PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE CHOL, LACANDON, YUCATEC LACANDON, CHOL, ITZA, MOPAN, AND QUEJACHE OF THE SOUTHERN MAYA LOWLANDS

1524 – 1969

by

Nicolas M. Hellmuth

Museum of Anthropology
University of Northern Colorado
Greeley, Colorado

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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on the Lacandones in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome in Chiapas which I have not yet catalogued; there are hundreds of unpublished manuscripts in Guatemalan, Mexican, Spanish, and other archives which I have not yet included; and, there are undoubtedly numerous books and articles which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 men- tioned 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 uninform- ed 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.

Department of Anthropology
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island
02912

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The wealth of data contained in the standard archaeological 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, I 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; 1964a; 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 IIlaya" (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 seem 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"." (1961:1) 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..." (1969:3).

..."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), M.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 amazingly 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 the direct descendents 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 1964d: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 Petenixil (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 (Cone 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 strewn 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 1933:60, 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-Tayasa. 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, Acalá, 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 caserias, y ranchos de la montaña, y más de otras seis-cientas, que les había quitado el cura del Castillo, en los parajes de Niva, Zatún, Tuzulhá, Petencha, Ulpop, y Pululat, por decir que eran sus anexos, y le pertenecían, cerrándoles el paso por aquella cordillera, que va corriendo por las már-genes del río Maytol, ó Factún á los religiosos, para que no pudiesen pasar á los parajes Yaxtihal, Temax, Yukcal, Palicac, Tizimbini, Ucuchán, Uacán, Guavi, Tuté, Dloutoc, Culamay, Tzuchac, Tzutún, Beycuchá, Campín, Tité, Chihal, Pulzá, Ya-xapetén, Tzibalná, Tipotá, Noquixchán, Tzaxchisán, Tinoco-cáyo y Tzibac, que en todos aquellos, y los demás, ya reduci-dos, por aquella parte de las montanas, 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 loca- lities 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 hypothesis on the fact that there were hundreds of thousands of Maya in the Southern Lowlands 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 observations, but great portions of the Relación came from two informants, a Cocom Maya and a Mani Maya named Chi (Tozzer 1941:VII). Nachi Cocom was the last native ruler of Dotuta, 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 cultural group, the "Yucatec Maya". Today, there may or may not be a single homogeneous 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 "Yucatec Maya" is misleading for the 16th century situation when unqualified. When comparative 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 Villagutierre, Ximenez, and others on the Chol and other 16th century inhabitants 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 ethnographic 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 possible. Accompanying each map will be the historical references, published or unpublished, on each site. These maps will allow us to see the changing settlement patterns 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 1966b) This study is on the Lacandon Maya of roughly 1609 to 1705, with most of the data on the years 1695 and 1696.

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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 Villagutierrez'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" (1968:113)

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 Maya 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, Yaxchilan-Bonampak, Palenque-comalcalco, 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.

*****
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 (1958:67-74) 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 compara-
tive 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 impinging 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 Lacandón 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 Merrifield 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 (L. Soutelle 1935b:341-344; G. Soutelle 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 Lacandon, 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. Indians Bravos, free Indians, Acandones, Man-Ches, Jicaques, Tzendales, 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 Nre. 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 Pino 1960:259; Ximenez 1929-31,11:150) or moved as far away as the Verapaz highland (Villagutierrez 1933:65). Today, Chol speakers inhabit an area on the highland fringes of the lowlands, in villages, such as Palenque, Tumbala, and Tila (LaFarge 1938:1-5; Stoll 1958:127; Aulie & Aulie 1953:151; 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-
chutia in 156, of Lake Lacandon in 1586, and finally of the last major Chol popula-
tion of San Ramon and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Lacandon in the early 1700's
(Guatemala A&G A. 1939h, 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 togeth-
er with the more numerous Yucatec speakers of the same region.

Sapper and Thompson have posed the question: given that most of the Chol were re-
moved 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 hypothes-
es 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 cen-
tury 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 carne to the same conclusion in 1938 that the distinction was generally recognized.

