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Spanish, Nahua, and Maya Narratives on the 1585 Relación Geográfica Map of Santiago Atitlán

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Spanish, Nahua, and Maya Narratives
on the
1585 Relación Geográfica Map of Santiago Atitlán

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at
Virginia Commonwealth University

by

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Abstract

SPANISH, NAHUA, AND MAYA NARRATIVES ON THE 1585 RELACIÓN GEOGRÁFICA MAP OF SANTIAGO ATITLÁN

By Kaitlan Linnea Smith, MA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2012

Major Director: Michael Schreffler, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Art History

The 1585 Relación Geográfica Map of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala gives scholars a rare glimpse of sixteenth-century southern Guatemala. The map displays the use of Spanish, Nahua, and Maya perspectives. The coexistence of indigenous Nahua versus Spanish or European iconographies and narratives is a theme constantly explored in the studies of the Relaciones Geográficas maps. However, the opposition of two different indigenous narratives and iconographies, as well as Spanish, is not. This project examines the convergences and conflicts among these narratives and iconographies as evidenced on the map and in the accompanying text. The individual discussion of each narrative is followed by a critical discussion to provide theoretical and authorial contexts for the map. In effect, this study complicates the view of sixteenth-century Mesoamerican Relaciones Geográficas maps.
Introduction

Vivid and detailed, the 1585 Map of Santiago Atitlán is a rare representation of sixteenth-century Guatemala (Figure 1). The map, produced in connection with the Spanish Imperial project known as the Relaciones Geográficas, displays the use of both Spanish and Nahua pictorial conventions, forms, and styles to depict the narrative of the establishment of Santiago Atitlán. However, it also illustrates a Maya narrative, a third perspective that is uncommon in the maps of the Relaciones Geográficas. This project examines the convergences and conflicts among these narratives in sixteenth-century southern Guatemala as evidenced on the map and in the accompanying text.\(^1\) In effect, this study complicates the view of sixteenth-century Mesoamerican Relaciones Geográficas maps, which typically have only considered two perspectives: Spanish and Nahua. It also provides an example of the phenomenon of cultural production in early modern Latin America that Walter Mignolo has called colonial semiosis.\(^2\)

The Relación Geográfica Map of Santiago Atitlán and the Relación Geográfica Project

The 1585 Map of Santiago Atitlán is located in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas in Austin. It illustrates the city of Santiago Atitlán and its

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surrounding landscape in present-day Guatemala. The city center is depicted as a grid plan with an organized pattern of streets and a central square. Two volcanoes tower over the city and a third lies across the lake from the city. Hills surround the northern side of the lake and single buildings dot the landscape. In the lake, currents flow from a whirlpool placed in the center. Figures in boats paddle across while fish and ducks are silhouetted against the water.

The map was produced in conjunction with the Spanish imperial project known as the _Relaciones Geográficas_. This project was one of many devised by the Spanish crown and its cosmographers in the 1500s to understand and map the New World. Juan López de Velasco, the royal cosmographer from 1571 to 1588, designed the project as a fifty-question survey. He sent the survey to colonial town officials in 1577, 1578, and 1584. López de Velasco inquired about many different topics in order to produce a detailed document comprised of maps and cultural information. Questions focused on topics such as geography, climate, region and town history, indigenous history and culture, government, biology, and economics. Two questions specifically asked for a map to be made; he requested one of the city and if the city was located on the coast, one of the coastline, as well.

As soon as López de Velasco began receiving the replies back from New Spain, he realized that the respondents’ ideas of a map differed greatly from his own. This difference has to do with the identity and graphic predispositions of the mapmakers. Barbara Mundy, an art historian who has written on Mesoamerican cartography, estimates that of the forty-seven artists illustrating sixty-nine maps, thirty-two were indigenous. As both Mundy and Elizabeth Hill Boone, a specialist in Central Mexican pictorial manuscripts, have discussed, indigenous

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4 Ibid., 30.
populations represented space in a different manner than Europeans. Indigenous maps often appear as narratives depicting movement and events (Figure 2). These “cartographic histories” or “pictorial narratives,” according to Boone, simultaneously represent three elements: space, an event, and time. This differs from the European maps of the time, which typically only contain one element: space. In addition, native artists were not interested in European map-making devices such as latitude and longitude and linear perspective.

Because of the differences between these mapping traditions, many of the maps López de Velasco received from New Spain were very different from what he expected to collect. In addition, he did not receive maps from every locale, including significant city centers such as Mexico City and Oaxaca. These two unexpected effects of the project lead López de Velasco to deem his project a failure, and in 1588, the crown fired him as the royal cosmographer. A comprehensive atlas was never created and the Relaciones Geográficas maps were stored in archives, waiting to be studied. Before discussion of the map can begin, it is necessary to explore the history of the Lake Atitlán region.

**History of the Lake Atitlán Region**

Before the conquest of Guatemala in 1529, the area around Lake Atitlán was home to three different Maya cultures that had occupied the region since the 1200 CE. All three groups spoke dialects of the Quichean Mayan language and these groups are known by their language names: the Zutuhil Maya, the Quiché Maya, and the Cakchiquel Maya. Of these, the Zutuhil

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6 Mundy, The Mapping, 26-27.
7 Ibid., 27.
Maya was the only group that lived directly on the lake. Their capital city was called Chiaa and it was located on a hill named Chuitinamit, under a volcano, which today is known as San Pedro.9 The Quiché capital, Utatlán, was northwest of the lake, while the Cakchiquel capital, Ixmiche’, was east of the lake.10 While neither of these two capital cities was located directly on the lake’s shores, in the 1400s, both groups started expanding toward the lake and conquering the land surrounding it.11 The Quiché began to war against the Zutuhil and fight for ownership of the northern shore, while the Cakchiquel began pushing towards the east side of the lake.12 The territory wars continued well into the sixteenth-century and the Annals of the Cakchiquels, a chronicle recording Cakchiquel history, records the dates of the many conflicts the Cakchiquels had with the Quiché and Zutuhils toward the end of the fifteenth-century. Wars with the Quiché are recorded in 1497, 1511, 1514, 1517, and in 1522, when the wars ended.13 Battles with the Zutuhil were less frequent, occurring in 1495 and 1501.14

After the fall of the Aztec Empire in 1521, conquistador Pedro de Alvarado set off southward in 1524 to claim the territory that today is Guatemala for the Spanish crown.15 Similar to the conquest wars against the Aztecs, Alvarado gained the support of many Mexican allies, many of whom spoke the language of Nahuatl. His Nahua cohorts included cultures from Central Mexico: most notably the Tlaxcalans and Xochimilcans, in addition to Oaxacan cultural

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9 Adrián Recinos and Delia Goetz, trans., The Annals of the Cakchiquels (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), 24. It should be noted that San Pedro is the modern name for the volcano. On the 1585 Map of Santiago Atitlán the volcano is labeled as the “West Volcano.”
12 Ibid., 128.
13 Recinos and Goetz, 110-118.
14 Ibid., 110-111.
15 Here, I am using the term “Aztec” to refer to the people living in the cities of Tenochtitlan, Tetzcoco, and Tlacopan. These cities formed an alliance known as the Aztec Empire. See James Lockhart, The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 20.
groups such as the Mixtecs and Zapoteecs. These indigenous allies not only provided large armies for Alvarado, but they also acted as guides and interpreters, informed Spaniards on indigenous military techniques, and provided food for the troops. No doubt, without these indigenous allies, the Spanish would not have succeeded in the conquest of Guatemala.

Pedro de Alvarado’s invasion in Guatemala ended in 1526 when he returned to Spain and left his brother Jorge Alvarado in charge of the highlands. Pedro de Alvarado’s time in Guatemala was marked by much violence, including wars with the Cakchiquels that lasted from 1524-1530. After Pedro surrendered his control to Jorge, Jorge headed to Mexico to gain additional allies and returned to Guatemala in 1527. According to Restall and Asselbergs, he was able to “subdue” most of the highlands by 1529. As a reward for their military service, many indigenous Nahua allies received permission to settle in the southern highlands. This included the land around Lake Atitlán, which- according to the report accompanying the map I am studying in this thesis- states that the Mayan name for the lake was Chiaa, but that “the Mexicans, who came later, named it Atitlán.” In addition to giving land to the Nahua, the Spanish also established a monastery and the city of Santiago Atitlán on the Southeast shore of the lake.

Thus, at the time of the map’s production in 1585, the area around Lake Atitlán was extremely diverse in its population, consisting of Zutuhils, Cakchiquels, Quichés, Spaniards, and Nahua. This diversity is represented on the map, and is the primary focus of this study.

16 Restall and Asselbergs, 8-9.
17 Ibid., 16.
18 Ibid., 12.
19 Ibid., 12-13.
20 Ray F. Broussard, trans., “Description of Atitlán and its dependencies, 1585: a translation with introduction and notes” (master’s thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1952), 11. The report does not actually state that “Chiaa” is a word from the Mayan language. Rather, it says “in the native tongue,” which I am interpreting as being one of the three Mayan languages spoken in the region.
Definition of Research Problem

The overall objective of this thesis is to analyze the 1585 Map of Santiago Atitlán and contribute to the present knowledge of the map. In order to do so, I traveled to the Benson Latin American Library in June of 2012 to view the Map of Santiago Atitlán and other Relaciones Geográficas maps. I also worked with a digital image provided by the Benson Library and a transcription and a translation of the responses to the questionnaire produced in Santiago Atitlán in 1585.21

In addition to advancing knowledge on the Map of Santiago Atitlán, this paper also advances the understanding of Mesoamerican maps and Relaciones Geográficas maps more broadly. The opposition of indigenous Nahua versus Spanish or European narratives and iconographies is a theme constantly explored in the studies of the Relaciones Geográficas maps. However, the opposition of two different indigenous narratives and iconographies, as well as Spanish, is not. The 1585 Map of Santiago Atitlán displays Spanish, Nahua, and Maya narratives and iconographies, and the study of this complex object allows for new and different considerations in the field of Mesoamerican cartography.

