

**Recordando los Binnigula'sa'-
Multiple voices in the Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa**

by

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Abstract

People of the central valley of Oaxaca and Isthmus of Tehuantepec are generally referred to by the Nahuatl term Zapotec, though we call ourselves Binnizá. Although stone sculptures reveal that our people were among the first groups in Mesoamerica to utilize script, few examples of writing by “our ancestors, the binnigula’sa” survive. One exception is the cartographic history known as the Lienzo de Guevea and Petapa, painted in 1540 in response to a Spanish order for land documentation. As I will show, this historical document is unusual in that it refers to two communities, Santiago Guevea de Humboldt and Santo Domingo Petapa.

Both thematically and visually, the Lienzo has been appreciated in two parts. The upper half provides cartographic information, which I argue are the boundaries that define the territory of both Guevea and Petapa. The lower half includes genealogical and tribute information that pertains to the polities of Guevea/Petapa and Tehuantepec.

Current research on the Lienzo has been distorted by an overriding focus on information related to the polity of Tehuantepec, because this Lienzo includes the most complete known genealogy of Zapotec rulers, tracing those of Tehuantepec back to their roots in the central valley polity of Zaachila. The importance of this document to the communities of Guevea and Petapa has been investigated only in terms of the circumstances of later copies, not the 1540 original. By looking more closely at all the historical events and genealogical or political relationships depicted on the original Lienzo, it is possible to demonstrate that this document was not designed to legitimate the tributary rights of the Tehuantepec polity before the Spanish. . I acknowledge that the oral histories shared with me by members of the communities of Guevea and Petapa, as well as my community of Rancho Gubiña, have been instrumental in realizing that the Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa encompasses multiple histories and voices. My aim is to recover some of these voices in order to present a reading of this Lienzo that respects the Binnigula’sa’ of both communities of Santiago Guevea de Humboldt and Santo Domingo Petapa.

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Dedication

**Ich möchte meine Magisterarbeit am meinen liebsten Großeltern
Heinrich Gruber (1928-2006) und Maria Gruber Schwab widmen. Ich
mich bei denen bedanken für ihre unendliche unterstützung.**

**Le dedico esta tesis a mis queridos abuelos Ta Gil Cartas Posada y Na
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Zapoteca.**

Chapter One:

Introduction

The *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* (Appendix C) is a cartographic history of two relatively minor *municipios* in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in the Mexican state of Oaxaca. It is referred to as a *lienzo* because it is painted on cotton cloth. This *lienzo* was painted in the middle of the sixteenth century, two decades after the Spanish invasion, and then annotated alphabetically by various hands over the span of perhaps several hundred years. The principal goal of this pictorial history was to establish the antiquity, sovereignty, and stature of these fraternally linked polities. To fulfill this objective, the Lords of Guevea de Humboldt and Santo Domingo Petapa commissioned a painter to record important events pictographically from the foundation of these communities up to the Spanish invasion and political reorganization. Some of the events that these rulers choose to preserve include their binnigulasa' (ancestors) migration from their ancestral place of origin: Zaachila. The artist chose not to depict what must be presumed to have been an arduous journey through hostile ayook /Mixe and Chontal territory. The *lienzo* also reveals that upon the arrival of the Zaachila royal house into Tehuantepec, a political and perhaps economic relationship was formed between both royal houses.

Current scholarship is admirable and has certainly advanced our understanding of this early cartographic history, but at the same time has also been characterized by parochial analyses that tend to collapse the multiple, perhaps contradictory voices concerning a multiplicity of times and events into a linear history, which is problematic for several reasons. This is because the extent literature maintains the tradition of using the *Lienzo de Guevea* to interpret the history of Tehuantepec rather than examining its function within the communities of Guevea and Petapa, and to that end does not pay particular attention to the original version under discussion here. I believe one can go farther with the interpretation, and will show that the oral history I was granted in researching this topic provides for a reading of the *Lienzo* that explains more of its components.

Many more events are indicated in this cartographic history, including references to the founding of Guevea and Petapa and the declaration of rights under Spanish dominion. I will demonstrate that the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* includes many of the historical events considered worthy of documentation by the linked communities. Similarly, the *Lienzo* must be recognized as part of an original pair that maintained this linkage, and therefore I argue that the boundaries must be understood to define the territory of **both** Guevea and Petapa. The *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* would thus illustrate a densely layered history that constructs the identity of **both** Guevea and Petapa and, of course, affirms rights to their territory/communities. It should be noted that the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* has had numerous appellations over the years. To add to the multiple designations I will refer to this cartographic history as the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* precisely because it is shared by two communities¹.

Table 1- Versions of the Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa- [adapted from Michel Oudijk]

Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa	Lienzo pictured in the García Photos
Lienzo de Guevea II	‘Copy B’ in Guevea
Lienzo de Guevea IIb	‘Seler and Colburn Copy’ in IAI and Peabody Museum
Lienzo de Petapa I	‘el original’ in Santo Domingo Petapa
Lienzo de Petapa II	‘Copy A’ in Santo Domingo Petapa
Lienzo de Petapa IIa	‘Copy A’ in the Biblioteca Nacional de Antropolgía
Lienzo de Petapa IIb	‘Copy A’ by J.S. Ledo

The *Lienzo de Guevea* has been painted several times throughout the colonial histories of both communities. Each version involves “inadvertent changes introduced during the process of recopying or the intentional changes that reflect important legal and

¹ I acknowledge that both these communities have had different histories and so it is not my intention to conflate both communities histories into a metanarrative. It is also not my intent to explicate the distinctive reasons that lead for each separate community to commission latter versions. However it should be noted that both present oral history and ethnohistorical sources, such as the *Probanza de Petapa* both attest to both communities sharing and founding the territory together.

sociopolitical dynamics in southeastern Oaxaca during the colonial period”(Marcus 2005: 94). The study at hand will depart from former analyses, which have discussed the differences found on the various versions. Instead I will focus on the *lienzo* that appears to be one of the original pair, dated by inscription on the cloth to A.C.E 1540. This original version of the document remained unknown to the academic community until 1978, when librarian Carmen Cobas of the Institute of Latin American studies of the University of Texas in Austin found two snapshots of the work among the Genaro García papers². How García acquired the snapshots is revealed in Oudijk’s *Historiography of the Bénizáa*:

On the night of 13 February 1911, Ezequiel A. Chávez, subsecretary of the Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, and Genaro García, at that time director of the Museo Nacional, left Mexico City for a trip that would take them via Guadalajara, Colima, Manzanillo, Acapulco, and Salina Cruz to Tehuantepec where they Arrived on 28 of February.

‘El Imparcial’ 4 of 10 March 1911 described what happened in Tehuantepec-

“Alli mismo, el licenciado García obtuvo fotografías directas de dos interesantísimos códices indígenas y gestionó su donación al museo nacional”

² “Genaro García not only served as a congressman, but also held several teaching positions, including, professorship of history at the Museo Nacional de Historia, Arqueología y Etnología. García was not only known to be an ardent collector of books, but was also a translator, author, and publisher of historical works, focusing primarily upon the Mexican colonial and independence period. As a result of his efforts to document and preserve Mexico’s history, he was granted tenure as Director of the Museo Nacional de Historia, Arqueología y Etnología, during which he directed his efforts toward developing the museum's collections” See the biographical sketch provided on the-Online resources from the University of Texas, Austin. (<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00022/lac-00022.html>).

“Right there, García obtained photographs of two interesting indigenous codices and managed to donate them to the national museum”

(Oudijk 2000: 51; Lombardo de Ruíz 1994 :II:712)³.

The pictures that Genaro García would receive that day were two 8x10 black and white photographs. The *lienzo* pictured in these photographs is one of four existing versions, which would eventually be identified by John Paddock and later confirmed by Joseph Whitecotton and Michel Oudijk as the original manuscript. The *lienzo* they picture has been dubbed as either the García version of the *Lienzo* or as the *Lienzo* I. However, unlike the other three versions, which continue to be kept in the communities of Santiago Guevea de Humboldt and Santo Domingo Petapa the location of the García *lienzo* is not presently known and for this reason it can only be studied through the medium of the two black and white photographs. (Refer to page 64). These photographs illustrate the Binnizáa document, which has been rendered on relatively narrow piece of cotton cloth (as it is known in Spanish as *lienzo*) that appears to have been stretched out by means of either pins or nails perhaps for the purposes of viewing. Furthermore, the document itself also appears weathered and quite damaged by both water spots and a burn hole, and its residue demonstrates that the *lienzo* was folded into quarters.

Brief description of the visual content of the Lienzo pictured in García photographs

The visual content of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* is read from bottom to top, gradually blending from a tour of the foundational migration into a tableau of the community centre and its boundaries. The migration tour is also integrated with a dual genealogy on the lower half, thus combining two forms of narration of history, through time and through space.

³ This citation comes from Michel Oudijk’s “Histriography of the Bénizáa- The postclassic and early colonial periods (1000-1600 A.D.), but the original source of this quote comes from volume 2 of Sonia Lombardo de Ruíz’s 1994 publication entitled “El pasado pre-Hispanico en la cultura nacional; memoria hemerográfica 1877-1911”.

The genealogical information is presented in two vertical sequences or ‘columns’ of seated persons identified by onomastic signs. On the right hand side are represented the *coquis* (Lords) of the Zaachila-Tehuantepec (Lula) dynasty, who at a certain moment moved their palace/polity-administration to Tehuantepec. This is conveyed by beginning with the column with the place sign (toponym) of Zaachila, and then farther up the genealogy illustrating a road with footprints that leads to a *coqui* adjoining the place sign of Tehuantepec. As noted above, most scholarly attention has been concerned with this particular genealogy because of the appearance of the famous Binnizáa/Zapotec rulers Cocijoeza and Cocijopii. A genealogy of the *xoanas* of Guevea parallels this on the left. *Xoana* also means Lord or noble of slighter rank than a *coqui*. In two generations, a series of items link the two genealogies, specifying a period of special relationship between the two polities. As the items constitute a conventional representation of tribute in Nahuatl painting, and as they appear to point from the Guevea *xoanas* to the Tehuantepec *coquis*, the conventional interpretation of this relationship has been one of tribute-paying vassalage.

The lower portion also features a road with footprints leading from the Zaachila place sign into the geographic tableau that occupies the upper half of the lienzo, indicating a migration leading to the foundation of the Guevea-Petapa polity several generations before the Zaachila dynasty relocated to Tehuantepec. As is conventional, the polity territory is defined in two major ways. First, Guevea, the administrative centre, is represented by the toponym (place sign) of Guevea, juxtaposed to an image of the ruler at the time of the *lienzo* painting, shown in his palace. Second, the extent of the territory claimed by the Guevea and Petapa polity is represented by eighteen place signs arranged in a surrounding rectangle, representing the recognizable places in the landscape at which the boundaries were established. Various episodes of explaining the identity of these place signs resulted in glosses in Diidxazá (Zapotec language), Nahuatl and Spanish.

Previous studies of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*

The corpus of copies relating to this document has been analyzed for over a century. Unfortunately, the current scholarship concerning the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* has been dominated by an overridingly similar discursive logic, which has obscured its various contents through what I will refer to as an externalizing approach. This externalizing approach can be characterized by its disproportionate emphasis on the more ‘influential’ polities of Tehuantepec and Zaachila, information on which occupies only one quarter of the *Lienzo*, and only insofar as its history intertwines with that of Guevea.

This externalizing perspective can be partly explained by the fact that the García version of the *lienzo* contains the most complete known genealogy of Zapotec rulers. That is to say, it traces the rulers of Tehuantepec back to their roots in the central valley polity of Zaachila. This information is recoverable through the pictographic labels of male rulers and alphabetic glosses in Zapotec. Two of these glosses name Cojicopii and his son Cocijoeza II, the Zaachila rulers most responsible for the Zapotec expansion and consolidation of a Tehuantepec polity—two rulers whose stories are still frequently recounted in local oral histories. Reliance on this *lienzo* to reconstruct the history of the Zapotec polity of Tehuantepec is exemplified in the superior analysis of Judith Zeitlin⁴. Some of the Zaachila rulers also appear in surviving Mixtec screenfold histories, some of which are Pre-Hispanic, and all of which were painted in the Nochistlan valley area, the Mixteca Alta heartland north of the central valley of Oaxaca. Thus the *lienzo de Guevea* has proved to be a crucial document for the interpretation of Mixtec as well as Tehuantepec history in the late Pre-Hispanic period.

It is implicitly understood by all scholars who have engaged with the *lienzo* corpus that this document does not belong to Tehuantepec, nor was it drafted to legitimize tributary rights of the Don Juan Cortés/*bichanlachi*. Nevertheless, the abovementioned genealogical discrepancies have proven to be more attractive. Thus

⁴ Zeitlin, *Cultural politics in colonial Tehuantepec*, pp 11-21 and 246-251.

external issues have continued to be the central concern for all the existing scholarship, but these considerations have had serious conceptual and methodological implications and consequences.

Moreover, one of the central problems with both past and present interpretations is due to a corollary of this externalizing approach, which has engendered a dichotomous logic that has typically viewed this document in terms of binary oppositions, and which has established a fixed hierarchy. This bipartite logic has been articulated and rearticulated in the extant literature in a number of ways- such as, bottom half/ top half, historical bottom/geographical top, synchronic/diachronic, Guevea/Petapa, external interests/internal interests, lord/warrior, and Tehuantepec/ Guevea-Petapa. Oppositions do exist on the Lienzo, such as the last two mentioned in the list, but these differences were more than just dichotomies. These differences allowed groups, such as Guevea and Petapa, to define themselves in opposition to other groups, who may have had similar claims to territory and resources. Furthermore, these differences just as importantly allowed these groups to form/express an autonomous identity, which in many ways would have also been integral to establishing their sovereignty perhaps so much so that it may have even allowed them to maintain a certain amount of sovereignty both before and after the arrival of the Spanish.

The German scholar, Eduard Seler, considered to have laid the foundation for iconographic analysis of Mesoamerican visual culture, was also among the first to publish a detailed study of the *Lienzo de Guevea* in 1908⁵. He introduced two of the known copies, which we would be named Copy A and Copy B. Seler's most important contribution to the *Lienzo* corpus is his iconographic analysis of the toponyms and their concurrence with their associated glosses. Michel Oudijk who also has produced a masterful study notes that while a considerable number of pages have been dedicated to the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*, there has been very little progress since Eduard Seler's 1908 publication. Oudijk has also asserted that even with the discovery of photos of the

⁵ Seler, Eduard. *Das Dorfbuch von Santiago Guevea*. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanische Sprach und Alterumskunde*, Vol. 3, pp. 157-93. Berlin: A. Ascher, 1908.

original *Lienzo de Guevea* has changed virtually nothing (Oudijk 2000:47). To add to this, when the García version is not being appreciated for the overlap between the *Lienzo* and the Mixtec codex Nuttall, it is typically regarded as merely the template that influenced or was followed to produce the other versions. Furthermore, the García *Lienzo* appears to be only one of a pair of *lienzo*'s that, according to the *Probanza de Petapa*, were commissioned by Rigula Guevea (elder of Guevea), for both the communities of Guevea/*Nanacaltpec* and Petapa. Each *lienzo* was to be stored in each separate community, which may have symbolically signified this fraternal relationship, an argument to which I will return.

The present study

In my study of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*, I will review the problems and gaps in the literature, and I will cite previous discussions of the *Lienzo*-usually as a point of departure. Undoubtedly all these former analyses have in one way or another contributed to a more nuanced understanding of *binnizáa* history and historiography. Criticism is easy, but knowing how and where to begin deciphering this iconic Isthmian document is far more difficult. I will focus almost exclusively on the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* that is pictured in the García photographs, because despite being known for close to a quarter century it continues to receive a minimal amount of scholarly attention in comparison to the other known versions. I feel that this version of the *Lienzo* could benefit from a closer visual analysis of its internal components not because I believe that this being the original version of the *Lienzo* we will be able to ascertain this document's 'true' meaning. Rather through closely examining the *Lienzo*'s internal evidence, it will allow us to better understand how the document is structured and what sections of this manuscript are being emphasized and what are the parallels to oral history.