"...the present so-called Lacandones south and west of the Usu-
macinta have drifted thither from north and east of the river
during the past two or three centuries since that area was de-
populated through the transference by the priests of its origi-
nal 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 hy-
potheses 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 Yuca-
tec 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 cer-
tainly east of it, too, were the Lacandon... The few Lacandon
still living between Lake Miramar and the Usumacinta have inherit-
ed the culture of the former peoples, but now speak Yucatec... The
.Nohaa...people...spoke Yucatec... Their speech may have deri-
ved from an influx of apostates from Cehach territory probably a-
malgamating with Chol remnants who had escaped the evacuation to
Palenque nearly a century before, adopting Lacanlon culture...but
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 ethnohistoric 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 Havieland. 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 creags 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 creags.
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[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"]

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[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. Simén Villacís (p.88).]

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

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ban, como las que el mismo habia visto...". Photographic copy in Brassier de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas..., Vol. I, PP 33-44, Gates Collection.

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[Men
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Yucatecan or old Maya dictionaries and grammars" (p. 1).
]

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Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural 
Anthropology, No. 34, Chicago: University of Chicago Library.

[364 pp.; "Field notes from a study in the Lake Naha area, on the 
material culture, the social structure, kinship terms, the division 
of labor, economics, and life cycle, psychology and beliefs, the 
religious culture and phonemes."; typewritten the most complete 
and up-to-date ethnography on the Lacandones.]

1951 Bon y n tí: (Libro de números)

México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.


[English, no Maya text.]

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

Baer, Phillip and W.R. Merrifield


Balfour, Lyn

(21 pp.; diary, little information.)

Ballinas, Juan

[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 (911,III:182-187).]

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

[Mentions Royle's ride to see Boyle (1667; 1668), 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 Lacandon settlement are contained in Orozco Y Jimenez (1911, II: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 Nahe des Usumacinta," 
Der Wanderer, Jahr. II, No. 1.

[ Listed in bibliography of Mulleried (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 Commission 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.

1935. "Vocabulario de la lengua Cho que se habla en el districto 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 Época), pp.249-278.

[Contains the 450 words from the 1789 vocabulary of Juan Jossef de Fuente Albores Fernández and Fernández 1892) and about 1000 additional words of Becerra. The Becerra portion of this vocabulary was not used by Lé Farge in his "Cho Studies:1"]


[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 Lacandón borrowed any Chiapaneca traits as a result of this contact.]


[Mentions Palenque and gives some Chol terms.]

Beekman, John


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


[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."

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
1816- Biblioteca Hispano Americana Septentrional.
1821. México.

[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.

Berasconi, Antonio and Antonio Calderon
Expéndiente 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 occupation debris, especially incensarios, like those left by the Yucatec Lacandón at the ruins in the Yaxchilan-Bonampak area)

Berrier, Jean Claude
1961a. "La maison d.P.s Dieux."

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??  "Informe del Fray Agustin Blasquez."
[Mentions settlements of Chamiquin, Chaclan, Ave Maria, Polochic, Chismes, Panajoc, 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.]


[On ancient ruins, no ethnographic information.]


[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 éxpedition are mentioned; unfortunately no full report has ever appeared about these "excavations".]

Typedmss. in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome.

[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 psapers (Vol. II-Miscellanea).]

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 Guatemala-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).]


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, 1?36-1820. 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, Añoys, Alcalde de Coban, Añoymous, 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."
[Listed 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.

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:IIff). 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 "Resumen 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, hecho 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 Quantas Zayas.
17. Mss., Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[Note: There is a missing number or year in the page number of the correspondence.]

1790-1798. Various letters.
In Cumplimiento de la Rl. orn de 25, de Octubre de 1789, sraque se den las providencias que se han de tomar para reducir a otra religion los Yndios Lacandones in la Prova.de ciudad real.
Mss. in the Archivo General de Centro America, Guatemala.

[Note: There is a missing number or year in the page number of the correspondence.]

Calnek, Edward E.

1961b. Highland Chiapas before the Spanish Conquest.
Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

[Note: There is a missing number or year in the page number of the correspondence.]

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 hizo al Petén en el año de 1695. Mss.

