

SOME NOTES OF THE YTZA, QUEJACHE, VERAPAZ CHOL, AND TOQUEGUA MAYA

A PROGRESS REPORT ON ETHNOHISTORY RESEARCH CONDUCTED  
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## EDITOR'S NOTE

In order to have this paper ready for distribution at the 1971 annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, November 18-20, the text was typed onto stencils without proper editing. The author is aware of the need for more careful writing and this paper will be thoroughly edited and revised for eventual publication in some form, as yet undecided.

Dr. Lawrence Feldman pointed out after this paper was already duplicated that the Toquegua Maya are discussed by Fuentes y Guzmán in his Recordación Florida. The final, revised version will include comments on Fuentes y Guzmán and will have: a table of contents, a bibliography, more sub-headings, additional references, and a map.

The following spelling or typographical errors will be corrected:

Page 7, line 13, "alterted" should read "alerted"

Page 17, line 13, "seated" should read "settled"

Page 25, line 7, "availabe" should read "available"

Page 26, line last line, "eivdence" should read "evidence"

I would appreciate receiving constructive criticism from readers.

**Note by Nicholas, April 2020.** It has been about half a century since I wrote this. We have scanned the hand typed edition but no matter what software we use the words often come out splattered. So we apologize if there are spelling mistakes that we did not notice.

I have the original hand-typed edition from 1971. It has handwritten corrections from the same year. I add some of these handwritten corrections to this electronic edition.

Another note: when I found the Nicolas Valenzuela manuscript in the archives of Sevilla, I had no idea another copy was in Germany. German scholars were horrified that I had not noticed it and rushed to publish a Germanic edition (most likely to make sure I did not publish more information on the edition that I found). So I do feel that my discovery of the Spanish version in Sevilla at least had the advantage of nudging these German Mayanists to get everything into print.

PART I: INTRODUCTION

During short periods of 1968, 1959, and 1970 I was able to undertake research in the Archivo General de Centroamérica in Guatemala City; there I found a great treasure of ethnographic information on the 16th-18th century Maya of the Southern Lowlands. None of this information has ever been published and much of it gives a new view of the diversity among the many different regional Maya peoples of lowland Chiapas, Peten, and Verapaz. Most importantly, the Spanish reports tell of well populated regions, which only became depopulated during the first century of the Spanish contact - depopulated because of Spanish introduced disease and warfare. In these Spanish archives, numerous firsthand accounts of semi-permanent villages are recorded for the Ytza, Covoh, Cholti-Lacandon, Quejache, and others. Most of these peoples did not live in the "vacant ceremonial centers" as claimed by many modern anthropologists. Furthermore, these typical Maya filled each house with several families and relatives of varying degrees of kinship or affinity; there is good evidence to prove that the majority of the 16th century Maya lived crowded together with many more than the 4.6 or so people-per-house so favored by archaeologists today to reconstruct the number of people for each Classic Period house mound. Also, these tenacious Maya made great use of several root crops, many tree fruits (but not ramon), wild game (especially deer and turkey), fresh water fish and shellfish, in addition to beans and maize; squash simply does not seem to have been a major item of lowland Maya diet in the 16th century. Many reports state that some central Peten and Chiapas milpas yielded 2 crops of maize each year, and one Spaniard stated that some Peten milpas gave a good yield for 20 years consecutively. Clearly, we have to investigate this new information on Maya subsistence, population, and settlement pattern, for these (real) Maya were not doing the things that most anthropologists have consistently claimed in their (unreal) model Maya, or for their probable forefathers, the various Classic Maya peoples of the Southern Lowlands.

The Spanish made a copy of most major documents written in Mexico and Guatemala and sent this copy to Spain; where the manuscripts have survived better than the originals in Mexico and Guatemala, where insects, mildew, lack of concern, fires, and revolutions have all taken their toll. Furthermore, in Latin America those 16th-17th century manuscripts, which have survived, are scattered around in church archives, small town archives, attics of private individuals, and in a variety of other places where anthropologist have difficulty finding them or getting permission to study them. A grant from the Philosophical Society Phillips Fund (for 1970) enabled me to spend some time in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, for part of the summer of 1971, a National Science Foundation Graduate Traineeship paid for my room and board, and Dr. John Fought (Dept. of Linguistics, Univ. of Pennsylvania) provided me with \$200 for transcriptions and microfilm from his NSF grant for manuscripts on the Chol, with my other aid did not stretch to cover. The Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research bought me a typewriter in Spain, paid for all travel and research expenses, which were not covered by other sources, and paid for mimeographing and distribution of this and all my forthcoming reports.

I am also indebted to Dr. Lawrence Feldman, Gettysburg State College; Sam Hough, John Carter Brown Library; and J. Eric S. Thompson for supplying, on short notice, information which I needed quickly while in Spain. I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Edward Calnek for his continuous loan to me of all his notes on the archives in Seville and Guatemala City. Also, to Lic. Agustin Estrada who aided my recent search in Guatemala before I left for Spain.

This past trip to Seville was never intended to be a long-term stay, for the duties of directing the Yaxha Project excavations kept me in Guatemala until June and obligations to prepare for publication a report on TEOTIHUACAN INFLUENCE ON THE ART OF TIKAL for Dr. George Kubler's Tikal iconography project made it necessary for me to be back in the United States in late August. Instead, the trip was intended to familiarize myself with the Seville archives, and the types of material it did and did not contain. I wished to go through their catalogs to prepare an estimate

of how much time and money would be required for a full-scale project to find, microfilm, transcribe, and process all the ethnographic information in the Archivo General de Indias on the Cholti-Lacandon, Yucateco-Lacandon, Verapaz Chol, Ytza, Quejache, Mayan Chontal, and Chorti. I was particularly interested in the demography, settlement pattern, and subsistence economy of the Cholti-Lacandon of 1695-1715 and the Ytza of central Peten.

The time I was able to spend in Seville was successful beyond my wildest expectations. From notes of Calnek, Vicenta Cortes, and Scholes I already had entire catalog numbers of several legajos known to have information on the Lacandon, and so was able to go straight to these bundles of papers and look for the pertinent reports. There were detailed census records so full of demographic, linguistic, kinship, and marriage information that there is not room in this brief report to even simply name them all. (This census information is briefly covered in the appendices to my paper for the 1971 AAA meetings in New York City, and will be published in full in latter articles).

After going through the legajos known to have ethnographic descriptions of the southern lowland Maya, I began a search through unknown manuscripts. This part of my work was rewarded by the discovery of the great lost relación of Nicolás de Valenzuela on the conquest of the Cholti-Lacandon town of Sac Balam in 1695, the finding of the first useful ethnographic information on the political geography of the central Peten lands of the Ytza, Covoh, Tut, Puc, etc.

The importance of the lost relación of Captain Valenzuela cannot be overstressed. J. Eric S. Thompson kindly brought to my attention in April 1970 (personal communication) that Garcia Pelaez had in his hands a now lost 400 pp. ms. of the Barrios entrada... Villagutierre also had this ms. in his hands, but there are conflicts in material. Thompson then went on to speculate whether the Valenzuela ms. was not still floating around somewhere, since it certainly had survived until approximately 1850. Now that I have a copy of all of Valenzuela's report, it is possible to see precisely where Villagutierre got his information for his chapters on the conquest of the Lacandones.

As equally important as the Valenzuela relación, are the original minutes of the Spanish military meetings of the Barrios and the other two simultaneous entries into the Lacandon and Mopan regions. These original documents are in Seville bound with original reports of the friars who accompanied the soldiers. Now, thanks to both these discoveries and new finds in Guatemala by Lic. Agustin Estrada of several reports by Fray Diego de Rivas, we have reports on the 1695 Lacandon village of Sac Balam written by at least three different first-hand observers: Valenzuela, an educated Spain gentleman; Rivas, a bright priest who took a special interest in geography and customs of the Lacandon and Ytza; and various other civil, military, or religious writers whose letters and descriptions made up the Spanish reports on the 1695 entradas. The fact that there are often three or more different perspectives on the same Lacandon custom makes it easier to notice the personal bias of each author, although, of course, all the writers objectivity suffers from the narrow, Spanish, Catholic point of view prevalent in that century.

I plan to prepare an annotated English translation edition of the 500 pages Valenzuela relación. I expect that this will take a minimum of two years to finish, beginning in 1972-73.

I also have hundreds of frames of microfilm, which I have not yet studied, and a copista is still supposed to be transcribing documents for Fought and myself in Seville. My work for the Tikal iconography project and the separate Yaxha Project will not be over until September 1972. Until that date, I will not have the time nor the funds to work on the material I have gathered. But, starting in September 1972, I will begin to organize for more formal publication the new ethnographic information found in the archives. In the meanwhile, I hope that this brief note and my longer preliminary report on the Cholti-Lacandon for the AAA meetings, will give anthropologists an idea of the scope of ethnographic information which still remains to be discovered in the archives.

The report, which follows, covers just the Ytza and their immediate neighbors, the Quejache, the Verapaz Chol, and the Toquegua Chol. The Cholti-Lacandon are treated in other papers. I have found a great number of comments on the culture of the Mayan Chontal which Scholes and Roys cite, but do not include, in their 1948 historical study of these peoples. I have not yet processed his information and thus as right cannot present it, even in a preliminary fashion. The same is true for the Mopan; I have found some new information but have not yet sorted my notes.

There is no bibliography to this paper. Most of the sources mentioned are contained in my 1000 entry published bibliography PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE CHOL LACANDON, CHOL, ITZA, MOPAN, and QUEJACHE... (Katunob, 1970). I also have a supplement (several hundred entries) to this bibliography, but will not be able to prepare it for publication until after fall 1972.

PART II: THE PETEN YTZA AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

The Spanish left us more complete descriptions of the Petén Ytza than of any other Southern Lowland Maya people. We have Cortes's and Diaz's stories of the Ytza of 1525 and innumerable comments by various Spanish friars who made the arduous trip into the Ytza lands in the 17th century; most famous of these is Fray Andres de Avendaño's diary of his entradas of 1695 and 1696. After the conquest of the Ytza in 1697, there was another flurry of report writing culminating in the publication in 1701 of the great Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de el Itza... by Juan de Villagutierrez Soto-Mayor... Philip Means translated part of this history and portion of Avendaño's writings in 1917. Finally, J. Eric S. Thompson summarized most of what was known about the ethnography of the Ytza in an article (1951). With all this published information available one might assume that there is enough data to enable an anthropologist to prepare a good ethnography from the published literature alone. In fact, the published writings on the Ytza are incomplete. In particular, they do not include enough information on the boundaries of the dozens of different districts and the exact locations of scores of separate towns. One of the major problems with Ytza studies to date has been the infrequent recognition that there were more than just the Ytza living in the central Petén. The Ytza name is so well known and so imbued with an aura of mystery that the Ytza overshadow all of their immediate neighbors. Part of the renown of the Ytza comes from their relation to the Itza of the famous ruins of Chichen-Itza in Yucatan. The name Itza lives on in the name for Lake Petén Itza; the names of the other major peoples nearby, the Covoh, the Tut, etc. fell into disuse over 2 centuries ago. More will be said later about this lack of proper distinction between different "tribes".

In addition to incomplete information, the record is replete with inaccurate information, mostly in the form of errors in transcribing difficult Mayan names



and in omission of certain rulers, settlements, or tribes from the few lists published. Most of the troubles stem from main source on the Ytza, Villagutierre's history. At his best Villagutierre was a poor plagiarist; mostly in the realm of rendering Maya names into Spain, (at his worst). It is hard to know how much to blame on Villagutierre and how much to blame on the original Spanish manuscripts from which he worked; his sources could have been in error themselves. I suspect that an additional cause of mistakes in the spelling of the Mayan words is in the paleography and the typesetting for the published editions. However, while we may try to excuse Villagutierre somewhat on these counts, the evidence available suggests that he, not the earlier chronicles nor the later editors, was the one who introduced the errors and omissions in the history.

