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Chapter 6: Modifications to the Early Style Text After 1870

6.1. Introduction

I have sought to give an intensive analysis of the early-style *Conquista* texts in part to highlight intentional modifications made to it, most of which date after the Liberal revolution of 1870–71, and to see how these changes alter the narrative structure and the character of the main personages. By collecting several texts and examining additional ones, Barbara Bode was able to identify what she considered variants. I have been able to study a much larger sample complete texts and have been able to extend Bode's work. As a result, I have been able to divide those texts with significant alterations from the early style texts into four lineages. Briefly, the four lineages are:

1. Tecpán lineage. Two of these texts are associated with Tecpán, though one was collected in Lemoa. The others are from Jilotepeque, Orintepeque, San Pedro la Laguna and Rabinal.
2. Cunén lineage. Two of these texts are associated with Cunén, though one was collected in Nebaj. Other examples are from nearby Uspantán (very heavily changed), as well as from Coatepeque, and Las Ilusiones.
3. Cantel lineage. This lineage is more diverse due to competing groups revising texts at Cantel, and comprises what Bode called the Ajitz and Lacandón variants. In addition to publication of a Cantel text in 1934, others of this lineage are known from San Cristóbal Totonicapán, Joyabaj, Concepción Chiquirichiapa and Chichicastenango.
4. *Dioses* lineage. Barbara Bode identified this as a major variant as it originated as a complete rewriting of the text. Bode collected an example from Rabinal, Montoya published one from San Andrés Xecul, and a third is currently in use in Momostenango.

Except for the Cantel lineage, the names applied to these four lineages do not indicate their place of origin. Most likely *all four lineages* originated in the Quetzaltenango region, which includes Cantel.

Though identifiable, these four lineages are not internally consistent, largely due to frequent borrowings from texts of other lineages. The following analysis will focus on type examples to identify elements that distinguish each lineage. One addition that will not be discussed further because it does not pertain to any particular lineage is an introductory scene involving a preliminary appearance of Alvarado and possibly other Spaniards, and may include confrontation with one or more K'iche' characters. Such scenes appear in the Coatepeque text and in the Ciudad Vieja text published by Armas Lara (1964). The concept is likely derived from a scene of *desafío* (challenge) that opens some dances of the *Moros y Cristianos* genre.

6.2. Tecpán Lineage

Of the Tecpán lineage scripts studied, one with an inscribed date of 1937 was collected in Tecpán. A second was copied in Tecpán in 1895, reaching San Sebastián Lemoa by 1911, from where it was collected in 1935.¹ The San Martín Jilotepeque text is dated 1922. The Rabinal text is dated 1950 but specified as having been copied from one 30 years earlier. The Olinstepeque and San Pedro la Laguna texts are not dated. It is not possible to say whether the modifications that distinguish this lineage were penned in Tecpán, a Kaqchikel *municipio* or whether they were composed in the K'iche' region and later reached Tecpán. Both the Lemoa text inscription and the style of the changes suggests that the original version of this lineage dates from the 1880s or early 1890s.

Different layers of intentional modification are evident in the Tecpán lineage. Two complete scenes have been added with care to use established poetic forms but altering the narrative, while several minor changes that lack poetic form appear to have been made at a later time. These types of changes will be illustrated with a few examples, moving from relatively insignificant additions, subtractions, or alterations to the invention of new scenes.

The least extensive changes do not have a significant effect either on the narrative or the depiction of character for the personages involved. For example, in Part I, the scene of the Princes visiting Tekum includes additional responses by Tekum to the *Cacique* reports. A replacement for a short speech by Alvarado in the second scene of Part IV likewise does not alter the meaning. Perhaps more significant is a small shift in three lines of Tekum's dramatic monologue beginning Part IV, of which the most poetic aspect is the change from "*paloma encarnada*" (reddish dove) to "*paloma refulgente*" (radiant dove). At times expansion breaks or alters the poetic form, as in the Q'umarcaaj scene in Part IV involving a shift from the *romancillo* to the *redondilla abrazada*. Cross-fertilization is again suggested for some changes. The content of four lines inserted in Tekum's death speech, without poetic form, and especially the reference to Tekum seeing his palace, suggests borrowing from the Cantel lineage. More dramatic is the elimination of the very short (8 lines) *desafío* scene when both armies occupy the battleground in Part IV. Tekum's contribution is eliminated while Alvarado's is incorporated into the subsequent battle scene.

¹ This typed copy of the Lemoa text deposited in the Harvard University Library in 1944 includes a wealth of documentary information. The first page reveals that this typescript was made in Guatemala City in 1935 from a handwritten copy lent by Sol Tax. A note on this page also indicates that the two sheets of paper used to bind the manuscript have also been typed. The last page contains the typed transcription of these two sheets of paper, both of which concern *cofradía* elections in Lemoa in 1911 and both of which are signed Bernardo Torez de Estanislao Luis. A note typed below these transcriptions asserts that the *cofradía* pages are in the same hand as the *Conquista* script. Finally, the last page of the script affirms that the copy was made in Tecpán in 1895 by Estanislao Luis. This information appears to indicate that Estanislao Luis of Lemoa made the copy in Tecpán in 1895 and retained that copy in his possession, later binding it with *cofradía* records that he made in 1911.

Some changes appear to be designed to further explain a situation in a more recent idiom. For example, in the final scene of the drama, two lines were added to Rey K'iche's dream narration, so that the Holy Spirit admonishes Rey K'iche' to give up not only his superstitions but also his idolatries. Additions to Tekum's speech that begins the last scene of Part I includes references to the size of the invading force, threats to humble Alvarado, and rejection of the idea that the K'iche' would render homage to a savage foreigner. These additions shift the form of a *décima* split by 13 couplets to a more complex but still poetically logical configuration (*décima* split by two couplets, *quintilla*, and *décima* split by 3 couplets). More intriguing are the additions in Part III, Scene 3, to a short speech for Tekum, comprising three couplets and a *quintilla*, and concerning organization of Tekum's troops. This addition mentions several locations in the Samalá valley area: Almolonga, Zunil, San Mateo, Ostuncalco, Cantel, Cojolá, as well as the Siguilá and Xequikel rivers. Such attention to K'iche' communities and landmarks would be surprising for a text originating in Tecpán, and may suggest that the original form of this Tecpán lineage text was written in the K'iche' region and reached Tecpán by 1895.

Three types of change may be considered that do affect the depiction of character or the narrative structure. In Part I, the scene of the Princes visiting Tekum, four lines are added in two couplets that break from the *redondilla abrazada* format. At this point, the early style text has the Princes explain the imminent threat to Tekum, followed by Tzunun encouraging Tekum to take up arms. In the Tecpán lineage, a short speech for Tekum is inserted before Tzunun's reply so that Tekum himself responds first with the call to arms. Typical of changes to Tekum's role made after 1870, this inserted text is designed to enhance Tekum's character as heroic defender of the nation, with the result that it begins to flatten out the development of both drama and character that structure the early style text.

A second alteration of character concerns Tzunun. A four-line section without rhyme is inserted in Tzunun's speeches after Tekum's death, following the *redondilla abrazada* in which Tzunun questions the cause of death, and preceding the *décima* in which he decides to submit to Spanish demands. In this new section, Tzunun laments that Tekum is dead and nothing can be done, saying that it would have been better if he (Tzunun) had died instead. As noted above, the early style texts present Tzunun in a flat, one-dimensional manner, whereas this addition fleshes out the character a bit with an emotional response that in modern terms might be called "survivor's guilt." I suggest that both of these character-altering modifications are subsequent to the initial creation of the Tecpán version.

A more striking addition appears in the opening scene of Part II, in Quirijol's first *gracejo*-type speech. Six lines are added that break from the *décima* format to a *romance*. In these added lines, Quirijol states that he intends to baptize the "Indian witch" (i.e. Ajitz) and humiliate him by giving him the name "*Cachirulo*" (fraud). In the logic of the original text, Quirijol would have no knowledge of Ajitz, so this addition relates to centuries of performance involving a close and vibrant antagonism between the two *gracejos*. In the old style text Ajitz and Quirijol never speak to or about each other, so this antagonism is developed entirely in pantomime. I suggest that this addition is one of many examples

in which text has been altered to accommodate narrative previously developed through pantomime. I refer to this process as text “catching up” with pantomime. The poetry of this addition, written as a *romance*, breaks from the *décima* format of the speech to which it was added.

The Tecpán lineage texts are also distinguished by a newly composed version of the alternating dedications that were clearly pre-1870 additions to at least one of the early style texts (Cobán). Although these dedications in the Tecpán version largely maintain the granting of a quatrain to each speaker, they do not use the *redondilla* form appropriate to that format, and which is used in the first half of the Cobán quatrains, but are instead composed in the *romance* form. This choice does not set them apart, as similar dedications in *romance* form were added to the largely early style Almolonga text.

The first of the two added scenes is also related to the issue of text catching up with pantomime. As noted, in Part II when the Ambassadors are enroute to see Tekum, they encounter two Princes and two Malinches along the way. The early style texts do not explain whether these are the same youths who attend their father the Rey K'iche' in the palace at Q'umarcaaj, and if so why they should be so far away, in the vicinity of Quetzaltenango. This problem has been only partially resolved in performance, by having the Ambassadors first come to Rey K'iche's palace where they meet and talk to the four royal youths. The artificiality of this resolution is demonstrated by the fact that Rey K'iche' has no lines at all in this scene. But it does satisfy what I suggest is a need to demonstrate protocol, by having Ambassadors pay respects to the ruler before they speak with his heir.

This first added scene in the Tecpán lineage provides a text that satisfies such a need for protocol. The Ambassadors come to the royal palace in Q'umarcaaj but cannot directly enter, so Tepe, one of the *Caciques*, is stationed outside as sentry or guard. In their interchange with Tepe the Ambassadors explain that their purpose is to teach the faith. Tepe reacts angrily with a challenge and Carrillo responds in kind. Cardona, of cooler disposition, asks Tepe to announce them to Rey K'iche' as they wish to speak with him. Tepe enters the palace and speaks to Rey K'iche', who says that although he is king, the Ambassadors should speak to Tekum, and they have his permission to do so. Completely different in character from the early style text, this short scene employs diverse poetic forms in a seemingly haphazard way. The succession is as follows: *romance*, couplets, *redondilla abrazada*, couplets, *quintilla*, *redondilla cruzada*, couplets, *copla de arte menor*, couplets, *quintilla* and an apparent garbled *copla de arte menor*.

The second added scene occurs near the end of the second part. After Ajitz dismisses the Ambassadors, they take the same route back to the Spanish camp and this time encounter only one royal youth, the Second Malinche. She wishes to warn the Spaniards that Rey K'iche' has taken aggressive action by destroying the roads. This short scene is designed to incorporate a significant element of the Mexican conquest dances that is in turn derived from the *Moros y Cristianos* genre: the

defection of the non-Christian princess. Relation to the Mexican versions is made clear when the second Princess identifies herself as Doña Marina, the Christian name of Cortés' mistress and translator. But, as explained by Harris (1996a), in Conquest dances the terms Marina and Malinche refer to wives or daughters of Motecuhzoma, the Aztec emperor. This Tecpán addition to the *Conquista* adopts the same relation with the K'iche' ruler. The poetry of this added scene, like that of the previous, is a mixture of several different forms: a backwards *décima* (aabba abbaa), *romance*, *redondillas abrazadas*, and *romance*.

In comparing these various changes, I suggest that the *romance* added to Quirijol's speech, the two added scenes, and the alternating dedications of the coda discussed previously, derive from a singular innovation by an author, probably a *maestro* who was concerned with both poetic forms and with the entertainment value of the drama. In contrast, smaller changes in freer verse, including those that become more explanatory or produce a slight shift in character, may have been added at later times and specifically through adoption of innovations made by several authors in Cantel, a *municipio* in the Samalá valley region. If the date on the Lemoa text is accurate, both the original modifications and later additions were accomplished before 1895.

6.3. Cunén Lineage

Scripts in this lineage are more heterogeneous than in some of the other lineages because of localized changes produced after dissemination. Of these, the Cunén text that I collected in Nebaj, and which is dated 1929 but inscribed as the copy of an 1892 text, and the Coatepeque text collected by Bode, and which she dates 1900–1908, are closest to the older style texts of Cobán and Sacapulas, without significant shift in the narrative development. Short additions and substitutions often break the rhyme pattern of the context in which they are found. For example, in scenes with Malinches and Princes the *romancillo* pattern that begins with their songs and continues in the following dialogue is often lost with expanded lines, sometimes forming *redondillas abrazadas* and at other times without rhyme or consistent meter. The most extensive of such changes may have been drawn from a script in the Tecpán lineage.

In these texts, serial reports by *Caciques* and Spaniards are sometimes increased from two to four lines or decreased by the same proportion. A noteworthy addition concerns a short dialogue for the two Ambassadors before they hear the Malinche sing during their journey to meet Tekum. In this dialogue, Carrillo catches sight of the youths and suggests they stop to observe, while Cardona adds that he wishes to know if they are baptized.

An interesting substitution appears in the scene of Tekum's death. Instead of Ajitz's lament at the end of the scene, *Ya se murió mi caján* (My lord has died), a short speech is added at an earlier point,

beginning “*Adiós Tekum querido* (Farewell beloved Tekum). This speech also occurs in the repeatedly modified text in use at Momostenango, suggesting early 20th century exchanges of ideas among different communities. Supporting such exchange is the addition to Tekum’s very short death speech of two lines from the Cantel version.

A second substitution appears at the end of the action. Replacing the chorus of *Caciques* asking for baptism are two short unison texts, with the Spaniards first hailing the Virgin and Rey don Fernando,² then the *Caciques* hailing the Virgin and the Spaniards for making them Christians. Then instead of Alvarado’s usual concluding speech, *Ven a mi pecho buen Rey* (Come to my breast good king), Alvarado invites the *Caciques* into the church for baptism and for them to give thanks to the Holy Spirit who receives it.