The objective of this thesis is to go beyond reviewing the problems and gaps in the literature on this *lienzo*, but to offer alternate readings based in part on oral history to which I was granted access in Oaxaca in 2007. By doing so I hope to provide a re-reading of the histories depicted on the *Lienzo* as viewed through the Guevean and Petapan lens. In other words, privileging the histories, and voices of both Santiago Guevea de Humboldt and Santo Domingo Petapa.

Thanks to Oudijk's exhaustive research, we have a better understanding of some of the local circumstances for which various versions were made, and the ways in which these circumstances influenced slight alterations or shifts in emphasis. This has also allowed Oudijk to reconstruct a genealogical tree of all the known versions of the *Lienzo*. However, to understand or at least better comprehend the complexity and historical density of the *Lienzo* will require acknowledging that *it* belongs to two communities Santiago Guevea and Santo Domingo Petapa and that the *Lienzo* pictured in the García photos must be recognized as part of an original pair that maintained this linkage. From this I illustrate the boundaries that define the territory of both Guevea and Petapa. Further, it is necessary to re-center the investigation and analysis on the communities of Petapa and Guevea in a way that reconciles the multiple histories considered worthy of documentation by the linked communities, going beyond dichotomous thinking or the search for any ultimate signified to instead appreciate it as an open and plural text. Third, the *Lienzo* conceptually braids both events and human agency, not only to express the history, memories and identity of Guevea and Petapa, but also to document other states of affairs that allowed for this fraternally united community-kingdom to maintain a certain albeit insufficiently understood degree of autonomy. This dynamic dialogue between social and human agency can be further complemented by reading the genealogies in terms of Elizabeth Brumfiel's model of factional competition, rather than the autocratic model that has led to a disproportionate focus on the Zaachila-Tehuantepec genealogy (Brumfiel 2003: 3-14).

The model of factional competition acknowledges that each member has a stake in the outcome of the competition, and in order to contribute to the success of the faction, all members to some degree share pertinent forms of knowledge. This factional model also compliments the approach taken up in this work because unlike former analyses of the *Lienzo* the method taken here does not aim at closing the reading of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* around an ultimate signified, nor to reconcile the contradictions posed by the multiple voices, past and present. My approach is concerned with respecting and conserving "all the details of the stories as part of the process of decoding, regardless of whether they make immediate sense" (Gillespie 1989:xxxvi). I argue that this approach is most appropriate to cartographic histories because these images served not only as

evidence but also as mnemonics for the oral recitation of histories that could be altered to suit the circumstances of their telling. This corollary allows for the inclusion and serious consideration of present day oral histories from both communities as well as the *Probanza de Petapa* initially transcribed around the time the *Lienzo* was painted, facilitating a more nuanced analysis of both of its multiple voices and layered histories. But more important than “explaining” the *Lienzo* in greater detail is the production of an interpretation that respects the perspectives and opinions of present day descendants of these communities concerning their history and identity and that both respects and honor their ancestors.

Chapter Two:

History, Memory, and Community

Cartographic histories, such as the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* were typically drafted to comply with colonial administrative land surveys but as Dana Leibsohn argues their pictorial content was directed primarily towards Indigenous memories rather than colonial officials (Leibsohn 1994: 166). This is further reinforced by the fact that the *Lienzo* exceeded colonial requirements by including specific kinds of historical information that Mesoamerican communities employed to establish their political legitimacy information about migration to a place of settlement and an unbroken dynastic succession (Zeitlin 2007:4). Leibsohn also notes that cartographic histories such as the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* would sometimes be brought into legal settings to defend claims to territory (Leibsohn 1994: 166). This meant that Indigenous scribes had to respond to their colonial reality, which meant abiding by the Spanish colonizer's demands while attempting to remain faithful to the Prehispanic history they were commissioned to render.

Viewers of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* will notice several features, such as the genealogical sequences, located on the bottom section, or pictographic script and logographic place names. Another distinctive detail among these maps is their focus on communities as their central subject rather than neighboring cities and or topography. Leibsohn has noted that these documents also made it possible for people to recognize their community in visual terms, and to structure particular memories about the past. Therefore, most cartographic histories like the *Lienzo* offer us a 'communicentric' viewpoint which is the way in which communities envisioned and pictured themselves.

Cartographic histories such as the Guevea and Petapa *lienzos* record important events and places from times gone by, but they do not describe the past in any simple way. Rather these painted manuscripts privilege certain memories, and in doing so Leibsohn contends they set out a visual framework for indigenous constructions of identity (Leibsohn 1994:161). By focusing not only on the emphasized visual elements of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*, but also examining how certain visual elements overlap

both binnizáa colonial written sources and present day oral accounts, we may be able to ascertain how these visual elements were used to privilege certain memories that in turn allowed these communities to configure their identities. In this respect, Leibsohn argues that:

“To speak of “identity” is to evoke a constantly shifting set of positions, a series of interlinked negotiations between self and world. Although no rules exist for establishing identity, certain elements are fundamental. Two of these are self-recognition and memory. A person (or community, or nation) must be able to recognize and name itself to exist as an independent and autonomous entity. And memory makes this self recognition possible over time. Of course, identity was construed in myriad ways in indigenous communities” (Leibsohn 1994:162).

The *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* unites place, histories, and ancestors/rulers all of which need be memorialized, but since all these events and memories are particular to these communities it also allows for self-recognition as an autonomous entity. In other words, the *Lienzo* functions as a community charter that promotes self-identification. This is further fostered via painted characters and figures that allow for the recording of memory among other forms of knowledge in a fairly permanent manner. That is to say, the *Lienzo* records events long past and can be read or interpreted by readers other than individuals who commissioned or contributed to its content. But above all the *lienzo* served and continues to serve as a tangible record of community identity and ancestral knowledge. Thus Leibsohn’s point is particularly salient as well because identity is of course connected to self-definition and affiliation, which are important factors in sociopolitical formations.

Specific details concerning binnizáa political and social formations are not as well understood as the central Mexican corporate organization, known as the *altepetl*. Unlike other autochthonous groups in Mexico, ethnohistorical information regarding binnizáa history and socio-political organization is principally limited to two or three sources. In working with these sources, Judith Zeitlin and Wilfrido C. Cruz have managed to refine our understanding considerably particularly in the way of analyzing entries from

sixteenth century Fr, Juan de Córdova's "*Vocabulario en la lengua çapoteca*". Zeitlin reminds us that ethnohistorical sources such as that of Fray Francsico de Burgoa were written through decidedly Iberian lens, which influenced their understanding of sociopolitical organization among the binnizáa and Mesoamerica in general. For example, Zeitlin has noticed that the concept of *nación* or 'Nation' became the preferred term by which Spanish chroniclers choose to describe Mesoamerican peoples and their histories, rather than considering how Indigenous actors chose to describe their political-territorial organization. Moreover, it is unlikely that such a concept as *nación binnizáa* or *binnizáa nation* "with its implications of a broadly based ethnic identity, rooted in a common language and historical origins" (Zeitlin 2005:244) even existed. Zeitlin concludes that: "The small corpus of late pre-Hispanic and early colonial native documents from Oaxaca are elite-centered stories of rulers and the places they ruled or conquered; it is not a story of the Zapotec "nation" as a whole" (Zeitlin 2005:244). Similarly, the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* is not a story about Tehuantepec or Zaachila, or the *binnizáa* nation, but rather a very specific account about Guevea and Petapa.

Zeitlin maintains that we may be able to ascertain further information regarding a Zapotec understanding of ethnicity from semantic clues provided in Fray Juan de Córdova's *Vocabulario*:

"In his *Vocabulario*, Fr, Juan de Córdova offered alternative Zapotec terms for *nación*: *chácué* and *tóbicue*, both referring to a grouping or a flank or side, and the more descriptive phrase, *tóbi lào peniàti quéche làyoo*, signifying a unit of people associated with a community and its territory. None of these terms conveys the sweeping linguistic or racial overtones implied by the Spanish usage of *nación*. The longer gloss suggests the primary importance of place to Zapotec notions of ethnicity, however much elite histories emphasized lineal descent and exogamous marriage ties among rulers. Fundamentally, the *quéche* or autonomous community was at the heart of one's social identity, for commoner citizen, the *peniquéche*, was definition a member of such a community" (Zeitlin 2005:244).

Zeitlin's philological analysis of Córdoba's entries draws attention to several matters. First, it reinforces the distinctive focus that the cartographic histories such as the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* place on community as their central subject instead of surrounding cities or topography. Additionally, community kingdoms like Petapa and Guevea centered on the *quéche* because they like many other groups imagined themselves as radically separate or different from their neighbors. Lastly, the above excerpt is a critical assessment of how the historical process of colonization, in this case by the Spaniards, has distorted and displaced binnizáa conceptualizations regarding sociopolitical phenomena. Therefore, it highlights the reductive nature of the Iberian lens, and by accepting such culturally specific terms as *nación* will only result in simplifying the complexity of the binnizáa understandings of sociopolitical issues. Thus, Zeitlin's assertion is particularly significant because I feel far too often the presence of Indigenous identities, memories, and voices are neglected in Mesoamerican art history. Taking Zeitlin's assertion into account also reinforces the central theme of this thesis, which is to privilege not only the binnizáa perspectives, but the Guevean and Petapan binnizáa perspective.

Several scholars including Zeitlin have asserted that the *quéche* shared several similarities with the Nahua *altpetl* system. Barbra Mundy's comment that "each *altpetl* imagined itself as radically separate people" (Mundy 1996:105; Lockhart 1992: 15) is probably applicable to the *quéche* as well. As Ronald Spores notes, this system remained in place after the conquest, when the *quéche* and *altpetl* came to be known as *cacicagzos*, after the term cacique, which Spaniards applied to Indigenous lords (Spores 1984: 74-80).

Given that the *quéche* or community kingdoms were the basic nodes of social affiliation in pre-Hispanic Mexico, as Mundy has asserted it comes as little surprise that these communities were also the dominant subjects of maps (Mundy 1996: 106). Following Mundy, my goal is not to reconstruct how the communities of Guevea and Petapa were structured or operated from day to day, but rather to explain how they represented themselves on this document: how they envisioned their community and territory (Mundy 1996: 106).

The *lienzo*

The term *lienzo* has often been extended to many varieties of cartographic history, but it actually refers to the medium on which these images were painted. The Spanish word “*lienzo*” refers to cotton cloth, canvas, or linen. The dimensions of these cloths are limited in width but not in length by the technology of the backstrap loom. This medium differs from codices, which are painted on strips of deer hide or *amatl* (fig bark) paper covered with a thin whitewash.

Cartographic histories may be painted on a single cotton cloth, as is the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*, or on a fabric made of several pieces woven separately and sewn together. Florine Asselbergs has argued that painted cloth may have been used for pictographic records in Prehispanic times as well, but no examples survive, perhaps due to material that degrades more quickly than animal hide or bark paper. Nicolas Carter Johnson has suggested that the pieces of cloth used for *lienzos* might have been originally woven for another use, such as clothing, and were only later used for *lienzos* (Johnson 2000: 575-594, Asselbergs 2004: 22). More is known about *lienzo* painting in the colonial period, and it is significant that one colonial binnizáa term for map, *lati*, can be interpreted to mean either “place” (Cruz 2003: 91) or “cloth”⁶ (Cordóva 1578: 395).

Asselbergs notes that “Unlike folded codices, *lienzos* were meant to be viewed flat, and accordingly they are plain on one side. It seems that they were put on a wall (as is still done in some indigenous communities) and/or laid down on the floor” (Asselbergs 2005: 24). The seventeenth-century chronicler Fray Francisco de Burgoa once

⁶ According to Joseph Whitecotton’s “Vocabulario Zapoteco-Castellano” (1993) the letter *r* is interchangeable with the letter *t*. This is significant because the contemporary Isthmus Zapotec/ Diidaxazá the word for cloth or *tela* is *Lári* instead of *Láti* as it was entered in Cordóva’s *Vocabulario* (1578), which is entered under the *Tela texida*. The same gloss –*láti*– also appears as the second entry for *Mapamundi* in Cordóva’s dictionary (Cordóva 1578: 268).

commented on a manuscript possibly a *lienzo*, which was hung on the walls of an indigenous palace (Pohl 1995:3).⁷

Cartographic Histories

The painted image that composes the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* belongs to the genre known as cartographic history. Mundy has suggested that Central Mexicans developed two alternative ways to present the community in maps. The first format is the cartographic history, which concerns itself with the establishment of the community, specifically illustrating historical events such as migration, conquest or the foundation of a ruling lineage, and typically defines territory of the community by its boundaries traversed in the foundation event. The second format is the social settlement map, which tries to show how the groups that make up the community have organized both themselves and the space they inhabit. Mundy insists that there is some blending or interchange between these two kinds of maps. Although her argument concerns Central Mexican conventions, this schema is also pertinent to *binnizáa* pictorials such as the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*. Speakers of different language groups to some degree adopted this pictorial system of writing; therefore, we see many shared conventions and similarities among various groups, including the *binnizáa* and Central Mexican painted documents.⁸ It is also possible that a Nahua painter was commissioned to produce the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*.

In regards to cartographic histories, Leibsohn has identified two compositional formats. The tour format and the other the tableau format, both of which are employed in many cartographic histories, including the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*. In the tour format, a sequence of locations is depicted through which actors once traveled. The locations are not arranged in terms of geographic or special relationships but in terms of the temporal

⁷ “ I head some elders explain that they were accustomed to fasten these manuscripts along the length of the rooms of the lords for their aggrandizement and vanity, they took pride in displaying them in their councils” (Pohl 1995: 3).

⁸ The visual form of communication or pictorial writing has been at times referred to as ‘International style’ because it was remarkably effective in communicating information exchange across linguistic boundaries or at an international level.

order in which they were encountered, as elements in a sequence. In the tableau format, places are organized in special relationships that correspond to the actual geography. Both formats underwent innovative developments in the early colonial period, but both are also known from pre-Hispanic codex painting in Oaxaca, as in the Codex Vindobonensis obverse (tour on pages 47-38 and various tableaus on pages 21-5).

Elizabeth Boone contends that the type of narrative typically “found on *lienzos* are about land and polity, which is to say, they record how land is territory, and how it becomes polity by being tied to a sacred past, a history and a chain of human rulers who control it” (Boone 2000: 128). From Boone’s analysis and additions by Florine Asselbergs, it appears that there are three major components of the cartographic history genre: 1) the polity history, beginning with a narrative of its foundation, which may include a tour marked by a sequence of locations connected by roads with footprints, and actors that strongly influenced the course of its history; 2) the genealogy, a listing of successive rulers often with their precise genealogical relationships; and 3) the tableau, which depicts the territory of the polity through elements such as a peripheral series of boundary locations, an administrative centre, and sometimes subordinate centers and/or major rivers. Cartographic histories thus visually clarify the essential characteristic of land entitlement: that its geography and its history are indivisible.

A fourth element, less common and generally more difficult to recognize, is an indication of the specific purpose for which the cartographic history was painted. The largest number of known cartographic histories were painted in response to a questionnaire initiated by the Spanish Crown in 1577, requesting information about Spanish held territories in the Americas. This survey is more commonly known as the *Relaciones Geográficas* or Geographic Reports. Beginning in 1578, at the request of King Philip II, a survey of 44 questions authored by Spanish royal cosmographer Juan López de Velasco was disseminated throughout the Spanish land holdings as part of a larger effort to map the region and document its features. The survey was addressed to colonial officials. However, many officials, lacking either interest or adequate knowledge of the region, passed the survey on to members of the indigenous population. There were 191 responses to this questionnaire, of which the present location of 167 are known. The

resulting documents, known as the *Relaciones Geográficas*, represent a fascinating and varied collection of Indigenous and Spanish traditions of representing territory and patterns of understanding and inhabiting space. This is particularly significant because the vast majority of all known cartographic histories (*lienzos* or *tiras*) are a product of this survey.