We can now accuse Villagutierre of these faults because several decades ago France Scholes found in the A.G.I. the original documents which Villagutierre evidently used to write his history. Miss Margaret Currier kindly alerted me to the fact that Scholes left microfilm and photostats of these manuscripts in Harvard University's Peabody Museum Library. While in Spain, I transcribed one of these documents, which Villagutierre had used (it is easier to make transcriptions from an original manuscript than from an often faded or not perfectly focused microfilm reproduction). Folios 121c to 126v of this manuscript (AGI Guatemala 345) is almost the word for word basis for Villagutierre's Book 9, Chapter III. [I am planning a little article, which will contain a complete transcription of the 1690's text and right next to it in parallel columns the equivalent paragraphs of Villagutierre. In the meantime, as an example of Villagutierre's errors and omissions, I would like to reproduce on the following page a sample section from Villagutierre and the corresponding section of the manuscript plagiarized.]

What has happened is that in addition to slight differences in spelling of the Mayan words Villagutierre left out the tribal (or village?) names Kin-chanob, Oh(?) Acob, Chicuyob, Ah-chama-yob, Tzacalob, Ah-kinob, and Tesucunob. If an ethnographer interested in knowing the total number of tribes, villages, and population had based

transcription of A.G.I. Guatemala 345, folios 121v, L22, L26t Paragraphs  
( )

(1) Razón yndividual y G(ene)ral de los Pueblos Poblaciones y rancherías Desta Provincia del Zuiuha Peten Ytza(2)Por declaración q(ue) han hecho El Rey Canek y el Kimcanek el Capn. Don Martin Cham y el Capitan Kulut Cobok despues de Baptisado y catequisado menos el Cap(ita)n Kulut Cobok que aun no lo esta.

(3) Por lo que miro a el Peten declaran q(ue) siempre y hasta la entrada del S(en)or G(ene)ral Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi fue Gobernador de quatro reyes y quatro caciques quienes tenian sus Parcialidades Distinctas y Copiosas en numero...

...(16) Tambien es Declaracion amistosa y volumptaria del Rey Don Joseph Pablo Canek y su sacerdote Don Franc(is)co Nicolas Canek que en años Pasados tubieron quatro vatallas con los Yndios Aikales (q(ue) son los Mopanes Chinanitas = y Tulum Kies = y Tah-chin-cha-nob, y Acabob = Lacuanob = Kic-chanob, Ohtzacob, Chicuyob = Ah-chama-yob = Tzacalob, Ah Kinob = Tesucunob = Ah Chemob, Ah Canalob. Con todas estas naciones dizen q(ue) vatallaron quatro beses.av

The same paragraph number as given by Villagutierre, pp. 427- 429:

(1) (long paragraph, quite different.

(2) Entre los cuales habian sido bautizados el rey Canek, y el sacerdote Quincanek; y que el rey se llamaba ya don Joseph Pablo Canek, y el sacerdote don Francisco Nicolás Canek. Y que estos dos, y los capitanes don Martin Can, y el Cobox, que todavía no estaba cristiano, habían dicho, y declarado, amistosa, y voluntariamente, delante dél, y del cabo principal del de el presidio y de otros capitanes, y soldados, y del teniente de cura.

(16) Y que asimismo habían dicho don Joseph, y don Francisco Canek, rey, y sacerdote, que en años pasados tuvieron cuatro batallas con los indios aycales (que son los mopanes) chinamitas, y tulunquies, y Taxchinchán, Nob, y Acabob, Zuacuanob, Ahcbemob, Ahcanulob.

Comparison of the names of paragraph 16:

<u>AGI scribe</u>	<u>Villagutierre</u>
Aikales	Aycales
Mopanes	Mopanes
Chinanitas	Chinamitas
Tulum Kies	Tulunquies
Tah-chin-chanob	Taxchin-cha (here Villagutierre creates a tribe "Nob", out of the plural ending.)
Acabob	Acabob
Lacuanob	Zuacuanob
Kic-chanob	
Oh(?)acob	
Chicuyob	
Ah-chama-yob	
Tzacalob	
Ah Kinob	
Tesucunob	
Ah Chemob	Ahchemob
Ah Camalob	Ahcanulob

his count solely on Villagutierre, his estimates would be off approximately 43%; the number of people not listed by Villagutierre.

One of the exciting realizations I came to in the archives was that it is now possible to get all the original documents which Villagutierre used and to rewrite a history of the conquest of the Ytza (and of the Lacandones) with all this information (left to us) by the Spanish. As the reader will see in the section of this paper on the Cholti-Lacandones and in my AAA annual meeting paper on the Cholti-Lacandon, I feel I have now located all the original material for Villagutierre's chapters on the Lacandon, Mopan, and Chol.

Villagutierre originated the problem of incorrect and incomplete basic information and Means reference compounded it by translating only selected parts of the larger work. Anyone trying to study the Ytza through Means (as most English-speaking anthropologists have sadly done) is not going to produce any significant conclusions.

There is also the problem mentioned earlier in that there was not just one single people, the Ytza, in the central Peten, but dozens of different tribes, most of were at war with one another. From Villagutierre's accounts alone, and especially when read in conjunction with Avendaño, it is clear that there were several major political subdivisions of the immediate lake region. Canek was frequently at war with the people mentioned in the transcriptions of the previous page, most of whom were probably indigenous people not terribly happy with the sudden intrusion of foreign Ytza from Yucatan. Even by the 1690's Canek had absolute rule over only a portion of the lake region. The Covoh were the most populous of the peoples who evidently still lived outside his complete control.

Two examples may be used to dramatize how few people make the distinction between peoples of the Peten. Thompson speaks of the Mayas of San Jose (El Peten) as "descendants of the Itzas of Tayasal... as too are the Mayas of Socotz, who are immigrants from San Jose and neighboring villages" (1930: 37-38). An even more typically dubious statement is that of Reina that the people of the department of Peten "are descendant of the Maya of Yucatan; more specifically descendants of the

Itza who migrated to Peten traditionally in the early 13th century". (1962:27). Reina like Thompson, goes on to claim that the inhabitants of San Jose are "probably descendants of the early Itza" (Ibid.) It is possible that Thompson and Reina are correct, but it is more probable that the Maya of San Jose were not only from Tayasal but also were not even Ytza, but were one of the other cultural groups.

The blanket statement that the people of the department of El Peten are "descendants of the Maya of Yucatan" is untenable archaeologically and ethno-historically. Everyone knows that Canek and his kin claimed to be and probably were from Yucatan, but this means nothing more than that a small group of Ytza came south. There is no proof that the entire population of 16th century Peten came from Yucatan. After all, in the 10th century there was a tremendous population of Classic Maya all around; these tens of thousands of Classic Maya did not evaporate and the "forced resettlement" idea of Cowgill's (1964:199) is as improbable as it is ingenious. Why is it so difficult to believe that some people survived the series of catastrophes and resultant drastic population loss of the 10th century?

As with many anthropological matters, the blind lead the blind, and until we have more answers from (archaeological data) the question as to what percentage of the Peten population was indigenous and what percent from Yucatan will remain unanswered. We can hope that the recently begun Tayasal Project of Drs. William Coe and H. Stanley Loten can provide some new leads.

One of my goals is to be able to present a map of the central Peten with the names of all the political subdivisions neatly outlined by their proper borders of 1697. All the major villages, rivers, lakes, and prominent natural features would also be located. Attached would be a list of the personal Mayan names of the rulers of each town. For the time being, I am still struggling to sort out who is whom, and I can only list the major political subdivisions without giving any precise boundaries. Until I get air photographs and better maps I will not attempt to locate the villages, but I will present the names of all the villages which have to be located on the following page. This list is by no means complete.

List of some of the "towns" of the Lake Peten Itza, region. All the references to unpublished material are to documents from the AGI Seville.

<u>Town</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Reference</u>
ACIOC	- Anoh Chavin-	Esc.339A,Pza.2, F.32
ACHECTZ	(see QUETZ)	
AHACHE	- Canec	- Esc. 339A,Pza.2, f.32
AHALALAICH	- Puc	- Esc. 339A,Pza.2, f.32.
ALAIN	-Villagut.	pp. 352-3, 355-7, 428, 489-90, 493-4, 496, etc.
AYN		- Guate.151-bis, No. 1, f.56v.
BAKPICH		- Guate 151-bis, No. 1, f.56v.
BALAM TUM	- Chavin Ydolo	- Esc. 339A,Pza.2, f.32; Esc.339B, f.35v.
BALAN TUN	- Villagut.	p. 492
BICH	- Esc. 339B,	No. 1, f.39
BOH	- Covoh	- Guate 151, No. 13, f.2
BUCUP	- Esc.339B,	f.35v.
CALAKUA	- Covoh	- Villagut. p. 428
CAN CHUTTE	- Ahquitan Cobo	j - Esc 339A, Pza.2, f. 32
CANTETUL		- Guate 151-bis, No. 1, f.56v.
CETZ	- Covoh	- Guate. 151, No. 13, f. 2 (see QUETZ)
COBOX	- Villagut.	p. 492.
COCOL	- Covoh (?)	- Villagut. p. 428
COKOT	- Covoh	- Guate. 151, No.13, f.2
CONTAL	- Tut	- Esc. 339A, Pza. 2
CULUT	- Villagut.	p. 492.
CHA CAN YTZA	- Covoh	- Guate. 151, No. 13, f.2
CHA CHA	- Azoitum	- Esc.339A, Pza. 2, f.32; Esc. 339B, f.35v
CHA CHA CHULTE-	Canek-	Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32; Esc. 339B, No.1, f.39
CHATHA	- Villagut.	p. 491-2
CHATA	- Villagut.	pp. 352-3, 399
CHAC TIZ	- Ahematza	- Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32
CHAL TAN CHA	- Cobov	- Guate. 151, No.13 f.2
CHAN	- Esc. 339B,	f.39v
CHATA	(see CHATHA)	
CHENA	- Esc. 339B,	f.35v.
CHENAC	- Quixcam Yquitis	- Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32

CHESIQUIN - Chamachiquen - Esc. 339A, Pza.2  
 CHETEIN - Covoh - Villagut. p.428  
 CHINOHA - Esc. 339B, f.35v  
 CHINOTIA - Chamach Sulu - Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32  
 CHUC - Coboh - Villagut. p.428.  
 CHULTE - Villagut. p. 485, 492  
 CHULUL - Ahus Quitcan - Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32  
 EKKIXIL (a lake ?) Guate 151-bis, No.1, f.56v.  
 EXTZIUIL - Esc. 339B, f.39v  
 HESMO - Coti Can Chan - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32  
 HOHALIT - Coboc Tzun Tecum Yquix - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32  
 HOIPOP - Bata Puc - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32; Esc. 339B, No.1, f.39; Villagut. p.  
 492  
 (also spelled JOYOP)  
 HOLCA - Tesucum - ESC. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32; Esc.339B, f.35v  
 HOLPAT - Tzin - Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32  
 ITZUNTTE - Ah Matzin - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32  
 IXBOXES - Esc. 339B, f.39v  
 IX.... (see under YX....)  
 IXTUT - Villagut. p.494  
 IZPETEN (see under UZPETEN)  
 JOLA - Covoh - Guate. 151, No.13, f.2  
 JOYOP (see under HOIPOP)  
 KILILCHI - Covoh - Guate. 151, No.13, f.2  
 LALANYCH - Esc. 339B, f.35v  
 MASCAL (listed as SACPAI MASCAL with no comma separating them ?) Guate 151-bis,  
 No.1  
 f.5  
 6v.  
 MUMUNTTI - Tut - Esc. 339A Pza. 2, f.32; Esc. 339B, f.35v  
 NEC NOH CHE - Coboj - Esc. 339B, Pza. 2, f.32  
 NICHEN - Villagut. p. 304  
 NOCHI HA - Villagut. p.493-4  
 OKOT - Covoh - Villagut. p. 428  
 PANTZIMIN - Esc. 339B, f.35v  
 PAPACSUN - Esc. 339B, f.39v.

