



Social History of Jocotenango, Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción 1851 to 1950

Julio Roberto Taracena Enriquez

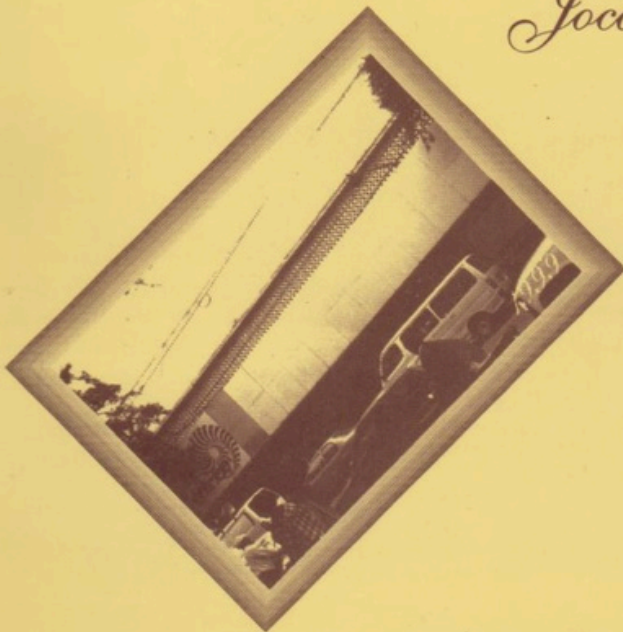
CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS FOLKLÓRICOS

Booklet 123

the past



*Barrio de
Jocotenango*



today

UNIVERSIDAD DE SAN CARLOS DE GUATEMALA

Fountain and Walkway of the Naranjitos Town of Jocotenango, 1875 (Photo Edward Muybridge collection Museo Nacional de Historia).



Ceiba and Church of the town of Jocotenango, 1875. (Photo Edward Muybridge collection Museo Nacional de Historia).



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place where the 'paseo de los naranjitos' used to be.
6ta avenida norte de las zonas 1 y 2. 1999. Barrio de Jocotenango
(photo Jairo Gamaliel Cholutio Corea)

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INTRODUCTION

Historical development implies a series of processes in the cultural patterns within society. They are affected by the circumstances derived from different types of development: technological innovation or events that take place in a broader spatial context or outside of it. However, the culture of the people remains rooted in elements that allow not only their representation but also the identity that distinguishes them from others.

People's cultural patterns are reproduced through multiple mechanisms, be it unconscious or conscious. Oral tradition is part of these mechanisms, playing an important role in guarding, identifying, and preserving the culture, particularly in societies such as Guatemala.

Oral tradition transmits and defines a huge part of popular knowledge; its legacy is manifested through wording. At the same time, it structures an important feature in the social development of communities; thanks to this, the particularities that are noted in their order do not take a restricted or strict direction, but rather

leads the popular knowledge to an extended complexity and consistency of its content. Among the inherent aspects of oral tradition, as well as any social process, manifests an independent dynamic that at the same time its evolving in time and space and within the group it reproduces.

The components that conform oral tradition are the stories of particular events, considered in their majority not transcendental, but which contain a certain degree of social impact. These events that are not

taken into account in the creation of what is known as the official history of the peoples, but it is for a specific group or section of the population in which everyday events vitalize and give meaning to their existence; events that are transmitted by the wording and we will denominate **oral history**.

It is through oral history that the ways of living of the people is recorded. This is commonly interpreted as a true fact by the individuals who experimented and spread it.



Family House of the Leche Family located at 6a. Calle zona 1, in Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción. This is where the ancient town of Jocotenango was founded (photo: Jairo Cholorío, 1999).



It's the one that justifies and opposes what is systematically recorded in official history. The stories and narrations are the channels through which details and intimacy, and above all those fragile aspects with a high content of human essentiality that go unnoticed; these elements are transmitted through orality. Its own nature fills it with a dynamic history and with meaning, more than just a cold fact on a page of paper or in an electronic processor.

The content of this booklet presents a reconstruction of the social history of a town from Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción, as it is Jocotenango. This place was originally relocated and when the relocation was conducted from the city of Santiago de Guatemala (in the Panchoy Valley) in 1775 to the Valley of the Virgin, it was located at the northern end of the emerging city. The town of Jocotenango was initially home to the indigenous population, who provided labor force to carry out the daunting task of constructing the New capital of the Kingdom. However, as years passed, this place of socialization took another meaning from the one it was originally meant to. With the rapid development of the city and its proximity to the area of Jocotenango, it absorbed the extension of the town, first, including it as one of the cantons that constituted it; then, as a neighborhood, and, finally, as part of the zonal organization of the metropolis.

Looking beyond the evolution of its territorial composition, it is the issue with the process of the social relationships imposed on the population that has inhabited said area, first as a segregated indigenous community and later on as an area of the urban heart of the city. It is through the reconstruction of the past, of the written sources and oral history, that this research was carried out to reinforce the methodology, in research of communities, so not only documental sources or the field work will be taken into account but

also the particularities preserved in the memory of the community and expressed in oral tradition.

This work, Social History of Jocotenango, unfolds in the content of this booklet that's divided in two parts. The first describes the social history of the area. The second refers to the history of Jocotenango based in tradition and oral history.

Social History of Jocotenango, in Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción

Indigenous and Spanish communities

Considering the patterns of development of the spanish cities in America during the XV and XVIII centuries, which established the boundaries of racial and cultural segregation, the indigenous communities should be located on the borders or isolated from the hearts of spanish communities. As a reference, let's quote the institutions of the time (*repartimientos and encomiendas systems*). This segregation established policies in which the Indigenous people were to be kept isolated from Spanish contact. "In 1550, the viceroy of Nueva España was instructed to keep the single male Spanish away from the indigenous communities that lived between the natives and forcibly seized their wives and daughters and dispossessed them of their property. The expulsion ordinance threatened the spanish that were established and acquired properties and practiced commerce. The natives could not establish themselves in Spanish cities but only in separate Indigenous neighborhoods that the spanish couldn't occupy, not even the encomendaderos were allowed to settle in the Indigenous jurisdiction of the encomienda" (konotzke, 1981:195). [The encomienda and repartimiento systems were key labor institutions in Spanish colonial America.] Despite the alienation, the indigenous community had to be available to the needs of the spanish, and that's the reason for the proximity of their communities, they could not distance themselves from the spanish cities.

Description of the settlement area of Jocotenango

Based on the current system of territorial nomenclature, the former municipality, later *Barrio de Jocotenango*, would be located in a sector of zona 2: precisely in the space limited by 1 calle al Sur; 7 avenida al Este; 3 avenida al Oeste; and finally north of the Hippodrome.

The town of Jocotenango was founded in Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción, founded in 1777, the year in which the disposition in the planning was stated (Sifontes, 1982:46). Jocotenango functioned as one of many of the Indigenous minorities that were predominant in this historical period of Guatemala. The particularity of the town of Jocotenango was grounded on the proximity that it had to the heart of the city, not far from 500mts from Plaza de Armas. According to the established: "the plan of the authorities was not to found new communities for the natives but to relocate the existing ones" (Op. Cit. :49), this is how Jocotenango was relocated with a matching orientation to city of Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala, that is located north of the Plaza Central, behind the parish of San Sebastián.

The area of Jocotenango was surrounded by the extensive ravine of Las Guacamayas and El Zapote, which formed a type of peninsula that bordered the access to the site. The ravines form the basin of the waters of the river El Marrullero, which has its origin in the west of Zona 6. Towards the northwest, was a spot that was frequently used as an access and communication between Chinautla and the city. This route had some baths of fresh and crystalline water that were quite crowded by the inhabitants of Jocotenango and surrounding communities, as well as the passage by hammock bridges that allowed to cross certain natural barriers.



