blank]

page 106

1. [blank]

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[papel sellado de 6 reales]

1. [changeofhand] El General Don Martin [margin Pren^{da} en la?]
2. Carlos de mencos Cavallero del orden [margin de gelbbz?]
3. de Santiago alcayde perpetuo
4. de los palacios Rl. de la ziudad de
5. tafalla del Rl. consejo de guerra
6. y juntta de armadas pressidentte de
7. esta Rl audiençia governador y
8. capittan general en su districtto Vz^a
9. por quantto por meurtte de diversos
10. encomenderos vacaron en la pro-
11. vinçia de comayagua los tributos
12. de los pueblos de guarabuqui =
13. teupaçente = chapuluca, tatumbula

14. la mitad del pueblo de tamara
15. y la mitad del de ojojona =
16. quele quele = masca = timojol = chin-
17. da = Vttila = tomala = munguiche
18. zapotta = punuara = cottasrel? =
19. gualaco = saguay = la mitad de
20. el pueblo de mantto = y los pue^{os}
21. de xano = Guacao = Opoa = Guan-
22. capla = Yngridula = y conforme
23. zertificazion de los Jueçes oficiales
24. de la Rl Hazienda de la dha
25. provi^a de comayagua que cobraron
26. los tributtos de estos pueblos por

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1. lo que ttoca a la vacante mon-
2. ttan todos / conforme el avalio
3. que de ellos se hixo mil seis-
4. çientos y dies ttosttones y dos Rs.
5. que por ser muy corttos y estar muy
6. distanttes los unos de los otros
7. no se empadronaron los tributta-
8. rios de ellos por yncombeni-
9. enttes que se reconoçieron y
10. para encomendarlos de nuevo
11. los declare por vacos y ser pasado
12. en año de la vacante y mucho
13. tiempo mas Por aver constado
14. asi de dha zertificazion de of^s
15. Rs. y aviendose puesto l dicttos
16. a ellos para que los que pretten-
17. diesen derecho se opussiesen avi-
18. endose opuesto el alferes Alonso
19. de ozeguera y quebedo vezino
20. de la dha ziudad de comayagua
21. y sacado el quintto de los dhos
22. mill seisçientos y diez ttosttones
23. y de dos Rs. que son treçientos y veinte
24. y dos ttosttones y zittuado los para

25. su cobranza en los tributos de los
26. pueblos de Tattumbla, Vtila
27. y munguiche = los mil doceintos
28. y ochenta y ocho tostosones

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1. y dos Rs que quedaron los en-
2. comende en el dho alferéz
3. Alonso de Ozeguera y quebedo
4. por Dos vidas por título de nueva
5. encomienda conforme a la ley
6. de la subcesion con que diese
7. de ellos de pinçion en cada un
8. año los doceintos y ochenta y
9. ocho tostosones y dos reales a Doña
10. Maria Lazo de San Ramon; Vezina
11. de la dha çiudad de Comayagua
12. Hija Legittima de urban de
13. tercios para que los goçew la susso
14. dha todo el tiempo de su vida
15. en qualquieres ttado de Religiosa
16. o cassada y por su muerte a de
17. subçeder en la dha Pinçion el
18. dho encomendero y su heredero
19. en segunda vida y mande que
20. a cada uno se les diese despa-
21. cho aparte para la cobranza de
22. de lo que le ttoca y que cada uno pa-
23. gase la media aññatta de su por-
24. çion diesmo y doctrina en cui
25. conformidad despache ttitulo
26. al dho encomendero para la
27. cobranza de los mil tostosones
28. que le quedan libres de quintto

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1. y de la pinçion = y para que
2. la dha pinçonaria aya y co-

3. brrelo que le perttenese mande
4. dar el presentte = Por el quel
5. en nobre de su magestad
6. y en birttud de los poderes
7. que suios ttengo hago merced p
8. via de pinçion a la dha Doña
9. Maria Lazo de San Ramon de
10. los dhos doçientos y ochen-
11. tta y dos ttosttones y dos Rs.
12. de que a de goçar en cada un año
13. ttodo el ttiempo de su vida en
14. qualquier esttado de Religiosa
15. o cassada y por su muertte a de
16. subçeder en la propiedad de esta
17. Pinçion el dho encomen-
18. dero y su heredero en segunda
19. vida y esta merced hago a la
20. dha Doña Maria Lazo de San
21. Ramon por ser como es persona
22. Principal y bene merita desen-
23. dientte de conquistadores y po-
24. bladores de estta provinçia de
25. que a constado en este Gobierno
26. Superior por Recaudos presentados
27. Por Marcos Lazo de la Vega

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1. Hermano de la susso dha la qual
2. a de cobrar los dhos doçientos y
3. ochenta y ocho ttosttones y dos
4. Rs. que le ttocan en esta manera
5. del pueblo de guarabuqui, quarenta
6. y ocho ttosttones y ttres rreales en
7. quanttro manttas de a quattro pier-
8. nas diez y seis gallinas de castilla
9. y ocho fanegas y media de mais
10. avaliado las manttas a siete Toz^s
11. el mais a seis Rs fanega y las
12. gallinas a dos Rs = y del pue^o

13. de masca a de cobrar settenta y
 14. tres ttosttones y dos Rs en çiento
 15. y ocho zontes de cacao a rrazon
 16. de quarentta tosttones carga
 17. = y del pueblo de chinda a de
 18. cobrar cinquenta y quanttro tosto-
 19. nes y un rreal en cinco manttas
 20. y un perna ocho gallinas y nueve
 21. fanegas de mais a los dichos precios
 22. y del pueblo de opoa a de cobrar
 23. cinquenta y cinco ttosttones
 24. y dos Rs en quanttro manttas treyn-
 25. tta y quatro gallinas y siete fa-
 27. negas de mais a los dichos preçios =
 28. y del pueblo de guancapla a de
 29. cobrar quarentta y quanttro

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1. ttosttones y dos Rs en veintte
 2. y ocho ttosttones en rreales doce
 3. gallinas y seis fanegas de mais
 4. a los dhos precios = y del pueblo
 5. de Yngridula a de cobrar treze
 6. ttosttones en una mantta de
 7. quatro piernas seis fallinas
 8. y dos fanegas de mais a los
 9. chos precios, con que queda en-
 10. tterada la dha pinçonaria
 11. de los dhos doçientos y ochenta
 12. y ocho tosttones y dos Rs que le
 13. ttocan los quales dhos especies
 14. a de cobrar en cada un año mitad
 15. por San Joan y mittad por na-
 16. tividad como es constumbre y
 17. mando a los alcaldes y regi-
 18. dores de los dhos pueblos que
 19. aora son y en adelante fue-
 20. ren que desde veintte y nueve
 21. de abril passado de este pre-

22. sentte año de seisçientos y
23. sesentta y dos en adelantte
24. que es de quando de empezar
25. a goçer la dha pinçonaria de
26. la dha pinçon; por que lo caydo
27. asta enttonces perttenece a ttri-
28. buttos vacos le acudan por ttodo

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1. el teimpo de servida? a la
2. susso dha o a quien por ella fuere
3. partte con los dhos tributtos en
4. tteramentte como queda dho =
5. y la dha pinçonarra a de ser o-
6. bligada a hazer enseñar e yn-
7. dusttriar a los yndios de los pue^{os}
8. que le toca en las cossas de nuestra
9. Santta Fee Catholica y pagar
10. de ellos diesmo y docttrina y la
11. limosna de vino y açeytte que su
12. magestad manda dar a las Reli-
13. giones esto quando se le Repartta
14. sobre todod lo qual le encargo
15. la consiençia y descargo la de
16. su mag^t y la mia en su rreal
17. nombre y con que guarde las
18. zedulas y ordenanzas hechas y que
19. se hizieren en favor de los
20. yndios para su aumentto y con-
21. serbaçion = y del aumentto o di-
22. minuzion que ubiere en los pue^{os}
23. que a la dha pincionaria tocan
24. ttodas las vezes que se conttaren
25. a de correr por quentta de la susso
26. dha y declaro que la dhsa Doña
27. Maria Lazo de San Ramon no a
28. de ser obligada a ttraer comfir-

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1. de su magestad de esta pinçion
2. porque el dho encomendero la
3. a de ttraer de ella y de su en-
4. comienda attentto a darse le
5. la propiedad; como asi se declara
6. en el tittulo que le tengo des-
7. patchado = y porque antes de
8. enttrar a goçar la dha pinçiona
9. ria de esta merçed a de pagar
10. settenta y dos ttosttones y dies
11. y siete mas por la media anna-
12. tta que le ttoca de la primera
13. paga de conttado, y otra ttantta
14. canttidad que a de pagar el primer
15. mes del segundo año de como
16. goçe de esta pinçion con mas el
17. va los? que ymponntaren los
18. ttributtos de los primeros qua-
19. tro meses que esttan aplicados
20. para el reparo de las cassas
21. Rs. de esta ciudad por averse
22. detterminado asi en juntta
23. que se hizo de rreal hazienda
24. para buscar efecttos para dhos
25. reparos sin ttocar en la hazi-
26. enda rreal sobre que me a Repre-
27. senttado el dho Marcos Lazo
28. de la Bega hermano de la dha

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1. pincionaria que attentto a que
2. esta la susso dha en la cuidad
3. de comayagua y el ymposi-
4. blittado de hazer los dhos
5. entteros en la rreal caxa
6. de esta cortte; por que pidio y su-
7. plico se le hiziese merced a la
8. dha su hermana de que los

9. hiziese en la de comayagua y
10. lo mande asi y para que tenga
11. efecto mando a los Jueçes Of^s
12. de la rreal hazienda de la
13. ciudad de comayagua a quienes
14. mando se remitta este tittulo
15. que luego que le resivan cobren
16. de la dha Doña Maria Lazo
17. de San rramon settenta y dos
18. ttosttones y dies y siete mmz que
19. deve de la media annatta de
20. primera paga de conttado y ase-
21. guren confiança que la susso dha
22. de de que el primer mes del
23. segundo año del goçe de esta pin-
24. çion, pagara en aquella caxa
25. otros settenta y dos ttosttones
26. y dies y seitte mmz. de la segunda
27. pagade media annatta y que
28. denttro de quattro meses con-

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1. ttados desde el dho dia veinte
2. y neube de abril que a de empe-
3. zar a gozar de la pinzion pagara
4. en dha caxa nobenta y
5. seis ttosttones y un rreal que
6. monttan los tributos de quatro
7. meses aplicados para dho rreparo
8. = y cobrado lo uno y a segundo
9. lo otro le entreguen a la dha
10. pincionaria este tittulo con
11. zertificazion al pie del de lo
12. que pagare y dexare a segu-
13. rado para que cobre los tributos
14. que le ttocan, por que antes de averie?
15. hecho esto no a de coçar de ellos
16. y en casso que la susso dha no pa-
17. gue ni asegure como queda dho

18. los dhos of^s R^s cobrenlos
19. tributos de los pueblos que a la
20. dha pinçonera tocan y de
21. su procedido entteren en la Rl.
22. caja de su cargo, çientto y
23. quarentta y quatro ttostones
24. y un rreal de la media anna-
25. tta de primera y segunda paga
26. con mas los nobentta y seis
27. ttostones y un rreal que ympor-
28. ttara los ttributtos de los quatro

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1. meses que queda dho y lo uno
2. y otro que montta dusientos y
3. quarentta tosttones y dos Rl.
4. los remitan por quentta aparte
5. a la rreal caja de esta cortte
6. para que los juezes ofiçiales R^s
7. de ella apliquen cada cossa al
8. ramo de hazienda a donde to-
9. ca y cobrado que ayan los suso dho
10. pongan de ello zertificasion
11. al pre de este ttitulo y se le en-
12. treguen a la partte para que V. se
13. de el y esto hecho en la una
14. u otra forma las justiçias cuia
15. jurisdision caenlos dhos pueblos
16. de no hagan dar poseçion de ellos
17. a la dha pinçonaria y en ella
18. la amporen y defiendan
19. y no consienttan ques la des
20. poseyda sin que primero se a syda?
21. y vençida = y de este tittulo man-
22. do que los Jueses ofiçiales de la
23. Rl hazienda de esta cortte to-
24. men la rrazon y la pongan al
25. pie del de averlo hecho todo
26. lo qual se guarde y cumpla

- 27. peña de doçientos Pesos para
- 28. la Rl camara dho en la zud.