This map has not been the subject of extensive previous research. It is not addressed in Barbara Mundy’s The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas. It was catalogued but not extensively discussed by Howard Cline and Donald Robertson.22 The map was the subject of a thesis by Eloise Choate Patterson, which

emphasized the colonial relationship between the Spanish and the Zutuhil Maya.\textsuperscript{23} Patterson’s focus is different from mine, which proposes a more complicated mode of colonial semiosis.

The first chapter will explore the Spanish narratives and pictorial conventions depicted on the map. It focuses on the narrative of the construction of the city of Santiago Atitlán and the overall production of the map in the later sixteenth-century. The second chapter will discuss the Nahua content, which includes the Nahuatl textual glosses and the appropriation of Nahua pictorial conventions, forms, and styles. The Maya content, which consists of the illustration of a mythistorical event discussed in the \textit{Annals of the Cakchiquels} and the depiction of an archaeological site, will be explored in the third chapter. This study concludes with a critical discussion, focusing on Walter Mignolo’s “colonial semiosis” and Matthew Restall’s “post-Conquest vitality,” to position the map within current theoretical debates. The subject of authorship will also be examined.

\textbf{Methodology, Terms, and Orthography}

This study employs three primary methods. I use an iconographic analysis of Spanish and Nahua pictorial documents, maps, and other \textit{Relaciones Geográficas} maps to explore Spanish and Nahua content in the Map of Santiago Atitlán. The study also examines historical and archaeological sources to explore the illustration of Maya narratives in the landscape, and considers the relationship between the image and its accompanying text.

I would like to make a note of the terminology and orthography this paper uses. When referring to Nahua iconography on the map, I am referring to artistic elements used by

indigenous groups of Mexico who spoke the language Nahuatl. This includes the Aztecs, perhaps the most well known Nahuatl speakers, but also includes indigenous populations such as the Mixtecs, the Zapotecs, and cultures on the Gulf Coast, who were incorporated into the Aztec Empire by the time of Spanish arrival in 1519 but did not originally speak Nahuatl. Nahuatl names of cultures will be spelled using the sixteenth-century spellings, following Matthew Restall and Florine Asselbergs’ examples. Similarly to the term “Nahua,” I will use the term “Maya” to refer to any indigenous group who spoke a branch of one of the many Mayan languages. The Mayan culture names, primarily Quiché, Zutuhil, and Cakchiquel, will be spelled using the Spanish spelling, according to how they appear in Adrián Recinos and Delia Goetz’ translation of *The Annals of the Cakchiquels*.  

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26 I will use the spelling found in *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* because this is one of my main sources and I would like to avoid confusion.
Chapter One

Because the Map of Santiago Atitlán belongs to the Relación Geográfica map corpus, it will be prudent to discuss the aspects of the map that speak to sixteenth-century Spanish culture first. The fact that the map was produced as part of the Relación Geográfica project means that the map itself is, at least in part, a Spanish construct. This discussion begins the chapter, but, as I will mention, to consider the map a Spanish construct does not mean that it is possible to disregard indigenous authorship. Next, I will examine the pictorial conventions of the map. European elements such as perspective and alphabetic text are perhaps the most conspicuous element of Spanish culture visible on the map. After a general discussion of basic artistic devices, the discussion will shift and center on the depiction of the city. On the map, the city of Santiago Atitlán is represented in an ideal, Spanish manner. Similarly, the style of architecture in the city representation is European in origin, not Mesoamerican. Finally, the textual glosses on the map do not recall either Nahua or Maya writing traditions. The difference between Nahua, Maya, and Spanish writing systems, and the translation of the Mesoamerican systems into alphabetic texts, ends the chapter.

A Spanish Construct

At the most basic level, the Map of Santiago Atitlán is a Spanish construct. As discussed previously, the Spanish crown dictated the map’s production, and the production of many other
city maps, under the *Relación Geográfica* project. However, just because these maps were made under the same circumstances does not mean they are similar in appearance. Barbara Mundy has shown that the *Relación Geográfica* map corpus is incredibly wide and varied, not only in style and composition, but also in authorship. She argues that indigenous artists painted most of the *Relaciones Geográficas* maps, but local Spanish officials also produced some as well.\(^27\)

The *Relaciones Geográficas* maps made by Spanish artists primarily resemble European maps. One example made by Spanish officials, called an itinerary map, depicted travel and movement. Mundy explains that itinerary maps are the least pictorial of the *Relaciones Geográficas* maps and are organized in an orderly fashion that illustrates “a progression of places in set order.”\(^28\) In the *Relación Geográfica* map of Tecuicuilco, from 1580, the towns, represented by single edifices, are connected with one primary road (**Figure 3**). Mundy emphasizes that the simplicity of the *Relación Geográfica* map of Tecuicuilco and other itinerary maps allowed the viewer to read the maps as a text and discover how the colonists perceived and interacted with their landscape.\(^29\)

Printed maps and nautical maps were two other styles that Spanish officials tended to copy while making their *Relaciones Geográficas* maps. The printed effect can be seen, for example, in the *Relación Geográfica* map of Tescaltitlan, a pen and ink drawing made to look like a print (**Figure 4**). The “printedness” of the pen and ink drawings was emphasized over original authorship to provide necessary details of the city they depicted.\(^30\) Unlike the pen and ink drawings and other *Relaciones Geográficas* maps that depicted cities, the nautical *Relaciones Geográficas* maps illustrated the coastline. Actual mariners made some of the nautical maps,

\(^{27}\) Mundy, *The Mapping*, 34.  
\(^{28}\) Ibid., 36.  
\(^{29}\) Ibid., 36.  
\(^{30}\) Ibid., 45.
such as the *Relación Geográfica* map of Tlacotalpa (Figure 5). Mundy explains that because of the dangerous field of navigation, mariners made the most accurately measured maps using tools “whose technical precision was unequalled by those used by coeval land surveyors and allowed their users to gauge astronomical positionings.”

Colonists also often produced the chorographic map. Chorographic maps focused on a specific city and its surrounding landscape, such as the *Relación Geográfica* map of Meztitlan (Figure 6). While chorographic maps focus on the same subject, Mundy points out that the chorographic *Relaciones Geográficas* maps not only vary from traditional European chorographic maps, but also from one another. She explains that many of the questions in the survey were unrelated to typical chorographic information, such as natural history, and allowed for the colonists to choose what their chorographic map could include.

The indigenous authored *Relaciones Geográficas* maps vary dramatically and therefore it is impossible to categorize them into different map types like the ones discussed above. In the *Relación Geográfica* map of Cholula, made in 1581, the city of Cholula appears in a strict grid plan fashion: 21 square city blocks surround the central plaza and church (Figure 7). The city of Santiago Atitlán on the Map of Santiago Atitlán includes a grid that is similar to Cholula; buildings outline the Town Square and church (Figure 8). Not all maps, however, used the form of the grid to depict the town. If we look at the *Relación Geográfica* map of Amaltepec, for example, the city appears to be represented by just one building, the church (Figure 9).

The handling of color is also another way the indigenous *Relaciones Geográficas* maps differ from one another. In the Map of Santiago Atitlán, the artist used rich blues, greens,
yellows, and reds, and not much of the original parchment is showing. In the Relación Geográfica map of Misquiahuala, however, most of the parchment is visible, and the artist used bright red and yellow paint (Figure 10). The Relación Geográfica map of Guaxtepec features similar colors as the Map of Santiago Atitlán, and they are blended in a similar fashion, except bright pinks and reds also appear (Figure 11). The different pigments available to the artists could explain the variations in color. Pigments were made from minerals and plants, and the different ecosystems throughout Mesoamerica most likely provided artists with various materials.

Size of the maps also varies. Some are small in dimension with height and width measuring less than one foot, while others are larger with one side measuring at least one foot in length. The Relación Geográfica map of Teozacoalco from the Mixtec region of Mexico is a very large example, measuring four and a half feet high and almost six feet wide (Figure 12).

As evident, the Relaciones Geográficas maps are all very different from one another. The artist, whether he was a Spaniard or a native, enjoyed quite a bit of freedom while crafting his map. And while the maps are creations of the artist (or artists, possibly), they are also partly the product of the king of Spain and his head mapmaker, for it is not likely these would have been produced without the prompting of the Relación Geográfica questionnaire.

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34 It is important to note that these shades of pink and red do not appear in the reproduction photograph of the map, but they become especially evident under personal observation.