The *Lienzo de Guevea*, however, predates the *Relaciones* by several decades, and features an inscription in Spanish that documents the date and reason for its production. Besides being one of the earliest known examples of cartographic histories, the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* is also among one of the earliest first-hand visual accounts from the region and more integrally it illustrates historical events from an Indigenous point of view of a region where both Indigenous and ethnohistorical sources are relatively scarce⁹.

Once completed, a cartographic history, which may have functioned as mnemonics, was therefore likely subject to many episodes of reading in diverse manners depending on the occasion. However, Lori Boornazian Diel contends that if one were simply to understand these pictorials as mnemonic devices, one would be ignoring their interpretive strength (Diel 2008: 6). Diel whose investigation focuses on colonial Aztec pictorials, suggests that their lack of specificity was not accidental, but rather cartographic histories were purposely ambiguous for political reasons, which would allow for varied readings based on audience and political objectives (Diel 2008: 6). Retelling the foundational history might focus on the tour, using the road with footprints as the guiding element for the verbal narration. On other occasions, recitation of the boundaries might be of greater importance. It is not uncommon for further explanatory texts to be added in European characters on some of these occasions, as occurred more than once with the *Lienzo de Guevea* in three different languages. These added texts

⁹ This is especially true for mountain communities, such as Guevea and Petapa. Zeitlin has also noted that relative scarcity of both indigenous and non indigenous documents during "the period between the conquest of Tenochtitlan in 1521 and the death of the last pre-Colombian ruler of Tehuantepec" (Zeitlin 2005: 90).

make the information contained in the cartographic history available to a broader and less informed audience.

Several scholars have noted that the emphasis on particular aspects of the content of cartographic history tends to vary by region. For example, Nahua cartographic histories tend to be more concerned with migration and the foundation of their *altepetl*. In contrast, cartographic histories from the State of Oaxaca, particularly Ñuu Dzavui histories, tend to concentrate on dynastic foundations and royal genealogies. These regional emphases are by no means fixed, as may be seen in the combination of migration and genealogy in the Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa.

The *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* like other cartographic histories is composed of a wide range of pictorial strategies to convey meaning. Three categories may be mentioned. Pictographs are the largely pictorial or conventionalized representations of things present in the world around us, such as persons, plants, roads, mountains, or even actions such as conquest. The pictographic element can also involve “abstractions and other marks that were arbitrarily assigned certain meanings, meanings unrelated to their likeness” (Boone 2000: 32). A third component is logographic, used for calendric and personal names, dates and place names (Asselbergs 2005: 19). Dates are formed through juxtaposition of a number (using dots) and one of the 20 day signs. In some cases, these refer not to a specific day, but to a year, named for the day on which it began. Calendric names are represented in the same fashion, while personal names may be more variable in their pictographic composition. Place signs or toponyms combine a conventionalized pictograph for a geographic or constructed feature, with a particular pictograph giving an indication of the particular name. In prehispanic Oaxacan codices, different conventionalized forms are used to illustrate places that have mountain, river, plain, or town as part of the name. But in the colonial period cartographic histories, strongly influenced by Nahua conventions, the hill or mountain sign can be used for any kind of place name.

The scribe

The scribe[s] of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* has perhaps been one of the most overlooked factors in the interpretation of this document. Thus far very little is known about the painter. But one thing can be ascertained from this individual's work is that he was more comfortable, or, familiar with working in a Nahuatl pictographic tradition. For example, individuals are identified by calendric name, though only the day sign appears. Michel Oudijk associates this suppression of the numerical coefficient with colonial records in Nahuatl. Also the usage of personal names for the first four *xoanas* (read bottom to top) in the Guevea and Petapa genealogy was another common Nahuatl naming practice. This is unlike other groups such as the Mixtec, Chocho and even the Zapotec that would have used calendric names instead. Furthermore, late prehispanic and early colonial Mixtec histories depict the genealogical sequence of dynasties through male-female pairs, and sculptural evidence from the classic period in the Valley of Oaxaca suggests that this approach was both ancient and shared by the Zapotec people as well. In contrast the artist of the *Lienzo* portrays a succession of male rulers shown without wives, which was a common feature in Nahuatl histories.

The identification of the scribe as one who is versed in Nahuatl pictorial conventions raises the question concerning his familiarity with the history of political relations in the Isthmus, and particularly with the complex history and cultural identity of the Guevean and Petapan history. In order to produce the histories depicted on the *Lienzo*, the scribe presumably would have had to interview a range of people drawn from both the Guevea-Petapa and Zaachila-Tehuantepec polities. I am arguing then, that the *lienzo* speaks not through a single voice, place, and time but through a multiplicity of these. Diel adds that: "All texts reference and borrow from other texts, and with all texts there exist multiple levels of meaning that depend upon the larger socio-cultural context of which they are created and through which they are interpreted" (Diel 2008: 7). The artist is an actor and reader/interpreter not only because he had the possible task of interpreting both written/pictographic and oral accounts, but also because aspects of this artist/reader's past will have affected the physical character of the *lienzo* he produced.

Oral history- *diidxá binnihula' dxi*-“words of the aboriginal people” (Victor de la Cruz)

In this section, oral accounts from both of the respective communities to which this important historical document belongs will be introduced. These oral and written texts similar to the *lienzo* are narratives of history and territory that are seen/told from the perspective of Gueveans and Petapans, reflecting their concerns, ideologies, and historical awareness. I begin here as an antidote to previous analyses of this *lienzo* that have focused inordinately on the information it reveals about the Zaachila-Tehuantepec polity. Thus far there has been no published discussion of the original García version of the *Lienzo* that considers the perspective of the originators or their current descendants in Guevea and Petapa.

In 2007 I traveled to the *Guidxiyoo*/community of Santiago de Guevea de Humboldt in hopes not only of obtaining information that would be useful for interpreting the *Lienzo*, but also ascertaining the current importance of the *Lienzo* to the people of Guevea. With the García original known only from photographs in Texas, and with the publication of its interpretation by outsiders, study of the *Lienzo* has been particularly detached from the communities to which its importance must be greatest. This issue was stressed by Sr. Lucíaño Avendaño Ortis, an elder and historian of the community of Guevea, and perhaps it was our discussion of these issues that allowed me the fortune to speak intimately about the history of his/our people and the oral history surrounding events on the *Lienzo* to Ta Avendaño Ortis.¹⁰ With the permission of Ta Avendaño Ortis and my gratitude to him, I will share with readers his oral history of events which pertain to some of the histories depicted on the *Lienzo*.

Probanza de Petapa

I will also include excerpts from a seventeenth century collection of historical

¹⁰ Sr. José Mota is the owner of the posada where I lodged during my time in Santiago Guevea and I am grateful to him for his support, patience and his introduction to Ta Avendaño Ortis.

writings, known as the *Probanza de Petapa*¹¹. The *Probanza de Petapa* was originally written in *Didxazáa*, but later translated into Spanish in 1779¹². This important document is an example of what is commonly referred to as a primordial title, or *títulos primordiales* in Spanish. Primordial titles or *títulos* as some scholars refer to them, are written histories that appeared throughout Mexico in the 17th century. These complex texts are still subject of considerable debate as to intended purpose, origins, and accuracy, and are generally thought of as difficult to accept as authentic, but these issues cannot be adequately addressed in this thesis.

I have chosen to view the *Probanza de Petapa* in the same light of Robert Haskett understanding of primordial titles, which is what we might call ‘elders wisdom’ that is ancestral knowledge that has been passed down over generations in various forms, “from oral and written, pictorial and alphabetic, until someone distilled it into the written documents which have survived” (Hasket 2007:11). The *Probanza de Petapa* not only mentions the *Lienzo* and the circumstances as to why the *Lienzo* was commissioned. It also reveals that Cocijoeza confirmed these communities’ lands two generations earlier to a pair of brothers who ruled the two communities that oral history claims were originally founded by two brothers. Therefore, I understand the *Probanza* to be an important historical document that provides us with a local binnizáa perspective on important local

¹¹ The *Probanza de Petapa*, is an alphabetic text written by “different authors at different times between 1540 and 1588, which was copied in 1698” (Oudijk 2000:49).

¹² The translation shows the development of these kinds of documents. Whereas the original Tíchazáa text is rather short and dull, the Spanish translation shows that the author was not exactly literally translating the text but rather telling a story. That is to say, he was following the line of the original text, but adding other elements to clarify it or, if we take it a bit further, make it more attractive to the audience. This last suggestion would mean that we have a transformation from a purely literate text to an oral text, i.e. the latter is a recording of a person speaking rather than somebody who is writing. As such the translation into Spanish can be considered to be a next step in the development from pictograph to alphabetic writing” *LIBRO*[book] *SICUTORIU*[=seculori, old] *Probanza*[evidence] *xitinitono*[our] *xuana*[Xoana] *bechoquexo* [Bechoquexo] *nirolohui* [declare] *xinaca* [how] *cozooloo* [began] *corobaniça* [baptize] *bixoce colaya* [my grandfather] *frscisco Garci* [Francisco García] *nexe* [?] *quchixa* [village] *tani* [hill] *quequichi* [paper] *10 de abril años 1540* (Oudijk 2000:49).

leaders, and historical events, which as a whole are meant to assert their sovereignty, and identity. In addition to this, the *Probanza* like *Lienzo* is a *quéche*-centered text, which therefore complements the interpretation of the *Lienzo*.

As mentioned earlier, this thesis seeks to highlight binnizáa perspectives, specifically those of Guevea and Petapa. I will do this by including not only the *Probanza de Petapa*, which is one example of a binnizáa interpretation of the *Lienzo* and its related events, but I will also include present-day oral history I was granted in 2007. When I traveled to the Isthmus in 2007, I spoke to elders and several people from both the community of Guevea and Petapa. Through these discussions I soon learned that the *Probanza* akin to the *Lienzo* was and continues to be in the minds of Gueveans and Petapans as physical testimonies of their binnigula'sa' and both documents continue to form part of an authentic historical fiber of their *pueblos*. By not including the *Probanza de Petapa* in the interpretation of the *Lienzo*, the history of Guevea and Petapa will remain one that has been imposed upon them by outsiders continuing only to silence and ignore the voices and interpretations of the people of Guevea and Petapa. In other words, the inclusion of the *Probanza* and oral histories from both communities in the interpretation of the *Lienzo* is more than including Guevean and Petapan versions of history. It is about respecting how both communities want to represent themselves for their own purposes.

The *Probanza de Petapa* is told in the first person by various narrators who are also both the protagonists and witnesses of the events they recount, which also suggests that the *Probanza* may have been dictated. The following quote from the first half of the *Probanza de Petapa* in its Spanish version refers directly to the title to the territory and explains some of the functions and imagery of the *Lienzo*.

Que es verdad yo Gorierno Rigala Quebea y ta[m]bi/en otro biejo le yama xuana logobicha asi le yama nosotros/ quando no abian a bautisado Real y berederame[n]te/ es mio de esthe tirerra ya para todo de nosotros y de/mas mis hijo y mi ñeto a donde resevimos de nuestro /fortuna delante del Señor el que le yama gosiohue/sa antespadado hasi dise mi ahuelo Real verdad mi/ manda nosotro Gobierno Rigala y tabien Gobierno/ que le yama diuma Sapoteca xuana

logobicha her/mano Gobierno Rigala tiene a ustedes una pintu/ra y otra pintura tenemos cuidado aqui este pintura le llama/ diuma sapoteca mapa para recibimos para todos mi hi/jo y para toda la vida que nasiero mi hijo y demas/ ñieto nungunnu mi hijo nasio sale sovervia no puede/ bender este tierra ningunna no puede a pletear/ es nestes tierra ningunna pueblo no puede a pletear/ que entra de nuestro tierra los dos nosotros le manda/ron yo gobierno xuana logobicha asi le yama/ nosotros antespasado y tambien gobierno que le ya/ma Rigala quebea que es berdad manda aserlo(61) a unna pinturas le dexo para de nosotros y lo otro se lo lle/baron yo me yama Gobierno Rigala de quebea, se le dexo una pintura de el pueblo Santiago quebea/ para resebimos para todos mis hijos y para todo mis ni/eto en toda la vida a donde salga su comida y su bebi/da mis hijos y mis ñetos y ta[a]bien que me llamom xuana/ logobicha, aserlo pintura somos de unas tieras a donde /salga su comida y su bebida de mis hijo a recibimos/ a delante el sennor llamado gosihuesa asi le llama de nue/stra lengua sapoca quiere decir Rey montesuma y/ pore so aserlo Mapa Pintura que se lleba/ de todo claracion de su pueblo de Santo Domingo a don/de nasio de mi hijos y mi ñeto y para toda la vida a /donde salga su comida y obedesco de el Pueblo Santo/mingo a donde nasio hijo de nosotros y obedesco mi hi/jo y para toda la vida y ta[m]bien para todo hijos/ de Santiago y Santo Domingo recibimos en este/ tierra delante del señor le yama gosiohuesa de nuetro/ lengua Sapoteca...(ABCP, Libro No.2, ff.61r-v, Oudijk 2000: 256-257).

English translation

It is true that I am Governor Rigula Quebea and the other elder is known as Xuanna Logobicha, which is how we were known before we were baptized. Really and truly this is my land and is for all of us, as well as for my children, and my grandchildren. It is here, where , according to my grandfather we received our possession in front of the Lord known as Cosiohuesa as he was referred to in the past. Really and truly we both, Governor Rigala and also the Governor who is called in the Zapotec language Xuana Logobicha, brother of Governor Rigala, ordered this painting you have here and another painting that we have put away. This painting in the Zapotec language is called “mapa.” In order that we receive

for all my children and for all their lives since their birth and also grandchildren, that none of my born children can be independent/self sufficient, so none may sell this land; none can divide this our land; no pueblo can divide and enter this our land. We two, I Governor Xuana Logobicha as I our ancestor was known and also the Governor who is called Rigala Guebea, and it is true that we ordered the making of some paintings. One painting was left for us and the other was taken. I am called Governor Rigala de Guebea. One painting was left in the pueblo Santiago Guebea in order that we receive for all my children and for all my grandchildren for their whole lives [the land] from where my children and also my grandchildren take their food and drink. Also I who call myself Xuana Logobicha ordered a painting. We are of lands from whence comes the food and drink of my children, which we received before the lord called Cosicoesa, as he was called in our Zapotec language, which means King Montesuma, and for this was made the Map Painting that conveys complete clarification of our pueblo of Santo Domingo (de Petapa) where were born my children and my grandchildren and from which for their whole life comes their food. And I affirm the [lands of the] Pueblo Santo Domingo (de Petapa) where our children were born and I affirm my children for their whole life and also for al the children of Santiago (Guebea) and Santo Domingo (de Petapa), this land that we received before the lord called Cocijoesa in our Zapotec language.

The following sections of this thesis will offer more detailed descriptions and analyses of the various aspects of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*, including the map or tableau of their territory, the two migrations that brought Zapotec people to the Isthmus, the two parallel genealogies, and the nature of the relationship between them. In each section, previous studies will be reviewed and new interpretations will be offered.