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- 1. de guatthemala en dies dias el
- 2. mes de mayo de mil y seisçi-
- 3. enttos y sesentta y dos años
- 4. Don Marttin Carlos de mencos
- 5. por mandado de Suss.^a Antonio
- 6. marttinez de Ferrera -----
- 7. El Docttor Don Deigo de bal-
- 8. berde Horosco que haxe officio
- 9. de fiscal ttomo la rrazon de
- 10. este tittulo y se entregue a los
- 11. officiales R^s de comayagua
- 12. y despues de estar entterada
- 13. la media annata se entregue
- 14. a la parte Guatthemala y
- 15. mayo doçe de sisçienttos y
- 16. y sesentta y dos años -----
- 17. Queda tomada la rrazon
- 18. a la lettra de este rreal titulo
- 19. de merced de pençion en esta
- 20. Rl caxa y conttaduria de
- 21. nuestro cargo Guatthemala
- 22. y mayo onse de mil y seisçi-
- 23. enttos y sesentta y dos años ---
- 24. Don FFran^{co} de monttoya y va-
- 25. lençia = Don Agustin Ma-
- 26. ttutte -----
- 27. En comayagua en seis de
- 28. junio de mil y seisçientos

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- 1. y sesentta y dos enttero en
- 1. 2 esta Rl. caxala contthenidad
- 2. la media annatta primera de
- 3. esta merçed y la segunda fianza?

4. y a seguro los quatro messes Repar-
5. ttidos para la fabrica de las ca-
6. ssas Rs. y ttomose la rrazon
7. de dho ttitulo en el libro Rl
8. de zedulas de nuestro cargo y la
9. media annatta consta de su en-
- 10.ttero aforas quarentta y quatro
- 11.del Rl libro y lo firmamos =
- 12.Joan de Madariaga = ffran^{co} Pardo
- 13.de Ugarte -----
- 14.[margin Poder] En a ciudad de comaya-
- 15.gua en dies dias del mes de
- 16.junio de mil y seisçientos
- 17.y sesentta y dos años ante
- 18.mi el scrivano y ttestigos D^a
- 19.Maria Laso de San rramon
- 20.vesino de ella a quien doy
- 21.fee conosco ottorgo su poder
- 22.cumplidos el que de derecho
- 23.se require para balera Ant^o
- 24.de Ubon thessorero del Rl
- 25.aver del papel sellado de la
- 26.zui. de Grazias a Dios espezial-

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1. mente para que en su nom^e
2. y representtando su persona
3. en birttud del tittulo y mer-
4. çed que se le hiso de una pin-
5. çion en la encomienda que
6. se le dio al alferes alonsso de
7. ozeguera ttome posesion en
8. los pueblos de Guancapla
9. y opoa, de dha jurisdision
- 10.la qual aprehenda Rl corpo-
- 11.ral actual u el cu assi en que
- 12.pida ser amparada y hasta que
- 13.ttenga efectto haga ttodos los pe-
- 14.dimenttos autos juramenttos

15.y diligencias judisiales y ex-
16.tra judisiales combenientes
17.que el poder que es neçessario
18.para lo referido ese le da y o-
19.torga con general administra-
20.çion faculttad de sostittuya y
21.relebazion en forma y para
22.que hechas las diligençias las Re
23.mitta originales para usar de
24.su derecho y asi lo ottorgo sien-
25.do ttestigos marcos lazo su her-
26.mano Joseph de la torre y tomas

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1. de morales presenttes que lo firmo
2. uno de dhos ttestigos por la suso
3. dha que dixo nos aver = Marcos
4. lazo de la vega = ante mi y lo
5. signe en ttestimonio de verdad
6. Bernave Roxel Scrivano Rl
7. [margin Petiz^{on}] Anttonio Dubon Thessorero del
8. papel sellado en esta çiudad de gra-
9. çias a Dios paresco ante V. Md.
10.y digo que como consta del titulo
11.y poder que presentto con la solem-
12.nidad legal suss^a del señor gen^l
13.Don Marttin Carlos de Mencos ca-
14.vallero del horden de Santiago
15.alcayde perpettuo de los palaçios
16.Rs. de la çiudad de ttafalla
17.del Rl consejo de guerra y Jun-
18.tta de armadas Presidentte de
19.la Rl audiençia que reside
20.en la çiudad de santtiago de
21.guatthemala governador y
22.capittan general en su distrito
23.hiso merçed a Doña Maria Lazo
24.de San rramon vezina de la
25.ziudad de comayagua de una

- 26. pinzion sobre la encomi-
- 27. enda de la alferes Alonso de
- 28. ozeguera y Quebedo vezino

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- 1. de dha ziu^d en los pueblos
- 2. de guancapla – opoa – en esta
- 3. jurisdizion para que la susso
- 4. dha la goze ttodo el ttiempo
- 5. de su vida y manda suss^a se le
- 6. de la posezion de dhos pueblos
- 7. por lo qual = A V. Md pido y
- 8. suplico mande se me de la po-
- 9. sezion de dhos pueblos en
- 10. nombre de la dha Doña maria
- 11. Lazo de san rramon y haga
- 12. la diligençia que conbenga
- 13. hasta que tenga cumplido efec-
- 14. tto y se me buelva el ttestimonio
- 15. de dho ttitulo y los autos origin^s
- 16. que en su cumplimientto se hi-
- 17. çieren para en guarda el dho
- 18. de mi partte Pido justizia Rz^a
- 19. anttonio dubon.
- 20. [margin deçreto] En la ziudad de graçias
- 21. a dios en veintte dias del
- 22. mes de junio de mil y seisçien-
- 23. ttos y sesentta y dos años ante
- 24. mi Joseph de alba alcalde hordi-
- 25. nario por depositto debara de
- 26. esta çiudad y por anntte los ttestigos
- 27. que yian? firmados por defectto

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- 1. de scribano la presentto el con-
- 2. tthenido esta pettizion y por mi
- 3. vista mando se haga como lo
- 4. pide y para el cumplim^{to}, se

5. despachen los recaudos nece-
6. ssarios asi lo probey mande
7. y firmo siendo ttestigos con qⁿ
8. actuo a faltta de Scribano
9. xpttobal dubon y joseph de
- 10.alva el moço que lo firmaron con-
- 11.migo == Joseph de Alva = testigo
- 12.joseph de alba el mozo = ttestigo
- 13.xpttobal dubon -----
- 14.[margin Posezion del] En la ziudad de graçias
- 15.[margin pueo de opoa] a dios en veintte y siette dias
- 16.del mes de junio de mil y seis
- 17.çienttos y sesentta y dos años
- 18.yo joseph de alba alcalde hor-
- 19.dinario de esta çiudad por depo-
- 20.sitto de bara en cumplimiento
- 21.del tittulo de pinzion ante mi
- 22.presenttado de pedimi^{to} del thess^o
- 23.anttonio dubon en nombre y
- 24.con poder de Doña Maria Laso
- 25.de san Ramon hize parezer
- 26.ante mi a miguel hernandez
- 27.alcalde de pueblo de opoa y

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1. A Miguel Mexia regidor del
2. pueblo de opoa, y estando pre-
3. senttes mediante lengua que
4. habla por yntterprete a mi
5. quel hernandez que haze
6. ofizio de yntterprete que
7. habla la lengua de los yn-
8. dios y castellana les dia en-
9. ttender lo conthenido en
- 10.dho ttitulo y como en su cum-
- 11.plimientto el dho tthessorero
- 12.en nombre de Doña Maria
- 13.Lazo de san rramon pin-
- 14.çionaria de dho pueblo apre-

15. hencia la posezion de el y
16. enseñal de ella coxio de
17. las manos a dho alcalde y re-
18. gidor y quedaron enttendidos
19. del efectto que avian de acudir
20. a pagar los ttributtos a la dha
21. Dona maria lazo de san
22. ramon que conforme al dho
23. ttitulo le eran señalados y que
24. es ttal encomendera Pinçio-
25. naria lo qual paso quietta y
26. paçificamente sin contra

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1. dizon alguna y el dho tthe-
2. ssorero anttonio dubon en bir-
3. ttud del poder que tiene de dha
4. pinçonaria para el efectto
5. lo pidio por ttestimonio yo el
6. dho joseph de alba alcalde
7. hordinario de esta ziudad zer-
8. ttifico como mejor puedo y lu
9. gar aya que todo lo referido
10. paso segun y como queda
11. dho en mi presençia y de
12. los ttestigos que lo fieron fir-
13. maron conmigo por no aver
14. sçrivano publico ni rreal
15. que lo fieron joseph de alba del
16. mozo y xpttobal dubon = joseph
17. de alba = joseph de alba del
18. moço = Gabriel hernandez de
19. prado = testigo xpttobal du-
20. [margin Petizon del] bon -----
21. [margin pue^o de guan] En la ziudad de graçias
22. [margin apla] a dios en veintte y ttres dias
23. del mes de junio de mil y sies
24. çienttos y sesentta y dos años yo
25. joseph de alba alcalde hordinario

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1. de esta ciudad por depositto de
2. bara en cumplimientto del
3. ttitulo de pinzion ante mi
4. presentado de ~~tethesso~~ Pedi-
5. mientto del thess^o antonio
6. dubon en nombre y con po-
7. der de Doña Maria lanzo
8. de san rramon hize parezer
9. ante mi a Joan baptistta al-
10. calde del pueblo de guanca-
11. pla y barttolome hernan-
12. dez regidor de dho pueblo
13. de guancapla y estando pre-
14. senttes Gabriel hernandez
15. que hizo officio de yntter-
16. prette que habla la lengua de
17. yndios y la castellana les di
18. a enttender lo contthenido
19. en dho ttitulo y como en su
20. cumplimientto el dho thess^o
21. anttonio dubon en nombre
22. de Dona maria Lazo de san
23. ramon pinçonaria de dho
24. pueblo aprehendia la posezion
25. de el y en seãl de ella

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1. coxio de las manos a dhos al-
2. caldes y regidores y queda-
3. ron enttendidos del efecto
4. y que avian de acudir a pagar los
5. ttributtos a a dha Doña Maria
6. Lazo de SanRamon que con
7. forme al dho ttitulo le eran
8. señalado y que es ttal en
9. comendera pinçonaria lo

10. qual passo pietta y pazifica-
11. mentte sin contradizion al-
12. guna y el dho tthess^o Anttonio
13. Dubon en birtud del poder
14. que tierne de dha pinçonaria
15. para el efectto lo pidio por
16. ttestimonion e yo el dho joseph
17. de alba alcalde hordinario
18. zertifico como mejor puedo y
19. lugar aya que ttod lo referido
20. passo segun y como pqueda dho
21. en mi presençia y de los ttest-
22. tigos que lo fueron conmigo
23. por no aver scrivano publico
24. ni Rl que lo fieron joseph de
25. alba el Moço y xpttobal de

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1. Ubon vezinos de esta ciudad
2. y el yntterpette Gabriel
3. hernandes = joseph de alba
4. ttestigo joseph de alba el
5. moço = gabriel hernandes
6. de prado = testigo xpttoval
7. de Ubon -----
8. [margin Poder] En la ziudad de coma-
9. yagua en dies dias del mes
10. de junio de mil y seisçien-
11. ttos y sesentta y dos años
12. ante mi el scribano y ttes-
13. ttigos Doña Maria Lazo de
14. San rramon vezina de
15. ella a quien doy fee conosco
16. ottorgo su poder cumplido el
17. que de Di^o serre quiere p^a
18. valer a Deigo Perez de
19. zerbanttes tthess^o del rreal
20. aber del papel sellado de
21. la ziudad de San Pedro y a Al^o

22. de figueroa vezino de la
23. dha zitud y a cada uno de por
24. si yn solidum expeçialmen-
25. te para que en su nombre y

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1. representtando su persona en
2. birttud del tittulo y merçed que
3. se le hizo de una pinzion en
4. la encomienda que se le dio al
5. alferes alson de ozeguera tto-
6. me posezion en los pueblos de
7. masca = y chinda en aquella
8. jurisdizion la qual aprehen-
9. da en su nombre Rl. corporal
10. actual velcuasi en que pida
11. ser amparada y hastta que ten-
12. ga efecto haga ttodos los pedi-
13. mienttos autos juramenttos y
14. diligençias judiziales y extra-
15. judiziales combenientes que
16. el poder que es neçessario para
17. lo referido ese le da y ottor-
18. ga con general administrazion
19. y relebazion en forma y
20. para que le remmitta los autos
21. que se hizieren originales p^a
22. usar de su Di^o y asi lo ottorgo
23. siendo ttestigos marcos lazo
24. su hermano ttomas de morales
25. y joseph de la torre presentes
26. que lo firmo uno de dhos ttes-