Historical references about the place in which the town of Jocotenango was founded (before 1777)

Thanks to its proximity to the busy urban heart of the city; as a popular point of affluence, many works of

infrastructure done on the site to make possible the urbanization of the area, revealed evidence of archeological remains that thought to be lost.

What we do have reference to, is the site recorded by Edwin Shook, "Minerva,

located on the northern edge of Guatemala City. There's no mound anymore, however, a photograph toward the same old racetrack shows a mound. In the conducted

examinations in this section, many sherds were discovered in the upper soil; the period of this site is unknown." (Shook, 1952:20). This is considered as the only material remaining on

the place, which refers to the currently known prehispanic period.

Another archeological site that's relevant to the historical background of the area is at the site of El Zapote, "Towards kilometer one, to the northwest of Parque Minerva, in the septentrional of the city of Guatemala, in the lands of the festival, the remains of various low earthen mounds, on a peninsula in the valley of Guatemala located between two ravines with slopes to the north; the period of this place is unknown."

During the XVI century and from 1534 onwards, the area was attached to the *Corregimiento* of the Valley of Guatemala and categorized as an Archdiocese in 1753 (IGN, 1981:223).

The designated area for the establishment of the town of Jocotenango, before 1776, was utilized as a place for cattle grazing, paddocks, and a shipyard. The only known information about the allottees of the area is that they belonged to the Spanish Montenegro family. When planning the



Parque Morazán zone 2 in Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción. Former Plaza de Jocotenango, (photo: Jairo Choltío, 1999).

relocation of the city to the designated Valley, 9 *caballerías* and 24 blocks of lands that belonged to them and on whose land the new Jocotenango¹ was established; Nicolás Rodríguez, a possible descendant of those who came with

D. Contreras is referring to the La Virgen Valley, describing the existing community in the place before 1776, in which a small neighborhood is mentioned, at the beginning of the 15th century, being the population of La Ermita of 1,668 inhabitants that lived among 249 *ranchos*. The town had a church, the *Asunción de Nuestra Señora* (Contreras, 1991). Its confraternity was established in the hermitage of Cerrito del Carmen, went down to the Valley, and built its church, which later on became a parish. In 1784, with the relocation of the capital city, the parish of Candelaria rose, merging it with the old parish of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción (P.L., 1992).

These facts allow us to infer that in the area where the town of Jocotenango was founded, there couldn't have been a significant indigenous population, because they must have been segregated from the Spanish. The subjection to which they were subjected could have been the case that in the areas where the town was founded, there are a few Indigenous *ranchos*, who worked in the trades required by the Montenegro family.

the expeditions accompanying Pedro de Alvarado to the Kingdom, as well as Hector la Barreda, who thanks to this accomplishments in the conquest, acquired the rights of possession over some territories in these districts. In may of 1961 he gifted these areas.

The New Guatemala was settled in the lands purchased by the Most Noble City Council. Part of the 9 *caballerías* of the Montenegro were attached during the relocation to Don Fernando Corona, 20 *cuerdas* (a traditional land measure, approx. 1,722 m² in Guatemala) and 200 *varas* (Colonial Spanish yard), whose limits were to adjoin the lands adjudicated for the planned settlement of the Indigenous for the new town of Jocotenango, which would have three *caballerías*; comprehended within the possession of Montenegro. (Galicia, 1976:40-42).

Out of the land chosen by the authorities in La Virgen Valley and which were to be purchased by the city council, the land was also expropriated in exchange for land assigned in old places.

The particular case of the lands owned by the Montenegro family, were among those acquired by exchange and transfer. However, the non-compliance of the agreements settled by the authorities led to dissatisfaction and the raising of the problem before the respective legal, this is recorded in the following statement:

"Juan José Montenegro and his brother request their property title to be issued, about the 20 *caballerías* of land that the authorities point out to them in Lo de Reyes as a compensation



for the same amount they owned since the town of Jocotenango in the north of New Guatemala de la Asunción was relocated in the year of 1783" (AGC, sf: 1). The eventual lack of fulfillment of the commitment of the city council, who had acquired direct power over the property rights due to the need of having available space for the foundation of the city; before whom they agreed (most of the cases on a forced basis) to hand over the possessions of Valley of la Ermita, it led to complaints and protests of those who were affected by the expropriations.

All the proof, that discloses all the details and situation of the Montenegro family in the valley, shows however, the social activities of the time inside the district.

They enjoyed prestige and respect due to their mixed nature and for their high positions in the public administration as well as their commitment; during the period of time that it took, it is known that:

"Juan José Tiburcio Montenegro (commander at the time), in charge of the Militia infantry units of the town and barrio de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de la Ermita, de la Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción; The royal headquarters of the garrison stationed at Presidio of San Carlos in Guatemala City" (AGC, sf: 2).

Highlights the Montenegro as one the most preminent and involved figures in the valley.

Written and oral sources, in the reconstruction of the sector, (before 1776)

The previous characterization of the area, where the town of Jocotenango in the Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción was founded, gives us a closer look to the following deductions: from the methodological point of view, the information applicable to the period prior to



Building where a supermarket is located. In the 19th century, this was the site of the Cabildo building.

the year of 1776 refers that written sources do conserve a record related with the cultural aspect of the place.

Historical references of the new town of Jocotenango in Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción (during 1777 to 1850)

The planning and location of the location of the town of Jocotenango during the relocation of the valley de la Ermita, provoked the resistance of the indigenous communities² who constituted it. For them

² During the XVI century and from 1534 onwards, the area was attached to the Corregimiento of the Valley of Guatemala and categorized as an Archdiocese in 1753 (IGN, 1981:223). In relation to the data we have on the ancient residents of the town of Jocotenango in the Panchoy Valley, there are references in which Pedro de Alvarado founded a farm, calling the chiefs of the other towns whom he asked to give him so many houses for this farm, the first Indians with whom the Adelantado founded Jocotenango were those given to him by the Lord of Utatlán, with the title of Parcialidad de los Utecos and the Cakchiquel-speaking Guatemalans. Bishop Marroquin in 1716 populated

the relocation to a new settlement was a disadvantage for reasons they themselves had foreseen. This was because it would be more detrimental to them, due to the position of servitude to which they were subordinated. Concerning this, an extract of an Official letter submitted before the authorities is addressed to make the regulations

imposed to carry out the relocation of the inhabitants of Jocotenango somewhat fluid, *"The presbyter Miguel Lavarre y Tobilla, priest of this church, addressed the prosecutor on November 15, 1776, highlighting that the indigenous were not committing with their Christian duties and that a third part of the inhabitants deceived them to evade the work, for they flee, or go to other towns where they don't comeback..."* (Pérez, 1964:348-349). The obligation of helping with the labor force for

the construction of the newly founded capital, made necessary the displacement of a large contingent of indigenous people, so the authorities chose to carry out the relocation of the towns that were convenient, among them, Jocotenango.³

the Quiché and Cakchiquel farmlands: on the visit of Cortés and Larraz during 1768 to 1770, he pointed out that the inhabitants neither know nor understand Spanish; the religious festivity in which the church celebrates the day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary is a feast, dance and fair that extends from August 14 to 31, dedicated to agriculture, pig slaughtering, merchants, weavers; it is a well-to-do people and not subject to hardship. These are some of the features of the population group which would be transferred to the vicinity of the new city, whose descendants were to carry out the construction of the new capital (IGN, 1978:421-422).