Chapter Three:

The Territorial Map or Tableau

A tale of two pueblos and two brothers multiple histories and a frame

The manner in which one reads or narrates a cartographic history depends on the occasion and the intent. In this narrative, I have chosen to begin with the territorial map or tableau that occupies the upper half of the *Lienzo*, to highlight the fact that the upper half represents the shared territory of two fraternal communities, Santiago Guevea de Humboldt and Santo Domingo Petapa. The *Lienzo* as I argued earlier must also be recognized as part of an original pair that maintained this linkage. This is also supported by both oral history and the *Probanza de Petapa*. Moreover, I also begin this section with the upper half in order to privilege the oral histories I was granted and thereby foreground the voices of the persons most directly connected to the *Lienzo* today.

Rigala Guevea

The upper portion of the *Lienzo* is centered on the image of a seated male figure within an architectural form juxtaposed, with a hill-form place sign. The man is shown in prehispanic dress and within a prehispanic residential structure. His headdress and labret denote his authority. An individual's clothing and accessories were indicators not only cultural affiliation, but of rank and status as well.

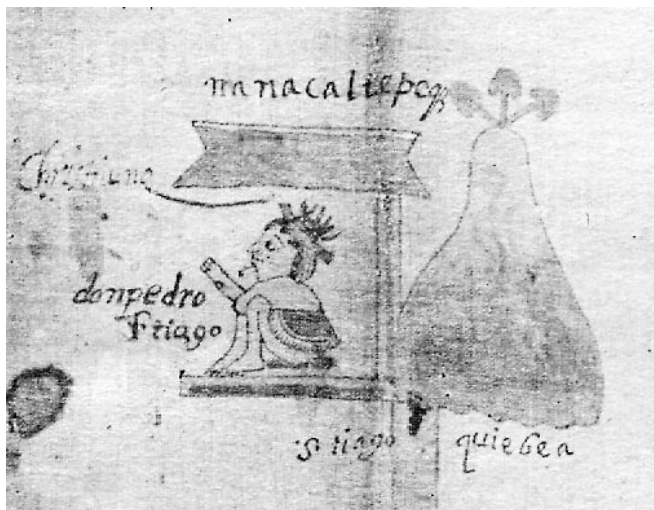


Figure 1: The Elder of Guevea. Detail of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*. (Courtesy of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin).

According to Margo DeMello, among the ancient Aztec, labret piercing were only worn by elite men, who wore elaborately sculpted and jeweled labrets fashioned from pure gold in the shape of serpents, jaguars, and other animals (DeMello 2007: 176). Two glosses have been added to this figure in different hands. The gloss adjoining the figure appears to name him “Don Pedro S[an]tiago.” The gloss above it reads “Christiano” [sic]. The second gloss reinforces what is obvious from the Christian name: that the individual has been baptized, and maintains his authority as a Christian cacique. This information is elaborated by two references in the *Probanza de Petapa* that record the baptisms of two leading individuals of this polity:

10 de abril Años de 1540, los bautisa/do fue el biejo de le pueblo de xalapa un biejo lle yama/xuana bixana logobicha” (61r) “Oy dia de marte 10 de Abril años 1540/gracias a Dios lo bautisado los dos nosotros del pueblo/de xalapa que es berdaderamente vive el pueblo/ questa el cerro se llama el dioma Sapoteca xana/tani quequichi (63v) (Oudijk2000:259).

10 of April of 1540, the baptized person was an elder from the town of Xalapa, an elder known as xuana bixana logobicha baptized us” (61r) “Today Tuesday 10 of April 1540/ Thanks to God we were truly baptized, the tow of us of the town of Xalapa/ which is in on the flanks of a mountain range known in the Zapotec language as *xana/tani quequichi*.

As the date inscribed on the *Lienzo* is June 1, 1540, it is clear that the baptism was recent, occurring less than two months before.

The identifying gloss suggests that the seated individual is the current cacique (here titled Rigala or “elder”) of Guevea and Petapa. However, Michel Oudijk has proposed that the seated individual in the center of the *Lienzo* sits in a global configuration, which suggests a reference to an Ancestor-Founder who came from Zaachila and established his lineage at the foot of the hill. That this central individual might be an ancestor is further reinforced by his prehispanic attire and the prehispanic style of his palace, which appears to contrast with his Spanish title. Also, the footprint path leading from Zaachila at the bottom of the *Lienzo* and representing the migration that led to the foundation of the Guevea polity, leads directly to this figure. Zeitlin

suggests that certain sections of this document referred to events before the viceregal mandate and that the *lienzo* painter might have had direct access to prehispanic painted official genealogical histories now lost (Zeitlin 2007:4).

If indeed the central figure represents a founder or other pre-Hispanic ancestor who was once the ruler of Guevea, then the glosses represent an attempt to update the image. Similarly, the individual shown at the top of the left genealogical column, who is accompanied by a sun disk and the calanderic sign of snake, and has been identified in later versions of the *Lienzo* as Xoana Logobicha is not the current leader of Petapa but a predecessor also referred to in the *probanza* by the same name. The interplay of text and image would then call up and reinforce the parallel between events that occurred at different times: the prehispanic foundation of Guevea and its re-foundation as the colonial pueblo of Santiago Guevea.



Figure 2: Xoana Logobicha. Detail of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*. (Courtesy of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin).

Leibsohn asserts that place glyphs/signs perform two functions: first, they situate communities and landmarks in space, and second, they name these sites. Naming one's community or polity therefore plays a vital role in the formation and development of an individual's or a group's identity. Behind the structure in which this personage sits is the place sign for Guevea as the polity *cabecera*. The variable feature on the hill sign is a cluster of three mushrooms, the meaning of the Zapotec term "quiebea." This meaning is further clarified by the gloss added below the hill, which reads "S[an]tiago quiebea." The

Nahuatl translation of “hill of the mushroom,” “Nanacaltepec” is presented in a second gloss above the central structure.

Frame of 18 boundary sites

While the image of the seated Rigala and the Guevea hill sign establish the *cabecera* as the political centre of the Guevea polity, the rectangular frame that occupies the upper portion of the *Lienzo* and joins 18 other hill signs establishes the boundaries of this polity through identification of natural landmarks. Each of these boundary sites has added glosses that name the locations in Diidxazá (Zapotec language), Nahuatl, and Spanish. Joyce Marcus notes that these place-names incorporate terms for mountain (*tani*), river (*guego*), water or stream (*nisa*) and stone cliff or hill (*guie*) (Marcus 2005:97).

The rectangular frame performs a deictic function by isolating the community and drawing the viewer’s exclusive attention to it. Reminding the viewer that central focus of the narrative is about the community-kingdom and its history. This emphasizes a micropatriotic world view, which according to Robert Haskett has long been characteristic of Mesoamerica. Haskett also adds that a community-kingdom, such as Guevea and Petapa would envision themselves as the center and all else, even nearby communities inhabited by related peoples would be on the periphery. Indeed, the 18 places which demarcate the boundary of Guevea and Petapa are not equidistant from the *cabecera* and are thus not shown in the spatial relationships that would obtain from an “objective” overview. Rather they appear as they would when viewed from the administrative center, as places on a continuous horizon.

Liebson notes that cartographic histories represent geography and history as codependent, so land took on meaning only when engendered with historical events. This is done through the itinerary projection (shown by the road with footprints) establishes a narrative thread that allows the viewer to enter the *quéche*, but also withdraw from it, and view the events outside the frame. In this way, cartographic histories represent geography and history as co-dependent, so land took on meaning (Leibsohn 1994: 175). As other aspects of the *Lienzo*, the boundary frame appears not only as a fact but also a process. This is created through the itinerary projection (shown

by the road with footprints) establishes a narrative thread, recalling the times in which the boundary was established and reconfirmed by walking it as a circuit. Furthermore, the establishment and autonomy of the community or *quéche* is an effect of the events outside the frame, such as migration to Guevea, or an alliance between Tehuantepec, but both (polity and historical events) are integral to the community's history, identity, and concerns. This is the other side of the "communicentric" focus of the document.

A visual characteristic of the boundary site representation, repeated on all the versions of the *Lienzo* including the García Original, is the unusual configuration of the place glyphs in relation to the rectangular framing line, contrasting with those from most other cartographic histories. As Michel Oudijk explains, the 18 toponyms do not all 'fall' to the outside, as if they are seen from the center; in the south and east they 'fall' to the inside, while in the north and west they 'fall' to the outside (Oudijk 2000:53). Michel Oudijk and Joyce Marcus have both suggested that this configuration may have been borrowed from the boustrophedon layout in which the prehispanic Mixtec screenfold codices are painted and read (Oudijk 2000:53). However, in relation to place signs, the boustrophedon arrangement occurs only with the "tour," which is a linear and sequential movement from sign to sign that does not respect geographic spatial relations. In contrast, those paintings that depict boundary sites (Vindobonensis Obverse 22, 18-17, 14, 10-9, 5) in a sequence that corresponds to geography because it represents markers on the horizon as seen from the pueblo, the boustrophedon is not employed. Finally, that the difference in placement relative to the framing rectangle varies by side and not by individual sign suggests it is an artifact of the painting method that required the painter to move around the large fabric.

Each of the boundary locations also has a number, from 1 to 18, in sequential order. The *Probanza de Petapa* lists these same 18 place signs in the same order as they appear on the *Lienzo*. This suggests several processes that were likely but not necessarily simultaneous. The two leaders whose words are recorded in the *Probanza* were apparently "reading" the *Lienzo* for some audience. As they pointed to and read out the names of these places, a scribe recorded them in a numbered list and added the numbers to the *Lienzo* to form a concordance. Centuries later, in 1906, Eduard Seler published an

identification of the 18 place signs based on the copies at his disposal. His interpretations, which have never been superseded, are presented in Appendix B.

Prior to the process of explaining and transcribing the identifications of place signs, this sequence of boundary locations was apparently traversed under Spanish supervision. This is indicated by the gloss above the central figure, the longest on the document, which reads (in Spanish, Nahuatl and Zapotec):

*En nombre de dios padre hijo de dios spiritu santu\ ni asca yni tlallypa ynanpa
Rey de españa y mejico\ castoli nauit tepetl mojon años de 1 junio de 1540.*

English translation

In the name of God, His son, and the Holy Ghost, [were placed] today as border places nineteen hills on this land on commission of the King of Spain and Mexico. The first of June of the year 1540. (Translated by Eduard Seler, Oudijk 2000:54)

Traversing this boundary re-produced territorial rights under Spanish dominion, but it also reproduced an initial act of boundary circumambulation that would have been part of the polity's foundation. Thus, while the text records a specific event in 1540 in which the boundaries of Guevea were re-established under Spanish colonial authority, it simultaneously recalls the foundational event in which the territory was initially established several generations earlier by a leader in the migration from Zaachila. Again the text calls up a parallel between events depicted in the painting and their re-production under Spanish hegemony.

Cerro Columna

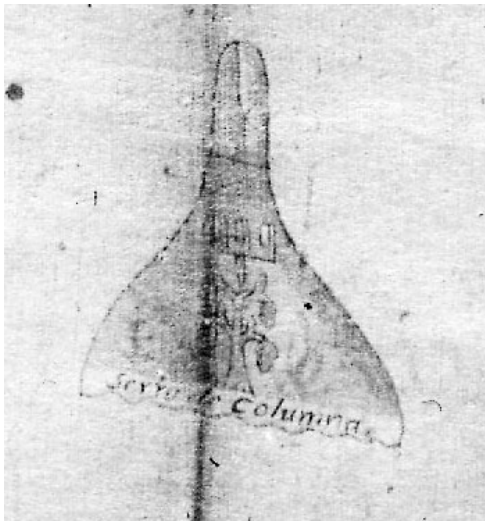
One feature that has been repeated on all the known versions of the Lienzo is the inverted toponym above the central text that balances the Guevea toponym. The central location and relation to the Guevea toponym make it visually very clear that this site deserves special consideration and attention not only from the Gueveans and Petapans but

also the viewer, yet this special treatment has so far gone unremarked in the literature on the *Lienzo* with the single exception of Eduard Seler's 1908 article. Seler who was not analyzing the García version, but the *Lienzo II* or Copy B and *Lienzo de Petapa* or Copy A noted that *Cerro Columna* is the only place sign on the entire *Lienzo* to only be glossed in Spanish. Seler also notes that it is the only place sign in the center of the *Lienzo* that does not signify a *quéche*, which makes it the nineteenth place sign on the *Lienzo*. In addition to this Seler notices that this place sign has a tree in the center of the place sign that he argues to be a ceiba tree¹³. In Mesoamerican thought, the cardinal directions were associated with a broad range of things from natural to socio-cultural affairs. The ceiba or what is also referred to as a world tree is one of the most important and pervasive embodiments of the cardinal directions or an *axis mundi*, located in the center of the world. Seler argues that the Zapotec gloss seen on Copy B- *tani quie cila* does not correspond to the Spanish translation of *Cerro Columna*. However, the correct Zapotec translation of *Cerro Columna* according to Seler would be *tani quie pije*, while *tani quie cila* glossed on Copy B would translate as “*cerro de la mañana*” (Morning mountain) or “*cerro del principio, del origen*” (Principal Mountain or place of Origin). Therefore, Seler believed that the tree depicted on *Cerro columna* was a world tree. It is also important to note that Seler regarded “the topograms not as boundary sites but as ‘places to which in heathen times they offered sacrifices during the eighteen successive year feasts’ (Oudijk 2000:43; Seler 1987:25). This led Seler to postulate that the upper half of the *Lienzo* may also have calendric associations and *represents eighteen periods of twenty days (peo in Zapotec or moon) of the Binnizáa Yza or solar count*. This calendar was divided into 18 periods of 20 days, plus 5 “nameless” or unlucky days at the end of the year. Thus he believed that *Cerro Columna* represented not only the place where the five “nameless” days, but it was a site where predictions for the new year would be enacted

¹³ The Ceiba tree appears in several mythologies/cosmologies of several pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican cultures, in particular that of the Maya, where the concept of the world tree is often depicted as a ceiba trunk, which connects the three levels of the cosmos the underworld, the skies and the terrestrial realm.

before the beginning of the new 52 year period and where the new fire would be lit¹⁴. Seler's argument depends upon evidence from a ceremony common among Aztecs, who upon the completion of 52 years and the beginning of a new cycle, celebrated with a new fire ceremony. However, just because many Mesoamerican cultures observed a 52-year cycle, should we assume they all understood and celebrated it in the same manner or fashion? Unfortunately, Seler is imposing an Aztec or Nahua understanding of time cycles on a binnizáa special diagram, which tends homogenize all Mesoamerican cultures and perceptions into a single scheme.

As mentioned, *Cerro columna* is depicted directly above the Guevea place sign and is depicted as a mountain that contains a tree topped by three flags. Unlike the boundary place signs, this toponym lacks identifications in Zapotec or Nahuatl (another special treatment), but is simply glossed in Spanish as *Cerro Columna*. In this case, I suspect that information on the site might have been withheld from the Spanish by the Zapotec community, particularly the leaders of Guevea and Petapa whose narration is recorded in the *Probanza*.



¹⁴ Seler is referring to what is known as a *xiumolpilli* or a 52 year cycle, which was presumably shared by all Mesoamerican groups albeit in varying forms. This cycle is created by intermeshing of the 260-day sacred calendar and the 365-day solar calendar, which took 52 days of 365 days or a total of 18,980 days for the given date to complete.

Figure 3: Cerro Columna. Detail of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*. (Courtesy of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin).

Pursuing this issue, I was told that members of both communities identify mountains to their north as a *Cerro Columna*, and in each case it is believed that their *Cerro Columna* protects the community. The peak north of Guevea is alternately referred to as *El Picacho* (archaic “the peak”) and according to Ta Lucaño Avendaño Ortis every year on 2 February people from Guevea make a pilgrimage to its summit and make offerings to celebrate the Virgen de la Candelaria. Alternate names for the Petapa peak are *Dani gueexilla* (Conjuring Mountain) or Cerro Borrego (Sheep Mountain) and it is said to be the location of an ancestral settlement. Elders in my family note that the north is associated with ancestors, so domestic altars are placed to the north within our houses. Finally, the vertical column that elongates the shape of this hill sign and that is suggested by the Spanish gloss for the location suggests that it functions as a ceremonial world axis (*axis mundi*), which is often a place of heightened access to the supernatural. All of these factors suggest that the hill sign marked as Cerro Columna on the *lienzo* represents a sacred location placed as a balancing counterpart to the administrative center of Guevea.