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1. ttigos por la ottorgantte que dixo
2. no saver = testigo Marcos Lazo
3. de la Vega = antte mi y lo
4. signe en ttestimonio de verdad

5. Bernabe roxel Scrivano Rl.
6. [margin Pettiz^{on}] Diego Perez de zervantes
7. vezino de esta çiudad de San
8. Pedro tthessorero del rreal
9. aver del papel sellado y alcal-
- 10.de hordinario en ella y su juris-
- 11.dizion por su magestad en nom^e
- 12.y com poder de Doña Maria
- 13.Lazo de San rramon pares-
- 14.co antte V. md. en la mejor ?ra
- 15.y forma que aya lugar y al de
- 16.mi partte combenga = y digo
- 17.que como consta de testimonio
- 18.y Poder que presentto con la solen-
- 19.nidad legal digo que a la dha
- 20.mi partte se le hizo merced de
- 21.una pinçion sobre la encomien-
- 22.da del alferes alonso de oze-
- 23.guera vezino de la ziu^d de
- 24.comayagua en los pueblos de
- 25.masca y chinda jurisdizion
- 26.de esta çiudad Por suss^a el señor

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1. Don marttin carlos de mencos ca-
2. vallero de la horden de Santiago
3. alcayde perpettuo de los palazios
4. R^s de la ziudad de ttafalla de
5. el Rl consejo de guerra y junta
6. de armadas press^{te}, de la Rl audi^a
7. que reside en la ziudad de santiago
8. de guathemala gobernador y
9. capittan general en su districtto
- 10.para que la susso dha los goçe todo
- 11.el tiempo de su vida y manda
- 12.suss^a se le de a la susso dha la posez^{on}
- 13.de dhos pueblos por lo qual
- 14.a V md. pide y suplico mande se
- 15.me de la posezion de dhos pue^{os}

16. y se me vuelva el testimonio de
17. dho título y los autos originales
18. que en su cumplimiento se hizieren
19. para el guarda del Di^o de mi
20. parte pido justicia y juro en
21. forma en nombre de la dha
22. mi parte y en lo necesario Rz^a ?
23. Diego perez de zerbantes -----
24. [margin decreto] En la ciudad de San Pedro
25. Provi^a de honduras en veinte
26. y dos de junio de mil y seiscientos

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1. y sesenta y dos años ante mi
2. el maestro de campo fran^{co}
3. de castro ayala alferes ma-
4. yor de la ciudad de comayagua
5. y theniente de gobernador y
6. capitán general en esta juris-
7. diction se presentto esta pettiz^{on}
8. por el contenido en ella
9. con los recaudos que refiere
10. que visto probey hagase como
11. lo pide y se despachen los que
12. fieren necesarios asi lo pro-
13. bey siendo testigos por falta
14. de scribano Pedro fran^{co} y
15. alonso lopez que conmigo firma-
16. ron = ffran^{co} de castro ayala
17. alonso lopez = testigo Pedro
18. fran^{co} de arze. -----
19. [margin Posez^{on} del pue^o] en el pueblo de mascan en v^{te}
20. [margin de masca] y cinco de junio de este dho año
21. en cumplimiento del título de en-
22. comienda librado en favor de
23. Doña Maria Lazo de San Ramon
24. vezina de la ziu^d de comayagua
25. yo dho theniente de pedimento
26. de Diego Perez de zerbantes

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1. thessorero del papel sellado en
2. nombre y con poder de dha en
3. comendera hize parezer ante mi
4. a el alcalde de dho pueblo mi-
5. guel cuculi y regidor del Roque
6. Chi y estando presenttes con los
7. demas de dho pueblo por Simon
8. Lopez que hizo ofiçio de yntter-
9. prette y enttiende la lengua de
10. dhos yndios les di a enttender
11. el dho ttitulo y abiendolo en-
12. ttendido en su cumplimientto
13. le di posezion al dho diego pe-
14. rez en nombre de la dha enco-
15. mendera del dho pueblo le qual
16. la ttomo y aprehendio y en señal
17. de ella coxio de las manos a los
18. dhos alcalde y regidor a los
19. quales di a enttender mediante
20. dho yntterprette el efectto de
21. dho ttitulo y que an de acudir con
22. sus ttributos a la dha Doña Maria
23. Lazo como a ttal su Encome-
24. dera segun bienen seãladas
25. en el en la qual posezion le meti
26. quietta y paçifica a el dho poda-

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1. ttario de la dha doña maria
2. y yo dho tteniente zertifico
3. en la mejor forma que puedo
4. y de Di^o devo passo ttodo lo refe-
5. rido ante mi y testigos por
6. falta de sçriv^o que lo dieron Pedro
7. fran^{co} del larze y alonso lopez
8. que con el yntterprette y podatario

9. lo firmaron = ffran^{co} de castro ayala
10. diego perez de zerbantes = alonso
11. lopez = testigo Pedro fran^{co} del larçe
12. simon lopez -----
13. [margin Posez^{on} del pue^o] en el pueblo de chinda en
14. [margin de chinda] veintte y ocho de junio de mil
15. y seis çienttos y sesentta y dos años
16. en cumplimentto del tittulo de
17. encomienda librada en favor de
18. doña maria laso vezina de la
19. ziudad de comayagua yo dho tthe-
20. nientte de pedimentto de diego
21. perez de zerbantes pdatario de dha
22. Doña maria y en su nom^e
23. hize parezen ante mi a el al-
24. calde de dho pueblo llamado Joan
25. de herrera y Regidor marttin
26. sanches y siendo presentes los de-
27. mas yndios del pueblo les di a entender

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1. dho ttittulo y aviendolo enttendi-
2. do en su complimientto yo dho
3. theniente le di posezion al dho
4. diego peres de zerbantes en nom^e
5. de la dha Doña maria lazo como
6. su podattario la qual tomo y apre-
7. hendio quietta y pazifica y
8. en señal de ella coxio de las ma-
9. nos a los dhos alcaldes y reigdor
10. a los quales les di a enttender me-
11. diante Simon Lpez yntterpre-
12. te nombrado que save la lengua de
13. dhos yndios el efeccto de dho
14. tittulo y qu an de acudir con sus
15. tributos a la dha Doña maria
16. lazo segun bienen seãlados en
17. el en la qual posezion meti
18. quietta y paçifica al dho diego

19. perez de zerbanttes en birtud de
20. el dho poder de la dha encomen-
21. dera de dho pue^o, y yo dho tthe-
22. niente zerttifico en la mejor
23. forma que puedo y de derecho devo
24. paso ante mi ttodo lo referido
25. y fieron ttestigos por faltta de
26. scrivano Pedro fran^{co} del larze
27. y alonso lopez que firmaron

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1. por el podattario y yntterprete
2. ffran^{co} de castro ayala = diego pe-
3. res de zerbanttes = testigo Pedro
4. fran^{co} del larze = alonso lopez
5. simon lopez -----
6. [margin presentaz^{on}] En la ziudad de comayagua en
7. çinco dias del mes de julio de
8. mil y sis çeinttos y sesentta
9. y dos años ante don diego de ol-
10. medo yormaza Gobernador y ca-
11. pitan general de esta provinçia
12. de honduras por su mag^d se liyo
13. esta pettizion -----
14. [margin petiz^{on}] Doña Maria lazo de San Rmaon
15. vezinoa de esta ciudad como
16. mas aya lugar digo que como consta
17. y pareze de este tittulo que presen-
18. tto en forma legal a mi se me hizo
19. merçed de una pinzion en la en-
20. comienda que se le dio al alferes
21. alonso de ozeguera de doçientos y
22. ochentta y ocho ttosttones y dos
23. R^s que se çittuaron y señalaron
24. en diferentes Pueblos de esta
25. jurisdizion y de la de ls minas
26. de teguçigalpa y por que en el dho

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1. ttitulo se dispone se me de pose-
2. cion de dha pinzion mediante
3. estar en esta ziudad los yndios
4. del pueblo de guarabuqui y los
5. de yngrigula combiene a mi
6. Di^o que el alguaçil mayor de esta
7. dha çiudad o qualquiera de sus
8. tthenienttes me de posezion
9. velcuasi de los dhos dos pue^{os}
- 10.y que se me entregue original
- 11.con el tittulo para ussar de
- 12.mi di^o mediante lo qual =
- 13.a V. Md. pido y suplico asi lo pro-
- 14.bea y mande que en ello resevi-
- 15.re merçed con justizia que pida
- 16.juro en forma Rz^a-----
- 17.[margin deçreto] Por su merçed vista dixo
- 18.que el alguaçil mayor de
- 19.esta ziudad o qualquiera de
- 20.sus thenienttes le den posez^{on}
- 21.velcuasi de los pueblos que
- 22.el pedimentto refiere a D^a
- 23.maria lazo de san ramon
- 24.contthenida en el la qual
- 25.le amporen y defiendan
- 26.como su mag^d lo manda

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1. y se le entregue original
2. y asi lo probeyo mando y firmo
3. Don Deigo de olmedo y ormaza
4. ante mi Bernabe roxel scriv^o
5. real -----
6. [margin Posez^{on}] En la ziu^d de comayagua
7. [margin guarabuqui] en seis dias del mes de jullio
8. de mil y sisçienttos y se-
9. sentta y dos años Por ante mi
- 10.el scriv^o Doña maria laso

11.de san ramon requirio con
12.el auto de arriva a antt^o de
13.zuniga theniente de algua-
14.cil mayor de esta dha çiudad
15.para que le metta en la pose-
16.çion que se manda por lo que
17.ttoca al pueblo de guarabu-
18.qui en dos yndios que estaban
19.presenttes por ser un de los
20.pueblos señalados en el titulo
21.de pençion en su fabor despacha-
22.da en cuia virttud el dho tthe-
23.niente preguntto a los dhos
24.yndios que eran ladinos en
25.lengua castellana de que Pue^o
26.eran y respondieronce uno

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1. llamarse Gaspar lopez y ser
2. alcade y el otro Phelipe gar-
3. çia regidores ambos natu-
4. rales y ofiziales de Republi-
5. ca de este presentte año en
6. el dho pue^o de guarabuqui
7. mediante lo qual el dho the-
8. niente los coxio por la mano
9. y los enttrego a la dha Doña
10.Maria lasso de san ramon
11.y en ellos le dio la posez^{on}
12.bel cuasi del dho pueblos y en
13.señal de ella les mando le
14.ttruxesen un xarro de agua
15.y lo hizieron refiriendo
16.dhos yndios aber benido en
17.nombre del dho su pueblo a vi-
18.sittar al la susso dha por aver
19.ttenido notiçia era su enco-
20.mendera y de aver passado
21.el actto referido sin contra-

22. dize alguna me lo pidio
23. por testimonio el qual doy
24. segun que mejor puedo y de di^o
25. a lugar y lo firmo el dho

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1. executor y por la suso
2. dha que dixo nos aver un
3. testigo y lo fieron manual
4. de sotto alonso de aragon
5. clerigo prebitero y el al-
6. ferez alonso de ozeguera
7. presentes = Antonion de zu-
8. niga = testigo alonso de
9. ozeguera y quebedo = en fee de
10. ello hago mi signo en testi-
11. monio de verdad = Berna-
12. be Roxel scrivano Rl. -----
13. [margin posez^{on} del pue^o] En la çuidad de comayagua
14. [margin de yngri] en veintte dias del mes
15. de jullio de mil y sisçientos
16. y sesenta y dos años por ante
17. mi el Scrivano doña maria
18. lazo de san Ramon requi-
19. rio con el auto de la foxa
20. antes de esta a anttonio de
21. zuniga para que le de la psezion
22. que los el se manda como the-
23. niente de alguaçil mayor
24. de esta ziudad por es que toca
25. al pueblo de yngrigula

page 141

1. en dos yndios que estavan
2. presentes por ser uno de
3. los pueblos menionados
4. en el tittulo en su favor des-
5. pachado en cuia virttud el dho

