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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE 16th-20th CENTURY
MAYA OF THE SOUTHERN LOWLANDS:

CHOL, CHOL LACANDON, YUCATEC
LACANDON, QUEJACHE, ITZA, AND MOPAN

by

Nicholas M. Hellmuth

Museum of Anthropology
University of Northern Colorado

Greeley, Colorado
PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE CHOL, LACANDON, YUCATEC LACANDON, CHOL, ITZA, MOPAN, AND QUEJACHE OF THE SOUTHERN MAYA LANDLESS

1524 – 1969

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INTRODUCTION

This bibliography covers the Lacandon and the various Chol Maya groups of the tropical lowlands of Chiapas, Mexico, the Guatemalan Departamentos of El Petén, (northern) Alta Vera Paz, and Isabal, and southern Belize. The Itza, Quejache (Mazatecos), and Mopan Maya (and to a lesser extent the Maya Chontal of Tabasco and the Chorti) are included because of their geographical closeness to and varying relationships with the Lacandon and the Chol. Wide trade networks, salt expeditions, geographic proximity, and frequent raids kept these groups in contact with one another. Together, all could be considered a unit of study, because, together, they made up the population of the Southern Maya Lowlands during the 16th and 17th centuries until they were decimated by war, disease, and forced removal to the highland centers of Spanish control.

This bibliography is "preliminary" primarily in the sense that it is unfinished. There are hundreds of Mexican newspaper articles on the Lacandones in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome in Chiapas which I have not yet catalogued; there are hundreds of unpublished manuscripts in Guatemalan, Mexican, Spanish, and other archives which I have not yet included; and, there are undoubtedly numerous books and articles which deal with the southern lowland Maya but which I have not yet been able to locate. Also, of the over 800 entries which I have listed, many are incomplete in one way or another. Some lack titles, or dates of publication, or volume number, or page numbers, etc. This incompleteness sometimes results from the fact that I have as yet been unable to locate copies of some books which are cited incompletely elsewhere; in other instances, because of the sheer number of entries, it is simply that I have not yet been able to check the entries against actual title pages and texts. It will be several more years before I am able to complete all the entries, but I felt that it would be better to make even this partial bibliography available to Mesoamericanists and other interested persons now, rather than to wait until it was finished. I would appreciate being informed of errors and omissions so that corrections can be incorporated in future editions of this bibliography.

This bibliography is an outgrowth of an anthropological interest of mine in the present-day Lacandon, which arose from my first visit to Lacanja and Bonampak in 1963. To prepare for a second brief visit in 1964, I began to compile a list of references which later developed into the bibliography which follows. In 1967, while undertaking research for a term paper on the Lacandones, I became aware of the inconsistent statements and considerable areas of uncertainty about various aspects of the Lacandon of today and yesterday. In 1968, while working with the unpublished 1790 Calderon-Quintas Zayas letters from the Bancroft Library, I noticed that the first-hand information in these forgotten letters contradicted much of what had been written about Lacandon history. Later in 1968, I spent a week at the Archivo General de Centro America, in Guatemala City, looking for more data on the 16th-19th century Lacandon Maya. During 1969, I worked with microfilm copies of several thousand folios of unpublished 17th century manuscripts from the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University. During the summer of 1969, I spent a month at the Archivo General de Centro America and a week at the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome in San Cristobal de Las Casas, Chiapas, and made a third visit to the Lacandones at Lacanja. The rest of this bibliography is based on the Mesoamerican collections of the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University.

I wish to thank Miss Margaret Currier, Librarian of the Peabody Museum Library;
In addition to the entries which I located in the libraries and archives mentioned above, some entries were taken directly from the published bibliography of Wares (1968) [all the publications of the Summer Institute of Linguistics] and of Robles et al (1967) entries listed in Appendix II.

One of several purposes of this bibliography is to point out that although there may be no modern "ethnographies" on the Chol, Itza, or other tribes, and although the Quejache and others either have been completely killed off or scattered and reduced in population there are, in fact, hundreds of fragments of ethnographic data on these 16th to 20th century people. To point out the wide range of information actually available, but infrequently or never incorporated into modern anthropological studies, I have included Appendix III, a list by century of the major works on the Chol, Lacandon, Itza, Mopan, and Quejache. This is, however, just a general aid and not a complete list, for some entries which I have not read I have not been able to determine which tribes and time periods they cover.

A second purpose of this bibliography is to make some statement about the reliability and importance of each source for anthropological studies. Some published statements are first-hand reports by trained anthropologists, others are by uninformed tourists, and there is a wide range in between. Many of the statements of uninformed romantics have made their way into the literature and are often incorporated into otherwise informative studies.
The wealth of data contained in the standard archaeologica and ethnographic studies on the southern lowland Maya, and especially the information in the neglected and forgotten publications and in the available but unused archival documents, could be of great value not only to Mesoamericanists but also to anthropologists in general. The detailed ethnographic information on some southern lowland Maya tribes for a period of over 445 years (1524-1969) provides the basis for studies of culture change and acculturation of native groups first to Hispanic and then to modern, industrial conditions. The diversity of forms of kinship, political, economic, religious, social, etc., systems in the lowlands has never really been studied nor taken into account by cross-cultural studies of these aspects of culture.

In addition, there is another aspect of anthropological study which could profit from the data on the lowlands Maya: the use of ethnographic analogy to interpret archaeological remains. Although I believe that our best understanding of the Classic Maya will come from the recovery of more significant archaeological data directed by a better understanding and definition of the problems of Mesoamerican archaeology, and although I agree somewhat with Binford's warning, that:

"Fitting archaeological remains into ethnographically known patterns of life adds nothing to our knowledge of the past. In fact, such procedure denies to archaeology the possibility of dealing with forms of cultural adaptation outside the range of variation known ethnographically... In view of the high probability that cultural forms existed in the past for which we have no ethnographic examples, reconstruction of the lifeways of such socio-cultural systems demands the rigorous testing of deductively drawn hypotheses against independent sets of data" (L. Binford 1968:13);

the use of ethnographic analogy to reconstruct the past lifeways of the Classic Maya is a standard practice among anthropologists and warrants review. In this present essay, it will not go into the theoretical implications of the use of ethnographic analogy, but will review some of the problems that specifically pertain to the use of ethnographic analogy to reconstruct various features of Classic Maya life.

In the present decade there are two favorite sources for ethnographic data to use to interpret the archaeological remains of the Classic Maya of the Southern Maya Lowlands: the 20th century Tzotzil Maya of the Chiapas Highlands and the 16th-17th century Maya of Yucatan, in the northern Lowlands. Holland (1961; 1964c), Vogt (1961; 1964; 1964b; 1964c; 1964d; 1964e; 1968) and Gifford (1969) have constructed models of Classic Period social and political organization based on data on the modern highland Tzotzil.

Vogt's modified suggestion that there was some form of rotation of Maya farmers among lower-level offices of the Classic Maya is interesting as a hypothesis and has stimulated some useful studies (Haviland 1966), but also it has spawned some oversimplifications (Holland 1961; 1964c) and some incredible speculation (Gifford 1969). Although, there are clearly parallels between some modern Tzotzil concepts and those of"the ancient Maya" the parallels that Holland cites (1964c) are often pan-Maya in distribution and of such a general nature that they prove little or nothing. Al-
though Holland asserts that:

"Studies of the Tzotzil offer unique opportunities for making inferences about the ancient Maya ancestor worship because, in spite of the leveling effect of the Conquest, Tzotzil social organization bears many striking resemblances to that of the Classic Ixilaya" (196c:16),

in fact, except for his speculations on the cargo system, Holland does not make any statement which could not be inferred either directly from the archaeological record itself, or from 16th and 17th century reports on the southern lowland Maya, or from ethnographic data on any number of other Maya tribes, modern and historical. It is doubtful that a single type of social organization was present throughout the considerable expanse of even the southern lowlands (see further on) and an affliction common to anthropologists seems to be to seems all problems solved through data from the particular tribe one has studied personally. There was great regional and temporal diversity during the over nine centuries of Classic Maya occupation of the lowlands and it is highly unlikely that a single modern group, particularly in the highlands, is a direct descendant of "the ancient Maya".

Gifford's recent attempt at a reconstruction of the "societal stratification... of the] ancient Maya "Old Empire"." (1968)I is a misrepresentation of the complexity of the archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic record.

"I regard the Zinacantan as a population remnant of the Lowland Maya Empire ..." (969:3).

..."in ancient times some Zinacantan men were selected or chosen for or inherited certain positions [those of the Empire's theological attendants and administrators]"... (Ibid: 5).

"I endeavor to interpret and infer that the Zinacantan as a distinct population of today is in fact a disarticulated remnant of the Lowland Maya Civilization" (Ibid: 6).

Aside from Gifford's unwarranted and unsubstantiated use of the term "empire", his incorrect assumption that the southern lowland Maya were never "Mexicanized", his outdated and unsubstantiated belief that the Classic Maya were "intensely theological in its orientation", his vision of the Zinacantan Maya seemingly as a main population element of the Classic lowlands, and his apparent equation of "ceramic spheres" with peoples in his implication that there was a single social system for the Lowland Maya civilization.

Most other anthropologists have based their archaeological reconstructions on lowland data, but virtually every study has turned to Bishop Landa's 16th century Relación de las cosas de Yucatán, of the northern lowlands. Maudslay (1938), Coe (1965), Haviland (1968), Bronson (1966), and others have relied heavily on Landa. Why, when the Maya of Yucatan were possibly as geographically and culturally distinct from the southern lowland Maya as the Tzotzil, is Landa's Relación so enormously popular?

First, when Maudslay, Maler, and other early explorers passed through the Southern Lowlands in the 19th century, they found virtually the entire area without any population. Modern anthropologists see the same sparse population today, and in fact great
portions of the Peten have been completely uninhabited for the last two centuries. This observed situation, coupled with the archaeological observation that Classic ceremonial activity abruptly stopped around A.D.900, led to the Old Empire-New Empire hypothesis of Morley, Lundell, and others; a concept which still lingers on in a modified form in accounts even today.

This hypothesis proposed a simplistic scheme of events where the entire Southern Lowlands was completely abandoned.

"Whatever caused the fall of the Maya priests it was amazing-ly complete. The central Peten is virtually uninhabited at the present save for a sparse, seasonal scattering of chicle gatherers. Although it is possible that the commoners survived the collapse of the priestly hierarchy for a while, there is little archaeological evidence of population of any sort after the erection of monuments ceased" (Morley and Brainerd 1956:73),

and that whatever portion of the population survived the unknown catastrophe in A.D. 900 moved to a then sparsely populated Yucatan (Morley 1920:457) where the Spanish found them in the 16th century. It seems that early Mesoamericanists assumed that Landa was describing either the direct descendants of the Classic Maya of the Southern Lowlands or else some very close relatives. However plausible this theory was originally in light of data available to workers in the early 1900's, it would be well to examine the hypothesis because aspects of it still appear in modern writings.

The Old Empire-New Empire hypothesis was erected on at least three beliefs, one of which has long been discredited, but two of which are still widely held by Mesoamericanists today: (A), that the survivors of the collapse of the Old Empire of the south moved northward to a relatively unpopulated Yucatan; (B), that the Southern Lowlands was left completely abandoned; and, (C), that the Southern Lowlands was still unpopulated in the 16th century when the Spanish first arrived in 1524.

(A) is no longer considered probable because Yucatan supported a dense population through the Classic period, long before the collapse in the south, but (B) and (C) are still held:

"In the Southern Lowlands, hieroglyphic inscriptions and monumental building ceased somewhere around A.D.900. A substantial population may have persisted for a while, but before long the region was nearly or totally deserted" (Willey 1956).
G. Cowgill 1964:49)

despite increasing amounts of evidence to the contrary. Evidence from Tikal (Adams & Trik 1961:133; M.Coe 1965:54-56), Flores-Tayasal (G.Cowgill 1963; Guthe 1921, 1922; Borhegyi 1963:20,22-24; V .Broman de Morales 1969:personal communication), Laguna de Petenxil (U.Cowgill et al.1966:123), Barton Ramie (Willey et al 1965:384) and elsewhere demonstrates that the abandonment of the ceremonial centers was gradual and that even after the ceremonial centers were finally deserted, some Maya still lived in the area.

There is no question that eventually the Classic ceremonial centers were completely abandoned and the population declined considerably, but this does not mean that the southern lowlands was left completely deserted. There may have been at least 200
people per square mile in Classic times G. Cowgill 1964:148; W. Coe 1965:56) or even more (Bronson 1966) and to postulate the abandonment of the entire Southern Lowlands we have to demonstrate the sudden death or mass migration of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people. All indications are that southern Yucatan, the Chiapas and Guatemalan Highlands, and all the land surrounding the Southern Lowlands was well populated in the 9th century, so to where could large populations move? It will be necessary to show archaeological evidence of a massive influx of people somewhere on the periphery of the Southern Lowlands before the migration hypotheses can be taken seriously. Perhaps current excavations in the Chenes and Rio Bec regions (Lane 1969:355) will uncover data relevant to this question.

Rather than postulate the complete abandonment of the entire Southern Lowlands by migration or sudden death, I offer the hypothesis that in the 10th and 11th centuries a considerable portion of the Late Classic population remained in the Southern Lowlands and that new, Post Classic settlement patterns developed. It is simply that there was often movement away from the old ceremonial centers; the new sites were smaller, were not centered around nuclei of stone architecture, were not always erected on raised platforms, were moved periodically, and were often located in swamps or on rocky prominences for protection. Cortés and Díaz del Castillo both commented about the Quejache (Mazateco) sites then encountered in swamps:

"In this manner we marched until...we were stopped by a morass, which could not be traversed without being previously fitted for the passage of the men...having the morass strewed with branches, we cleared it, though with some difficulty...we perceived a village perched on a rock...The village is situated, as I said before, upon a high rock; it has a great lake on one side..." (Cortés 1868:46-47).

Later, closer to Itza territory, Cortés tells us that he had to "cross a rather long morass, intersected by pools, in which the water reached to our waists and sometimes Higher up" (Ibid.:51) to get to a village, Tayasal, Topoxte, Macanche, and other well known Post Classic sites were on islands, as were many 16th and 17th century Chol sites in lowland Chiapas (Ximenez 1929-31,II:149; III:13; Villagutierre 1933:63). One of the main settlements of the Chol Lacandon was in a large lake "on a very large rocky outcrop, which joined other smaller rocky crags, all surrounded with the water of the lake...where the people were was all of living rock, so solid and devoid of soil ..." (Villagutierre 1933:50, my translation).

Current archaeological surveys in the heavily forested Peten, Chiapas, Alta Verapaz, etc., are just not equipped to locate such small, scattered settlements. There usually are no telltale mounds, jungle cover obliterates what little occupational debris accumulated in brief occupations, and the intrepid archaeologist usually stays away from most of the logwood swamps and steep rocky crags where mounds, standing architecture, stelae and other monumental museum pieces are not reported by chicleros. There is no denying that Post Classic sites are hard to find—even a completely outfitted expedition by Frans Blom could not find the A. D. 1695 settlement of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Lacandon (Blom 1957; 1956a), although Blom, if anyone, knew the region well and had considerable historical information from Villagutierre and others about the location of the site—but this does not mean that the sites are not there. In fact, there are ways to find these tiny Post Classic sites, but not through the methods usually employed for finding Classic sites.

I am presently working on such a method, plan to test it in the field in 1970 and
and will outline the method and the specific techniques in a separate publication. The survey technique is specifically formulated for locating the remains of tiny settlements of perishable wooden structures without mounds in jungle areas. The survey method was generated from a detailed study of the full range of data presently available on the various settlement patterns of each of the multitude of regional lowland Maya tribes of the 16th to the 20th century. From historical records, it is possible to isolate many of the factors which seemed to have determined the placement of a settlement - proximity to good fishing, to stands of certain wild fruit trees, to drinking water, to defensible heights, etc., and distance from enemies, from the Spanish, etc. You cannot just go into the field and wander around and expect to find the Post Classic settlements, nor can you expect all Post Classic settlements to have monumental remains like those of Topoxte and Flores-Tayasal. The problems and hypotheses about possible settlement location must be worked out in advance and then tested in the field.

Finally (3), neither the Peten, lowland Chiapas, nor any other major sector of the Southern Lowlands which supported a Classic population was completely abandoned when the Spanish under Cortés first entered in 1524. These areas are depopulated today [1 person per square mile in 1950 (W.Coe 1965:56)] and were uninhabited when the first 19th century explorers entered the area, but during the 16th and 17th centuries the Southern Maya Lowlands supported a well-balanced, evenly distributed population of Itza, Petenes, Quejache, Mopan, Manche Chol, Lacandon Chol, Acala, etc. Cortés and Díaz del Castillo visited or heard of many of these populations in 1524; but it seems that much of Cortés's march was through extensive swamps which probably never had any resident population, even in the Classic Period, and it is probable that their guides soon learned to keep the ravaging army away from the villages where the Spanish would kill, steal, and desecrate. It is when entradas and reports become more frequent, from 1586 onward, that we get geographical and demographic data for the entire Southern Lowlands. These reports, many unpublished and still in Guatemalan and Spanish archives, support the fact that there was a flourishing population still in the lowland area during the 16th and 17th centuries. There were certainly less than the possible 200 people per square mile as during Classic times, but the area was by no means abandoned.

"...llegaron estos religiosos de Santo Domingo a tener bautizados en aquella provincia de el Chol, y Manché, dos mil trescientas y cuarenta y seis personas, en once pueblos, que formaron en este año, y el antecedente...

Esto, además de otras muchas almas, que habían bautizado, en caseríos, y ranchos de la montaña, y más de otras seiscientas, que les había quitado el cura del Castillo, en los parajes de Niva, Zatún, Tuquilhá, Petenchá, Ulpop, y Puluat, por decir que eran sus anexos, y le pertenecían, cerrándoles el paso por aquella cordillera, que va corriendo por las márgenes del río Maytol, ó Factún á los religiosos, para que no pudiesen pasar á los parajes Yaxtihal, Temax, Yaxcal, Paliac, Tizimini, Uchampán, Uacán, Guavi, Tuté, Dlotoc, Culumay, Tzucuch, Tzetzum, Beyuchá, Campin, Tité, Chibul, Pulzá, Yaxpatén, Tzibal, Tiptó, Nquichán, Tzéquischán, Tinuca, y Tzibac, que en todos aquellos, y los demás, ya reducidos, por aquella parte de las montañas, pasarían de treinta mil almas las que había "(Villagutierre 1929:31:27)

...and this population was for just a tiny part of the Southern Lowlands.
J.E.S. Thompson was the first to recognize the magnitude of the Post Classic populations and suggested that it was disease and other factors which wiped out the 16th and 17th century lowland Maya and left the depopulated region we see today (1966a). Diseases were carried to the lowland interior from Yucatan and other early Spanish outposts decades before the Spanish actually entered the area in 1524, and the Spanish frequently found the natives already dying of illness Thompson 1966a: 21,29). Warfare, forced labor, and forced removal of populations to the highlands, coupled with diseases, resulted in the unoccupied Peten and lowland Chiapas which we see today.