An important addition is the coda, consisting of a pair of speeches by the two *gracejos*, Ajitz and Quirijol, at the conclusion of the play, functioning as a kind of *despedida* (sendoff) to the audience. Such *gracejo despedidas* also appear in the Cantel and *Dioses* lineage texts, in contrast to the alternating dedications in the Early Style and Tecpán lineage texts. In the Cunén version, Quirijol begins by taking his leave of the audience. Then in what may be a garbled passage he talks about choosing the prettiest Native women to marry and bids the audience farewell. Ajitz responds that he is leaving in sadness because his spells and offerings did not help, and there were no miracles, so he will believe in the saints who may favour him. He will be baptized and receive Christ through Alvarado. Ajitz then salutes the Virgin Mary, Christ and the reign of the Indians. These speeches only hint at poetic forms such as the *redondilla* or *romance*, suggesting that they represent a later addition.

Other prominent changes in the Cunén/Nebaj text involve subtractions rather than additions or substitutions. Dialogues, speeches, and whole scenes are shortened or eliminated. The first scene of Part IV, consisting of Tekum’s crucial speech “*Hecho un mar de confusiones*” (Made a sea of confusion) and the following *Cacique* reports, are eliminated entirely in some of these texts, as is the short *desafío* between Tekum and Alvarado when they arrive at the battlefield. In Rey K’iche’s lengthy dream speech in the last scene, the twelve line section concerning the sacrifice of Christ is eliminated.

Comic speeches by the two *gracejos* are often reduced to their first four lines, with the more difficult word–play texts eliminated. This process may have been gradual, since Ajitz’s main speech when he dismisses the ambassadors is nearly complete in the Nebaj/Cunén text but reduced to its first four lines in the text currently in use in Cunén. With such curtailments, several *gracejo* speeches are reduced to the length and clarity of speeches by the *Caciques* and other Spaniards, so that their comic function is greatly diminished. As will be discussed, this change may be explained not only by the probability that their complex–word plays had outlived their usefulness and were likely no longer

² This may refer to Fernando VII, who was king when Guatemala attained independence from Spain, and thus the last Spanish king who had authority over Guatemala.

understood, but also by evidence that physical comedy, in the form of pantomime, had come to replace this literary form.

6.4. Cantel Lineage

6.4.1. Introduction

Analyzing the Cantel lineage texts poses a much larger problem than with the other lineages. I suggested that the Lemoa text dated as originating in Tecpán in 1895 already reveals possible influence from Cantel revisions. Various later episodes of alteration have so greatly changed the Cantel lineage texts from the early style text investigated above, including doubling its length, that it is not possible to make a few points with examples and then summarize a few added scenes as was done with the Tecpán lineage. Instead it will be necessary to go through the text in detail, identifying and explaining major changes. With so much to consider, it will not be worthwhile to highlight additions or substitutions involving changes of a few lines when neither the meaning of the passage nor the character of the speaker is significantly altered. Also note that lines for Ajitz Chiquito are added in the Joyabaj text, following Ajitz Grande's contributions and generally repeating them exactly.

The creative tradition of Cantel resulted in several new or greatly expanded scenes added at different times. These include: a prologue involving Ajitz and Tekum; a short introduction of the Aztec messenger called Azteca, Jicaque or Lacandón; an interruption by Tekum in the first scene that takes place in the Q'umarcaaj royal palace; a major expansion of the following scene in which the Princes visit Tekum in Quetzaltenango; a variant of the Malinche scene noted for Tecpán; and an extended series of *desafíos* (challenges) in the battle scene.

Bode noted and documented several *maestros* in Cantel who were actively altering the *Conquista* text in the early- to mid- 20th century. Amplifying Bode's significant documentation with my own research, it appears that by around 1920 Antonio Jesús Colop Soloniq's group added the Ajitz prologue and at the same time adapted a scene of the traitorous Malinche previously developed at Tecpán. This combination is preserved in the Chichicastenango manuscript. Not long after, the group of José Cecilio Mul retained the Ajitz prologue, eliminated the Malinche scene, and added the Lacandón/Azteca scene after the prologue, resulting in the text now used in San Cristóbal Totonicapán. It is also possible that the Lacandón/Azteca scene was written elsewhere and merely added by the Mul group at Cantel, since it also appears outside the Cantel lineage texts as in those from San Pedro la Laguna, San Juan la Laguna, Concepción Chiquirichiapa, Santa María de Jesús, and possibly Sololá. Some time later, probably in the 1940s or 1950s, Colop Soloniq added a scene involving the death of Prince

Ahzumanche in battle with a Spaniard (Bode 1961: 225).³ Prince Ahzumanche is a personage invented by the 17th century chronicler Fuentes y Guzmán and thereafter adopted as a local hero in the Samalá valley region. More recently, Joyabaj *maestros* used the Cantel format but added the Tekum rejoinders to the Spanish entrada while eliminating the added Ajitz Prologue and the Malinche and Lacandón scenes.

The frequency of revisions to the Cantel texts may be due in part to a rivalry between Cantel authors, as reported by Bode, at least two of whom, José Cecilio Mul and Francisco Javier García, were actively competing in the mid- 1930s. One such revision, by Francisco Javier García, was completed in 1934 in order to be published in a pamphlet that accompanied performances of the *Conquista* by a dance team from Cantel at a fair in Quetzaltenango.⁴ The pamphlet was sold to raise funds for a proposed monument to Tekum to be raised on Cerro El Baul, which in this period was renamed Cerro Tecún Umán, identified in local legend as Tekum's burial place. This monument was never constructed though another, honouring liberal revolutionary Justo Rufino Barrios, took its place. This published García revision incorporates a reference to the proposed monument in Ajitz's monologue over the corpse of Tekum, and it also incorporates part of the Mexican national anthem. Both the Colop and Mul groups, still using the Ajitz prologue, incorporated this reference to the proposed Tekum monument. Thus the monument speech appears in the Colop group type in the Cantel booklet with the Malinche scene, and in the Mul group type text now in use at San Cristóbal with the Lacandón scene.

Historical relationships between the Cantel lineage texts are further complicated by what appear to be interlocking waves of revision not so much rippling out from a centre at Cantel as traveling along a network of interchange. Resulting texts from Cantel, San Cristóbal Totonicapán, Chichicastenango, Concepción Chiquirichiapa and Joyabaj are all very different because the Cantel-originated additions appear without apparent regularity or chronological order among these five texts. For example, available texts from San Cristóbal preserve more of the original poetry than those of the other four communities, even though some of the additions are clearly as late as 1934 with the mention of the monument.

Despite these difficulties, the Cantel lineage is particularly important to this study of the *Baile de la Conquista* because it includes the texts used by dance teams in two of the *municipios* intensively researched for this project—San Cristóbal Totonicapán and Joyabaj—and elements such as the Tekum interruption in the first scene were also incorporated into the *Dioses* lineage manuscript at a third *municipio* studied—Momostenango. Thus it will be important to demonstrate not only the similarities among these texts but also some of the differences. The Cantel-like text from Chichicastenango and

³ I have not been able to find a text with the Ahzumanche scene, so I cannot say what other new scenes are also included.

⁴ The introduction to the text was written by Abraham Colop Robles.

the more composite text from Concepción Chiquirichiapa will generally not be included in this discussion in order not to prolong it more than necessary.

6.4.2. Prologue (Bode's Ajitz Variant)

Bode referred to the Prologue as the Ajitz variant because indeed it features primarily Ajitz, though it also elaborates on the priest's relationship to Tekum. This prologue is distinctive of the Cantel lineage texts. Its lack at Joyabaj may be due to purposeful elimination, considering the many later additions to the Joyabaj text. In contrast to some of the new or expanded scenes, the author has made an attempt to imitate and fit his addition into the poetic patterns of the earlier text on which he drew. Thus Ajitz's opening monologue is formed of three *décimas*, though with one split by a *redondilla abrazada*. In their interchange, Tekum and Ajitz each have a *copla de arte menor*, and Ajitz's final response is in the form of a *quintilla*.

Performance of the opening monologue by Ajitz at San Cristóbal Totonicapán involves three episodes of divination, and it appears likely from the shift in content of the text that this was intended by the prologue's author. Following the first divination, Ajitz laments the dark auguries which have included a vision of Tekum's death. After the second divination, Ajitz relates that he has foreseen the destruction of the K'iche' nation and its people as he sees the land devastated by conquering strangers. The third divination particularly frightens Ajitz, as he has seen bloody deaths from weapons like thunderbolts, with survivors enslaved.

In great fear, Ajitz goes into Tekum's palace to report these auguries. He addresses Tekum as Jun Ahpú, the name of the widely known god-hero, one of the twins in the *Popol Vuj*. He explains to Tekum that the gods have foretold the destruction of Quetzaltenango and he has seen the palace destroyed. Tekum is at first confused, but then suggests that the dream has instilled a false fear in Ajitz. He then angrily dismisses Ajitz's fears and orders him to consult with the gods and report back with the result. Ajitz agrees to carry out this order, but in an aside he laments that his lord will not believe his augury that there will be a war like no other in this land. He notes that the doors of the temple will close, an allusion to the climactic repudiation of his religion.

This prologue serves some important functions in the post 1871 version of the dance. It celebrates the continuing importance of divination in Maya lives while at the same time explaining the outcome of the story to be performed. Also, this section carefully draws the personalities of Ajitz and Tekum by demonstrating their contrast through a dramatic interchange. Ajitz is represented as knowledgeable but fearful, while Tekum is so heroic and quick to anger that his mind is closed to Ajitz's wisdom. The prologue also serves to shift the emphasis of the entire narrative. The early style text focuses on the character arc or transformation of Rey K'iche' from pagan to Christian, and thus Rey K'iche' opens the performance with his monologue "*Valedme, Dioses, Valedme.*" Modifications to the text after 1870

shift the emphasis to resistance by Tekum and Ajitz, who are now given priority with the prologue that now opens the work and precedes Rey K'iche's monologue. In this way the prologue "catches up" with a subtext or hidden transcript (see chapter 14) of resistance that come to underlie performance of the Baile de la Conquista, likely since late colonial times. Thus it textualizes a shift that was likely already apparent, and this textualization of resistance will also be seen in the added heroic monologues granted to Tekum in the Cantel lineage texts.

6.4.3. Azteca/Lacandón scene

This shorter added scene begins immediately after, or one might say, completes the prologue. The figure of the messenger from Motecuhzoma, in San Cristóbal Totonicapán appropriately called the Azteca, is known more widely as the Lacandón or Jicaque, named after Indigenous groups living in the lowland rainforest whose resistance to conquest and Catholic indoctrination gave rise to a concept of these peoples as wild men. Indeed, Azteca/ Lacandón/ Jicaque is portrayed in performance as something of a wild man of the forest, his mask outlined with feathers, and his costume also often decorated with feathers. The Azteca scene is not as widely used as the Ajitz prologue, and it lacks poetic form, so it likely derives from a later modification. In the highly composite version from Concepción Chiquirichiapa, the messenger, called Lacandón, gives the gist of Motecuhzoma's letter, borrowing from Rey K'iche's subsequent speeches to explain the defeat of Mexico, the advance of Alvarado, and his intent on subduing and baptizing the K'iche'. Lacandón then asks to be accepted as Rey K'iche's vassal. In the San Cristóbal version by contrast, there is only an allusion to the threat. Azteca first speaks to Rey K'iche', saying he comes with a message from Motecuhzoma and also asking to be accepted as Rey K'iche's vassal. Rey K'iche' then orders Azteca to go to Tekum. In his short meeting with Tekum, Azteca repeats that he has brought a message and that he wants to be a K'iche' vassal. In this passage, he alludes to the conquest of Mexico. Tekum then welcomes Azteca as his vassal. This added scene serves to explain how Rey K'iche' received the message from Motecuhzoma and it also allows the character of the Azteca/Lacandón to participate in pantomimes as a comic character throughout the remainder of the dance.

6.4.4. PART I.

6.4.4.1. Scene 1: Q'umarcaaj

Rey K'iche's two speeches in the first scene are largely intact in the Cantel group texts, though as noted they become redundant when the content of Motecuhzoma's letter has already been revealed by the Azteca/ Lacandón/ Jicaque messenger. However the short dialogues among the Princes and the Malinches that follow each of these two speeches is expanded, often doubling the *redondilla abrazada*

to form a *copla de arte menor*. The content of these expansions is consistent with the character of the youths though in the earlier texts such sentiments are not expressed until later passages. For example, the Malinches do not merely express emotion at this point but also call on the gods for help, analogous to later passages when they call on the volcano to destroy the Spaniards. The Princes also change from emotional to practical reaction, insisting that there must be a remedy to this problem, as they will later express with the suggestion of fetching Tekum. Also consistent with expanded texts in the Cantel lineage are expressions of patriotism, valour, resistance and liberty.

6.4.4.1.1. Scene 1: Tekum Interruption into Q'umarcaaj scene of Royal Court

The Cantel authors introduced a novel element when they wrote a speech for Tekum to interrupt this first scene in the royal palace at Q'umarcaaj. Tekum is speaking from Quetzaltenango, so the court members do not hear him. In *romance* form, Tekum addresses the *Caciques*, asking why his body and heart feel strangely agitated as if he is becoming aware that he should prepare for some danger. He adds that these thoughts tire him and he feels fearful, so he will take a nap. This Cantel-introduced passage not only contributes to a consistency of knowledge throughout (instead of gradual revelation) but was also likely designed to “catch up” with pantomime. The reason is that when the Princes come to Tekum and accuse him of being careless, and he responds asking if he is dreaming, the pantomime developed that Tekum should go to sleep so that the Princes can actually wake him. This Cantel text is then introduced to explain why the Princes should find Tekum asleep.