6. tthenientte preguntto a los
7. dhos yndios de que pueblos
8. eran y que nombres y ofizions
9. tthenian y aviendolo enten-
10. dido por ser ladinos en len-
11. gua castellana respondieron
12. el uno llamarse sebastian
13. hernandez ser alcalde
14. y el otro marcos gonzales
15. regidor ambos del dho pue^o
16. de yngrigula mediante
17. lo qual el cho tthenientte
18. los coxio por la mano y los
19. enttrego a la dha doña ma-
20. ria lazo de san ramon y
21. en ellos le dio la posezion
22. vel cuasi del dho pueblo y en
23. señal de ella les mando a los dhos
24. yndios sacar una mesa de la sala

page 142

1. de su cassa al corredor y lo
2. hizieron y de aver passado
3. el actto referido quietta y
4. pazificamentte lo pidio por
5. ttestimonio el qual doy se-
6. gun que mejor puedo y de Di^o a
7. lugar y de que el dho theni-
8. entte dixo que en nombre de
9. su magestad amparaba y am-
10. paro a la dha doña Maria
11. lazo de San Ramon en la
12. dha poçiession y lo firmo sien-
13. do ttestigos alonso de ozeguera
14. y ttomas de morales quye uno de
15. dhos ttestigos firmo par la
16. susso dha que dixo no saver =
17. Antionio de zundiag = testigo
18. Alonso de ozeguera y Quebedo

19. ante mi Bernabe Roxel scriv^o
20. real -----
21. [continues in another hand] El qual traslado yo Bernabe Roxel
escelo?
22. te scribano del R e y nuestro señor saque
23. de su original que para dho efecto lo ex?
24. Doña Maria Lazo de San Ramon a quien lo
25. bolvi aqui me refiero y de su pedimiento y
26. requerimiento doy el presente en esta for-

page 143

1. ma en la çiu^d de comayagua en primero del
2. mes de Agosto de mil y seisçientos y sesenta
3. y dos años testigos el elferez Joseph de la
4. torre Joan de xeres y antonio de espinosa de los
5. monteros presentes = en m^{do} / rmaron / =y ti^{do} / fue
6. ron / e thesso / -----
7. en fee dello lo signe en testim^o de verd
8. Bernabe Roxel
9. Scriv^o R^l
10. [another hand] Nos el Capittan Don Diego de olmedo y ormaza go-
11. bernador y capittan general de esta provi^a de honduras
12. el sarjento mayor Jaun fran^{co} perez alcalde
13. Hordinario mas antiguo en esta çiu^d y Miguel de zaldi-
14. var nottario mayor de la ttribunal de la santa cruzada
15. de la çiu^d de guathemala y su jurisdizion zertifica-
16. mos que Bernabe Roxel escalante de quien pareze
17. va signado y dirmado este testimonio es scrivano Rl.
18. com se nombra y a las escrituras y testimonios que ante
19. el an passado y pasan sea dado y da entera fee y cre-
20. ditto en juizio y fuera dely para que conste dimos el pre-
21. sente en la çiu^d de Comayagua en primero de Agosto de
22. mil y sisçienttos y sesenta y dos años -----
23. Don Diego de Olmedo Juan Fran^{co} Perez Miguel de Saldivar
24. gobernador nott^o may^{or} de cruzada

page 144

1. [blank]

page 145

1. [blank]

page 146

1. [the wrapper with writting in two directions]
2. Doña maria Laso de San Ramon Pido
3. Confirm^{on} de 188? tost. y Dos R^s que el
4. presidente de guatemala le dio de pension
5. por dos vidas en la encomienda de A
6. lonso de ozeguera el qual tambien pide confirm^{on}
7. Ria?
8. v. de neuva esp^a
9. [another hand] Al señor Alvaro de Benavides
10. vienen aqui los pap^s
11. de la encomienda [right margin dentro en la pri-]
12. principal , juntan^{te} [right margin mer aoja el de-]
13. con los de la pension [right margin creto =]
14. [another hand]enti^d a 6 de dic. 1664
15. traslado a la p^{te} y tragalo un
16. relacion

17. [and the other direction]
18. [another hand] el fiscal pide que a la secret^a y contaduria se ynforme
odai
19. largas que tienen las caxas Rls. de Guattemala = y pide que
20. esta encomienda y sus fruttos se pliquen p^a desempeño
21. de las sobre que forma articulo con debido promentramiento
22. y en casso que esto no aya lugar = pide que estos papeles
23. se buelban a traer p^a pedir lo com^{te} y contradecir
24. mas en forma esta confirmacion pide just^a Madrid
25. y hen. 28 de 1664.

AGCA A1.45 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413

Salvador Cano, a lawyer hired by the town of Masca, petitioned the Audiencia of Guatemala to nullify a contract an earlier Alcalde of Masca had entered into in 1711. The contract called for the people of Masca to assume a debt from Juan de Ferrera owed to the Church in San Pedro and its priest, Juan Lopez de Chaverria in exchange for Ferrera not allowing his cattle to eat Masca's crops and in particular, its chocolate. Cano repeats the words written by the town Alcalde in 1714, Simon Cuculi, who testified to moving the pueblo twice, from the sea coast near Manabique to a location on the Rio Bijao, and later, further inland to land indicated for them by the provincial governor of Honduras. In the process, the name of the town changed from San Pedro Masca to Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de Masca.

In petitioning the Audiencia in Guatemala, Simon Cuculi noted that the reason the town moved inland was because of predation from pirates along the coast emphasizing how the pirates both siezed people as slaves, and molested the religious images in their church. The inhabitants settled on land next to the ranch owned by Juan de Ferrera, land assigned to them by the then governor of Honduras. Cuculi emphasized the service Masca provided to San Pedro as part of the coastal watch. He described the predation of the cattle owned by Ferrera, then pointed out that under Spanish law, Indians, and Indian communities, could not legally enter into a contract. In this he cites book, law, and paragraph of the Recopilacion de Leyes de las Indias. Since the contract was not legal, Cuculi asked the authorities to nullify it, and to give Masca the rights to the land where the governor told them to resettle. Cuculi also asked that Juan Lopez de Chaverria be stopped from excommunicating them for the debt.

The governor of Honduras in 1713, Enrique Logman, found in favor of the people of Masca and ordered the priest not to pursue the debt. In 1714, the Fiscal of the Audiencia confirmed that Indians cannot enter into contracts and orders that if the heirs of Juan de Ferrera have an actual land title, that they be compensated with lands elsewhere and grants Masca the lands that they live on and use for their subsistence as called for in Spanish law.

This document is discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

Transcription of AGCA A1.45 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413

[note: botton right corner of page 1 and lower left corner of page 2 was torn out when photographed in 2002. That text has been partially restored from the 1970s microfilm images from McMaster University, where the fragment still exists]

page 1

1. M. P. S. 1712 Presenta Poder
2. y Recaudos Pide
3. Se lleben a el
4. Señor fis
5. cal y con
6. [lightly written: Por ques d de lo des q al] lo que digere
7. [fiscal] el Relado los
8. traiga Vistos=

9. Salvador Cano en nombre de los Indios Alcaldes
- 10.y Regidores Principales y Comun del Pueblo de
- 11.Nra Señora de la Candelaria Nombrado Masca
- 12.Sito Junto a la Ciudad de San Pedro Sula de el
- 13.Gobierno y Provincia de Comayagua y en Virtud de
- 14.Su Poder sustituido que devido en en de presente
- 15.paresco ante V. A. por el Recurso que mas util y
- 16.favorable les sea y otra que el quiera que les Con
- 17.peta Y digo que mis partes tubieran antigua
- 18.mente Su poblazon en la Playa del mar del
- 19.norte entre el Puerto de Cavallos y Manabique
- 20.a quien y a los dhos Yndios los saqueo y robo diferen
- 21.tes besez el enemigo pirata llebo [en daño] dibersos
- 22.familias y haziendado distrozos? [y sacriligios] en su
- 23.temple e Imagenes y [la referida y que] mis
- 24.partes Carescan de [el pasto espiritual por q] ue
- 25.Su Cura los Visitaria [una vez el año por la gran]
- 26.de distancia que ai a [la Cabesera de el curato]
- 27.e incomodidades del [parage con lisencia]
- 28.de Su Governador se [poblaron aora veinte]
- 29.y Sinco años en Un p[arage que se n...]
- 30.el Rio Vijao ocho legu[as] [distante de puer]
- 31.to de Cavallos tierra dent [ro del que y sin em....]

32.trabajoza Mudacion bo [lvio el e.....]

page 2

[entire page blurred in photo. Text in lower left corner missing in 2002 but restored from McMaster University microfilm of same from 1970s]

1. al ynbadir el dho Pueblo y la Robo y saqueo de que
2. mis partes dieran quenta a Su Governador que
3. entonses lo era el Capitan Don Antonio de Aya
4. la y Con su licencia trasplantaron el dho Pueblo
5. en donde oy esta que es en Una Sabana de la Bo[ca]
6. del Monte inmediata a la estancia de Juan [...]
7. de Ferrara de quien antes presedio Su Consentimiento
8. y a diez y seis años que mis partes. estan Poblados
9. en el dho. parage con Casas y Yglesia Cacaguatales
10. Platanales Milpas y otros senbrados que a fuerza
11. de mucho afan y trabajo an conseguido [sin aver]
12. avido contradision de persona alguna ni que en
13. el referido tiempo se les Cauzase a mis partes nin
14. gun perjuicio gozando de el pasto expiritual
15. y con ocasion de haverse aumentado con mu
16. cha abundancia los ganados de el dho Juan de
17. Ferrera de tres años a esta prate le an hecho
18. mis partes notable daño a todas sus sienbras de
19. tal manera que no an logrado cosecha nin
20. guna Y hallandose todo el comun aflegido y
21. desconsolado requirieran al dho. Juan de Ferrera
22. para que sacase sus ganados o diese forma para
23. que no perjudisase a los sementeras de mis partes
24. y el susodho por exonerarse de la carga de tressien
25. tos y sesenta pesos que dijo estaban cargados a zen
26. zo sobre la dha. su estancia se comprometio con
27. el Alcalde que a la zazon era de el Pueblo en
28. que mis partes se obligasen a entregar los dhos
29. treseintos y sesenta pesos y ofresio sacar sus
30. ganados dentro de tres meses como todo consta
31. de el conpromiso que devidamente presento
32. y mis partes por redimir su bexasion Vinie

33. ron en el dicho Conpromisso ignorando como ig
34. noraron Su derecho y que no se pudieron obligar
35. y por havers muerto el dho. Juan de Ferrera
36. los erederos an apretado a mis partes a la
37. ...aga de dicho [dinero] y Ultimamente el B[achiller]
38. [Juan] Lopez de Chavarria Cura propietario

page 3

1. de el dho Partido de Usula les notifico a mis
2. partes Un auto de senzura que dijo ser expe
3. dido de el Reberendo Obispo de aquel Obispado
4. para que pagasen luego la dha cantidad o dejasen
5. libres las tierras con apersavimiento que de no
6. hazerlo los declararia por descomulgados pa
7. ra cuyo remedio ocurrieron mis partes ante
8. el Governador de aquella provincia y pidieron
9. que les amparase en la posescion de dichos tierras en
10. que estan poblados y declarase el dho conpro
11. miso por nulo y de ningun Valor ni efecto i
12. exprezaron Mui en forma su justicia y los a
13. gravios que resevian como todo consta de el es
14. crito que assi mismo presento que reprodusgo
15. y el dho Governador amparo a mis partes en
16. la dicha posesion con calidad de que ocurriesen
17. a este supremo tribunal a representarlo para
18. que se confirme el dho amparo sin la Calidad
19. de el grabamen de el dho senso y Juntamente mando
20. librar despacho suplicatorio al dho Padre Cura
21. para que en el inter se abstenga en esta Cau
22. za asta tanto que V.A. determine lo que con
23. benga sobre todo y lo demas que dho. auto con
24. tiene: Y porque el que mis partes esten Poblados
25. en el dho parage es mui esensial al Real ha
26. ver y de mucha conbeniencia a aquella Pro
27. vincia por que son los que con cuidado sirben
28. de Vigias contra el enemigo y lleban a Riesgo
29. de sus Vidas las noticias a la Ciudad de San Pe
30. dro Osula como consta de la sertificacion
31. que asimismo presento sea de servir V. A. de