37 I use “he” in response to Barbara Mundy’s work, in which she says that, “all the identifiable artists at work in the corpus are men, and historical evidence strongly suggests that indigenous professional painters would have been male.” She adds, however, that “we cannot positively determine the gender of all the artists and thereby rule out that women may have painted maps.” Mundy, The Mapping, 239n5.
Pictorial Conventions

Like many of the *Relaciones Geográficas* maps, the Map of Santiago Atitlán demonstrates the artist’s use of European pictorial conventions. The use of European artistic devices and styles is a prominent theme in the study of the *Relaciones Geográficas* maps since many of the maps display these techniques. One explanation for the pervasiveness of these pictorial conventions is the involvement of the Franciscan friars, who established monastic schools for the evangelization of native peoples in new colonial cities. A portion of the curriculum at these schools was artistic practice. The students at the monastic schools learned European painting techniques such as the use of line, the mixing of paint, and the organization of the picture plane. 38 Students learned many of these techniques by copying European prints. 39

The basic European artistic techniques and conventions displayed on the Map of Santiago Atitlán are the use of line and perspective. Nearly every object painted on the map features a dark black outline: the blue lake, the tan and red buildings and roofs, the blue-green hills and volcanoes, and even the yellow canoes and grey figures. As Patterson notes, the artist included multiple viewpoints, a convention also employed in some European maps. The lake and the streets of the town are depicted in a bird’s-eye fashion, as if the viewer is flying above the area and looking down at them. 40 The buildings in the square, however, are not depicted in a bird’s eye-view; if this were the case, the tops of the roofs would be visible. Rather, the architecture appears in a profile or frontal view, as do the hills and the volcanoes surrounding the lake. The

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39 Ibid. Mundy suggests that this practice taught native artists to focus on painting similarly to what had been done in the past, rather than painting what was seen directly in front of them. Native artists became excited about this way of painting, because building on past traditions was similar to the pre-Columbian way of painting. This may be so, but by giving their students European prints to copy, Spanish friars were essentially attempting to erase the pre-Columbian ways of painting and replace them with European ones. However, as will be discussed later, the erasure of pre-Columbian methods of painting did not happen.
40 Patterson, 78-79.
artist of this map also used basic perspective in some parts of the composition. For example, 
shading is visible in the doorways and windows, and this creates a sense of depth (Figure 13). 
The building on the lower right side of the grid is shown with a shaded archway with a half-
pentagon shape above it; this seems to suggest the presence of a colonnade. In addition, the right 
hand side of the church is drawn slightly above the left hand side of the church, indicating that 
this part of the building is set back from the other side.

Another way in which the artist conformed to European standards was by his use of 
materials. The map was painted on what appears to be European parchment paper. Pre-
Columbian maps, books, and other pictorial narratives were not painted on parchment paper, but 
rather animal hides, tree bark, and maguey fiber. 41

In addition, it appears the artist used watercolors for some of his composition. While a 
more precise characterization of the type of paint the artist used would require scientific analysis, 
the translucent appearance of the hills and the vegetation surrounding the lake suggests the use of 
this medium. There is not a large body of scholarship regarding pigment materials used by pre-
Columbian Mesoamerican painters, but it is widely known that pre-Columbian artists did not 
paint using watercolors. In their book about pre-Columbian Maya scribes, Michael D. Coe and 
Justin Kerr discuss the use of hematite, an iron oxide pigment that produced the red color visible 
in the Dresden, Madrid, and Grolier Maya codices. 42 They also briefly mention the use of gesso 
as a layer used in manuscript production. Elizabeth Hill Boone provides a discussion regarding 
pigment materials used for colonial manuscript making in her book Stories in Red and Black: 
Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs. She explains that chemical elements such as 
carbon, and natural minerals provided artists with rich blacks, yellows, reds, blues, and greens,

41 Boone, Stories in Red and Black, 23. 
while insects and vegetal dyes made colors such as dark red and other greens and blues. Like Coe and Kerr’s brief note on the use of gesso, Boone also mentions the use of a native material similar to egg tempera for the Codex Selden.

**Urban Design**

As previously noted, the Map of Santiago Atitlán also displays the grid. Streets meet each other at 90 degrees and a central plaza or square is in the middle. The Spanish greatly valued the urban design of a gridiron plan. This well-ordered city construction was a sign of civility, where government was present and order was enforced. This is especially true in the New World, where some Europeans considered the indigenous populations savages. Thus, indigenous towns located outside of the Spanish cities were seen as being barbaric and wild. The grid city plan displayed on a map, therefore, communicated to the viewer that the city was an orderly one.

The *Relación Geográfica* report that accompanied the Map of Santiago Atitlán supports this. Originally, the capital city of the Zutuhil Maya culture, called *Chiaa*, was located at the base of the West Volcano on a hill called *Chuitinamit*, directly across the lake from the site of the new Spanish town. The two Spanish friars who settled in the area, Francisco de la Parra and Pedro de Betancour, moved the Zutuhil peoples from *Chiaa* or *Chuitinamit* to the city’s

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45 See also Patterson, 37-38.
46 Grid plans also were used to design pre-Columbian cities. See Setha M. Low, “Indigenous Architecture and the Spanish American Plaza in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean,” *American Anthropologist* 97, no. 4 (December 1995): 748-762.
48 Ibid., 33.
49 Orellana, 73.
location on the map, so that the Zutuhil could live in a “well ordered and planned village,” one with “well laid out streets [and squares] the same as [is done] in Spanish villages.”

The Spanish affinity for a grid city plan could stem from the Roman Empire. The same urban design can be seen in Roman camps and colonies, and the Spanish greatly respected the Roman Empire for its technological innovations and its power as a colonizing agent. The city depicted as a grid appears in other Relaciones Geográficas maps, as well. As previously noted, an example is the Map of Cholula (Figure 7). The grid, together with architectural forms discussed in the next section, were symbolic within the worldview of the Spanish.

**City Architecture**

Another graphic marker of Spanish presence in the map is seen in the architecture of the city. Many European architectural details appear on the buildings. First, I would like to center on the church, which is located at the top of the city grid and labeled as “El Monesterio.” As described in the report, the monastery was built around 1540 when the Franciscan friars Pedro de Betancour and Francisco de la Parra established the city of Santiago Atitlán. One of its main functions appears to have been a monastic school:

> And the said religious (Friars Francisco de la Parra and Pedro de Betancour) gave orders that there be a school established in this village where the children may learn to read, write, and count, and serve Mass and divine services by learning Gregorian and Plain chant in all of which they are proficient today.

No other church, convent, “or anything that can be called such” existed in Santiago Atitlán.

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50 Broussard, 49 and 44. Note: the brackets in the second quote were added by Broussard, not the present author.
51 Kagan, 33.
52 Broussard, 49 and 71.
53 Ibid., 49. It is important to note that I have added the parenthetical text for clarification.
54 Ibid., 71.
On the façade of the monastery, the artist drew Doric columns (Figure 14). From the many extant pyramids present in Mesoamerica, archaeologists know that pre-Columbian Mesoamerican architects did not use the Classical orders. The image on the Map of Santiago Atitlán is therefore an early example of the use of this order in the Americas.

Another European architectural element depicted on the map is the Roman arch. The arch can be seen in many buildings, but is most notable in the church (Figures 15-17). While Mesoamerican architects did employ arches as an architectural element, they used the corbelled arch. Unlike the round Roman arch, a corbelled arch is “constructed of overlapping blocks, each projecting farther inward until the intervening space between [the] two walls was bridged by a single capstone (Figure 18).”

Visually, the Roman arch and the corbelled arch are quite different. The corbelled arch produces an arch shaped similarly to a triangle (Figure 19). Often, a long and narrow passageway is the result of placing many of these arches together, rather than a wider barrel vaulted passage produced with Roman arches.

Architectural historian Valerie Fraser argues that the use of the Roman arch and the classical orders in early colonial buildings, specifically churches, served distinct purposes in society. She argues that a true arch, in European minds, was a sign of civility and was considered to be one of the highest forms of architecture. By making use of the Roman arch, the Spaniards thus displayed their civility over the indigenous people’s barbarism, thus further asserting their dominance. Similarly to the arch, Spaniards also considered the classical orders as some of the finest architectural forms. Fraser states that the Doric order is common throughout early colonial church architecture and argues that because of its status as the strongest

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55 Sharer and Traxler, 215.
56 Valerie Fraser, The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535-1635 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 34.
classical order, Spaniards used it as way of illustrating the strength of Christianity.\textsuperscript{57} The Classical orders and the Roman arch, then, are representative of the new Spanish rulership and the newly imposed religion.

**Text**

One last item on the map illustrates Spanish presence in the map: the text. Textual glosses appear as labels around the entire map. The majority of the labels are in Spanish, but one is in Nahuatl. It is unknown who added these glosses. Patterson argues that the Santiago Atitlán clerk, the man in charge of assembling the written report, identified as Villa Castín, added the text because “he wanted everything to be made clearer for His Majesty.”\textsuperscript{58} While Patterson’s argument is possible, the report does not say specifically who added the textual glosses. It very well could have been the artist. Regardless of who added the text, its presence on the map speaks to a writing tradition dissimilar to pre-Columbian writing systems.

The use of the phonetic Roman alphabet is a European element of language. Neither the Maya nor Nahuas used a pure phonetic alphabet as a form of writing. The pre-Columbian Maya writing system is perhaps the closest to Spanish traditions. The Maya wrote in hieroglyphs, signs that are logographic and phonetic. Logographic glyphs hold meaning on their own, while phonetic glyphs represent spoken syllables.\textsuperscript{59} Glyphs are readable by themselves or they can be assembled to form a compound. Large blocks of text contain multiple compounds, in which a reader is able to read “left to right and top to bottom, in paired columns.”\textsuperscript{60} Whereas the Maya

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\textsuperscript{57} Valerie Fraser, “Architecture and Imperialism in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America,” *Art History* 9, no. 3 (September 1986): 332.  
\textsuperscript{58} Patterson, 75; Broussard, 71-72.  
\textsuperscript{59} Michael D. Coe and Mark Van Stone, *Reading the Maya Glyphs*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2005), 18.  
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 17.
did have a semi-phonetic writing system, Nahua cultures did not. Their writing primarily consisted of the same logographic signs, or logograms, that the Maya used. These represented specific dates, names, and places.61 Mundy explains that the Nahua culture’s lack of a syllabic form of writing should not be viewed as a deficiency; rather, it demonstrates that oral expression was considered more significant than written expression.62 After arriving in the New World, Franciscan Friars translated the Mayan and Nahuatl languages into the Roman alphabet, which allowed the Spanish to read and write native languages.