[Note: There is a missing number or year in the page number of the correspondence. For English translation see Cano 1696b; for published Spanish transcription see Cano 1696c.]
192. Typewritten mss.

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

1696c. "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 Avendanó 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'mo Sr. Obispo de Guatemala... que se hallaba de visita en el pueblo de Cajabon pidiendo amparo para reducir a los indios Choles.

Mss. in the Museo Nacional, Guatemala in 1880.

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

16??b. 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 (1880:97).]

Cardenas, Fray Tomas

Representaciones al Rey sobre el estado de los pueblos de la Vera-paz.

[Listed in bibliography of Bandelier (1880:104).]

Cardenas Y Valencia, Francisco de

1643. Relación histórica eclesiástica de la provincia de Yucatán de la Nueva España q. se hico en ella en virtud de Zedula R1. del año de 1635. Mss., original in the British Museum.

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

Carrascosa

Caso Mier, Vicente De  
1935. "Among the Lacandones."  
[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.]  

Castellar, 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, biográfico y monumental de Yucatán.  
Herida.  
[Listed 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. Mexico: 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 (1959:24).]


[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."


Ceoogh, Richard

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

Cerda Silva, Roberto de la

[Listed in the bibliography of Basilio §959:2 4).]


[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 Maudsley 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 "Tzendarales" 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 (1880:112) under the title "The Padres: Chica, Abella, and Escoto, and Aguilar, 'Informes... tocantes á la Vera-Paz.'" ]

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

Ciudad Real, Antonio de

[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.
París: Imprimé Chez Paul Renouard.

[Mentions a trip made through the Petén.]

Coe, Michael D.

[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.]

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-Noh. Thompson and others believe that the Yucatec-speaking Maya of Prospero were the direct antecedants of todays Yucatec Lacandones.


[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 ?]


[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.]


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

[Brief newspaper article, copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome.]


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 Que'jache 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).]
Cosio, Toribio
1777. Relación histórica de la sublevación y pacificación de la Pro-
Vincia 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.

Culebro, S.A.
1939 Chiapas prehistórico: su arqueología
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.

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

Delgado, Agustín
VII, año X.México.
[Has photographs of two Lacandon incensarios on p. 29.)

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

[This must be the mss. on which Bunting 1932) based her transcription, although Bunting gives no provenance for her mss.]


[ Listed in Amer. Art Assoc. 1926: 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


[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 presentday Yu-
catec 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 Mayavolker im alten und heutigen Mittel-
amerika. 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
1954.  Letter: El Real, Bonampak, Agua Azul, Yaxchilán, Piedras Negras,
      Tenosique, February, 1954.
      Typewritten mss. in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome.

      [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
1943.  "Misión social entre los lacandones."  Boletín Indigenista, Vol. III.
      Núm. 2, pp.108-112,
      México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

1944a.  "Los Lacandones - su pasado y su presente."  Biblioteca Enciclopédica
      Popular, Vol.30,

1944b.  "La región lacandona de Chiapas."
      México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.


      [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 dist inction 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.


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

Echeverry, 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).]


[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).]


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

Estacheria, José de
1784. Expediente sobre el descubrimiento de una gran ciudad en la pro-
vincia 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, Lacándon 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.]

Ferrer, 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
1932- Recordación florida: discurso historical y demostración natural,
1933. material militar, y política del Reyno de Guatemala. 3 vols.
2nd. Ed., Biblioteca "Guatemala," Vols.VI-VIII, Guatemala:
Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala.

G

Gage, Thomas
1928. The English American: a survey of the West Indies, 1648. Edited with
1958. Travels in the New World. Edited and with an introduction by J. E. S.
Thompson, Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press.

Galindo, Juan
1831. "Noticias del Petén." Gaceta Federal, No. 35, 29 de septiembre
de 1831, pp. 257-260, Guatemala.

[Mentioned in Graham (1963:28, footnote 73). Copy in Galindo 1831-1832 J

English translation in the Literary Gazette, No. 769, London.
Papers, plans, sketches, etc. relating to archaeology, ethnology, geography, and history of Guatemala in the 1830's.