PETMAZ - Auz Puc - Esc. 339B, Pza.2, f.32  
 PICU - Esc. 339B, f.35v  
 POLOL- Tut - Esc. 339B, Pza.2 f.32  
 P00P- Covoh - Guate. 151, No. 13, f.2; Villagut. pp. 428, 492  
 POPES - Esc. 339B, f.39v.  
 POTTITT - (Tut ?) - Esc. 339B, No. 1, f.39  
 QUETZ - Coboij - Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32; Esc.339B, f.39v.  
 (ACHECTZ)- Villagut, p. 428  
  
 SACLEMACALES - Esc. 339B, f.39v  
 SACPUI - Esc. 339B, f.35v  
 ZACPUI - Villagut.(misspelled CAZPUI)pp. 428, 485, 491-2, 499.  
  
 SUBELNA - Can Chan - Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32  
 TAH MACANCHE - Tzib - Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32  
 TAYASAL - Canec - Villagut. pp. 377, 381  
 TEJOS (or TESOS ?) - Esc. 339B, f.39v  
 TTHACUNA - Esc. 339B, f.35v  
 TIBOH - Covoh - Villagut. p. 428  
 TICUL - Amarzin - Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32  
 TILAH - Matzubon - Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32  
 TIMUL - Ah Tzaz Cocanec - Esc. 339A Pza.2, f.32  
 TIMTUN (sp.?) - Esc. 339B, f.39v  
 TTUPPOP - Esc. 339B, f.35v  
 TUT - Esc. 339B, f.35v  
 TZACSEL - Esc. 339B, No.1, f.39  
 TZOKOTZ - Esc. 339B, f.35v  
 TZOTZ - Ah Can Canec - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32  
 TZUNPANES - Esc. 339B, f.39v.  
 UOO - Covoh - Guate.151 No. 13, f.2  
 UZPETEN - Covoh - Guate.151, No. 13, f.2  
 IZPETEN - Villagut. p. 428  
 VACMAI - Esc. 339B, No.1, f.27, 35, 39  
 VUACAMAI - Can Chan - Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32

XATENKUH - Covoh - Villagut. p. 428

XEULILA - Hau Mazquin - Esc. 339A, Pza.2

XIPIN - Esc. 339B, f.35v

YALAC - A Chicanquitis - Esc.339A, Pza.2; Esc.339B. f.35, Esc.339B, No.1, f.39

YALLAIN (see ALAIN) - Esc. 339B, f.35v

YALCA - Canec - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32

YANTTFNAY - Covoh - Guate.151, No.13, f.2

YAXA - Esc.339B, f.39v

YAXALCHAC - Esc. 339B, f.39v

YAXBETE - Bactum - Esc.339A, Pza.2, f.32; Esc.339B, No.1, f.39

YAXCHE - Tut - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32

YAXCHE - Coboj - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32

YAXLE - Ah Colibobon

YAXMAU - Esc. 339B, f.35v

YCHEC - Quixabon - Esc.339A, Pza.2, f.32

YCH TTUZ - Esc. 339B, f.35v

YX COHECH - Achac Tut - Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32

YX COHOL - Ahuen Chabin - Esc. 339A, Pza.2, f.32

YX MUAN - Esc. 339B, f.35v

YX MUCUYIL - Esc. 339B, f.35v

YX MUTRA - Tesac Quitcam - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32

YX PAPAC TUM - Chatta - Esc. 339A. Pza. 2, f.32

YX PETZEHA - Ah Muan Pana - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32

YX TUZ - Chaiax - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32

ZACLEMACAL - Ah Bac Canec - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32; Guate. 151, No.13, f.2

ZACHIEMACAL - Villagut. p. 492

ZAC PETEN (written VAC PETEN) LAGUNA - Coboj - Esc.339A, Pza.2, f.32

ZAC SEL - Tzun Tecum - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32

ZAX CUMIL - Ah Cavil Ytza - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32



ZOCOL - Covoh - Guate; 151, No. 13, f.2

ZONO UITZ - Chavin - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32

ZUM PAN - Panaiatzan - Esc. 339A, Pza. 2, f.32

In the above are included 109 settlements. The reader will notice that no one source lists all the towns. I suspect that further searches in the archives will turn up the names of scores of additional settlements, all for just the immediate lake region. The location of all these settlements is not yet known, but the document which lists most of them, A.G.I. Escribania 339A, Pieaza 2, also gives the relative population and the approximate distance from the lake of each settlement. In the future I hope to be able to publish all of this important geographical relación.

This same document also gives the name of the "jente" or, loosely translated, the "people" or "tribe". To the north were the Cobox (also spelled Covoh, Cobo), who had at least 12 settlements. The Chatan Itzas also were evidently north of the lake (Villagut.:304; Avendaño f.25r, 35v). Further north were the Quejaches, divided into the Chanes of Pachechen and the Chocmoes of Batcab. Other Quejache towns were Champokeken (probably a variant spelling of Chan Pachechen?), Tiac, and Tzuctoc (A.G.I. Guate 344, No.7, f.229v; Guate.151-bis, No.1, f.46, 68, 89; Villa Rojas 1961:105; Scholes + Roys 1948). To the south and west were the Tutes, Puques, and Chavines. There were certainly other districts, but by some names which are given, it is hard to tell whether the author is speaking of a cacique, a rancheria, a village, or a whole district.

One possible line of insight into the political geography of the Peten would be through a study of which peoples and towns got together to make war on the Spanish as opposed to which towns obeyed Canek and did not molest the intruders. For example, we are told that the Cha Mayzulu and Indians of Chacta, Puc, and "others" made a union to attack some Spaniards without obedience to Canek (A.G.I. Guate. 151-bis, No.6, f.7). Other patterns of warfare alliance may help work out the jigsaw puzzle, especially the group of tribes which actually made war with the Ytza. This warfare is of additional interest in that it may in some way

resemble earlier Classic period patterns of inter-city warfare for captives.

17th century maps would seem to be the answer to sorting out the boundaries and locations indeed. A few conquest period maps of the Lake Peten region have come down to us (Means 1917:P1, I, II; Torres Lanzas 1903; Reina 1966:22-23). Fray Diego de Rivas left a map of the Lacandon and Peten region but the scribe who made the copy, which was sent to Spain, did not bother to fill in the location of the peoples and places listed on the left side (A.G.I. Guate. 3145, No.12, F.57). The original of this map must still remain somewhere in Guatemala, probably in the cathedral archives. Lic. Agustin Estrada M. has been quite successful in finding other Rivas manuscripts in the Guatemalan church archives; perhaps he will be able to find this and other maps. Rivas was keenly interested in the geography of the Lacandon and Peten region, and the best information we have of the period comes from his writings.

Lizarraga wrote copiously on the situation of the Peten during the pacification programs of the early 1700's. This was the period when the Spanish burned most of the Indian towns to the ground in order to force the Maya into new towns where the Spanish could control them more easily. Lizarraga drew up a monumental MAPA Y DESCRIPCION DE LA MONTAÑA DEL PETEN YTZA but the extant copy in Seville has only the "descripción" portion and no "mapa" (A.G.I. Escrib.339-B,Pza.14,f.1). I have not yet had time to crosscheck all his claims but it seems that Lizarraga's map was based completely on hearsay and that he himself had little accurate or firsthand information to draw upon; I do not think that his map shows many of the tribes in their correct positions. He states that the Quejaches were the rulers of the Chanes and places them towards the Golfo Dulce; here he has evidently gotten the Chan of the Quejaches mixed up with the followers of Don Martin Cha (or Can) who did in fact live to the southeast, an example of the confusion generated due to the custom of tribes who took their names from their leader or principal town. There were many Cans or Chans (not necessarily related) and so theoretically there were innumerable Chanes groups.

Another good example of the confusion of names and locations is with

Mumuntti, a name both for a settlement and for a cacique. In a fairly authoritative document Mumuntti is listed as a town of the Tutes (A.G.I. Escrib.339-A,Pza.2,f.32v). Lizarraga, however, lists Mumuntti as a cacique of the "Mompana" and places the location of the Mompana to the north. Was Lizarraga thinking of the Mopan, who were south of the Ytza? The Tutes did live south; are the Tutes a division of the Mopanes? Who is one to believe? This unresolved confusion calls for thorough searches of the archives for more reliable reports so that every reference in one report can be crosschecked with what a different observer said in another report. Clearly there is a danger of relying on just one source.

The Covoh people have managed to catch my attention, for they there one of the largest single peoples in the region after the Ytza. The Covoh were at odds with the Ytza over how to handle the Spanish (Villagut:306). Were the differences between the Covoh and the Ytza the differences between a long seated indigenous people and a conquering Itza from 13th century Yucatan? Whatever the eventual answers may be, trying to sort out the Covoh situation is as challenging and frustrating as any.

In the table below are listed the settlements (or caciques) that different observers ascribe to the Covoh. All are from A.G.I Seville, except Villagutierrre.

GUATE 151 13 (Or 5), folio 2	LIZARRAGA Escrib.339-B	Escrib. 339-A Pza.2	VILLAGUTIERRE p. 428
1. Boh	Bentuniches	Can Chutte	Acgetz'
2. Cetz	Chavines	Nec-noh-che	Calakua
3. Cokot	Chunexco	Quetz	Chetein
4. Cha-can-ytza	Quitizes	Vac-peten-laguna	Chuc
5. Chal-tan-cha		Yaxche	Okot
6. Jola			Tiboh
7. Kililchi			Iz-peten
8. Poop			Katenkuh
9. Uoo			
10. Uz-peten			
11. Yanttenay			
12. Zocol			

The only villages listed on more than just one list are Cetz (Quetz, Achectz ?) and Uz-peten (Iz-peten). I doubt if any of the names of Lizarraga's list are correct; however, it is possible that, since he wrote his map description in the

early 1700's, the town locations may have by then changed from what they were in 1697 as a result of the Covoh moving to escape the marauding Spanish. Not only might the town locations and hence the names have changed between the time of one chronicler and that of another, but at any one time any settlement had at least two different names, the name of its head cacique and its own name; "the towns... bear the names of the caciques... although all have their separate names of their own" (Avendaño f.38r).

To avoid getting into the uncertainties of Reina and Thompson, we ought to go into the archives and find out once and for all which native groups were settled by the Spanish into which new villages. Enough records have survived to make it possible not only to know the initial settling population, but also major moves of people in or out of the village in later decades. This information is of course not published and has to be hunted for. Someone has to spend the time and money to extract it from thousands of pages of often illegible 17th century Spanish handwritten reports. [To show that such a search would be rewarded with the information sought, I can provide here a little information in one document, which describes the initial resettlement of Indian towns after the disruption of the conquest. The Spanish list the name of the Indian people, the approximate numbers of people concerned, and give the new patron saint name for the town in which they are being resettled. Thus we find that the Jines were moved into San Martin Obispo, the Chates to San Andres, the Panaes to San Pedro, and the Caczel to the western part of the lake (A.G.I. Escrib.339A, Pza.2, f.71). Since most of these saint-named towns still exist we can learn something about the location of the old towns, for usually the fugitives were resettled close to their old homes. When such was not the case we will have to search the records carefully to trace the routes taken by the fleeing Indians and ascertain whether the Spanish settled them where they finally tracked them down, or whether the Spanish brought them back to their old homes, or more likely, to altogether different location where the Spanish could more easily control their new subjects. There is no reason why a thorough search would not reveal the early history of all the Spanish dominated towns of 17th and 18th century Peten. We also ought finally to get some new

information on Flores and Tayasal to tell us one and for all whether the modern island of Flores or the modern peninsula (or island during high water) of Tayasal is the same as the old island capital of Canek].