- 32.amparar a mis partes en la Posesion que
- 33.de mas de catorse años tienen en la dha
- 34.Poblazon y sus tierras declarando el dho
- 35.compromiso por nulo y por libres de la paga
- 36.de el dho senzo confirmando el dho

page 4

1. Auto en todo y por todo declarando que
2. todas las de su circunferencia del
3. dho Pueblo pertenesen a mis partes y
4. que se les adjudiquen en fuerza de lo que
5. llebo exprezado y a la parte de los ere
6. deros de el dho Juan de Ferrera se les de
7. conpenzasion en otra parte y que para
8. todo se les libre el despacho nevezario
9. y que este escrito se lleve al señor fiscal
- 10.con los recaudos presentados y con lo que di
- 11.gere el Relator los traiga Vistos median
- 12.te lo qual=
- 13.A. V. A. Pedido y Supplico. que aviendo por presen
- 14.tado dho poder y Recaudos se sirva mandar
- 15.hazer como refiero que en ello resiuiran mis
- 16.partes Vien y Mrd. con Justicia y Juro en
- 17.anima de mis partes y la mia no proseder de
- 18.malicia y en lo nesezario etc.
- 19.Salvador Cano

[different handwriting]

- 20.A decreto suscripto a esta peticn. prebeieron los señores. Presidentes y. Oidores
- 21.de esta Rl. Auda. Doctor. Don. Pedro de Gaeta y oro licenciados. Don
- 22.Juan. Geronimo.Duardo Don. Thomas de Arana Don. Joseph Rodes
- 23.no Doctor. Don. Phelipe de Lugo y licenciado. Don. Ambrosio Santaella
- 24.Melgarejo oidores en Goatha. en seis de marzo de mill setecientos
- 25.y Catorze años.=
- 26.Girdio despinosa

page 5

[new handwriting, new document]

1. En la ciudad de comayagoa provinza.
2. de honduras en veinte dos de dici
3. enbre de mil setecientos trece años ante
4. mi el scrivano. pu[bli]co. de testigos, Simon
5. [in margin: Poder] Cuculi, Indio Alcalde, del pueblo de
6. de Nra. Señora de candelaria de Maxca
7. que doy fue conosco en nombre y en voz
8. del comun y naturales de su pueblo dijo
9. que ottorga su poder completo y
10. Rastante el que de derecho se requicar
11. es necessario. para valer al Capn don Mi
12. guel de Uria vezino. de la Ciudad de
13. Goatemala especialmte. para que con
14. su nombre y repressenttando su derecho
15. paresca ante su Alteza y señores
16. su presidente y oydores de la R. Chan
17. zilleria de Guattemala y ante quien
18. con derecho apenas y haga presentation
19. de un escrito que presentamos ante
20. señores el Governador y Capitan General
21. de la provinca. y su decreto y dos zertifi
22. caciones que con este poder se remiten
23. y piden a su Alteza los ampare en la
24. posezion de doce años que tienen de las
25. tierras que tienen pobladas con Iglesia

page 6

1. en el camino que ba de la Ciudad de San
2. Pedro al puerto de Cavallos como son
3. necessario para dar noticias de venida
4. de enemigos, y que se de cumplimiento
5. a las leyes Rs. que hablan en favor de
6. los naturales haziendo presentazion
7. del ynstrumento llamado compromiso que
8. asi mismo remite para que pida se

9. declare por de ningun efetto, y que res
10.petto de las leyes Rs. se le aplique al
11.dho su pueblo las tierras que poseen
12.sin pagar las attento a tener las pobla
13.das y la utilidad que a la tierra se
14.sigue y que pare el zenzo que sobre
15.ellas se dice estar ynpuesto se leven
16.al obligado al zenzo tierras en otra
17.partte, y que no se le enbarasse per
18.sos Jueses eclesiasticos trescientos y
19.setenta y cinco pesos que pervienes
20.de su comunidad tienen en poder
21.del Capn. Francisco. Gomez de Tejada y pues
22.estuvieren enbargados por el Juez eclesiastico
23.se desenbengaran y se les entregue sin
24.que se les hagan costas y si el Juez
25.eclesiastico los Ubiere excomulgado
26.por cualquier caussa que sea los ab
27.suelves declarrando no deverlo ser
28.por su Yncapacidad que para eztos

page 7

1 ellos lo dependiente anexo y consta
2 miente a su materia le da este poder
3 sin que por faltta de requisitto o
4 substanzia dexes cobras para todo
5 el poder que es necessario este le da con
6 Sen. administrazion facultad de
7 sostituir con relivazion enferma
8 y assi lo otorgo el dho. alcalde que no
9 lo firmo por no saver a su Ruego le
10 firmo Un testigo, y de pedimento. des otorgantes.
11 no quedo registro fueron testigos don
12 Joseph Calderon de la Varre el alfarez.
13 don Joseph de Hinostroza sottomayer
14 Manuel Ximenes presentes.
15 BaCm.do = ??os= Vatga.

16 [center] A ruegos de los otorgantes

17 [L] Tesimy. Ante my [center} testigo. Manuel Ximenez [R]
Pafffo
18 [L] Hago Mi scrvno= [R] testimy. de Verd.
19 [R] gabriel carriro
20 [R]Escrvo. Pub

page 8

[papel sellado]

1. [blank]

page 9

[new document, new handwriting, iron based ink]

1. En la Ciudad de Santiago de Goathemala
2. en sinco dias del mes de marso de mill sette
3. cientos y cattorse años ante mi el escrivano de
4. su Magestad y Thestigos el Capitan de Cavallos
5. Corasas Don Miguel Eustachio de Uria Rexidor de es
6. ta Ciudad que Doi fee conozco Otorga que substitiu
7. ye el Poder de las dos foxas antes desta que en la
8. Ciudad de Comayagua de la Provincia de Honduras
9. por ante Gabriel Carrero Escriviano de Governacion
10.a los Veinte y dos de Disiembre del año pasado de trese
11.Otorgaron a mi favor Simon Cuculí alcalde del Pue
12.blo de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de Masca en
13.nombre de su Pueblo sobre lo que en el se contiene
14.en Don Salvador Cano Procurador desta Real au
15.diencia Usando de la clausula de Substitucion que en
16.el se expresa para el seguimiento y conclusion de su
17.pleito y asi lo dijo otorgo y firmo siendo testigos
18.Pedro de Peralta, Miguel de Peralta y Pedro de es
19.covedo Vesinos desta dha Ciudad presentes
20.Miguel Eustachio
21.de Uria
22.Ante my=
23.Ante Ingraes Cava.
24.Escribano de su Mgd. y de Provincia

page 10

[papel sellado]

1. [blank]

page 11

[new document, new handwriting, black ink]

1. 2
2. M. P. S.
3. El fiscal de su Magd. savido el scripto ynstru
4. mentos presentados por que de los indios del Pueblo. de nu
5. estra señora de la candelaria de la prova. de Co
6. maiagua y jues que V. A. se ha de servir de declarar
7. por nula la obligacion hecha por los Indios de
8. pagar tresecientos y sesenta pesos por las tierras
9. en qu estan poblados por faltarles los solominidades
10. dispuesto por derecho para que subsistirse el contra
11. to, que no pueden los Indios celebrar por si, y
12. mas siendo a su daño, a que se llege que pa
13. ra po[blot]blarse se les deben dar tierras compe
14. tentes conforme a los leies Realess. que deben ser pre
15. feridos en ellas, en cuia consecuencia se hace
16. servir V. A. de ampararles en ellas mandan
17. do no sean molestados, y si los herederos de Juan.
18. de Ferrera tubieron Justos titulos de dichas tierras
19. Vsen de su derecho amo les convenga para que se les
20. de recompensa en otra partes. Goathemala. Mayo 14 en
21. 1714 años.
22. J. de Gutierrez

[new document different handwriting, same black ink]

23. Autos= Lo qual proveyeron los señores Presidente y Oydores
24. desta Real Audiencia Señor Don Pedro de Ozaetta y Oro
25. Lizdo. Dn Juan. Geronimo. Duardo Dn Thomas

page 12

1. Arana y Dn. Joseph Rodesno y Doctor.
2. Don Phelipe de Lugo y Lizenciado Don.
3. Ambrosio Thomas Santaella Melgarejo
4. Oydores en Guatemala en [~~crossed out catorse~~] quince de
5. febrero de mil settecientos y catorse a.
6. =testado= catorse= Ve.= entregue= quince=
7. El fiscal de su Magd. se da por cotado Goatemala.
8. Mayo 17 de 1714
9. J de Gutierrez

[new section brown ink new handwriting]

10. En Guathemala en diez y siete del mes de
11. Mayo de mill setezientos y catorze an. yo el
12. escrivano. de su Magd. Zite en forma con el decret
13. de la vuelta para la Juez destes autos Sr. Don
14. Salvador Cano procurador desta Real. Audiencia.
15. por. quienes parte y dixo se da por Zitado de ello
16. doy fee =
17. Phillipo. de Ulloa y Menendez
18. escrivano

page 13

[new document, new handwriting, black ink]

1. En la Ciudad. de San Pedro en veintiun dias del mes
2. de febrero de mill setecientos. y onse ante mi el Capitan Juan Gutierrez
3. marques theniente de Governador y Capitan que en dicho
4. cuidad sus puertos y jurisdision = paresieron los natu
5. rales del pueblo de la Candelaria y el cavo de esqua
6. dra Juan de Ferrera todos juntos en comun y dijera
7. estan tratados y consertados con dho cavo Juan de
8. Ferrera el compra de el sitio de San Agustin en
9. Cantida de tresientos y setenta pesos en reales

10. los quales pertenesen a los senso que paga dho
11. Juan de Ferrera a las Santa. Yglesia y entregado
12. queda redimido y sin la obligasion de senso
13. los dichos naturales sino libres en dicho sitio y sin tri
14. buto ninguno por tanto se obligan dichos naturales
15. el alcalde Juan Chabacan y regidor Guillermo. Chi y Diego Chi
16. Marcos Chabacan y demas prensipales y com[un]
17. a entregar la cantida de los tresientos y sesenta pe[sos]
18. dentro de dos años en plata siendo obligado ydem
19. justicias que. fueren en estos dos años para cumplir
20. lo que. dicha es y en el Ynterin quedan obligados dicho[s]
21. naturales a pagar la mitad del senso mientras no en
22. tregaren la referida cantidad para lo qual ot[or]
23. gan su persona quienes avidos y por aver [roto]
24. adbertencia que. el dicho. Juan. de Ferrera esta llano
25. entregar el dicho sitio sigun y como esta ajustado
26. con pena de que si faltaren al trato de sinquenta
27. pesos que. le sacara la real justicia de sus bienes y lo
28. mismo a los dichos naturales para que. ni por una
29. parte ni otra falte todo lo qual passo ante
30. mi dicho theniente y testigos de mi asistensia que
31. asi lo an dicho Y ajustado Y porque no fal
32. taran hisieron este Compromiso Y firmo

page 14

1. el mr. del dicho pueblo por el alcalde y
2. regidor y por Juan. de Ferrera el sargento
3. Matias de Montes a su rruego ante mi dicho Jues en el
4. dicho dia mes y año y de este tenor se ysieron dos uno
5. cumplido otro no bale Y es de advertir que. el dicho
6. Juan. de Ferrera esta obligado al sacar el ganado
7. que tiene en dicho sitio por el mes de maio pre
8. sente y Va en este papel comun por no
9. aver lo zellado == A rruego de Juan. de Ferrera Testigo

page 15

[new document], new handwriting, black ink]