"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 Subin 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:).]
Gann, Thomas and J. Erick 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


[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, Miercoles, 5 de Nov. de 1952, Tuxtla Gutierrez.


[Short article on the death of Frans Blom.]

García 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-Quiches."]

Genovés, Tarazaga Santiago

Gerard, G.

[B 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.  

Goubaud Carrera, Antonio and A. Arriaga  

Gould, Harley N.  

Graham, Ian  

Graham, R. B. Cunningham  

Grajales Ramos, Gloria  

Greene, Merle  

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.

[Lists 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 le parte
del Golfo Dulce y fundados en el pueblo nuevo del Señor Juan Antonio
de la Bodegas por...

1696. Quinto Ramo de Autos finos, sobre la reduccion y conquistta de los
yndios, ynfieles, Principiado, Desde la llegada, del Sr. Doctor
Don Barme, de Amesquita 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.]

in the Archivo General de Centro América.

1936. "Autos hechos en virtud de la Real Cédula de su Magestad, en que
se ordena a este Superior Gobierno, que securizado del estado en
que se hallan las reducciones de Indios de la Provincia del Petén
á 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 Lacandón Chol life, particularly subsistence 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 Guazacapán, 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 information.]

1939f. "Danza las gracias a Fr. José Xirón, de la Orden de Predicadores por haber reducido a poblado 43 indios de las montañas de asixsa." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm. , pp.


[A important reference on the forced removal of the Lacandones from San Ramón 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 estacio de las milicias encargadas de las reducciones de los sonicoes y lacandones." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm. 3 PP • 178-180.


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

Guatemala, Comisión de Limites

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


[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).]


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


[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.]


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


[R. Montagu had visited the Lacandón area.]

Guthe, C. E.
1921. "Report on the Excavations at Tayasal." Carnegie Institution of Wash-

1922. "Report on the Excavations at Tayasal." Carnegie Institution of Wash-
ington Yearbook, No. 21, pp. 318-319. Washington, D.C.

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

1897. La galerie américaine du Musée d'Ethnographie du Trucado Choix de

1899-
1902. Decades Americanae: Mémoires d'Archéologie et d'Ethnographie Américaines.

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

Hanstein, Otfried 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
1946. "Noticia sobre descubrimientos arqueológicos realizadas en el Valle

Archaeological Institute of America.

[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.]

Cambridge, Mass.:Archaeological Institute of America.

19?? . Maya Through the Ages. Movie, produced byWillard 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-anthropolo-
gist Giles Healey. After Healey had filmed their agriculture, hunt-
ing 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 Bartholomaus 

[Includes comments on the Lacandones.]

Hellmuth, Nicholas Matthew 
1968. San José de García Real, Chiapas, Reino de Guatemala, 1793-1806, 
Missionary Lacandón Settlement: Its Significance in the Study of 
the Historic Yucatec Lacandón Maya. Typewritten mss.Antropology 
203, Brown University. 

[70 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.]

1969a. Maya Hieroglyphics in a Seventeenth Century Manuscript. Paper read at 
the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Anthropological Association 
Providence, R. I., April 26, 1969. 

[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 Tovilla 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 María de la Chica and the Lacandon Maya, 1813-1820 [Annotated transcriptions of Chica 1817, 1819, and 1821.]


[Hernández 1965. Reader in Tumbala Chol Mayan, 96 pp.]

Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio de 1601– Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y 1615. tierra firme del mar oceano. Various editions.


Hurtado, Manuel

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

I

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.
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


Kaufman, Terrence
Keller, Kathryn C.  


Keller, Kathryn C.and Margaret Harris  

Kelsey, Vera and Lilly de Jongh 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.]

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I

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) with no 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 Manchó i Lacandón, que pretende hazer Don Diego de Vera Ordóñez de Villaquirán...


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

1960. Relación que en el Consejo Real de las Indias hizo sobre...
        Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria.

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
1964. "La cuestión de límites entre México y Guatemala." Limites entre Guatemala y México, No. 1, Guatemala: José de Pineda Ibarra.
[See also Guatemala, Comisión de Limites; for No. 2, see El Mensajero.]