In this essay I propose that most of the 16th century populations of the Southern Lowlands were direct descendants of Maya of the Classic Period, but other explanations have been advanced to explain the origin of the 16th and 17th century populations of the Southern Lowlands. Several of these hypotheses derive the southern populations from a migration from Yucatan, but all are based on the assumption that the Southern Lowlands had been abandoned in the 10th century. G.Cowgill has speculated that shortly after the "collapse of the Classic Maya Culture":

"...the invaders may have more or less forcibly resettled the inhabitants of the whole Maya Lowlands, moving them to localities within relatively easy reach of Chichen Itza" (1964:155).

Then, after this government at Chichen had ruled for some time:

"...population in the north had again increased to the point where there was a land shortage in the region easily controlled from the capital, leading to pressure to move into deserted territory back into the Southern Lowlands" (Ibid, :156).

Apart from the wide range of debatable points of this unusual proposal, Cowgill has based an overall scheme for quite a large area based solely on the data from a limited portion of the southern lowlands. Were the numerous inhabitants of the Copan region in Honduras also moved all the way north to Yucatan? Would Cowgill derive the 16th to 20th century Chorti populations of Guatemala and Honduras from recent mass migrations from Yucatan? There is more to the Southern Maya Lowlands than Tikal, Tayasal, and Topoxte, and we must frame our hypothesis in a more realistic manner and not select data from the single particular happened to have excavated.

Some of the 16th century southern lowland Maya, such as the Itza, were clearly migrants from Yucatan, but the early Spanish historians usually distinguished between the "Itza" and the "Petenes" (Ximenez 1929-31,III:10,12,56; Villagutierre 1933:155) and other Yucatec speakers of the lake region. I suspect that those we gloss as "The Itza" were really local descendants of the inhabitants of the Classic ceremonial centers of the region with an intrusive Yucatec group dominant over them.

Scholes and Roys have noted that some Yucatec-speaking Maya fled 16th century Spanish oppression in Yucatan and entered the southern lowlands (9-18:46,47), but they were speaking of individual Maya and it is doubtful if the entire 16th century population of the Southern Lowlands, all the way from Chiapas to Honduras were the result of such minor and occasional migrations.

It is theoretically possible that the 16th century Maya of the Southern Lowlands resulted from movement towards the Peten of highland people on the periphery of the
lowlands, much like the modern Kekchi expansion (Adams 1965). But, although there 
was undoubtedly population movement throughout the several thousand year history of 
the lowlands, I think it might be more realistic to formulate a more probable hypo-
thesis on the fact that there were hundreds of thousands of Maya in the Southern Low-
lands in the 10th century and at least 60,000 there in the 16th century and the most 
of the latter are descended from the former.

If archaeological studies show that remnants of Classic populations lingered on, 
and if historical documents describe a populous region, why do archaeologists still 
turn to Landa’s data on northern Yucatan to project back onto the southern lowland 
Maya? Besides the fact that Landa’s data may not directly pertain to the southern 
lowland Classic Maya, there is another large problem with Landa’s data which has been 
either completely overlooked or ignored.

Landa’s Relación was based on a wide variety of sources, including first hand ob-
servations, but great portions of the Relación came from two informants, a Cocom Ma-
aya and a Mani Maya named Chi (Tozzer 1941:VIII). Nachi Cocom was the last native ru-
ler of Sotuta, one of sixteen native states in Yucatan. Gaspar Antonio Chi was the 
grandson of a former ruler of Mani (Roys 1943:123 124). Mani was another of these 
sixteen states (Roys 1957:Map.1, p.1). Although Landa’s Relación is a compilation 
of information and myths from diverse sources on several distinct regional cultures, 
Mesoamericanists uncritically use Landa as though he were describing a single cul-
tural group, the “Yucatec Maya”. Today, there may or may not be a single homogen-
eous native culture in Yucatan, but in the 16th century there were at least sixteen 
native states: Ah Canul, Chakan, Cehpech, Nocaba, Mani, Sotuta, Chikinchel, Tzses, 
Cupul, Cochuah, Ecab, Cozumel Island, Uaymil, Chetumal, Chanputun; and Canpech, many 
with local peculiarities and with varying degrees of Mexicanization. The term “Yuca-
tec Maya” is misleading for the 16th century situation when unqualified. When com-
parative data are drawn from Yucatan, the specific regional culture should be given, 
as well as how universal the trait was throughout Yucatan. That Landa’s data are 
valid and useful for Yucatec sites such as Mayapan and that certain aspects of the 
Relación hold true for individual sites in the Southern Lowlands should not lead us 
to use the data uncritically, nor blind us to its drawbacks.

A final factor which has fostered the wide use of Landa’s Relación is that the 
Tozzer edition is a convenient book for English-speaking anthropologists to use. The 
work has been completely translated into English and comes with a lengthy index, a 
considerable number of helpful footnotes, and several appendices (Tozzer 1941). The 
works of Villagutierrez, Ximenez, and others on the Chol and other 16th century in-
habits of the Southern Lowlands are in Spanish, are not always readily available, 
and are neither annotated nor even indexed. The ethnographic data on any particular 
regional culture are scattered throughout one or more books, and the best ethnogra-
phic data are still in the archives, accessible but unused.

I am currently preparing a series of maps, running from 1524 to the present day, 
at roughly 40-year intervals, of the entire Southern Maya Lowlands. On a given map 
all the settlements of that particular date will be located as accurately as is pos-
sible. Accompanying each map will be the historical references, published or unpub-
lished, on each site. These maps will allow us to see the changing settlement pat-
terns and perhaps what topographical, botanical, or cultural factors were important 
in determining the location of each settlement. For each settlement shown on each 
of the ten maps there will be a tabular listing of all crops raised, local plants 
and animals used, Maya place names and Maya personal names (with English translations) 
a listing of all known deities and religious ceremonies, an outline of the political,
kinship, and social system, etc. On each map, regional sub-units will be outlined where several adjacent villages frequently interacted, had kin, political, and religious ties, and shared diagnostic traits. The purpose of these tabular listings will be to provide anthropologists with data for comparative studies. A preliminary study of one of the lowland tribes is now ready (Hellmuth 1969b) This study is on the Lacandon Maya of roughly 1609 to 1705, with most of the data on the years 1695 and

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I wish now to present a typical ethnographic reconstruction of an aspect of Classic Maya culture which relies heavily on Landa, and for this and other reasons which I shall enumerate, presents a misleading and possibly incorrect picture of "the Classic Maya". Haviland's 1968 reconstruction of Ancient Maya Social Organization is an example of the current use of ethnographic analogy which presents a simplistic scheme based on some commonly held but incorrect assumptions about various aspects of Classic, Post Classic, 16th-18th century Maya, and modern Maya.

Haviland opens with the standard view that:

"...the heartland of Classic Maya civilization was apparently depopulated after the collapse of this civilization around A.D. 900" (1968:95).

The fallacy of this statement should be evident as it is clear from the rest of Haviland's statements that by depopulation he means virtual abandonment. He implies abandonment because nowhere in his paper does he consider the tens of thousands of 16th century Maya inhabitants of the Peten.

A weak point of the study was the choice of main sources: Tikal, Landa, and Murdock, and the neglect of ethnographic and ethnohistoric data on the same lowland area he claimed to cover. Neither Villagutierre's nor Ximenez's histories were included in the bibliography. Not every site need have had the archaeological situation nor the social organization of Tikal; Landa was describing an assortment of various Mexican and regional Maya cultures; and, Murdock's theories (1949) are debatable (his Ethnographic Atlas is riddled with factual errors, particularly on Maya tribes; see comment in my bibliography under Murdock).

Haviland's statement that:

"Clans and lineages were certainly passe among the lowland Maya by A.D.1250 and all that were left by the 16th century were patrisibs" (1968:13)

is both an erroneous and an unfounded statement. Were the kinship systems of the lowland Petenes, Chol Lacandon, Manche Chol, Mopan, Quejache, Maya Chontal, or Yucatec Lacandon checked? There is considerable evidence that the Yucatec Lacandon had an elaborate system of kinship and social organization, including named clans and phratries (J. Soustelle 1935b:339), and the other southern lowland tribes had other kinship and social systems. The Lacandon clans have considerable antiquity, as I learned through unpublished manuscripts in Guatemalan archives.

Perhaps the greatest error in the reconstructions of Holland, Gifford, Haviland, and others, is their projection of a single structure back onto the entire southern lowland Maya area.
"...I have extrapolated from Tikal to the southern lowland Mayan area as a whole. This has been for ease of discussion, and I do not mean to rule out the possibility of some variation within the region. In fact, such variation does seem to occur on the outskirts of the area...the variation may perhaps be explained as the result of cultural influences emanating from neighboring areas." (Haviland 1968:113-114).

This statement suggests that regional variation was not present or at least not significant in a pure Maya setting and is in line with Haviland's statement that:

"There is, therefore, the problem of trying to establish which present-day Maya group is in fact descended from that which was responsible for Classic Maya civilization" (Ibid.:95).

There never was a single group "responsible for Classic Maya civilization" and it is an unwarranted assumption that there was a single Maya civilization. Art, ceramics, architecture, settlement patterns, etc., varied considerably from one region to another. Adjacent sites in a single region differed significantly: e.g., Copan-Quirigua, Xunantunich-Bonampak, Palenque-Coma, and even sites in the Tikal-sustaining area differ from Tikal. And various regional patterns, such as Mirador-Nakbe, stand out as local districts distinct from neighboring districts. Both Mirador and Nakbe have distinctive architecture (the architecture of Nakbe is in every respect similar to that of Mirador") (Graham 1967:49)), the sites are connected by causeways, and there is a near-absence of stelae at the two sites (Ibid.:47).

The preceding comments have been a critique of present methods of writing "site ethnographies" for Classic Maya ceremonial centers. There ought to be new methods and more studies aimed at a more direct assault on the question of what life was like at A.D.700, etc. A first step would be to take the complete range of information on the known 16th and 17th century Maya settlements and to see what type of settlement pattern or artifact is characteristic of what particular type of political organization, etc. For many Chol and other southern lowland settlements there is enough ethnographic data available for such a study, but the proper hypothesis and test must be formulated and then actually applied. I am presently working on the first stages of such a test, and am amassing ethnographic data on a series of selected 16th-20th century Maya settlements, each with different cultural patterns.

Another, and probably potentially the most productive approach, would be a more diversified and intensive study of the archaeological remains themselves, particularly the art. N.E.W. Adams based his 1967 reconstruction of Classic Period occupational specialization in the Southern Maya Lowlands on scenes from Classic Maya sculpture and painting and produced the most significant study of this topic to date, far superior to the wanton projection of "Yucatec Maya" data back onto the hapless Classic Maya. Haviland's 1967 study of Stature at Tikal, Guatemala, Implications for Ancient Maya Demography and Social Organization demonstrates that we can get at important aspects of ancient Maya conditions directly from archaeological data. There is no doubt that archaeologists will continue to base their interpretations on ethnographic data and theory; it is the misuse not the use of this information which is dangerous.

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THE CHOLLACANDON AND THE YUCATEC LACANDON

The bibliography which follows includes many works on the Lacandon Maya and it might be well to point out some of the common misunderstandings about this important tribe. There are three recurrent faults with recent works on the Lacandon Maya. First, many writers fall into the romantic pitfall of assuming that the present-day Lacandon are the direct descendants of the ancient Classic Maya of Yaxchilan, Bonampak, or Palenque. They assume this because the 20th century Lacandones live in the same general region as these ancient ruins and leave offerings of incensarios and copal in the deserted temples, and because physically, especially facially, the present-day Lacandones are mirror images of the Maya figures carved on the stelae of these ancient sites.

Second, a few Mesoamericanists still do not recognize the distinction between the 16th-17th century Chol-speaking "Lacandon" and the 18th-20th century Yucatec-speaking "Lacandon". Weyer (1958:57-74) is a perfect example of an author who holds both these two mistaken ideas.

Third, recent publications on the Chol, Lacandon, Itza, and Mopan show evidence of relatively superficial research on the groups they attempt to cover. Murdock is the worst offender on this third count, but virtually every article in the recent Handbook of Middle American Indians series which mentions these lowland groups neglects or overlooks key sources and relevant information. Similarly, comparative studies which do draw on Lacandon data (Bronson 1966; Nutini 1967) use only the more popular sources and completely neglect the smaller or more obscure publications which often contain the best information.

Fourth, the Lacandon of today are often dismissed from consideration in comparative studies because of their diminished population, a supposedly unique settlement pattern, their brother-sister and father-daughter incest, and other traits supposedly not shared with "normal" Maya groups. It is frequently asserted that their widely dispersed settlements are a recent adaptation to imposing chicleros, woodsmen, tourists, and other strangers; or, that their marriage customs are a result of abnormal present-day conditions of low population, etc.

"...as a result of the smaller number of survivors, they are polygamous" (Farias 1968:40).

Fifth, except for a recent paper (Hellmuth 1968), there is not a single synthesis of 18th or 19th century history of the Yucatec Lacandon and in the literature there are frequent mis-statements of a historical nature, such as Tozzer's allegation that the Lacandones have had little contact with the Spanish or Mexicans (1907:1,3).

In fact, most practices of the Yucatec-speaking Lacandon of today can be traced back almost two centuries (Hellmuth 1968). Their social structure and religious beliefs are remarkably complicated and sophisticated and their general similarity with practices of other southern lowland Maya tribes of the contact period shows that many Lacandon practices of today are aboriginal in origin and are not the results of supposedly harsh modern conditions of oppression and depopulation. The Yucatec Lacandones have had their characteristic settlement pattern at least since 1786 (Hellmuth 1968:30) and polygamous marriages since at least 1794 (Orozco, 1911, II:163-164). In the 1830's, the Lacandones demanded that Guatemala not interfere with this latter practice (Bancroft 1882-87, III:615-616; Squier 1885:49). The romantic hue and cry
about the impending extinction of the Lacandones is not only untrue (Baer and Merrill 1969), but also neither a useful nor correct index of their culture. All evidence shows that Lacandon culture of the 1780's, when there may have been several thousand Lacandones, was similar in most respects to that of 1840 (Hellmuth 1968).

Today about 250 Lacandon Maya live mainly in the heavily-forested tropical lowlands of Chiapas, Mexico, near the Usumacinta River border with Guatemala. Ethnographers have divided these Lacandones into two divisions on the basis of linguistic and other cultural differences - the northern group and the southern group (O. Sousquelle 1935b:341-344; G. Soustelle 1959:143-144; Baer 1955a; Duby & Blom 1969:276-278; Bruce 1968:12-18; Baer & Merrifield 1969:304). Within each region there are several tiny settlements, locally spoken of as caribales. Both groups speak Lacandone, a dialect of "Maya proper" (McQuown 1956:195); both the dialect and Maya proper are usually referred to as Yucatec Maya.

The Lacandones of Chiapas have spoken a Yucatec dialect since at least the 1780's (Hellmuth 1968:29). From 1524 to around 1710, however, the "Lacandon" who lived in the same tropical lowlands of Chiapas spoke Chol Maya and had a culture different in many respects from that of the Lacandon of today (Sapper 1907; Thompson 1939). From historical sources, we know that various different regional tribes of Chol Maya were the 16th and 17th century inhabitants not only of lowland Chiapas, but also of adjacent southern Peten, northern Alta Vera Paz, southern British Honduras, and the coastal area of Izabal (Thompson 1938; Stoll 1958:Mapa etnografico de Guatemala).

"Lacandon" is actually a geographical term, loosely used by the Spanish and 18th-19th century Mexicans, Guatemalans, and travelers to refer to any non-Christian, "untamed" Maya inhabitants of the Chiapas lowlands. To further complicate the matter, the same lowland inhabitants of the jungle region were also called Caribes. Indios Bravos, free Indians, Acandones, Man-Ches, Jicaques, Tsendaies, or just "Wild Indians". Most of these terms were also used to refer to other tribes having no geographical or cultural relationship to either the Chol Lacandon or the Yucatec Lacandon.

I use the term "Chol Lacandon" provisionally as a cover term to refer to the inhabitants of the Chiapas lowlands from 1524 (Cortes's march) to around 170? (the forced removal of the last great Chol population from the Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Lacandon region). I use the term "Yucatec Lacandon" provisionally to refer to the Maya of the same region from about 1860 to the present day. Despite claims by Thompson and others, a recognizably Yucatec Lacandon culture was not present at Prospero-Noha in 1645. Actually, because there was often variation between Lacandon settlements of the same period and because both Yucatec and Chol were spoken in some regions [at N. Sra. de los Dolores de Lacandon (1695) and San José de Gracia Real (1793)], it is best to prefix Lacandon by the settlement name; thus, the San José Lacandones, etc., adding "Chol" or "Yucatec" where known, or no term, as in San José where some inhabitants spoke Yucatec, some spoke Chol, and some could speak both.

From 17th and 18th century Spanish historians we learn that the great populations of Chol were killed by the Spanish either directly through warfare or wanton killing, or indirectly through forced labor and disease. In Chiapas, those Chol who survived were herded into frontier settlements such as Ocosingo (Leon Pinelo 1960:259; Ximenez 1929-31,1:150) or moved as far away as the Verapaz highland (Villagutierrez 1933:65). Today, Chol speakers inhabit an are on the highland fringes of the lowlands, in villages, such as Palenque, Tumbala, and Tila (LaFarge 1933:1-6; Stoll 1958:127; Aulie & Aulie 1953:51; Aulie 1957:281, footnote 2); Villa 1969:234). It
is generally thought that the Chiapas lowlands and adjacent Usumacinta drainag virtually devoid of Chol speakers after the forced removal of first the Chol of Po-chutla in 156, of Lake Lacandon in 1586, and finally of the last major Chol population of San Ramon and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Lacandon in the early 1700's (Guatemala A.G.C.A. 1935, 1939j; Recinos 1954:395-397; Amram 1937:31). But, in fact, some Chal speakers still remained in the lowlands, for in the 1790's there were un-christianized Chol 32 km. from Palenque (Orozco1911,II:172) seemingly living together with the more numerous Yucatec speakers of the same region.

Sapper and Thompson have posed the question: given that most of the Chol were removed from the Chiapas lowlands, when did the Yucatec speakers move into the region and what 16th-18th century Yucatec speakers in neighboring eastern Peten or southern Yucatan might have wandered into an unpopulated lowland Chiapas? Three main hypotheses have been proposed to account for the Yucatec movement into the vacant region.