Conclusion

There are numerous markers of Spanish presence on the Map of Santiago Atitlán. Because the Spanish dictated the Relación Geográfica project, the Map of Santiago Atitlán and the other Relaciones Geográficas maps can be viewed as Spanish constructs. The artist of the map also used European pictorial conventions, such as line, color, and simple perspective, skills he most likely learned in monastic schools. Moving beyond the surface, the artist also chose to illustrate an important Spanish value. The depiction of Santiago Atitlán as a grid speaks to Spanish ideas of civility. Moreover, the architecture displayed in the city square is European in origin. Lastly, the text on the map and in the accompanying report demonstrates just how large of an effect the Spanish had on indigenous ways of life. Next, this paper will explore the use of Nahua artistic forms and styles.

61 Mundy, The Mapping, 139.
62 Ibid.
Chapter Two

In addition to the presence of Spanish conventions, icons, materials, and techniques on the Map of Santiago Atitlán to illustrate the narrative of the founding of Santiago Atitlán, there is also content derived from Nahua culture. This includes the use of Nahuatl language and iconography. These are the subjects of my analysis in this chapter.

Text

As noted in the previous chapter, much of the text on the Map of Santiago Atitlán is in Spanish. One of the textual glosses that appear on the map, however, is written in Nahuatl. It labels the town of Tecpan Atitlán and can be seen on the left hand side of the map (Figure 20). In Nahuatl, Tecpan means “royal palace” or “government building.”63 Atitlán translates as “village near the water.”64 Thus, the text gloss and town name means “the royal palace or government building of the village near the water.” As Recinos and Goetz note, the town of Tecpan Atitlán was once a Cakchiquel Maya city called Tzololá; when the Nahuas and Spaniards conquered the area around Lake Atitlán, they re-named the city Tecpan Atitlán.65 Today, the indigenous Mayan name survives, and it is called Sololá. More significant than the Nahuatl text gloss, however, are the Nahuatl words that are scattered throughout the text of the report that

64 Broussard, 48.
65 Recinos and Goetz, 8.
contains the written answers to the questionnaire. Most often these are nouns, which are defined for the reader. The words are always preceded with or followed by *en la lengua mexicana* or “in the Mexican language.” One example is the word *xicoles*, which is the word for the pre-Columbian clothes worn by lords.\(^66\) It should be of no surprise that Mayan words also appear in the report. Like the Nahuatl words, these are referenced with *en la lengua materna* or “in the mother language.”\(^67\) The Nahuatl word *xicoles*, noted above, is known as *xapot* in Mayan.\(^68\) Also, when discussing a Spanish meaning of a word in either Nahuatl or Mayan, the report gives *en la lengua castellana* or “in the Castilian language.”\(^69\) When describing a Central Mexican army captain, the report first gives the Nahuatl name of *Quauhtli*, then follows it with its Spanish translation, *aguila*, or eagle.\(^70\)

The Nahuatl gloss and the Nahuatl words in the report illustrate an important characteristic of this region of Guatemala. Certainly, the Quiches, Zutuhils, and Cakchiquels living around Lake Atitlán came into contact with the Nahuatl language and customs when several Nahua cultures accompanied the Spanish during the conquest. However, this was not their first introduction to people who spoke the Nahuatl language. The Pipil culture, which inhabited the southeastern Guatemalan and northern El Salvadoran coasts, spoke a dialect of Nahuatl.\(^71\) Most likely, the Maya cultures would have been semi-familiar with the Nahuatl language.

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\(^{66}\) Betancour and Arboleda, 100.  
\(^{67}\) Ibid., 93-106.  
\(^{68}\) Ibid., 100.  
\(^{69}\) Ibid., 93-106.  
\(^{70}\) Ibid., 94. The original text does not have an acute accent over the “a.”  
\(^{71}\) Restall and Asselbergs, 25.
Architectural Details

Another feature on the map that is possibly influenced by Nahua cultures is an architectural detail on the church. The circle designs visible on the cornice and the stereobate are reminiscent of circle patterns shown on Aztec buildings depicted in several colonial codices and books (Figure 14). In Aztec art, circles (and more often concentric circles) represent the idea of space and time. Unlike Western cultures, Mesoamericans conceived of time not as linear, but as cyclical. Richard Townsend explains that the Aztec calendar “was full of energy and motion, the harbinger of change” and that their “cosmogonic myths reveal a preoccupation with the process of creation, destruction, and recreation.”\(^\text{72}\) Thus, circle forms in Aztec art represent a completed cyclical cycle, one that is ready to begin again.\(^\text{73}\)

One specific building represented in codices features concentric circle designs: the Templo Mayor. Illustrated in *The History of New Spain* and *The Codex Mendoza*, the circles rim the temple’s towers (Figures 21 and 22). The Templo Mayor was the most sacred temple in the Aztec Empire. The temple and its surrounding space were the main stage for religious rituals, festivals, and large public displays of power and wealth. To the Aztecs, the Templo Mayor was not only the center of their empire, but also the center of the world. When the Spaniards conquered the Aztecs, they built present-day Mexico City over the ruins of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan. Buildings were constructed on top of the Templo Mayor, but today, archaeologists have recovered most of it. The circle designs that appear in the codices mentioned above appear as sculptures placed into the temple walls (Figure 23).

As mentioned earlier, the circle form often represents the completion of a cyclical cycle. The circle’s importance, however, can be taken a step further. Recalling Townsend’s statement

\(^\text{72}\) Townsend, 127.
that Aztec cosmology was centered on creation, destruction, and recreation, circles become a significant part of Aztec religion and art. Because the concentric design was used to decorate the most sacred temple in the Aztec world, it can be speculated that this design was highly sacred, and most likely denoted sacred space. The fact that the ornamental circle design is illustrated as part of the church on the Map of Santiago Atitlán, then, is compelling. First, the Church of Santiago Atitlán, built between 1570-1582, still stands today. In contemporary photographs of the church, the circle designs are not present (Figure 24). It is possible that the church has been remodeled or the circles have been painted over and covered up, but there is also another possibility as to why they appear on the map and not on the church itself. During the conquest, the Spanish conquistadors employed certain strategies to assist in their conversion of the indigenous populations. One strategy was to use native religious iconography in the new Christian churches to embed into the indigenous populations the idea that the church was sacred, just like their pre-Hispanic temples. Similarly, in some cases, religious leaders would actually build the church on the same site as the temple. Returning to the map, then, if a native or mestizo artist painted it, they most likely would have added the circle design as a form of understanding that the building was a sacred space devoted to worship. If a Spanish artist had painted this map, they most likely would not have added these circle designs. They would have had no need to demonstrate their understanding of the church as sacred.

74 Patterson, 40.
Forms and Styles in the Landscape

Similarly to the presence of European artistic conventions on the map, Nahua forms appear in the landscape on the map.

First, I would like to examine the hills that appear to the left of the lake. Formally, they appear very similar to the hills seen on the Relación Geográfica map of Texupa, Mexico (Figures 25 and 26). The hills in both maps contain thick outlines and overlap one another. Stylistically, however, the hills in each map are very different from one another. On the Texupa map, the hills are a lush green color and covered with wavy vegetation. On the Map of Santiago Atitlán, the hills appear a tan color (mostly from the lack of paint), and vegetation is just hinted at using a combination of brushstrokes, blotting, and hatch marks, all in a deep blue-green color.

Other features of the landscape that allow for comparisons to Nahua maps are the volcanoes. The three towering mountains resemble the Nahuatl bell- shaped hill symbols. This symbol, called the tepetl symbol, was an indigenous form used in maps and manuscript painting to depict a hill. The shape is always similar: a bell shape, with a narrow top and wide bottom (Figure 27). When combined with a logogram, these hill symbols become toponyms, or place names. In an example from Mundy, the toponym for the city of Santa Ana Muchitlan would appear as the tepetl symbol with a four petalled flower on top. Returning to the Map of Santiago Atitlán, the presence of the tepetl symbol is an area where Patterson and I disagree. In her paper, while analyzing the hills, Patterson states that the Map of Santiago Atitlán does not contain indigenous hill symbols. I argue that, while the distinct tepetl symbol does not appear in the way the artist painted the actual hills on the map, the volcanoes formally reference the

76 See also Patterson, 81.
77 Mundy, The Mapping, 146-147.
78 Ibid., 147.
79 Patterson, 81.
symbol (Figures 28-29). If we look closely, it is clear the volcanoes are mimetic of the bell shape. This is especially evident in the two that rise over the city.