Shared territory and fraternal relationship

My questions about the migration from Zaachila prompted a consistent narration concerning the founding of the Guevea polity and the relationship of Guevea and Petapa. According to Ta Avendaño Ortis, an Elder and historian from the community of Santiago Guevea de Humboldt:

“It is said that Guevea was originally founded by two brother Kings, and as one can see on the *Lienzo* the territory is quite large and this territory once belonged to both kings. Between themselves they made a pact to work united and each one did their part in the establishment of the entire territory and therefore would receive their own part.”

Ta Avendaño Ortis’s oral history provides another layer of history that further supports the argument of a fraternal relationship that manifested itself in shared territory as seen

on the *Lienzo*. Similarly, in a group interview, members of the community of Santo Domingo Petapa¹⁵ recounted that:

Historicamente por que las dos poblaciones provenían de un mismo tronco común étnico y que se enlazó más con la relacion religiosa correspondiente a los Santos patronos de las dos comunidades.

Historically the two populations (Petapa and Guevea) come from the same place of origin and share a common ethnic/cultural trunk and they are further connected by a common religion corresponding to Holy patron saints of both communities.

They added that:

Xuana Loogobicha, después de haber dejado a sus hermano de raza en que fue Santiago Guevea siguieron su peregrinar por ocho años para establecerse en 1526, en un lugar llamado “Xana-Taniquequiche” o pie del cerro de papel, siendo considerado el primer asentamiento de Santo Domingo Petapa.

Xuana Loogobicha, after leaving his brother in Santiago Guevea continued to wander for eight years before he would in 1526 settle in a place called “*Xana-taniquequiche*” or at the foot of Paper mountain, which is considered to be the first seat of Santo Domingo Petapa.

The oral history thus relates that two brother kings established Guevea first, but the entire territory was claimed by both brothers who would later share and divide the territory so one brother would rule in Guevea and the other would rule in Petapa. This arrangement is also described in a section of the *Probanza de Petapa* that is the testimony of the current (in 1540) leader of Guevea, who refers to himself as the Rigala Guevea (Elder of Guevea), and Xoana Logobicha, the leader of Petapa. The two leaders not only describe the drafting of the actual *Lienzo*, but also claim that two generations earlier, the Tehuantepec ruler Cocijoeza II had confirmed the rights to these lands to the two brothers who ruled the two communities at that time. These brothers were also called- Rigala Guevea and Xoana Logobicha. The narration transcribed in the *Probanza* adds further

¹⁵ The following answer is in response to- ¿Cuál es la relación entre Guevea de Humbolt y Santo Domingo Petapa?

important evidence to the fraternal relationship of Guevea and Petapa within a shared territory, since it makes clear that a pair of *Lienzos* was commissioned, rather than one, so that each of the two communities could preserve it as an historical document.

Identification of the place signs offers further evidence that the circumscribed territory pertains to a polity that includes Petapa as well as Guevea. Of the 18 places indicated on the *Lienzo*, some, such as Cerro Leon, are presently in the territory of Guevea de Humboldt, while such sites as Rio Petapa or Cerro Caxa (Caja) are in closer proximity to the present day territory of Santo Domingo Petapa¹⁶. When discussing the *lienzo* with Ta Avendaño Ortis, he revealed that the borders to the north of Guevea and by the same token Petapa had changed in certain places during both communities' histories¹⁷.

Final evidence for the fraternal relationship and shared territory may be found by comparison with the later copies made for the communities of Guevea and Petapa. I suggest this can be done by looking at the similarities retain on all the later copies, a point I will elaborate on shortly. Michel Oudijk, exhaustive research efforts offers scholars a more complete understanding of the relations between the various copies and the likely economic and political circumstances that prompted the painting of each. He notes that all later versions “reproduce the information and structure of the original, yet they are not servile copies, but new versions with their own style, emphasis and specific information” (Oudijk 2000:52). However, Oudijk’s analysis sought to identify and explain *differences* between the copies (and the original),but I propose that we should also consider what their *similarities* might reveal. Considering for the present only the map portion of the *lienzo*, all the copies add to the original a second indication of a central community. Each may be represented as a micro-landscape, as seen in Copy B [Lienzo de Guevea II], or as a church, as seen in the Petapa versions. Thus in all the

¹⁶ The following information was ascertained through personal communication with Ta Avendaño Ortis and other members of both the Guevea and Petapa communities, but also with my family members living in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

¹⁷ Michel Oudijk notes that there was still significant correspondence of both communities borders till at least 1890 (Oudijk 2000: 66).

copies some form of toponymic representation of both Guevea and Petapa appears within the rectangular frame of boundary sites in an overt pictorial representation of their fraternal relationship. On the one hand, this suggests both that the fraternal relationship was also intended in the original or García version, and that the boundary sites were understood to include the territory jointly held. On the other hand, it also suggests that for some reason this fraternal relationship was no longer easily readable on the García version at the time the first copy or pair of copies was made.

Oudijk has found one possible explanation for this change. He treats two considerably faded texts in *diidxazáa* that he argues might have something to do with the foundation of Santo Domingo Petapa. Oudijk provides the following transcriptions of these difficult-to-read glosses, the first located on the right hand side between two place signs reads as: “*Quebea s[eño]r Petro Sa[n]ti[a]go niqui (...) Sa[nto] domi[n]go*” which can be translated as ‘here’ or ‘right there’” [Quebea, Lord Petro Sa[n]ti[a]go here/here Sa[nto] domi[n]go] (Oudijk 2000:54). “The other text on the left hand side is even more difficult to read, but seems to contain the name of *don ger[onim]o (...) sa[n]ti[a]go*” (Oudijk 2000:55). I agree with Oudijk who feels that these glosses might have something to do with the foundation of Santo Domingo Petapa, the brother community of Guevea. This gloss is further confirmation that we are dealing with a document that is shared by two communities.

In summary, the fraternal relation over multiple generations of the Rigala Guevea and Xuana Loogobicha leading the two communities, their joint foundation, the painting of a pair of *Lienzo*'s in 1540 speaks to a long standing fraternal relationship. In addition, the inclusion of paired toponyms of Guevea and Petapa in the centre of the later copies, all leads to a single conclusion concerning the boundary sites that frame the top portion of the *lienzo*. They indicate that the territory it encloses belongs jointly to Guevea and Petapa because these two pueblos were the fraternal halves of the same polity and therefore were governed by brothers. The information is also consistent in identifying Guevea as the principal or elder of the fraternal pair.

Chapter Four:

Migrations and Genealogies

The Migrations Story or Tour

Present-day oral history informs us that *Nanacaltepec*¹⁸ or Guevea was founded by two brothers who would eventually divide the territory amongst themselves, so one brother would continue to rule in Guevea, while the other would rule in Petapa. Zapotec-speaking peoples are not native to the Isthmus, so in order to consolidate their fraternally shared *quéche* at Guevea and Petapa, the community led by these brothers had to migrate from central Oaxaca. Their origin, according to both oral history and the *Lienzo*, was the *quéche* of Zaachila in the central valley system of Oaxaca.

My two primary sources for oral history presented a consistent story. Sr. Luciano Avedaño Ortis of Santiago Guevea de Humboldt recounted that: “We the people of Santiago Guevea de Humboldt had originally come from Zaachila thus making us descendents from Zaachila” (Sr. Luciaño Avedaño Ortis: 2007). Similarly, when I asked members from the community of Santo Domingo Petapa, the *pueblo hermano*, or brother community of Guevea de Humboldt, the following question: ¿Cuál es la relación entre Santo Domingo y Zaachila? [What is the relationship between Santo Domingo and Zaachila?] they responded that: “Según datos históricos Zaachila es el pueblo de donde provinieron los habitantes de Santo Domingo Petapa, por lo cual existe una relación de origen, pero que no se manifiesta en la actualidad”. [According to our historical records, Zaachila is the place of origin of the present day inhabitants of Santo Domingo, but it is no longer as pronounced as before] (Bienes Comunales Sto. Domingo Petapa: 2007). On the lienzo, roads marked with footprints that lead between place signs represent migration. The migration from Zaachila to Guevea is represented by the road that leads from the bottom half of the lienzo, through the rectangle of boundary sites, and up to the figure of the Rigula Guevea adjoining the Guevea toponym.

¹⁸ Nanacaltepec is the Nahuatl name for Guevea, however, Oudijk suggests that after 1600 the Nahuatl name was not used anymore, but instead the *didxazáa* name Guevea, which may explain the disappearance of the former from the historical record.

The toponym for Guevea has already been discussed. The toponym for Zaachila, however, may be described as a stepped pyramid containing the bell-shaped hill sign, which is punctuated with what Boone has referred to as ‘earth bumps’ (symbolizing its stony nature). In the later copies, these protuberances were reinterpreted as teeth, changing the hill sign into the image of a cave, which is associated with ethnic origins and the beginning of migrations in several Nahuatl cartographic histories.

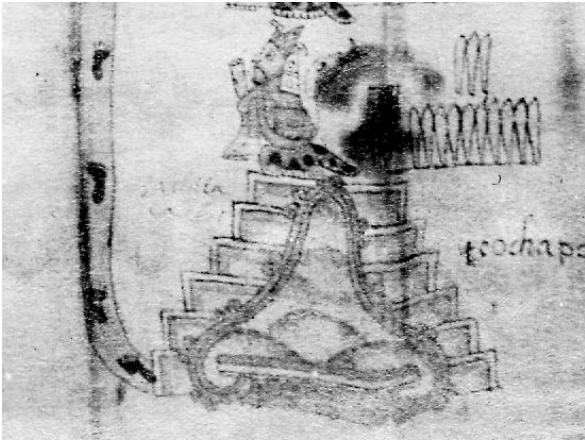


Figure 4: Zaachila Place sign. Detail of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*. (Courtesy of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin).

In his discussion of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*, John Paddock argues that in this image, migration and descent are not traced from a person or ancestor, but instead from a place that is represented by human-made architecture. Paddock argues that the intent was to show the origin of a community rather than just its ruling line.¹⁹ While this may be partially true, it may also be suggested that this choice was designed to reinforce the message of the autonomy of the Guevea-Petapa polity from that of Zaachila and its daughter centre of Tehuantepec. Supporting both the early migration and continued separation from the Zaachila-Tehuantepec polity is the fact that the dialect of Diidxazá or Zapotec spoken in Guevea and Petapa is distinct from that spoken in Tehuantepec.

¹⁹ This argument can be found in 1983 *Comments on the Lienzos of Huilotepec and Guevea en The Cloud People*, Flannery and Marcus edit. pp. 308-313. Academic Press. New York.

A second, shorter migration is also depicted on the lower part of the lienzo. Within the right column of figures representing the *coquis* of Zaachila and Tehuantepec is a short path connecting two groups. This path leads upward, ending with the first *coqui* in the second genealogy, who is juxtaposed to the toponym of Tehuantepec. The Tehuantepec toponym shows a similar rocky hill but surmounted by the head of a feline. Glosses also identify the location in both Zapotec and Nahuatl. The fact that five *coquis* intervene between the path leaving Zaachila for Guevea and the path leaving Zaachila for Tehuantepec indicates the temporal gap between the two migrations. Oral histories in the Isthmus region also confirm that the Guevea-Petapa *quéche* was consolidated before the conquests and migration that led to the establishment of Tehuantepec and translation of the Zaachila court to that Isthmus location. Such distinctions, Boone asserts, carry the claim that these polities have always, from the point of origin been independent and self-reliant.²⁰ This was an important feature for any community in asserting their continual autonomy to both colonial and indigenous audiences.

Above the toponym of Tehuantepec, and occupying an analogous position in relation to the next *coquis*, is the depiction of a prehispanic style temple pyramid, complete with the *almenas* in the form of sectioned conch shells, which is conventional for Nahua representations. Despite this spatial analogy, the structure does not indicate a distinct place; instead, it probably represents the temple of the patron deity in Tehuantepec.²¹ The gloss reads *yotoo qzii*, but is also glossed in Spanish as *Iglesia*, which simply translates as church.

²⁰ Susan Schroder has also noted that the fact of having arrived separately was an important factor in achieving or retaining independent *altepetl* status in the early colonial period, which may have also been the case for southern Mexico and binnizáa *quéche*.

²¹ Victor de la Cruz in his 1983 publication title “Genealogía de los Gobernantes de Zaachila” argues that this structure may signify the tomb of Cosihuesa. (de la Cruz 1983:36).

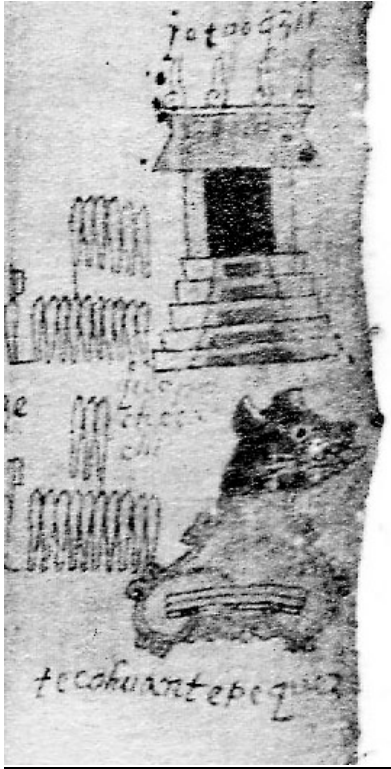


Figure 5: Tehuantepec and Church. Detail of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa*. (Courtesy of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin).

Dynastic succession in of the Zaachila-Tehuantepec Quéche

Following migration, a town's independent foundation was an important event in establishing the autonomy and antiquity of a *quéche*. Once the founding of a polity or *quéche* was recorded, a community's dynastic succession became the next integral structural component in cartographic histories. Diel writes that: "The uninterrupted nature of the ruling line and its noble blood were important statements to make about an *altepetl*'s leaders, as were their important conquests, political alliances and ties to land" (Diel 2008:45). Zeitlin has noted that although information about migration to a place of settlement in conjunction with an unbroken dynastic succession exceeded colonial requirements, it was however the specific kind of historical information that Mesoamerican communities, such as these would have employed to establish their political legitimacy (Zeitlin 2007:4). This suggests that the *Lienzo* and other cartographic histories were often also intended for inhabitants of the community itself, that is, for

people familiar with the depicted elements and who recognized and knew their importance.

The lower portions of the lienzo feature two parallel vertical sequences of leaders identified by onomastic signs. The sequence on the right side records a succession of eight *coquis* of the Zaachila-Tehuantepec *quéche*. Rulers of this dynasty can be identified by their characteristic headdress that is associated with the deity known in Nahuatl as Xipe Totec, Lord of the Flayed. This information became considerably more pivotal after Maarten Jansen first noted and Paddock would later affirm that the Guevea sequence overlaps in large part with the sequence of kings depicted on pages 33-35 (obverse) of the pre-Hispanic Ñuu Dzuavi book, the Codex Nuttall. Michel Oudijk further notes that the resemblance between the two sequences of names, in combination with the diagnostic attire of the Xipe in both manuscripts, proves that this is one and the same dynasty. Zeitlin notes that of all the known versions of the *Lienzo*, it is only the García version that illustrates the characteristic miter of the Xipe dynasty of Cuilapan-Zaachila, with same amount of detail seen in the Codex Nuttall, that is with the same triangular decoration and the long sash adorned with alternative red and white squares (Zeitlin 1998:281). This concordance has confirmed several scholars earlier postulations because for many it has served as “indigenous written proof for the hypothesis of Marcus and Flannery that the Ñuu Dzauvi influence in the Valley of Oaxaca was definitely due to marital ties with Bénizáa *coquis* rather than a military invasion” (Oudijk 2000:46). This of course should not suggest that war was not used as an instrument to coerce opposing factions or cacicazgos.