Lizarraga, Nicolás
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 conquest. 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
1867-
Historia de Yucatan. 3rd. ed., 2 vols, Mérida, Imprenta de Manuel.
1868. Rivas.

López de Llergo, Jerónimo
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.]
MacNutt, Francis Augustus

McBride, Felix Webster

McQuomom, 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 McQuomom. Historic data, not utilized by McQuomom, 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.]


[Malero'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 wound 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, Seville, 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, Sebastiful

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


Maudslay, Alfred F.


Maudslay, Ann Cary and Alfred Percival Naudslay
Means, Philip Ainsworth

[After 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.]


Mejía, José Víctor
Geografía de la República de Guatemala. Guatemala.


Mena, Ramón

Méndez Pidel, Ramón

Mendieta, Fray Gerónimo de

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

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

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.]


Mendizabal, Miguel Othon de and W. Jiménez Moreno


Mendoza, Vicente T.

(El) Mensajero de Centro-América

[Originally published in 1895.]

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


[Fig. 1-Approximate 16th-Century Linguistic Areas, includes Chontal, Lacandôn, and Chol, but neither Itzâ nor Mopan. "Lacandôn" 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 Lezcano, 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)]

Montañes, Pablo

Montero de Miranda, Francisco
1575. Relacion dirigida al Iln 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. 1924 b:Cat. No. 632) and (Gates 1937:30). Listed in
the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:104).]

Montoya, Fray Lope de
Suma de los capitulos 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 cholte 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 cholte 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 193?a:1-3].]


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

[Edited by William Gates.]

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.
Geologia 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 (Sa10, 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.
[Incomplete reference in the bibliography of Cerdo Silva (1957:490).

Náñez, Guillermo
The German Contribution to the Development of the Verapaz of Guatemala 1865-1900.
Thesis, Tulane University.

Naxera, D.
1753. Vida portentoso del V. P. Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús. México
[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:98).]

Noval, Joaquin
[Mentions Lacandones on pp. 69ff; based on G. Soustelle.]

Noyes, Ernest
1937. [Listed under La Farge, Oliver and Ernest Noyes.]

19??.

["Posthumously ordered rough field notes on the Black Carib, and supplementary descriptive and comparative notes—based on Noyes' own field experience with Chorti, on materials extracted from Fray Francisco Moran's Arte y diccionario en lengua chorti (1685-95), and from Charles Wisdom's modern Chorti materials."]

Nuñez de la Vega, Fray Francisco

Nutini, Hugo G.

[A typical,cal misuse of Lacandón data in a comparative essay. More Lacandón sources should have been consulted.]
Oakley, Helen

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

Olivera, Mercedes and Blanca Sánchez

Oliveres y Aguilar, Ramón de

Olvera, J.

Orden de Predicadores

Ordoñez y Aguilar, Ramón de
1785. 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 bibliography of Bandelier (1880:98). 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).]
?? Historia de la creación del cielo y de la tierra, conforme el sistema de la gentilidad americana. Mss. in the Museo Nacional de México.


Orozco y Berra, Manuel 1864. Geografía de las lenguas y carta etnográfica de México. México

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (880:93).]


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


[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.]


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F

Paniagua, Falvio Antonio  
1876. Catecismo elemental de historia y estadística de Chiapas. San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas: Imp. de Porvenir.

1908- 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  

[Schles 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 1962-196? J]

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.]
Pimentel, Francisco  
1862-  Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de las lenguas indígenas de México.  

Piña Chan, Román  


Piñeda, Emilio  
1845.  Descripción geográfica del Departamento de Chiapas y Soconusco. México:  
Imprenta Ignacio Cumplido.

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

Polochig  
1820.  "Lista de las familias de Yndios, dispersos en las montañas de  
Polochig." Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos  

Pompa y Pompa, Antonio  
1958.  "En la región maravillosa de la selva: mito y tragedia actual de  
Lacandonia."  El Nacional, enero 24, México.

Ponce, Alonso  
Estado, Depto. de Bibliotecas.