One last feature of the landscape on the Map of Santiago Atitlán is more complicated to decipher than the tepetl shaped volcanoes. This is the treatment of the water. The water is painted with a ripple-like pattern, with the ripples pointing in many different directions (Figure 30). According to Mundy, who has compiled a list of indigenous symbols used to represent topographical features on Nahua codices and Relaciones Geográficas maps by known indigenous artists, this ripple-like pattern was a common way of representing springs and water sources.80 Some examples of other Relación Geográfica maps that include this pattern are the Map of Tenanpulco and Matlactonatico and the Map of Macuilsuchil (Figures 31 and 32). However, the artist of the Map of Santiago Atitlán also added an additional element to the painting of the lake: a swirl-like design in the middle (Figure 33). Mundy has recognized this distinct swirl design as an indigenous way of depicting rivers and lakes, specifically after the Relación Geográfica map of Ixtapalapa (Figure 34).81

Under first consideration, it may seem that the artist of the Map of Santiago Atitlán was strictly considering Nahua sources for inspiration for how to paint Lake Atitlán. The lake includes the ripple-like symbol for water sources, in addition to the spiral symbol for rivers and lakes. However, this formal issue is not that simple. Patterson recognizes that the swirl pattern (and I would like to add the ripple-like water symbol) is also visible on a European map of Constantinople, made in the 1400s (Figure 35).82

80 Mundy, The Mapping, 99. She cites examples from the Codex Xolotl and the Relación Geográfica map of Guaxtepec.
81 Ibid.
82 Patterson, 85.
Was the artist of the Map of Santiago Atitlán looking at European prints or Nahua codices while illustrating the water? Most likely, it was a combination of all of these things. As mentioned in Chapter One, it is well known that the Spanish officials instructed artists on the use of European artistic conventions by the copying of European prints. The artist could have seen the fifteenth-century print of Constantinople, or, very likely, others similar to it. In addition, Mundy has made it clear through her *Relaciones Geográficas* maps study that many indigenous artists still had memory of pre-Hispanic artistic traditions. The *Relación Geográfica* report of Santiago Atitlán also makes mention to the weather of Lake Atitlán, saying “the prevailing winds are from north to south. Sometimes the north wind blows with great violence . . .” It also seems possible that the ripple-like pattern was the artist’s method of displaying currents in the lake due to the strong wind.

While it is also possible that the artist was examining European and Nahua sources while painting the swirl pattern in the middle of the lake, I argue in the next chapter that he was not. Rather, I contend that the artist wished to illustrate a narrative from the Cakchiquel Maya chronicles titled *The Annals of the Cakchiquels*.

**Conclusion**

With a new Nahua community living around Lake Atitlán by the 1530s, it should be of no surprise that Nahua artistic forms and styles are visible on the map. Concentric circle designs, which express the Aztec idea of a completed sacred cycle, decorate the church. Most likely, the artist wished to designate the church as a sacred location. By conducting a comparative analysis with other *Relaciones Geográficas* maps, it is apparent that the artist of the Map of Santiago

83 Broussard, 41.
Atitlán was familiar with other Nahua artistic conventions, as well. For example, the hills that line the left side of the map formally reference the hills seen in the *Relación Geográfica* map of Texupa, while the volcanoes formally reference the Nahua *tepētl* symbol. Unlike the rest of the landscape, the treatment of water is similar to Nahua maps and European maps. Most likely, the artist was looking at both kinds of maps for inspiration.

Next, the discussion of the Map of Santiago Atitlán will become more complex as this paper examines the illustration of Maya narratives on the map.
Chapter Three

While the Spanish and Nahua presence on the map can be seen in pictorial conventions and formal qualities, the Maya presence is not as obvious. I argue in this chapter that the whirlpool in the middle of the lake illustrates a mythistorical tale from The Annals of the Cakchiquels. In addition, I discuss the illustration of Chuitinamit on the map, where the pre-Columbian Zutuhil city of Chiaa was located. I argue that the hill’s representation on the map was not accidental; rather, it is related to the sacred cycle of the sun, which the artist also painted on the map. The depiction of Maya sacred mythistory and cosmology allows for discussions of the Map of Santiago Atitlán as a Zutuhil cosmogram.84

A Narrative from the Annals of the Cakchiquels

The first Maya perspective is the illustration of a narrative from The Annals of the Cakchiquels. The Annals is a collection of documents written by native Cakchiquel Maya authors in the colonial city of Sololá, located near Lake Atitlán.85 Matthew Restall and Florine Asselbergs note that these documents were most likely part of the town book or archives, as

84 By mythistory, I follow the example of Elizabeth Hill Boone, who explains that, “in the ancient Americas, we must include the fabulous and legendary in our understanding of history because the Mesoamericans saw no division between myth and history.” She goes on to say that, “among Mesoamericanists, Dennis Tedlock has solved the problem, and avoided unnecessary distinctions, by using the term ‘mythistory.’” Boone, Stories in Red and Black, 15. By cosmogram, I mean “a graphic representation of aspects of the cosmos,” defined by Michael E. Smith. See Michael E. Smith, “Did the Maya Build Architectural Cosmograms?” Latin American Antiquity 16, no. 2 (June 2005): 217.
85 Restall and Asselbergs, 103.
many colonial towns kept community books recording the people’s history, cosmology, and mythistorical stories.\textsuperscript{86}

The Maya practice of keeping town books stems from pre-Hispanic times; hieroglyphic screen fold books recorded the town’s origin stories, astronomical information, calendrical dates, and much more.\textsuperscript{87} When Spanish friars first arrived in the New World, they burned these books because they recorded indigenous religious beliefs and customs.\textsuperscript{88} In order to save their culture’s history, the older generations of communities met secretly and began to record their knowledge of the pre-Hispanic period using the Roman alphabet.\textsuperscript{89} These books were most likely added to over the years of the colonial period, as stories were passed down from generation to generation. This is an important fact to keep in mind when reading these books. An ever-growing expanse of time from when these events took place and the storyteller and record keeper’s individual interpretation of the events no doubt affected the tales. In addition, in some cases, originals of these manuscripts have been lost and only copies exist. This is true for the \textit{Annals}; it is speculated that the existing copy was made in the mid seventeenth-century.\textsuperscript{90} Other native chronicles from the Maya sphere include the \textit{Popol Vuh}, recorded by the Spanish from Quiché Maya oral histories about cosmology, mythology, and history, as well as the \textit{Books of Chilam Balam}, from cities in the Yucatán Peninsula.\textsuperscript{91} It is not my intention in this section to argue that the map shows this one “true” event from the \textit{Annals}. Rather, I argue that the artist of the map was aware of this particular story and felt it important enough to illustrate it.

\textsuperscript{86} Restall and Asselbergs, 103; Boone, \textit{Stories in Red and Black}, 15.
\textsuperscript{87} Amara Solari, “Circles of Creation: The Invention of Maya Cartography in Early Colonial Yucatán,” \textit{The Art Bulletin} 92, no. 3 (September 2010): 158.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 158.
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid. In her paper, Solari is discussing just one of the books from the \textit{Books of the Chilam Balam}, the one from Chumayel, but we can transfer this idea to the other colonial community books.
\textsuperscript{90} Recinos and Goetz, 11-12.
\textsuperscript{91} Sharer and Traxler, 123.
The story describes an event between the Cakchiquel Maya and the Zutuhil Maya cultures that were warring for ownership of the land surrounding the lake. It tells of the Cakchiquel and Zutuhil Mayas entering the lake to do battle when “immediately, the waters became dark, then a north wind came up, and a whirlpool was formed in the water which stirred up the surface of the lake.” The whirlpool divided the lake into two separate parts for each tribe, the south and southwest for the Zutuhils and the north and east for the Cakchiquels. Adrián Recinos and Delia Goetz, translators of the Annals text, have noted that these divisions were still in place in the twentieth-century, with the addition of one other Maya group, the Quiches, who lived on the west shore.

Shifting to the Map of Santiago Atitlán, I argue that the whirlpool in the lake represents this story. The whirlpool appears in the left-hand side of the lake as a series of concentric circles and is clearly differentiated from the rest of the lake. Moreover, the direction of the currents explicitly shows the dividing of the lake to each of the linguistic groups. The way the water lines are painted follows the divisions: vertical lines flow toward the east side of the lake to the Cakchiquel shore and also to the south shore where the Zutuhil capital was located (Figure 36). There are also diagonal flowing currents toward the west shore of the lake. Although this does not follow the tale, this could have been the artist’s way of differentiating the territories even further by also adding the Quiche boundary (Figure 37). In her thesis, Patterson also recognized the whirlpool and its relation to the story. She argues that the whirlpool could be a reference to the story, and if this were the case, the painter or the viewer of the map would be reminded of their culture’s sacred mythhistory. While this could have been true for the artist,

92 Recinos and Goetz, 76.
93 Ibid., 77.
94 Patterson, 118.
the second part of her argument is problematic. Because the Map of Santiago Atitlán was a
Relación Geográfica map, the intended viewer of the map would have been Spanish. Moreover,
the city’s clerk, Francisco de Villa Castín, sent the map directly to officials at the High Court in
Santiago. At the end of the report Francisco de Villa Castín, states,

    this, together with the other reports which are to be made, is to be sent to the Illustrious
    Señor Licenciado García de Valverde of his Majesty’s Council, and President of the
    Royal Audiences, who resides in the city of Santiago, and is the governor and captain
general of this district.95

Patterson also argues that the whirlpool could simply be a reference to the strong currents in the
lake, and she does not argue that the territorial divisions are visible in the currents.96 I disagree
and contend that the artist intentionally depicted the story and the lake’s divisions as told in The
Annals.