In 1906, Sapper pointed out the linguistic distinction between the 16th-17th century Chol "Lacandon" and the 19th century Yucatec "Lacandon". Probably because his paper was published in German (Sapper 1907), it did not enjoy wide publicity and it was not until Thompson independently came to the same conclusion in 1938 that the distinction was generally recognized.

"...the present so-called Lacandones south and west of the Usumacinta have drifted thither from north and east of the river during the past two or three centuries since that area was depopulated through the transference by the priests of its original population to more accessible settlements? Should this be so, it is clear that the modern inhabitants have no connection, save geographical, with the historical Lacandones and may well be descendants of the historical Prospero Yucatecs" (1938:588).

Scholes and Roys agreed with Thompson that the Noha (Prospero) Yucatecs were the precursors of the present-day Yucatec Lacandones. They added to Thompson's 1938 hypotheses the proposal that the Prospero Yucatecs were a combination of Yucatec Maya fleeing from Spanish oppression and the Quejache Maya, who were an indigenous 16th-17th century population of northern Peten (Scholes & Roys 1946:46, 69). Scholes and Roys emphasize the "fleeing Yucatec" component of the mixture. They recognized that the incoming Yucatec gradually absorbed the remnants of the Chol population, but did not indicate that the Chol made any significant contribution to the resultant Yucatec Lacandon.

Villa Rojas accepted both Thompson (1938) and Scholes & Roys (1946), but thought it was the Quejache and not the fleeing Yucatec who gained the upper hand and passed their culture on to those who are today's Yucatec Lacandones (1961:112; 1967a:39-42).

In 1966, Thompson expanded and slightly modified his original hypothesis.

"[In the 17th century] of the Lacantun river and almost certainly east of it, too, were the Lacandon... The few Lacandon still living between Lake Miramar and the Usumacinta have inherited the culture of the former peoples, but now speak Yucatec... The Nohaa people spoke Yucatec... Their speech may have derived from an influx of apostates from Cehach territory probably amalgamating with Chol remnants who had escaped the evacuation to Palenque nearly a century before, adopting Lacanlon culture..."
imposing their language upon them" (1966:30).

In neither his 1938 nor his 1966 studies does Thompson cover Lacandon history from 1645 on, and he seems to believe that the culture of the present-day Lacandones had crystalized by 1645 at Prospero-Noha, a lacuna and an assumption common to many studies of Lacandon history. Thompson’s 1966 study is the only work which recognized the contribution the Chol made to the culture of the present-day Lacandones.

Published data which none of these authors quoted (Orozco 1911) and unpublished data from Spanish and Guatemalan archives provides information on Yucatec speakers in the supposedly Chol Dolores region in 1695 (Guatemala A.G.C.A. 1940c) and later in the supposedly Chol Palenque area in 1796-180? (Orozco 1911,II:162ff.; Berganzo 1794-1800; M. Calderon 17??-17??; 1790-1798). In a series of articles and annotated transcriptions of important manuscripts I plan to describe: various periods of Chol culture up to their removal from the lowlands; the Quejache and other Maya who were in a geographical position to move into the region vacated by the Chol; and, the Yucatec Lacandon of 1786 to 1890. There are at least two important periods in the history of the present-day Lacandon Maya for which we have little or no data – their amalgamation as a recognizable tribal entity sometime prior to 1786 and their dispersal by lumber cutters in the last quarter of the 19th century. Further research should aim at filling these two important chronological gaps.


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FOOTNOTES

1 In future essays, I plan to separate and distinguish between the varied topics which are here presented under a single title. I plan to expand upon the following topics in papers in preparation: 1st, a more detailed survey of the archaeological literature on Post Classic (11th-14th century) occupation in the Southern Lowlands, and the situation of the entire periphery of the Southern lowlands, in particular Alta Verapaz and southern Campeche and Yucatan. 2nd, illustrations of the varieties of statements which may be made about the Classic Maya based on the archaeological data, and a comparison of the results of such a study and one relying heavily on ethnographic analogy. 3rd, maps and ethnomorphic studies of the nature outlined, pp.x-xi.

2 In an unpublished paper (Hellmuth 1969), I point out that not only were there more Mexican art motifs used by the Early Classic Maya than generally recognized, but also that foreign motifs continued to be used throughout the Late Classic.

3 An exception to this was the Tikal sustaining area project of Dr. William Havi- land. Here the survey was extended into bajos, and, as might be expected, there were no observable remains of Post-Classic mounds. This does not, however, negate the point I make, for not all bajos, swamps, or rocky craigs will have Post Classic remains. The fact that these locations were barren emphasizes the differences in settlement pattern among regions. As we know, in some regions, sites were located in swamps and rocky craigs.
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Gifford, James C.

Graham, Ian

Haviland, William A.


Haviland, William A., Dennis E. Puleston, Robert E. Fry, and Ernestene Green

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Holland, William R.  

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1692. Relación de las cosas de Yucatán. Various editions.

Lundell, Cyrus Longworth  

Morley, Sylvanus Griswold  

Morley, Sylvanus Griswold and George W. Brainerd  

Murdock, George Peter  

Roys, Ralph L.  

Vogt, Evon Z.  


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Abella, Fray Francisco

Academia de la Historia, Madrid

[In Vol. I, after p.XL, is a 16th century map with Mazatlan" where the Quejache territory would be expected and "acanam"(?) where Lacandon might be. Ponce referred to the Lacandones as "Acandones".]

Adams, Eleanor B.

[Valuable bibliography which lists many of the early missionary reports which have been lost. Important lost Franciscan reports are those of Fr. Andrés de Avendano y Loyola (p.15) and Fr. Simón Villac (p.88).]

Adams, Richard N.


[Quotes Bancroft (1887, 3:616) and Squier (1855:49) on the Guatemalan treaty with the lacandones in the 1830's (Adams, p.479).]

Aguilar, Fray Francisco


Aguirre, Xavier de (Alcalde Mayor de Verapaz)

Ahxoxys
1678. "Descubrimiento de los Ahxoxys indios que estaban adelante de Coban junto a los Lacandones, que hoy es el paraje de los Dolores y muy cerca del Rio de Zacapulas." Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos or-

Aigrain, René


[Listed in bibliography of G.Soustelle (1959:190).]

Albores G., Eduardo J.


[Chol are discussed on p.76, Lacandones on p.79. No new or signifi-
cant information]

Alcaldes de Coban

1807. "Representación, verbal que hicieron á su P.Cura, los Alcaldes present-
es, y pasados, con los demás Yndios Principales de Coban, pidiendole un Certificado, en que declarase las causas y motivos que ellos le manifesta-
ban, como las que el mismo habia visto...". Photographic copy in Brasseur
de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas..., Vol.I, PP• 33-
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30; on the inability of the inhabitants to pay taxes.]

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zalez; Vol.3, Impr.de Blas Roman.

[Many Maya place names in Verapaz, Petén, and Chiapas are listed]

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Alvarez de Miranda, Capitan Don Pedro

1695. Relación escrito por el Capitán Don Pedro Álvarez de Miranda. Mss, typed transcription in Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé.

[Covy made by F. Blom, location and description of the original mss.not
provided . See Margin (950b) and Termer (.950).]

American Art Association

1924a. The William Gates Collection: Manuscripts,Documents,Printed Literature

[Résumé of the collection and Gates's collecting trips.]

1924b. The William Gates Collection: Manuscripts,Documents, Printed Literature
Relating to Mexico and Central America. New York:

Sale catalog, gives titles and brief descriptions of many mss. works on the lowland Maya; titles and descriptions often vary from those given in Gates 1937, Bowditch 19??, vol. II, or Brasseur de Bourbourg 18??.

Amram, David W., Jr.
1937. "Eastern Chiapas."

[Full of first-hand ethnographic information and useful photographs on the Lacandones (p.28-36); on p. 29 is one of the rare comments on the 1789 Lacandon settlement of San José de Gracia Real, and on p. 31, mention of the fate of the Chol Lacandon of the 1695-1702 settlement of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Lacandón. Amram distinguishes between a northern and a southern group of Lacandon.]

1942 "The Lacandon, Last of the Maya."
El Mexico Antiguo, Tomo VI, Nrn. 1-3, pp. 15-30, México.

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1948. "Eastern Chiapas Revisited."
New York; The American Geographical Society.

2 pp. on Lacandón religion (p.123-124), including statement that Lacandones conduct rites at the coming of age of a child and at the planting of a cornfield; these rites are not mentioned in all of the other ethnographies.]

Ancona, Eligio
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1957. "Two Chol Texts."
Tlahocan, vol. 3; No. 4, pp. 313-316. México:
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[2 charts; this and the following works by the same authors are on Tumbalá Cho Mayan, and are listed in the bibliography of Wares (1968:68).]

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1953d. La'laq K n ts'ip (Aprendamos escribir).
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1953e. I juñilel tsik (Números).
México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

1953f. I juñilel ts'ip (Libro de ejercicios para escribir).
México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

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México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

1953h. JiñAc'h i k'aba' bAte'el ts'ijbuhlti junjunchajb.
(Los animales de la selva: escrito por unos muchachos choles).
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1953i. La'laq K n castellano (Aprendamos castellano: una gramática española...)
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México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

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Mentions 1931 trip to the Mopan, Lacandón, and Palenque areas, trips further described in the C.I.W. Yearbook for 1931. "Lacandon ... dialect closer to Yucatecan than to Mopan, but having a number of features in common with Mopan, some of which are not in Yucatec- can or old Maya dictionaries and grammars" (p. ).


[Handwritten field notes, Palenca materials on pp. 1063-1075 and 1107-1121 includes vocabulary of 219 words, with some kin terms on p. 1109. Lacandon materials on pp. 1121-1152, vocabulary, phrases, and chants; some kinship terms on pp. 1140-1146.]

Andrews, E. W.

[Part II, "History and Exploration," contains ethnographic and archaeological information on the Acalan and Quejache (Mazatlan) areas; gives references to the original historical references.]

Anghiera, Pietro Martire D'

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23 pp., diary of the 1949 Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes expedition to Bonampak and Anguliano's return to Bonampak in 1963. Contains scattered bits of ethnographic data on the Lacandones, but nothing important.

Anonymous

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[Newspaper clippings filling about 15 small pages in bound pamphlet.]


[196 pp., line drawings, and photographs; gross speculations on various aspects of Maya life, especially architecture.]
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[Lost mss. listed in bibliography of Beristain and of E. Adams (1953:15). The rest of the Avendaño manuscripts are listed in 
these same two bibliographies.]

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lengua de Yucatán. Mss. 

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1951 Bon y n tí; (Libro de números)
México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

América Indígena, Vol. XIX, No. 4, pp. 269-273,
Mexico: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

[English, no Maya text.]

In "The discovery of Bonampak."
Press. Tlalocan.

Baer, Phillip and W. R. Merrifield
1967. "Restatement of the pronominal series in Maya (Lacandon)."

América Indígena, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, pp. 303-308,
Mexico: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

Balfour, Lyn
Typewritten mss. in the Biblioteca Fray .

(21 pp.; diary, little information.)

Ballinas, Juan
Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas: Publicaciones del Ateneo de Chiapas.

[Introduction and notes by Frans Blom, photographs by Gertrude Duby,
77 pp. and 2 maps; an account of several canoe and hiking trips made
by Ballinas and various companions in the Lacandon area; on one trip
Ballinas got as far as Lake Petén Itzá in Guatemala; on his fourth
trip Ballinas saw some Lacandones and later visited a Lacandon caribal;
(pp. 38-39, 53-56); further information on these trips is contained
in Orozco y Jimenez (§811,II:182-187).]

Bancroft, Hubert Howe
1874- The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. 5 vols.

[Mentions Royle’s ride (see Boyle (1867; 1868)), mentioned by Charnay (1904:14, footnote 2).]


[16th-17th century expeditions against the Acala and (Chol) Lacandones are covered in Vol. II, Chapter XXI pp. 360–366; 19th century Lacandones and the Guatemala treaty of the 1830’s with them are covered in Vol. III, Chapter XXIX, pp. 615–616; Bancroft quotes Scherzer and Von Tempski, and others, but gives no specific references to Scherzer or Von Tempski.

Bandelier, Adolf Francis

[Valuable bibliography, arranged by geographical area by century; contains titles of both published and unpublished works, many on the Maya of the southern lowlands; mentions many important documents which have been lost; annotated.]


Barlow, Robert H.

[Brief note calling attention to the Calderon-Quintas Zayas mss. in the Bancroft Library; English translation of some short passages; on the Lacandon settlement of San José de Gracia Real, 1793-1807, near Palenque. Thompson (1945) also mentions these Calderon-Quintas Zayas papers. Other 18th century descriptions of this Lacandón settlement are contained in Orozco y Jimenez (1911, I:162-182) and in Calderon and Berganzo papers from the Archivo General de Centro America and in Chiapas (1953).]

Basauri, Carlos

[Vol. II has a chapter entitled "Familia Maya-Quicheana: Lacandones" (pp.263-278), emphasizes the importance of hunting and fishing over agriculture, good photographs, including one of a Lacandon house.]
Basilio, Concepción
1959. "Bibliografía sobre los indios lacandones."
América Indígena, Vol. XIX, No. 4, pp. 264-265,
México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

[Gives only 49 titles.]

Bauer, W.
"Die Lacantuns: Volksstamm in Chiapas, an der Grenze von Guatemala,
in der Nähe des Usumacinta,"
Der Wanderer, Jahr.II, No.1.

[Listed in bibliography of Mullerried (1939:336); see Umrey 1910
for more on Bauer's trip.]

BBC - TV
Race to Extinction.
50 minute movie, produced by the BBC TV, distributor/ Peter M.
Roebeck + Co., 230 Park Ave., N. Y.

[This is an anthropological study of the Lacandon Indians of the
jungles of Mexico and Central America. They live near the ancient
Maya ruins and are believed to be the direct descendents of this
once great civilization. Through excessive inbreeding, many of
the Lacandons are suffering serious disabilities and their numbers
are steadily decreasing.

This film begins with an exploration of the ancient Mayan cities
and temples. It proceeds to the Lacandones and their ancient way of
life. Finally we are shown a group of scientists from the Nuclear
Energy Comission of Mexico who have come to this wilderness to
experiment with and study this unique, dying race of people. It
is their hope to gain information which will some day halt the
flight of the whole human race toward extinction." (Robeck flier
quoted in K.G. Heider's Films for Anthropological Teaching, 1968).]

Becerra, Marcos E.
1909. "Nombres geográficos del Estado de Tabasco, de la República Mexicana."

[The names covered include many Maya place names of the Lacandón
area of Chiapas as well as of Tabasco; the study includes a useful
3 page bibliography.]

1932. Nombres geográficos indígenas del Estado de Chiapas.
Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas.
1934. "Los Chontales de Tabasco: estudio etnografico y lingü stico." 
Revista Investigaciones Lingü sticas, Tomo II, No.1, pp. 29-36, 
México:Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

1935. "Vocabulario de la lengua Cho que se habla en el distrito de 
Palenque del Estado de Chiapas, de la República Mexicana, acopiado 
por el Prof. Marcos E.Becerra, en Noviembre y Diciembre de 1934." 
Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología Historia y Etnografía, 
Tomo II (Quinta Epoca), pp. 249-278.

[Contains the 450 words from the 1789 vocabulary of Juan Jossef 
de Fuente Albores Fernández and Fernández 1892)]

1937. "Los Chiapaneca: vocabulario Chiapaneca-Castellano y Castellano-
Chiapaneca." 
Revista Investigaciones Lingü sticas, Tomo IV, No.3-4, pp. 214-253, 
México:Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

[The Spanish used the Chiapaneca to carry supplies to and to build 
canoes for the (Chol) Lacandón settlement of Nuestra señora de los 
Dolores de Lacandón; it would be interesting to see if the Chol La-
candón borrowed any Chiapaneca traits as a result of this contact.]

1945. "Juegos precoloniales." 
Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Tomo I 
(1939-1940), pp. 175-178, México.

[Mentions Palenque and gives some Chol terms.]

Beekman, John 


In Estudios Antropológicos publicados en homenaje al Doctor Manuel 
Gamio, pp. 261-264, Mexico:

[On the Chol, mentions a present-day population of 22,000.]

Tarrytown, N.Y.:

[On Chol religious beliefs and how to "select those Scriptural 
truths which will have the greatest relevance to their particular 
needs and concerns."]
1959. "Minimizing religious syncretism among the Chols."
Practical Anthropology, Vol. 6, No. 6, pp. 241-250, Tarrytown, N.Y.
[Contains scattered references to various aspects of Chol "religion," but unfortunately does not present any systematic anthropological discussion of this important subject.]

Tarrytown, N.Y.:
[A reprint of Beekman 1957.]

1960b. "A Cultural Extensions in the Chol Church."
Practica Anthropology, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 54-61, Tarrytown, N.Y.:
[More comments on miscellaneous aspects of Chol life and beliefs.]

Beekman, John and Elaine Beekman
1948. Silabas y palabras en el idioma ch'ol.
México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

1953. Vocabulario chol.
México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Benson, Elizabeth P.
1967. The Maya world.
[Makes mistaken claim that "the last male Lacandon in Guatemala died recently" (p.33) and other erroneous and misleading statements (p.33 and p.83).]

Berendt, Carl Herman
Smithsonian Institute Report for 1867, pp. 420-426.
[Mentions that "the city of Flores during the last 15 years has been reduced to half its former size by a continuous rising of the lake." (p.424); pp.425-426 gives important data on the 19th century Lacandón; Berendt distinguishes between an Eastern group and a Western group, the Chal (Lacandón); mentions collection of a vocabulary of Putum (Chol).]
1876. "Remarks on the centres of ancient civilization in Central America and their geographical distribution."
[Address read before the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, Session 1875-76, No. 2, New York: Doulas Taylor, Printer.]
[American Geographical Society, July 10, 1876]

1877. "Collections of Historical Documents in Guatemala."

Should be read in conjunction with Gate's remarks about manuscript collecting in Guatemala and Mexico (Gates 1937) (Amer. Art Assoc. 1924a).

Berendt Linguistic Collection
18??a. "Vocabulario del dialecto de Peten."

[Listed in bibliography of Brinton (1900:213).]

18??b. "Doctrina cristiana en el dialecto de la Momaña de Holmul (Peten)."

[Listed in bibliography of Brinton (1900:213).]

Berganzo, Fray Mariano
1794-1800. Sobre la buena disposición que manifestaron para abrasar otra Sta. Fé los Yndios Barbaras de Sendales a Fr. Mariano Berganzo. Mss. in the Archivo General de Centro América, Guatemala. Al-11, Exp. 2486, Leg. 118

[On the Lacandón settlement of San José de Gracia Real; full of historical and ethnographic information. Another letter of Ber- ganzo is in Orozco y Jimenez (1911, II:162).]