In the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* all but the last individual in this dynastic series is identified by a calendric name, though only the day sign appears. Oudijk associates this suppression of the numerical coefficient with colonial records in Nahuatl (Oudijk 2000:57). This is yet another indication that the scribe who painted the *Lienzo* was more comfortable with Nahua than Mixtec or Zapotec painting conventions. The hieroglyphs denoting the calendrical names of the Zaachila kings read from bottom to top in the following order: Serpent, Alligator, Water, Water, and Grass. These correspond to the following ruler names in the Codex Nuttall-

Table 2: Corresponding rulers on the Codex Nuttall and Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa

Codex Nuttall 33-35	Lienzo de Guevea (García version)
Lord 9 Serpent	Lord Serpent
Lord 5 Flower	
Lord 3 Alligator “striped Eagle”	Lord Alligator
Lord 11 Water “Rain flint” (Cocijoeza II)	Lord Water
Lord 6 Water “colored stripes”	Lord Water

Three more *coquis* appear in the dynastic succession after the migration to Tehuantepec. The first is Cocijopii, who initiated the expansion southward in the 1450s or 1460s in the reign of the Aztec emperor Motecuhzoma I. The second is his son Cocijoeza II, who held the region against Aztec advance under Ahuitzotl (1487-1502) from the fortress at *Guiengola*. The third is Cocijoeza II’s successor now baptized as Don Juan Cortés, shown in Spanish dress and sitting on a Spanish seat of authority rather than a jaguar skin cushion.

However, the sequence of the first two *coquis* in the Tehuantepec section contradicts all the presently known ethnohistorical sources. This includes the primary source on binnizáa history, the *Geográfica descripción* by Fray Francisco de Burgoa. “In addition to Burgoa (1670,1674) there are works by José Antonio Gay (1881), Bancroft (1882), and Martínez Gracida (1888a), but the later sources have been described by many scholars/Oaxacanists as a “novelized history” (Marcus 1983:301). Nevertheless in all these accounts the chronological sequence of the later binnizáa rulers are as follows, Cosijoeza, Cosijopii and concluding with the *Bichana lachi* who by then had been baptized as Don Juan Cortes. This reversal in the genealogical sequence has been attributed to an ‘error’ on the part of the artist or individual commissioned to render the *Lienzos*. Judith Zeitlin, however, has convincingly asserted that this matter is harder to explain away as an artistic ‘error’, particularly since this genealogical discrepancy is common to all the versions of the Lienzo de Guevea, including the sixteenth century García version. Zeitlin therefore revisits Joseph Whitecotton’s former speculation that the genealogical sequence on the García version of the Lienzo might in fact be the true order of genealogical succession, which was mistaken by later colonial informants, or perhaps a mistake on the part of the Friar. Zeitlin has studied transcriptions of the testimonies of Don Juan Cortés in judicial proceedings dating to 1554 and 1567-72 in which

“interrogatories include specific questions about the genealogy of the Tehuantepec kings and early history of the Zapotec conquest of the province” (Zeitlin 2005:23). She notes that “Both the interrogatories of Don Juan and his widow Doña Magdalena identify by name Don Juan’s father and grandfather, referring in Nahuatl to the father as Itzquihuitl and to the grandfather as Yecaquiahuitl” (Zeitlin 2005:23). Furthermore, Zeitlin maintains that both of the Nahuatl names correspond to Zapotec personal names of Cosijoeza and Cosijopii. Zeitlin’s exhaustive research efforts have conclusively shown that generational succession of the Tehuantepec rulers shown on *Lienzo de Guevea* is in fact correct and is corroborated by the testimony given by Don Juan and his contemporaries. Scholars can perhaps now move beyond analyzing this genealogical discrepancy onto other issues more pertinent to the communities to which this document belongs.

Behind each of the eight *coquis* is a numerical statement that is understood to be a count of years. The main sign in each statement is a leaf-shaped object, and Oudijk notes that this associated chronology should probably be read in concurrence to the Mexica conventions: Xiuitl means ‘leaf’, ‘turquoise’ and ‘year’. Oudijk further notes that the little flags that are seen attached to the leafs have the numeric value of 20 while the leafs have the numeric value of 1 year (Oudijk 2000:57). The first six *coquis* are each associated with a count of 53 years, which is conspicuously close to the Mesoamerican cycle of 52 years, called the xiuhmolpilli in Nahuatl. Each might refer to one cycle, but counting the beginning and end in the way that contemporary Latin Americans refer to a week as “ocho días” and two weeks as “quince días.” The counts for the last two are different. Cocijoeza is given 56 years, and Don Juan Cortés, who was still alive at the time this lienzo was painted, is given 48 years. Clearly, it is unlikely that each *coqui* ruled for approximately the same number of years. Furthermore, *sixteenth century* sources show that there was a period of overlap in which Cocijoeza and Coicjopii were joint rulers, with Cocijoeza returning to Zaachila to administer from that location. Thus, these numerical statements remain unexplained.

Xoanas of Guevea and Petapa

Another column of eight figures parallels the Zaachila-Tehuantepec *coquis*. The identity and character of the list on the left is less obvious and has provoked diverse interpretations, but appears to be a parallel genealogy of rulers of the Guevea/Petapa polity.

These figures in the left column are clearly represented as subordinate in status to that of the Zaachila-Tehuantepec *coquis*. Unlike the *coquis* they do not wear a headdress or sport a beard, and their seat is not covered with the royal jaguar pelt. The shield and lances behind two of the upper figures has suggested to some that they are “warriors” [De la Cruz 1983]. However, these figures are more appropriately referred to as *xoanas*, which refers to Lord or noble of slighter lower rank than a *coqui*. Furthermore, the “title of jóana, once earned, would, like the lands or privileges associated with it, have been passed down through the recipient’s family from generation to generation, thus creating the tijajóana or noble lineage” (Zeitlin 2005:63). The term *Xoana* or *Xuanna* as it is pronounced today, is still in usage in many contemporary binnizáa communities. The term typically refers to a barrio elder and its meaning according to my Uncle Narno Arias Cartas is the ‘one who has power in the hand’, which comes from the word Xu, which is temblor/earth quake and the word Na, which means hand.

As in the right column, each of these *xoanas* has been identified by pictographic signs. However, these are not the just the day signs of their calendric names, but also at least in some cases, personal names or ranks. The example that has been convincingly interpreted is the top figure, shown with a snake head and sun disk. In the version known as Copy A or Petapa II, this figure is glossed “Logobicha.” Snake is likely a calendric sign, but the sun disk, read as “gobicha”, refers to his personal name or rank. The *Probanza de Petapa* names two persons in different generations as “Xuana Logobicha,” confirming both the rank and the reading of the pictograph.

Oudijk and Jansen argue that the pictographic representation of the *Xoanas* does not clarify whether the eight tributaries are contemporaries or if they should be understood as a genealogical sequence similar to the Binnizáa rulers in front of them. Oudijk and Jansen therefore have argued that the column of eight Guevea lords should be

read as synchronous representation of an assemblage of nobles from the community receiving rights to land from the Tehuantepec ruler.²² They argue that the leader known as the Xoana Logobicha would be at the head of this group of contemporary nobles. Oudijk and Jansen envision that this sequence of seated individuals would be read from top to bottom. This is in contrast to the bottom-to-top direction in which genealogical sequences are typically read.

In contrast, John Paddock and Judith Zeitlin both understand this list of *Xoanas* to be a genealogy parallel to and contemporary with that of the Zaachila-Tehuantepec *coquis*. I concur with this proposal. Zeitlin suggests that the parallel columns were intended to show the historical alliance of Guevea-Petapa's successive lords with the Zaachila based royal lineage of *coquis*.

The *Probanza de Petapa* also supports a diachronic reading of the column of *Xoanas* because it emphasizes succession of titles to lands through time through various generations of family members from Grandfather, to sons, brothers, children and even grandchildren, as is evident in the following segment, which was cited earlier:

“Really and truly we both, Governor Rigala and also the Governor who is called in the Zapotec language Xuana Logobicha, brother of Governor Rigala, ordered this painting you have here and another painting that we have put away. This painting in the Zapotec language is called “mapa.” In order that we receive for all my children and for all their lives since their birth and also grandchildren, that none of my born children can be independent/self sufficient, so none may sell this land; none can divide this our land; no pueblo can divide and enter this our land. We two, I Governor Xuana Logobicha as I our ancestor was known and also the Governor who is called Rigala Guebea, and it is true that we ordered the making of some paintings. One painting was left for us and the other was taken. I am called Governor Rigala de Guebea. One painting was left in the pueblo Santiago Guebea in order that we receive for all my children and for all my grandchildren

²² Refer to pages 60-63 in Michel Oudijk 2000 publication, entitled-“Historiography of the Bénizáa- the postclassic and early colonial periods(1000-1600 A.D.) for the full argument.

for their whole lives [the land] from where my children and also my grandchildren take their food and drink.

Also I who call myself Xuana Logobicha ordered a painting. We are of lands from whence comes the food and drink of my children, which we received before the lord called Cosicoesa, as he was called in our Zapotec language, which means King Montesuma, and for this was made the Map Painting that conveys complete clarification of our pueblo of Santo Domingo (de Petapa) where were born my children and my grandchildren and from which for their whole life comes their food”.

This excerpt suggests that the column represents a diachronic genealogy of both named and unnamed ancestors.

As demonstrated earlier, the *Lienzo* pertains to territorial rights of two *pueblos hermanos*: Guevea and Petapa at a time when these rights were confirmed under Spanish colonial authority. That they were governed by two brothers is supported by the testimony of the brothers titled Rigala Guevea and Xuana Logobicha in 1540. It is also supported by oral history of both communities as well. They also refer to ancestors with the same titles, also brothers, whose territorial rights were confirmed under the authority of *coquis* of Tehuantepec. At an earlier stage, oral history claims that these *pueblos hermanos* were initially founded by two brothers. This suggests a governance system in which the younger brother of the Guevea ruler in each generation may have led Petapa. In each generation, the Guevea ruler would be titled Rigala Guevea (Elder of Guevea) and the Petapa ruler would have the rank of *Xuana* (Noble).

The meaning of the left column of *xoanas* must then be interpreted with this fraternal relationship in mind. That is, the Xoana Logobicha as the most recent recorded leader of Petapa, would be the brother of the Rigala Guevea, and perhaps the particular individual pictured in the centre of the map of their shared territory. In this case, the left-hand genealogical column would represent a single dynasty that ruled the joint polity of Guevea-Petapa.

Chapter Five:

Tribute or Factional Alliance

Cartographic histories, like codices, form an indispensable corpus of sources on the history of the Indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica. They present us with not only a first-hand visual account of what happened in the community, but also some understanding of the particular perspectives and the concerns and agendas of the community and or factional leaders. All this information was also filtered through the lens of the scribe[s] as well as the sources which with they had to engage with. This implies a multiplicity of voices, perspectives, and agendas in any document. As Gillespie showed in her study of Aztec documents (1989) the search for a single truth about the past has led to an indefensible methodology of picking information that seems to fit or be consistent and discarding the rest.

My approach however does not aim at closing the reading of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* around an ultimate signified, nor to reconcile the contradictions posed by the multiple voices, past and present. My approach is concerned with respecting and conserving “all the details of the stories as part of the process of decoding, regardless of whether they make immediate sense” (Gillespie 1989:xxxvi). I argue that this approach is most appropriate to cartographic histories because these images served not only as evidence but also as mnemonics for the oral recitation of histories that could be altered to suit the circumstances of their telling.

While the discussion of the map portion argued that the *Lienzo* asserts fraternal relationship between the communities of Guevea and Petapa within the same polity the two parallel genealogies assert what may be an analogous relationship between the polities of Guevea-Petapa and Zaachila-Tehuantepec. Migration paths painted on the *Lienzo* also assert that after its foundation the *quéche* of Guevea and Petapa would continue for several generations in the Isthmus region to be independent of Zaachila. However, this would eventually change with the Zaachila conquest and transfer of their seat of authority to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The *Lienzo* makes quite clear that this

shift in the relationship between Guevea and Zaachila-Tehuantepec was considered worthy of particular emphasis in the recounting of their histories.

The *Lienzo* reveals that upon the arrival of the Zaachila royal house in Tehuantepec a political and perhaps economic relationship was formed between both royal houses. This sociopolitical union can be found half way up the lower section of the *lienzo*. This alliance between the *xoanas* and *coquis*, is shown on the *lienzo* to begin with the sixth and seventh *xoana* during the reigns of Cosijopii and Cosijoeza II. Furthermore, these are only two *xoanas* in the entire Guevea/Petapa dynastic sequence shown with warrior implements, specifically the shield and macahuitl (obsidian-bladed club) that appear behind them. Zeitlin observes that the fifth and eighth *xoanas* also had the shield and club motif behind them but these were very carefully removed in the García version, though they appear in all subsequent versions. For the García version, she argues that the scribe's initial mistake had to do with the repetition of calendar names: Xoana 5 has the eagle day like Xoana 7, and Xoana 8 Logobicha has the snake name like Xoana 6.

The scribe has emphasized this interconnection between the lines of *xoanas* and *coquis* by filling the horizontal level with a dense array of images that leave virtually no open space. Both the density and shift in visual relationships from the vertical to the horizontal are ways that this political relationship is made to appear focal. Reading from left to right, one sees the shield-and-macahuitl sign for war or military achievement, the two *xoanas*, and then an array of small images, which like the war sign is repeated for both generations. There are four of these small images: 1) a bundle made up of cloth mantles, exotic feathers, and jade jewels; 2) a spitted animal; 3) a jar, probably of honey; 4) a seated, almost nude male figure with a rope around his neck, indicating a slave or captive. By comparison with central Mexican codices such as the Codex Mendoza (1541) the spitted animal and honey jar are elements of food and drink, while the bundled materials and slave are forms of wealth.

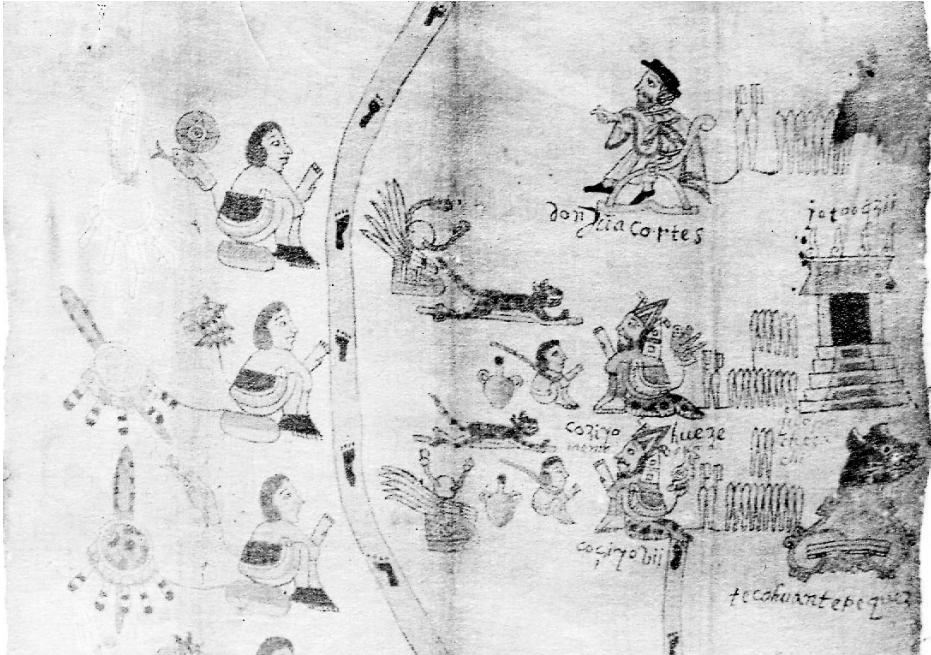


Figure 6: Linkage between Guevea and Tehuantepec genealogies. *Detail of the Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa.* (Courtesy of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin).