1. [left margin]petizion.
2. Simon Cuculi Indio natural alcalde del Pueblo.
3. de Masca sito Y poblado oy con nombre de Nuestra.
4. Señora de Candelaria en la boca del monte del
5. monte de Puerto Caballos en el camino que. ba a
6. dicho Puerto distante quatro leguas de la Ciudad. de San.
7. Pedro Y Diego Herrera. regidor en nombre del comun de dicho
8. nuestro. Pueblo y prestando su bos y causion por el recurso de me
9. nores y otro cualquiera que nos conpella y como mejor de derecho
10. proseda Paresemos ante V. Alteza. Y desimos que.: Como es publico
11. y notorio nuestro. Pueblo fue antiguamte. en la Plalla del
12. mar en la mediania entre Puerto de Caballos y Mana
13. bique donde el enemigo pirata les saqueo y robo di
14. ferentes beses maltratando las imagenes sagradas
15. y se llebo algunas familias por lo qual y por que Care
16. siamos del pasto espiratual y sola Una Visita nos
17. asia nuestro. Cura cada año abra como Veintte y sinco
18. que con lisenzia de la Real Justicia salimos a poblar
19. nos a un paraje que. llaman Rio Bixao ocho leguas de Puer
20. to Cavallos tierra dentro en el camino que. sale a la
21. Ciudad. de San Pedro y estando poblados con casas Yglesia
22. y formadas unas Guertas y sembrados entro el ene
23. migo por el rio de Ula Y de noche por el paso que.
24. llaman de Bardales, entro en nuestro. Pueblo y nos robo
25. y llevo algunos tributarios y abiendo dado cuenta
26. al Governador. Don. Antonio de Ayala que. Lo era actual con
27. su lisenzia, y beneplasiro de la Ciudad. de San. Pedro y el Juan.
28. ferrera como dueño que hera de la Estansia. de San.
29. Agustin nos salimos a poblar a la boca del

page 16

1. Monte en una sabana ynmedia a dicha estanzia.
2. donde a: dies y seis añ.[os] estamos poblados con ca
3. sas Yglesia Cacaguatales plantanales milpas
4. y otros sombrados y plantios sin que: en este tiem
5. po ubiesemos tenida contradizion ni perjuizio
6. viviendo en pas y aumentandose el Pueblo
7. gozando del pasto expiritual con frecuencia
8. y parese que de tres años a esta partte se an me[ti]do

9. el ganado de Juan. de Ferrera dueño de la estanzia
 10. y nmediatta y nos enpeso a ser notable daño
 11. en los cacaguatales y demas sembrados tanto
 12. que no logrado cosecha y allandose el Pueblo a
 13. flixido Valiendose de la ocasion Juan de Ferrera al
 14. Yntento exonerarse de sierto senso a que estaba o
 15. bligado ofresiendo sacar dentro de tres meses el ga
 16. nado con tal que el Pueblo se obligaze al senso
 17. y en esta conformidad por redimir la bejazion
 18. que padesian con el ganado y sin conosimiento. de la can
 19. tidad que es la de tresientos y sesenta pesos hizo el
 20. alcalde que era a la sason el conpromizo y obl[i]
 21. gasion que en devida forma presentamos que es
 22. nulo por derecho. y por ttal lo redar que nos y el dho Juan.
 23. de ferrera no sacó el ganado hasta el mes de agosto
 24. proximo pasado de este año pasado el plaso dos
 25. y tres meses con cuia tiempo se aniquilo el Pueblo
 26. por no lograr cosecha alguna como es publico
 27. y luego que dicho. ferrera saco el ganado nos emplo?
 28. a molestar con que. : pagasemos los tresientos y sesen
 29. ta pesos o despoblasemos el pueblo y abiendose muer
 30. to continuan sus herederos en las mismas ys
 31. tanizas y con especial a Ynco? el Padre Cura

page 17

1. Juan Lopes de chavarria ques en nostros q[...] to que di
 2. xo ser del Yllustrisimo. Y Nuestro. Señor Obispo. desta dioses en
 3. que nos mando pagar luego los trescientos y sesenta pesos.
 4. o salir del Pueblo con apercisimiento. que de no aserlo lue
 5. go nos declararsa por descomulgados de que temero
 6. sos paremos ante Vuestra. Alteza. Implorando el Real Patro
 7. sinio y amparo mediante el notorio agravio que
 8. se nos ase y que redunda menoscavo de la real hacienda.
 9. y daño comun desta Provincia. por lo general y siguiendo. = lo pesimo.
 10. por que nosotros por ordenaza y por Nuestra. pobresa no
 11. podemos haser mas obligazion. que en cantidad de Vein
 12. te tostones. y por menores presediendo ynformazion de Utilidad
 13. y lisenzia de la Real Justicia pudiera haser Valida
 14. la que hizo el Pueblo y habiendo faltado esto es nula

15. por derecho = lo otro que. su Magestad. que. [...] que. de: por sus leyes
16. y sedulas Reales., manda que. a los naturales. se nos den las tierras
17. que hubieremos menester para Pueblos plazas ejidos
18. siembras plantios y cria de ganados y que no se nos
19. bendan antes siendo. la ley 14 del libro, 4 de la nueva re
20. copilacion titulo 12 projibe a los senores virreyes a
21. udiencia y Governadores, la bentta de tierras que. parescieren necesarias.
22. para los Indios manda se les repartan las que
23. ubieren menester confirmandoles las que. tubieren
24. y aplicandoles las demas que. nesesetaren y la ley 16 del
25. mismo libro Y titulo la Cuarta condizion que pone
26. en benttas de tierras dise que se mire siempre el bien
27. y Vtil de los Yndios = Y la ley 18 del mismo libro Y titulo
28. es toda en nuestro. favor y manda se nos den tierras de
29. biadas? Y nos desen cuanttas Y bieremos beneficiados
30. con que. se prueba bastanttamente el agrabio e Ynjus
31. tizia que se nos ase en quitarnos las tierras que. teni

page 18

1. mos beneficiadas y plantadas conpa
2. sion de buena fee demas de dose a tre
3. se años a que se añade el considerable
4. atraso de dexar nuestras. Casas y Yglesia y a
5. llarnos presisados a bolber al pueblo bie
6. jo al riesgo del enemigo y caresisia del pasto
7. espiritual como de antes en que tendra la real
8. hacienda el menoscabo de los tributtos de mu[chos] años
9. y el riesgo de perder sus tributarios = lo otro que. aun
10. que no falten bisieros ningunos mas vigilantes y
11. lealles que. los de Nuestro. Pueblo como sea experimentad[o]
12. y consiste de la sertificazon que con la solemnidad
13. nesesaria presentamos, lo otro por la rescansa del
14. Pueblo y estar en el camino y paso del enemigo
15. que hase tambien al bien comun de la Provinca. co
16. mo assimismo conviene mantener nuestro. Pueblo
17. para bastimientos. de bisieros y de pasajeros Y abio Y dra.
18. xin. enbenida de envarcaciones pues no ay otro

19. ni rrecurzo hasta la Ciudad. de San. Pedro = por ttodo lo que.=
20. y lo demas que. a ser pueda en nuestro. favor que. aqui emos
21. por expresado=
22. A Vuestra. Alteza. pedimos Y suplicamos que. abido por presentado asi
23. Nuestro. escrito y visto su contenido de prisa de de
24. clar el conpromiso por nulo y de ningun valor
25. y a nuestro. Pueblo por libre de la obligazion que. con
26. tiene y ampararnos en la posesion de nuestro. Pueo.
27. guertas y tierras beneficiadas mandando.

page 19

2. a las Parttes de Juan de Ferrera no nos mo
3. lesten ni dañifiquen con sus ganados y pi
4. dan lo que les conbiniere que su Magd. que
5. nos ampara les dara satisfazion y sera bie[n]
6. servido en mandarlo Vuestra. Alteza. assi y Nuestro. Pueblo Resibi
7. ra bien Y merced. con Justizia que. pedimos juramos en
8. forma y en lo nesesario. etc.=
9. = Simon Cuculi
- 10.= Diego hernandez
- 11.[margin] decreto [line] en nombre de su Magestad. y en virtud de
- 12.las Reales. leyes que sobre la matteria
- 13.hablan ampares su merced. a los naturales
- 14.de este pueblo en la poscezion de las tierras
- 15.Yntterin que su Alteza Y señores su Presi
- 16.dente y oydores de la Real. audienzia donde
- 17.estos naturales dueno ocurrir sepa ques
- 18.lo que convenga al Real. servicio y utili
- 19.dad destos naturales = Y libresse despa
- 20.cho con Ynscripzion para que el Theniente. de
- 21.la ciudad. de san pedro Ampare a estos na
- 22.turales en la poscezion que gozan de las
- 23.tierras que gozan pobladas, sin consentir

page 20

1. se les haga agravio ni vexazion
2. alguna ni que paguen cosa alguna

3. Ynterin que por su Alteza se declara
4. Y assi mismo se libre despacho suplica
5. ttorio al Beneficiado. Juan López de chavaria
6. cura proprio de la Ciudad de San Pedro
7. para que se abstenga en esta causa
8. Ynterin que. como dicho es declara su
9. Alteza lo que convenga sobre ttodo
- 10.y que seicava de entregar el auto drigdo
- 11.que mando notificar a estos naturales
- 12.sobre que exciviessen los trescienttos
- 13.y sessenta pesos o que. despoblasien y
- 14.que de no hazerlos los publicaria por
- 15.excomulgados = lo qual proveya
- 16.su mrd enrique logman Governador
- 17.y Capitan. General. que lo firmo en comaya
- 18.goa en viente de diciembre de mil
- 19.settos. y trese años=
- 20.[signature] enrique logman ante mi
- 21.[signature] Gabriel Carrero
- 22.escribano publico

page 21

[new document, new hand]

1. [margin] serttificasson. En la ziudad. de San Pedro en dose dias
2. del mes de Mayo de mill setescienttos y dose
3. años Yo el Capitan. Don. Joseph de Ulloa el Thinien
4. tte de Paz y Capitan. por estta dicha ziudad. sus puer
5. ttos y Jurisdiccion Certifico en devida forma a
6. los señores que la presentte Vieren como El Maistro
7. Marcos Chavan del pueblo de la Candelaria sien
8. do Vijiero del puertto de Cavallos Vino con recisso
9. de como Benia El Enemigo a la ziudad. de San. Pedro y
- 10.dio el sussodicho el acuisse y car con ttanta punttuali
- 11.dad que passo de noche en la voca del monte aresgando
- 12.su vida por que en dicho parage estava la senttinilla
- 13.del enemigo y vino a encontrasse a escuras [obscuras] el dicho
- 14.Marcos Chavacan con dicha senttinella y le ttiraron
- 15.de altan pasos y el senttirciarse passo y dio al essa al

16. Señor tthiniente Don. Barttolome Fajardo y los qualles
17. Mi lo an dicho y constta juntto con el Bachiller. de Don. Juan
18. Lopez de Echavarria y es publica Vos de ttoda la Ziudad.
19. y portta lo sertifico en dicho dia mes y año y firme
20. con testigos. por de falta de escrivano
21. Joseph de Ulloa i Diego
22. Yo a lo
23. Ylls. Juan de loz

page 22

[new document]

1. Rl Audia. ocho de Abril de
2. 1714 R..do Duardo Carrillo Oviedo
3. Arana Rodesno Lugo y Santaella
4. Amparanse destos Yndios en la Pozesion
5. de las tierras en que. se hallan poblados
6. y si los erederos de Juan. de Ferrera u otra
7. alguna persona tubieren que. pedir ocurran
8. a esta Rl. Audcia. en seguimiento. de la Jhusticia
9. y en el interin el Governador. de la Provincia. de
10. Comaiagua cuide de que. no se la cobre a estos
11. naturales cossa alguna por rason de
12. arrendamto. y por a ttodo se libre despacho
13. cometido a dicho governador. el qual no per
14. mita se les cause perjuicio alguno =

15. [line with eight rubrics-- oydores of the Real audiencia?]

[different hand]

16. Lo qual proveieron y rubricaron los senores. presidente y oydores
17. de esta Real Audiencia. Don. Toribio de Cosio Cavallero. de el orden
18. de Calatrava Presidente. Lizenciado. Don. Juan. Geronimo. Duardo
Doctor. Don Gre
19. gorio Carrillo y Escudero Lizenciado. Don. Diego Antonio. de Oviedo
20. y Baños don Thomas. de Arana Don. Joseph Rodesno Doctor.
21. Don. Phelipe. de Lugo y Lizenciado. don ambrosio santaella Oydores

- 22.en Guathemala. en diez de Abril de mill settcientos. y Catozse a.
- 23.Librase en 10 de
- 24.Abrill de 1714 a.

AGCA A1.24 Legajo 1581 Expediente 10225 folio 150

This document, taken from the register recording all documents entering the system in the Audiencia of Guatemala for decision for 1714. It contains the text of the petition filed by Salvador Cano, the lawyer hired by the people of Masca to represent them in Guatemala. It is the same text as the petition recorded in AGCA A1.45 Legajo 368 Expediente 3413 above. It is followed by a shortened scribal copy of the Audiencia's order in Masca's favor.