³ From the population register carried out on 27 June 1775, which reports a total of 1,919 people for the town of Jocotenango (Sifontes, 1982: 23). The same number of neighbours, who were considered to be those who would populate the sector where the new



One of the dispositions and ordinances issued to proceed with the edification of the town of Jocotenango, confirms the importance given to the relocation of the Indigenous communities to the elected valley and the main reason for this was to ensure the labor force that would made possible all the operations that the foundation of the new city needed: "In Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción on February twenty-seven, year seventeen seventy-seven, Mr. Antonio de Arredondo, part of the Senior council and Commissioner for the relocation of the town of Jocotenango, is considered valid by virtue of the authority granted to it by the said commission, grants the expenses for the projects of the church, the council house and the prison, and that all Indigenous start with the construction of our temporary church and their ranchos; the construction of the parish church, thirty varas long and eight wide, and two ranchos, its assigned the amount of two thousand and five hundred pesos destined for construction and handed to the one in charge of the accounting and the report of the expenses related to his commission keeping separate accounts for the expenses incurred in the works of the church" (AGC, 1777:3)

The relocation of the town of Jocotenango took place on May 27, 1779 (Sifontes, 1982:49). The population was obliged to give the masonry workforce needed, carrying out the construction of different buildings that were essential to the society of the time; this major work was promptly undertaken, "*at the end of the XVIII century, the construction of the Captains General; the church of San José was inaugurated in 1783, El Calvario in 1787, Capuchinas in 1789 and Guadalupe in 1783, and the constructions of the Cathedral, Santa Catarina, La Merced, and Santa Clara were advancing, as well as their respective convents*" (Villacorta, 1926:151). These references serve as evidence of the excessive work to which the Indigenous were subjected, with a total reaching only 1,623, counting men, women and children in 1779.

The extension of the area in which Jocotenango was located, had its particular limitations, thanks to the characteristics that restricted their environment in its extension: "B. Ramirez, Master builder of the town council was in charge of the elaboration of the demarcation plan of the town of Jocotenango with its annexes Utateca, Los Pastores, and San Felipe, in the jurisdiction of the Montenegro family..." (Galicia 1976:35- 37). All the expenses incurred during the first two decades, forced them to utilize the human and material resources, to carry out the needed actions in the construction of buildings and the introduction of essential services like: roads, drainage, drinkable water, and others. This resulted in the emptying of the council's finances, it provoked an economic recession, along with the use of resources from other regions that contributed directly in kind to maintain the pace of the urban development projects that were being constructed⁴. These factors caused a drastic decrease in the number of new constructions at the beginning of the XIX century, causing a shortage of resources, both economic and material, as well as the scarcity of the indigenous workforce. "The construction declined, the Indigenous masonry communities, such as Jocotenango, suffered deterioration, and by 1804, they were in decay, such was the case of Jocotenango,

Jocotenango was planned to be located in the Valle de la Ermita, did not take place as planned, and the residents who were in favour of those who supported the position of not moving the town to another valley were integrated.

4 The contributions coming from the other regions, who did not directly provide their labour force in the construction work, would be compensated in the relocation, with the contribution of tributes in food that would be to sustain the workers and the population occupied in carrying out the necessary works. Other generous and spontaneous contributions were made by other local entrepreneurs, who also counted on the proceeds from the sale of plots of land in the appointed valley.

as a consequence for the lack of constructions in the capital, things could have been worse in 1807. The priest of the town indicates that there are at least 1885 inhabitants without harvesting land" (Sifontes, 1982:56), these factors determined that the process was slow in the development of the city.

For about more than half of the century, which was procured the arising and development of the new capital, the stagnation, and slow pace of urbanistic development was the product of the economic situation, which after 1821 had deteriorated further, reflecting in the lack of material production and expansion of urban limits. Other cities, like Quetzaltenango and Totonicapán, that did registered development regarding construction showed successful growth during the XIX century.

At first, the town of Jocotenango maintained a defined pattern during its planning and reproducing a similar scheme in other towns, in which the central plaza, the church, and the council, served as principal pillars for the unfolding of everyday life. Improvement and embellishment were restricted since its foundation, due to the fact that all the resources for projects in the town were invested. All these projects that were carried out at the beginning, served as a fundament and intention so that Jocotenango could receive the group that was to remain in the selected sector, as an annexed and functional town in the periphery of the city.

The described period can be considered as a phase in which the ordering that entailed the Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción, used an area that prior to 1777 was used as a pasture, property of a Creole family in the Ermita Valley. This space was designated to house an Indigenous community, with the purpose of being close and available, at the moments they were needed by the Spanish. This indigenous, as a group with culture, brought with them all those aspects that



characterize the peoples, as are: their ways of behavior, beliefs, traditions, and other elements; the most transcendental and that it's still thriving although in a different way is the religious devotion to the Assumption of Mary (celebrated by the church, on May 15 of every year), in said tribute, there's a high level of exaltation paid to her, because she was designated to be the patron saint of the town of Jocotenango, and with the relocation of Guatemala city she also became the spiritual protector of the new capital, becoming the new saint patron.

From the old Jocotenango to the new town in la Ermita they took the expressive festivities in honor to the Virgin Mary to worship her. Moreover, it was introduced a universe of beliefs consisting of cosmological ideas passed through time and which had not been detached from the world, as well as the Christian ritual that was inflicted on them; this meant and continues to be one of the cultural traits of popular identification, in which they have linked and exchanged elements, with imposed situations, which have mainly modified the religious sphere that was supposed to be manifested. This is how the city

5 The town of Jocotenango in the Panchoy Valley has as their patron saint the Virgin of the Assumption, whose festivity was revived with the relocation to the Ermita Valley, and which has been preserved through history up to the present day, acquiring different characteristics over the years. Other important features to note are the following: in most of the communities in Guatemala, the devotion of religious faith is linked to the syncretic dedication to some figure or symbol of Christianity,

of New Guatemala was acknowledged and entrusted, in an act of faithful abdication, to the Virgin of the Assumption—its patroness and one who is venerated with conviction—as the bearer of all spiritual burdens inherent to human nature⁵.

This described period, which covers the first stage in which the new town of Jocotenango was established, is recorded based on data provided by written sources that oral tradition does not refer to significant elements of that time.



Façade of the Church of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, 7a. Avenida 2 de la Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción, (photo: Jairo Cholotio).

During this period, there were registered descriptions about Jocotenango, G. Thompson refers to it as *"there were stone benches at the plaza, shadowed not only by the large tree in its center but for the Pergolas in both its sides. Underneath them, there were also benches for the people that were passing by the green streets around the plaza..., I reached the edge of a wide, rolling meadow, padded here and there with a grove of beautiful trees. My companion had been giving me details about the indigo and cochineal business. Some women wore a short colored skirt with a border of thick plain white fringes and thick pleats around the hips and a*

white sash. Rarely do men wear more dress above the waist than a shirt, brown breeches of badly tanned suede, open at the knees, complete their costume" (Thomson, 1972:70-71).

The basic aspect in the planning and construction of a town was the central plaza, due to the fact that from that point was the starting reference for the orientation of other blocks that subdivided the site. It also functioned as a reference center in which social life revolved; apart from the minimal buildings (described above), the fountain and the ceiba tree⁶ were as important as the other buildings in the central plaza, "The town (of Jocotenango) had a modest church, poor council house and extensive central plaza, a ceiba tree was planted by Captain General Mollinedo y Saravia in the year 1778 (Castro, 1986:33), which prospered, surviving for a considerable time until well into the twentieth century, becoming with

with the devotion to the Virgin Mary gaining greater acceptance, whose elements of reference are due to the cultural imposition to which the natural inhabitants of Hispanic America were subjected, and which is reflected in the designation of the proper names of the people, who have been baptised with these appellatives in mind.

6 Ceiba Pentandra is the national tree of Guatemala, by Governmental Decree of March 1955; in different towns and cities of the country, these trees are still planted in the centre of some parks, which represent a symbol of identity of the place and of the country. The Ceiba of Jocotenango lasted until the 1970s, when it was taken down along with another one in the same place, because it was infected with insect pests.



time, a symbol of the place.