The next images are the Tehuantepec *coquis* with their year counts. Behind Cosijopii is the place sign of Tehuantepec, as explained previously. Perhaps to continue the parallel between the two generations, another image appears behind Cosijoeza. A prehispanic style temple pyramid is shown in considerable detail with a five level pyramid, central staircase, thatched roof, and central Mexican style almenas in the form of conch shell cross-sections. The temple has been glossed as *yotoo qzii* or *Igleçia*, which simply translates to church indicating that it is a place of worship. However, in the contemporary Codex Mendoza, painted by Nahuatl scribes, the temple-pyramid indicates the patron deity of a community and thereby can replace the hill sign as a toponym. Thus it is possible that in painting the temple image above the hill-sign toponym, the scribe was seeking to continue the parallel structure worked out for the two levels representing the sixth and seventh generations.

An alternative reading of the temple form would be that the images between the *xoanas* and *coquis* represent forms of tribute that helped finance the construction of a

central temple in the new capital at Tehuantepec. This reading is perhaps worth considering in view of the fact that the images of food and wealth, with the exception of the slave, are standard tribute items in the Codex Mendoza and its cognate Matrícula de Tributos, both Nahuatl documents. On this basis, Oudijk has interpreted the image to demonstrate that the eight *xoanas*, who he sees as contemporary, were required to pay tribute to Tehuantepec overlords.

Oudijk's view of the *xoana* line as a synchronic representation rather than a genealogy allows him to interpret the shield-and-club war symbols behind two *xoanas* as referring "to the status of these vassals as old allies of the *coqui*, who participated in the conquest of the [Tehuantepec] region" (Oudijk 2000:61) and later in the resistance against Aztec encroachment. Oudijk considers that the individuals shown in the *xoana* line were among the first garrison who came with Ytzquihuitl or Cosijoeza II to conquer the Isthmus and in return were awarded territory in the newly conquered region on the basis of which they were required to pay tribute. Oudijk thus asserts that the resulting distribution of land by the *coqui* formed the basis of tributary obligations of the vassal *xoanas* who received those lands. "We are, thus, dealing with a well known reciprocal relationship the use of land in exchange for tribute which is the central theme of many of these documents" (Oudijk 2000:61). But Oudijk also acknowledges that such a tribute relationship would legitimate the *Xoana*'s local status through their affiliation with the superior and prestigious lineage of Zaachila after its conquest and emigration to Tehuantepec. He thereby makes a crucial point that this document is not meant to legitimize the tributary rights of Don Juan Cortés or the Tehuantepec faction, but rather is about the affirmation of the land rights of a the Guevea-Petapa community.

Nevertheless, Oudijk argues that the items in front of the *coquis* are in actuality tribute and he partly bases this on what he feels to be congruent passage in the *Probanza de Petapa*:

[...] se le dexo una pintura de el pueblo Santiago quebea para resebimos para todos mis hijo y para todo mis nieto en toda la vida a donde salga su comida y su bebida mis hijos y mis ñetos y ta[m]bien que me llamo xuana logobicha, aserlo pintura somos de unas tieras a donde salga su comida y su bebida de mis hijo

recebimos a delante el señor llamado gosihuesa asi le llama de nuestra lengua sapoca quiere decir Rey montesuma y pore so aserlo Mapa Pintura que se lleba de todo claracion de su Santo Domingo[...] (ABCP:II:61v, Oudijk 2000:61).

[...] One painting was left in the pueblo Santiago Guebea in order that we receive for all my children and for all my grandchildren for their whole lives [the land] from where my children and also my grandchildren take their food and drink. Also I who call myself Xuana Logobicha ordered a painting. We are of lands from whence comes the food and drink of my children, which we received before the lord called Cosicoesa, as he was called in our Zapotec language, which means King Montesuma, and for this was made the Map Painting that conveys complete clarification of our pueblo of Santo Domingo (de Petapa)[...] (*Ibid.*)

The testimony of the Guevea-Petapa lords does indeed acknowledge a superior authority in the line of ruling *coquis* of Tehuantepec. However, it does not state that they received their lands “from” Cocijoeza but rather that they received their lands “in front of” him. Likewise, the *Probanza* gives no indication of a tribute relationship. Furthermore, weapons of war in Nahuatl representation are normally signs of military authority and/or conquest, rather than signs of subordination.

Through her detailed analysis of economic and political relationships in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Judith Zeitlin (2005) has rejected Oudijk’s interpretation of a tributary relationship of vassalage between Guevea-Petapa and Tehuantepec-Zaachila. Part of her evidence is linguistic:

According to Córdoba’s *Vocabulario*, the Zapotecs recognized two kinds of communities. The type of village or barrio community or barrio community thus far was considered to be subject to a head town (“*pueblo estancia de orto o tequitlato*”), and a subject village or *sujeto* was distinguished from a foreign community (“*pueblo de estrajeros o advenidizos*”), which the sixteenth-century cleric translated as *quéchepezáa*, *quéchequizáa*, *quèchepénicozáa*. On the Isthmus, where ethnically distinct communities persisted long after the Zapotec invasion, it is certain that the cultural landscape included many non-Zapotec

speaking (quizáa) villages, but the term *quèchepénicozága* may have implied more political “otherness” than just ethnic or linguistic separation. *Pénicozága* (“people collected from diverse lands”) were not only people with a separate origin, but with a separate political history that implied a different relation with the Zapotec lord” (Zeitlin 2005:52).

Whether or not the peoples of Guevea and Petapa would have identified themselves as *pénicozága*²³ is debatable, but the *Lienzo* and the *Probanza de Petapa* both clearly reveal that Guevea and Petapa had different political relationship with the Zapotec lord. Furthermore, according to records of court proceedings of 1554 involving Don Juan Cortés (the last ruler of Tehuantepec who appears on the lienzo) the communities that paid tribute to Tehuantepec’s ruling line were no more than 12-15 leagues distant from the capital. In contrast, the Guevea-Petapa polity lies well outside that limit (Zeitlin 2005:53). In the sixteenth century, Guevea was still not within the Tehuantepec district, but was instead part of the district of Nexapa (Gerhard 1986:201-204; Oudijk 2000:61). Zeitlin notes further the absence of any mention of *tequitlatos* (tribute collectors) in the Guevea and Petapa communities. On the basis of this evidence, as well as the evidence of Guevea’s establishment in the Isthmus prior to the foundation of Tehuantepec, supported by the linguistic differences between the Guevea and Tehuantepec territories, I agree with Zeitlin that the *pénicozága* model of political autonomy is more appropriate to explain the relationship between these two polities (Zeitlin 2005:53). She admits that the Guevea polity was likely inferior in status and political power to the Tehuantepec conquest state, but this does not automatically indicate that the *coquis* of Tehuantepec were the overlords of the Guevea-Petapa rulers. Like the Tehuantepec faction, the Guevea and Petapa faction also transplanted themselves to a new land, which meant they also “had the opportunity to re-create Zapotec society both in the sense of replicating familiar institutions and in a sense of making those institutions anew” (Zeitlin 2005:4). Thus, the *Lienzo* stands as a testament to the Guevean dynastic foundation that breathed life into Nanacaltpec/ Guevea bringing it into being, which allowed for the recreation of binnizáa society and its traditions. Furthermore, the glosses found on the *Lienzo* also

speak to Guevean and Petapan binnizáa peoples naming their world²³ and in doing so they marked their continuance as binnizáa peoples in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

To continue this debate between tributary or other forms of alliance, it is important to remember that the *Probanza de Petapa* transcribes a testimony in which the Rigala Guevea and Xoana Logobicha explained the meaning and importance of the *Lienzo*. Reading this text together with the image provides another, potentially closer view of the political relationship between the polities and the way it is expressed on the *Lienzo*. But to argue this way it is also crucial to remember the circumstances under which the *Lienzo* was painted and the *Probanza* testimony was transcribed. The *Probanza* and *Lienzo* are both designed to reaffirm pre-existing territorial rights under the recently established authority of the Spanish crown. In making these claims, the interlocutors refer to events two generations prior in which the same necessity occurred due to the Zaachila-Tehuantepec incursion in the Isthmus. The Guevea-Petapa Polity, according to the *Lienzo* as well as oral history, was established, and its territory delineated, several generations before the Zaachila dynasty transferred to Tehuantepec. The Coqui Cocijoeza was thus also called upon as a superior authority to reaffirm pre-existing land rights of the Guevea-Petapa polity. The interlocutors of the *probanza* thus make several comparisons to their own affirmation of rights and that of their grandparents, who were holders of the same title and interacted with Cocijoeza. And they also argue for future continuation of these rights, several times mentioning that their children and grandchildren (i.e. future generations) need it for their sustenance.

It is possible to interrogate this relationship further by noting the repeated phrases in the *Probanza*. These include not only the references to the titles Rigala Guevea and Xoana Logobicha and the Coqui Cocijoeza, but also the phrases about food and drink and about food and grandchildren. I argue that just as the present Rigala and Xoana were

²³ ²³This idea should be read in the context of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's maxim "name the word, name the world" which is about literacy programmes, but has instead been applied to the context of binnizáa people naming their world. Because as Maori scholar Linda T. Smith has argued Indigenous names carry histories of peoples, places and events all of which would have been important to re-creating and maintaining a new binnizáa society away from their ancestral homeland.

narrating the map portion of the lienzo in their sequential list of eighteen boundary markers, they were also narrating the genealogical portion of the painting. The items that are presented according to Nahua conventions of tribute may have been re/mis-interpreted according to the interlocutor's agenda and understanding. Food and drink are clearly illustrated by the spitted animal and jar, so it is possible that the tiny nude figures were interpreted as children and therefore as the children and grandchildren of the repeated statements. Thus while the scribe may have intended to paint "tribute", (as in the Codex Mendoza), the Guevea-Petapa leaders were clearly focusing on rights to land.

Why would the Nahua artist paint items of tribute if this was not the intent of the Guevea-Petapa leaders who commissioned the pair of lienzos? One possibility is that researching the Zaachila-Tehuantepec dynasty to obtain proper information on the names and ordering of its *coquis*, the scribe was given information from a Tehuantepec informant who inflated Tehuantepec authority in the Isthmus region. For whatever politically motivated reasons, the informants could have asserted that all polities in Tehuantepec were obliged to pay tribute as a way to exalt their polity and or the dominant faction at the time. In other words, both the claim of tribute and the methods to depict it represent sixteenth-century tropes that are repeated in such documents with the kind of unexamined acceptance that tropes imply. Could this partly account for the discrepancy?

While the arguments for tributary vassalage or autonomy present opposing views, both arguments share a similar discursive logic. That is both arguments ask the reader to make a dichotomous choice between the items/commodities as either being tribute or not being tribute. Thus, both arguments aim at closing the reading of these items around an ultimate signified, a search for a unitary historical truth. Such an approach tends to limit what can be said and does not allow sufficiently for an aspect of the lienzo that emerges throughout this analysis: the multiple voices speaking from the past in diverse manners. The present re-reading of the Lienzo not only makes such closure of interpretation impossible, but also makes possible the 'opening' of the polyvalence of the text.

The value of opening this discourse up to multiple and simultaneous readings may be exemplified by a return to the so-called tribute items between the *xoanas* and *coquis* on two generations. While most of these items represent visual conventions for tribute in

documents such as the Codex Mendoza and *Matrícula de Tributos*, they also represent gifts to the dead at the funeral ceremony of a merchant in the Codex Magliabecchiano (folios 68-69). There is thus equal evidence to read them as “gifts” rather than “tribute.” The notion of gifts argues for a more reciprocal relationship than tribute might imply. In the administration of the Aztec empire, no reward was given for tribute. Instead, refusal to pay tribute was punished by military reprisal. Thus I argue that the implication of an interpretation of these images on the *Lienzo* as representing forced tribute creates a victor/victim dichotomy that is not consistent with other aspects of this painting, including the weapons symbols behind the *xoanas*.

There are also tributary models that do not imply vassalage but a different form of alliance. For example, some K’iche’ Maya documents of the mid-sixteenth century argue that the K’iche’ kingdom paid a tribute to the Aztec empire and in return the K’iche’ ruler received to Mexica princesses as brides. In view of this relationship, it appears that the kind of tributary relationship that Oudijk proposes neglects to sufficiently consider ways in which an alliance would have benefited both factions, albeit unequally. That is to say, this newly established faction of Tehuantepec would have needed allies and presumably ones with knowledge of this region, who would have allowed them to prosper. We may think of this relationship in terms of a factional system (Brumfiel 2003: 3-15), in which each member faction in an alliance, no matter what their status, had a stake in the fortunes of that alliance, which directly or indirectly would have affected the material condition of their lives. In other words, if Tehuantepec prospered, so would have Guevea and Petapa to some degree. Furthermore, this model recognizes that social actors/factions at all levels of society can not only have a stake in the competitive system, but have room to maneuver as they negotiate for a better position. For Guevea and Petapa this maneuverability might have meant allying themselves with the Tehuantepec faction.

In this chapter, I have tried to demonstrate that the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* is not a transparent pictorial document, particularly when one takes into account the multiple voices, perspectives, histories, and agendas that make up the *Lienzo*. Therefore, any distinction between ‘tribute’ and ‘non tribute’ or ‘true’ or ‘false’ constitutes an overly simple dichotomy and a desire at foreclosing of the seemingly troubling plurality of the

past. Therefore, the principal aim of this chapter was not to constrain the reading of the *Lienzo* and the *Probanza de Petapa* to an ultimate signified, origin, or truth, but to appreciate the text as open and plural. This is perhaps best illustrated by considering the *Probanza* as a binnizáa reading of the *lienzo*, which demonstrates the polyvalent nature of these pictographic elements, for instance in the nude figure that can be read as either ‘slave’, ‘labor’ or ‘grandchild’. But it reminds us that truth is always developed from a point of view, and as there are always multiple viewpoints, such as the reading of the *Lienzo* in *Probanza* has shown- there are multiple truths, and none should be understood to be more or less important than the other.

Chapter Six:

Conclusion and Future Research

When I first began my project on the *Lienzo*, it had already long been the focus of international scholarly attention. More specifically it has been the subject of scholarly interest since the beginning of the twentieth century. Therefore, some may argue that there is very little that can be said about a document, which has now been analyzed for over a hundred years. However, during my research I was reminded by the words of Albert Einstein, who once said that problems cannot be solved by thinking within the framework in which the problems were created.

The trouble with past interpretations of the *Lienzo* is that this document has almost always been approached from the Tehuantepec perspective. In other words, the central focus has typically been on the history, and sociopolitical events concerning the more ‘influential’ polity centered at Tehuantepec and or Zaachila. I am not disputing, nor trying to undervalue the contributions and advances that former scholars have made by looking and or using the *Lienzo* to further elucidate the information it communicates on history and genealogy. For example, analyses, Maarten Jansen and John Paddock have demonstrated that the overlap between the Zaachila-Tehuantepec sequence on the right hand side of the *Lienzo* with the sequence of rulers depicted in the prehispanic Mixtec book, the Codex Zouche Nuttall. A corollary of this investigation has also shown that Mixtec influence in the valley of Oaxaca was not through conquest as once thought, but through marital ties. Moreover, previous analysis have also focused on the Tehuantepec-Zaachila genealogical sequence to address or ameliorate the discrepancy that exists between the one shown on the *Lienzo* and the one recorded by Friar Francisco de Burgoa, which has now in my opinion been conclusively addressed by Judith Zeitlin. Michel Oudijk on the other hand is perhaps the only scholar to focus on the *Lienzo* in a more exclusive manner. Due to his meticulous research scholars now have a better understanding of the four versions of the *Lienzo*, the sequence in which they were drawn and the historical circumstances that influenced slight alterations or shifts in emphasis. Undeniably Oudijk’s work has advanced our understanding of the *Lienzo* and binnizáa

historiography, however the Guevean and Petapan perspectives still remained underrepresented.