Beristain y Souza, José Mariano

[Lists the published and unpublished works of early Spanish friars, etc.; many of the works listed have been lost but may still exist, undetected in the many uncatalogued archival collections of the world.]

Berlín, H.
1955. "Apuntes sobre vasijas de Flores (El Petén)."
Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Vol. 7, No.-1, pp. 15-16, Guatemala:
Bernaducci, Lorenzo Boturini
1746. Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la América Septentrional.

[Listed in bibliography of Bandelier (1880:97).]

Bernal, Ignacio
México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Benasconi, Antonio and Antonio Calderon
Expediente relativo al descubrimiento de las ruinas del Palenque e informes referentes a ellas. Mss.
Copy in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University.

(Possibly the same document referred to by Bandelier (1880:99)
"Ms. in Spain on ruins of Palenque." All early reports on Palenque are important for Chol-Lacandon studies, because there were populations of both Chol and Yucatec speaking "Lacandones" living near Palenque in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the early reports on the ruins, it is important to look for possible references to Post-Classic or Hispanic period occupatuinal debris, especially incensarios, like those left by the Yucatec Lacandón at the ruins in the Yaxchilan-Bonampak area]

Berrier, Jean Claude
1961a. "La maison dP.s Dieux."
Quatrieme Partie:Chez les Derniers Mayas, pp. 221-257,

1961b. "Le Mexique."

Besuchs
1896. (on Chol speakers in Tenosique).
Incomplete reference in Sapper (1906:429, footnote 1).

Blank, I. Joyce
1952. Our trip to the Lacandon Jungle.
Typewritten mss. in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome.

[24 pp. and 5 photographs; little new information.]

Blasquez, Fray Agustín
18?? "Yoforme del Fray Agustin Blasquez."
[Mentions settlements of Chamiquin, Chaclan, Ave Maria, Polochic, Chisme, Panajsoc, and Panimac, of Verapaz (p.73).]

Blom, Frans


[Lacandones are mentioned on pages 8 to 13; ethnographic data on attire, weapons (still bows and arrows), marriage, and other aspects of Lacandon life. It is unfortunate that the complete report of this encounter with the Lacandones has not been published. See also Blom 1930.]


[Partial population figures and list of settlements.]

Suplemento de El Nacional, 8 de mayo de 1949, p. 6 México.

[On ancient ruins, no ethnographic information.]

1949b.  "La ciudad perdida de los Mayas."

1949c.  "Noches en la selva Lacandona."

[Bits of ethnographic data.]
1954. "Ossuaries, cremation and secondary burials among the Maya of Chiapas, Mexico."

[Points out the potential importance of cave archaeology for research on 16th-18th century Maya; 16th century expeditions against the Lacandones (p.130), the 1950 Viking Fund Expedition to Lake Miramar and the cave survey and exploration of this expedition are mentioned; unfortunately no full report has ever appeared about these "excavations".]


[On aspects of Lacandon material culture, with short Spanish-Lacandon vocabulary.]

1956a. "La gran laguna de los Lacandones."

A preliminary report on the Viking Fund Expedition of 1950; contains a list of those who have visited or studied Lake Miramar or vicinity from 1530 to 1950; Blom makes absolutely no distinction between the Chol Lacandon of the 16th-17th centuries and the present day (Yucatec) Lacandon; mentions that archaeological collections were taken from the caves, but fails to provide any data on these "excavations."

1956b. "On Slotkin's Fermented drinks in México."


In VII Mesa Redonda, Los Mayas del sur y sus relaciones con los Nahuas Meridionales, pp. 115-125, México: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.

Blom, Frans and Gertrude Duby

1949a. "Exploración preliminar de la zona lacandona, Chiapas."

1949b. "Entre los indios lacandones de México."

[Contains useful census list of the Lacandones of the northern group and of the southern group.]

[Interwoven with descriptions of their travels in the Lacandon and Chiapas area are scattered bits of ethnographic information; important geographical descriptions, and map of the whole area; it is unfortunate that there is not more anthropological data organized in an anthropological framework.]

Blom, Frans and Oliver La Farge
1926- Tribes and Temples: a Record of the Expedition to Middle America
1927. Conducted by the Tulane University of Louisiana in 1925. 2 vols
New Orleans, The Tulane University of Louisiana.

[Vol. II covers the Chol (p. 326, 371) and the Lacandon (p. 311-312, 386).]

Boddam-Whetham, J. A.
1877. Across Central America.
London: Hurst + Blackett.

[Mentions of a large cave near Palenque, supposedly filled with artifacts (Hispanic Period perhaps?) (p. 327); mention of "some of the wildest looking Indians..." (Lacandones?) (p. 327); comment on Lacandon area (p.308, 313) and on Lacandones trading with Tenosique (p.281), and abandoned Lacandon camp. (Ibid.).]

Borhegyi, Stephen F. De
Cambridge, Mass.: Archaeological Institute of America.

[Excellent reconstruction of Itza history and well illustrated preliminary report of archaeological findings around and in Lake Peten Itza. See Cowgill (1963) and Guthe (1921, 1922) for further information on the Post Classic at the lake.]

Bowditch, Charles Pickering
Typewritten, with occasional written pages, copy in Peabody Museum Library.

[Has comments on the Squire, Gates, and Brasseur de Bourbourg manuscript collections, and on Schuller-Berendt papers (Vol. II- Miscellanea).]

19??b. Collation of Volumes in Berendt's Linguistic Collection in the
University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. With notes by
A. M. Tozzer. Mss.
Boyle, Frederick

[p. 209 and 210 on the "Menche" and "Lacandones "In the north of Vera Paz, to the west of Peten, and all along the Usumacinta, dwell numerous and warlike tribes, called generally Lacandones. They are one stock with the Menches... (p. 209); the Guatemale-Menche treaty of 1837 is mentioned (p. 209). Unfortunately, Boyle's comments are second hand.]

1868. A Ride Across a Continent. 2 vols. London:

Brasseur de Bourbourg, L’Abbe Charles Etienne

(Listed in the bibliography of Basilio (1959:265).]

1871. Bibliothèque mexico-Guatamalienne 8 vols.
Paris.

n.d. Documentos originales sobre las entradas y misiones de la Provincia de Verapaz del Lacandon y de Peten Itza etc: escritos por varios padres de la Orden de Santo Domingo de Guatemala, 1736-1820. 2 vols.

[Photographic copies by William Gates; the entries are described in Bowditch (197a, vol. II:Miscellaneous), Gates (1937), Amer. Art Assoc. (1924), and Brasseur de Bourbourg (1871). In this bibliography the entries are listed under: Abella, Aguilar, Aguirre, Ahxoyes, Alcaldes de Coban, Anoymous, Blasquez, Chica, Coban, Delgado, Oliveres y Aguilar.

Brine, Lindsay
1894. Travels Amongst American Indians...
London: Sampson Low, Harston + Co.

Brinton, Daniel Garrison

1897. "The Missing Authorities on Nayan Antiquities."

[The great lost works of Avendaño and Vico are listed, as well as those of other early writers.]

1900. "Catalog of the Berendt Linguistic Collection."

[Lists many valuable manuscript works on the lowland Maya; few of these works have been published or quoted.]

Bronson, Bennet
1966. "Roots and the Subsistence of Ancient Maya."
Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico.

[Lacandones are used for comparison, but as usual, only a few Lacandon sources was consulted (Tozzer 1907 and Soustelle 1937). The important work of the Baers was not quoted.) Bronson ought to have checked the data on the subsistence crops of the Itza and the numerous Chol groups.]

Bruce s., Roberto L.
n.d. The Book of Chan Kin (inedito).

Tesis Profesional, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México.

1967. "Jerarquía Maya entre los Dioses Lacandones."

[An important addition to the other studies of Lacandón deities. Should be read in conjunction with the more recent information on deities in Bruce (1968:119ff). Bruce suggests that the ancient patterns of Maya "nobility" are reflected in the hierarchy of present day Lacandon deities. It is unfortunate that Morley and the "Yucatec Maya of the 16th century were chosen as the basic pattern of Maya nobility. Other groups such as the Itzá and Chol had viable systems of nobility in the 16th-17th centuries and could have provided a wider and more valid base for comparison. Nonetheless, this study is well done.]

1968a. "Terminos de parentesco entre los Lacandones."
The most complete list of Lacandón kin terms available since Baer + Baer (1950), with kin charts, but no genealogical charts of actual persons.


[152 pp.; besides a complete grammar of Lacandón, this valuable work contains some of the most important and complete ethnographic data which has appeared since Baer + Baer (1950). The Appendix contains information on Lacandón mythology, religion, deities, and a detailed study of Lacandón graphic representations.]

Billard, William R., Jr.


The Introduction contains an excellent section entitled "Resumé of archaeological and historical knowledge of northern British Honduras." The references in this section and in the rest of the report to Post-Classic incensarios are important, because many of these incensarios (illustrated in Gann (1918: Figs. 68 and 69)) are similar to those of the present day Lacandones.

Bunting, Ethel-Jane W.

[This seems to be the same document as Delgado 1677a. The mss. is full of geographical data on the Chol area of Verapaz.]

Caceres Lopez, Carlos
Cadena, Fray Guillermo  
[See Viana, Fr. Francisco De, Fr. Lucas Gallego, and Fr. Guillermo Cadena].

Calderon, Josef Antonio  
1784. Informe, echo en 15 de diciembre de 1784.  
Mss. translated and published by Brasseur de Bourbourg in his  
"Ruinas de Palenque," 1866.

Calderon, Manuel Joseph  
17 - Correspondence with Agustin de las Quentas Zayas.  
17. Mss., Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.  
[Mss. No.1466 QS, 36 folios. Short passage translated in Barlow  
(1943:158).]

1790-1798. Various letters.  
In Cumplimento de la Rl. orn de 25, de Octubre de 1789,, sraque  
se den las providencias conceentes para reduzir a ntra religion los  
Yndios Lacandones en la Prova.de ciudad real.  
Mss. in the Archivo General de Centro America, Guatemala.  
[Other letters to and about M. Calderon are in Orozco Y Jimenez  
(911,II:163-182).]

Calnek, Edward E.  
1961a. Distribution and Location of the Tzeltal and Tzotzil Pueblos of  
the Highlands of Chiapas from the Earliest Times to the Present.  
Mimeographed. Chicago: Dept. of Anthropology, university of Chicago.

1961b. Highland Chiapas before the Spanish Conquest.  
Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.  
[Mimeographed copy in the Brown University Library.]

Cano, Fray Agustin  
1686. Contestación de Fray Agustin Cano a la petición del  
Señor Alonso Quesada.  
Mss. in the University of Texas Library, 3 pp.

1696a. Informe dado al Rey por el Padre Fray Agustin Cano sobre la  
entrada que por la parte de Verapaz se hize al Petén en el año  
de 1695. Mss.  
[For English translation see Cano 1696b; for published Spanish  
transcription see Cano 1696c.]
§696b) Manche y Petén.
19?? . Typewritten mss.

[English translation of Cano 1696a by C.P. Bowditch and G.Rivera. Typed original in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University.]

§696c) "Informe dado al Rey por el Padre Fray Agustín Cano... y fragmento de una carta al mismo, sobre el propio asunto."

[Ranks along with the Avendaró and Delgado manuscripts in importance for a study of the lowland Maya. Contains data on the Manche Chol, Mopan, and Itzá religion, calendar, settlement pattern, etc.]

16?? Solicitud que el Padre Fray Agustín Cano hizo al Ill'no Sr. Obispo de Guatemala...que se hallaba de visita en el pueblo de Cajabón pediendo amparo para reducir a los indios Choles. Mss. in the Museo Nacional, Guatemala in 1880.

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (880:106).]

1678b. Historia de la Provincia de Predicadores de San Vicente de Chiapas y Guatemala.
Fragment of mss. in the Museo Nacional, Guatemala in 1880.

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (880:97).]

Cardenas, Fray Tomas
Representaciones al Rey sobre el estado de los pueblos de la Vera-paz.

[Listed in bibliography of Bandelier (880:104).]

Cardenas y Valencia, Francisco de
1643. Relación historial eclesiástica de la provincia de Yucatán de la Nueva España q. se hico en ella en virtud de Zedula Rl. del año de 1635. Mss., original in the British Museum.

[Photographic reproduction in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University].

Carrascosa
1888. [Memoria del Gobierno del Sr. Carrascosa, tiene una exacta descripción del río de Chiapa.]
Incomplete reference in Santibañez (911:i).
Caso Mier, Vicente De  
[Important for its early mention of father-daughter and brother-
sister incest, and 12 year old male-60 year old female marriage;  
also has other bits of ethnographic information.]

Castelar, Fray Tomás  
15??  Tratado de los ídolos de Guatemala.  
[Lost mss. listed in the bibliographies of Bandelier (1880:104)  
and Brinton (1897:187).]

1880. Triunfos de los martires del Orden de Predicadores en las Indias.  
[Listed the bibliography of Bandelier (1180:104).]

Castillo, D. Geronimo  
1866. Diccionario histórico, biografico y monumental de Yucatán.  
[Hereda.]

[Located in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:94).]

Castillo, Tomas Del  
1709. Carta de Tomás del Castillo acerca de la reducción de los  
Indios de Verapaz.  
[Mss. in the Archivo General de Centro America, Guatemala.]

Castillo Tejero, Noemi  
In VIII Mesa Redonda, Los Mayas del Sur y sus relaciones con los  
Nahuas Meridionales, pp. 207-219. México: Sociedad Mexicana de  
Antropología.

[pp. 213-215 covers the conquest of the Chol Lacandon; contains  
nothing new.]

Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México  
Mexico: CIAM.

[Mimeographed; reports of various specialists on a 3 month  
expedition to the Lake Miramar region; in this bibliography the  
reports are listed under the separate authors: GEOLOGY,  
E.K. Erben, BOTANY,  
E.R. Sohns, Archaeology, F. A. Peterson, ETHNOLOGY, J. Leonard,  
LINGUISTIC DEPTHMEASURE, M. Swadish, and LINGUISTICS and SOCIOLOGY,  
P. Baer. Unfortunately, no final report has ever appeared in print  
about any aspect of this expedition. As on the 1950 Viking Fund
Expedition of Blom and Duby, caves in the vicinity of Lake Miramar were entered and collections taken, but no proper archaeological report ever appeared on either of these "excavations."]


Ceoogh, Richard


[Listed in the bibliography of Robles et al. 1967:18].]

Cerda Silva, Roberto de la


[Listed in the bibliography of Basilio 959:24].]


[Has a section on the Lacandones (pp. 477-491) and on the Chol (pp. 495-506); mostly taken from the standard sources; no distinction made between 16th-17th century (Chol) Lacandon and the Yucatec Lacandon of today.]

Chamberlain, Robert S.


[Brief mention of the Chol and (Chol) Lacandon on p.181-182.]
Expedition of Blom and Duby, caves in the vicinity of Lake Miramar were entered and collections taken, but no proper archaeological report ever appeared on either of these "excavations."

1956. "Recent Bonampak Expedition."

Ceoogh, Richard
College of the City of New York.
[Listed in the bibliography of Robles al. 1967:18].

Cerda Silva, Roberto de la
1944. Expedición científica a la selva Lacandona.
México: Publicaciones del Diario el Universal.
[Listed in the bibliography of Basilio (959:24)].

México: Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Has a section on the Lacandones (pp. 477-491) and on the Chol (pp. 495-506); mostly taken from the standard sources; no distinction made between 16th-17th century (Chol) Lacandon and the Yucatec Lacandon of today.

Chamberlain, Robert S.


Brief mention of the Chol and (Chol) Lacandon on p. 181-182.]
Charnay, Désiré


[Description of the ruins of Yaxchilan and of the Lacandones. Charnay and Maudslay were at Yaxchilan at the same time and both seem to describe the same group of Lacandones. This account of Charnay's encounter with the Lacandones lacks the fine drawing of a group of Lacandones which appears in Charnay 1887 and other editions.]


[Practically a translation of the 1885 French edition.]


[Quotes Boyle, on p.14, about the Lacandones and Menches.]


[A collection of Charnay's photographs, in the Archives Room of the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University; includes about 4 photographs of the Lacandones.]

Chiapas, Archivo General de Chiapas

[A collection of 5 separate letters; first, on Pochutla and Lacandón, no date; the other four letters are on the Lacandones of the Palenque - San José de García Real area, 1786. The originals of these documents are in the Archivo General de Centro América.]

[General description of the upper Usumacinta drainage by Cayetano Ramón Robles and a proposal by him to exploit the natural resources of the area. Has data on the economically useful flora. Lacandones are mentioned on pp. 76, 89 (near Palenque), and 101. The original of this document is in the Library of the University of Texas.]


[It is easier to understand the early missionary descriptions when we are familiar with the structure of church organization. This article mentions "Tzendales" the church province where many Lacandones lived during the 1790's.]


[Transcription of a mss. in the Archivo General de Centro América, Guatemala, Al.6.6, Exp.128, Leg.8. Has no specific mention of the Chol or the Yucatec Lacandón, but it is as important to know where these populations were not living, as to know where they were living.]


[Gives geographical information on Verapaz and the Petén; mentions the Lacandones.]


[15 folio mss. with geographical information and mention of the Lacandones (p.49). Listed in Bandelier (1880d12) under the title "The Padres: Chica, Abella, and Escoto, and Aguilar, 'Informes... tocantes á la Vera-Paz.'".]
1821. El P. Prior de los P.P. Dominicos da cuenta de los progresos de la misión del Lacandón. (Index title)
Mss., A & E A., Al.12, Exp.7066, Leg. 334, 10 folios.

[Has two pages of Maya words and phrases, with Spanish translations.]

Ciudad Real, Antonio de
1873. Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas de las muchas que sucedieron al Padre Fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España...2 vols.
Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Calero.

[Originally issued in: Colección de documentos ineditos para la historia de España, Vols. 57 and 58, Madrid, 1872. Ponce mentions the (Chol) Lacandones, calling them "Acandones." ]

Cline, Howard

Contains a useful chart of all Lacandón deities then known in 1944 and two long tales, produced in English translation, which are the most important Lacandon myths we have, as they contain information on past Lacandón social structure. Bruce 1967 and 1968b contains data on Lacandón deities uncovered since 1944.]

Coban, Prior of

[Listed under different titles in Gates (1937:29) and in Amer. Art Assoc. (1924 Cat. No. 600).]

Cochelet, A.
Paris: Imprimé Chez Paul Renouard.

[Mentions a trip made through the Petén].

Coe, Michael D.
1966. The Maya.
New York, Praeger.