#### YTZA GOVERNMENT

It is quite clear that there were a great many different systems of government among the different Maya peoples of the 16th century. Thus the Ytza system should not be considered "the" system. Nonetheless, the Ytza government is more likely to be similar to some of the complicated Classic period governments than say 16th century Cholti government because of the following factors. First, there was a high population in the Peten, much denser than in the Cholti area, and thus more like the high population of the Classic period. Second, the Ytza were surrounded by largely hostile tribes and were constantly at war with most of them. From Classic sculpture it is becoming clearer that during the Late Classic there was a great deal of emphasis on securing sacrificial captives from other Maya, probably of neighboring cities. Offsetting these similarities to earlier Southern Lowland situations is the fact that Canek was from Yucatan, and we have no assurance that the Yucatacan Itza system of government was typical of the Southern Lowlands.

What follows in this paper is not an explanation of the Ytza government or even a full description. Rather I have just tried to outline what is known, what is unknown, and whether further archival research is likely to fill in the missing information and enable someone in the future to write a full description of Ytza politics and inter-district politics.

Thompson and Means are both rather brief about Ytza government. Since we know less about Maya political organization than about most other aspects of Maya life, I am making a particular effort to track down unpublished manuscript descriptions of Peten political organizations. Proskouriakoff's and Kelley's studies of Classic Maya dynasties have shown that eventually we will be able to find out about Classic government. I think it would help our hieroglyphic

research if we had a better idea of what possible form Maya political organization could take. For example, what were the likelihoods of a military rule vs. a priest king vs. a rule by council vs. an oligarchy etc.; the degree to which rule was hereditary would also be nice to know.

There is good reason to believe that researchers could find enough documents with the needed information to work out the Ytza political system. The Spanish were fascinated with Canek, his first cousin the High Priest, and Don Martin Chan (or Can) (see relationship chart in following section) (p.24). The Spanish interrogated all three at length about the political organization of the Peten, for the Spanish were now faced with the problem of running the whole region. In one report there is some information, which is of particular interest:

Preguntado si ay otro rey demas de el (Canek) y quien sea; dijo q(ue) el hera solamente el rey y señor natural y esto resp(on)de. Preguntado q(ue) como se le da titulo de rey al Kin Canek= dijo q(ue) a todos sus sacerdotes les llaman reyes y que este por ser lo y ser primo hermano suio le llaman rey, pero q(ue) el es el legitimo y esto responde -

Preguntado si este Señorío lo ha heredado de sus antezesores = dijo q(ue) si y que desde que vinieron de Chichenisa sus asendientes obtienen d(ic)ho señorío y esto resp(on)de.-

Preguntado q(ue) como D(on) Martin Chan dijo haver quatro reyes no siendo mas que el solo señor natural= dijo q(ue) los otros se llaman reyes p(or) ser de su sangre y tener algun mando y señorío y esto resp(on)de-

Preguntado si es casado y si tiene hijos y quantos = dijo q(ue) es casado y se llama su muger Chan Panaa, y que tiene dos hijos... (A.G.I. Guate.151-bis, No.6, folio 40v-41)

Among the Ytza themselves there seems to have been at least a three-level system with Canek on top. There were 3 other "reyzuelos" beneath him, Kitcam, Thesucam, and (another) Kitkam. Then there were about 18 caciques evidently of lesser rank than reyezuelos Dzin, Tut, (another) Canek, and Kitcan. With the limited information presently available it is not possible to work out the complete list. Avendaño asked Canek how many districts the Peten alone had and Canek replied 22 and named then (names given on following page). It is a little difficult to understand this list because most of the names are different than those given by Villagutierre or in archival manuscripts. Most of the leaders have "Ach Cat" affixed before their name; three others have "Noh". Since there are other of Avendaño's writings in Seville perhaps it will be possible to make more sense from this list as we learn more about the Ytza from baptismal and tribute lists.

Districts of Peten Ytza on which Ahau Canek lives (Avendaño f.37v-38r)

1 Ahcanek	12 Ach Cat Baca
2 Noh Ah Chata	13 Ach Cat Halach Vinic
3 Ah Tzec Tzin Batab	14 Ach Cat Mulcah
4 Nohche (cacique)	15 Ach Cat Kinchil
5 Ach Chatan Ek	16 Ach Cat Kinchan
6 Ach Cat Cixban	17 Ach Cat Kanyon (?)
7 Noh Tzo Can Punab	18 Ach Cat Cit Can
8 Noh Tzo Can Noh	19 Ach Cat Ytza
9 Tzo Can Tzic	20 Ach Cat Pop
10 Ach Cat Matan Cua	21 Ach Cat Camal
11 Ach Cat Batum	22 Ach Catt Mas Kin

Means gives this list on pp.19-20. There is some question as to whether these names are all transcribed correctly. Whatever their spelling, the 3-level hierarchy vaguely parallels the hierarchy of the more simple Cholti-Lacandon system where there was one high ranking cacique, a small group of slightly less high, and then a large number of slightly lower rank.

Supreme Canek, the other 3 reyezuelos, and all the minor caciques were just for the one island where Canek lived. Each of the other islands and each part of the mainland had its own divisions and leaders. We know that Canek and his first cousin the high priest ruled over a large part of the mainland, but we do not know whether the minor caciques of the island had any control over anything outside of the island or whether any cacique of a mainland town owed any form of civil or religious obedience to a minor island cacique.

A series of prosecutions by the Spaniards of mainland caciques provides an initial insight into the political organization of the mainland. At one point in the 1690's several Spanish were killed by some Indians. For years the Spanish

conducted investigations to try to determine who was responsible (Villagutierre:404). Either some caciques were actually connected directly with the deaths or the Spanish wanted to pin it on some rulers as an excuse to kill them in punishment. Whatever the case they interrogated many people at length about the suspected caciques. The caciques came from several different towns, so we have a lot of information on who ruled where. Since the caciques evidently acted together, we also get some idea of inter-city politics. There is not space here to transcribe the hundreds of pages of the legal investigation and questioning but I can squeeze in the list of caciques of the Kan Chan town of Vakmay. In the same manuscript the spellings and number of names varies, as is typical.

List of the Caciques of the Kan Chan town of Vakmay (A.G.I. Escrib.339-B)

<u>folio 27</u>	<u>folio 35</u>	<u>folio 39</u>
Cotti Kan Chan	Cotti Kan Chan	Cotti Kan Chan
Chul Kan Chan		Chan Chan Quittis (sic)
Chan Chan Quittis	Cha Chan Quittis	Chan Chen Quittis
Cucul Quittis	Cucul Quittis	Cukul Quittis
Kabil Kun Chan	Kabil Kan Chan	Cavil Kan Chan
Ma Kan Chan	H Ma Kan Chan (sic)	Ttimakan Chan
San Kan Chan		
Ytzquim Kan Chan		

[In just about 1 week in the archives in Seville (the portion I could spare from the Lacandones to work on the Maya speakers of the Lake Peten region) it has been possible to find about 10 times the number of town and cacique names as known from both Villagutierre and Avendaño combined. A full year working just on the Ytza, Covoh, Tut, Puc, Kan Chan, and, their immediate lake neighbors should reward the researcher with an unsuspected wealth of information on Peten political geography and organization.]



### CENTRAL PETEN POPULATION

The original census records of the Ytza region have not yet been found, so it will be some time before we have even a rough idea of the population of all the Lake Peten region. Avendaño estimated there were from 22 to 24 thousand Indians "de todos edades" just in the 5 islands end among the mainland Chatan Ytzaes and Tulanquies (A.G.I. Guate.151-bis, No.1, f.95v; Thompson 1951:390). Avendaño also shrewdly warned us to be wary of population counts based on houses, for a family could have two houses, one in the town and a second in his milpa. I wonder how many of the Classic Period house mounds counted to arrive at the house count at Tikal were second homes. One thing, which is consistent among all reports on most of the 16th-17th century Southern Lowlanders, is that there were several families per house, not just the nuclear family as favored by Sanders. "Que en muchas de ellas (casas) reconocimos haver a tres y quatro familias y entre esta muchas criaturas" (A.G.I. Escrib. 339-A, Pza.2, f.143v). This is true of the Verapaz Chol, the Cholti-Lacandon and others.

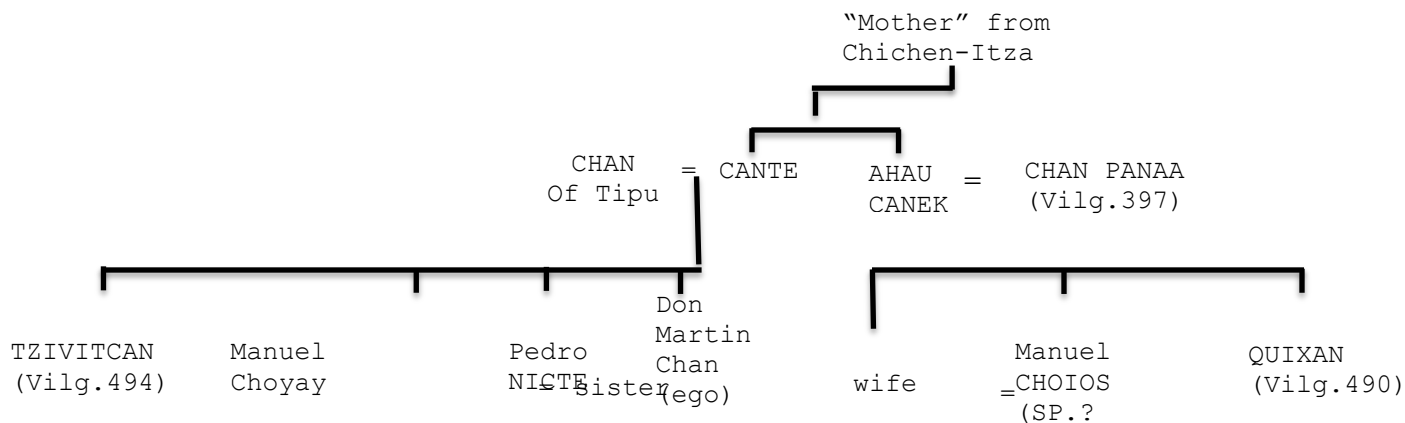
Another comment by the Spaniards worth reproducing here is the one that:

Los Yndios Choles que nunca (h)an tenido poblason formal, y union como los del Ytza; pues la primera vez que entre avia en la rivera de la laguna dies y ocho Pueblos con gran formalidad, y casas apretiladas de cal y canto como las que todavia en el Peten en que pueden alojarse cien hombres aun que no todas sino qual de esta qualidad =

(A.G.I. Escribania de Camara 339-A, Pieza 2, folio 203-203v)

### YTZA KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Until the census records for the Peten show up we lack data on population distribution and marriage patterns. What little is known about Peten kinship and marriage has been covered by Thompson (1951:391) who repeats statements by observers who said the Ytza were monogamous. Evidently there were rare instances when men had more than one wife, for one Canek, a kinsman of unspecified relation to Rey Canek, had two wives (AGI Guate 151-bis, No.6, f.47v). Most of the caciques were related to one another by blood or marriage. It should not be terribly difficult to work out kinship charts, which outline the specific relationships among the elite. The chart below is may a sample of what can be worked out.



(based partially on unpublished information in AGI Guate 151-bis, No.6, f.4v,12,41,44v.)

#### CENTRAL PETEN SUBSISTENCE

The Lake Peten region was probably the most densely populated part of the Southern Maya Lowlands outside of perhaps Tabasco and the Mayan Chontal lands (we know little about the 16th century population of what is now Belize (British Honduras). Thus the region offers the population density closest to that of the Classic period as we can hope to come. It would be worthwhile investigating the possibility that the subsistence base was dependent somewhat on the population. A high population would create a premium for the more productive foods irrespective of taste or preference. I cannot answer this question here; it is just that the Ytza and their neighbors seem to have had a more intensive agricultural and exploitative system than their less populated Cholti-Lacandon and Chol neighbors. The central Peten Maya relied on maize more than other peoples. The comments which follow are in no sense an exhaustive study of Peten subsistence nor do I even touch on all the information, which is available. Like the rest of this paper the comments are just to show the type of information, which is available, and the types of problems, which will have to be cleared up before this information is useful to a wider audience.