The Representation of Chuitinamit

Another reference to Zutuhil culture can be seen at the bottom of the West Volcano, directly across from the city. At the base of the volcano, two mound-like shapes are visible (Figure 38). I argue that one of these mounds is the hill Chuitinamit, which was the location of the pre-Columbian Zutuhil capital city of Chiaa. Information about Chiaa comes from the map’s report and archaeological evidence. In the ninth question of the Relación Geográfica questionnaire, Lopez de Velasco inquired about city facts. He asked for the name and nickname the city has or had, the reason for its name, the year of its foundation and names of its founders,

95 Broussard, 72.
96 Patterson, 117.
and how many settlers it had at the time of its founding and at the time of the report.\footnote{Broussard, 28.}

According to the Santiago Atitlán report,

\begin{quote}
this town is called Atitlán in the Mexican language, which means in the tongue of Castille, village near the water, and the same word in the native tongue of this village is Chiaa, which means the same in the Mexican tongue. It is called thus because in the time of their infidelity the Indians were settled around the banks of the lake, and for this reason it took the name of the lake, and in the native tongue of the people it is designated and called thus because the old founders named it Chiaa.\footnote{Ibid., 48.}
\end{quote}

As discussed in Chapter One, the \textit{Relación Geográfica} survey mentions that the Spanish moved the Zutuhil capital from \textit{Chuitinamit} to Santiago Atitlán’s location shown on the map. This was a strategic move by the Spanish friars, done most likely in order to better control the Zutuhil population. As the report states, “the road to visit [the Zutuhils] was troublesome and that because of the manner and form in which they lived it was difficult to reach and teach them better.”\footnote{Ibid.} This matter was brought up with the \textit{Audiencia}, or town council, and the two judges of the \textit{Audiencia} commanded the friars to “take the natives from the banks of the lake, where they were living, and settle them in a comfortable and convenient location in a formal village.”\footnote{Ibid., 49.} Thus, “the said friars Francisco de la Parra, and Pedro de Betancor, took [the Zutuhils] from the banks of the said lake and brought them to settle in the place and site where they are living at present in a well ordered and planned village.”\footnote{Ibid., 49.}

\begin{quote}
Although the report does not mention \textit{Chuitinamit} as \textit{Chiaa’s} actual location, an archaeological report by Samuel Lothrop identifies \textit{Chiaa} as being located on the hill.\footnote{Orellana, 127.} In his
\end{quote}
excavation, Lothrop discovered ceramics, terraces, rock art, and many more artifacts.\textsuperscript{103}

Significant to this paper, however, is a map Lothrop made of the lake’s south shore. On it, he labeled the location of present day cities, archaeological sites, and volcanoes (Figure 39). The Atitlán Volcano (labeled as the \textit{Bolcan de Fuego} on the Map of Santiago Atitlán) and the Toliman Volcano (labeled as the \textit{Bolcan de Oriente} on the Map of Santiago Atitlán) are visible standing across the lake from the San Pedro Volcano (labeled as the \textit{Bolcan de Poniente} on the Map of Santiago Atitlán). At the base of the San Pedro Volcano Lothrop drew a small hill and labeled it as \textit{Chuitinamit}. Lothrop does not label the city of Santiago Atitlán on his map, but the geography of the map correlates almost perfectly with the Map of Santiago Atitlán. Thus, it is possible to imagine Santiago Atitlán’s location on Lothrop’s map. Because of the similarities between the two maps, it is also possible to imagine \textit{Chuitinamit} on the Map of Santiago Atitlán.

One of the two mounds depicted at the base of the West Volcano on the Map of Santiago Atitlán is most likely \textit{Chuitinamit}. It is difficult to argue which mound is the correct one, however, because there are no visual descriptions of the hill or identifying characteristics that we can match to the mounds on the map. Lothrop does include photographs of the hill in his archaeological report, but these appear simply as a hill jutting out into the water (Figure 40). But if one examines the mounds on the map, they will notice that these shapes are set apart from the rest of the volcano. These are not sections of the volcano to which the artist simply neglected to add detail. The artist outlined the mound-like shapes in quick hatch marks designating foliage, and then painted over the marks with a watercolor-like black brushstroke. This creates the same effect as a thick black outline similar to the one he used to outline the lake. One of the mounds he chose to leave the color of the parchment; the only details he added are red shading

\textsuperscript{103} Samuel K. Lothrop, \textit{Atitlán, an Archaeological Study of Ancient Remains on the Borders of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala} (Washington: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1933), 73.
and a small strip of green with the foliage hatch marks. The other mound he painted yellow and added many hatch marks and brushstrokes of green shading. The artist clearly wanted the viewer to recognize these as distinct parts of the volcano, and I argue that he knew of Chuitinamit’s significance and deliberately chose to illustrate the hill on the map. The possible reason for his decision to include the hill will be discussed in the next section.

The Sun and Sacred Geography

I would now like to examine an intriguing feature on this map: a sun located above the feature labeled Bolcan de Oriente, or East Volcano (Figure 41). The sun holds a significant role in Maya cosmology and worldview, as it does in many other cultures both inside and outside of Mesoamerica. As Sharer and Traxler note, for the Maya, celestial objects such as the sun, moon, planets, and stars represented different deities. These deities maintained the order of the world and followed a certain cycle: they rose from the sky, in which they were born, they shone in the sky, in which they lived their life, and they set from the sky, in which they died. They would be re-birthed the next day with the repetition of the cycle.

The sun, unlike the moon, planets, and stars, had its own unique cycle. It would rise out of the earth from the mouth of a cave in the east and set back into the earth through a cave in the west. Caves, in Maya culture, were entrances to the underworld and the place of creation. Caves existed beneath mountains and hills, and even if there was not a cave opening present, the Maya still believed a cave existed under the mountain. Mountains and caves, then, are sacred

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104 Sharer and Traxler, 116.
105 Ibid., 720.
106 Ibid.
108 Ibid., 66.
geographical features of the landscape. They represent the moment of creation, the access point to the Underworld, and the place where the Sun deity dies at night and is born in the morning.

Shifting to the Map of Santiago Atitlán, it may be significant that the sun appears on the east side of the lake, just above the East Volcano. The artist, who may have been familiar with sun symbolism, may have chosen to depict the moment of the sun’s birth. In this scenario, the sun has just risen out of the East Volcano (in the map’s case the volcanoes can be substituted for mountains) and will set into the West Volcano on the other side of the lake when it is time for it to die. As Patterson points out, the red, yellow, and blue brushstrokes of color on the right edge of the map could certainly remind the viewer of a sunrise (Figure 42). The artist’s decision to depict both the sunrise out of the East Volcano and the hill of Chuitinamit on the map was not a coincidence. The place of death for the sun is also the location of Chuitinamit and the city of Chiaa. Without a doubt the artist of the map knew this, and Chuitinamit and the city of Chiaa become sacred locations. The Map of Santiago Atitlán suddenly becomes a Zutuhil cosmogram: a map of the Zutuhil’s cosmological beliefs. Both Patterson and Mundy have discussed this same idea while analyzing the map.

Patterson’s discussion of the map as a cosmogram revolves, similar to my discussion, around the sacred landscape depicted on the map. She examines the map through the eyes of a Zutuhil artist and viewer and argues that because of the prominent display of Zutuhil cosmology, a Zutuhil Maya artist and viewer would have gained the most from painting the map. The problem with her argument regarding the audience of the map has already been noted, but her argument regarding Zutuhil authorship is significant. To construct her argument, Patterson uses Allen Christenson’s discussion of Lake Atitlán as being the place of creation for the Zutuhil

109 Patterson, 76.
110 Ibid., 113.
Maya. She also uses his discussion of the three volcanoes representing the three hearthstones of creation that created the first living things. Thus, by painting the map, a Zutuhil artist would be reminded of his culture’s sacred origin stories. Patterson also questions whether or not a Spanish artist, someone who is new to the area of Lake Atitlán, would paint the volcanoes and lake so disproportionate in comparison to the city grid. She argues that a Spanish artist would probably not have painted the map in this manner.

Barbara Mundy, in a paper given at the International Map Collector’s Society Conference in 2007, also argues that the Map of Santiago Atitlán depicts the sacred landscape of the Zutuhil Maya. Mundy’s argument, however, is centered on astronomical events. She argues that the city grid and the new sacred European church are lined up with the natural axis created by the sacred East Volcano, West Volcano, and the rising sun. Mundy also takes note of two confusing text glosses on each side of the East Volcano and Fire Volcano: one says north and the other south. As she mentions, these do not correspond to compass points. Rather, they record the northern and southern points of the solstice sunrise. Mundy also favors the idea of an indigenous Maya artist for the Map of Santiago Atitlán.

Conclusion

From this discussion, it is clear that the artist of the Map of Santiago Atitlán was aware of Zutuhil mythistory and cosmology. The swirl in the center of the lake most likely illustrates the
whirlpool that arose in the story of the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*. The currents visible in the lake support this statement; they jut out from the whirlpool and follow the directions described in the story that designated the divisions of the lake to each culture. In addition, for many reasons, the Map of Santiago Atitlán reads as a Zutuhil cosmogram, or map of Zutuhil cosmological beliefs. My argument centers on the sacred cycle of the sun within the sacred landscape. I argue that the sun has just risen out of the East Volcano and will set into the West Volcano, where the ancient city of *Chiaa* is located. *Chiaa’s* location on the hill of *Chuitinamit* is shown on the map as one of the mounds at the base of the West Volcano.
Chapter Four

To conclude this paper, I would like to revisit the theoretical framework for the interpretation of the Map of Santiago Atitlán in order to show how this paper has advanced the understanding of sixteenth-century Mesoamerican Relaciones Geográficas maps more broadly. This critical discussion will revolve around ideas discussed by both Walter Mignolo and Matthew Restall. In “Colonial Situations, Geographical Discourses and Territorial Representations: Toward a Diatopical Understanding of Colonial Semiosis,” Mignolo examines the process of mapmaking in the colonial period, where the colonizers and colonized are constantly involved in an interplay with one another known as colonial semiosis. My reading of Mignolo’s discussion will consider it in relation to a discussion by Restall in his book Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest. Restall proposes an idea of post-Conquest vitality, where indigenous cultures employed certain strategies to continue their native traditions and make sense of the new colonial environment.