Other constructions built at the time of the relocation of the new town of Jocotenango were, the fountain, in front of the ceiba tree of the church, it was used as a pila (traditional stone basin used for washing clothes) and communal washing station bearing at one end of its pilaster, the coat of arms of Leon and Castile (Sifontes, 1991:sp).

The historical development which was presented as a precedent and circumstantial framework, where the different strata of the Guatemalan society developed during the period of spanish subordination and later when the Creoles regained their presence in these territories and protagonized their de facto autonomy by no longer depending on Spain. All that organizational apparatus that had been implanted during more than three centuries of domination, could not be dismantled so easily, and in certain cases, its institutions or elements of these were very easily perpetuated in the historical posterity.

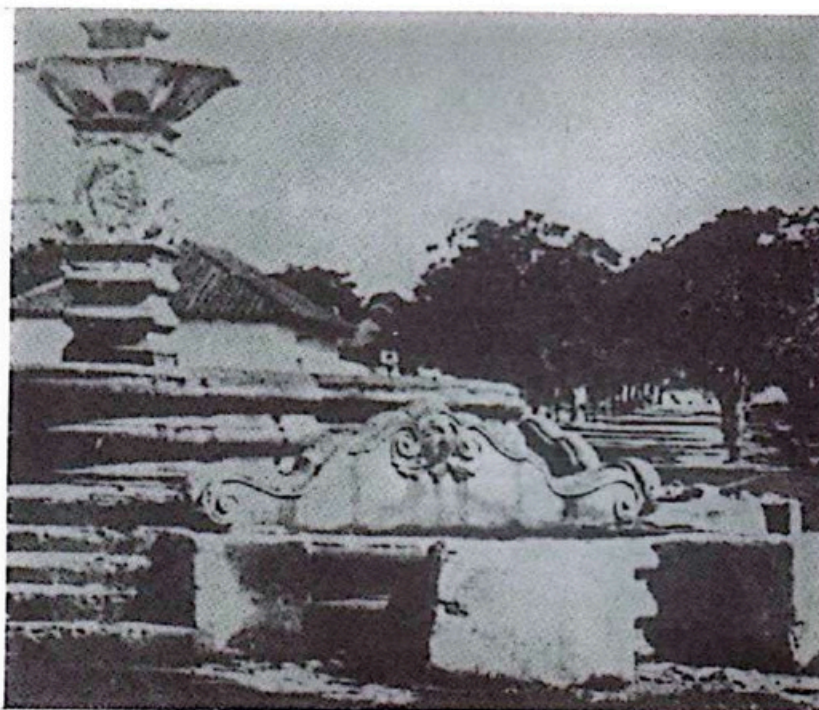
The remaining characteristic during the early stage of the capital, regarding the urbanistic development after the relocation of Guatemala City, was the human settlement, construction, and the addition of services and resources in short period of time. In later years the implementation of these projects was extremely moderate; politically and economically the country was in the process of recovering from a complex situation, the problems that had arisen during the annexation to Mexico, the Central American Federation and even the administrative organization of the country itself

brought a slow deployment in its advancements at all levels.

In the middle of the XIX century, the increase and economic prosperity was evident, derived from the exportation of Cochineal and Grana; Guatemala presented itself as the most important exporter of grana in the world, but so happens that with "the discovery of synthetic dyes, the product lowered in price; by 1821, manufacturers

infrastructure in terms of communication methods and organization to provide the workforce required for this.

The country was moving towards a new direction, regardless of the political systems of each course that held power; the city's capital was changing with the new expectations of change that were taking place.



Fountain in the Plaza de Jocotenango. This is the same fountain shown in the illustration below. Located at the end of the Calle Real de los Naranjos de Jocotenango, it also served as a public fountain and washing place. The coat of arms of León and Castilla on the cushioned pilaster that serves as the base of the bowl speaks of its colonial origin.

For its closeness to the city, the town of Jocotenango, significant changes were noticeable to it, this is how many of its inhabitants who were natives to the place, chose for the lookout of new regions with a high chance of subsistence; the shock by the situation in Jocotenango led to the arrival of mixed and Creoles - who took advantage of the situation in Jocotenango and settled in the town. It is in this way that from 1850 the town that was conformed by Indigenous people

began to house another type of population.

Already into the liberal era and these transformations, plus the changes that the period brought; there was a perceptible change in construction works, new organizational structures in the public and political organization of the state; in 1879 Barrios issued the decree of November 15 in which: "established the administration and municipal inspection of the cemeteries, for a regulation that ordered that the corpses were



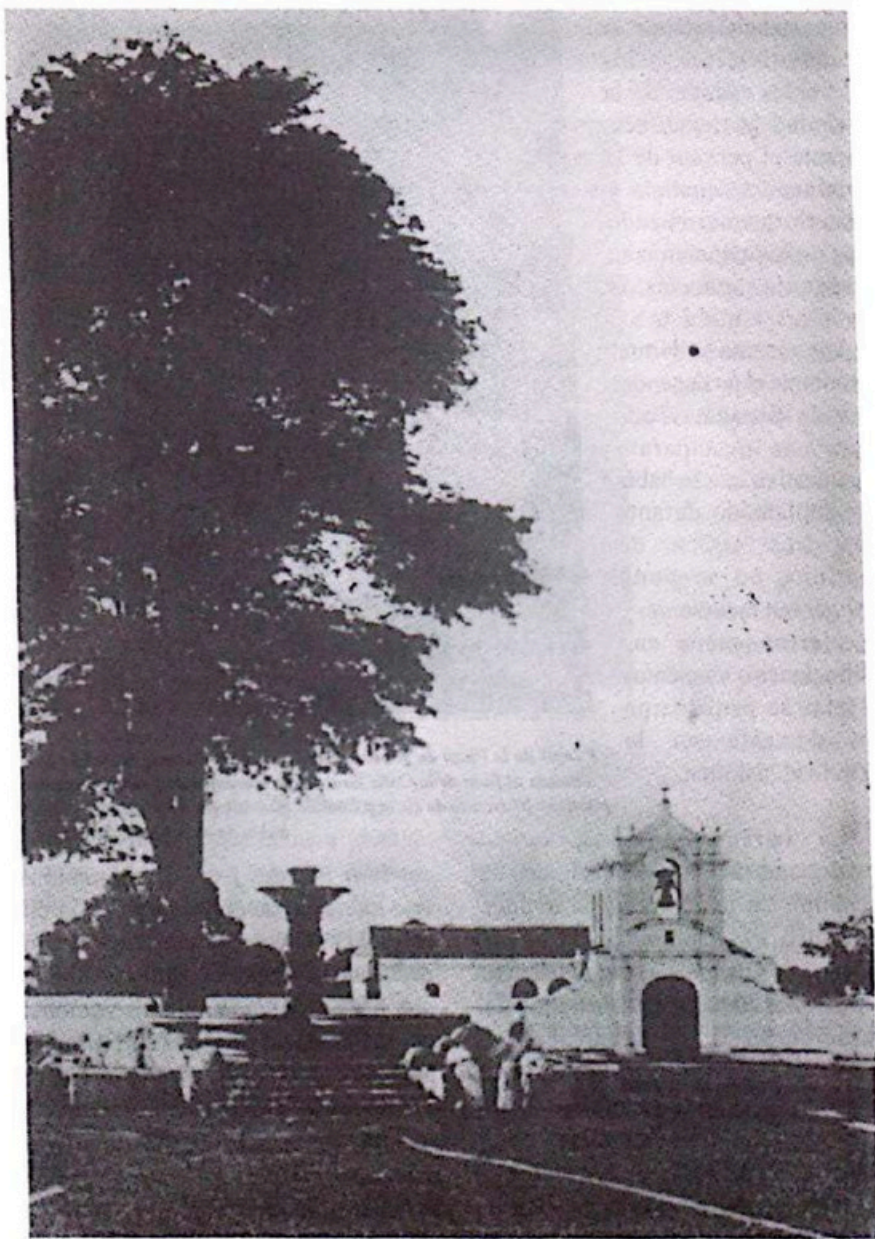
buried in public churchyards, it was prohibited to bury inside the city, and the shift of cemetery control to the State didn't allow the church to own specific properties, which meant a loss in income for the church, the municipal council proposed that parish foundations, alms, and Church assets to be secularized and transferred from ecclesiastical to state control. (Miller, 1976:464- 465). It is at this moment that the town of Jocotenango is included within the city's municipal council jurisdiction, ceasing to be a different municipality with different municipal authorities by Executive decree of September 6, 1879. (IGN, 1981:423), in which it is pointed out: Decree No. 241: "Art. 3, The available ejidos (*communal land*) and communal lands that were part of said town would be sold"...(Castro, 1986:29).