6.4.4.2. Scene 2: Quetzaltenango

The scene in which the Princes wake Tekum, explain the danger, and summon him to Q'umarcaaj is not a new scene, but the changes are so drastic that they need to be explained. This originally short scene is greatly altered, expanded and elaborated in the Cantel lineage texts, but in ways that differ somewhat between the different iterations. Much of this elaboration is not present in the Cantel and San Cristóbal texts, though it probably once was, judging from the continued presence of the Prince's rejoinder to Tekum's long speech still in the Cantel text published in 1934. This scene may thus be discussed on the basis of the Joyabaj, Chichicastenango, and Concepción Chiquirichiapa texts. The scene is in fairly free verse, though the long speech by Tekum (*Mil perdones, vasallos, mil perdones*) at times appears to resolve into *redondillas cruzadas* or *romance* forms.

Following the initial interchange continued from the early style texts, Tekum rises from his drowsiness with a start, angrily threatening the *Caciques*, telling them to take up their arms, calling them traitors, and boasting of his military prowess. The *Caciques* respond with confusion, swearing their loyalty and asking why Tekum would treat them in this way.

More awake now, Tekum realizes he had been still under the influence of a dream and begs their pardon for his outburst. He explains that in his dream he saw a venerable old man who spoke to him. The old man asked why he sleeps peacefully when a great threat approaches and is already near at hand. Tekum is advised to defend himself from the approaching tyranny, because the white men are coming from the west to cause terrible deaths. The elder further predicted that Tzunun will be the first to betray Tekum to the foreign leader in order to rob Tekum of his crown, which explains Tekum's angry and frightening confrontation of the *Caciques* as he awoke. While this prophecy turns out to be partially true, it is phrased so as to resonate with Judas' betrayal of Jesus.

Tekum continues with the narration of his prophetic dream. He saw himself gathering a great army and leaving his quarters in Chuimequená (Chwi Mek'ina = Totonicapán) for Salcá to encounter the enemy. He saw his last battle taking place between Chuimequená and Xelajú (Quetzaltenango). In this battle he will witness the destruction of his forces and finally his hand-to-hand combat with the foreign leader who will kill him with a lance. Tekum then saw his burial on Cerro El Baul and from this high point he could see that Mam people have been enslaved as porters by the White men who now rule the land.

Through this dream, Tekum is able to narrate the basic story of the dance-drama as well as predict what will happen after his death and the Spaniards have successfully conquered the region now called Guatemala. The narration also draws on the well-known detail, also included in the Huitzitzil Tzunun *título*, that Tekum had been stationed in Chuimequená/Totonicapán. Tekum's description of the location of his death refers to Urbina, a notion that was invented by Fuentes y Guzmán in the late 17th century. These predications constitute a further example of the elaboration of knowledge of later events throughout the text, and of Tekum displaying a consistent heroism, emphasizing a fixed rather than an evolving character. This scene is also consistent with the prologue in showing Tekum easy to anger, a character trait that is not elaborated in the other text lineages.

As he finishes the narration, Tekum asks whether this dream has foretold the truth of what will happen. The Princes exclaim that the dream was indeed truthful, since Rey K'iche' had sent them to warn Tekum about this threat and to order Tekum to come to the palace in Q'umarcaaj.

After the Second Prince responds to the dream, Tekum has another speech, this time one of heroism, beginning "*Estoy tan enojado*" (I am so angry). In the first part of this speech,⁵ Tekum says he is angry and persuaded by the notice the Princes have given of the people that have come. He asks the *Caciques*, oddly addressed as *maceguals* (commoners), what they think of the news about the Spanish advance. This speech continues the theme of Tekum's anger as well as providing an inducement for the

⁵ This speech has two parts. Both occur at this point before the *Cacique* "reports" in the Cantel, Joyabaj, and Chichicastenango texts. In the Concepción Chiquirichiapa text, the first part precedes the *Cacique* "reports" and the second part follows them, as well as ending the scene. In the San Cristóbal text, the first part is eliminated and the second part follows all but the report from Ajitz.

Caciques to demonstrate their loyalty and valour, for which they are thanked by a Prince, Tekum, or both.

In the second part of this added speech, which is very close to a *décima* in the San Cristóbal version, Tekum encourages the *Caciques* to take up arms and resist the invaders.

<i>Leales Caciques y señores,</i>	Loyal <i>Caciques</i> and lords,
<i>Soldados de mi nación</i>	Soldiers of my nation.
<i>Cada uno con su blasón,</i>	Each of you with your insignia
<i>Hará lucir sus honores</i>	Will brighten your honours.
<i>Sabremos ser vengadores,</i>	We know how to be avengers
<i>De la ofensa en la pelea</i>	In defense and in battle
<i>Y el sacrificio y vuestra idea,</i>	And in sacrifice for an idea.
<i>Nuestras aguas mancharemos</i>	We will stain our waters
<i>Con la sangre que reguemos,</i>	With the irrigating blood
<i>Sobre esos viles invasores.</i>	Over these vile invaders.

This speech, like most added for Tekum in the Cantel lineage texts, presents Tekum's qualities as an heroic leader.

The *Cacique* reports are doubled in length, so that most change from one to two *redondillas abrazadas* or into the related *copla de arte menor format*. In the early text, the two Princes responded to the first two *Caciques* (Tzunun and Chávez) while there were no responses to the other three *Caciques*. In the Cantel lineage text, each *Cacique* is granted a response, most by Tekum. Furthermore, in the San Cristóbal text Tekum's response to Tepe expands into a longer speech that begins with a *redondilla abrazada* but then changes into couplets. As usual, this speech is designed to underline Tekum's courage and heroism, so it begins: "*Este es mi resolución: Vencer o Morir*" (This is my resolve: to be conquer or die), anticipating the conclusion to his dramatic monologue that opens Part IV. Tekum explains that he counts on the valour of his soldiers on the battlefield but also invokes the gods Tohil and Huitzilopochtli, K'iche' and Aztec deities respectively, to aid them, after which he shows his trust in his *Caciques*.

As usual, Ajitz is the last to report, and his four line text in *redondilla abrazada* format in the early style script is expanded in the Cantel lineage. As usual, the San Cristóbal text pays most attention to poetic form in the expansion, here a *copla de arte menor* followed by a *décima* split by three couplets. Whereas in the early text, Ajitz invited Tekum and the *Caciques* to the mountains to see what the gods might say, in the Cantel lineage expansion this invitation is followed by more of Ajitz's typical "doom and gloom." He sees many deaths, enslavements, and incarcerations. His sad vision is metaphorically expressed as a quetzal whose flight ends in agony, and explains that this shows his nation will perish.

The reason, he explains, is that on the day the ruler (Tekum) dies, the quetzal will die of sadness. This conclusion alludes to the popular notion that the quetzal was Tekum's animal alter-ego or *nawal*, a notion that became entrenched in the late 19th century through government-disseminated ideology of patriotism that joined two formerly separate symbols of resistance to invasion or oppression: Tekum and the quetzal.

Tekum's response to Ajitz's fears follows that of the early style though it does so most faithfully in the San Cristóbal text. In most of the Cantel lineage scripts, the scene ends with this response, but in the Cantel text published in 1934 and in the Chichicastenango text, the scene ends with yet another long speech by Tekum. Beginning "*Yo escuché las ofertas,*" (I have heard the offerings), this speech mixes *redondilla abrazada*, *redondilla cruzada*, a possible *décima*, and couplets. The final *redondilla abrazada* is continued from the early style texts, so the expansion in this speech consists of the 38 lines inserted preceding it.

In this inserted speech, Tekum sums up the situation. He is pleased with the responses of his *Caciques* and commoners and believes he can count on their valour in battle. He invokes the Aztec solar-war deity Huitzilopochtli to aid the army and accompany them to the battlefield. He knows his troops are willing to give their lives for him and advises them to remain strong, calm and valiant, so that as heroes he can bind their foreheads with laurel wreaths. Again Tekum expresses his rage and desire for vengeance on the invading Spaniards who want to take the riches of his lands, and he ensures that there will be strong resistance. He again invokes the gods for aid and also shows his trust in the *Caciques* and the weapons of their soldiers who will defeat the invaders. The speech ends with the early style *redondilla* encouraging the *Caciques* to come to see the Rey K'iche' as the law demands, after which they will destroy the enemy.

The significant modifications to this interview between the Princes and Tekum provide examples for several of the kinds of changes evident throughout the text. These include: Tekum's great anger; his foreknowledge of events so that his heroism remains consistent; the insertion of a large number of suitably heroic speeches for Tekum; providing text to fill out a previously developed pantomime; foretelling future events both within and beyond the scope of the drama; and incorporating 19th-20th century ideas such as the relation of Tekum and the quetzal exemplifying patriotism and the defense of liberty. Also characteristic is the distinction between more conservative style texts at San Cristóbal involving a mixture of poetic forms that are not quite accurate, versus the more expansive and free form texts of Cantel and Joyabaj.

6.4.4.3. Scene 3- Q'umarcaaj.

The opening of this scene is variable, with some Cantel lineage texts maintaining Tekum's short formal greeting and others expanding it in passages lacking rhyme. The subsequent *Cacique* reports in the

San Cristóbal text are lengthened from half to a complete *redondilla abrazada*, while in the Joyabaj text their length varies and there is no rhyme.

Ajitz's speech ending the *Cacique* reports is greatly expanded in some of the Cantel lineage texts.⁶ In San Cristóbal, attention is paid as usual to its poetic form, which consists of two *coplas de arte menor* and ending with an almost-*quintilla*. In Cantel and San Cristóbal his speech excludes Ajitz's reference to his "*amigo Lucifer*" and instead focuses on Ajitz's claims to be able to magically trap the invaders. He also displays his "divine amulet," a rock crystal which shows him things on which the gods are silent and which will open a successful path for the K'iche' to resist the invaders. In Joyabaj a shorter speech with no rhyme does refer to the aid of Lucifer to destroy the Spaniards, noting that his axe is sharpened for the purpose. Ajitz Chiquito adds that he too knows how to bewitch the Spaniards and his axe is also sharpened to cut off their heads.

A song by the Malinches is inserted in the Cantel texts following the *Cacique* reports. The theme of this text is taken from their song in Part II, overheard by the Ambassadors. They ask the volcanoes to spew burning lava on the invaders, so that Alvarado, Cortés and their people will know that in the New World there are valiant Indians.

A new speech for Tekum is introduced at this point in the Cantel texts that in the San Cristóbal version roughly follows the *romance* form. Tekum asks Rey K'iche' to listen carefully, saying that he has come to the palace because of the desperate situation of the Spanish invasion. He reminds the king that the *Caciques* have also come, dressed in clothing of the highest station, to show their loyalty as good sons of the fatherland. They will add their forces to the resistance, because there is no other way to save the nation.⁷

After Rey K'iche' responds by explaining the content of Motecuhzoma's letter using the earlier text, Tekum is accorded another lengthy speech, this example lacking established poetic form, and concluding with the earlier *copla de arte menor*. Tekum begins this speech with a harsh reproach to Rey K'iche', telling him to cease these useless tears as they are not women or children but men with heart, ready to shed the last drop of their blood in battle against the enemy; men who he will soon lead in the resistance. Tekum then advises Rey K'iche' to not make a treaty with the Spaniards as they cannot be trusted and will attempt to deceive. Resistance is needed to avoid the perpetual yoke of slavery which the invaders intend for them.

Tekum realizes that Rey K'iche's hopes are already lowered, and agrees that the loss of the nation is unavoidable as are the offenses against their property and persons and the rape of their daughters. Rather than meekly submit, Tekum chooses an honourable death defending the nation, and swears to

⁶ In Chichicastenango and Concepción Chiquirichiapa texts the earlier form is retained.

⁷ The Malinches sing again in the San Cristóbal text, using the song from Part II.

the god Tohil that he will never surrender. Tekum continues by noting that death is certain and draws near, so it is better to use what remains of their lives before mother earth receives their bodies.⁸ This speech thus draws on an aspect of character not revealed in the early style texts until Part IV, that Tekum chooses an honourable death in battle rather than submission, even when he knows he cannot survive. It also anticipates Rey K'iche's speech in Part III in which he envisions the rape of his daughters after his own death.

Rey K'iche' now gives Tekum the flag in a speech that is variously elaborated from the earlier two line version (half of a *redondilla abrazada*). In Cantel and Joyabaj Rey K'iche' predicts that Tekum will accomplish famous deeds and gain great honour but a dream has shown him that he will not succeed. Tekum's response, that he will tinge the river with blood, is made more explicit in these two texts as well.

6.4.4.4. Scene 4: Quetzaltenango

Tekum's opening speech for this scene ("*Ya mis Caciques aliados*") is partially intact but altered by the insertion of many more geographic locations, both to the list of places conquered in Mexico and to the resistance in Guatemala. The latter include not only many more locations in the Samalá River area but also *municipios* like Nebaj and Rabinal that are outside of the K'iche' region. These changes degrade the poetic form of the original. Also, an exaggerated figure of 230,000 soldiers is given for the strength of the army divisions led by Tekum and Tzunun, an amount likely drawn from Fuentes y Guzmán (1969–72: II, 291–95) and the many subsequent chroniclers of Guatemalan history that drew on his work.

Each of the succeeding *Cacique* reports is doubled in length. In the more poetically-aware San Cristóbal text, they expand from a half to a whole *redondilla abrazada* or from a *redondilla* to a *copla de arte menor*. In the Joyabaj text, each *Cacique* speech is followed by an equally long rejoinder of encouragement from Tekum.

Ajitz's concluding report is retained from the earlier style in Cantel and Joyabaj but greatly expanded with the addition of seven more *redondillas abrazadas* in San Cristóbal. In these passages, Ajitz predicts that when the Spaniards invade, the K'iche' nation will fall, but like Tekum he argues for courage in battle. Nineteenth century romanticisms pepper his language, for example:

*Que aquí donde el aroma
Y la arrogancia de las flores,
Amargas y dolores,*

That here where the aroma
And arrogance of the flowers,
Bitter and painful,

⁸ In San Cristóbal the Malinches repeat their song at this point.

Romperían la corona.

Would break the crown.