[Lacandones are mentioned on pages 22, 23, 32, 33, 34, 100, 101, 11, 116, and 137. Incorrect conclusions are presented on the origin, movement, and significance of the Yucatec Lacandón.]
Cogolludo, Diego Lopez de

2nd ed., 1842-45 Campeche and Mérida, said to be incomplete by Roys (1933:208). Lopez de Cogolludo, better known as Cogolludo, is one of the three main sources of information on the early Chol, Itza, and (Chol) Lacandon, the other two being Villagutierre and Ximenez. Cogolludo gives the most complete description which has survived of the 1645 settlement of Prospero-Noha. Thompson and others believe that the Yucatec-speaking Maya of Prospero were the direct antecedents of todays Yucatec Lacandones.

Colmont, Bernard de


[Listed in the bibliography of Robles et al. (1967:19).]


1938. "Entre Guatemala y Mexico... visita a la misteriosa tribu de los lacandones." *El Imparcial*, 13 julio de 1938, Guatemala.

[Translation of Colmont 1935 ?]

(Lo) Comisión Guatemalteca de Limites con Guatemala

[The Mexican-Guatemalan border dispute of the late 19th century resulted in several surveying expeditions being sent to the border - the Usumacinta River. There should be comments on Lacandones in some of these accounts.]

Cook de Leonard, Carmen, Donald Leonard, and F. Peterson

[Some of the articles are on the Lake Miramar region.]

Cardan, Wolfgang
[Brief newspaper article, copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé.]


[Mentioned in "Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec" (1968:112).]


Cordry, Donald and Dorothy Cordry
1968. Mexican Indian costumes.

[Describes and has photograph of Lacandon attire.]

Cortés, Fernando

[Cortés and his group were the first Europeans to penetrate into (Chol) Lacandón, Itzá, or Quejache country, and towards the end of his march he passed through Chol territory. His account should be read along with that of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, as the two differ in some details. Both accounts contain data of ethnographic importance.]

1908. Letters of Cortés: the five letters of relation from Fernando Cortés to the Emperor Charles V. New York:

[Translated and edited, with a biographical introduction and notes by F.A. MacNutt.]

Cortés y Larraz, Pedro

[The beginning of vol. II describes various parts of Vera Paz, including Santa Cruz del Chol (p. 32-35).]

Corzo, Manuel T.
1887. Ligeros apuntes geograficos y estadisticos.

[Incomplete reference in Santibañez (1911:1).]
Cosío, Toribio 17??. Relación histórica de la sublevación y pacificación de la Pro-
Vincía de los Tzondales.

[Lost mss. mentioned by Bandelier (880:90) with the comment "may still exist at Mexico."]

Cowgill, George Lewis 1963. Postclassic Period Culture in the Vicinity of Flores, Petén, 
Guatemala. 2 vols. PhD dissertation, Dept. of Anthropology, 
Harvard University.

Academia Nacional de Ciencias 
México: Editorial Cultura.

Cummins, Harold 1932. "Dermatoglyphics in Indians of Southern Mexico and Central America, 
Santa Eulalia, Tzeltal, Lacandon and Maya Tribes." Middle American 
Research Institute Series, Pub.No. 4, pp.181-208, 
New Orleans: The Tulane University of Louisiana.

D

Davls, Shelton 1966. "God, man, and animal in the world of the Lacandon Maya." In Seminar 
on the Maya (Anthropology 260), Vol. II. Mss.in the Peabody Museum 
Library, Harvard University.

[ca. 50 pages total; an interesting essay but rather speculative; 
does not make use of some of the standard Lacandon sources, eg. Blom + 
Duby 155-57].

De Garay, A. L. 
see Garay, A.L.de

VII, año X.México. 

[Has photographs of two Lacandbn incensarios on p. 29.)

Delgado, Fray Joseph 1677. "Memoria de los parajes y ríos de S. Miguel Manché hasta los 
indios Ahízaes."

[This must be the mss. on which Bunting §932) based her transcription, although Bunting gives no provenance for her mss.]


1684. "Carta e informacióndel padre Joseph Delgado al Rdo. Padre Pro-\nvincial de Santo Domingo de Guatla sobre los sucesos y entradas al Lacandon, etc."


Listed in Amer. Art Assoc. (1924 Cat. No. 620): "Closely written and detailed report by padre Joseph Delgado of the events of the above Entrada. Folio, 96 pages...· Begins with the very day of entry into the town of San Lucas del Chol, where the above mentioned manuscript was partly written...".

Del Rio, Juan


[Good color photographs of the Lacandones and a story on the marriage of Chambor to his fourth wife. Should be read with Baer + Baer 1949.]

Díaz del Castillo, Bernal

19 - The True History of the Conquest of New Spain. 5 vols.


[Bernal Díaz, on the same 1524 march as Cortés, mentions the Lacandones and provides data on the Quejache and Itzá (Vol. V, pp. 28-35).]

Dieseldorff, Erwin P.


[Typed English translation of his 1909a work. Includes data on pottery, deities, and religious practices of the present-day Yucatec Lacandones and on the earlier Chol Lacandon, Acalá, and Itza (p. 5-9); the Chol are mentioned on p. 11 and 16-18. There is a wealth of original data in this work, which should be compared with the late 19th century publications of Sapper.]

[L.SOC.45.17.1 vol 41]

1926-1933. **Kunst und Religion der Mayavölker im alten und heutigen Mittelamerika.** 3 vols. Berlin:

Dockstader, Frederick J.


[A popularized account, full of the usual misinformation. Implies that the Lacándon of today are descended from the Classic Maya of the same region.]

Doria, Vicent and Frans Blom


[3 PP. letter from Doria to Blom and 2 pp. reply from Blom; speaks of difficulties in traveling in the jungle, and of B. Traven and his books on Chiapas.]

Duby, Gertrude


1944b. "La región lacandona de Chiapas."


[Listed in bibliography of Robles et al- 0967:20.]

[Attributes the first contact with the Lacandones to Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and the final missionary attempt to José Manuel Calderon, of Palenque. Data available since 1947 alters both these statements. Duby makes no distinct connection between the (Chol) Lacandones of the 16th-17th centuries and the (Yucatec) Lacandones of today.]


1952. "La razón de un viaje: la tragedia de Bor Yuk." Sol del Sureste, octubre-noviembre., Tapachula, Chiapas.

1953a. "Dioses, enfermedades y medicina." sinopsis, Revista Médica, Año IV, No. 1, p. 5

1953b. "Los lacandones, eclipse lunar y fin del mundo." Excelsior, 15 de febrero, México.


1955c. "Los lacandones: el mundo y su influencia sobre ellos." Novedades (México en la Cultura), 14 de agosto, México.


[Has some excellent color photographs of the Lacandones.]


Duby, Gertrude and Frans Blom


Dunbaugh, Frank M.

[Contains good photographs and some comments on Lacandon food, religion, and marriage.]

Dupaix, Capitaine Guillaume

E

Echevers y , Antonio Pedro
1724. "Informe de los servicios hechos por la religión de Santo Domingo en la Provincia de Verapaz y tierras de Lacandones; relación y memoria

[Listed in catalog of American Art Association (1924b: Cat No.638).]

Eggan, Fred

[A complete list of kin terms taken from the Motul and Beltran dictionaries of Yucatan. Has an occasional comparative note on the Lacandones of Tozzer's day. Eggan's terms should be compared with those recorded by Tozzer (1907:39-40), Baer + Baer (1950, and Bruce 1968a).]

Elorza Y Rada, Francisco de


Erben, H. K.

Escobar, Alfonso de

[Mentioned in Sapper (1906:427, footnote 1).]

Escoto, Fray Luis
Estachería, José de

1784. Expediente sobre el descubrimiento de una gran Ciudad en la pro-
vincial de Chiapas, distrito de Guatemala, 28 Nov., 1784. Archives
of the Royal Academy, Madrid.

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:98).]

Fajardo, Domingo

1828. Informe dirigido al Gobierno supremo de México, relativo a su
misión a Vera-Paz y Petén. Campeche, México.

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:113) and mentioned,
under a slightly different title, in Squire (1871:xiv, footnote).]

Fancourt, Charles St. John

1854. The History of Yucatan from its Discovery to the Close of the

Farias, Sergio Alejandro

las Casas, Mimeographed, copies available at the Biblioteca Fray
Bartolome.

[56 pp; second hand information on the Lacandones (p. 37-41) and
erroneous statement about the origin of Lacandon polygamy: "... as
a result of the small number of survivors, they are polygamous."
(p. 40). In fact, Lacandon polygamy seems to be a practice with a
long history, dating back at least to the 1790's.]

Feria, Fray Pedro de

1892. "Relación que hace el Obispo de Chiapa sobre la reincidencia en sus
idolatrias de los indios de aquel país, después de treinta años de
Cristianos." Anales del Museo Nacional, México, Tomo VI, pp. 481-487.

Fernández, León, Ricardo Fernández Guardia, and Juan Fernández Ferraz

1892. Lenguas indígenas de Centro América en el siglo XVIII según copia
del Archivo de Indias... San José, Costa Rica: Tipografía Nacional.

[Has Castellano-Chol vocabulary on pp. 43-48.]

Ferr, Jorge

Biblioteca Fray Bartolome.

[On Lacandón music.]
Fowler, Henry

Franco Torrijos, Enrique

1950b. *Narración inédita de una azarosa expedición*. Mexico

Frey, H. Carlos


[Newspaper clipping, copy, without date, in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome; has information on the Lacandones and on ruins in the Lacandón area; has a large map showing the location of ruins and caribales.]

Fuentes y Guzmán, Francisco Antonio de

G

Gage, Thomas


Galindo, Juan


Papers, plans, sketches, etc. relating to archaeology, ethnology, geography, and history of Guatemala in the 1830's. Deposited in: Département des Imprimés, Cartes, et Plans, Section des Imprimés, Collection Angrand, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

["Two of letters, notes, memoirs, etc. relating to the language, antiquities, and geography of Central America, accompanied by a volume of illustrations." Microfilm copy, made by Ian Graham, in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University.]


[Mentioned in Graham (1963:25,) footnote 60].]


[Brief description of the Petén, the Lacandones, and the ruins of Palenque; includes a short text in Maya (Chol?) and short vocabularies of Yucatec Maya (Flores, Petén), Chol, and Cakchiquel. The Chol words were cited by Stoll (1958:125).]


[A useful source of the 19th century Lacandones. Map on p.58 and description of the Lacandones on p. 59. A footnote mentions that there were "wild Maya Indians" near Palenque.]

"(El Rancho Subín sobre el Río Cano)." El Oficioso, No.9, 12 Marzo 1833, p. 36, Guatemala.


[Mentions Palenque, Yaxha, Flores, and the Lacandones."

...the Lacandones... inhabit the western part of the district of Petén, and are spread over an immense tract in the centre of the continent, though they principally reside on the rivers Pacaltun, San Pedro, and Usumacuita." (p.571). Also has a page of drawings of Palenque stucco glyphs and some pottery figurines and vessel from Yaxha (or Flores:).]


18??a. [On Galindo's administration as Commandant of the Peten.]" Guatemala, Archivo Nacional, leg. 181, Exp. 3951. [Mentioned by Griffith (1960:26, footnote 8)]


Gallatin, Albert

Gallego, Fray Lucas

see VIANNA, FRAY FRANCISCO DE et al.

Gamboa, Fernando

Gann, Thomas

Gann, Thomas and J.Erick S. Thompson  
1937. The History of the Maya from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.

Garay, A. L.De  

Garay, A. L.De, U. Rodarte, and M.L.Cobo  

García de Palacio, Diego  

[Incomplete reference in Sapper (1906:424); about a 1576 Spanish document on the various provinces.]

García Pelaez, Francisco de Paula  
2nd ed., 3 vols. in one.


[Cortes's 1524 march is covered on p. 88f; Lacandones on p. 44; Puchutla and Acala on pp. 150-153; Juan Galindo on p. 153; Ordoñez de Villaguirán and others are also mentioned, but there is little original, most is copied from Remesal, Valenzuela, and Villagutierre.]

Garcia S., J. Mario  
1952. "Juan Ballinas, el Cristobal Colon de la region Lacandona y la tragedia de la tribu," II Informador, Miércoles, 5 de Nov. de 1952, Tuxtla Gutierrez.


[Short article on the death of Frans Blom.]

Garcia y Cubas, Antonio  

[The (Chol) Punctunc of Palenque, the (Yucatec) Lacandones, the Petenes, and the "Choles or Mopanes" are mentioned on p. 106. Also has useful ethnographic map.]

Gates, William


[32 pp.; Gates describes how he gathered together his great collection of Naya manuscripts; contains a 15 pp. index of the Gates Collection, with listings of many works on the Lacandón, Itzá, etc. (all included in this bibliography).]

Genet, Jean and P. Chelbatz

[An extract from their "Historia de los pueblos Maya-Quichés."]

Genovés, Tarazaga Santiago

Gerard, G.

[35 pp. catalog for an exhibition of photographs on the Lacandones.]

German Parra, Manuel and Wigberto Jimenez

Gómara, Francisco López de
1552. Historia general de las Indias... y la conquista de México y de la Nueva España. Various editions.
González, Manuel S.

[Excellent description of the 19th century Lacandones on pp. 97-98.]

Goubaud Carrera, Antonio and A. Arriaga

[ Portions of this map may be incorrect. ]

Gould, Harley N.

Graham, Ian

Graham, R. B. Cunningham

[Mentions the horse Cortes had to leave with the Itzá.]

Grajales Ramos, Gloria

Greene, Merle

[Mentions the Lacandones.]

Griffith, William J.
Gropp, Arthur E.
1933. "Manuscripts in the Department of Middle American Research." In Studies in Middle America, Middle American Research Institute, Pub. 5, New Orleans: Tulane University.

[Listed Armas 1897, Ordonez y Aguilar 1796, and other works on the lowland Maya.]

Guatemala, Archivo General del Gobierno
(name then changed to ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA NACION, and later still, changed to ARCHIVO GENERAL DE CENTRO AMERICA (A.G.C.A.)

(This bibliography does not include the thousands of unpublished manuscripts in the A.G.C.A. which mention the inhabitants of the Southern Maya Lowlands, the most interesting documents are listed in Robert S. Chamberlain's 'A Report on Colonial Materials in the Government Archives of Guatemala City, 1937. The few unpublished manuscripts from the A.G.C.A. which are listed in this bibliography are listed under: Chica 1817 and 1821, Calderon 1790-1798, and Berganzo 1794-1800, and those that follow.)

1694. Detalles de lo gastado en misiones en el Reino de Guatemala. Autos hechos sobre la reducción de los indios bárbaros sacados por la parte del Golfo Dulce y fundados en el pueblo nuevo del Señor Juan Antonio de la Bodega por...

1696. Quinto Ramo de Autos finos, sobre la reducción y conquista de los indios, ynfeles, Principiado, Desde la llegada, del Sr. Doctor Don Barne, de Amuesquitia a la provia, de la Verapaz...

n.d. Yndice general del antiguo archivo del Supremo Gobierno. 3 bound manuscript vols. in the Archivo General de Centro América.

[An old handwritten catalog of the archives. Most of the items seem to be in the new catalog system also.]


1936. "Autos hechos en virtud de la Real Cédula de su Magestad, en que se ordena a este Superior Gobierno, que se halle en que se hallan las reducciones de Indios de la Provincia del Petén * Año de 1754." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año I, Num. 3, pp. 257-293.

[Full of Maya place names, Maya personal names, geographical data on the Petén and surrounding areas, and other ethnographic data. One of the more important documents.]

[Full of ethnographic information on all aspects of Lacandon Chol life, particularly subsistance patterns, date of 1586.]


[Sections (e) and (f) are entitled "Verapaz" (pp. 293-301); much geographical information and section on Santa Cruz Chol.]


[Curatos, feligresias, and the number of tributarios for Verapaz are on pages 206-207; for Ciudad Real on pp. 225-228; on p. 229 "Presidio del Petén" is mentioned in a table, but with "0" pueblos and "000" tributarios.]


[About the transfer of 30 Chols to the beneficio of Guaymango, in the province of Guazacapan, 1655.]

1939c. "A la Audiencia de Guatemala que de toda la asistencia y ayuda que se le pidiere y fuere posible dar para la reducción de los indios del Chol, que esta a cargo de la religión de predicadores." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm. 1, p. 21.

[Short paragraph, no ethnographic information.]


[No ethnographic information.]

[No ethnographic informnation.]


[A important reference on the forced removal of the Lacandones from San Ramon and Nuestra señora de los Dolores del Lacandon to the Highlands. See also: Amram (1937:31), Recinos (1954:395-397), and 1939j of the published archival documents, below.]


[See 1939h].


[Barrios Leal asked for Yucatec interpreters to help him in the conquest of El Lacandón. This is the only published reference to Yucatec speech in this part of lowland Chiapas. Thompson and others have not quoted from this work.]


[Chol, Nanchel and Lacandón are mentioned on p. 159.]


1940g. "El Capitán Gaspar Rayroundo de Varaya informe del estacó de las milicias encargadas de las reducciones de los socmoes y lacandones." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm. 3 PP. 178-180.


[Has a "Real Cédula acerca de la conversion de Tesclutla y Lacandón," (pp. 123-124).]

Guatemala, Comisión de Limites
[Over 100 maps of Guatemala, 1527-1924, many showing the location of ethnic groups.]

Guatemala, Dirección General de Cartografía

[An indispensable reference for place names which may or may not be on either ancient or modern maps. Archaeological sites are also included; listings of major political entities are followed by historical and linguistic information. Lacandones are mentioned in Vol. I, p. 319 "Los indios lacandones, que por varios motivos deben considerarse como uno de los grupos étnicos del departamento, hablan la lengua maya con algunas alteraciones producidas por el comercio con los naturales de lengua chol. This is a verbatim quote from Recino s (1954:225).]

Guatemala, Instituto de Antropología e Historia (I.D.A.E.H.)

[On p.47 there is a "Mapa de lenguas indígenas" with a "Lacandón Chol" entry.]

Guatemala, Instituto Geográfico Nacional

[It helps to have this supplement and the original 2 vols. when reading 16th-19th century accounts of Vera Paz and the Petén, because there are no maps which locate all the place names included in the dictionary.]

Guatemala, Instituto Indigenista Nacional

[In the case of characters, "Lacandon" is translated as "servient."]

Guiteras Holmes, Calixta

[R. Montagu had visited the Lacandón area.]

Guiteras Holmes, Calixta and D. Leonard
Guthe, C. E.


Halle, Louis J.

[Well written and well informed popular account of a trip on the Usumacinta River. Lacandones are mentioned on pp. 166-168, 207-214.]

Hamy, Ernest Theodore


[Chapter VIII: "Les Lacandones de la Haute Usumacinta" includes a short study of the Lacandón stone arrowheads brought back by Charnay.]