The purpose of this thesis was to go beyond reviewing the problems and gaps in the literature on this *Lienzo*, and offer alternate readings based in part on oral history to which I was granted access in Oaxaca 2007. My reading has also includes portions of the *Probanza de Petapa*, which I believe provides a compelling *binnizáa* version of the events depicted on the *lienzo*. In other words, I tried to approach the *lienzo* almost exclusively from the perspectives of Santiago Guevea de Humboldt and Santo Domingo Petapa. Any historical work concerning Indigenous history and culture should not only give one perspective; and just as importantly the analysis *must* include Indigenous versions of events. Thus any history written about this document has to begin and end in these communities. After all the history depicted on these documents belongs to the peoples of these communities and are testimonies of their *Binnigula'sa'* - ancestors.

In 2007, I traveled to the community of Santiago Guevea de Humboldt and it was there that I had the good fortune to meet and discuss the *Lienzo* with Don Lucaño Avendaño Ortís, an Elder, and historian from the pueblo of Guevea. In addition to discussing the *lienzo* with Don Lucaño Avendaño Ortís I also was fortunate enough to be able by written correspondence to ask members of the *Bienes comunales* of Santo Domingo Petapa ask several questions regarding the *lienzo and* its related history. Viewing the *Lienzo* in light of these oral histories and the *Probanza de Petapa* many more components of the *Lienzo* began to emerge.

This began with the recognition that the boundaries shown in the upper half of the *Lienzo* once defined the territory both Guevea and Petapa²⁴, which is reinforced not only by the current oral history from both communities, but also by textual evidence from the *Probanza de Petapa*. According to the oral history from Guevea and Petapa, Guevea was

²⁴ One should note that I state “once shared this territory” because although these two communities remain *pueblos hermanos* their borders have change over time. I don’t want to jeopardize their current land holdings in Mexico because Santo Domingo Petapa in particular still relies on the *lienzo* in disputes with its neighbor Santa Maria Petapa.

founded by two brother kings who would eventually divide the territory, so one brother would rule continue to rule in Guevea and the other would rule in Petapa. The *Probanza* provides further details, recording the testimony of two brothers who described the map from what they claimed were a pair of paintings. They also affirmed that two generations earlier Cocijoeza had confirmed these land claims to a pair of brothers who ruled these two communities. Thus Petapa and Guevea are recorded as ruled by brothers at their foundation, at their confirmation by Cocijoeza, and at their description in two generations later in the *Probanza de Petapa* when their claims were confirmed by colonial authorities. Considering this information and the fact that a single genealogical line is represented for the polity on the *Lienzo*, rather than one for Guevea and another for Petapa, suggests an unusual relationship in which the younger brother of the Guevea ruler in each generation may have led Petapa. In each generation, the Guevea ruler would be titled Rigala Guevea (Elder of Guevea) and the Petapa ruler would have the rank of *xuana* (*noble*). Furthermore, by considering the *Lienzo* from the point of view of these communities, one quickly becomes more cognizant of what would have been at stake for Guevea and Petapa, which brings me to the somewhat contentious matter of the items seen in front of the *xoanas* and *coquis* in the *Lienzo*. Conventional readings tend to regard these items as either tribute deriving from vassalage or as non-tribute items. Both arguments share a similar discursive logic in that both ask the reader to make a dichotomous choice between the items/commodities as either being tribute or not being tribute. Thus, both arguments aim at closing the reading of these items around an ultimate signified, a search for a unitary historical truth. I have argued that in the *Probanza de Petapa*, the Rigala of Guevea and the *xoana* of Petapa narrated not only the map portion of the *lienzo* (in their sequential list of eighteen boundary markers), but also the genealogical portion of the painting. By taking into account both the *Probanza* and the scribe who painted the *lienzo* when reading this section, we can go beyond having to make a dichotomous decision, and offer an alternative reading of these items that takes the Guevean and Petapan stake into consideration. The items in front of the *xoanas* and *coquis* are presented according to Nahuatl pictorial conventions of tribute and therefore appear to have been re/mis-interpreted according to the interlocutors' agenda and understanding. Food and drink are clearly illustrated by the spitted animal and jar, so it is

possible that the tiny nude figures were interpreted as children, therefore equating with the food of the children and grandchildren in the repeated statements of the *Probanza*. Thus while the Nahua scribe may have intended to paint “tribute”, (as in the Codex Mendoza), the Guevea-Petapa leaders were clearly focusing on rights to land. This re/mis interpretation of these items by the speakers in the *Probanza* and what was depicted by the scribe may be described as an example of Rashomon effect²⁵, which is the effect of the subjectivity of perception on recollection, by which observers of an event are able to produce substantially different but equally plausible accounts of it? Moreover, even if we want to imagine or if in fact the scribe did translate preconceived meaning into the *Lienzo*, the *Lienzo* soon became separated from the context of meaning controlled by this author. In other words, material text opens itself to varied readings as it continuously confronts new readers in altered historical situations. The value of opening this discourse up to multiple and simultaneous readings allows for the inclusion of multiple voices speaking from the past in diverse manners. The present re-reading of the *Lienzo* not only makes such closure of interpretation impossible, but also makes possible the ‘opening’ of the polyvalence of the text.

This brings us to the inverted mountain place sign that bears a tree topped by three flags located directly above the central text and Guevea toponym. The place sign is distinguished both by its location in the central area of the map associated with the *cabecera*, and as the only place sign on the *Lienzo* that is not glossed in Zapotec or Nahuatl, but simply referred to as *Cerro Columna*. These peculiarities have so far gone unremarked in the literature on the *Lienzo*. Considering the central location I suggest that information on the site was being withheld from the Spanish by the Zapotec community. Pursuing this issue, I was told that members of both communities identify mountains to the north as a *Cerro Columna* and believe they protect the community. The peak north of Guevea is alternately referred to as *El Picacho* (archaic “the peak), and according to Ta

²⁵ The Rashomon effect derives its meaning and name from the 1951 Akira Kurosawa film *Rashomon*, in which several witness the same tragic event differently. According to Brabara J Youngberg and Martin J. Hatile the Rashomon effect is a metaphor for the relative and partial nature of truth and memory (Youngberg and Hatile 2003:522).

Avendaño Ortís every year on 2 February people from Guevea make a pilgrimage to its summit and make offerings to celebrate the Virgen de la Candelaria. Alternate names for the Petapa peak are *Dani gueexilla* (Conjuring Mountain) or *Cerro Borrego* (Sheep Mountain) and it is said to be the location of an ancestral settlement. Elders in my family note that the north is associated with ancestors, so domestic altars are placed to the north within our houses.

By approaching the *Lienzo* from the intended point of view—Santiago Guevea de Humboldt and Santo Domingo Petapa—the present work has provided many new insights into this *binnizáa* manuscript. However, it is rather difficult to speak about what *my* contribution has been to this document particularly since my experiences with my relatives in the Isthmus and discussions with people from Guevea, Petapa, and Tehuantepec stimulated many of these insights in this work. Furthermore, these experiences were also vital to the development of my approach to Indigenous intellectual propriety and historiographical methodology. I have heard stories in my community as well as other Indigenous communities, how researchers have stolen sacred objects (i.e. the Lienzo in Guevea), don't honor cultural protocols and often fail to acknowledge key figures. Therefore, the credit must be given to Lucaño Avendaño Ortís, elder and historian from Santiago Guevea de Humboldt and the community members of Santo Domingo Petapa for these important contributions and interpretations.

Considering the *lienzo* from an almost exclusively Guevean and Petapan point of view, coupled with a factional model, has allowed me to conceptualize alternative sociopolitical interactions between these fraternally linked polities and Tehuantepec. Doing so allowed for a reading that went beyond binary of tributary vassalage or autonomy because it permitted me to account what could be at stake for both Guevea and Petapa and Tehuantepec, but without having to marginalize Guevea and Petapa's position. A factional model allows us to rethink the relationship between Guevea/Petapa and Tehuantepec beyond strictly hierarchical relations. This model recognizes that social actors/factions at all levels of society can not only have a stake in the competitive system, but have room to maneuver as they negotiate for a better position. For Guevea and Petapa this maneuverability might have meant allying themselves with the Tehuantepec faction.

The inclusion and privileging of *Binnizáa* voices in this work is intended to express cultural continuity, not only for its potential of correcting Eurocentric distortions, but more importantly to highlight the fact that Gueveans and Petapans, like other Indigenous peoples. Have their own historians who to *continue* to be readers/viewers/interpreters of their own history. Therefore, it seems obvious that a project on Guevean and Petapan history must consult their historians for their input and versions of events. As Linda T. Smith has cogently asserted, Indigenous communities have struggled since colonization to be able to exercise what she viewed as a fundamental right, that is to represent themselves (Smith 2004:150). Therefore, as outsiders to these communities we should listen and respect, but more importantly also include the communities versions of the events. After all this document and its related histories belongs to these communities and continues to be a fundamental part of their individual *binizáa* identity and is therefore more intimate, more transparent and more significant to the people of Guevea and Petapa than it could ever be for outsiders. Therefore, these histories deserve recording coupled with both an ethical and thoughtful investigation. Thus the primary objective of this work was more than just “explaining” the *Lienzo* in greater detail, but rather the production of an interpretation that respects the perspectives and opinions of present day descendants of these communities concerning their history and identity and that both respects and honors their ancestors, their *binnigula’sa’*.

Future research

Despite being the subject of international interest for over a hundred years, there is still much that can be said and done about the *Lienzos* from both communities. At the moment there is no translation of the much shorter *didxazáa* version of the *Probanza de Petapa*. Such a translation might yield a different reading or understanding of the *Lienzo*. As Michel Oudijk has cogently noted, the *Probanza de Petapa* is a complex amalgamation of information taken from historical documents, both pictographical and alphabetical, oral tradition and local perspectives/agendas. Thus the *Probanza* may be seen in the same light as the the K’iche’ Maya book, *Popol Vuj* because even though both are alphabetical documents they appear to be describing images. There are portions in the Spanish translation of the *Probanza* such as the description of the place signs, which

indicate a verbal transcription of the *Lienzo*. Perhaps this dialectical relationship between images and alphabetic script could be further explored once the *didxazáa* version of the *Probanza de Petapa* has been translated.

Concerning the alphabetic glosses on the *Lienzo*, *it is possible that* isolating and examining the different annotators may reveal more parallels between the *Lienzo* and *Probanza*, but as well as reveal better understanding of some of the local circumstances for which various glosses were added. Pursuing this issue further might not only reveal key concerns of both communities through various moments in time, but may also provide a better understanding of binnizáa concepts of history and historical revisionism. Finally, digitally enhancing the García photographs may also yield further information.

Ultimately, I hope to have stimulated a rethinking of current discourse that has dominated the historiography of the *Lienzo de Guevea y Petapa* by respecting and including the perspectives and oral history imparted to me by the people of Guevea and Petapa. Through these perspectives I was able to problematize the current narratives on the *Lienzo* and give voice to issues often silenced or neglected by researchers, issues that are important to the two communities who share this manuscript. Moreover, I feel far too often the presence of Indigenous identities, memories and voices are neglected particularly in Mesoamerican art history. More than anything, I want to produce a body of work that resonates with both Indigenous and European audiences alike, recapturing or rather recentering in a respectful and convincing way the vital voices and perspectives that have been overlooked for centuries: those of Santiago Guevea de Humboldt and Santo Domingo Petapa.

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APPENDIX A

BREB CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL



The University of British Columbia
Office of Research Services
Behavioural Research Ethics Board
Suite 102, 6190 Agronomy Road, Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1Z3

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL - MINIMAL RISK

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Marvin S. Cohodas		INSTITUTION / DEPARTMENT: UBC/Arts/Art History, Visual Art & Theory		UBC BREB NUMBER: H06-03773	
INSTITUTION(S) WHERE RESEARCH WILL BE CARRIED OUT:					
Institution		N/A		Site	
N/A Other locations where the research will be conducted: Union Hidalgo, Santiago de Guevea, Santo Domingo Petapa, Tehuantepec in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico					
CO-INVESTIGATOR(S): Joshua Schwab					
SPONSORING AGENCIES: N/A					
PROJECT TITLE: A re-reading of the Lienzo de Gueva- Multiple Communities' Perspectives					
CERTIFICATE EXPIRY DATE: August 16, 2008					
DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL:				DATE APPROVED: August 16, 2007	
Document Name		Version		Date	
Protocol: Lienzo- Istmo		N/A		January 1, 2007	
Consent Forms: Consent Form: Lienzo-Istmo2		2		August 10, 2007	
The application for ethical review and the document(s) listed above have been reviewed and the procedures were found to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.					
<p>Approval is issued on behalf of the Behavioural Research Ethics Board and signed electronically by one of the following:</p> <hr/> <p>Dr. Peter Suedfeld, Chair Dr. Jim Rupert, Associate Chair Dr. Arminee Kazanjian, Associate Chair Dr. M. Judith Lynam, Associate Chair Dr. Laurie Ford, Associate Chair</p>					

APPENDIX B

18 PLACE SIGNS AS THEY APPEAR ON THE LIENZO

<u>Zapotec/didxazáa</u>	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>Nahuatl</u>	<u>Pictograph</u>
1-[tani] que picole	Zerro de malacate	malacatepeque	Hill with spindle whorl
2- tani gelaga	Zerro o piedra ancha	teltepege	A split mountain with leaf protruding from right side
3- tan[i] que xoo	zerro de do puntos	comaxaltepege	Hill with 2 points/peaks
4- tani que cocio	zerro o piedra de rayo	nagoaltepege	Hill with cocio
5- queco taa	rio de petapa	petlapan	Tree with river
6- tani qe bitoo	zerro o piedra de S[an]to	tlato(a)n-tepege	Hill topped with human head wearing a hat
7- tani (sa q_ni)	Zerro o piedra de caja	patacaltepec	Hill topped with stone box
8- tani chipabego	Zerro piedra de penca	samiltepeque	Hill topped with rectilinear framework
9- tani que coe_(t)	[Zer]ro de piedra azul	sosquilittepeque	Hill with sliced top
10- tani que cho(hel)	zerro de pie[dr]a que	tlatlatepec	Hill with black top
11- nisa la(chil)	Agua de xicalpeztle	N/A	Gourd with running water
12- queco yazaa	Rio de camalote	isoguatenco	Water hyacinth beside a river
13- tani que peche	Zerro de Leon	ticuatepequeg	Hill topped with jaguar head
14- tani que chela	las piedras opuestas	cosmaltepequez	Hill divided by unknown element extending beyond hill
15- nisa pichij	agua de tenpolocate	tlamsulapa	A fish encased in water
16- nisa xanayoo	Rio devajo de la tierra	chitlatali	Curved hill with water beneath it
17- tani que nejayo	Rio de arena	macohuiltepeque	5/6 hills coupled with a river
18- tani que yapa	zerro o piedra de chayote	chaiotepeque	Hill topped by chayote squash
19-N/A	Serro de Columna	N/A	Mountain with tree topped with 3 flags

APPENDIX C

THE LIENZO DE GUEVEA Y PETAPA

(Courtesy of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin)