To his promise to harass the Spaniards in the form of quetzals, Ajitz adds he will perform his witchcraft (divination) with the red beans. Ajitz concludes by saying he will be with Tekum and Tzunun to the end, in the name of the god Tohil. This new speech for Ajitz thus changes his character entirely from weak and cowardly to a heroism similar to that of Tekum.

Whereas in the earlier texts, the first part ends with Ajitz's promise to harass the Spaniards, in Joyabaj and San Cristóbal Tekum has more to say. In Joyabaj Tekum thanks Ajitz and says he can count on his *Caciques*. Tekum adds with his customary heroism in this group of texts that he does not fear the enemy however strong it might be, and that he will soon do battle and punish them cruelly. In San Cristóbal, however, this heroic conclusion is a longer speech that may have originally been in the form of two *décimas* and that has been added in the margin of the 1947 text in a different hand. In this additional heroic speech, Tekum speculates on the coming war, his hopes of devastating the enemy, releasing a flood of blood and taking the invaders prisoner. He imagines after his death still flying as a quetzal and looking down on his fatherland.⁹

6.4.5. Part II

6.4.5.1. Scene 1. Spanish Camp

The early style speech by Alvarado that opens Part II is continued in San Cristóbal. In contrast, the texts of Cantel and Joyabaj amplify Alvarado's role at this point, including four speeches so that they can be delivered one on each of the four sides of the dance ground. This scene is further elaborated in Joyabaj by having Tekum respond to each of these speeches so that their interchange constitutes a series of *desafíos* or challenges, using materials cobbled together primarily from Cantel additions to the battle and its preparations in Part IV.

The first of the series of four speeches begins with a 14-line section adapted from the Mexican national anthem concerning the divine right to defend the nation. Alvarado then ramps up the martial rhetoric, saying that each son of Spain is a soldier who fights for glory or death, his great deeds rewarded with a wreath of laurel. Alvarado incites his officers to punish those who insult the name of God or the name of Hernán Cortés, glorifying the war that he invites them to begin. In Joyabaj, Tekum responds that his troops are also ready to begin the war this day, and he too describes battle in terms of glory.

⁹ As it is performed presently in San Cristóbal, the concluding phrase "*Cubré mi sepultura por gloria del quetzal*" (I will cover my grave to the glory of the quetzal) becomes "*Cavaré mi sepultura por gloria del quetzal*" (I will dig my grave to the glory of the quetzal). This may be due to a separate notebook containing the part for Tekum in use at San Cristóbal.

The second speech incorporates much of the text from his single speech in the early texts, where Alvarado calls for sounds of trumpet and snare drum to celebrate his coming victory, and warns his captains of subterfuge by the Mam and Kaqchikel.¹⁰

Before the third speech, Alvarado asks Carrillo for the loan of his spyglass to view the K'iche' camps, and Carrillo responds with courtesy. Then in the third speech, having used the spyglass, Alvarado is able to point out the palace of Rey K'iche' and also the palace of Tekum. Alvarado anticipates the coming battle as both armies leave their camps and meet in the battlefield.¹¹ Addressing the other officers, Carrillo notes that the enemy is close, restless, and desperate, so that a sentry must be stationed on alert.

The fourth speech would easily have stood on its own, and might have done so at one phase in the serial updating of the Cantel lineage texts. It begins forcefully with a the phrase "*Caballeros de mi guardia*" which is analogous to the opening of the early style speech ("*Caballeros y señores*") and to the opening addresses of leaders in the *Moros y Cristianos* genre ("*Caballeros de me corte*"). In fact, the first nine lines are largely an adaptation of the first *décima* of the early style speech.

From there, Alvarado continues with new text in roughly *romance* type assonant rhyme but without attention to syllable count. He notes that he has been sent by Cortés to subdue the barbaric nation, to water its soil with blood until the mission is complete. He characterizes the Indigenous Maya of Guatemala as innocent barbarians who pose no real threat in battle. He has seen their troop deployments (with the spyglass) and he has news that Rey K'iche' has passed his flag to "Tecún Umán," an audacious Indian who plans to kill Alvarado. But today Alvarado will see Tekum reduced to a sad and hard fate. Once he has finished with Tekum, all will be baptized. Alvarado concludes by saying that his goal is to triumph in this land and add it to the Spanish empire. This speech thus encapsulates the entire drama.

Looking at these four speeches together, one notes dramatic differences between the parts taken from the earlier script, which remains in use in the more conservative San Cristóbal script, and the newly composed sections of the Cantel and Joyabaj texts. Where the early text is crisp and succinct with attention to poetic form, the later Cantel innovations in this section are expansive and repetitive with little attempt to produce poetry. Updatings include the reference to a spyglass, which was not invented until 1608,¹² and introduction of the supposed surname Umán, which Fuentes y Guzmán added to

¹⁰ In Joyabaj, Tekum responds with text from the Part IV battle, calling on the furies of hell to transform into soldiers and kill the Spaniards, and calling Alvarado to face him in single combat.

¹¹ In Joyabaj, Tekum challenges Alvarado to come closer and to be aware of his valour and fury.

¹² Take a Step Back in Time, blog entry for August 26, 2012. <http://love-of-history.tumblr.com/post/30253648669/in-1608-the-spyglass-was-invented-the-first-is>

Tekum's name in the late 17th century. The speech series begins with a selection from the Mexican national anthem dating from the mid-nineteenth century. Geography is rendered somewhat irrelevant by the suggestion that the spyglass allows Alvarado to see the palaces of Rey K'iche' in Q'umarcaaj and Tekum in Quetzaltenango from the same observation point. In terms of character and narrative, Alvarado depicts the coming war as both glorious and inevitable: points that are drawn in some detail and repetition. This makes his subsequent offer to Tekum of the possibility to surrender and avoid war more surprising. This shift may be due to the issue that the battle scene had come to be the major audience draw for the *Baile de la Conquista* and these glowing descriptions would add to spectators' anticipation of this performance climax.

Alvarado's speeches are followed by a report series from his officers, beginning with Carrillo and ending with the *gracejo* Quirijol. In the early text, each officer spoke half of a *redondilla abrazada* and Alvarado's rejoinder completed it with the other half. In the Cantel lineage texts, these reports and responses are expanded but not in a consistent fashion. In the San Cristóbal text, the most expanded for this section, several of the reports are expanded into *décimas* and others into *redondillas abrazadas*. Also, in the Cantel lineage texts, each officer responds to Alvarado's rejoinder, and thus speaks twice. This expansion does not change the character or meaning of the segment but rather reinforces the readiness to use their cannons to fight and defeat the K'iche' nation thereby carrying out Cortés' instructions.

In the earlier style texts, Quirijol's report stands apart, with its comedy and word-play not meriting a response from Alvarado. In the Cantel lineage texts, whether the earlier speech is adapted as in Cantel and Joyabaj, or greatly changed and shortened as in San Cristóbal, it is treated like the other reports, with a rejoinder by Alvarado and a response by the officer. Furthermore, the rejoinder and response are in the same martial spirit as those for the other officers rather than altered to preserve the comic tone. This change is not surprising since the early style *gracejo* comic speeches likely never functioned well to a Maya audience that knew little Spanish and did not understand the word-play. As the Spanish language changed over the centuries, these comic speeches would have become less and less intelligible.

At this point an additional speech for Alvarado is introduced in the San Cristóbal text that is absent from Cantel and Joyabaj texts. The speech begins with a couplet (possibly designed as a *romancillo*) and continues with a *quintilla* before the poetic form breaks down. The content repeats much of what has gone before, As Alvarado encourages his officers to ready their troops for battle to punish the K'iche' and kill Tekum, to whom he refers as a "*rey animal*" (animal king), anticipating his response in part IV to Tekum slaying his horse. Alvarado again describes the glory that will come to the Spaniards for this great deed. The Spaniards respond in unison that they are ready to fight and even to die. This additional speech from the leader following the serial reports parallels episodes in part I where speeches were added for Tekum.

After Carrillo volunteers for the embassy to Tekum and Alvarado appoints Cardona to accompany him, Alvarado gives the two ambassadors lengthy instructions. The early style text for these instructions remains largely intact in the more conservative San Cristóbal text, while those of Cantel and Joyabaj greatly expand the content and degrade the poetic form. The earlier text explained that Alvarado has been sent by Cortés to convert the K'iche', and that if Tekum agrees to submit and convert the king will show him clemency, but if he refuses there will be war. Added content merely explains these points in greater depth, adding detail to the description of the Christian faith and to the results of refusing to convert.

6.4.5.2. Scene 2: Encounter with the four youths

In the Cantel text a short scene is interpolated before the encounter with the Princes and Malinches. This scene shortens and adapts the text likely originated in the Tecpán lineage, in which a Malinche offers to betray her people and aid the Spaniards.¹³ The placement of this scene contrasts with that of the Tecpán lineage texts, where this scene was placed on the Ambassadors' return trip, as on the outgoing journey they instead meet Tepe who is guarding Rey K'iche'. Also, the Cantel version makes the Malinche's betrayal more explicit, while at the same time eliminating the reference to Doña Marina.¹⁴ Positioning this scene before the encounter with the youths and their belligerent reaction to the Spaniards makes less logical sense.

The scene in which the Spaniards encounter the Princes and Malinches begins with a song that is a somewhat distinct adaptation of the early style text in each case. The San Cristóbal version is most distinct, because it precedes this song with another sung in K'iche'. Otherwise this scene is not significantly changed in the Cantel lineage versions.

6.4.5.3. Scene 3: Quetzaltenango

The first encounter of the Ambassadors with Ajitz is expanded in the Cantel version with further interchanges. Before agreeing to seek their admittance from Tekum, Ajitz asks who the Spaniards are: whether foreigners or from another world. Cardona instead gives Ajitz the instruction that he should tell Tekum they come to on Alvarado's behalf to propose a peace. Further, when Ajitz agrees to carry this message, in the San Cristóbal text he insists on first disarming the Spaniards. Thus in performance in San Cristóbal their swords are taken at an earlier point than in the other *municipios* studied.

¹³ This scene also occurs in the Chichicastenango text that is most directly derived from the published form of the Cantel text.

¹⁴ A surprising variant appears in the Joyabaj text, as the Malinche's lines are given to the Princes.

Ajitz's brief interchange with Tekum is also greatly expanded especially in the San Cristóbal text where Ajitz explains that the Ambassadors come from Alvarado in turn sent by Cortés. In the Cantel and Joyabaj texts, Tekum insists not only in blindfolding the Ambassadors but also that their hands be bound, an action that in the early style texts is alluded to only through Ajitz's references to cinching and haltering a horse. This point is likely an example of text catching up with established pantomime. For the scene in which Ajitz blindfolds and binds the Ambassadors, his text is also greatly expanded, giving more description of his actions as well as showing his disdain for the Spaniards, thereby catching up with what had become an extended and highly amusing pantomime involving the Ambassadors' humiliation. In Joyabaj, as Ajitz concludes the scene by requesting music for him to dance, he specifies that he wishes to dance *barreño* and then sings the words to this folk song as he dances, leading the Ambassadors to Tekum.

Tekum's interview with the Ambassadors proceeds conventionally in the Cantel texts until Carrillo requests a seat. Then Tekum's angry response is elaborated with threats to flog and tear them to pieces as vile cowards, texts that are taken from Tekum's later speech rejecting the Ambassador's terms of surrender. In the Joyabaj text he threatens to burn the ambassadors as well.

The message delivered by the two Ambassadors is not significantly changed but Tekum's response is greatly elaborated in different ways in the Cantel texts, though the threatening text that has been moved forward is not repeated here. In the San Cristóbal text much of the same material as the early style text is adapted and changed from the earlier *romance* to *décimas* and *redondillas abrazadas*. The text is also more explicit in terms of Tekum's refusal to reject his religion. In the Cantel text, the earlier material is also elaborated. Tekum claims that he will defend his nation in battle, adding that his city has good fortification walls, and his *Caciques* are disciplined in war. Tekum also defends his civilization, saying that he too has wise laws. He also argues that in Uatlán (Q'umarcaaj) the K'iche' have their own university with six thousand noble students, so they need nothing from Spanish civilization. The responses of Carrillo and Cardona are likewise expanded. Carrillo adds that Tekum, his palace and his army will be destroyed as the cannons punish his insolence. Cardona adds to his earlier response that Tekum's people will fall to Spanish vengeance.

In the Cantel lineage texts, as Ajitz frees the Spaniards, he not only tells them to go to the devil but also challenges them for the coming battle, saying that he will cut off their tails. Instead of his complex *gracejo*-type speech, Ajitz argues that they have insulted his king Tekum, an exemplary man who will soon defeat them in battle. In the Cantel and Joyabaj texts, Carrillo responds that he will humiliate Ajitz and Cardona threatens to cut off his tail as a souvenir.

6.4.5.4. Scene 4: Spanish Camp

Upon their return to the Spanish camp the Ambassadors repeat the words of Tekum to Alvarado, so the same changes apply. Then follow the serial reports by the captains with little significant change. Quirijol's speech is repeated in Cantel and Joyabaj texts but greatly expanded in San Cristóbal and changed from *romance* format to *quintillas*, *redondillas abrazadas* and couplets. Quirijol begins as in the earlier style texts with a desire to kill the Indigenous men and take the women who can then cook for him, but adds that otherwise they will die of hunger, since the sword the king gave him cannot be eaten. Quirijol ends by comparing himself to Don Quixote.

Alvarado's next speech, in which he assigns the captains their duties for the coming battle, is adapted from *romance* format in the earlier style texts to *décimas*, *redondillas* and couplets in the San Cristóbal text. Similar content appears in the Joyabaj text but without poetic rhyme, and with the addition that Quirijol will command the reserve forces. The same speech appears in the Cantel text but is preceded by another that repeats and adapts part of Alvarado's fourth entrance speech announcing the coming victory as well as emphasizing Spanish firepower.