Transcription of AGCA A1.24 Legajo 1581 Expediente 10225 folio 150

[document consists of 4 folio pages of papel sellado, with diamond shaped holes cut into them and is bound in a Volume entitled "Registro de la Real Cancellaria de el año de 1714 contiene 520 foxas arrollado y puesto yndize por el Chanceller don Juan Miguel Nubio y Gemmix" and this document begins on folio 150v and continues through folio 153r (these are the stamped folio page numbers, not the mss. handwritten ones)]

page 1

1. Insertto Un autto proveido por esta Real. Audiencia. en
2. que por el demanda al Governador y Capitan General de la Provincia
3. de Comayagua ampare al Comun y naturales. del pueblo.
4. de Masca en la posezion. de las tierras en que se ha-
5. llan poblados y que executte lo demas que en el se
1. refiere = offic. de Espinoza
6. Don ?? Por la graçia de Dios., Rey de Castilla etc. =
7. A vos mi Governador y Capitan General de la provincia de Co
8. maiagua a quien cometto el Cumplimiento y execuzion
9. de lo que en esta mi cartta ira declarado save de
10. que ante mi Pressidente y Oidores de mi audiencia cortte y Real.
11. Chansilleria que esta y reside en la ciudad de Santiago de

12. Guacttemala, a los seis de Marzo pasado se presentto
13. con barios recaudos y poder Vastantte la pettezion, que
14. [margin] Petizion [body] se sigue = Muy. Poderoso. Señor = Salvador
Cano en nom-
15. bre de los yndios Alcaldes y Regidores principa
16. les y Comun del pueblo de Nuestra. Señora de la
17. Candelaria nombrado Masca, sitto junto a la
18. Ciudad. de San Pedro Sula del Gobierno y Provinçia
19. de Comaiagua y en Virttud de su poder sustituido
20. que devidamentte presentto paresco ante Vuestra. Alteza.
21. por el Recurso que mas util y favorable les sea
22. y otro qualquiera que les competta y digo

page 2

1. que mis parttes tubieron antiguamente se poblaron
2. en la plaia del Mar del norte entre el puertto
3. de Cavallos y Manavique a quien y a los dichos
4. yndios los saqueo y robo diferentes veses el
5. enemigo piratta llevandose diversas familias
6. y hasciendo destrosos y sacriligios en su templo
7. y ymagenes y por lo referido
8. y que mis parttes carescian
9. del pasto espiritual por que su cura los
10. visitara una ves al año por la grande distançia
11. que ai a la cavesera del curatto e yncomo
12. didades el paraje con licençia de su Governador
13. se poblaron aora veintte y cinco años en una pa
14. raje que se nombra el Rio Vijao ocho leguas
15. distantte del dicho. puertto de Cavallos tierra
16. dentro y sin embargo de esta travajosa muttazion
17. volvio el enemigo piratta a ynbadir el dicho.
18. pueblo y lo robo y saqueo de que mis parttes di[e]
19. ron quentta a su governador que entonces lo hera el
20. Capitan Don Antonio de Aiala y con su lisençia tras
21. planttaron el dicho. pueblo en donde si Esta
22. que es una savana de la voca del montte
23. ymmediatta a la estançia de Juan. de ferrera
24. de quien anttes presedio su consentimiento ya diez
25. y seis años que mis parttes estan poblados

- 26.en el dicho paraje con casas y yglesia
- 27.cacaguatales, plattanales, milpas y otros

page 3

1. sembrados que a fuerza de mucha afan y trabajo
2. han conseguidos sin haver havido contrtradicion
3. de persona alguna ni que en el referido tiempo
4. se les causase a mis parttes ningun perjuicio
5. gosando del pasto espirittual y con ocasion de
6. haverse augmenttado con mucha abundançia
7. los Ganados del dicho. Juan. de ferrera de
8. tres años a esta partte le han hecho a mis partes
9. notable daño a todas sus siembras de tal
- 10.manera que no han logrado cosecha ninguna
- 11.y hallandose ttodo el Comun afligido y descon
- 12.solado requirieron al dicho Juan de ferrera para
- 13.que sacase sus ganados o diese forma para que
- 14.no perjudicase a las sementteras de mis parttes
- 15.y el suso dicho por exonerarse de la carga
- 16.de treçienttos y sesentta pesos que dijo estaban
- 17.cargados a senso sobre la dicha su estan
- 18.çia se compromettio con el alcalde que a la
- 19.sason hera del pueblo en que mis parttes se
- 20.obligasen a entregar los dichos treçienttos y se
- 21.sentta pesos y ofrecio sacar sus ganados den
- 22.tro de tres meses como todo consta del
- 23.compromeso que devidamente presentto y mis
- 24.parttes por Redimir su vejaçion vinieron
- 25.en el dicho compromiso ygnorando como yg
- 26.noran su derecho. y que no se pudeiron obligar
- 27.y por haver muertto el dicho Juan de Ferrera

page 4

1. sus hermanos han aprettado a mis parttes al apa
2. ga el dicho dinero y ultimanentte el Bachiller. Juan
3. Lopes de Chavarria Cura propietario del
4. dicho parttido de Usula les notifico a mis parttes
5. un auto de sensura que dijo ser expedi

6. do del Reverendo. Obispo. de aquel obispado. para que
7. pagasen luego la dha can
8. tidad o dejasen libres las
9. tierras con apersevimiento que de no hazer lo
10. los declararia por descomulgados para cuio
11. Remedio ocurrieron mis parttes ante el Governador
12. de aquella Provincia y pidieron les amparase en
13. la poseçion de dichas tierras en que estan po
14. blados y declarase el dho compromiso por
15. nulo y de ningun valor ni efecto y expre
16. saron muy en forma su justiçia y los agra
17. vios que resevian como todo consta del
18. escripto que asi mismo presentto que [re]
19. produsgo y el dicho Governador amparo a mis partes
20. en la dicha posezion con calidad de que
21. ocurriesen a este supremo tribunal a repa
22. senttarlo para que se confirme el dicho ampa
23. ro sin la calidad del gravamen
24. del dicho senso y junttamente mando li
25. brar despacho suplicatorio al dicho Padre
26. cura para que en el yntterin se abstenga

page 5

1. en esta causa hasta tantto que Vuestra. Alteza. detter
2. mine lo que conbenga sobre todo y lo demas
3. que dicho autto conttiene y porque el que mis
4. parttes esten poblados en el dicho paraje es muy
5. esencial al Real haver y de mucha conbenien
6. cia a aquella Provincia por que son los que con
7. cuidado servien de vijias contra el ene
8. migo y llevan a riesgo de sus vidas las notiçias
9. a la ciudad de San Pedro Sula como consta
10. de la certtificazion que asi mismo presentto
11. sea de servir a Vuestra Alteza de hamparar a mis parttes
12. en la posezion que de mas de cattorse años tie
13. nen en la dicha poblason y sus tierras decla
14. rando el dicho compromiso por nulo y por li
15. bres de la paga del dicho senso confirman
16. do el dicho autto en ttodo y por ttodo decla

- 17.rando que todas las de su sercunferençia
- 18.del dicho pueblo pertteneser a mis parttes y que
- 19.se les adjudiquen en fuerza de lo que llevo
- 20.expresado y a la partte de los herederos del
- 21.dicho Juan de ferrera se les de compensaçion
- 22.en otra partte y que para todo se les libre el
- 23.despacho nesesario y que este escripto se lleve
- 24.al fiscal con los recaudos presenttados
- 25.y con lo que digere el relattor los traiga vistos
- 26.mediantte lo qual = a Vuestra Alteza pido y suplico

page 6

1. que haviendo por presenttado dicho poder y recau
2. dos se sirva mandar hazer como refiero
3. que en ello reserviren mis parttes bien y mrd.
4. con justiçia y juro en anima de mis parttes
5. y la mia no proseder de maliçia y en lo
6. nesesario etc.= Salvador
7. Cano = de que mandaron
8. dar vista a mi fiscal de la
9. dicha mi audiencia y el Lizenciado Don Joseph Guttieres
- 10.de la peña de mi consexo que lo espidio lo
- 11.[margin]scripto fiscal = [body] que consta por su escripto siguiente=M.P.S
- 12.el fiscal de su Magestad. ha visto el escripto e yn
- 13.strumenttos presenttados por parte de los yndios
- 14.del pueblo de Nuestra. Señora de la Candelaria de la
- 15.Provincia de Comaiagua y dice que Vuestra. Alteza. sea de
- 16.servir de declarar por nula la obligazion hecha
- 17.por los yndios de pagar trecientos y sesenta
- 18.pesos por las tierras en que estan poblados por
- 19.falttarles las solemnidades dispuestas por
- 20.Derecho. para que subsistirse el contrtrato que
- 21.no pueden los yndios selebrar por si y mas
- 22.siendo a su daño a que se llega que para po
- 23.blarse se les devondan tierras competentes
- 24.conforme a las leies Reales y deven ser preferi
- 25.dos en ellas en via consequençia sea de
- 26.servir Vuestra. Alteza. de amparanles en ellas man

27.dando no sean molestados si los herederos

page 7

1. de Juan de ferrera tubieren justos titulos de
2. dhas tierras Usen de su Derecho. como los com
3. benga para que se les recompensa en otra parte
4. Guatemala, y Marzo Cattorse de mill setecientos y cattor
5. se años = Lizenciado Guttierres = A que los dichos mi Presidente.
6. y Oidores pidieron los auttos y zettado mi fiscal
7. de la dicha mi audiencia Oi dia de la fecha.
8. provieron el del ttenor siguiente = Amparanse
9. [margin] Auto= [body]a estos yndios en la posezion de las tierras en que
- 10.se hallan poblados y si los herederos de Juan
- 11.de ferrera U otra alguna persona tubieren que
- 12.pedir ocurran a esta Real. Audiencia. En seguimientto
- 13.de su justia y en el yntterin el Governador. de la
- 14.Provincia de Comaiagua cuide que no se les
- 15.cobre a estos naturales. cosa alguna por razon
- 16.de arrendamientto y para ttodo se libre despa
- 17.cho cometido a dicho Governador el qual no permita
- 18.se les cause perjuiçio alguno = Mediante lo
- 19.qual para. que lo proveido tenga cumplido efec
- 20.to con aquerdo de los dichos mi Presidente y Oi
- 21.dores de la dicha. mi audiencia. libro la presente carta
- 22.por la qual os mando que luego que la
- 23.resivais o en qualquier manera seais reque
- 24.rido veais el autto aqui ynsertto y lo qu[e]
- 25.ardeis cumplais y executteis presisa y puntualmente

page 8

1. segun y como en el se conttiene expresa y de
2. clara llebando y haziendo llevar apura y de
3. vida ejecuçion lo que en el se manda
4. sin que hagais ni consenttais se haga nin
5. guna cosa en contrario sopena de mi merced.
6. y con apersevimiento dada en la ciudad. de Guatemala
7. en dies de abril de mill

8. setteçientos y cattorse años = Don Thorivio
9. de Cosio = Lizenciado Don Thomas de Arana = Lizenciado Don Am
10. broçio Thomas santa. ella y Melgarejo = Regda. = Don
11. Manuel de fariñas = Chanseller = Don Manuel
12. de fariñas = E yo Ysidro de Espinosa Escrivano del
13. Rey. Nuestro. Sa. de la ma. en su audiencia y Real. Chanselleria
14. que en esta ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala reside
15. Ma. del pueblo y guerra en su districtto la fisse
16. Escribir por Su mandado con aquerdo de su Presidente y Oidores
17. conqverda con la original =

Summary

This study of an indigenous town in the district of San Pedro Sula, Honduras, long considered to have been the earliest part of Honduras to see indigenous people "disappear", places indigenous actors and communities at the center of colonial history. It combines the use of archival documents with evidence from archaeological excavations. Offering an anthropological analysis, it draws on concepts of dialogics, doxa, and practice to show how we can understand historically obscured people and histories.