As shown in this paper, the Map of Santiago Atitlán is very complex. I argue that the map complicates the view of sixteenth-century Mesoamerican Relaciones Geográficas maps, which typically has only considered two perspectives, Spanish and Nahua. The discussions of colonial semiosis and post-Conquest vitality will show how and why the addition of a third Maya perspective expands the discussion.

117 Mignolo, 94.
118 Matthew Restall, Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 121-122.
Colonial Semiosis

In his article, Mignolo defines colonial semiosis as “a conflictive domain of semiotic interactions among members of radically different cultures engaged in a struggle of imposition and appropriation, on the one hand, and of resistance, opposition, and adaptation on the other.”119 My analysis of this idea is that, in a colonial society, both the colonized and the colonizers needed to continually work together to survive in their new environment. However, there were also natural struggles and problems between the two groups at the same time. While this definition does not speak directly to art production, it is possible to extend it to artistic practices. Many of the Relaciones Geográficas maps display this idea with the blending of European conventions as well as indigenous ones, and Mignolo argues that the Relaciones Geográficas maps are obvious examples of colonial semiosis.120

To understand colonial semiosis and the complicated interplay between the Spanish colonizers and the colonized indigenous people of the Guatemalan highlands in the sixteenth-century it is necessary to understand the political and social climate of the time. As discussed in the introduction to this paper, when the Alvarado brothers invaded and conquered Guatemala in the mid to late 1520s, they brought with them many non-Spanish allies. The majority were indigenous populations from Central Mexico, such as the Tlaxcalans, but many were also Mixtec and Zapotec peoples from Oaxaca, and some were African slaves and freemen.121 The Mixtec and Zapotec cultures spoke their own languages but at the time of Spanish arrival, they had been assimilated into the Aztec Empire and most likely spoke Nahuatl, as well. As discussed in the introduction, these allies were the “manpower” in the Spanish armies: they acted as spies, found

119 Mignolo, 93.
120 Ibid., 113; See also Patterson, 57. Patterson also recognizes this connection, but does not discuss Mignolo’s theory at length. She only briefly mentions that it is helpful to view the Map of Santiago Atitlán as a product of colonial semiosis.
121 Restall and Asselbergs, 8-9.
food, led the Spanish through the unfamiliar terrain, and often assisted with the translation of native languages. The Nahua, Mixtec, and Zapotec cultures were able to provide this knowledge for the Spanish because of many cultural similarities they had in common with the Maya. In *Invading Guatemala: Spanish, Nahua, and Maya Accounts of the Conquest Wars*, Restall and Asselbergs pose a significant question: if the Mexican cultures were culturally similar to the Maya, why were they willing to fight alongside the Spanish? They explain that the way scholars group these people together today, as “Mesoamericans,” would have meant nothing to these groups in the sixteenth-century. Their identity was strongly localized, and even though the Mexican groups all spoke Nahuatl, they first considered themselves as Aztec or Tlaxcalans.

After the conquest wars in Guatemala were over, Spanish-Nahua colonies were formed in the highlands when the Spanish gave Nahua soldiers the right to settle as payment for their service in the army. The Nahuas also held the important job of watchdog; they were on the alert for any signs of disobedience from the Maya groups. With the new settlements of the Nahua troops and Spanish officials, highland Guatemala became an extremely diverse location in 1585 Mesoamerica. This diversity is represented on the Map of Santiago Atitlán. The map, which was probably made by one person, demonstrates a rare variety of cultural elements and narratives.

123 Restall and Asselbergs, 16-17.
124 Ibid., 17.
125 Ibid., 80.
126 Asselbergs, 99.
127 On the existence of multiple symbolic systems in individual works of colonial art, see also Kubler, “On Colonial the Extinction of the Motifs of Pre-Columbian Art.”
Post-Conquest Vitality

In his book *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, Restall examines popular beliefs regarding the conquest of the Americas. The most perpetuated myth is the notion that the Spanish conquistadors were “exceptionally great men” because they were able to defeat the many people living in the Americas. In reality, the conquistadors had a great amount of assistance and did not accomplish the conquest by themselves.

For this paper’s purpose, one particular myth is significant. Restall has labeled this myth the “Myth of Native Desolation.” This myth is the idea that the Europeans brought about the “social breakdown” of indigenous cultures during the years following the conquest. The Myth of Native Desolation has been conserved in some minds. Older scholarly publications in the field of Mesoamerican history have titles such as *The Rise and Fall of the Maya Civilization*. Even new texts perpetuate this myth. *The New Penguin History of the World*, published in 2007, says that after the “final decay” of the Maya, the civilization “left behind no living style, no technology of note, no literature, [and] no political or religious institution of significance.”

Restall argues that this “decay” did not happen, and instead, native societies were able to adjust to the colonial way of life. He termed this ability to adjust “post-Conquest vitality” and gives many different examples of the phenomenon. The first, he says, are the local festivals natives participated in throughout the Americas to celebrate the conquest as a form of indigenous survival and patriotism. The second is the well-documented fact that native populations refused to conform completely to Spanish traditions; the many native-language documents show

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128 Restall, 3.
129 Ibid., 102.
132 Restall, 121.
that indigenous traditions were still thriving.\textsuperscript{133} Thirdly, as already discussed, native populations acted as allies to the Spanish during the conquest and later settled in the new colonial cities and brought their customs with them.\textsuperscript{134} Restall and Asselbergs explain that the Spanish tactics of fight, defeat, and colonize were familiar to their Nahua allies; the Aztecs and other Mesoamerican cultures had been following this formula for years, and their choice to align themselves with the Spanish most likely felt natural.\textsuperscript{135} Another sign of post-Conquest vitality was the borrowing of Nahua and Spanish customs in order to create a vernacular identity.\textsuperscript{136} Lastly, natives were also actively involved in politics and many owned land of their own.\textsuperscript{137} While the Spanish spread word of indigenous disappearance after the conquest, they also often took advantage of indigenous populations. But, it is important to remember that the indigenous populations were necessary for Spanish survival. Natives held knowledge that the Spanish did not. They were often forced to work as laborers and their contribution maintained the Spanish colonies.\textsuperscript{138}

While Restall’s discussions of post-Conquest vitality do not involve art production, it is possible to recognize examples of this idea in the arts. In her article “Crafting the Self: Identity and Mimetic Tradition in the \textit{Florentine Codex},” Jeanette Favrot Peterson examines images of artisans in the \textit{Florentine Codex}. This book, produced in the late sixteenth-century, is a multi-volume encyclopedia that records the history and customs of the Aztec culture with images produced by native artists, as well as Spanish and Nahuatl text written by Franciscan friar

\textsuperscript{133} Restall, 122.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., 123.
\textsuperscript{135} Restall and Asselbergs, 17.
\textsuperscript{136} Restall, 123 and 128.
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid., 127 and 129.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., 128.
Bernardo de Sahagún. Peterson mentions that traditionally, scholars have discussed the indigenous authored images as products of European reproduction. She argues that this is not the case and that native artists were also looking at accessible pre-Hispanic sources; specifically, she argues they were copying Nahuatl logograms in their images. To make her argument, she primarily examines the images of the featherworkers from Book Nine. Featherworkers were highly esteemed craftsmen in Aztec society, and they often went to specific schools and belonged to the noble class. In the Florentine Codex, the featherworkers appear seated, working on their craft (Figure 43 and 44). On the white sheets of cotton in front of them, the pre-Hispanic logograms provide a visual accompaniment to the written text, which explains the production process.

In one image, the featherworker has just applied glue to the cotton surface, and this step is represented with a tri-lobed cotton symbol (Figure 43). Above the cotton symbol, a spider logogram conveys to the viewer that after the application of the glue, the featherworker stretches the cotton very thin, “just like a cobweb.” Next, the cotton needs to dry in the sun; this step is referenced with a sun symbol below the featherworker. Finally, the cotton becomes lustrous after being stretched and dried. The “eye glyph,” or the star symbol, is used because both eyes and stars were considered to be luminous objects in Aztec culture. Each of these symbols would have been legible to anyone well versed in Nahua logographic writing. The use of the

140 Ibid., 225.
141 Ibid., 226.
142 Ibid., 237.
143 Ibid., 240.
144 Ibid.
145 Ibid.
146 Ibid., 241.
147 Ibid.
pre-Hispanic logographs, as Peterson argues, shows that pre-Hispanic sources were still widely
circulated in sixteenth-century New Spain.\textsuperscript{148} More importantly, the logographs demonstrate that
indigenous artists still held as significant of a role in colonial culture as they did in the pre-
Hispanic period.\textsuperscript{149} They were not merely copying European and pre-Hispanic sources; by
painting their images with a combination of the pre-Hispanic logographs and European artistic
techniques, they were demonstrating that they still held some artistic creativity.\textsuperscript{150} Thus, they
were able to actively partake in maintaining a valuable aspect of Aztec culture, which can be
included as an example of Restall’s post-conquest vitality.\textsuperscript{151}

In addition to manuscript painting, post-conquest vitality in the arts can also be extended
to mapping. Mundy has successfully argued in her book \textit{The Mapping of New Spain} that
indigenous artists painted many of the \textit{Relación Geográfica} maps. On their maps, they used
European pictorial conventions but, like the images of featherworking in the \textit{Florentine Codex},
they also included indigenous symbols. These include the \textit{tepeltl} hill symbol used as place-
names, footprints depicting movement, and different topographical symbols. The artists,
although trained in monastic schools, enjoyed an ample amount of artistic freedom. This is
emphasized while examining the \textit{Relación Geográfica} map corpus.