Part II ends at this point in Joyabaj and Cantel but the San Cristóbal text features added speeches for Quirijol and Alvarado. Quirijol, in text without poetic form, speaks of the organization of his forces, naming several other *conquistadores* who served under one or another of the Alvarado brothers in Guatemala during the years 1524–28, though not necessarily connected with the K'iche' region. Quirijol also notes the service of two hundred Indigenous Mexicans and he adds that this theatre of war extends from Totonicapán to the Mam fortress of Zaculeu near Huehuetenango. Alvarado concludes with two *décimas*, saying that he trusts in God to help him win this war with victory offered in return. He tells the captains that he trusts in them to conquer this land in the name of the maker of the world.

6.4.6. Part III

6.4.6.1. Scene 1: Quetzaltenango

In the speech that begins part III, Tekum expresses his anger towards the Spaniards and assigns Ajitz and Tzunun to carry the message of war to Rey K'iche'. The Cantel and San Cristóbal texts adapt much of the same language though altering some of the poetic form. In the Joyabaj text the same sentiments are expressed but with entirely new language and without any consistent poetic forms. The new Joyabaj text is also much more intense and romanticized heroism, as in the last two sentences:

Que ya mi sangre se convierte en fuego.

Already my blood changes into fire.

Dispuesto estoy por mi patria a morir.

I am prepared to die for my fatherland.

Tzunun's response is expanded from four lines to an eight-line *copla de arte menor*, in which he turns from agreeing to the embassy to more martial talk about fighting at Tekum's side, then tells Ajitz they

must leave soon as it is getting late. Ajitz's response is expanded to a *redondilla abrazada* in San Cristóbal, enlarging on his fear of Spanish weapons, while in Cantel and Joyabaj this point is further expanded with idiomatic word-play.

Tzunun's response in the Cantel lineage texts is no longer to tell Ajitz to stop joking but to more strongly accuse Ajitz of being effeminate. Ajitz's short response in the early texts that he is pissing himself and fears shitting his pants is toned down in the San Cristóbal text where it is also expanded into five *redondillas abrazadas*. Here Ajitz claims that each person has their distinct function and his is to burn incense and perform divination. The Cantel and Joyabaj texts make the same point in fewer lines that at times approximates a *redondilla* and *romance*. To Tzunun's stern rebuke, Ajitz responds with a clarification of his fears much like that of the early style texts. However, in San Cristóbal, four lines are added for Ajitz Chiquito—his only lines in this text—in which he says he is not afraid and will accompany Tzunun. This unique addition would be an example of text catching up to pantomime, since in performance at least in recent times, Ajitz and Chiquito always do accompany Tzunun despite Ajitz's refusal in the text.

6.4.6.2. Scene 2: Q'umarcaaj

The initial dialogue between Rey K'iche' and Tzunun is reworked and expanded in the Cantel lineage texts but without significant change in meaning except that, in order not to disrespect him, the Rey K'iche's line "*Estoy con tanto pavor*" (I am so afraid) is changed to "*Estoy con tanto valor*" (I am so courageous). In the following interchange between the two Princes, Rey K'iche', and the Malinches' songs, expansion serves to draw out and increase the youth's emotional response to the Rey K'iche's growing despondency. Also, the Malinches' second song in the early text, invoking the volcano to destroy the Spaniards, is replaced by a song continuing the emotional reaction to Rey K'iche's grief. In Joyabaj and San Cristóbal, Rey K'iche's declining spirit is mitigated when he says he does not fear for himself but only for his children. In these sections, the *romancillo* form that continues from the songs into dialogue in the early text is changed into a variety of forms in Joyabaj and Cantel, with more preference toward *décimas* and *redondillas* in San Cristóbal. In San Cristóbal also a *décima* is added for Ajitz, who does not speak in this scene in any of the other texts under discussion. In this passage, Ajitz asks for calm and trust in the gods who will destroy the enemy. And again, providing a text for Ajitz in this scene represents another example of catching up to pantomime, since according to the early style text he should not be present.

6.4.6.3. Scene 3: Quetzaltenango

Most of this scene is little changed from the early style text, except that the Cantel and Joyabaj texts eliminate the *Caciques'* serial reports. Also, Ajitz's closing speech is greatly altered. In San Cristóbal,

Ajitz speaks of retiring to the mountain to cast spells causing the Spaniards to lose. This would also be a method to defeat the Spaniards but drops the small pox association more crucial in the 16th century. In Cantel and Joyabaj, Ajitz foretells the location and the number of battles that will decimate K'iche' forces. He specifies that the "quetzal will fall" (i.e. Tekum will die) in the fourth battle, at Urbina. Though he is accurate in the four battle locations, his text draws on traditions begun by Fuentes y Guzmán (1969–72: II, 294–95), equating Tekum with the quetzal and wrongly locating his death in the Urbina battle. Fuentes y Guzmán was going against Alvarado's explicit record that the death of the Captain General (Tekum) occurred six days previous, perhaps because he could not imagine that the K'iche' army could regroup and attack again after Tekum's death. Ajitz continues by assuring listeners of the veracity of his foresight, not like "current *brujos*" (sorcerers) who just lie and take people's money.

6.4.7. Part IV

6.4.7.1. Scene 1: Quetzaltenango

For Tekum's dramatic opening speech the Cantel group texts borrow the first four lines of the early style texts, in which Tekum ponders the vile intentions of the enemy, and they end with a similar resolve by Tekum to fight though his dream has foretold his death. In contrast, the major part of the speech has changed significantly in content. This central part involves only 6 lines in the San Cristóbal text but a much longer passage in Cantel and Joyabaj. Here Tekum talks of viewing the Spanish troops from his elevated palace, occupying the land as if it were theirs. Tekum has prayed to the gods for help. In more contemporary terms he cries out "*Despierta, o patria, despierta*" (Awake, oh fatherland, awake). Tomorrow will be too late, he says: now is the time. He then calls on the volcano to envelop the Spaniards in fire and destroy them. He encourages the *Caciques* to go to battle, saying that if they perish they will have died with dignity and honour. He prefers to die with glory rather than vacillate with concerns of risk.

Typically, the following series of *Cacique* reports is expanded, involving a variety of poetic forms in San Cristóbal (*décima*, *décima* split by couplets, *redondilla abrazada*, *quintilla*), but largely using *redondillas abrazadas*, often partially degraded, in Joyabaj and Cantel scripts. These additions to each report mainly consist of more specific details concerning the imminent battle. Ajitz's response that he will make the furies of hell arise to aid them is continued in San Cristóbal's text, with an added call to battle. In Cantel and Joyabaj, an earlier promise by Ajitz to bewitch the Spaniards is repeated.

In San Cristóbal, a new element is added to this scene. The Princes and Malinches come to Quetzaltenango to send off Tekum and his forces. They first sing the K'iche' language song heard earlier and then encourage their brother Tekum to fight with courage and valour. As before, this textual addition was likely designed to catch up with previous unscripted action. For example, in

Momostenango the whole royal court joins Tekum and the *Caciques* in a dance of *despedida* though it is not indicated in the text used in that *municipio*. Tekum's concluding encouragement to the *Caciques* is little changed, but their response is expanded into a *décima* in San Cristóbal, in which they echo Tekum's earlier sentiments that it is better to die in battle than surrender.

6.4.7.2. Scene 2: Spanish Camp

In Joyabaj and Cantel texts, a short interchange is introduced before the usual start of the scene. Alvarado asks Carrillo to inform him on the number of battalions that are prepared for battle. Carrillo responds that there are four battalions of infantry, two of artillery, and three of cavalry plus three thousand Tlaxcaltecos. He adds that there are 130 bowmen and a good store of munitions.

Whereas in the early style texts, Alvarado's address and the serial reports of his captains are limited to a single *redondilla abrazada*, these are expanded typically in San Cristóbal's text to a series of *décimas*, *redondillas abrazadas*, *coplas de arte menor* and possible *quintillas*, and many of these are featured as well in Cantel and Joyabaj. The martial content is not significantly altered. In contrast, Quirijol's speech is greatly changed in the Cantel lineage texts. Rather than talk of interracial marriage, Quirijol shows his cowardice, wanting to flee from battle rather than join it in order to preserve himself. A *romance* in the early style texts, Quirijol's speech is changed to a *décima* split by couplets in San Cristóbal, and a mixture of freer verse and couplets in Cantel and Joyabaj scripts.

Alvarado's short encouragement to his officers before leaving for the battle ground is expanded into a full speech in the Cantel lineage texts, involving a mixture of free verse and couplets. In San Cristóbal, Alvarado announces that they wait only for the bugle call as a signal to begin firing. He warns his captains not to let their courage flag at the sound of the drum, nor to retreat in the face of the swift arrows of the ferocious Indians. He calls the enemy savages and goads his troops by saying they believe Spanish valour is insufficient to conquer, but today the battlefield of Xelajú will be stained with the blood of these wicked Indians.

For this speech in the Joyabaj and Cantel texts, Alvarado says to his captains that the proud Indian (Tekum) must die because he would not humble himself in peace. As their leader, the bold Tekum must be shot without chance of pardon. Then, when the K'iche' soldiers are finished off, the other principals must be baptized. The attack and discharge of firearms will begin immediately, and the glory of God will bring triumph.

The difference between these two newer texts is interesting. In San Cristóbal, the emphasis is on the valour of the Spaniards in the face of the enemy and the proposal to massacre them, while in Cantel and Joyabaj the emphasis is on the need to punish Tekum and baptize the survivors.

6.4.7.3. Scene 3 Challenge and Fighting on the Battlefield

Whereas in the early style texts a short *desafío* (challenge) section is followed by the battle, in the Cantel lineage texts the concepts of battle and challenge are interspersed. In the Cantel and Joyabaj texts, Tekum precedes this interchange with the repetition of an earlier encouragement to battle, followed by unison responses from the *Caciques* and then the Spaniards. Then in the three Cantel lineage texts under discussion the alternation of Tekum and Alvarado challenges begins. These are shorter and sometimes follow poetic forms (*redondilla abrazada*, *quintilla*) in the San Cristóbal text. And in San Cristóbal, Alvarado is at times the first to speak. In the Cantel and Joyabaj texts, these challenges are greatly extended, largely free-verse but sometimes in couplets, with Tekum speaking first in each challenge, but they differ in ordering of the *desafío* texts. Some materials are taken from the early style *desafío* and battle speeches, and some are newly introduced, though in Joyabaj many had already appeared in the unique *desafío* made from Tekum's contribution to Alvarado's first entrance with its series of four speeches at the opening of Part II.

For example, the first challenge to appear in the Cantel texts is Tekum's mid-battle invocation of the furies of hell in the early style texts. In the Cantel and Joyabaj texts Tekum continues by calling himself the raging chief, the most desperate fighter who defends the reign and his father the king. He then calls on Alvarado to come closer for single combat. Alvarado responds by inviting the "miserable Indians" to meet his army in battle as he desires to see them destroyed. He goads them, wanting to see of what they are capable then asks why they do not come out. He boasts that he has enough valour to defeat them, that he is Tekum's appointed executioner and the leader named to conquer these states.

Tekum begins the next interchange in Cantel with the early style mid-battle complaint to Tzunun that he has lost many men. Tekum continues by wondering what could be the horrible noise issuing from the enemy army and sounding like a hundred volcanoes, likely a reference to cannon fire. He laments Alvarado's ambition that has led to so much bloodshed and, noting that other peoples have been humbled and enslaved, swears to kill Alvarado. He calls to arms all those who care for their nation's rights. Alvarado responds that the army is weakening but there is no point of escape, so even if he must water the field with his blood he has sworn that his sword will bring glory to Spain.

In another exchange from the Joyabaj text, the most extensive of the battle series, Tekum rehearses earlier events. He remembers being stationed in Totoncapán when he learned from the royal court that an invading army was coming. He then challenges Alvarado, saying that he will die today in the plains of El Pinal. He calls Alvarado insolent for thinking he can defeat the king of Quetzaltenango and repeats his conviction that Alvarado will die. To this Alvarado responds that when Tekum emerges from his palace Alvarado will punish him cruelly. In the next exchange from Joyabaj, Tekum says he will take advantage of a moment of confusion to fight in single combat with Alvarado. He claims that he still has a great army in reserve. He calls upon the *Caciques* to follow him, saying that he is a furious lion hungry for vengeance, and that he will be the first to advance in order to come out victorious. Alvarado

responds to this challenge with a repetition of a section of his Part II speech “*Caballeros y nobles guerreros*,” followed by imagining the glory and satisfaction when the K'iche' army has been defeated.

As usual, in the middle of these battle exchanges Alvarado announces that his horse has been killed and borrows a lance from Portocarrero. In response Portocarrero is accorded a speech that in the Cantel and San Cristóbal texts is composed of *décima*, *redondilla cruzada* and *redondilla abrazada*. Portocarrero says that Alvarado has thus honored him, that he will fight by Alvarado's side and the battle will soon be over. He adds that he will maintain Alvarado's insignia spotless and notes how Alvarado's banners fill him with pride as if he were seeing them fluttering from palace towers. Tekum also responds, saying he does not need any loan of valour to finish off Alvarado.

The last battlefield challenge in the Cantel and Joyabaj texts begins with Tekum again calling for Alvarado to face him in hand-to-hand combat. He argues that the K'iche' are a free nation and free people cannot be conquered. He suggests that Alvarado run back to Spain, leaving his name written in shame. Alvarado responds that he is willing to fight in single combat and that he will kill Tekum in God's name. Despite flagging energy he will rise to the occasion, since he renders tribute to no one, least of all “this Indian.”

6.4.7.3.1. Death of Tekum

Tekum's succinct four-line announcement of his death and handing over command to Tzunun in the early style texts is greatly expanded in the Cantel lineage texts for its melodramatic potential. In San Cristóbal, this death speech consists of *redondillas abrazadas*, *quintillas*, *romance* and couplets. This version begins with an adaptation of the early style quatrain but then continues with romanticized sentimentality. Tekum gasps that his breath is failing and his quetzal will take flight. He cries over the loss of the kingdom of his ancestors with its gods, its sacred flowers, whose lands will be devastated. His greatest worry is that the land will be divided and his subordinates enslaved. He bids farewell to his “*patria querida*” (beloved fatherland) and apologizes for not having saved it. He bids farewell then to his palace, his throne, and the beautiful women who surrounded him. The death speech in Cantel, in freer verse spiced with couplets, includes the same material but bracketed with additional text. Tekum begins by asking what could have happened to him, then cursing the god Tohil as a deceiver who has abandoned him. He renounces his power in favour of Tzunun. The speech ends with Tekum, fading fast, saying that he feels a blind god has taken him by the hand to guide him along the path of the dead to knock on the eternal gates. Joyabaj's death speech is a shortened version of the Cantel speech.