Masca, later known as Candelaria, exemplifies the experiences of *pueblos de indios* that persisted from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries in Honduras' northern Ulúa Valley. The people of Candelaria identified with a local community as defined by the presence of their houses, church, agricultural fields, and cacao plantations. This community originally spoke a Lenca language scholars have called Toquegua whose use persisted in the community through the mid-seventeenth century. Their decision to use Spanish after this point did not affect their sense of community.

The community of Candelaria used a variety of tactics to persist in the colony. These included understanding and exploiting the colonial legal system to achieve community goals, the continued use of indigenous family names by community elites, moving the entire community to avoid violence, and exploiting the *casta* system to change the perceived identity of individuals including those from other *casta* groups marrying into the community.

Indian communities in the Ulúa Valley of Honduras underwent a population collapse during the sixteenth century. Those communities that persisted from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries were able to rebuild population throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even into the nineteenth century when epidemics of cholera and measles along with civil unrest again took their toll.

At the scale of the valley a network of *pueblos de indios* integrated themselves in colonial society through service in a coastal watch, while resisting exploitation beyond the legal requirements of *encomienda*. The network of *pueblos de indios* of which Candelaria was a part served to perpetuate indigenous practices, most notably the cultivation, circulation, and use of cacao, likely for ritual purposes. The continued use of chipped stone tools by *pueblos de indios* in this network implies the persistence of exchange networks between *pueblos de indios*. The known circulation of people as in-marrying spouses among these *pueblos de indios* allowed for both the persistence of population and a sharing of colonial experiences.

Successful tactics of persistence likely circulated between communities through these flows of people.

The viability of Spanish jurisdictions like San Pedro Sula and later Omoa depended on pueblos de indios. This is most visible in their service in the coastal watch, which is repeatedly cited as the basis for consideration of legal claims presented by the people of Candelaria/Masca. Especially in the later colonial period it is evident that the pueblos de indios exploited the possibilities for commerce created by conflict between European powers. Pueblos de indios participated in the receipt of contraband shipments, which would have given them access to a broad range of European goods, especially high value consumables such as sugar, wine, and oil that are highlighted in many contraband cases. It also provided access to European clothing, necessary for the transformation from indio to ladino.

Pueblos de indios participated in the broader Spanish colonial economy beyond their participation in networks of contraband goods. After the end of the encomienda system in the 1690s, pueblos de indios were able to use Spanish merchants as buyers for cultivated products like cacao and gathered plants like sarsaparilla.

In common with other parts of the Spanish colonial world, distance from administrative centers and the presence of external threats may have provided more opportunities for residents of the pueblos de indios in the Ulúa valley to negotiate their position in the colony.

We lack the documents common to other indigenous communities in Honduras emphasizing the importance of the church and the use of town funds and indigenous cofradia income to improve the church building in Candelaria. But documents from pueblos de indios in the Ulúa valley are suggestive of what likely were persistent traditional rituals for the earth. Petitions emphasize on church as central to community, and make claims for pastoral care. Like the more visible foodways documented archaeologically, for pueblos de indios in the colonial period community-level religious practices were probably important everyday practices through which people coped with the challenges of coloniality, and recreated the colonial world in ways that allowed them to persist as individuals, families, and communities.

Nederlandse Samenvatting

Colonial Masca in Motion: Tactics of Persistence of a Honduran Indigenous Community ("Koloniaal Masca in Beweging: Tactieken van Persistentie van een Inheemse Gemeenschap in Honduras")

Proefschrift van Russell N. Sheptak.

Deze studie betreft een inheemse stad in het district van San Pedro Sula, Honduras, die lang beschouwd is als eerste plek in Honduras waar de inheemse bevolking is "verdwenen". Dit onderzoek focust op de inheemse acteurs en gemeenschappen en situeert ze in het centrum van de koloniale geschiedenis. Daartoe wordt analyse van archiefstukken gecombineerd met studie van archeologische gegevens, resulterend in een antropologische interpretatie, waarbij concepten van dialogics, doxa, en praktijk worden gehanteerd om te komen tot een beter begrip van historisch verduisterde mensen en geschiedenissen.

Masca, later bekend als Candelaria, levert een voorbeeld van de ervaringen van de *pueblos de indios* die van de zestiende tot de negentiende eeuw bleven bestaan in Honduras' noordelijke Ulúa Vallei. De mensen in Candelaria identificeerden zich met een lokale gemeenschap, zoals gedefinieerd door de aanwezigheid van huizen, kerk, akkers, en cacaoplantages. Deze gemeenschap sprak oorspronkelijk een Lenca taal, door geleerden aangeduid als Toquegua, die tot in het midden van de zeventiende eeuw in de gemeenschap in gebruik bleef. Hun besluit om na dit punt Spaans te gebruiken had geen invloed op hun gemeenschapsgevoel. De gemeenschap van Candelaria zette verscheidene tactieken in om onder koloniaal bewind te kunnen overleven, waaronder: het begrijpen en benutten van de koloniale rechtssysteem om gemeenschapsdoelen te realiseren, het gecontinueerde gebruik van inheemse familienamen door de elites van de gemeenschap, het verplaatsen van de hele gemeenschap om geweld te voorkomen, en het benutten van het *Casta* systeem om de gepercipieerde identiteit van personen te wijzigen - bijvoorbeeld die van andere *casta* groepen die door huwelijk tot de gemeenschap gingen behoren.

Indiaanse gemeenschappen in de Ulúa Vallei van Honduras ondergingen in de zestiende eeuw een demografische catastrofe. De gemeenschappen die van de zestiende tot de negentiende eeuw bleven bestaan, waren in staat om de bevolking weer op te bouwen gedurende de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw, en zelfs tot in de negentiende eeuw, toen epidemieën van cholera en mazelen samen met sociale onrust opnieuw hun tol eisten.

Op het niveau van de vallei wist een netwerk van *pueblos de indios* zich te integreren in de koloniale samenleving door dienst te doen in de bewaking van de kust en zich tegelijk te verzetten tegen uitbuiting die verder ging dan de wettelijke vereisten van het *encomienda* systeem. Het netwerk van *pueblos de indios* waarvan Candelaria deel uitmaakte, werd aangewend voor de persistentie van inheemse cultuur en samenleving, met name het cultiveren, circuleren en gebruiken van cacao, waarschijnlijk voor rituele doeleinden. Het doorlopend gebruik van stenen werktuigen door de *pueblos de indios* in dit netwerk impliceert het voortbestaan van uitwisselingscontacten. De bekende uitwisseling van personen als inhuwende huwelijkspartners in deze *pueblos de indios* maakte zowel het voortbestaan van de bevolking als het delen van koloniale ervaringen mogelijk. Via deze contacten en bevolkingsstromen konden ook succesvolle tactieken van culturele en sociale persistentie uitgewisseld worden. De levensvatbaarheid van de Spaanse jurisdicties zoals San Pedro Sula en later Omoa hing af van de *pueblos de indios*. Dit komt duidelijk naar voren in de diensten die zij vervulden in de bewaking van het kustgebied, hetgeen herhaaldelijk wordt aangehaald als basis voor het in aanmerking nemen van juridische claims die de mensen van Candelaria / Masca indienden. Vooral in de latere koloniale periode is het duidelijk dat de *pueblos de indios* goed gebruik maakten van de mogelijkheden voor handel die ontstonden door conflicten tussen Europese mogendheden. *Pueblos de indios* hadden deel aan de ontvangst van smokkelwaar, die hun toegang bood tot een breed scala aan Europese goederen, vooral hoogwaardige consumptiegoederen, zoals suiker, wijn en olie, die met name worden genoemd in veel processen over smokkel. Zo kregen ze ook toegang tot Europese kleding, noodzakelijk voor de transformatie van *Indio* naar *Ladino*.

Ook buiten hun deelname aan smokkelnetwerken, participeerden *pueblos de indios* in de bredere Spaanse koloniale economie. Na het einde van het *encomienda* systeem in de jaren 1690, waren de *pueblos de indios* in staat om gebruik te maken van Spaanse handelaren als kopers voor de producten die zij cultiveerden, zoals cacao, en de planten die zij verzamelden, zoals sarsaparilla.

Zoals ook waarneembaar in andere delen van de Spaanse koloniale wereld, boden de afstand tot de administratieve centra en de aanwezigheid van externe bedreigingen meer kansen aan de bewoners van de *pueblos de indios* in de Ulúa Vallei om hun positie in de kolonie tot punt van onderhandelingen te maken.

We missen documenten die wel aanwezig zijn voor andere inheemse gemeenschappen in Honduras, welke het belang van de kerk benadrukken en

het documenteren dat de dorpsfondsen en het inheemse *Cofradia*-inkomen gebruikt werden om het kerkgebouw in Candelaria te verbeteren. Maar documenten uit *pueblos de indios* in de Ulúa Vallei geven suggestieve indicaties van het voortbestaan van traditionele rituelen, waarschijnlijk voor de aarde. Verzoekschriften benadrukken de centrale rol van de kerk in de gemeenschap, en dringen aan op meer pastorale zorg. Zoals de zichtbare - archeologisch gedocumenteerde - circulerende voedselproducten, waren voor de *pueblos de indios* in de koloniale periode de religieuze activiteiten van de gemeenschap waarschijnlijk belangrijke elementen in de dagelijkse omgang met de uitdagingen van kolonialiteit, en in de recreatie van de koloniale wereld op een manier die hen in staat stelde te blijven bestaan als individuen, families en gemeenschappen.

Propositions

Stellingen behorend bij het proefschrift *Colonial Masca in Motion: Tactics of Persistence of a Honduran Indigenous Community* van Russell N. Sheptak

1. The indigenous people of Honduras identified with others at the level of the town, not with abstract ethnic or linguistic groups, which are categories of the modern analyst.
2. Colonial *pueblos de indios* in northern Honduras were internally complex and maintained social stratification into the late colonial period (the eighteenth century), despite the absence of identified "caciques" usually viewed by historians as evidence of internal elites.
3. Relocation in space was a tactic used by residents of the *pueblos de indios* to preserve community and identity, including through legal petitions that reinforced historical memory.
4. Practices of European and African origin were incorporated into *pueblos de indios* in hybrid communities of practice that reinforced community persistence.
5. Recruitment of spouses from other *pueblos de indios* and other *casta* groups was a tactic that allowed *pueblos de indios* to begin to grow and recover population.
6. Successful adoption of Spanish language, eventually replacing indigenous languages, was a legacy of a history of cosmopolitan multilingualism, not evidence of a loss of cultural identity.
7. The centrality of the Catholic religion in community identity was part of a legacy of religious practice controlled at the community level that reinforced community identity.
8. The continued production of cacao for local use and exchange with other *pueblos de indios* is indirect evidence of the co-existence with Catholicism of traditional rituals, such as those for agricultural fields.
9. The continued use of traditional materials for cutting tools, specifically obsidian, is evidence of persistent preferences in the practices of everyday life in *pueblos de indios*.
10. Access to traditionally used products not universally locally available, including obsidian and cacao, is evidence for persistent patterns of exchange among *pueblos de indios* that were geographically extensive and have yet to be fully outlined.
11. The persistent production of traditional earthenware pottery, even when in-marrying spouses used different techniques, and a reliance on mainly indigenous plants and animals, are evidence that traditional foodways were actively reproduced through daily practices.
12. When indigenous identity is not defined in terms of static essential traits, but instead is viewed as the product of active practices, *pueblos de indios* and their residents emerge as historical subjects even when conventional historiography has made them disappear.

Curriculum Vitae

Russell Nicholas Sheptak was born on January 25, 1955 and attended schools in Michigan and Ohio, graduating from Rocky River High School in 1973. He attended Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, graduating with a B.A. with a major in Anthropology and an undeclared minor in Computer Science. During this undergraduate experience he participated in archaeological excavations at the Avella Mounds site and Meadowcroft Rock Shelter in Pennsylvania. He was admitted to the PhD program in Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and spent four years in residence, completing the requirements for an M.A. He assisted in archaeological and ethnographic field work in Mexico and went to Honduras for the first of what became over 30 years of archaeological research. His archaeology experience in Honduras spans the history from the earliest settled villages through to the nineteenth century. After leaving graduate school in Wisconsin in 1982 and began a 21 year career as a software architect, first in the Boston area, then moving to San Francisco where he both designed enterprise software and managed the engineering department of several software startups. He retired from the software industry in 2003 to pursue his interest in archaeology and historical anthropology in Honduras. He is currently a Research Associate at the University of California, Berkeley.