In A.G.I. Guatemala 344, No. 7 (1699) the Spanish Peten authorities record the questioning of a number of people on the agricultural potential of the Peten (f.226 seq.). All the answers stress that the milpas "dando en ella continuamente dos cosechas cada año (f.229,238,242v; (and Avendaño f.37v)). This is a rather important fact. I have not yet made a check as to whether calculations on Maya food production have ever been based on 2 yields a year. The following excerpts from unpublished documents give a hint of what information is available. Of particular interest is the statement that a milpa is farmed for 20 years, each year yielding 2 harvests of maize without fail. It is crucial that the reliability of this statement be checked.

Pues siendo en terrenos duros son so corridos de plubias hasta en el presente tiempo de las secas y cada quatro messes puede haver por lo que he visto cosecha de maiz y los ymdios disen que quando hassen rossa nueva fabrican cassa en ella y tienen mas de veinte años una milpa dando sin descansar dos cosechas en cada año y he visto tienen en ella maiz, calabases, frijoles, chile, piñas, tavaco, cañas dulces, plattanos, vatatas, chayotes, grana, algodon de que las yndias tejen extraordinarios primorosos tejidos blancos y de colores y otras cossas = y tube curiosidad de desgranar un amassena (no de las mayores ) y le hallemas de ochocientos granos y actualmente se estado doblando la segunda cosecha = Por los montes (h)ay cantidad de pitta, pimienta, cacao, vainillas, valsamos, piños, robles, sedros, y admirable maderaje selecto para todo quanto sea nezzessario, y en las savanas muchos venados y pabos con que nos podiamos...(AGI Guate 344, No. 7, folio 238-238v).

Villagutierre provides similar accounts of Peten subsistence economy:

...mucha cantidad de peces, grandes, medianos, y pequeños, muy sabrosos, y buenos ce comer. Tiene icoteas, tortugas, y otros á este género (p.381)

Las tierras del contorno de la laguna, por unas partes son montes, en que se cría mucho ganado bravío, de venados, puercos monteses, que tienen el ombligo en el espinazo, liebres, conejos, en vivares, gallos, y gallinas de la tierra, que son como pavos, y de su misma forma, y otras muchas aves como faisanes, paujies, y tejones, y otras muchas, de Castilla, y de la tierra (Ibid.:382)

...el territorio de la otra banda de la laguna, contra puesta á la de los montes, todo de tierra baja, llana; de grandes, y muy dilatadas sabanas (que así llaman á las llanadas para labrantio) que no las alcanza la vista, con grandes milperías, en que se dan dos cosechas de frutos, consecutivos, al año; y las mazorcas, y granos de maíz, en extremo gruesos.

Y también en aquellos contornos de la laguna, hay y se coje grana fina, añil, de excelente género; bainillas, sumamente gruesas, y grandes, cacao, achiote, algodón, cera, miel, piñas dulces, frixoles, siruelas, batatas, plátanos, de todos géneros, y otras diversas legumbres. (Ibid.:383)

Cacao is rarely thought of as a Peten crop. Sanders and Price feel that "cacao does not grow well" (1968:169). Actually, cacao evidently grew in many locations in the Peten, both around Lake Peten and along the banks of the Usumacinta and its tributaries. The precise amount which they raised needs to be worked out, especially whether they had enough for export. For Avendaño tells us that he saw but little.

I asked them what products they had for their food and clothing, and they told me that they had a great deal of maize, beans, seeds, peppers, and that they sowed all this two or three times in the year; also many plantains and chunes, which are like the chayotes, though without thorns; some cacao (though but little), vanilla, and in some orchards enclosed with stakes in their homes some wild cabbage: I did not see these nor the onions which however the singers who accompanied me told me that they had seen; there is a great deal of cotton, cochineal, indigo, which accounts for the abundance of clothing which they have and give to the Cehache Indians and those from Tipu in barter for hachets and machetes... (Avendaño f.36v).

Taking all these sources together it is difficult to see maize-beans-and-squash as the major crops. Squash does not seem to have been terribly important at all, and root crops, tree fruits, domestic and wild game, and fresh water life were all used with a wide variety of lesser foods.

Villagutierre makes special mention of a tree which is certainly ramon:

"...se hallan innumerables árboles cuyos ramos, y hojas son, aun de mucho más sustento para las caballerías, y demás bestias, que si fuera el pasto más craso y apetecido de ellos (p.384)

but nowhere is there any mention that the fruit was consumed by humans.

There are extensive savannas south and west of Lake Peten-Itza and it should be possible to find out exactly to what uses this great expanse of land has used for. The chroniclers frequently mention that these open spaces were full of many deer and fat turkeys (AGI Guate 344, No.7, f.238v). Turkeys evidently weighed around 12 pounds (Ibib.:f.252v). One report seems to indicate that crops were raised in the savannas. [I will try to track down this reference, for many writers have felt that the Maya did not have tools or other means with coping with the grass and weeds of a savanna.]

One of the non Ytza tribes in the Peten, the Tulunqui, made extensive use of the maguey plant, a plant not much in evidence in the Peten today. These people

made water, wine, oil, vinager, honey, "jarabes" string or thread, needles (Agujas), beams (vigas) and roofing for their houses, and other things. They also used it as a protective fence (Villagutierre:378-9). There is no mention of the Ytza themselves ever using maguey.

#### CENTRAL PETEN MAYA: Conclusion

The material mentioned in the previous pages is but a fraction of what I have transcribed in the archives and what I have copied is but a tiny part of what is still in the archives. Readily available in old Spanish documents in Spain, Mexico, and Guatemala are descriptions of Ytza religion (priests, idols, rites, temples, deities, beliefs), attire, division of labor, warfare, architecture, artifacts, method of food preparation, weaving, and much more detailed descriptions of agriculture, hunting, and fishing. When the census lists are found we will have an abundance of information on Ytza, kinship, marriage, social structure, population, and personal names.

PART III: THE QUEJACHE MAYA

The Yucatec Maya speaking Quejache (or Cehaches or Mazatecos, all meaning Deer People) are of ethnographic interest because they were the 16th century inhabitants of the region just south and west of the Classic Period concentration of Rio Bec sites, because they lived in the ethnographically unknown border lands between the Northern and the Southern Lowlands, and because Alfonso Villa Rojas has proposed that the Quejache were the ancestors of the 20th century Yucateco-Lacandones of Chiapas (Villa 1954; 1967a;39-42). Both Villa and Scholes and Roys (1948) have summarized all published information available on the Quejache and there is no need in this present brief note to expand upon their descriptions. About the only published mention of the Quejache that might be added to Villa's bibliography is the map in the Relaciones de Yucatan, Vol. I, which has the name "Mazatlan" in roughly the correct location, Avendaño's long relación, only partially published by Means (1917a) occasionally mentions the Quejache but contains little new ethnographic information.

The greatest problem working with the Quejache is that their homeland was overrun by fugitive Yucatan Maya peoples fleeing Spanish oppression in the north and west, so one cannot always be sure whether a specific comment concerns the indigenous Quejache culture or some transplanted, disrupted Yucatecan culture. Scholes and Roys (1948) devote several important sections to this exodus of apostate Maya into the interior (1848:251-298,503-507) but the full story is still locked in the as yet untranscribed A.G.I. Seville documents, which they cite but do not transcribe. Three long legajos, Mexico 138 (478 folios), Guatemala 151 (over 600 folios), Guatemala 151-bis (over 900 folios), Escribania de Camara 317-C (Parts I and II contain a total of well over 1,930 pages), and Escribania de Camara 315-B has hundreds more pages all full of the descriptions of the movement of apostate Maya into the hinderland; only when this entire batch of documents is transcribed and studied will it be possible to make any authoritative statements about whether the Lacandon of today are the descendants

of fugitive Maya from Yucatan, Quejache pushed out of their original homeland, Indians indigenous to Chiapas, survivors of the original 16th century Chol population of Chiapas, or some combination of two or more of these once distinct peoples.

The main sources of information on the Quejache other than these records of apostate Indians are in the accounts of the building of the great road from Yucatan to Lake Peten Itza, an enterprise undertaken mostly during the years 1695-1698. This road passed right through Quejache territory and there are thousands of pages of original descriptions of the road building activities and the lands the road passed through. I suspect that additional searches through Guatemalan, Mexican, and Spanish archives will bring to light many other lost descriptions of the Quejache of other decades.

A.G.I. Guatemala 151-bis, No. 2 contains a census of the settlement of Batcab (f.11). Although there is still the question of whether any single individual in this region as late as the 1690's is an indigenous Quejache rather than an apostate Maya from the north, Batcab, being well south, was within Quejache territory may have been far enough south to avoid most of the fugitives. Indeed, in that decade it was specifically stated in another document that Batcab was a Quejache town (AGI Guate.151-bis, No.1,f.89). The names given in the census are included in the table in the following section.

The way the Spanish presented the census of Batcab there is no way to tell how many people lived in any given house, nor the number of children per family, etc. A census of Tzuctotz of about the same date is probably of the largely Quejache town also spelled Tzuctok, a town populated by numerous fugitives from further north and west (Scholes + Roys 1948:273). This Tzuctotz census is given by household, and shows that as many as five "families" lived in a single house (hold).

Since Yucatec Maya personal names were generally inherited patrilineally, from the census we can get a vague idea of which people in the house were in some way related to the head of the household, although the specific kin relationships were not listed by the padres. A typical Tzuctotz house list is as follow, "m.w." = married with, males are listed first, "c" = children.

Vicab, m.w. May, 2 c.  
 Evan, m.w. Hau 4 c.  
 Chuc, m.w. Eban  
 Evan, m.w. Habnal

There were 14 people in this group. Someone will have to work out whether all 14 lived in the same structure or in a cluster of houses near one another. Other names given for Tzuctotz were: Cambal, Canche, Covoh, Ciu, Chable, Chan, Chay, Che, Chim, Chuc, Mian, Mo, Pot, Tzu, Tzuyoc, and Vitzil.

If this multiple-family-per-household living arrangement is a Quejache as well as an apostate Maya trait then we have another whole major region of the Southern Lowlands where the population-per-house was considerably more than the conservative estimates of Haviland and the all-together too low figures of Sanders and Price.

In summary, in this brief note I cannot present any meaty new ethnographic information, but he who sorts through the thousands of manuscript pages in the archives will surface with significant new data on one of the 16th century Maya peoples who inhabited a considerable portion of the Maya lowlands.

In closing I will just repeat the warning that it is premature to speculate on the degree to which Quejache culture or genes have or have not come down to the Yucatec Mayan speaking Lacandon of Chiapas. One of several research strategies which we will have to employ to sort out the origins of today's Lacandon is to trace each aspect of today's Lacandon culture back in time and see where are led. So far, mostly from still unpublished information I have been able to trace one faction of modern Lacandones generation by generation back to the inhabitants of the settlement of San Jose de Gracia Real, about 32km. from Palenque. There is considerable evidence that the people of this missionary settlement and surrounding region



1789-180?, were the direct ancestors of at least some of the Lacandones of today.

By now it is generally well accepted that the Lacandon of today who speak Yucatec Maya are distinct culturally and genetically from the 16th century inhabitants of the same region who were also called Lacandones but who spoke the Cholti dialect of Chol. The Cholti-Lacandon were wiped out by disease and constant warfare with the Ytza, Petenectes, and Spaniards. From 1695 to 1714 the Spanish made a great effort to round up all the Cholti they could find and shortly after 1714 all these hapless souls were forcibly removed to the highlands around Huehuetenango (Amram 1937:31; Bancroft 1887,III:616; Guatemala 1939h; Guatemala 1939j; Recinos 1954:395-397; Nolasco Perez 1966:441-467; Hellmuth 1970b:3-4). I doubt if more than a few dozen Cholti survived in the Lacandon region after 1716.