There is little significant change in the dialogue between Tzunun and the *Caciques* in which is made the decision to end the war and take Tekum's body to Q'umarcaaj, except that Tzunun's final statement in this scene, a *redondilla abrazada*, is elaborated in San Cristóbal into a *décima* in which

Tzunun also contributes to the romanticized tone. He adds that Tekum must be carried on palm fronds because his soul is broken and he died with noble valour and rare calm on the field of honour.

In Cantel and Joyabaj, the battlefield scene ends with Ajitz grieving. A similar text, but expanded, occurs at a later point in the San Cristóbal script. Ajitz wonders what destiny of law or what torment imposed by a true god could cause the death of Tekum, king and protector of these lands. He blesses Tekum's memory as a defender of the fatherland. He predicts that a monument will be erected to Tekum in Xelajú, a direct reference to the 1934 monument proposal for which this the Cantel text was revised and published.

6.4.7.4. Scene 4: Q'umarcaaj

Tzunun's presentation of the crown and body of Tekum to Rey K'iche' is expanded in the Cantel lineage texts. In Cantel and Joyabaj, Tzunun adds that the death occurred in hand-to-hand combat with Alvarado, while in San Cristóbal he adds that the body is bloodied. Rey K'iche's sad response is repeated in San Cristóbal but elaborated in Cantel and Joyabaj with additional text in the tone of romantic nationalism. Rey K'iche' refers to Tekum when he speaks of the skillful energy that enclosed the soul in steel to defend his fatherland, adding that from now on, they will remain under the yoke of Spanish tyranny. When he asks that Tekum's body be taken for burial, he calls Tekum the protector of the fatherland, the executor of salvation. The Cantel and Joyabaj texts also add a rejoinder from Tzunun, who announces he will bury Tekum with honors and adds that the K'iche' should follow the new religion.

In contrast, in the San Cristóbal text Rey K'iche's lament is followed by two songs from the Malinches, first recounting that Tekum has been pierced by Alvarado's lance and that the fields are red with the blood of the deceased, and second bidding farewell to Tekum. Ajitz's lament is moved to this point in the San Cristóbal text and appears in much longer form, as *redondillas abrazadas*, couplets, *romance*, and free form lines. Ajitz laments Tekum's destiny to fall by the hands of a foreigner who has taken his lands when he pierced his heart. Ajitz invokes the "Savior of the world" for protection before foretelling the future glory of Tekum's memory as defender of the nation. He adds that Tekum has left his people a heritage of defending the beloved fatherland through resistance, while in contrast criticizing Rey K'iche' for his cowardice and concern for his treasures. Ajitz bids farewell to the reign of Rey K'iche' and Tekum. He says he will leave in sadness and reject his present idols for one that will help him to fly on the wind like beautiful birds.

When Tzunun returns from burying Tekum in the Cantel lineage texts, Tzunun and Rey K'iche' each have five lines that approximate but do not quite achieve a *quintilla*. Tzunun announces that he has returned from the burial and that they will always weep for Tekum's absence. Rey K'iche' responds by

suggesting that Tzunun rest and announces that he has something to say that won't take long. The Malinches' song for this scene comes at this point in the early style texts as well as Cantel and Joyabaj. This and the remainder of the scene are not significantly altered from the early style texts.

6.4.7.5. Scene 5: *Quetzaltenango*

The texts for this entire scene involving the Princes' interview with Alvarado are slightly expanded in Cantel and Joyabaj but without significant addition of meaning except for Quirijol's speech near the end. Quirijol elaborates on his desire to marry a Native woman, noting that there are many such women in sad huts dying of hunger and subsisting on weeds. They have too many children and the cabbages are useless so they are dying. This is a clear reference to late 19th century conditions, not those of ca. 1600. Most of this scene and the following scene are missing from the San Cristóbal texts.

6.4.7.6. Scene 6: *Q'umarcaaj*

After the usual meeting of Rey K'iche' with Alvarado, Rey K'iche' relates his revelatory dream in a long narrative. In Cantel and Joyabaj the same content is shortened and reworded and some of the *romance* format retained. Alvarado then invites the K'iche' into the church to pledge loyalty to the king and receive baptism, a passage that seems complete in Joyabaj but is curtailed in the Cantel text.

6.4.8. Coda: *Despedida*

As the San Cristóbal texts lack the final pages, the *despedida* speeches by the two *gracejos* are known from more heavily modified texts such as the published Cantel version and the text collected from Chichicastenango. Ajitz begins the paired *despedida* speeches with a short text announcing the end of the presentation and explaining that the K'iche' were baptized by Alvarado and their empire ended. Quirijol has a longer speech in which he repeats the reference to baptism but also warns the audience that one of the personages became a devil. He then sends the audience on their way with a pleasant description of their coming journey home. These speeches lack poetic form though there is a hint of interest in couplets.

6.4.9 Review of Significant Changes in Cantel Lineage Texts

Cantel lineage texts make some important changes in the depiction of character for several major personages of the drama.

Most importantly, Tekum's presence and character are greatly amplified. Several added speeches focus on Tekum's heroic character. These include monologues distributed throughout the first and second

parts as well as long interchanges with Alvarado during the extended battle scene challenges. In Joyabaj, that heroism is made even more present by Tekum's inclusion in the scene of the Spanish entrada as he responds to each of Alvarado's four speeches. As a result, the slight doubts and vacillations used in the original text to fill out his character as a tragic hero are overwhelmed by a continuity of firm determination to resist. In the scene before the battle, it is instructive that a greatly altered text replaces Tekum's profound moment of psychological depth in the original, in which he begins with hesitant confusion, then narrates the vision of his coming death, and finally makes the fatal choice, resolving to fight anyway because he prefers death in battle to the Rey K'iche's helplessness. The altered Cantel text is simply another heroic statement that he will fight or die. Added to this is a clear indication that Tekum is quick to anger, a "furious lion." This shift is first presented and clearly drawn in his reaction to Ajitz's gloomy predictions in the prologue, suggesting that his anger interferes with reasoning and thus closes him to Ajitz's knowledge.

While Alvarado's role is amplified by the expansion of his speeches in the entrada scene, his character is neither shifted nor enhanced—it remains martial and authoritative. These may also be considered heroic qualities, so that subtler differences from the character of Tekum stand out in relief and thereby allow these two leaders to function as foils for each other. Thus Alvarado's calm self-assurance contrast with Tekum's quickness to anger. Further, Alvarado's reserve in fighting for church and king contrasts starkly with Tekum's almost histrionic assertions of willingness to die for his country, giving Tekum a more immediate presence that likely serves to engage audience involvement with the hero's goals and actions.

As noted, Tzunun is also depicted two-dimensionally in the original text, and in the Cantel lineage texts is just briefly given more depth through the indication of "survivor guilt." On the Spanish side, Carrillo occupies the second position, analogous to that of Tzunun. In the original text, Carrillo's main function was to pair with Cardona as an ambassador. In contrast, the Cantel lineage texts amplify Carrillo's role and to parallel that of Tzunun as being second-in-command. Thus Carrillo provides the spyglass, carries out Alvarado's order to appoint a sentry, and inventories the forces at their command.

Gracejo aspects of the role of Ajitz along with that of Quirijol shift considerably in the Cantel lineage texts. Much of the convoluted wordplay and hyperbole as well as biblical references and references to Spanish history and popular culture that characterized their monologues in the original text are shortened, modified, or replaced by very different texts. This is particularly appropriate, as their presence in the original makes more sense as a *siglo de oro* play than as a religious text. The meaning of their monologues likely escaped Maya listeners for as long as they were used. The two characters' roles as *gracejos* are not diminished however, as in several texts of the Cantel lineage they are accorded long monologues in the coda.

Some of the Cantel texts also greatly expand Ajitz's role, modifying his character and elaborating on his relationship with Tekum. This theme is first presented in the added prologue, in which Ajitz is presented not as cowardly but as highly superstitious, relying on signs and divination but correctly predicting the Spanish invasion and the resulting defeat of the kingdom, the death of many and slavery of the survivors. Ajitz's *gracejo* role as servant of a leader and of relating events to the present of the audience are both amplified in his lament over Tekum's death in which he predicts the erection of a monument to Tekum.

The narrative arc of Rey K'iche' that had been worked out in lengthy monologues as the psychological core of the original play has receded in importance as Tekum's heroism and Ajitz's superstition take centre stage.

I noted that certain texts added after 1870 were likely designed to "catch up" with already consistent pantomimes. In the San Cristóbal text, the obvious example is an added speech for Ajitz to Rey K'iche' in part III, the Tzunun embassy. In the dialogue preceding Tzunun's departure, Ajitz steadfastly refuses to accompany him, yet always does. In most communities, Ajitz merely witnesses the dialogue, but in San Cristóbal he has been given a speech in which he attempts to calm the panicked ruler by assuring him that the gods will ensure their victory. With this in mind, other textual additions may be postulated as instances that "catch up" with established pantomime. These include the song and declaimed text by the Princes and Malinches in their *despedida*, a scene not in the original or in any other text I have seen. Also the song of *despedida* is in K'iche' rather than Spanish. Another likely example of catch-up concerns the scene of the Aztec messenger. And finally, a long series of short monologues was cobbled together to divide the series of skirmishes and cruzadas into which the battle sequence came to be divided.

The considerable modifications evident in the Cantel lineage texts also reference ideas and information not available or current at the likely time of original composition around 1600. These include: references to many specific localities in and around the Samalá River valley, several recorded by their Spanish names; references to a sequence of battles in various places; references to *conquistadores* who served with any of the Alvarado brothers and cousins. Also included are examples of misinformation first generated by chronicler Fuentes y Guzmán in the late 17th century and repeated by subsequent chroniclers. These include: that Tekum died in the battle of Urbina; that Tekum's surname was Umán; and that Tekum's forces numbered 230,000. Incorporation of sections from the Mexican national anthem represents another updating.

Many of these changes betray the style and events of the times in which they were written. As discussed at length in chapter 7, Post 1870 liberal nationalist ideology is evident in the many exhortations to defend the beloved "patria." Romanticisms of the age include Ajitz couching the prediction of defeat in metaphoric terms, saying that "the doors of the temple will close." Ajitz also

makes a specific reference to the statue of Tekum that in 1933–34 was being planned for Cerro El Baul, where Tekum was thought to have been buried, and which was at that time renamed Cerro Tecún Umán.

Some general changes that go beyond the character of individuals are also apparent. First, poetic form is considerably loosened. In the Cantel and Joyabaj texts rhyme is often completely absent, especially in the introduced monologues. The San Cristóbal text pays far more attention to poetry, but a monologue will often be composed of several different poetic forms. The San Cristóbal text is thus of an earlier character that accords with the information from Francisco Hernández who serves as *maestro*, *autor* and Ajitz in San Cristóbal, that it is derived from a text of 1915, the year that a *Conquista* dance group was formed in San Cristóbal rather than inviting the Cantel lineage to perform for its *feria*. This text must have been subsequently updated, as it contains the reference to the 1934 monument proposal.

Finally, a different approach to the telling of this story has shifted the narrative structure. In the original text, judging from the early style texts under review, information is revealed gradually and sequentially in order to provide logic and animation to the narrative, including character development particularly for Rey K'iche' and Tekum. Many of the Cantel lineage modifications alter this procedure. Added lines frequently bring in ideas or sentiments that originally appeared later in the text as responses to changed conditions. In some cases, as with Rey K'iche', the change or addition of some lines and retention of others results in contradictory stands of courageous resistance and timorous submission. Most importantly, Tekum's knowledge of the Spanish invasion is moved forward, though variously in the different Cantel lineage texts, so that his heroic resolve to fight no matter the cost remains consistent throughout. In this revised approach to narrative, character is given at the start, rather than developing through the course of the drama. This shift is likely due in part to the fact that by the late 19th and early 20th centuries the dance and its story were very familiar to the audience, who knew when to expect comic pantomime, the excitement of battle, or the pathos of a hero's death. The dance was no longer being performed to educate or change a viewer's outlook, as was the original designed as theatre of conversion. Rather the dance was performed as an offering and obligation as well as a retelling of shared history.

6.5. *Dioses* Lineage

6.5.1. Introduction

Barbara Bode identified this lineage, calling it the *Dioses Inmortales* variant after the initial line beginning Rey K'iche's monologue: "*Venid Dioses inmortales*" (Come immortal gods). Bode (1961: 249) obtained information in Momostenango suggesting this variant dates back at least to 1894. This variant, hereafter referred to simply as the *Dioses* version, represents a complete re-writing of the text,

leaving virtually none of the original language. However, it follows the narrative development of the early style text precisely, shifting only minor points.

The author of this variant composed the text almost entirely in the *redondilla abrazada* form, so it represents the only *Conquista* variant that depends on a single form throughout. Such consistent use of the *redondilla abrazada* is shared with texts for other dances dating after the early colonial period, such as some versions of the *Baile del Torito*. With this consistency, there will be no need to discuss this texts' poetic form further in the analysis of deviations from the early style texts.

Due to the extensive re-writing, it will be necessary again to go through the narrative in detail and highlight important differences from the early style texts, though these will prove to be much less drastic than with the Cantel lineage texts. For the *Dioses* variant standard I will be using the text from Rabinal as the other two texts reviewed (Momostenango and San Andrés Xecul) are composite texts that include many subsequent changes, with several passages borrowed from other text lineages. Bode obtained the Rabinal text from a school teacher who claimed he had received it around 1927, but Bode argued that its condition indicated a production date before 1900 (1961: 241).