Before all the radical modifications that transformed Jocotenango during the government of General Barrios, the town was frequently visited by the neighboring people of the city, who often passed by the area, because it was one of the few pleasant walks that existed; the people from the city often enjoyed to walk through Calle Real de los Naranjos de Jocotenango, as Ramón Salazar refers to it as: "The city had three walkways, the Cerrito, The Alameda de los Naranjitos and the Amate,... The city conserved that blue and monastic aspect"... the Alameda de los Naranjitos, (now Avenida Simeón Cañas, also known as Avenida del Hipódromo) "it's between us not only a most pleasant walk but a place of peregrination where the single young females assist every tuesday to ask Saint Antonio for favors, the walkway had become like a legend because it had been left in neglect, both the streets and the seats of the walkway; recently the roadway has been improved, replacing the trees that were missing" (Salazar, 1896:66-68).

The walkway suffered changes during the Liberal Period, especially the surroundings of its central plaza; the church was destroyed as well as its colonial fountain. The town of Jocotenango was dissolved and incorporated into Guatemala City, with modifications to the design of its main street (Calle de los Naranjos) and constructions, among which excelled the Hipodromo⁷. The structure of the town disappeared; the position of corregidor (mayor) was removed, the town's cemetery

was relocated to the city, generating, with this, a new phase, from being constituted of indigenous people to a neighborhood of the capital.

After having been established as a town, mainly due to its proximity to the center of the city, its unification with the city was enacted. The festivity of Jocotenango, which had been celebrated in honor of the Virgin of the Assumption, took on greater importance and significance not only at a religious but also at a commercial level, due to the fact that



Plaza of Jocotenango. The town of Jocotenango was built to the north of the city; the church disappeared and the plaza was renamed several times; in 1908 it was transformed into Parque Estrada Cabrera, and before that it had already been renamed Parque Morazán, but this idea did not come to fruition due to the timely and heated protest of Mr. Agustín Mencos Franco. La Ceiba survived until the 1970s when it was unfortunately cut down (Collection from Museo Nacional de Historia).

⁷ The scene at the northern end of the Paseo de los Naranjitos, at the end of the



General Barrios issued the Decree 216 in which was stated that the annual festival held on November 30 in San Andrés Itzapa,

Chimaltenango, due to its decline in commercial transactions that took place there, therefore, it had to be placed in Jocotenango neighborhood. (IGN. 1981:425).

During *Licenciado* Manuel Estrada Cabrera's government (1899-1923), the place changed even more, as in the case of the Temple of Minerva (an architectural replica of the building with Greek columns) built in the extremo poniente around the hippodrome. The place held one of the most significant festivities at the time of the dictatorship of Cabrera, the Minerválidas.⁸ The baseball diamond was located on

1881 capitalists signed a contract to form a company for the purpose of establishing a hippodrome. This was the idea of Delfino Sanchez (Castro, 1986:31), (who distinguished himself in his career as a diplomat and fervent collaborator of the liberal regime, and in honour of whom a school was named after him, which is still operating today in the sector), and since then, the place has been known as El Hipódromo del Norte (The North Hippodrome).

⁸ The demolition of the Minerva Temple during the regime of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, in 1953, has earned him constant criticism, which is still relevant today. Among the reasons given for its destruction was the desire to put into oblivion everything that in any way linked to the memory of the periods of dictatorship that took place in the country. However, this decision has not been well received by popular historical critics, who refer to the monument as one of the best works of architecture that have been built in Guatemala.

the west side, which didn't have any construction at the time. Another important construction around the perimeter where the hippodrome is

reducing the Catholic Church's power. Among these actions, he ordered for the destruction of the ancient temple, reassuring the

Jocotecos that he will provide the resources for its edification, preventing conflicts with the neighbors; said promise was never fulfilled. When this order was carried out, all religious images and objects from the church were removed and placed in the open, around the plaza. The brotherhood of Jocotenango, and the Mayordomo Principal (Chief Steward responsible for managing the brotherhood's property and logistics) organized and sheltered the religious images. Until the last years of the 1930s, when the construction of the new church began the images were returned from the voluntary custody to which they were subject for their preservation (Leche, 1992). The new church of the Asunción was built in a land donated by a neighbor, in the so-called séptima avenida Norte (Bendfelt, 1992).



Fountain in the main courtyard inside the Casa Yurrita. Today the building of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, (photo: Jairo Cholotío, 1999).

located is the Topographic relief map of the Republic of Guatemala, designed by the Engineer Francisco Vela. North end, Park Minerva was operating, with children's games, a kiosk, a small artificial lagoon and a grove of trees made up mainly of conifers.

Jocotenango's main plaza was the one with the most modifications, housing the small square of Our Lady of the Assumption of Jocotenango and of the peoples Church. Barrios advocated for

After housing the plaza of the town, during the dictatorship of Estrada Cabrera, it was established as a park named after the President's name. During this period, it had a fence made of venus sweetshrub that surrounded it, but always preserving its Ceiba tree at the center. After the dictatorship of Cabrera, it was resolved to name it Morazán Park, in honor of Francisco Morazán, where the statue of Christopher Columbus was placed, (which is currently located on Avenida de las Américas, zona 13) after being relocated from Parque Central, another of the monuments was placed was that of R. Fulton (Ddescamps, 1992).



In the mid-19th century, the cultural dominant group ceased to be the indigenous, the last major of the Town of Jocotenango was Timoteo Leche, he was part of a social group that was beginning to take control over the country and over the course of the years it would become the cultural group to take over the spheres of political power of the Guatemalan State.⁹ During Barrios government, the population density that lived in the area became part of the immigrant families from many regions of Europe, as well as the families that had an important role in the city, for example: The Schlesinger, Mena, Arzú, Bendfeldt, Rosito, Sandoval, Padula, Bonato, Espequer, Pullin, Engel, Knoch, Altaf, Abdo, Sacrinson, Castillo and many others. (Leche, 1992). (The list of the indigenous inhabitants during the relocation of the town, are listed in the documental appendix of Sifontes, 1982).