It is now evident that Yucateco Maya moved into the void left by the decimation and forced removal of the Cholti. Through a typical sloppiness in naming, the new inhabitants of the old Cholti region were also called Lacandones. The identical names, the fact that both peoples lived in the very same region, and the statements by all early writers that these two peoples were all the same "Lacandon" has led to a confusion by those who are unfamiliar with the new archival discoveries or who remain unconvinced because of the influence of older writings. Nonetheless, the Cholti-Lacandon were not the ancestors of the Yucateco-Lacandon culturally or genetically and various scholars have proposed different peoples as the possible ancestors of the modern Lacandon (Thompson 1938; 1966; 1970:67-70; Sapper 1907; Scholes + Roys 1948:46, 69; Villa 1961:112; 1967a:39-42; Hellmuth 1970a:xiii-xvi; 1970b:23-35). One of several ways to link up the earliest known Yucateco-Lacandon of 1789 (there is no proof that the Noha-Prospero Maya of 1645 were ancestors of the Lacandon of today) with the various contenders for the title of ancestor, is to trace personal names, since these names were handed down from generation to generation. This method is fraught with problems, which I will not go into in this paper, except to point out the greatest problem; some of the Lacandon names are so common, such as Kowo (Covoh) and so widespread throughout all Yucatec speaking regions that the names could be

traced back to any number of distinct peoples. At the moment the most probably ancestral people are the Quejache (of Batcab and other towns), the Petenecte, and a new people near Palenque that I just found out about in unpublished documents in Seville (AGI Guate. 344). In the name list on the following page I have arranged all the known onen names of modern Lacandon on the right. This and the lists to the left are provisional and most of the sources for these names are unpublished, manuscripts.

All the Lacandones of today are probably not descended from the same ancient peoples. Indeed, the northern Lacandon are distinct culturally and linguistically from the Southern Lacandon (Duby + Blom 1969). I suspect that each regional group has different cultural and genetic forebearers. Hence it is unscholarly to make any blanket statement on "the Lacandones" without specifying which group at which time period.

BATCAB <u>1690's</u>	NEAR PALENQUE <u>1690's</u>	PETENACTE <u>1712</u>	S. JOSE DE GRACIA REAL <u>1790's</u>	YUCATECO- LACANDONES <u>1900-1971</u>
BATUN				
CAN/KAN----- CAUICH	CAN-----	CANAL		
	COGUO-----	COBOH-----	COBOG-----	KOWO
KU	CUG	CUALUT		
	CUL CHABLE	CU		
CHAN	NAMA CHA, COAC CHAN			
CHAY		CHUCHIT		
	CUL <u>CHABLE</u>	HABLE	GARCIA-----	KARSIYA HAAB KEHO
HAU----- CIXAU	MISQUITT <u>AHAU</u> -----	JAU		
	NAGUAT-----	NAGUAT-----	NAGUATE-----	NAWATO
	NAMA CHAN			
	NOG			
	MIS QUIT AHAU	MIZ, MIS		MISO
MO				
POOT				
PUT----- CIXAU	PUC-----	PUC-----	PUC-----	PUC
		QUIXAU		TAS UC
	US			
	VEC			
			(?)AQUE	
			(?)UEG (spelling of first letter uncertain)	

PART IV: THE VERAPAZ CHOL

La nacion Chol en tiempo de su gentilidad estubo poblada en todas las tierras que hoy comprende Chiquimula de la Sierra, Esquipulas, Casaguastlan y todas aquellas montañas que estan sobre el Golfo dulce y con el tiempo estendieron algo ásia aquellas montañas que estan de la otra parte del Golfo, y rio que se llama del Castillo, ásia la provincia de la Verapaz y mas á lo que hoy es el Peten;... (Ximinez,II:10)

In 1938 Thompson suggested that "the Chols with their cousins the Chortis may well be the descendants of the builders of cities such as Copan, Quirigua, Pusilha, Palenque, and many others" (p.584). I agree wholeheartedly with this hypothesis and think it ought to be followed to its logical conclusion. If the Chol and Chorti are the descendants of any Southern Lowland Classic Maya then their 16th-17th century life styles would reflect (in some manner with the amount of change to be determined) the culture of the Classic Maya; furthermore, Chol culture of the 16th century is more likely to reflect Classic Maya survivals than distant and distinct Yucatec cultures of the 16th century. [There are problems to this postulate and it remains to be proven; I shall not attempt to solve these problems in this presents progress report.]

Given these premises it is surprising that no one to my knowledge has initiated excavation of a 16th century Chol site to recover artifacts to attempt to prove the hypothesis that the Chol are rather directly descended from the ancient Maya of the same region. There are several obvious reasons why no one has tried such a project. First, few people know or care about the Chol. Even Thompson, who has done most to rescue the Chol form obscurity, classifies the Chol as "unorganized, thinly populated" (1970:76), "their culture was simple, that of small farming communities" (Ibid, 68), and "clearly there was no centralized government" (Ibid.:67). I disagree with this derogatory view of what was in reality a sophisticated Chol culture, and it remains to be proven that the low population small communities ascribed to the Chol by all Spanish writers was pre-conquest condition. One of the first reactions of many peoples upon the arrival of Spanish disruption was to disperse into small villages. The Quejache Maya had good sized compact towns when Cortes came through

their lands in 1525. By 1695 there were no large towns left and the Quejache would be correctly described by Thompson's labels. The case is similar with the Cholti-Lacandon. In 1609 there were 300 houses in the largest town (Tovilla 1635:210). After 8 decades of harassment by the Spanish and the decimation of the native populations through Spanish introduced disease, the largest town had only 100 residential buildings and none of the neighboring settlements had more than 20 or so houses.

Most of the information on Chol population and settlement pattern comes from the first decade of the 1600's or much later. By those times the Chol had been in contact with the Spanish for well over half a century. It is questionable, however, whether the Chol had as sparse and as dispersed a settlement pattern in the 15th century, before the epidemics and warfare of the Spaniards drastically reduced their population.

A second reason why no one has worked seriously with the Chol is that there is, as Thompson first wrote in 1938, "woefully meager source material" published on the Chol. Unpublished, in the archives, there is enough information to keep a team of linguists, ethnographers, and historians going for a decade. Until Andre Saint-Lu gathered some ethnographic information in the 1960's during his research on the history of Verapaz, there had been little original work in the archives on the Chol region. As a historian, Saint-Lu primarily produces information of a historical nature, not immediately useful to an anthropologist. Since there is so much readily available ethnographic information, in English, on the Quiche, Pocoman, and various Yucatec peoples, researchers have shunned the Chol.

A third reason why no one has excavated a Chol site is because we really do not know the precise location of many Chol villages. Again, a little work in the archives, some good color infrared aerial photography, and a lot of hiking around Verapaz would enable an interested individual to locate some of the old village sites--if the effort were really made.

In this brief note I cannot hope to present enough new information to change the present lack of basic data, but I would like to point out what type of information does exist in the archives and to emphasize that an investment of time and money would be rewarding to the ethnohistorian end to anthropology.

Fray Jose Delgado left us with a great deal of information about the geography of the Chol region, which, Ximenez provides us a copy (II,393-396). In a brief article Bunting gives an English translation of Delgado's account. For some reason she gives absolutely no source for her original document other than saying it is from "the original manuscript of Delgado", eg. not second hand from Ximenez. Bunting does not say where the manuscript is. Presumably she translated the Delgado manuscript in the Gates Collection reproduction of one of Brasseur de Bourbourg's manuscripts. In a separate article Doris Stone published, in the same year as Bunting, another version of Delgado's itinerary (1932). Stone seems to have relied on Ximenez for her source of information.

Neither John Glass nor I have been able to track down the location of Brasseur's actual manuscripts which Gates photographed, but fortunately in Seville there are several versions of Delgado's itinerary, in A.G.I. Guatemala 151, No.1, fol.140v and for some reason in Nicolas de Valenzuela's lost relacion on the conquest of Sac Balam there is another version (AGI Escrib. 339-B, Pza.5, f.17).

I feel that it is within our grasp to know the 16th-17th century Mayan or early Spanish names for every river in the Southern Lowlands. Since many Chol settlements were on or close to rivers (Ximenez, II:19,394,395,587) this would be a first step in locating some of the old Chol settlements. These lost names will come from unpublished reports such as the which was found, written in 1680 on the route to Las Salinas, the well-known salt source on the upper Chixoy River. Below brief extracts from this document are transcribed to show the form in which the geographical information comes.

Descubrim(ien)to de las salinas.

Los Señores Pressidentes Don Martin Carlos de Mencos y Don Sebastian hicieron grandes diligencias de descubrir el camino que va desde Copan a las salinas conosiendo (como es cierto) que se no reandose de ellas con una poblacion moderada de ladinos todo el Manche, Chol y Lacandon se entregaron y sujetaran y no lo pudieron conseguir y Dios fue servido que Yo lo descubriese por un camino raro y es en la forma siguiente.

Primera jornada desde Coban al Rio de Chitu = la seguada al paraje de Aquil = tercera al paraje de Zactoxom = quarta al Rio de Jazinim Quinta al paraje de Juchil = sesta al paraje de Canlum = Septima al paraje de Rebolay = octava al Rio de Jacoc = nobena al Rio de Caxchoja. = Decima a las salinas. = y todos los Rios se pasan algunos en palos y otros se vadean = Sebastian de Olivera y Angulo (A.G.I. Guatemala 158, dated 1684).

One of the problems in trying to figure out the location of Maya settlements is that any given river could have several different names, first a 16th century name in the local Mayan dialect, a second name in the Mayan or Mexican language of the guide for the Spanish explorer or writer, and third, a 16th century name in Spanish. Often all three of these or other names fell into disuse and the river gets a totally new 20th century Spanish or sometimes Mayan name. This is why it is necessary to work out maps for the Southern Lowlands at roughly 40 years periods, to show the changes of names over time, the fluctuating linguistic boundaries, changes in location of settlements, etc.

#### Personal Names of the Verapaz Chol

The Spanish efficiently exterminated the entire Verapaz Chol population by disease, human pack-train forced labor, outright slaughter, general exploitation, and finally forcibly resettling the few survivors in what turned out to be poor and unhealthy new locations. The baptismal and other Church records of these hapless souls contain a great treasure of still untapped ethnographic information. Andre Saint-Lu located a 1604 baptismal book of the Chol, settlements of Manche, Matzin, Chiixtee, and Cucul (AGI Guate.181). The names AHAU, BIN, CANAN, CABIL, CHAC CHAN, TUNAL, TUNUM and others are fairly common lowland names, especially among the Choliti. Other names such as ZAGUAY and VAHTAN or GUAHTAS are not as common in the scanty published literature which is available for this kind of comparison.

As of yet it is difficult to understand why only the name CUCUL of this baptismal book occurs in a list of supposed Chol removed to the Urran Valley later in the century. These other "Chol" had the names UCHIN, POT, MISIT. These names seem to have been patronymics for in a long list of people the names UCHIN, POT, MISIT, and CUCUL occurred over and over. This group of Chol therefore differs from all other known Choloid peoples, for the Verapaz Chol personal names are like those of the Cholti-Lacandon, Mayan-Choltan, and Toquegua in that they seem to be neither patronymics nor matronymics but as yet an unknown naming system. Thus, among the majority of the Chol, a child did not receive the (sur)name of either parent. Ximenez tells us that a man named ZELUTAHAN (probably meant to be ZELUT AHAU) had a gentleman named ALRACAHAM for his father (II:12).

Due to the fact that there are such regional differences between aspects of culture, such as the manner of selecting personal names, the currently used designation "Manche Chol" is inadequate to cover the people such an extensive and diverse region, since Manche was also the name of a single town as well as the ill-defined district of old Verapaz. [The term "Manche Chol" should be restricted solely to the Chol from the one small village of San Miguel Manche.] I propose the name Verapaz Chol to cover temporarily the whole collection of peoples whom Thompson called the "Manche Chol" (1938). I use the word Verapaz because Izabal was not geographical entity in the 17th century, although today, of course, Izabal is the name of a section of the old province of Verapaz. In the future a more useful name may be proposed.