6.5.2. Part I

6.5.2.1. Scene 1: Q'umarcaaj

Rey K'iche's two monologues in the first scene are condensed into the single opening monologue of the *Dioses* text. The two early style text monologues together equal 80 lines while the *Dioses* single version of thirty *redondillas abrazadas* totals 120 lines. This expansion in length is typical of the *Dioses* variant. In such expansions, ideas expressed in the early style text are retained but with greater elaboration in some instances, and with insertion of new ideas or information in others. Several specific changes to Rey K'iche's monologue will also prove typical of the remainder of the script.

For example, in the early text *Valedme* monologue, Rey K'iche' asks for help from the gods in vague terms. In contrast, in the first four *redondillas* of the *Dioses* variant, Rey K'iche' calls deities through their idols, which are referred to by the term for Roman household gods (“lares y penates”),¹⁵ to save the fatherland from tyrant oppressors. He offers to sacrifice captives so the gods will favour the K'iche'. He refers to the Spaniards as infernal creatures and asks the gods to liberate the K'iche' from such conquerors, noting that defense of ones country of birth is a holy and sacred cause. This short opening thus adapts more recent terms as well as romantic nationalist sentiments and it shows the growing 19th century exoticizing interest in Amerindian religious practices of idol-worship and human sacrifice.

¹⁵ The term “lares and penates” was commonly used to refer to pagan idols or household treasures in the late 19th and early 20th centuries if not earlier.

In following quatrains of the opening monologue in the *Dioses* version, Rey K'iche' elaborates further on Motecuhzoma's fate, describing his imprisonment, torture, and death. Actually the description is of Cuauhtémoc's torture, a subject of nationalist interest in Mexico in the late 19th century (Earle 2007: 33–34, 77). Compounding misinformation, the *Dioses* text accuses Cuauhtémoc of participating in Motecuhzoma's execution to further his own ambitions as emperor.

In the concluding portions of Rey K'iche's monologue in the *Dioses* version, instead of planning a barricade and ambush under a pretense of submission, Rey K'iche' anticipates the Princes' argument that Tekum must be brought to lead the resistance.

For this monologue and the remainder of the scene, it will be remembered that early style texts build up information, responses, and dramatic tension gradually, climaxing with the Princes' decisive action in counterpoint to Rey K'iche's weakness and vacillation. By contrast, the *Dioses* version reduces emotional content and dramatic development, which along with the forwarding of ideas that were expressed later in the early style texts (i.e. here Rey K'iche' proposes fetching Tekum), maintains a more steadily heroic tone evinced both by Rey K'iche' and Princes. This more consistent heroic tone is shared with texts of the Cantel lineage, as are the romantic nationalist sentiments and provision of additional historical details relevant to the conquest period. However, the bold reference to human sacrifice in the *Dioses* texts is unique.

6.5.2.2. Scene 2: *Quetzaltenango*

Whereas in the early texts Tekum is startled by the Princes' news of the Spanish invasion, in the *Dioses* variant he appears to already be informed so he immediately responds with information on his assembled troops and his desire to kill the enemy. As with the Cantel texts, a continuity of character and knowledge is maintained throughout rather than developing in a logical sequence. Comments on military strength are repeated in Tekum's response to Ajitz's fears. Such comments continue throughout the text and constitute one of its distinctive characteristics.

6.5.2.3. Scene 3: *Q'umarcaaj*

Tekum's contribution to the interview with Rey K'iche' is more forcefully heroic than in the early texts. In contrast, Rey K'iche's also increased heroism takes a romantic turn with a flowery metaphor articulating the Spanish viewpoint that the invaders represent the brilliance of the rising sun that will disperse the mist of the K'iche' nation.¹⁶

¹⁶ *Como cuando el sol al oriente
Brillante y resplandeciente
Su fulgor dispersará.*

6.5.2.4. Scene 4: Quetzaltenango

In his opening monologue in the *Dioses* version, Tekum provides more detail on his military strength and strategy, giving specific numbers of the different divisions and detailing their weaponry as being able to defeat Spanish firearms. He also corrects the early text's misidentification of Alvarado's Mexican soldiers as being from Tepeaca, instead more accurately identifying them as Tlaxcaltecos. Ajitz's magical weaponry is also more carefully specified. Whereas in the early texts he merely said he would harass the Spaniards in the form of a quetzal, in the *Dioses* version he promises to produce all kinds of venomous animals, thus causing the enemy to flee.

6.5.3. Part II

6.5.3.1. Scene 1: Spanish Camp

Alvarado's *Dioses* variant entrance speech that begins Part II differs significantly from the early style texts. His statement of goals eliminates the legal standard that Indigenous Americans are to be converted to Christianity and become subjects of the Spanish crown. Instead, war is his only motivation. More interesting is Alvarado's battle plan. He reminds his soldiers of their startling victory at the great battle of Otumba, during the Spaniards' flight from Tenochtitlan to Tlaxcala. He claims that their victory against greater forces was made possible by Cortés killing the high priest and Alvarado killing the general. Although Alvarado makes these claims to animate his campaign against the K'iche', they become prophetic for the turning point of the *Conquista* when Alvarado kills Tekum and Tzunun surrenders. On the other hand, this point may suggest that Alvarado was specifically looking to kill Tekum. However, in the *Conquista* text it is Tekum who uses Cortés' strategy when he attempts to kill Alvarado.

Alvarado's reference is also interesting for its distorted record of the Otumba battle. There were three markedly different versions of this battle written in the 16th century and as all were published by the time the *Dioses* was written, they would have stimulated a popular knowledge on which the author likely drew. The earliest and briefest record appears in the second letter that Cortés wrote to Carlos V. After noting that his forces were wounded, tired, hungry and outnumbered, Cortés says that several of the principal fighters of the enemy were killed in a long battle. He adds that when the enemy leader was killed the enemy ceased fighting.¹⁷ The second version was by Cortés secretary, Francisco López de Gómara (1964: 255), who not having witnessed the event, aggrandized Cortés' heroism, numbering the enemy at 200,000, and giving Cortés credit for killing the enemy commander. The third version was by Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1844: I, 355–56), who did participate in the Otumba battle and was

¹⁷ <http://www.artehistoria.jcyl.es/v2/contextos/9744.htm>

incensed at López de Gómara's inaccuracies throughout his text. According to Bernal Díaz, after the mounted soldiers broke through the enemy lines at Otumba, Cortés sought out their commander, rode up to him and knocked him down with his lance. When the commander tried to flee, another Spanish soldier chased him on horseback and knocked him down again, presumably killing him, and took his war standard and headdress as trophies. With the loss of the war standard, the enemy became dispirited and the battle turned in the Spaniards' favour. Thus the addition of a high priest in the *Dioses* script may be ascribed to late 19th century romanticism, while the ascription of the Otumba commander's death to Alvarado, who is not mentioned in any of the three accounts, may be explained by his greater importance in Guatemala as its conqueror.

Quirijol's speech following the Spaniards' reports maintains some of the character of the *gracejo*, including his interest in fighting and food, and self-consciously noting his propensity to humour, but now without hyperbole.

As Alvarado has previously made conquest his only goal, his rationale for sending the Ambassadors to Tekum's headquarters is to spy in the enemy defenses and observe the disposition of the K'iche' forces. Thus it is Carrillo who suggests that Tekum may be convinced to submit rather than fight. This provides a logical transition to Alvarado's customary instructions to the Ambassadors, that they present the terms of what is termed a treaty to Tekum and that the overwhelming military force of the Spanish should be emphasized. Though not stated overtly, the intent is clear that Tekum must accept Christianity and Spanish rule in order to avoid war. This is the usual argument, even if obscure, and somewhat contradicts Alvarado's earlier enhanced obsession with conquest.

6.5.3.2. Scene 2: Enroute to Quetzaltenango

Though the *redondilla abrazada* format is retained, the difference involved in the Malinches' song and following dialogue being in *romancillo* form is accommodated in the *Dioses* variant by reducing the *redondilla* lines from eight to six syllables. In this song, the Malinches sing about conquerors who intend to impose a different religion and subdue the K'iche' nation. Actually, there is nothing in the preceding text spoken among the K'iche' personages that suggests they have been informed of the Spanish imposition of Christianity, so this is another example of knowledge treated as consistent throughout the text rather than gradually revealed.

6.5.3.3. Scene 3: Quetzaltenango

In their meeting with Ajitz, the Ambassadors immediately broach the subject of a treaty as a means to avoid war, rather than just demanding an interview as in the early style texts. When he conveys their message to Tekum, instead of insisting on blindfolds, Tekum merely demands their respect. But the nature of this respect and consequences of its failure are greatly exaggerated to characterize Tekum as

a despotic megalomaniac: a K'iche' Caligula. Tekum demands that the Ambassadors treat him like a god, and if not they will be flayed. Ajitz conveys the necessity of entering respectfully with eyes lowered, but also decides to bind the Ambassadors' hands. Thus when they begin their interchange with Tekum, the Ambassadors ask both that they be untied and that they be seated, rather than only the latter.

The Ambassadors present the Spanish terms to Tekum as in the early style texts, though the arguments concerning the Christian faith are simplified. More distinct are the arguments concerning submission to the Spanish crown. The ambassadors again present their terms as those of a treaty and insist on the superior numbers and weapons of their army, without explaining that the point of submission is to become subjects of the Spanish king, perhaps because by the 1890s, Guatemala has no king.

Tekum's response to the Ambassadors' demands is more greatly altered in the *Dioses* text. Tekum is more amused than furious at the Spaniards' audacity, claiming superior manpower though in this text not superior ingenuity. More intriguing is his reason for not rejecting his idols, here not because they are of fine metal but because they bring pleasure, followed suggestively by a statement that K'iche' women are superior to Spanish women. The Spaniards likewise depart without anger in the *Dioses* version, maintaining the tone of treaty negotiation rather than the delivery of an ultimatum.

In their dismissal following the interview, the Ambassadors not only deprecate Ajitz as subhuman—a beast and a fool—but in the *Dioses* text they add that his deformity is a sign of evil. Ajitz's monologue in response to Spanish racial discrimination is completely eliminated in the *Dioses* text.

6.5.3.4. Scene 4: Spanish Camp

When Alvarado questions the Ambassadors, his concerns in the *Dioses* text are again with a treaty and the strength of his army. The Ambassadors respond that due to being blindfolded they could not learn about Tekum's forces. Another difference in the *Dioses* version is the claim that Tekum rejected Christianity because he was too arrogant to believe that a man born humbly could be powerful. Quirijol's speech following the officers' reports goes into the usual interest in eating and having women to serve him domestically, but avoids the emphasis in the early text on fathering *mestizo* children, an issue that was more timely circa 1600 when the original text was likely written.

6.5.4. Part III

6.5.4.1. Scene 1: Quetzaltenango

Tekum's opening monologue in *Dioses* places more emphasis on his arrogance and his irritation at what he considers absurd Spanish demands related to conversion and submission. Also in the *Dioses* text, Tzunun is charged not just with advising Rey K'iche' but also gaining his assent to Tekum's decision. Ajitz's comic refusal to accompany Tzunun begins similarly in *Dioses* but again the hyperbole is toned down. The remainder of his argument, involving much word play in the early style texts, is instead replaced by a statement of Ajitz's fear of the Spaniards as beasts out to kill them.

6.5.4.2. Scene 2: Q'umarcaaj

Tzunun's explanation to Rey K'iche' of the Spanish demands and Tekum's refusal is greatly elaborated in the *Dioses* version. The proposal of a treaty is again mentioned along with the demand to change religion and the threat of superior military power including firearms. The consequence of submission is elaborated: Rey K'iche' remains the lord of the K'iche' as tributary to Don Fernando of Spain, referencing Guatemala's last Spanish king before independence. Rather than panicking as in the early style texts, in the *Dioses* text Rey K'iche' remains regal, responding with authority that Tekum's choice to resist is correct, since the Spaniards have come to enslave them. His pessimism soon returns but much milder than in the early style texts, merely showing resignation that his power and his children's inheritance will be diminished. Later, after the Malinches have sung (again to six-syllable *redondillas*) this redrawing of Rey K'iche's character becomes even more apparent. Instead of his emotional outcry in the early texts as he envisions the rape of his daughters, in the *Dioses* text Rey K'iche' shows his concern with the state and his trust in the gods to protect it.

6.5.4.3. Scene 3: Quetzaltenango

Tzunun's report to Tekum on Rey K'iche's reactions and emotional state displays a few subtle changes. Again the superiority of Spanish weaponry is emphasized more than in other text lineages and Spaniards are characterized as bloodthirsty. Also, Rey K'iche's declaration of trust in Tekum is amplified with a statement that Tekum's name will live forever because of his great deeds—an example of late 19th century romantic nationalism. When Tzunun has finished recounting the interview, Tekum overtly names him as second-in-command, anticipating the decision Tekum makes as he dies in the early style texts.

Ajitz's final speech in this scene is greatly altered. The *Dioses* text eliminates references specific to the 16th century of small pox and Mexican women traveling with the army to feed them. Instead Ajitz claims that with the Devil's help he works evil through spells and enchantments. He specifically chooses love charms as a way to defeat the Spaniards, making them die of rage and spite. Love charms are perhaps a logical romantic era substitution referencing contemporary views of Indigenous witchcraft, though incongruous in this context of invasion.

6.5.5. Part IV

6.5.5.1. Scene 1: Quetzaltenango

Tekum's monologue and the *Cacique* reports are eliminated in the *Dioses* version, leaving only Tekum's brief encouragement of his forces.

6.5.5.2. Scene 2: Spanish Camp

Alvarado does speak briefly in the *Dioses* text, followed by his officers' reports. Quirijol's speech following the reports is eliminated.