During the dictatorship of Cabrera, the repair and importance of the town were further developed with: the festivity of Jocotenango and the Minervalidas; the latter included events with parades, speeches and incentives for distinguished students from different schools in the city. (Descamps, 1992)

The town of Jocotenango, took advantage of the different types of services the city incorporated along with its urban modernization; among them, the tramway service, which was pulled by mules and had one of its station terminals

9 The Ladino is one of the cultural groups that integrate the population of Guatemala, they are the descendants of the mestizos (natives and Spanish), who in the beginning were marginalized and not accepted in the Spanish and indigenous villages. In the country, the current importance of knowing and giving importance to ethnic issues has been pointed out due to the fact that the indigenous minorities of Mayan descent, who are the majority of the population in Guatemala, do not participate in the decision making process for their destiny, and this has postponed their development throughout history, mainly in the economic and social spheres, which is a different topic that deserves special attention for its study.

near Avenida Simeón Cañas; water service, telephone and the cobblestone streets, made of the place one of the most exclusive places of the city. The earthquake of December of 1917 and early 1918, had a minimum impact on the architecture of Jocotenango, as they were built with the wattle and daub technique and wood, it was not the case of the rest of the capital which was seriously damaged. The design of these new buildings, was chalet style, it was widely accepted by the neighbors and after the earthquake, this technique was applied for home constructions. (Bendfeldt, 1992)

The fair of Jocotenango, was the main attraction for merchants and neighbors of the city, who took part in all the activities that were carried out during the festivity. At the fair, the horse races, the bullring, the sale of livestock, the different agricultural products and imported goods, the several food stands that sold different Guatemalan-style food, the Ferris wheel, and shows. All this with the sole purpose of celebrating this festivity in honor to the Virgin of the Assumption, as the city's most important.¹⁰ The dictatorship of General Ubico, minimized the importance and the scale of the festivity, giving more importance to the Fair made to commemorate his birthday. (Bendfeldt, 1992).

The construction of a bullring, the days the fair was held, brought distraction to the people; one of the bullrings was founded in the decade of 1920, over Avenida Simeón Cañas, which was, in all its structure made

10 In Guatemalan sayings, there is a well-known phrase, "Hacer su agosto" (do your august), which has the meaning, for the person alluding to it, of making a profit. This has its origins in the economic activities carried out during the August fair, in which

of wood, at the time Mexican bullfighters and the bullfighting team participated. Another square was placed in the perimeter of the Hippodrome, after the Revolution of 1944 (Leche, 1992).

The town of Jocotenango, became part of zone 2, issued thanks to the effectiveness of the Agreement of the Municipal Council of Guatemala City, on January 25, 1952 (IGN, 1981:227), and through the use of the new nomenclature for the city, that zonificated it as a functional system, thus disappearing the name of town.

The described period of the historical re-construction of Jocotenango refers not only to it being a town of Indigenous or it as a neighborhood, but it also served as a central space for the city's residents to enjoy leisure activities. It was a key site for celebrations in honor of the Virgin of the Assumption, patron saint of both Jocotenango and the city. Furthermore, it functioned as an important complex where various facilities were built for sports, culture, recreation, and commerce. It was remarkable the level of interest that the area, for all it existed in it, from its beginning as the Naranjalitos Walk, today Avenida Simeón Cañas and through time several identities were linked to this place: the reduction of the Indigenous, The Temple of Minerva, Plaza of Jocotenango later Parque Cabrera, (today Parque Morazán), the embossed map, the ancient hippodrome, the old bullrings, the playground Minerva, the baseball diamond field, the luxurious mansions in the first quarter of XX century, the comfort that the ceiba tree provided under its leaves, the temples where the Virgin of the Assumption was venerated and is now honored, its terminal stations, the destroyed colonial fountain; these and many other elements made this area a popular spot for the city's neighbors recreation.

Today, it is the generations that lived in the city before 1950 that know and remember key aspects of the city's history.



The name "Lo de Montenegro" is still clearly vivid in these people's memory as they immediately recognize it, part of today's Calle Martí y 7a. Avenida zona 2, it conserves its former designation for the contemporary inhabitant of the old neighborhood, remembering the surname of the former owners that in 1776 owned nine caballerías and 24 *cuerdas* that covered their pastureland, (part of its plains occupied the central part of the city).

Thanks to the information recovered through oral tradition, the different facets that took place in Jocotenango became known, with details that other sources did not record, allowing us a way to get closer to a time and place in which the capital city had an attractive leisure attraction for its inhabitants, a characteristic that is not found today.

The population of Jocotenango, at the beginning was formed by indigenous people of the ancient town of Panchoy and Valle de la Ermita; as history unfolded, events led to a change in the population group that settled in the area.

The first chart describes the number of persons who inhabited Jocotenango from 1777 to 1926.

Table No. 1

year	Population No.
1777	75 (Married neighbours)
1777	1919
1804	753
1806	206 (Tributaries)
1820	1,085
1831	1,885
1886	163 (Houses)
1926	3,867

SOURCE: Castro, 1986; Pinto, 1990; Sifontes, 1982; Villacorta, 1926.



Place where the Centennial Ceiba tree of Jocotenango was located. Today Parque Morazán zone 2 in Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción, (photo: Jairo Cholotio, 1999).

The reconstruction of daily life in Jocotenango, based on the historical memory passed through oral tradition.

To provide a background for the issue at hand, which refers to the reconstruction of daily life of Jocotenango, supported by oral tradition; the following describes the elements used to establish, in a systematic way, the anthropological data of the topic.

Description of the informants and life stories of Jocotenango.

Informants were selected for the research:

For purposes of obtaining precise data of the research, key informants were selected; denominated as such because of the content of the stories known to them, as well as for the protagonist participation carried out and taking into account personal experiences or those of their families, in the development of the daily life of Jocotenango.

The content of the historical information regarding the neighborhood and the society involved in it was described in the testimonies provided by the people

interviewed, who keep in their memory records of the social life of the local community.

The involvement of individuals as well as families in the social development of Jocotenango and their narratives were included in the research to gain an insight into the past daily life of the neighborhood.

During the field research stage and sector reconnaissance, people who have lived most of their lives in Jocotenango were approached, whose descriptions passed through oral tradition, reaffirm the importance of knowing aspects of the population that lived in Jocotenango; which are mentioned in different testimonies collected. Other obtained data is singular, in terms of the description of specific situations that occurred at the site.

The importance of referring to the life stories of individuals who were once protagonists, be it directly or indirectly, of events related to Jocotenango is that they have a generic relation to the oral tradition. As reported in the narratives and as referred to by L. Scheffer in 1982, that in order to have the nature of oral tradition, it must be anonymous, as a collective creation transferred orally,



as well as the timeliness of the testimony with an interpretative message necessary for the group to transmit it; this factor serves as an essential link between the past and the present, in which the necessary elements are identified and picked up to incorporate or maintain the meaning as it has been transmitted.

With the above we can point out that life stories were obtained for the historical reconstruction of Jocotenango, also incorporating elements that oral tradition manifests and is in the operation of these two categories that are characterized to be transferred verbally and in which necessary information is described, not only of a historical nature but also of different contents.

In order to organize the collected testimonies and considering the specifics of the neighborhood life, manifested in the collected memories, the general aspects will be considered. Historical reconstruction of the daily life of Jocotenango, of the New Guatemala de la Asunción, based on oral tradition and supported by life stories and oral tradition.

Overview of the physical characteristics of Jocotenango

The disposition of Jocotenango, with its streets, constructions, walkways and all the structural elements helped the place to become one of the most important neighborhoods of Guatemala City. The testimonies collected in the historical memory of people was used to describe the neighborhood; it can be described as a period of splendor because of the elements that were constituted in it.

Testimonies that describe Jocotenango.

"At the end of the street there was the temple of Minerva, the houses that surrounded the avenue were beautiful, of European style, right beside the temple, there was a large field. Parque Morazán was the most beautiful, it had many planters, cute benches, the avenue, through the park to the end was surrounded by Jacarandas. All the way to Calle Martí and beyond 7a. Avenida was a Grazing field, we were not allowed to be in there, it was desolated and there were many grass-covered areas. The tramway would go all the way to the park and back, it was like a railroad car. Everyone came to the fair with their children, there were not bars, although way before there were gambling houses, roulette tables. As far as I remember, there were always electricity, water service was better than now" (Descamps).