Returning to the Map of Santiago Atitlán, the presence of Nahua forms and styles, in
addition to the illustration of Maya mythistory and cosmological beliefs, can be examined
through the lens of post-Conquest vitality. The artist of this map clearly felt it significant to
display these important aspects of native culture. This could have been a strategy he employed

\textsuperscript{148} Favrot Peterson, 242.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 243.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., 225.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., 249.
to manage and understand the new colonial environment and preserve Nahua artistic practices and Zutuhil sacred mythistory.

**Authorship**

Throughout this paper, I have skirted around the idea of authorship. Now that discussions regarding each narrative on the map have concluded, it is time to address this pressing question. In her thesis, Patterson is also greatly concerned with the issue of authorship. As she states in her paper, the ability to decipher the artist’s identity cannot be done by a basic visual analysis.\(^{152}\) It is necessary to examine what is underneath the surface. Even this method, however, becomes complicated. Patterson ultimately argues that, because it is so difficult to determine what the map meant as a whole, most likely more than one artist painted it.\(^{153}\) I disagree with this statement and argue that it is possible only one artist painted the map. Because there are multiple elements depicted on the Map of Santiago Atitlán does not mean that more than one artist painted it. Rather, it shows that the artist had knowledge of Spanish and Nahua artistic traditions, as well as Maya cosmology, and wished to illustrate them. Patterson also argues that the artists were most likely Spaniards or Zutuhil Mayas living in Santiago Atitlán, as they would be the most familiar with Zutuhil cosmology and worldview.\(^{154}\) I do agree with this argument, but argue that it is highly likely an indigenous Maya or Nahua artist, or even a mestizo artist, painted the map. Based on the discussion of Spanish urban planning, it is unlikely a Spanish artist would have placed so little importance on the city of Santiago Atitlán in comparison to the landscape. In addition, a Spanish artist may not have been familiar with the

\(^{152}\) Patterson, 77.
\(^{153}\) Ibid., 112.
\(^{154}\) Ibid.
whirlpool tale from *The Annals of the Cakchiquels*, the location of Chuitinamit, and the significance of the tepetl symbol on Nahua maps. If a Spaniard did know about these small but significant details, it is difficult to argue whether or not he would have felt them important enough to illustrate them.

Clearly, the issue of authorship regarding the Map of Santiago Atitlán is complex. So why is this discussion important? Recall Mignolo’s theory of colonial semiosis and Restall’s idea of post-Conquest vitality. In a colonial society, there is a natural conflict between the colonizers and the colonized. These struggles, however, are also accompanied with cooperation, as the two groups attempt to live in the new colonial environment. In the case of New Spain, the colonized indigenous populations were not only working with the Spanish to make sense of their new world, but they were also working with one another to find methods to adapt to society and preserve elements of their native culture. Both colonial semiosis and post-Conquest vitality remind us that new kinds of colonial subjects existed in New Spain. These indigenous groups were under Spanish control, but they also played a large role in keeping the Spanish alive and colonial society functioning. They also were active in maintaining their own cultural traditions. Whether an indigenous Maya, Nahua, or mestizo painted the map of Santiago Atitlán, the map illustrates the struggles and the cooperation that occurred between these three groups and the Spaniards. Moreover, the map is likely the artist’s attempt at preserving Nahua artistic traditions and Zutuhil Maya cosmology.

**Conclusion**

As discussed in this paper, the Map of Santiago Atitlán displays European pictorial conventions and an ample amount of indigenous influence. Nahua conventions, forms, and
styles are visible, in addition to narratives from the Maya culture. The analysis presented in this paper goes beyond the typical Relación Geográfica map discussion. The detailed discussion of Maya perspectives on a Relación Geográfica map is uncommon. This is mostly due to the fact that while there are ninety-two Relaciones Geográficas maps from New Spain, only five are from the Maya realm.\footnote{Robertson, 243-244.} Thus, the majority of the Relación Geográfica map explorations center on Spanish and Nahua perspectives.\footnote{It is important to note, though, that this does not mean that Maya cartography is being ignored. Amara Solari, a scholar at Pennsylvania State University, works on Maya maps from the Yucatan Peninsula. Also, Barbara Mundy briefly discussed both the Relación Geográfica map of Zapotitlán, Guatemala, and the Relación Geográfica Map of Santiago Atitlán in her conference paper titled, “Mapping the New World for the Spanish Kings: Indigenous Artists and the Creation of Colonial Cartography.”} The Map of Santiago Atitlán complicates the corpus of the Relaciones Geográficas maps because of its unique historical context. This was an area where Spanish, Nahuas, and three different Maya linguistic groups lived side by side. The map can be viewed as an example of colonial semiosis; when recognized individually, the different narratives seem to clash with one another. However, they also cooperate to create an agreeable image of this stunning landscape. Extending Restall’s discussion of post-Conquest vitality, the illustration of the indigenous perspectives on the map could possibly have been a way for the artist to adapt to the colonial Santiago Atitlán society and the changes it brought to indigenous ways of life. Certainly, however, the combination of all three narratives creates an image of the local and vibrant Santiago Atitlán culture.
Bibliography


Figure 1. 1585 *Relación Geográfica* Map of Santiago Atitlán, located in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas at Austin. *Source:* Image courtesy of The Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library.


Figure 5. The *Relación Geográfica* Map of Tlacoitalpa by Francisco Stroza Gali, 1580, located in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. *Source:* Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 51.
Figure 6. The Relación Geográfica Map of Meztitlan, 1579, located in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas at Austin. Source: Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 39.

Figure 7. The Relación Geográfica Map of Cholula, 1581, located in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas at Austin. Source: Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, Plate 3.
Figure 8. Detail, The *Relación Geográfica* Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.

Figure 9. The *Relación Geográfica* Map of Amoltepec, 1580, located in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas at Austin. *Source:* Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, Plate 6.
Figure 10. The Relación Geográfica Map of Misquiahuala, c. 1579, located in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas at Austin. *Source:* Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, Plate 7.

Figure 11. The Relación Geográfica Map of Guaxtepec, 1580, located in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas at Austin. *Source:* Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, Plate 2.
Figure 12. The Relación Geográfica Map of Teozacoalco, 1580, located in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas at Austin. Source: Mundy, The Mapping of New Spain, Plate 1.

Figure 13. Detail, Relación Geográfica Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.
Figure 14. Detail, "Relación Geográfica" Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.

Figure 15. Detail, "Relación Geográfica" Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.
Figure 16. Detail, Relación Geográfica Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.

Figure 17. Detail, Relación Geográfica Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.
Figure 18. Corbelled Arch. Source: http://images.yourdictionary.com/images/main/A4corbel.jpg.

Figure 19. Corbelled Arch Passage, The Temple of Inscriptions at the site of Palenque, Mexico. Source: http://www.freeimageslive.co.uk/free_stock_image/palenque-corbeled-mayan-archjpg" target="_blank">freeimageslive.co.uk - traveltopia</a>.
Figure 20. Detail, Relación Geográfica Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.

Figure 21. The Templo Mayor with Skull Rack in Diego Durán's Historia de la Nueva España, 1581. Source: Richard Townsend, The Aztecs (London: Thames and Hudson, 2009), 103.
Figure 22. The Templo Mayor in *The Codex Mendoza*, c. mid 1500s. *Source*: Townsend, *The Aztecs*, 225.

Figure 24. The Church of Santiago Atitlán. Source: IMs Bildarkiv, from http://farm8.staticflickr.com/7046/6963770251_2ed70800d6_z.jpg.

Figure 25. Detail, *Relación Geográfica* Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.
Figure 27. Nahua Teptl Symbols. Source: Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 147.
Figure 28. Detail, *Relación Geográfica* Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.

Figure 29. Detail, *Relación Geográfica* Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.
Figure 30. Detail, *Relación Geográfica* Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.

Figure 31. The *Relación Geográfica* Map of Tenanulco and Matlactonatico, 1581, located in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas at Austin. *Source:* Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, pg. 155.
Figure 32. The Relación Geográfica Map of Macuilsuchil, 1580, located in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. Source: Mundy, The Mapping of New Spain, Plate 8.

Figure 33. Detail, Relación Geográfica Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.
Figure 34. The Relación Geográfica Map of Ixtapalapa, 1580, located in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas at Austin. Source: Mundy, The Mapping of New Spain, 63.

Figure 36. Detail, *Relación Geográfica* Map of Santiago Atitlán, showing the direction of currents and division of territories.
Figure 37. Detail, *Relación Geográfica* Map of Santiago Atitlán, showing direction of currents and division of three territories.

Figure 38. Detail, *Relación Geográfica* Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.
Figure 40. Photographs of Chuitinamit. Source: Samuel Lothrop, *An Archaeological Study of Ancient Remains on the Borders of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala*, pg. 74.
Figure 41. Detail, *Relación Geográfica* Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.

Figure 52. Detail, *Relación Geográfica* Map of Santiago Atitlán, 1585.

Figure 44. Featherworker, *Florentine Codex*, 1500s, located in the Medicea Laurenziana Library, Florence. *Source:* Jeanette Favrot Peterson, “Crafting the Self: Identity and the Mimetic Tradition in the *Florentine Codex*,” 242.
Vita

Kaitlan Linnea Smith was born on January 8, 1988, in Portland, Oregon. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree in Art History at Oregon State University in June of 2009. After receiving her B.A. she interned at the University of Oregon, where she assisted in the creation of a Mayan language database for the Wired Humanities Project. In August of 2010, she began her graduate career at Virginia Commonwealth University to earn her Master’s in Art History. During her time at VCU, she interned at the Virginia Historical Society, where she became interested in museum education.