#### Verapaz Chol Subsistence

During early Spanish contacts with the Verapaz Chol during the 1590's the Spaniards were giving knives or machetes free to the Chol who came to Cajabon. The pleased recipients thought they were expected to pay for the goods and gave cacao and achiote in payment (Ximenez, II:12). They had not yet learned that the payment expected in return was not money but their souls and way of life. Later,



unscrupulous Spaniards sold machetes to the Chol, who quickly became dependent on Western goods. The price was one jiquipil of cacao per machete. One jiquipil equaled 8000 granos (Ximenez II:438). Elsewhere cacao and achiote were mentioned as native forms of money (Ibid.:367; Tovil 1635:72). From other comments it seems that if an individual lacked "hard currency" other goods were accepted in barter.

At Ixil visiting Spaniards were given eggs, platanos, and tortillas to eat (Ximenez,II:365). There is some question as to whether tortillas were pre-Hispanic in the Chol region, for the padres had to teach some of the Chol how to make them. When there was little maize around the Chol gave the padres palmitos, tree roots, and wild fruit (Ibid.:426). When they had maize available, the Chol consumed it in liquid form.

Unas veces traian los indios un canasto grande de tortillas, otras veces se pasaba un mes sin ver una tortilla porque los Choles no las usan y fué necesario enseñarles como se hacen. Ellos beben el maiz desleido en una bebida de otras yervas bien asquerosas, y el cacao lo muelen crudo y deslien y hacen otras bebidas de raices de manera que poco ó nada comen, todo es beber y asi andan los mas con las barrigas al aire disformes y el color abotagado (Ibid.)

The Chol raised maize, ayotes, camotes, yucas, caña dulce, platanos, and "other vegetables, fruits, and nuts" which the Spaniards never bothered to list specifically. (Ximenez II:488). Evidently some of these grew readily without much effort on the part of the Indians (Ibid).

### Population

The Verapaz Chol are another of the majority of Southern lowland peoples who lived several families to a house. The exact number of people per house varied considerably and not enough baptismal lists have been transcribed to allow anyone to work out an average. [At last, however, such processing is within the realm of immediate possibility for census and baptismal lists are available in Spain and Guatemala.] For now we have to rely on inconsistent statements made by the early Spanish historians.

In all these collections of little huts there are in each house 20 or 30 souls and in many other houses that there are very close, like from 1 or 2 leagues, there are many people of whom it would be

possible to make a famous and grand, town, because the house that has fewer people will have 20, 30, or 40 souls. Other houses there are closer together one to another, like a quarter of a league (apart), others like half a league, others three quarters, others less, in such manner that there are many people (Ximenez II:394).

However, on the same page Ximenez gives different figures, of around 5 to 7 "souls" per house. I suspect that the latter count is of adults only. We need reports that are a little more consistent before we can make anything of these figures, although all are higher than the 4 to 5 people-per-house favored by most Mesoamericanists for ancient Maya housemounds.

The baptismal lists bear out that there were multi-family residences, or at least more than a nuclear family in each house. In the Chol settlement of Matzin seven people are listed in such an order that I presume they are of the same residence.

Don Juan Canan  
 Catalina his wife  
 Lorencia and Julian his children  
 Maria X-Cunun mother-in-law of don Juan  
 Juana her daughter (AGI Guatemala 181)

Some Chol were polygamous (Ximenez II:426) but to what degree this affected their population-per-house is not known. We need to find out which Chol peoples were not polygamous, for the Cholti-Lacandon males each had just one wife as far as I can tell.

To a lesser degree there is the same problem with Chol town names and locations as with Ytza, Covoh, Puc, Tut and other town names in the Peten; that is, settlement was usually named after the cacique. Each town could have more than one cacique, although presumably the town was named after the head cacique; more confusing still is that there were often several caciques with the same name, each cacique in a different local. Thus it was theoretically possible for more than one town to have the same name. Town names could change for various reasons, such as the death of one cacique, and town locations changed frequently, both when the Spanish burnt villages to the ground to facilitate their pacification program of forced resettlement in fewer but larger settlements, and as the Chol fled Spanish oppression. Perhaps it would be useful to list the names of the towns known so far so that we can begin compiling information on their

geographical location, population, and history. In the following preliminary and incomplete list the abbreviation "ra" stands for "rancheria", an informal group of huts, and "pu" stands for "pueblo".

AMIÁ, 1606	(Xim.II:209;St.-Lu 1968)
APUT, 1606	(Xim.II:209;St.-Lu 1968)
AXPETEN, 1606	(Xim.II:209;St.-Lu 1968)
BATENAS, 1677	(Xim.II:394-5)
BICTEHUM (Puente de amate), 1695	(Xim.III:17)
BOL, ra., 1677	(Xim.II:393)
BOLONCOT, ra.	(Xim.II:10)
CACHE, ra., 1677	(Xim.II:394)
CAHAL (Cucul), 1606	(Rem.II:589)
CAMPAMAC, ra.	(Xim.II:10)
CANCAL	(Xim.II:10)
CONTE, ra.	(Xim.II:10)
CUCUL, S. Felipe (also Chajal), pu. 1595-1606	(Xim.II:12,15,18,20,24,26; Rem.II:572,577-8,581,587, 589; AGI Guate.181)
CHICNI, ra. 1677	(Xim.II:394)
CHOCAHAU, S.Maria de la Asuncion, pu., 1603-1695	(Xim.II:10,18,24,26,366,376,395,404; Xim.III:21; Rem.II:579,586,588-9)
CHUTICOL, ra., 1677	(Xim.II:394)
IXHOY, pu., 1605	(Xim.II:24)
IXIL, S. Vicente, 1604 another IXIL, also called TZUCAL had S. Pedro + Pablo as patrons. ??	(Xim.II:25,26,404; Rem.II:580,588-9; AGI Guate.181)
IXVOX, or IXOVOX S.Jose pu., 1604	(Xim.II:20,26)
IXBON, S. Jose	(Xim.II:26)
IXBOY	(Rem.II: 586,589)
MANCHE, S. Miguel, pu.	(Xim.II:10,18,21,26,376,379,404,440; Rem.II:571,586-9,581,583,587-9; AGI Guate. 181)

MAY, S. Jose	(Xim.II:10,365-6,368,404; III:18)
MATZIN, S. Jacinto	(Xim.II:16,19,25-6,365,367,461; Rem.II;580,589; AGI Guate.181)
NOHXOY, S. Pedro + S. Pablo (also named ZACZACLUM in 1695)	(AGI Guate.152, No.1, f.140v.)
PETENHA	(Xim.II:420)
PUZILHA, S. Catarina, pu.	(Xim.II:393)
SALCLAX	(Xim.II:10)
TCHAX	(Xim.II:394)
TAMPAMAC, 1695 (or TAMPUMAC)	(Xim.II:394)
TIMILAHAN	(Xim.II:395)
TIMUCHUCH, 1695	(Xim.III:16)
TIMIZIQUE, pu.	(Xim.II:395)
TIPACHCHE, 1695	(Xim.III:16)
TZAC	(Xim.II:394)
TZUNUM CHAN, 1677	(Xim.II:394)
TZUNCAL (or IXIL)	(Xim.III:365; III:18)
XECUPALON, S. Domingo	(Xim.II:26)
XECUPIN, pu.	(Ibid.)
YAXJA, S. Lucas	(Xim.II:209)
YAXJA, S. Pablo	(Xim.II:20,25-6; Rem.III:587,589)
YAXHA (no patron given)	(Rem.II:581)
YXOUX	(Rem.II:581)
YAXPETEN, S. Jacinto	(Xim.II:209)
YOCOBA, ra., 1677	(Xim.II:395)
YOOL or YOL	(Xim.II:26,212)
ZALAC or TZALAC, S. Lucas	(Xim.II:359,376,379,393,403-5,420- 1,459,461,463)
ZACZACLUM. S. Francisco (old S. Pedro + S. Pablo Nohxoy)	(Xim.III:18)
ZEQUISCHAN, pu.	(Xim.II:26)

Verapaz Chol- Religion

Probably the best general description of the Verapaz Chol is that of Tovilla, published recently by Scholes and Adams. This information was not available for Thompson's 1938 article nor for Scholes and Roys' general discussion of various Lowland Maya in their 1948 history. Below is a rough translation of one of the more interesting passages. Despite frequent Spanish comments that the culture of the entire Chol area was the same, in this presumably authoritative account it is possible to detect statements, which were not true for all Chol peoples (for example, the statement that Chol males had only one wife.) There is also a conflict as to whether the Chol had "idols". These conflicting statements do not mean that one writer was correct, the other incorrect, but that Chol culture was sufficiently varied over the wide part of the Southern Lowlands which it occupied, so that what one writer observed for the Chol of one region did not necessarily hold true for Chol of another region.

"These Indians of (the Province ? of) Manché have, as we have been relating, many idols, and three which are their principal gods, which are named MAN, CANAM, CHUEMEXCHEL. And when they sacrifice to them and celebrate their fiestas, they make a great bower in a creek and the married men paint themselves red with reddish bitumen, and the unmarried men with black. They set up an altar on which is the idol, and then comes the priest, who is called (an) ACCHU, and one sees some very (nicely) painted bark vestments. And placed on the two sides of the altar are two earthen crocks with some crocks full of aromatics. The priest collects in the other earthen vessel the blood which everyone sacrifices from the(ir) ears and the(ir) arms, and thighs, and offers it to the idol, and asks it for those things which they need. Then all leave together and in another separate room they all get drunk with a very strong drink named chicha. Those who serve this drink are all the maidens very adorned with plumes, strings of beads, and garlands, and they are wont to be 2 or 3 days making these drunken carrying ons. The sons confess to the fathers when they are very ill, and the questions are nothing more than to say what sins he has committed, for where his god was angry and has sent it to punish, and he confesses all that he had done.

If he gets well it is a sign that he has said the truth, and if not, no. Upon dying, they are buried within the house and they let it fall around (the burial) and they burn the milpas of maize and cotton that he had planted. If they take him away to inter, as their have sometimes so as not to burn the house, on leaving they lay hold of a female turtledove and they take off (its) head and dash it onto the earth, and if agonizing they return the neck to the house where the defunct person left, it is a sign that the devil of that house asks for more, and thus they leave it and pass to another site apart from there. They inter the defunct person clothed, and (with) all his belongings, such as axes, machetes, ollas, jicaras in which they drink, and all the rest that they have. ... They pile up a great mound of dirt over which they put another female turtledove, alive with maize for it to eat. Nine days uninterruptedly at night all the relatives call out in loud voices that he not return and that there he have something to eat.

"Each one has no more than one wife, and their parents get them together and marry them without the intervention of a priest or other person. During the decrease of the moon they say that the lion or the ant is eating it, and that he climbed up a very tall tree to eat it, according to the tradition of their ancients. When it comes back they say that it is free of the teeth of its enemies. They circumcise everyone, and the little children wear many necklaces of the canine-teeth of animals and shells of fish on the waist, throat, and feet.

"All these of Manché speak one same language, that is Chol, and have some same rites and ceremonies and are governed by some same months, dividing the year into 18 (months) of 20 days each one, and all the 20 days have their name as (our) days of the week have (names). They call the month UINAL, the 20 days of it they divide into four divisions each one of 5 (days), and the four first of these four divisions change each year to begin the months. They are, according to those that tell, those that take to the road and carry the month, walking in circles. These 18 months make up 360 days, at the end of which leaves 5, which they call (days) of great fasting, days that do not have a name. With these 5 days they complete the 365. And only, one error I found in this count, that is for ignoring

the bisiestos...They complete these 18 months on the 28th of June, with that the posterior day of the month, and then enter the 5 of great fasting. This lasts until the 3rd of July, and this vigil for them is of great veneration, of form that on the 4th of July the first day of the year enters according to their count. They have signaled that which has to be seeded in each month, so as with grains as with vegetables, without discrepancy one day from the other. Those of Manche make continuous war with those of Ajiça..."(Tovilla 1635:183-185).

In conjunction with the portion of the above quote on religion, the following passage from Ximenez should be read.