Where the Norte Supermarket is located now (today, there's another business) was once the municipal council of Jocotenango, it was a house with cells, and it served to imprison delinquents. There were police, but they did not wear a uniform. The school that was in front of the park at the beginning was the Faculty of Engineering, where the Yurrita is located now was once the Naranjalitos, because there were Orange groves, it was a large field, a plain where the children used to play (currently Supreme Electoral Tribunal functions in this house).

The people went for bread to Guarda del Golfo, behind the Parish, you could get there through what is now the Martí, it was used as a stroll because there was also the Potrero de Corona, where you could go to play. Calle Martí was known as Montenegro, no people from this family lived there. In the past, the houses were made of mud, with ceilings of plaster and large rooms. There were two bodies of water: the Acatán one, which was very dirty, and the other, very clean" (Bendfeldt).

"Jocotenango started from 1ra calle heading north, it bordered the lands of Padres de la Recolección, and to the east, the 7ma avenida, where there were only fragments of street. In Jocotenango plaza, there were two ceiba trees."

Jocotenango's plaza used to be made of bricks and mortar. The town of Jocotenango was named after the one that is in Antigua. In these places there has been a lot of groundwater, the Morales had their own water well so they never had to buy it, the water vein emerges at fourth street and seventh avenue, I saw while they paved the road at the seventh; this is the same water that was at Montenegro. In the past, water was transported using clay pipes known as 'tabujías'.

Parque Morazán was Jocotenango's plaza, where the church of Jocotenango was located. The way to the Parish was going behind San Sebastián, Martí did not exist yet" (Leche).

Economic life in Jocotenango

The economic life in the studied period is developed with an approach to the places and population

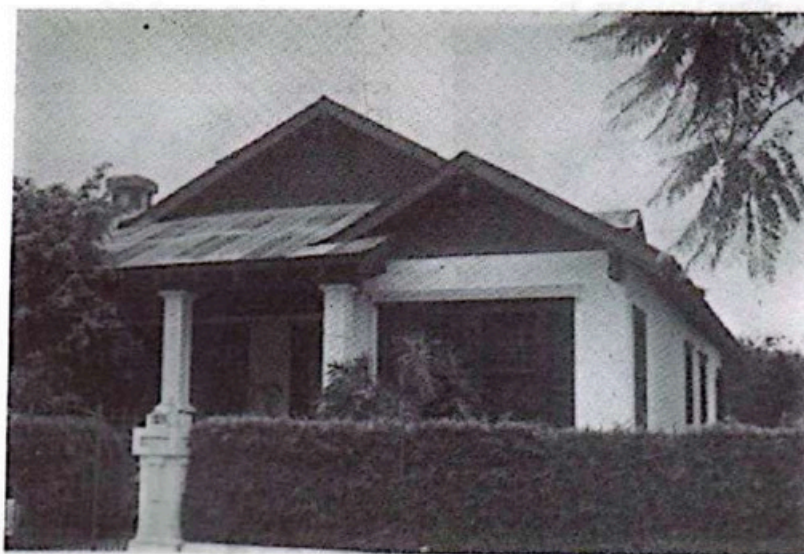


Estrada Cabrera University. Between 1918 and 1920, the USAC was named after the 22-year-old dictator. Today, the offices of the Departmental Directorate of the Ministry of Education are located here (photo: Jairo Cholutío, 1999).



mainly in which it took place, the well-known Calle Real de los Naranjitos that now comprises Avenida Siméon Cañas final, an area that was founded as a town of Indigenous, became a highly valued place residentially, where they settled down, ambassadorships and people built chalets, of which some still persist at the present time.

The most important economic activity in the area took place during the month of August, when the festivity of the Virgin of the Assumption, patron saint of the city and of Jocotenango, was celebrated. It was an essentially commercial event, which later lost its notoriety. Indigenous people from many parts of the country, Chimaltenango, Sacatepéquez, El Progreso, among other places, came to this festival to sell their products. The activities that took place at the same time of the festivity were: the bullring, the horse races at the Hippodrome, and the market for pack animals. All this made the month of August to be eagerly awaited by the residents of the city, to acquire new products or something not necessary at a low price, from which originated the popular expression, "Let's do August", this popular expression is still in use today.



Chalet located on Avenida Siméon Cañas zone 2 in Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción, buildings of this style were fashionable in the area after the earthquakes of 1917-18, (photo: Jairo Cholotío, 1999).

The transcribed testimonies that document the economic life of Jocotenango.

"What is now a boozy party, used to be a fair in the plains of these places where animals were for sale. The people of the neighborhood were hard workers, the Ruiz, the Aycinena, Ayau, Angulo, they were the ones with money."

Barrios looted the houses of the Jocotecan residents, my grandmother told me about these barbarities, because the indigenous masons of the town had reputation

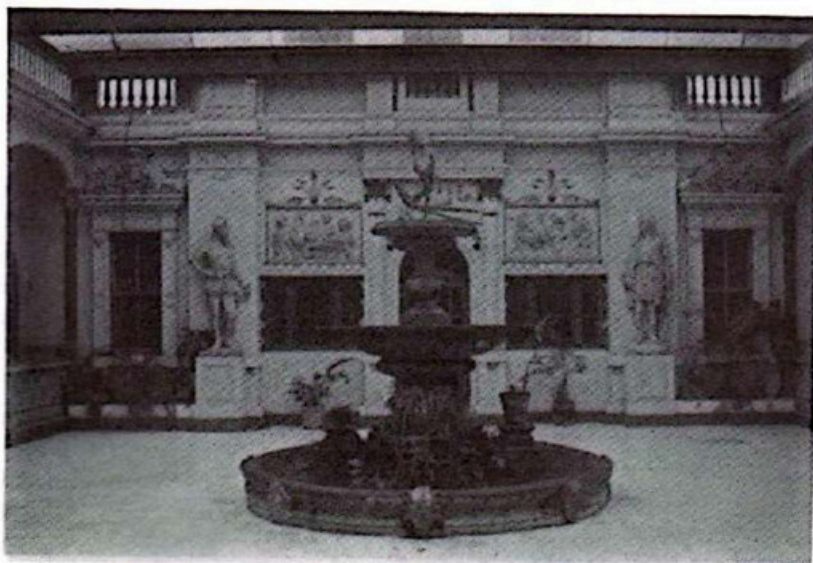
for having money, they were heirs to royalty". (Leche)

"The houses on the Avenue were beautiful, my uncle was the first one to construct a European style house. The house where we lived was a small house just next to the Slesinger and Irigollen house, my uncle even had a garage.

There were no businesses in the area, there were already many rich people living here. Jocotenango became a decent residential neighborhood. In the neighborhood there were many professionals, office, commercial and factory employees, others had farms and came back on weekends, others had businesses" (Descamps).

The August fair began in Naranjalitos, they put cattle, there were horse races, many people came from the neighboring villages. They used to sell all kinds of animals; goats. What was famous was the food. The cup of atol de elote was worth four Reales. In the neighborhood there were also very poor people.

For the festivities of August and Minerva, at night there were dances, there was the Banca hall, which belonged to the bankers and rich people came there, and the municipal hall, which was for servants.



Fountain in the main courtyard inside the Casa Yurrita. Today the building of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, (photo: Jairo Cholotío, 1999).





Image of the Eternal Father in the San Sebastián Church in Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción; in the 19th century it belonged to the church of Jocotenango, (photo: Jairo Cholotio, 1999).

Tramways at first charged two Reales. At that time there were Reales and Cuartillo y Medios" (Bendfeldt).

Religious life

The church was the principal backbone of Guatemalan society during the period in which the research was carried out. During the liberal administration of Barrios, his power was restricted, however, the population maintained their religious beliefs. The festivity of the Jocotenango neighborhood and of Guatemala City was held in honor of the Virgin of the Assumption.