Hanstein, Otfrid Von
Im Lande des ewigen Frühlings. Reiseerzählungen aus Zentral- und Südamerika. 3. An den Ufern des Usumacinta.

[Listed in bibliography of Mullerried (1939:336).]

Healey, Giles Greville


[Excellent photographs of the ruins and of Lacandones, and information on Lacandon incense burning in old temples, but has some incorrect statements linking the Lacandones with the Maya of Yucatán "and the gods they worship are the deities who were worshiped by the Mayas of
Yucatán at the time of the conquest" (p. 129). This is not the case.


19?? . Maya Through the Ages. Movie, produced by Willard Pictures, Inc.: Distributed by the University of California.

"The brilliant achievements of the ancient Maya civilization of southern Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras are reviewed in contrast to the state of its modern descendants, including an almost extinct tribe, the Lacandons, who in 1946 were discovered living in the jungle under very primitive conditions by photographer-anthropologist Giles Healey. After Healey had filmed their agriculture, hunting and worship, a Lacandon offered to lead him to a lost Mayan City of Bonampak in Mexico's southernmost state of Chiapas..." University of California catalog quoted in K.G.Heider's Films for Anthropological Teaching, 1968, p. 69.]


[50 large mounted photographs, in 2 portfolios, in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University. Stills from the United Fruit Company's motion picture "The Living Maya."

Heller, Carl Bartholomaeus


[Includes comments on the Lacandones.]

Hellmuth, Nicholas Mathew


[700 pp. of text and 33 pp.bibliography. Appendix I is on "Author and page references for the information on 19th century Lacandones" (pp. 51-59). Data I located in the Archivo General de Centro América in 1968 and 1969 somewhat alters the conclusions of this paper.]


[A preliminary report on the Roldan manuscript of 1698, a recent purchase of the John Carter Brown Library. The mss. describes several entradas to the Itzá capital of Tayasal and contains a wealth of ethnographic information on the Itzá, including a page]
with Maya hieroglyphs. The authenticity of this manuscript has been questioned.]


[Based on information in Guatemala A.G.C.A. 1696 and Tovill 1960.]

in preparation A New Manuscript on the 18th Century Lacandon Maya.

[An annotated transcription of the Berganzo 17 folio mss. from the Archivo General de Centro América, on the inhabitants of San José de García Real, a settlement near Palenque. Also included will be annotated transcriptions of portions of the Calderon-Quintas Zayas letters from the Bancroft Library, and portions of some Calderon papers from the A.G.C.A., all on the Lacandones of San José.]

in preparation Fray Manuel Maria de la Chica and the Lacandon Maya, 1813-1820

[Annotated transcriptions of Chica 1817, 1819, and 1821.]


[Reader in Tumbala Chol Mayan, 96 pp.]


Hurtado, Manuel

[Photographs and frequent mention of Lacandones and La selva Lacandona.]

Ibarra, Fray Juan


Illustrated London News


Ivanoff, Pierre

[Good color and black + white photographs; some important ethnographic information, especially on the "yonen," but also a great deal of historical misinformation and fantasy.]

Izikowitz, Karl G.

[Incomplete reference.]

J

Johnson, Frederick

[Includes Acala, Chol Lacandón, Manché, and Toquegua; based on Thompson 1938 (Johnson, p. 107-108). This map is not accurate. Longacre (1967:Fig. 15) copies Johnson's map.]

Jomard

[Mentinos Galindo's trips in the Petén and various explorations of Dupaix and others of the ruins of Palenque.]

Joyce, T.A., Thomas Gann, E.L. Gruning, and R.C. E. Long

Juarros, Domingo


K

Kaufman, Terrence
Keller, Kathryn C.


Keller, Kathryn C. and Margaret Harris

Kelsey, Vera and Lilly de Jönh Osborne

Krustev, Dimitar

[Newspaper clipping in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome, no date or place of publication on the clipping. Krustev comments on portraits he painted of the Lacandones.]

Kurath, Gertrude Prokosch

[Kurath claims the Lacandon have a cave ceremony for planting, but gives no reference. This rite is not reported in the standard Lacandon sources.]

Laborde, Father
[Book on the Lacandones mentioned in Caso-Mier (1935:11).]

La Farge, Oliver
1929. Comparative notes and comments on Francisco Moran's "Arte en la lengua cholti...". Typewritten mss.

[Copy in Peabody Museum Library, Harvard Univ.]


La Farge, Oliver and Ernest Noyes

[Original in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard.]


[Original in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard.]

La Farge, Oliver and Douglas S. Byers

Lamb, Dana and Ginger Lamb

[Full of misinformation on Chiapas and the Lacandones. The book is a total fabrication, and ought to be thought of as (bad) fiction.]

La Mota y Escobar, Alonso
See ESCOBAR

Larrainzar, Manuel
1885-1878. Estudios sobre la historia de America, sus ruinas y antiguedades. 5 vols. México.

Las Casas, Fray Bartolomé

Leche, Stella M., Harley N. Gould, and Dixie Tharp

[Has photographs of 8 Lacandon males in Plate 19.]
León, Nicolas

["el Chol ó Punctum,.. (?) el Lacandón..."] (p.8) without other comment.]

1907. *Historia de la creación del cielo, y de la tierra*. México.

[Listed in the bibliography of Gropp (1933:250).]

Léon Pinelo, Antonio de
1639. Relación sobre la pacificación, y población de las provincias del Manché i Lacandón, que pretende hacer Don Diego de Vera Ordóñez de Villaquirán...


[An English translation of Léon Pinelo 1639. Scholes + E. Adams say that this translation contains "muchos errores" (1960:17).]


Leonard, Donald (Juan)


[Has a wealth of ethnographic data, including a kinship chart, of the southern group at San Quintin.]

Leonard, Donald (Juan) and Calixta Guiteras Holmes

Limites Guatemala
[See also Guatemala, Comisión de Límites; for No. 2, see El Mensajero.]

Lizarraga, Nicolas  
16??. Representación al Rey pidiéndole la conquista de Itzá y Lacandón, con unas noticias y mapa de dichas tierras.  
[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:88).]

Longacre, Robert  

[Fig. 15-Linguistic map of Middle América, has listings for Itzá, Yucatecan Lacandón, Mopan, Chol, Manché, Acala, and Chol Lacandón. ]

On p. 157 Longacre states that the map "is based on the previous linguistic maps of Mendizabal and Jiménez 1936, 1941), Frederick Johnson (1940), and McQuown (1955)" and represents the "probable distribution of speakers of various Indian languages as spoken in Middle America at the time of the conquist. Chol, Itzá, and Yucatecan Lacandón are not shown where they were actually spoken in the 16th-17th centuries. It is inexcusable that such an incorrect and outdated map is presented in the Handbook.]

López, Fray Melchor de Jesús  
Relación de la pacificación de los Indios de Vera Paz. Lost mss.

[ Mentioned in the bibliographies of Beristain, Bandelier (1880: 107), and E. Adams (1953:46).]

López de Cogolludo, Diego  

López de Llergo, Jeronimo  
1925. Una vista a las ruinas de Yaxchilan, Alto Usumacinta, en diciembre de 1891.

Loyd, Clay  

[5 pp.; many incredible and misleading statements about the past history of the Lacandones, but also has some useful comments on kinship.]
Mac Nutt, Francis Augustus
1908. Fernando Cortés: His Five Letters of Relation to the Emperor Charles
V. 2 vols., Cleveland: A. H. Clark Co.

McBride, Felix Webster

McQuom, Norman A.

[A survey of past classifications of the Mayan languages (which does not include the unpublished classification of La Farge 1932a); Mopan is included with "Maya Proper" in a new classification of McQuom. Historic data, not utilized by McQuom, or by Thompson in his study of the Mopan-Itzá differences, might alter this placement.]


Madeira, Percy D., Jr.


Maler, Toebert

[Lacandones are mentioned on pp. 24-40. Maler is not usually thought of as a source on the Lacandones, but he visited a Lacandón caribal and in almost all his various reports he mentions either Lacandones or other Hispanic Period Maya.]


[Lacandones are mentioned on pp. 136, 161-163.]


[Maler's works contain frequent comments on abandoned 18th and 19th century settlements.]

Margain Araujo, Carlos R.

[Photographs and line drawings of the ruins, Lacandones, and jungle plants; has long winded and incorrect theory about the origins and history of the Lacandones and their relation to various groups of Classic Maya, but interdispersed is valuable ethnographic data, particularly on the milpa cycle.]


Margil de Jesús, Fray Antonio
1696. Testimonio de diferentes carta y provincias dadas al pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Lacandones. Mss. in Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Estante 69, Cajon 1, Legajo 2, Folio 29.

[Portions published by Marimon y Tudo 1882, and Tozzer 1913.]


[Listed in the bibliography of E. Adams (1953:51).]


[Listed in the bibliography of E. Adams (1953:51).]
Marimon y Tudo, Sebastifil

Martínez, Manuel

[See under Ballinas 1951 for comments on this series of explorations of the Lacandón jungle.]

Marure, A.

Mason, Gregory

[Brief mention of Lacandones on pp. 40-41.]

Mason, J.Alden

Matson, G.A. and J. Swanson


Maudsley, Alfred P.


Maudsley, Ann Cary and Alfred Percival Naudsly
Means, Philip Ainsworth

[A poor history and even worse on the ethnography of the Itzá. Means provides an English translation of many of the early Spanish histories, and thus many English-speaking historians have quoted Means; however, Means leaves out more than he translates and all studies based on Means generally repeat all Mean's mistakes and erroneous conclusions.]


Mejia, José Victor
Geografía de la República de Guatemala. Guatemala.


Mena, Ramón

Mendez Pidel, Ramón

Mendieta, Fray Gerónimo de

Medina, J. T.
1890-1907 Biblioteca Hispano-Americana. 7 vols. Santiago de Chile.

1907-1912 La imprenta en México. 8 vols. Santiago de Chile.

1910. La imprenta en Guatemala. Santiago de Chile.

Mendiola, Fray Angelico
Mendizábal, Miguel Othon de


1943c. "La conquista espiritual de la "Tierra de Guerra" y su obstrucción por los conquistadores y pobladores..." *Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala*, Tomo XIX, pp. 132-140.

[Covers the history of the conquest of the Acala, Lacandón, etc., all from the standard sources.]


Mendizábal, Miguel Othon de and W. Jiménez Moreno


Mendoza, Vicente T.

(Mensajero de Centro-América

[Originally published in 1895.]

Metzgen, Monrad Sigfrid and Henry Edney Conrad Cain
Miles, Suzanna W.  


[Fig. 1-Approximate 16th-Century Linguistic Areas, includes Chontal, Lacandón, and Chol, but neither Itzá nor Mopan. "Lacandón" is not prefixed by Chol, as it should have been. "Chol" is shown incorrectly, as it should cover much more territory, especially further south and west.]

Milla y Vidaurre, José (Salome Jil)  

[The Prospero-Noha settlement of 1645 is mentioned, as is the lost diary which described this important village.]


Mills, Iris Wares  


Mills, Iris Wares, Arabelle Anderson, and Viola Warkentin  

Miranda, Faustino  
La vegetación de Chiapas.  

[Vol. I, p. 199 has a recipe for Lacandón balche.]

Miranda, Francisco Montero de  
[See MONTERO DE MIRANDA, FRANCISCO]

Miranda, Pedro Álvarez de  
1695.  Relación escrito por el Pedro Álvarez de Miranda . Typed Spanish
transcript by Frans Blom in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé.

[See also: Margin 1950 b and Termer 1950.]

Mirones y Lezano, F. de
see Scholes and Adams 1936.

Molina, Fray Antonio de
Vidas de varios padres de la Provincia de Chiapa y Guatemala del
Orden de Indicadores. Mss. in the Museo Nacional, Guatemala (in 1880.

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:106)]

Montañez, Pablo

Monter de Miranda, Francisco
1575. Relacion dirigida al lIl mo señor Palacio...sobre la provincia de la
Verapaz o Tierra de Guerra.

[Mss. originally of E.G. Squier; photographic copy in Gates Collection
(A. er Art Assoc. 1924b:Cat.No. 632) and (Gates 1937:30). Listed in
the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:104).]

Montoya, Fray Lope de
Suma de los capítulos generales y principales, ordenaciones...de la
Provincia de Predicadores de Chiapa y Guatemala. Mss. in the Museo
Nacional, Guatemala, in 1830.

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:106).]

Moran, Fray Francisco
16??a. Libro de quartilla grande alto. Lost mss.

[Mentioned in Gates (1935:5). This manuscript, compiled from many
friars, included a grammar, a doctrina, and a vocabulary of some
5,000 words. From this lost mss. the following partial copies have
come down to us, see below.]

16??b. Arte de lengua cholti que quiere decir lengua de milperos.

[Photographic copy in Tulane University; copy in the library of
the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.]

16??c. Confesionario en lengua cholti escrito en el pueblo de San Lucas
de Salac de el Chol, el año de 1685.
16??d. Vocabulario en lengua Cholti.

[Copies as in 16?? b; comments on the various copies of these Moran documents are in: 1935:5) and [La Farge 1935a:1-3].]


[With comparative notes and comments by Oliver La Farge.]


Morelet, Arthur


[Partial translation of Morelet 1857, Cuba and Yucatan not included. M.F. Squire, translator. Introduction and notes by E. George Squire.]

Morley, Sylvanus Griswold

Morley, Sylvanus Griswold and George W. Brainerd

Muller, J. G.

Mullerried, Federico K.G.
Geología de Chiapas. Edición mimeográfico del Ateneo de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas.


[Emphasizes hunting and fishing and de-emphasizes agriculture in the subsistence economy of the Lacandones (p.324); has a complete description of Lacandón bows and arrows, with numerous measurements and illustrations of arrows.]


Murdock, George Peter (listed as "The Editors", of Ethnology)


[This is the issue in which Murdock gives the references he used for his coding of the Lacandones (Sal0, No.665). Murdock used ONLY TWO sources, Tozzer 1907 and Baer + Baer 1949; with over a hundred sources readily available, including the Soustelles' work and the Baer's 1950 monograph. Also, Murdock uses a reference date of 1900, despite the fact that the Lacandones are very much alive today and have scores of works on them since Tozzer 1907. To compound the poor scholarship, "The Editors" claim a population of 200,000 for the Lacandones, hopefully a misprint.]

Murdock, George Peter


[The Atlas compounds the earlier errors, and claims the "Lacandones are integrated into the Mexican State", Column 32. This is doubtful, and what about the Lacandones that might still be living in Guatemala? About a third of Murdock's tabulations for the Lacandones are totally incorrect, and several more are misleading the way they are coded.]

Muséeum National d'Histoire et du Jardin des Plants.

N.S. No.13, pp. 27-28.
Nutini, Hugo G.

[A typical,cal misuse of Lacandón data in a comparative essay. More Lacandón sources should have been consulted.]
Oakley, Helen
Integración Social Guatemalteca, Pub. 20. Guatemala. Departamento
Editorial "José de Piñeda Ibarra".

O'Gorman, Edmundo
[Listed in the bibliography of Castillo (1961:218).]

Olivera, Mercedes and Blanca Sánchez
1965. Distribución actual de las lenguas indígenas de México. México:
Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Oliveres y Aguilar, Ramón de
n.d. "Notas de Chiapas y Palenque." Photographic copy in Brasseur de
Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas., Vol. II,
pp. 373-378, Gates Collection.

Olvera, J.
1948. Bonampak. Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, , mayo 15, 22,
junio 5. México.

Orden de Predicadores
1935. "Isagoge historic a apologetica de las Indias Occidentales y especial
de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala." Biblioteca

Ordoñez y Aguilar, Ramón de
1787. Memoria relativa a las ruinas de Nachan, en las inmediaciones del
pueblo de Santo-Domingo del Palenque. Mss.
[Mss. formerly belonging to Brasseur de Bourbourg; listed in the
bibilography of Bandelier (1880:90). One of the Ordoñez y Aguilar
manuscripts is in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University,
listed under W. Gates "Papers concerning Palenque and Copan", a
photographic copy, (C.A. 3 P 19 case 4.). This photographic copy
is listed in Amer. Art Assoc. (1924:Cat. No. 624).]

1796. Descripción de la ciudad Palencana. 51 leaves, folio, mss.
[In the library of the Dept. of Middle American Research, Tulane
University. Listed in Gropp (1933:249).]
Orozco y Berra, Manuel
1864. Geografía de las lenguas y carta etnográfica de México. México

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:93).]

Orozco y Jiménez Ilmo. y Rmo. Sr. Doctor Don Francisco

[Contains letters of Berganzo M.J. Calderon, and A. Quentas Zayas. see under these separate entries.]

Ortega, C.F.

Ortiz Flores, Enrique F.

[58 pages; a proposal for a modern "Comunidad Indígena" at Lacanjá and for development and exploitation of the surrounding area. Contains no ethnographic information and makes little use of local cultural ideals in the new project.]

Oviedo y Valdez, Gonzalo Fernández de

Palacios, Enrique Juan
Paniagua, Faivio Antonio
1876. Catecismo elemental de historia y estadística de Chiapas. San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas: Imp. de Porvenir.

1908- 
1911. Documentos y datos para un diccionario histórico-geográfica de Chiapas. 3 vols. in 1. San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas.

Patellani, Red.
1957. Fotos, algunos a colores, de los Lacandones del Río Lacanjá, Copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé.

Pavon Abreu, Raul


Payne, A. W. and France Scholes

[Scholes speaks of his research in the Archivo de Indias, Sevilla and about the documentnts he located on the conquest of the Itzá, Chol, and Lacandón in the 1690’s. See under Scholes 1962-1967.]

Paz, Julian

[Lists some works of Diego de Vera Ordóñez de Villaquiran (p. 97) and León Pinelo (p. 98).]

Peña, M. T. de la

Penagos, Ranulfo

Pendergast, David M. (editor)
Pericot y García, Luis

Periguy, Maurice de


Peterson, Frederick

[Typewritten, 38 pp.; has geographical and archaeological information, the latter mainly on the caves surrounding Lake Miramar. On this expedition, a large collection of bones and artifacts were sacked from the caves, absolutely no drawings, maps, or archaeological information of these "excavations • have ever appeared in a full report.]


[This was the second expedition to the Lake Miramar region for Peterson, and again "excavations" were undertaken in caves, but again virtually nothing has ever been published about the artifacts which were taken.]


Petryshyn, Jaroslaw T.

[18 numbered pages; should be read in conjunction with Tozzer 1907, Amram 1942, Cline 1944, Bruce 1967, and Bruce 1968b.]
Piñeda, Francisco

Piña Chan, Román


Piñeda, Emilio

Piñeda, Vicente
1888. Historia de las sublevaciones indígenas habidas en el Estado de Chiapas. Chiapas.