En este pueblo, junto á la Yglesia, hallaron los Padres en una como plaza hecho un sacrificadorio de piedras y barro labrado toscamente, de hechura redonda, y de una brazada de diámetro. Aquí hacian sus sacrificios que eran quemar unas candelas de cera negra y teas; y algunas veces sacrificaban gallinas y otros pájaros; y asimismo se solian sacar sangre de la lengua, orejas, sienes, molledos de los brazos y otras partes. No se les hallaron idolos de piedra no otra materia sólida aunque se hizo diligencia por haberlos; y por esto preguntaron los Padres: que pues no tenían idolos ¿á quien ofrecian aquellos sacrificios ? Respondieron: que á los montes y sierras muy fragosas y altas y á los pasos peligrosos y encrucijadas de los caminos, y á los grandes remances de los rios, porque entendian que por esto vivian y se multiplicaban y que de allí les venia todo su sustento y las cosas necesarias para la vida humana... En ninguna otra parte de toda aquella tierra toparon altar que fuera de consideracion, aunque hallaron muchos por el camino que eran dos ó tres piedras toscas á raiz del suelo y un arco hecho de ojas de palma puesto como por retablo, y en aquellas piedras quemaban copal y hacian las ceremonias dichas. (Ximenez II:19)

In another passage, Ximenez stresses again that the Chol "had no idols of any material (II:23) although\$ they did have clay incensarios and 'unas piedras'". At one point the disgusted friars found that their converts maintained a god house

...trajo dos incensarios de barro y unas piedras; porque como se ha dicho, estos indios no tenian idolos de ninguna materia... en estos días concertaron un sacrificio y borrachera muy grande... los Religiosos, fueron á ver el templo y hallaronle tan negro y sucio como su dueño, que causaba asco el verle, lleno de basijas todo apropiado para la borrachera. Estaban dentro dos piedras en que los indios ofrecían sacrificios de humo al demonio y esto ponía el templo tan tismado como cosa infernal... (Ibid.:23)

The friars thoughtfully burnt the Chols' adulatory to the ground to keep them from their wicked ways.

There are several mentions of hilltop sacrifices (Ximenez II:17,362) and

"demmons in human form" as though an oracle of the Cozumel Island variety was meant (Ibid.:21). Drunkenness was a standard part of Chol rites (Ibid:23). Many of the stories told about the Chol and published by the early Spanish writers are based on first hand observations of traditional Maya life and not merely informant's tales. An example of the vividness of these eye witness descriptions is one by Delgado of a ritual of 1677.

En la ranchería de Vicente Pach vi los sacrificios, cogian un cincel y un mazo de palo, ponian al gue se habia de sacrificar sobre una loza de piedra liza, sacabanle el viril y se lo partian en tres partes quedando la mayor en medio, cosa de dos dedos á lo largo, diciendo ensalmos y palabras que yo no entendia, sin echar gota de sangre y al parecer sin sentimiento del paciente, antes si muy gustosos pues de varias partes venian muchos al partimiento diabólico é ivan muy contentos. Esto vi dos veces con admiracion mia, quiteles los instrumentos de razar, prediqué contra esto y algunos me convidaban á que yo hiciera lo mismo... (Xim. II:383).

#### Verapaz Chol: Miscellaneous

There are conflicting reports, quoted earlier in this paper, on whether a Chol male had more than one wife. Ximenez mentions one cacique who had married a second woman (II:425), Although she could have been a new wife to replace one that had died, Ximenez seems to be speaking disapprovingly of a polygamous marriage. The differing Spanish comments could record a single culture where only the few caciques could have more than one wife, or where the Chol of one region allowed multiple wives and the Chol of a different region did not.

The Chol could make small batches of plaster from shells (Ximenez II:369). The Cholti-Lacandon used green stone axes, but the Verapaz Chol used copper "hachuelas". It took a whole day to cut down a tree and up to 3 or 5 days if the tree was large. On top of this the copper hachuelas broke easily (Ximenez II:13; Remesal II:574-5). When calculations are made on the number of working days which were required for the Maya to raise a given amount of food, it will be necessary to work out more carefully how long it would have taken to clear a milpa, although of course the Classic Maya did not have copper tools. Perhaps some actual experiments with different kinds of tools on different kind of forest are called for.



PART V: THE TOQUEGUA MAYA

One of the important anthropological finds of my 1971 research in the Spanish archives was the discovery of several descriptions of the now extinct Toquegua Maya, an obscure people whose territory extended from Manibique Point to the Acacabastlan (or Techinchin) River, near the Golfo Dulce, Guatemala. The Toquegua (also known as the Loquegua or Roquegua) are one of the numerous groups of Maya who disappeared as a recognizably distinct people almost immediately upon their fatal initial contact with the conquering Spaniards. The Toquegua rarely figure in any discussion of the Maya. Thompson gives a poignant statement on their existence after their contact with the Spanish and their immediate removal from their homeland to Amatique and Santo Tomas, "finding themselves outside their natural environment, all died" (1966a:28). The great early Spanish historians devote just short paragraphs to the Toquegua, telling us little more than that they once existed. Scholes and Roys list all of the sparse literature on the Toquegua in their two sentence description of them (1948:18; Remesal bk. 11, ch. 20; Ximenez 1929-31, II:20, 379; Roys 1943:114). Scholes and Roys, like other scholars, have been uncertain as to whether the Toquegua were really Chol -as claimed by Ximenez. Instead they felt that "The name sounds Mexican". The Toquegua, not recognized as Chol, were not discussed by Thompson in his early article on the Chol (1938).

The uncertainty over their linguistic affiliation is now largely cleared up, for in going through a legajo in Seville (Guatemala 129) I noticed that among the over 1000 pages of the reports on the discovery of a good location for a new port (Santo Tomas de Castillo) in the first decade of the 17th century there were several sections marked "Yndios Guerreros llamados Toqueguas". The largest surprise was a census of about 200 Toquegua, giving all their names in their native language. The census had been taken in 1604 when the Spanish counted all the local Maya they had conjured into surrendering and moving to Amatique. The census is arranged by caciqueships. Within each of the three caciqueships the families are given. The census gives the native name of the husband, then that of

his wife, their ages, the name and usually the age and sex of all their children. The Indian names of these people shows that they are most definitely Mayan and not Mexican. The names seem more like Chol than Chorti, although there are few Chorti names in the published literature for an adequate comparison.

Padrons, matriculas, and baptismal lists of personal names can be a gold mine of information on Mayan names, kinship and marriage, political organization (if the lists are by caciqueship), and demography, but their real utility depends largely on how the Spanish arranged the list and on how soon the list was made after the Indians had suffered contaminating contact with Spanish culture. During baptism the Spanish priests would give the child the surname of the father, whether or not such was the practice in the Indian naming system. This Spanish practice made a particular mess of Chol names, because among most Chol the names were not passed directly from either mother to child or father or child. The Spanish would also substitute Spanish names for Indian names. Other types of lists are relatively useless when they have separate listings for all the males, another listing for all females, another different list for all children, etc. This is how most of the Quejache name lists for the 1690's are organized. In such a list there is no way to find out the size or composition of the family, much less how many people lived together in each house. By luck, the Toquegua census was one of the more potentially useful arrangements, for the Indians are listed by nuclear family. Regrettably, we are not told how many families lived in each house. A sample of the census follows:

Parcialidad de Yzmican cacique que murio y la tiene Açiguan.

Açiguan cabeça desta parcialidad de 36 años y Yzcari su muger de 28 años, tiene un hijo llamado Miti de hedad de 11 años.

Çinati de 60 años y Çicav su muger de 34, tienen un hijo llanado Matalun de 14 a.

Guaçiq de 26 años y Cias su mujer de 40 (AGI Guatemala 129, f.68-68v).

Like Cholti-Lacandon and Mayan-Chontal personal names, the Toquegua names appear to be neither patronymics nor matronymics. The children listed in the census do not have the same name as either of their parents. As in most all Spanish name lists, it is clear that they recoded only part of the long compound Maya personal names. The manner in which Chol names were chosen for children is still unknown.

Altogether the census gives over 80 different personal names for females and an approximately equal number for males. There is a much lower percentage of Nahua names than among the Cholti-Lacandon or the Mayan-Chontal. Likewise the Toquegua have few of the curious Pa-, Papa- Pas- masculine name prefixes which seem to be common only among the Cholti and Chontal. There are, however, about 13 names, such as Abin, Lamat, Quin, Chan, which are common lowland Mayan names. Other of the names are rather strange. They seem different probably because there are so few other Golfo Dulce region names for a comparison, and there are not many Chorti names readily available. Thus, the only preliminary comparisons which can be made are with distant Yucatan, Chiapas, or Peten. It is hard to make out the spelling of many of these names. Some of the more unusual ones are: Citigua, Culid, Jibi, Maquili, Yzbeque (all male), Yz Capali, Yz Catal, Yz Tiliz, Xiconac, and Xuila (all female). There are many more.

The Spanish made pointed comments about a peculiar feature of Toquegua culture which caught their attention. The Spanish stated that:

...the Indians that want to be married with then receive them for their wives since they are born and raise then and name then (folio 65).

The correctness of this observation is borne out in an analysis of the ages of the spouses as listed in the census. In about 35% of the 54 marriage couples, the husband was from 13 to 30 years older than his wife. Something the Spanish did not comment on but which stands out in the census is that in roughly 13% of the marriages the woman was from 6 to 20 years older than her husband.

There is still a great deal that we do not know about the Toquegua, in particular how much they were affected prior to 1604 by 6 decades of contact

first with the Spanish and then with English and French pirates. By 1604 their culture may or may not have already drastically changed from pre-contact times. The Toquegua are worthy of special research priority because they are of the few Southern Lowland peoples who may have made their livelihood from the sea. It would be interesting to see if a primarily water oriented life resulted in noticeably different settlement pattern, kinship and marriage practices, etc. Lange has proposed that the exploitation of marine resources was more important than the cultivation of maize for the Maya of Yucatan (1971). It would be worthwhile to see whether marine resources were also a major item in Southern lowland Maya diet. In addition to a similar sea potential as in Yucatan, the Southern lowlanders had the advantage of numerous lakes and rivers. The Toquegua occupied a region rich in land and water resources. The Golfo Dulce and Lake Izabal as well as the sea are close by. The Motagua River also is not far away. The sea would give salt as well as fish. Thus the Toquegua would of had control over two major items of trade, salt and dried fish.

Additional research is needed to determine how the Toquegua fit in geographically and culturally with the other Maya peoples of the Golfo Dulce and Polochic River regions. There is information, not yet processed, from several unpublished documents in the Guatemala archives on other Maya of the neighborhood (Guatemala AGCA:A1.12,Leg.4060-Exp.31547; A3.2-Leg.2163-Exp.32407; A1.12-Leg.333-Exp.7017; A1.4-Leg.2151-Exp.15361; A3.2-Leg.2163-Exp.32407; and A1.18-Leg.3067-Exp.29349; Saint-Lu 1968:314-318; Valenzuela 1956). Their neighbors along the coast to the east are equally interesting. In Seville, many documents exist on the town of Omoa. The people on the edges of the Southern Lowlands could have been the source of a Mayanization of their non-Maya neighbors and conversely funnels of new ideas from these neighbors into the central Maya area.

One of several lessons to be learned from the Toquegua is that simply because a locale is uninhabited by Maya in the 18th century and today, does not mean that there was no thriving population in pre-Spanish times. Population estimates for the Southern Lowlands need to take into account such little known people. The

Toquegua are also an example of how quickly a Maya people could be completely destroyed or absorbed by the Spanish; just 9 years after their discovery in 1604 there was little trace of their Indian culture (Ximenez II:20-21). It is a shame that comparative studies of the Maya repeat over and over again the same facts about the same well known peoples; we are left with a narrow view of the cultural diversity of the Maya. Such practices as Toquegua child marriage, old women-young man marriage, and a water-oriented way of life show what surprises are in store. Further research in the archives can continue to produce changing views of the total range of Maya culture.