Testimonies that document religious aspects of Jocotenango.

"The only church that remained in the north, when Barrios destroyed the church of the Asunción, was the church of San Sebastian. When it was destroyed, the artifacts of the church were taken out and placed in the Plaza de Jocotenango. People did not say anything, they were afraid to talk to Barrios because he could have them killed. What he wanted was to erase the idea of an ecclesiastical administration. Morazán Park was the Plaza de Jocotenango, where the church was." (Leche)

There were brotherhoods coming from other parts to worship the Virgin, patron saint of Jocotenango. People were catholic and went to church on Sundays." (Descamps).

"The old church was destroyed by Barrios, who had promised to make another one, but did not fulfill his promise" (Bendfeldt).

Cultural life

The walkway that conformed the modern Simeón Cañas Avenue, served to be the setting for singular cultural events at the end of the last century and beginning of the XX century, thus, the execution of architectural works, was and is at today a motive of admiration and nostalgia for those who admired and remember such works, such as the destroyed Minerva Temple and the embossed map of the Republic of Guatemala, which remains present today, as one of the last testimonies of an era in which the neighborhood excelled, in the cultural development of the city.

Testimonies that described the cultural life of Jocotenango

By October, all the public and private schools came to participate in the parade to the temple, Mr. Chico Vela and a gentleman known

as Solo Fuerza, were the ones who took care of the organization. There were horse races at the Hippodrome. In front of the map, which was designed by Francisco Vela, was the Minerva Temple, which was designed by Cabrera. It was big with many columns, it had all the heroes of the independence.

Christmas Eve was very joyful, a big nativity scene was made, a musician was called to come to the house to play the piano, singers came to pray the novena of the Rosary. Other families made tamales and burned fireworks. The New Year was celebrated by each one as they wished, the prayers were very joyful. When it was Minerva, people arranged the trees with flags, put up arches with flowers" (Bendfeldt).

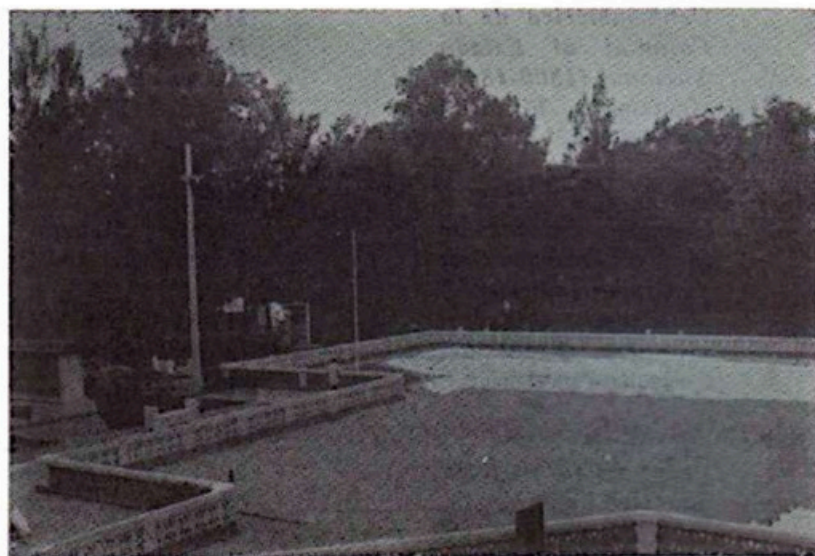
"The indigenous people of the town were masons. My father, Francisco Leche Chiquin, learned his profession in construction. By the time he was nine years old, the streets were already full of houses, the old Jocotecos did not like living in the city and returned to the countryside". (Leche).

"At parties there was marimba, and we teenagers went to carnival parties, many people went blind because they poured chloroethyl" (Descamps).



Worship to the Eternal Father, Wednesday in the San Sebastián Church, in Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción, (photo: Jairo Cholotio, 1999).





Embossed map located on the walkway of the Hipódromo del Norte. Work conducted by the engineer Francisco Vela at the beginning of the 20th century (photo: Jairo Cholotio, 1999).

Daily life

Historical aspects that are usually not recorded because of their irrelevant nature, are what the oral history does reflect, revealing them in detail through the testimonies. This is one of the valuable contributions obtained from the testimonies, reproducing in this way the daily life of the inhabitants of Jocotenango.

Testimonies that describe the daily life of the inhabitants of Jocotenango.

"The mayors of the town of Jocotenango enforced justice, governed the town, took turns in the position, looked after education and the administration of the land.

When the people of Jocotenango fell ill, they treated themselves with their own natural medicines. At first the people around here were indigenous.

There were no sewage drains in the houses; wells were used. For bathing they went to the concrete sink and poured water with a small bowl, they were very large sinks because there was a very small stream of water.

Dad had a sawmill and carpentry business, and the indigenous people who worked with him drank a traditional fermented drink made from jocote; at the funerals that was what everybody served. My grandfather was the last mayor of Jocotenango, he was a descendant of indigenous royal families, many Quichés came here" (Leche).

"In the house there was a stable, a vegetable garden, a bathing tank. Dad bought the property in Jocotenango because my mother liked the town's fair very much. In the area there were indigenous people, they made tamales, there were also some washerwomen.

The earthquake of 1917 began at ten o'clock at night, it was a strong tremor, we had to go out to the "pollitos" (benches) that were all over the avenue to sit down. The earthquake of January 6, 1918 was strong and destroyed the towers of the Cathedral and the Recolectión.

Transportation was provided by tramways at the beginning of the century, and the drivers were very elegant, dressed in coat and bolero jacket, and the horses wore bells. Where the Latinoamericano hospital is, there were some baths called San Antonio, with spring water. In El Zapote there were other nice swimming baths to go on a picnic.

Dad was offered the Zapote estate ahead of the Castillos, and since they had money, they bought it, initially setting up an ice factory" (Bendfeldt).

"Ubico was my aunt Julia's boyfriend, dad didn't like chafarotes (ignorant and rude military man.); Ubico was my dad's enemy because of that, when dad told him that if he kept on pretending to his sister he was going to beat him up, Ubico answered that if he wanted to, they would beat each other up at once and they had a fight.

My father was Belgian, he came because of his grandfather, who was a partner of the owner of the Teatro Colón. My mother came to Guatemala from France, to get to know the country; she came with Isabel Soto, a Spanish woman, but my father fell in love with her and stayed here.

Arbenz had the Minerva temple demolished, that was the greatest pain that the people of Guatemala had ever experienced. It was a huge explosion that was heard, it exploded and everybody cried, nobody said anything.

We played with skates, lottery, we put a handkerchief over our eyes and sat on each other's legs and said ti, and you had to recognize the voice, and if you didn't recognize it, you had to change places. We played at the Hippodrome.

The food consisted of mosh (hot drink of oatmeal and milk), local eggs, backyard chicken. People came from the towns to offer products to the house. We had a wood-burning cooker with an oven, we had chicken in the kitchen to heat the food, it was cooked with charcoal and it was nice because when you arrived late the pot was next to the cooker which kept it warm.

People were polite, everyone greeted each other. All of us little fellows used to get together. The fashion when I was little was long dresses, people dressed well.

We were healthy, we didn't get sick. The streets were kept clean, people cleaned their places, before they even cleaned with water because there was enough.



In Jocotenango there were many foreigners, because it was the most beautiful place in Guatemala," (Descamps).

With the above descriptions, we try to reconstruct the social and historical aspects of Jocotenango, although they are not relevant, they show with their details the life of its population, as well as a description of what the first village, then barrio and currently central part of the city of Guatemala was like.

The passages transcribed in this chapter were drafted maintaining the original language and form, adding only a few words that served to complete the idea narrated.

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