Polochiq

Pompa y Pompa, Antonio

Ponce, Alonso

[See also under Ciudad Real, Antonio de]

Poniatowska, Elena

[Nearby newspaper article, has ethnographic information.]

Poponee, Wilson
Prescott, William H.

Provincial de Santo Domingo
[Listed in Gates 937:30.)

Quintas Zayas, Agustín de las
[See under Calderón]

Rabasa, Ramón
1895. El estado de Chiapas, geografía, estadística, etc.
[Incomplete reference in Santibañez 1911:1.)

"Recinos, Adrian
[Full of information on the Chol and Lacandón, past and present. Has a summary of the military expeditions against the (Chol) Lacandones. on pp. 395-397 is information on the forced movement of the (Chol) Lacandón from San Ramón and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Lacandón to the highlands. Except for a short note in Amram (1937:31) this is virtually the only information on the fate of the (Chol) Lacandón. See also: Guatemala, AGCA 1939h arrl 1939j.)

Reina, Ruben E.


[The vast amount of data which contradicts many of Reina's claims and his uncritical use of incomplete translations of the original sources [Means is probably the most unreliable source on the Itzá] casts suspicions on both his claims and his supporting data.]

Remesal, Antonio de

[Along with Ximénez, Cogolludo and Villagutierre, Remesal is one of the important sources on the Chol and Chol Lacandón.]

Ribas, Gastelu
Gramática de la lengua de los Lacandones (de Guatemala).

[Incomplete reference in Rubo (n.d.28).]

Ríos, E.E.

[Mentioned by E. Adams (1953:52, footnote 55 n).]

Ritter, C.

Rittlinger, Herbert


[English translation of Rittlinger 1961.]

Rivas, Fray Diego
?? Mss. in the possession of the Hispanic Foundation.
[Dieseldorff (1909: ) says this document gives the reason for (Chol)Lacandón - Itzá enmity - over the only salt spring in the area, Salinas de las Nueve Cerros.]

1696. La Auda de Goatha informa ... de operarios este reino pa la mission del pueo de Lacandon. Mss. in the Library of the University of Texas.

Rivera Maestre, Miguel
1832. Atlas guatemalteco en ocho cartas formadas y grabadas en Guatemala de orden del jefe del Estado C. Dr. Mariano Galvez, año de 1832. Guatemala.

Rivet, Paul

Robles Uribe, Carlos, Enriqueta Ramos Chao, Virve Piho Lange, Roberto Jiménez Ovando, and Roberto D. Bruce S.

[A good bibliography on the Lacandones.]

Rockstoh, E.

Rodríguez, A.

Roldán, Fray Joseph Antonio María de
1698. Historia de La Pazificazion De Las tierras De Los Itzaes Y La ganzia De el tayasa Y De todo Los Pueblos de la alaguna en el año. 1697. Mss. in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.

Roman, Geronimo

[A lengthy text, published in several early editions; Ximenez copies freely from Roman, usually giving references to Roman's section entitled "Republica Indiana].

Romero, Matías (editor)
1877. Bosquejo histórico de la agregación a México de Chiapas y Soconusco... Guatemala.
[On the Guatemala-Mexico border question of the 1380's. The border ran right through Lacandones in reports of the various commissions and surveying parties.]


Romero, Pedro H.

Rosica de Caldas, Sebastian Alvarez Alfonso

[Letter written to Carlos II. Original in the Medina Collection, Biblioteca de Santiago de Chile. Microfilm copy in the Brown university Library (FH 1773). Has brief description of the "Provincia de Lacandon" and surrounding areas; an important work which is not listed in many bibliographies.]

Roys, Ralph L.

[On Ciudad Real's and Alonso Ronce's travels and linguistic studies. Mentions the Coxoh (Chicomucelteca) dialect of Aquespal, Chiapas (p. 125) a dialect possibly similar to Yucatec and evidently intelligible to some of the 17th century Lacandones. The Dominican archives of Chiapas and Guatemala should be checked for more information on this dialect and on the 16th and 17th century Lacandones of the area.]


[Has comparative comments on the Lacandones included in many of the footnotes, eg. p. 179.]


[pp. 111-112 have Roy's theories on the origins and movements of the Chol and Lacandón. Elsewhere, Lacandones are mentioned on p. 49.]

Rubio, Angel
Trabajos filologicos...
[Incomplete reference, mention of the Lacandón grammar of Gastelu Ribas on p. 28.]

Ruppert, Karl


Ruppert, Karl, J. Erick S. Thompson, and T. Proskouriakoff

Sala, Antenor
1890. Informe acerca de la explotación del tejido cortical del arbol tabasqueco llamado Holocin.

[Incomplete reference by Sapper (1891:2, footnote 1).]

Salazar, Fray Gabriel de
1636. "Informe del M.R. Padre fray Gabriel de Salazar, Prior del Convento de Coban al Rey, escrito en 20 del mes de diciembre del año de 1636. Sobre los asuntos y misiones de la Verapaz.•


Sanchez, José María
1890. Nomenclatura de los once departamentos del Estado de Chiapas. San Cristóbal las Casas, Chiapas.

[Mentioned by Sapper (1913:8, footnote 7).]

?? Apuntaciones para la historia de Guatemala.

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:108).]

Sanches de Aguilar, Pedro
Sanchez Garcia, Fray Daniel

[Mentioned by E. Adams (1953:51, footnote 54).]


San Esteban Andrade, Fray Francisco
n.d. (Life of Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesus.). Mss.

[Mentioned by Sanchez G. (1920:60) and E. Adams (1953:51).]

Santibañez, Enrique

[Has some interesting photographs and good data on the Lacandones.]

Sapper, Karl

[There is an excellent bibliography of virtually all Sapper's published works which I have checked and found to contain information on the Chol or Lacandón. All his works on either Verapaz or the "Quekchi" may have some such data.]


1891b. The Verapaz and Its Inhabitants. English translation of "Die Verapaz und ihre Bewohner." [Typed original in the Peabody Museum Library].


1891d. A Visit Among the Eastern Lacandones. English translation of "Ein Besuch den ..." [Typed original in the Peabody Museum Library. Sapper, along with Ballinas, gives some of the best 19th century data on the Lacandones prior to Maler. Sapper emphasizes the extensive trade of the Lacandones (p.1-2) and that hunting and fishing were more important than agriculture, a statement echoed by other writers. Excellent]
description of a Lacandón at Izán, Petén, including a description of individual houses and their contents.]


1895a. La lengua de San Luis (Petén). Mss. [Mentioned by Thompson (1930:201).]


1895c. Old Indian Settlements in Guatemala and Chiapas. English translation of. [Taped original in the Peabody Museum Library; mentions locations of Lacandón settlements, past and present (p. 13); and Choles (p.13).]


1897. Sobre la geografía física, la población y la producción de la República de Guatemala. Guatemala: Biblioteca de "El Progreso Nacional".


1897b. Northern Central America with a Trip to the Highland of Anahauc. Travels and Studies of the Years 1880-1895. [English translation of Sapper 1897a]


[Includes a lengthy vocabulary of German, Chorti, Chol, and Pocoman. This is one of the most important works on the Lacandón. Sapper was the first to recognize that the (Chol) Lacandón of the 16th and 17th centuries were a different group than the (Yucatec) Lacandón of his day. Thompson later independently came to the identical realization (1938). Unfortunately, Sapper's study has been forgotten or neglected by most modern writers on the Lacandones, and is not even included in Robles et al.'s bibliography. This work ought to be translated into both Spanish and English for the benefit of those who do not speak German.]


Satterthwaite, Linton

[Has an illustration of a Lacandón type incensario?]  

Saville, M. H.

Scherzer, Karl

[Mentioned by Bancroft (1887, 3:616, footnote).]

Scholes, France
1967- Correspondence between France Scholes and the Peabody Museum. Original typed written letters.

[Originals in the file in the Librarian's office. Letters to J. O. Brew and M. Currier about the photostats and microfilm of documents in the Archivo de Indias, Seville, which Scholes donated to the Museum Library. Gives catalog numbers of many documents on the Chol, Chol Lacandón, Itzá, etc.]  

Scholes, France and Eleanor Adams
[Mirones launched a military campaign against the Itzá, but in 1624 he and his men were massacred long before they reached Tayasal. The data of ethnographic interest consists in Maya place names and Maya surnames, these begin in Part II (p.255).]


[Full of ethnographic information on the Chol and Chol Lacandón; for further comment see under Tovilla.]

Scholes, France V. and Ralph L. Roys

[A much neglected study, with transcriptions and English translations of manuscripts from the Archivo General de Indias, Seville; full of data, there is a brief summary of current hypotheses about the movement of the Yucatec Lacandón into the area vacated by the Chol Lacandón (p.44-47). This is a much neglected work, and is not even included in Robles et al.'s bibliography.]

Schumann, Otto

[Listed in the bibliography of Bruce (1968 b:151).]

Schute, Henry A.

Seler, Caecilie

Seler, Eduard

[This and other Seler listings are taken from Robles et al. (1967-31).]


[English translation of Seler 1895. Lacandon incensarios are illustrated on pp.82-85.]


Scott, Ruby and Viola Warkentin

[47 pp; Tumbalá Chol Mayan.]

Shattuck, George C. and Collaborators

[Lacandones and Chois are mentioned on p. 48, 55. Chapter en "The Lacandones of Chiapas " (pp. 189-200) has some data not presented elsewhere and a photograph attributed to a Jeremiah Curtin, Jan. 1897. (Plate 51).]

Schields, Karina

Shute, Henry A.

[Repinted from the Mexican American Review.]

Siliceo Pauer, Paul

Sivers, Jegör Von

Sociedad Bíblica Americana
1947. Jini w'en, T'an Jini Ch'ujul be Ts'abe Ts'abe Ts'aj bu. ti Cha'an Jini Ch'ujul be Narkos. México: Sociedad Bíblica Americana.

[The bible after st. Mark, text in Chol and Spanish.]

Sodi M., Demetrio

[Has Spanish translations of Lacandón chants of Tozzer 1907, Tozzer 1921, and P. Baer + M. Baer 1948. Sodi pp. 65-77.]

Sohns, Ernest R.

Sotomayer, Arturo

Soustelle, Georgette


[Differences between religious practices of the two main Lacandón groups are pointed out.]

[A more complete report than G. Soustelle 1939; as most writers on Lacandón religion, she follows Tozzer's belief that the Lacandones have been completely free of missionary influence - an incorrect assumption. As in all the soustelles' work, the various Lacandón sub-groups are carefully distinguished from one another. There are comments on deities, death, totems (p. 157), ritual, but no tales or creation myths. In the last paragraph G. Soustelle proposes that the present day Lacandones are not the descendants of the famous Classic Maya, but through the centuries have always been rural farmers, and never were associated with the sacerdotal class. Although just a hypothesis, and with virtually nothing to support it in her work, there are two possible supporting facts. First, is that the Lacandones think of themselves as a lower class; and second, a Quiché "Baile de la Conquista" has a character named "Lacandón" which is translated as "servant". However, this term may have no relation at all to the Chol Lacandón of the conquest era, and we do not yet know how much Chol culture has been assimilated by the Yucatec Lacandon.]


[A Spanish translation of G. soustelle 1959.]


[II0 pp.; a valuable catalog of material objects of the Lacandón.]

Soustelle, Jacques


[A general ethnography, touching briefly on the standard topics; on p. 169 Soustelle suggests that polygamy is "une des prérogatives les plus importantes du chef" which remains to be proved, especially since most Lacandón males seem to try to get as many wives as they can.]


[The most complete study of this subject to date, but full of misinterpretations of Tozzer, and some totally erroneous hypotheses which result from Soustelle's attempt to straightjacket the data into a dualistic framework. The ethnographic recording is excellent, but there are many sources which Soustelle did not utilize which alter the basic data on which he based his hypotheses. With data I am working on from the Guatemalan archives, it will be possible to reconstruct virtually the complete structure of phratries, clans, and something of the significance of the animal names associated with these groups.]


[A brief note on the exploitation of the Lacandones by local ladinos.]


[The most complete treatment of Lacandón material culture, should be compared with this section of Tozzer 1907 and Baer + Baer 1950, and Mulleried 1939. Architecture is virtually ignored, but there is a section on the utilization of natural resources, particularly flora (p. 11-17).]


[Incomplete reference in Roble. et al. (1967:33).]


[Chapitre II, "Les hommes de la Forêt" is on Soustelle`s work with the Lacandones; has several line drawings of material objects and photographs of Lacandones.]

197?. "L‘homme y le surnaturelle." In Amerique, Nord et Centre.


[Cap. XX covers "Los lacandones-Lugares ques ocuparon en El Petén" and has 4 pp. on the treaty Julian Segura made with the Lacandón Bool Menche in the 1830‘s. Later chapters are en the Itzá.]


[This and the following entry are from Scholes + Roys (1948:517). There are several other manuscripts in Spain, listed by Scholes and Roys, which will eventually be included in this bibliography. There is some microfilm in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University with severa thousand pages of 17th century documents on the Itzá and Lacandón, but they are not completely cataloged, and are not included in this edition of the bibliography. The Bravo mss. has information on the Petén and is discussed in Appendix D of Scholes + Roys.]

1576. Royal Cedula Instructing the Audiencia of Guatemala to Favor the Missionary Labors of Fray Pedro Lorenzo. (Aranjuez, May 15, 1576.) México, leg.2999, libro D-1.


Squier, E.G. 1855 · Notes on Central America, Particularly on the States of Honduras and

[Itzá, Manches, and Lacandones are mentioned on p. 49, as is the Guatemalan treaty with Bool Menche in the 1830's.]


1861. Monograph of Authors Who Have Written on the Languages of Central America.

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:112).]


Starr, Frederick

[Has data on the Chol. Starr did not have the opportunity to visit the Lacandones.]


[Data on the Chol (73-74) and on the Lacandón (p. 74). States that only a part of the population of Palenque is Chol; speaks of Chol in Verapaz, but no specific location or references are given; Starr never visited the Lacandones himself.]

1908. In Indian Mexico: A Narrative of Travel and Labor. Chicago; Forbes + Co.

Stephens, John L.

[Speaks of the "Caribs" (a term of reference frequently applied to the Yucatec Lacandón) around Palenque and mentions Calderon and the Lacandón settlement of the 1790's (San José de Gracia Real) (Vol. II, pp. 286-287). Stephens tells the story of a William Beanham, who went off to live with the Caribs (Vol. II, pp. 293-294). The Itzá are discussed on pp. 191-207.]

Stoll, Otto
1878. Guatemala: Reisen und Schilderungen aus den Jahren 1878-1883. (512 pp.)


[A Spanish translation of Stoll 1884. A classic work which includes chapters on the Chol, Mopan, and "Maya" (Lacandón and Itzá). Lacandón is mentioned on p.106. There are excellent bibliographies on each linguistic group.]

Stone, Doris Zemurray

[Has English transcriptions and extensive comments on several entradas into the Itzá and Lacandón areas.]

Stromvik, Gustav

Swadesh, M.


Swayne, E.

Tax, Sol
Tejeda F., Antonio

Termer, Frans

[ Mentioned in Termer (1957:23). Partly published, see following entry. On the Quejache of Lake Yeso ?? ]

1921. Die Entwicklung der länderr- und völkerkundlichen Kenntnisse Über...
Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Sudamerikanischen und Iberischen Instituts zu Köln, 9 Jahrh.


[Sapper traveled throughout Guatemala and Chiapas and left us with much valuable ethnographic data on the Lacandones. On pp.61ff is a description of Sapper's trip into the Petén; another trip is described on p.70-72. Lacandones are mentioned on pp. 72-73.]


[Contains most but not all of Sapper's many works on Verapaz and the Chol and Lacandón.]


[Lacandones are mentioned on p.10; Quejaches on p.23.]

Thomas, Cyrus
Thompson, G. A.
1812. The geographical and historical dictionary of America and the West Indies. (Containing an entire translation of the Spanish work of ... Alcedo... with large additions...). 5 vols. London.

Thompson, J. Eric S.

[A good general ethnography, 2 pp. appendix on Linguistics, and 12 pp. appendix on local cultivated plants. Thompson believes that the Maya of San Luis are descendants of the Mopan Maya (p. 36). Data from the Guatemalan archives will somewhat alter Thompson's hypotheses about Itzá and Mopan movement. Kinship terms are on p. 80; surnames on pp. 85-86.]


[Thompson proposes that "The area of the so-called "Old Empire' was occupied by Chol-speaking peoples.".]


[This work set forth the distinction between the Chol Lacandón of the 16th and 17th centuries and the Yucatec-speaking Lacandón of the 20th century. Thompson states he arrived at these views independently of Sapper 1907. Thompson 1938 and Thompson 1966a are the two best studies of the Hispanic Period Maya of the southern lowlands, but data in Spanish and Guatemalan archives will modify Thompson's hypotheses.]


[Mentions Lacandon deity.]


[38 pp; original in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University.]


[Thompson mentions the Orozco y Jimenez volume which has the Calderon - Quentas Zayas letters on the Lacandon of the 1793 settlement of]
San José de Gracia Real and suggests that they should be studied together with the Calderón-Quentas Zayas letters in the Bancroft Library.


[The clay pipes of the Lacandones are mentioned on the final page.]


[Based on the 1586 entrada of Juan de Morales Villa Vicencio. See Guatemala, AGCA 1937a for the full relation of this entrada.]

1953. Materials of Lacandon Culture of the Pethá (Pelhá) Region by Philip and Mary Baer. Transcribed from the microfilm by J.E.S. Thompson and rearranged in index form. Typewritten mss.

[8 pp. on Lacandon deities from Baer + Baer 1950. Original in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University.]


[The most complete and up to-date survey of present knowledge on 16th-18th century Maya. Thompson explodes the myth of the abandonment of the Petén and surrounding areas by pointing out that this area was covered with settlements in the 16th century, and that it was disease and Spanish conquest during these centuries, not a 10th century abandonment, that has left the Petén unpopulated today.]


Tobar Cruz, Pedro


[Describes Brasseur's work on Lacandón history in the 19th century.]

Torquemada, Juan de

1613) *Los veinte i un libros rituales i Monarchia Indiana...* 3 vols.

1723. Several editions.

Torre, Fray Tomás de la

15??. *Historia de los principios de la Provincia de Chiapas y Guatemala, del Orden de Santo Domingo.* Mss.

[Lost mss. listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:96).]

Torsvan

[See Traven, Bruno]

Toscano, Salvador


Tovilla, Capitán Don Martín Alfonzo

[Full of historic and ethnographic information on the Chol, Itzá, and Lacandón; this work should be ranked along with the early histories of Remsal and Cogolludo. On pp. 208-211 is a description of the Lacandón towns of Culua and Cagbalan, probably populated by the same Maya as the 1696 towns of Peta and Map.]