6.5.5.3. Scene 3: Battlefield

Tekum's outburst concerning the terrible losses suffered by his army is amplified in the *Dioses* version with an explanation of the effect of Spanish firepower that terrifies his men and causes them to flee. The *Dioses* version eliminates the more supernatural aspect where Tekum recounts that he has risen twice into the air already, which will presage his death the third time—a logical choice since the monologue in which he recounts this dream in the first scene of Part IV is also eliminated. So instead Tekum claims that he will advance to the front as a furious lion seeking vengeance, suggesting he has decided to meet Alvarado in hand-to-hand combat.

Alvarado's statements in mid-battle in the early style texts concern the loss of his horse and his need to borrow Portocarrero's lance. In the *Dioses* version there is no mention of a horse but only the request for a lance. Alvarado also anticipates the outcome by stating that once he has killed Tekum the rest will submit.

As also occurs in the Cantel lineage texts, Tekum's death speech in the *Dioses* version is greatly elaborated both in length and in style, with many flowery romanticisms and with the updated reference to Xequikel as the battleground. Tekum laments the fate that led him to his death and asks Tzunun to take him to Rey K'iche'. If he is not still alive on arrival, Tzunun should tell Rey K'iche' that he died a proud king. His speech then turns utterly romantic:

*Ya no es posible vivir;
Columbre la eternidad
Adiós patria, adiós ciudad.
Ya no los veré sufrir.*

My end is near.
Let me glimpse eternity.
Farewell fatherland, farewell city.
I will no longer see their suffering.

In the *Dioses* version, Ajitz's lament comes directly after Tekum's death speech rather than following Tzunun's interchange with the *Caciques*. The *Dioses* text takes advantage of the situation for Ajitz to paint a romanticized portrait of Tekum as a glorious ruler and valourous fighter. Tzunun then states that without Tekum, they can no longer avoid submission. Consistent with the tenor of Part II, Tzunun does not suggest conversion to Christianity.

6.5.5.4. Scene 4: Q'umarcaaj

Tzunun presents Tekum's insignia to Rey K'iche', including not only his crown but also the royal sceptre and his quetzal crest, the latter representing a late 19th century updating influenced by the national government's equation of Tekum and the quetzal as symbols of liberty and defense of the nation. Rey K'iche's response is to decide to submit to Alvarado, a decision with which Tzunun approves, saying that Alvarado is well educated and will treat them with honour. There is no mention yet of conversion. Again the theme of fame and history arises in the Rey K'iche's response to the Malinche's song, pondering Tekum's enduring heroism as defender.

Rey K'iche's instructions to the Princes on the message they are to deliver to Alvarado takes up similar topics to the early style texts but with greater elaboration. In addition to inviting Alvarado to make a pact with him, Rey K'iche' talks of friendship and honour to the great conqueror. In his discussion of Christianity, now understood as part of the plan, Rey K'iche' refers to this religion as the religion of Europe that has civilized the world, noting also that if Alvarado does not come, they cannot receive baptism. Rey K'iche's assurance that he can be trusted is amplified with a promise not to take up arms against Alvarado. Also, Rey K'iche' refers to Alvarado as a *caudillo*, a term for a political and military leader used in the *reconquista* but in Guatemala more prominent in late 19th and early 20th centuries.

6.5.5.5. Scene 5: Quetzaltenango

The Princes' interchange with Quirijol, as they seek an interview with Alvarado, is greatly elaborated in the *Dioses* version. In response to the Princes' request, Quirijol notes that he lacks the authority to accede, even though he trusts them. The Princes suggest Quirijol send an orderly to Alvarado but none is available. Nevertheless, Quirijol is so charmed by the Princes he decides to disobey orders and abandon his post in order to take their message. The Princes offer to substitute for Quirijol and act as sentries in his absence.

Quirijol then goes to Moreno and asks permission to see Alvarado, which Moreno grants. Quirijol tells Alvarado that the ambassadors from Rey K'iche' have arrived and he has left them at his post. Alvarado is interested in talking to them and gives his permission for them to enter. Quirijol then returns to the

Princes and accompanies them to Alvarado's station. Quirijol asks Moreno to let them pass and Moreno does so. Finally, the Princes are able to converse with Alvarado.

Note that in the early texts, this scene and the Ambassadors' earlier meeting with the youths are peppered with statements of admiration for their feather adornments, but these are not mentioned in the *Dioses* text. Presumably this is because by the end of the 19th century, both K'iche' and Spanish personages were wearing similarly decorated costumes in the dance, as they do now, and feathers had come to be restricted to the headdress.

As noted earlier, in the early style texts Alvarado's courtesy in offering the Princes a seat is designed as counterpoint to Tekum's denial of a seat to the Ambassadors. This interchange is eliminated in the *Dioses* text, an example of its deviation from the use of contrasts or foils.

The Princes' message to Alvarado is significantly changed from the early style texts. For example, while earlier the reason for summoning Alvarado is related to Rey K'iche's desire for baptism, in the *Dioses* version the theme reappears that when the military leader is killed the army can no longer fight. The Princes describe the now-subdued Rey K'iche' as a flower that has retained its colour but lost its fragrance. Also in response to Alvarado's question about Tekum, the Princes give a more elaborate description of his burial. Alvarado responds with admiration for the deceased K'iche' leader, using the updated name Tecún Umán.

Whereas in the early style texts, after the Princes have departed, Alvarado asks his officers for their impression of the royal youths, in the *Dioses* text the discussion is about their glorious victory, again emphasizing how Alvarado's victory will be recorded in history. Thus whereas the structure of the early style texts focuses on the gradual unfolding of current events, in the *Dioses* text events are described from the later viewpoint, contemporary with its composition, as a history of past events.

6.5.5.6. Scene 6: Q'umarcaaj

Rey K'iche's monologue that forms the core of this concluding scene is altered in some manners typical of the *Dioses* version. The premise of a prophetic dream is abandoned as is much of the description of the tenets of the Christian faith. Instead Rey K'iche' asks for baptism in order to be incorporated into the religion that has civilized the world. He further argues that when his followers see him kneel for baptism, they will be motivated to do the same. He asks that Alvarado sponsor his baptism and Alvarado agrees to do so. But unlike the early style texts where the event takes place immediately, Alvarado advises that the conversion will take place on the following Sunday. Rey K'iche' responds that he yearns for this day of his rebirth.

6.5.6. Coda: *Despedida*

Ajitz begins the *despedidas* by recounting events that transpire after the final scene, lamenting the loss of their land as the K'iche' took baptism. In some versions Ajitz then announces his refusal to convert and in others his choice of conversion with rejection of his prior religion. But in both he claims to be content that the Spaniards prevailed. Quirijol then bids farewell to the audience. He too will withdraw but for him it is to seek out the pretty women. Quirijol then notes that they have bored the audience long enough with speeches, dance, and narrative. He ends by thanking the audience for their attention.

6.5.7. Summary on the *Dioses* texts

Despite having been completely rewritten in a new poetic format of consistent *redondillas abrazadas*, the *Dioses* texts are much more conservative than the Cantel lineage texts in their lack of added scenes, multiplied monologues, or repeated *desafíos*. However, the tenor of the text is greatly altered. Except for Tekum's outburst concerning potential punishment for the Ambassadors before he has met them, the character of most personages has been smoothed out. For example, Rey K'iche' remains authoritative, never becoming too emotional, despondent, or panicked. Ajitz readily admits to witchcraft and the Devil's aid, but otherwise the supernatural is largely eliminated, with the near absence of prophetic dreams and no mention of Tekum rising into the air or killing Alvarado's horse. Speeches by the two *gracejos* are shorter and phrased in clearer language, eliminating biblical and other historical references as well as word play. Significantly, Rey K'iche', representing the K'iche' viewpoint, appear more positive about Alvarado, the conquest, Christianity and baptism.

Also shared with Cantel lineage texts is the inclusion of additional information on the conquest. Various scenes of battle are named, including Xequikel and Urbina, the latter of which is still absent from the action of the drama. Alvarado's Tlaxcalan allies are properly identified, and Cuauhtémoc is discussed in an historically garbled manner. The discussion of Cortés' victory at Otumba in 1519 provides an interesting excuse for the duel of champions that will take place at the dance's climax. An added historical reference in the *Dioses* concerns Rey K'iche's call for human sacrifice to gain the gods' support against the Spaniards. From Fuentes y Guzmán, the *Dioses* author took an estimate of Tekum's forces. This is consistent with a general characteristic of the *Dioses* text: laced through it are several references to the size and character of military forces and weapons. This emphasis on military capacity likely contributes to a point made several times in the *Dioses* text concerning how history will look upon these conquest events. This understanding of history as hindsight likely also explains why Alvarado's terms of surrender are consistently referred to as a treaty.

6.6. Chronological implications of changes in poetic form and structure

Barbara Bode's documentation indicates that, with the exception of the devotional *loa*-style dedications added to the conclusion, intentional modifications of the *Baile de la Conquista* date after 1870 and peak around the turn of the century. Thus by the early 20th century, at least five *Conquista* text lineages were in simultaneous use in Maya communities in Guatemala: the early style text exemplified by scripts of Cobán and Sacapulas, and four lineages of modified texts. These lineages have remained fairly distinct despite the fact that innovations tended to be freely exchanged, surfacing in texts of different lineages than that from which they originated.¹⁸

An aspect of loosening restrictions on the *Conquista* text that led to rampant modifications after 1870 is the loosening of poetic structure and form. While other explanations are certainly possible for such changes, it is worth pursuing the hypothesis that there is a significant chronological element to this progression. This hypothesis may be briefly tested against three of the text lineages that appear to have developed after 1870. The exception is the Cunén lineage, which is distinguished more by absences than additions, except for the concluding *despedida* speeches by the two *gracejos* that are likely to have been adopted from the Cantel or *Dioses* texts.

Opportunities for modification occur each time a text is copied, and after 1870 many such modifications were intentional rather than merely copying errors. Thus a particular text may incorporate several episodes of modification. Insufficient evidence is available to interpret the chronology of these changes except in broad strokes. The best that can be accomplished at this point is to distinguish three categories. The Tecpán lineage texts may serve as an example. Most of the text is of the early style, representing the earliest layer and distinguished by brevity of statement, clear structuring of poetic forms, and the particular forms discussed in the first chapter of this part, such as the *décima*, *décima* split by couplets, *copla de arte menor*, *redondilla abrazada*, and *romance*. The concluding dedications of the Cobán 1872, though added subsequently, share the *redondilla abrazada* and *romance* form as well as an 8-line form I cannot identify. In contrast, the analogous dedications written for Tecpán lineage texts are largely in the *romance* form, despite the fact that a passage assigning a quatrain to each speaker lends itself better to the *redondilla*. The other important foundational elements of the Tecpán lineage that constitute the second layer of text are the two added scenes in Part II. Each of these scenes is composed of a seemingly haphazard succession of different poetic forms, so although the forms are maintained, the logical structuring of such forms characteristic of the early style texts has lapsed. A third layer of the Tecpán lineage text involves smaller changes of

¹⁸ For example, the Tepe scene characteristic of the Tecpán lineage appears in highly modified form in the Cunén lineage text of Uspantán, while the *despedidas* by *gracejos* found in the later text lineages (Cantel and *Dioses*) is used in the Cunén lineage texts. The Ajitz prologue, characteristic of the Cantel lineage, is used with the Tepe scene in the composite text from Concepción Chiquirichiapa. The *Dioses* lineage text used at Momostenango incorporates Tekum's interruption into the first scene that is characteristic of the Cantel lineage. Some other and newer introductions from after 1900 show up in different lineages. These include having lines for Ajitz Chiquito that repeat those of Ajitz Grande, as in Joyabaj (Cantel lineage) and San Andrés Xecul (*Dioses* lineage).

a few lines each, which generally lack any poetic form. If the date on the Lemoa text is accurate, which I believe it is, then all three layers of the Tecpán lineage texts, the early style basis and two recent layers of modification, were in place by 1895.

Cantel lineage texts are less uniform, in part due to the presence of at least two competing groups of authors in that community, and the evidence for more episodes of modification than in other text lineages. Using the Tecpán layered progression as reference, it would appear that the text in use in San Cristóbal Totonicapán represents an earlier stage in revision than the Cantel text published in 1934 or the text now in use in Joyabaj. This is because the major modifications in the San Cristóbal text, such as the prologue and several additional speeches for Tekum and Ajitz share with the two added Tecpán scenes the maintenance of diverse poetic forms while arranging them in a haphazard succession. The San Cristóbal text continued to be updated, however. The Lacandón scene is likely later as it lacks poetic form. Similarly Ajitz's speech of grieving is a later addition which not only lacks poetic form but also, like the 1934 publication, includes reference to the planned monument to Tekum. In general the 1934 text and the Joyabaj text involve far more added passages, generally without poetic form, that greatly extend the length of the script.

The *Dioses* script is represents a departure since it was completely rewritten and thus lacks the early style layer. The earliest known *Dioses* text was collected by Bode in Rabinal and dated by her to around 1900. The poetic structure and form of the text are unique as it involves a single form throughout. The Momostenango text introduced in 1894 according to Bode's information, was likely similar to the Rabinal text she collected. However the text now in use in Momostenango involves additions that are taken from the Cantel and early style texts.

In comparing the three lineages, late style additions lacking poetic form involve only a few lines in the Tecpán lineage, a significant portion of the San Cristóbal version of the Cantel lineage texts, and a far greater proportion of the Cantel and Joyabaj texts. This suggests that the Tecpán lineage text developed earlier than that of the Cantel lineage. The earliest *Dioses* lineage text (from Rabinal) may come between these, since it uses a new poetic structure but lacks free verse and makes less radical changes in content than those of Cantel. Evidence that the Tecpán text already has a second layer of modification by 1895, the same year the *Dioses* text is said to have been introduced in Momostenango, support this hypothesis. A relative chronology may thus be proposed for sequential development of the Tecpán, *Dioses* and Cantel lineages. Suggestion of an absolute chronology for the introduction of these three lineages is not yet possible.¹⁹

¹⁹ Bode found evidence to estimate the date in which a copy was made on the basis of handwriting and whether the poetic line was preserved or the text was run together. This distinction seems useful but the date of a copy does not indicate the date at which its text was developed.