Tozzer, Alfred M.

(It is not generally recognized that Tozzer did some of the earliest professional field work of modern ethnography. Long before Malinowski, Tozzer learned the value of living and working directly with the people he studied. He worked in Yucatan and Chiapas in 1902.)


[Despite its age, this remains the classic and basic ethnography of the Lacandón. Soustelle and Bruce have each produced studies of the Lacandones, but their works are scattered in small publications and journals. The Baers' 1950 work is a fourth general ethnography, but it is available only on microfilm. However, many modern writers on the Lacandones have made the mistake of relying solely on Tozzer. Tozzer is a good source, but he is by no means the only source.]


[Tozzer thought that there had been little European influence on the Lacandones and that the Lacandón rites of the 1900's were direct survivals of ancient forms of ritual. In fact, the Yucatec Lacandones have been in contact with Spanish and Catholic influence since maybe as early as 1645, and were in close contact with missionaries in the late 1700's and throughout the 19th century. Also, Tozzer does not consider the possibility that the Lacandones have borrowed traits from neighboring Maya groups.]


[An important ethnographic account of the (Chol) Lacandón of 1695 at Nuestra señora de los Dolores de Lacandón. The letter, signed by Frailes Antonior Margil de Jesús, Lazaro de Mazariégos, and Blas Guillen, has a full description of a Chol Lacandón ritual and information on local deities. Portions of this same letter were published by Marimon y Txodo in 1882.]


[Has a Lacandón chant on p. 118-119.)


[In footnotes Tozzer often compares aspects of 16th century life in Yucatán to life among the 20th century Lacandones. We ought first to know more about the connections, if any, between the two groups before we make further comparisons.]


[Contains a study of Itzá history.]

Traven, Bruno

19??. La rebelión de los colgados. México.


[Translation of "La rebelión de los colgados"].

19?? Der Aufruhr der Ghehenkten.

[ Mentioned by Cordan (p63:21).]

Trens, Manuel B.


[Although it was published almost 4 decades ago, this is the most complete history of the Lacandones yet published. Although Trens was evidently not aware of Sapper's 1907 article and does not distinguish between Chol and Yucatec lacandón, he sticks to historical
fact and does not speculate about the relation of the Lacandón to the Classic Maya. On p. 27 is a good account of the founding and abandonment of the 1793 Lacandón settlement of San José de Gracia Real. Unfortunately, there are no footnotes, but there is a short bibliography.]


Trinidad Ferreira, Angel

[Copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé. About the de Garay expedition.]

Ulrich, Matthew and Rosemary Ulrich

[These and the following works are on Mopan Mayan.]


1964c. Tanac a witzquintic a lu' umu (Defiende tu suelo). Guatemala Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.


Umrey, J.

[Copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé.]
Valdés Oliva, Arturo

[Contains Guibaud Carrera's "Mapa de las lenguas indígenas actuales de Guatemala"; claims that Lacandón-Chol was still spoken in San Francisco in El Petén (p. 19). If this were true all present hypotheses on the Chol-Yucatec Lacandón would have to be revised to take this into account. However, this statement must first be checked as to its reference.]

Valenzuela, Nicolás de
1695. An Account of the Expedition Against the Lacandones. 402 pp. Lost mss.

[Mentioned in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:88).]

Valenzuela, Salvador

[Mentions the 19th century Lacandones on p. 406: Ballinas and Edwin Rockstroh also (p. 406). Speaks of a Pedro D'Oliere, who was supposed to have visited a group of "indios Bravos" (p. 407).]

Valle, Fray Blas del

Valle, José Cecilio del


Vázquez, Francisco

Vázquez de Herrera, Fray Francisco de Asís
1937- "Crónica de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesú de Guatemala de la Orden de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco en el Reino de
Vázquez Vázquez, Elena

[Has a good bibliography on church organization.]

Vega, Nuñez de la
1702. Constituciones dioecesanas del Obispado de Chiapas. Rome

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:97).]

Vela, David
Geneonoma Maya-Quiche (Extraxto sobre los lacandones). Typewritten mss. in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé.

Veytia y Echeverria, Mariano Fernández de
Historia del origen de las gentes que poblaron...

[Republished in 1836 by C. F. Ortega under the title "Historia Antigua de México"][1]

Viana, Fray Francisco de, Fray Lucas Gallego, and Fray Guillermo Cadena
(1574a) "Relación de la Provincia de la Verapaz, hecha por los religiosos de Santa Domingo de Cobán, 7 de diciembre de 1574." Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, Tomo XXVIII, No. pp.18-31.

[The manuscript is from the Gates Collection (Amer. Art Assoc. 1924b: Cat. No. 601). Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:104).]

Vico, Fray Domingo
Todas las historias, fábulas, consejos, patrañas y errores en que vivian. Lost mss. mentioned in Remesal Bk. 10, Ch. VIII.

[This is probably the same lost manuscript mentioned in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:96) under the title "Historia de los Indios, sus fábulas, supersticiones, costumbres..."]
1555. Teología para los Indios, en lengua de Verapaz. 4 vols. Lost mss.

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier.]

1775. Fray Hermenegildo Vilaplana, Vida portentosa del Americano Septentrional Apostol el V. P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús.

[Listed in the bibliography of Trens (1930b:33).]


[An excellent study; Villa Rojas hypothesizes that the Quejache were the antecedents of the Yucatec Lacandones.]


[First of a three part comprehensive summary of studies of all aspects of Lacandon life.]


[Reprint of Villa Roja's three articles on the Lacandones all bound together.]


[Implies an unproven continuity between the present day Lacandón and the 16th-17th century Chol Lacandón and the ancient Classic Maya. Over emphasizes agriculture and underemphasizes hunting and fishing. Villa's bibliography includes the distorted tourist account of Rittlinger, but omits some of the works of better informed authors. An unfortunate coverage of the Lacandón and surprising in light of Villa's other excellent scholarly accounts.]


Villacis, Fray Simon

16??. Relación del viaje de D. Diego Vera Ordoñez, para la reducción de los indios del Reino del Prospero en la N.E.

[Listed mss. listed in the bibliography of Beristain, said by him to be in the library of D. Andrés Barcia.]

Villacorta C., J. Antonio


[The map on p. 53 would be useful for locating towns mentioned in early manuscripts.]

Villagra Caleti, Agustin


Villagutierre Soto Mayor, Juan
1701a. Historia de la conquista de la Provincia de el Itzá, reducción y
progresos de la de el Lacandón, y otros naciones de indios barbaros,
de la medición de el reyno de Guatemala, a las provincias de Yucatán
en la America Septentrional. Madrid.

1701b) "Historia de la conquista de la Provincia de el Itzá..." Biblioteca
1933. "Goathamá", Vol. IX. Guatemala: Sociedad de Geografía e Historia
de Guatemala.

[Along with Ximenez, the major work on the 16th-18th century (Chol)
Lacandón, Itzá, Mopan, etc. However, there are numerous errors in
Villagutierre's work pointed out by Ximenez. Also, Scholes found in
the Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, the original documents on
which Villagutierre probably based his history, and I have located
similar documents in Guatemala. When the original documents and the
published history are compared, Villagutierre's errors, misspellings,
and misinterpretations become apparent.]

Villanueva, José
1943. "El desierto de Lacandones y sus habitantes." Bol. Soc. Cientifica,
San Cristóbal de las Casas.

Vivó Escoto, Jorge A.
1941. "Razas y lenguas indígenas de México, su distribución geográfica." Instituto
Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Pub. No. 52.

1942. "Geografía lingüística y política prehispánica de Chiapas y secuencia
histórica de sus pobladores." Revista Geográfica, Tomo II, Nos. 4-6,

1946. México prehispánico: culturas - deidades - monumentos México:
Editorial Emma Hurtado.

Voegelin, F. M.
Map of North American Indian Languages.

Vogt, Evon Z
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Filosofía y
Letras, Seminario de Cultura Maya.

[Discusses the origins and movements of various Maya groups, in-
cluding the Lacandón and the Chol.]

Wadell, Hakon

[Listed in the bibliography of Mullerried (§942:337).]

Wagner, Helmuth O.

[Copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé. Has drawings of Lacandón arrows.]

Wagner, Henry Raup and Helen R. Parish

Haldeck, Freericke

[Haldeck tells some wonderful tales of Lacandón cannibalism and mentions Maya living around Palenque.]

Wares, Alan C.

[124 pp., lists the S.I.L. publications on Chol, Lacandón, Mopan and other languages of the world.]

Warkentin, Viola and Ruby Scott

[104 pp. Tumbalá Cho Mayan.]

[113 pp.; 2nd primer, edition of 1953 revised and amplified.]


Warkentin, Viola and Arabelle Whittaker
in TumbalÁ Chol clause structure.
press.

Wauchope, Robert

[Lacandón and Petén houses are mentioned on p. 146.]


[Most of the 19th century travelers and romantics who visited the Maya sites also saw and commented on the Maya who often lived around the ruins.]

Weyer, Edward Moffat, Jr.


[Contains a chapter entitled "A Central American tribe: the Lacandones" (pp. 67-74). Weyer visited the Lacandones in 1956. He describes Naja, and mentions the periodic change in settlement location. Weyer completely misses the distinction between the 16th-17th century Chol Lacandón and the present day Yucatec Lacandones. There are good ethnographic details, but an overlay of the continuity between the ancient Classic Maya and the modern Lacandones. Weyer ought to have consulted more than Tozzer's outdated study of 1907.]
Whittaker, Arabelle (see also ARABELLE ANDERSON)
[Tila Chol Mayan].


Whittaker, Arabelle and Viola Harkentin

Wilson, Charles M.


Wisdom, Charles


Wissler, Clark

[Lacandones are mentioned on pages 68, 91, and 245-246 with the statement that the Lacandones "May be taken as the general historic type for the whole of Central America"]
Ximenez, Francisco

[The longest and most complete account of missionary activity among the Itzá and the various Chol groups. Ximenez bases much of his history on Roman and Villagutierre, but always cites his sources and frequently comments about the incorrect or incomplete statements of his sources. Unfortunately, none of the Biblioteca "Goathemala" publications have an index.]

Yergo, Geronimo
Una vista a las ruinas de Yaxchilan, alto Usumacinta en diciembre de 1891.

[Mentioned in Caceres (1958, 1:249).]

Zapata y Sandoval, Fray Juan
16??. Cartas al Conde de Gomera...sobre los Indios de Chiapas.

[Missing book mentioned in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:97).]
APPENDIX I

The following entries from Robles et al. 1967 are not included in this present bibliography. Those which contain no mention of the Lacandón, Chol, etc. are marked with an '*'. Those of the others which do mention the lowland Maya will be included in future editions of this bibliography.

ALVARADO*                    RECINOS 1952
ANONIMO 1929                   SAHAGUN
BARRERA*                      SAPPER 1927, 1936
BERLIN*                       TERMER
BLOM 1940*, 1944*             TERNAUX
BOWDITCH                      UHLE
CODEX DRESDEN
CODEX MADRID
CODEX PERESIANUS
FERNANDEZ DEL CASTILLO
GODOY
GUITERAS HOLMES 1947*
LANDA
LEJON
LIZARDI
MALER 1911
PERIGNY 1308*
PROSKOURIAKOFF
RAYNAUD

Other entries in Robles et al. which do not seem to be in this bibliography are just listed under a different author.
APPENDIX II

The following entries in this bibliography were taken from Robles et al.

ANGUIANO 1959
ANONIMO MS
BERRIER
BLOM 1935, 1949
CEOOGH
CIAM 1956
CHARNAY 1882
COLMONT 1938
CULEBRO
FERIA
FRANCO
HEALEY 1946
ILLUS. LONDON NEWS
MARGAIN 1950
MEANS 1917
MENDIETA
MENDIZABAL 1943
MULLER
NUNEZ
OLVERA

PAVON 1949
PENAGOS
PERIGNY 1910
POMPA Y POMPA
RIVET
RODRIQUEZ
RUPPERT 1955
SELER, E. 1887, 1898, 1914, 1915.
SELER, C.
SHUTE
SIVERS
SOCIEDAD
SWEISH 1955a
TERMER 1950
TRENS 1930a

*
APPENDIX III

On the following pages is an index, arranged by time period and major culture, of most of the entries in this bibliography. This is an aid for someone who wishes to consult all works on the Itzá, etc.. In this present edition this listing is incomplete. I have not yet read or even located many of the works listed in this bibliography, and until I do so, I will not be able to index their contents. In future editions of this index, I hope to place after each author-title the particular subject matter covered in the particular work, e.g AMRAM 1937 (religion).

Works which might belong in a given listing, but which I have not yet read, are indicated with a question mark. Very important works are marked with ***, works of lesser importance, with **, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16th-18th Century Cho Lacandón</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AXHOYS***</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA*</td>
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<tr>
<td>AMRAM 1937:31**</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANONYMOUS 1695 (?)</td>
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<td>ANONYMOUS 1?? (?)</td>
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<td>CHAMBERLAN</td>
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<td>CHIAPAS 1953**</td>
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<td>CIUDAD REAL*</td>
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<td>COBAN (?)</td>
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<td>COGOLJUDO***</td>
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<td>CORTES***</td>
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<td>DIAZ DEL CASTILLO***</td>
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<td>GUATEMALA A.C.A.***</td>
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<td>GUATEMALA IDAHE*</td>
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<td>JOHNSON*</td>
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<td>LEON PINELO***</td>
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<td>MARIMON Y TUDO**</td>
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19th Century Yucatec Lacandón

ABELLA (?)
AGUILAR (?)
AGUIRRE (?)
ALCALDES DE COBAN (?)
AMRAM 1937:28—36***
BALLINAS***
BANCROFT
BARLOW***
BERENDT***
BERGANZO***
BERNASCON I
BLASQUEZ (?)
BODDAM-WHETHAM
BOYLE**
BRASSEUR***
BRINE**
BRINTON
CARRASCOSA (?)
CALDERON, J (?)
CALDERON, M.***
CRARNAY***
CHIAPAS***
CHICA***
DIESELFORFF***
DUPAIX
ESCOBAR*
ESOTO (?)
FAJARDO (?)
GALINDO***
GALLATIN (?)
GARCIA P.
GARCIA S.*
GARCIA Y CUBAS**
GENET
GONZALEZ

Graham*
GRIFFITH
GUATEMALA AGCA***
GUATEMALA Com. de Lim (?)
GUATEMALA Dir. Gen. de Car.*
HAMY***
HELLER**
HELLMUTH**
IZIKOWITZ*
LEON*
MALER***
MARTINEZ**
MARURE*
MAUDSLAY***
MEJIA*
MORELET**
OROZCO Y JIMENEZ***
PIMENTEL*
RIVERA**
ROCKSTROH***
ROHERO (?)
SALA*
SAPPER***
SCHERZER*
SELER***
SOZA*
SQUIRE*
STEPSHENS**
STOLL***
TERMER*
VALENZUELA, S.*
WALDECK***
YERGO*

20th Century Yucatec Lacandón

ALBORES
AMRAM***
ANDRADE**
ANGUIANO
ARAI
AVELEYRA
AVENTURAS
BAER***
BALFOUR
BASUARI
BASILIO

BAUER
BBC-TV
BECERRA 1909, 1932*
BERRIER (?)
BLANK
BLOM***
BRUCE***
CASO MIER**
CEOOGH
CENTRO DE…***
CLINE***
16th-18th Century Chol

AXHOYS***
BANCROFT
BUNTING***
CASTILLO**
CALDERON, M.**
CALNEK
CANO***
CARDENAS
CHAMBERLAIN
COBAN*
COGOLLUDO***
CORTES*
CORTES Y LARRAZ
DELGADO**
DIAZ DEL CASTILLO**
ESCOBAR*
ESCOTO (?)
GAGE
GALLATIN*
GARCIA
GUATEMALA AGCA***
GUATEMALA COM. DE LIH. (?)
JOHNSON
LA FARGE***
LAS CASAS*
LEON PINELO***

19th-20th Century Chol

ABELLA (?)
AGUILAR (?)
AGUIRRE (?)
ALBORES
ANDERSON*
ANDRADE**
AULIE***
BECERRA***
BEEKMAN
BERENDT**
BERGANZO***
BESUCHS
BLAZQUEZ***
BODDAM-WHETHAM
BRASSEUR***
BRINE
BRINTON
CERDA.
DIESELDORF***
FAJARDO (?)
FERNANDEZ**
GALINDO***
GARCIA Y CUBAS

LONGACRE
IOPEZ DE COGOLLUDO
MILES
MUNTERO
MORAN***
NOYES
OROZCO Y JIMENEZ
PAYNE
PROVINCIAL (?)
ROYS
SALAZAR*
SCHOLES**
STONE***
THOMPSON***
TOVILLA***
VALLE (?)
VIANA***
VILIAGUTIERRE***
XIMENEX***

GENET
GOUBAUD
GOULD**
GUATEMALA AGCA***
HERNANDEZ
HITCHNER*
KAUFMAN
LA FARGE***
LEON
McQUOWN
MENDIZABAL
MILLS
NOYES*
ORDOÑEZ
POLOCHIQ*
RIVIERA*
SAPPER***
SCOTT
SOCIEDAD
STARR**
STEPHENS**
STOLL***
THOMAS
Mopan

ANDRADE 1946a*
BRASSEUR***
CASTILLO (?)
CANO***
GARCIA Y CUBAS
GENET
GUATEMALA AGCA***
JOHNSON
LONGACRE

Quejaché

ANDREWS
COGOLILUDO
CORTES***
DIAZ DEL CASTILLO***
MEANS
OVIEDO

Relaciones de Yucatan*

16th-18th Century Itzá

AXHOYS (?)
ANCION
ANONYMOUS 1???
AVENDANO***
BERENDT
BORGHEGY
BULLARD
CANO***
CORTES***
COMGILL***
DELGADO***
DIAZ DEL CASTILLO***
ELORZA Y RADA
FANCOURT
GRAHAM
GUATEMALA AGCA***
GUTHE*

JOHNSON
LÉON PINELO*
LIZARRAGA* *
LONGACRE
MEANS
MILES
OVIEDO*
PAYNE
REMESAL**
ROLDAN***
ROYS
SCHOLES***
STONE***
THOMPSON***
TOVILLA***
VILLAGUTIERRE***
XIMENEZ***

19th-20th Century Itzá

ADAMS, R. 1965*
ARMAS***
BERENDT
BERENDT LINGUISTIC COL.*
BERLIN*
COCHELET
FAJARADO*

GALINDO***
GENET
GONZALEZ
GOUBAUD
MCQUOWN
MEJIA*
<table>
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<th>MENDIZABAL</th>
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<td>PENDERGAST*</td>
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<td>STOLL**</td>
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