[Listed in the bibliography of Castillo (1961:218).]  
[See also under Ciudad Real, Antonio de]

Poniatowska, Elena  
1967.  "Como de vive y se muere en la Selva Lacandona."  Novedades, Viernes  
22 de Septiembre. México.

[Newspaper article, has ethnographic information.]

Popoeoe, Wilson  
No. 2, pp. 125-139.
Prescott, William H.

Provincial de Santo Domingo

[Listed in Gates 937:30.]

Quintas Zayas, Agustín de las
[See under Calderon]

Rabasa, Ramón
1895. El estado de Chiapas, geografía, estadística, etc.

[Incomplete reference in Santibañez (1911:1).]

"Recinos, Adián

[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 ar1 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 Ximenez, 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).]

Rios, 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.]

1698. La Auda de Gotha informa ... de operarios este reino pa la mission
del pue 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
1952. "Langues de Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale." In Les langues du
monde, Meillet and Cohen, eds. Collection Linguistique Publiée

Robles Uribe, Carlos, Enriqueta Ramos Chao, Virve Piho Lange, Roberto Jiménez
Ovando, and Roberto D. Bruce S.
1967. Los Lacandones.l.- Bibliografía y reseña critics de materiales
publicados. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia,
Departamento de Investigaciones Antropológicas.

[A good bibliography on the Lacandones.]

Rockstroh, E.
Los indígenas de la América Central y sus idiomas. Guatemala.

Rodríguez, A.

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

Romero, Matias (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
1667. Sobre la conquita, reduccion, y conversion de las Provincias del Lacandon, en 30 de enero, 1667. Guatemala: Joseph de Pineda y Barra.

[Letter written to Carlos II. Original in the Medina Collection, Biblioteca de Santiago de Chile. Microfilm copy in the Brown university Library (FHA 177.3). 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 Ponce's travels and linguistic studies. Mentions the Coxoh (Chichimec) 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, e.g. 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


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

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

??.

Apunaciones 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.12) 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).]


[Typed original in the Peabody Museum Library; mentions locations of Lacandón settlements, past and present (p. 13); and Choles (p.13).]

[English translation of Sapper 1895b].

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 1888-1895.
[English translation of Sapper 1897a]


[A pokonchi narration, with Spanish translation; mentions the names of Fr. Viana, Gallego, and the murder of Fr. Domingo de Vico by the Acala (p.375); contains information on geography of Verapaz; mentions Lacandones on p. 377.]

[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).]

Schloes, France
1967-  Correspondence between France Schloes and the Peabody Museum.  Original typewritten 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 Schloes donated to the Museum Library. Gives catalog numbers of many documents on the Chol, Chol Lacandón, Itzá, etc.]

Schloes, France and Eleanor Adams
Sel, Schute, p. Sch (1948). Cad Henr

"The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalan" O

[This D S

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 Chols 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
1922. "Los Lacandones de Chiapas." Boletín Sra.Agricultura y Fomento,
Epoca 6A, Tomo 7, pp. 580-583, julio.

Sivers, Jegör Von
1861. "Über Madeira und die Antillen nach Mittelamerika." Reisedenkundig-

Sociedad Bíblica Americana
1947. Jini wen T'an Jini Ch'ujul be Ts'abe Ts'abe Ts'ijbu.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 Lacandon chants of Tozzer 1907, Tozzer
1921, and P. Baer + M. Baer 1948. (Sodi pp. 65-77).]

Sohns, Ernest R.
to the Lacandone Jungle, 1 P. Mexico: Centro de Investigaciones
Antropológicas de México.

Sotomayer, Arturo

Soustelle, Georgette
1938. "Some observations on the religion of the Lacandones of southern Mexico."
Congres International des Sciences Antropoligiques et Ethnologiques,

1939. "Notes sur le rituel religieux chez les Lacandones de Chiapas."
Proceedings, Congres Internacional de Americanistas, XXVI Session,

[ Differences between religious practices of the two main Lacandon
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.]


[110 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 Lacandon 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 Foret" is on Soustelle's work with the Lacandones; has several line drawings of material objects and photographs of Lacandones.]

19??. "L'homme y le surnaturelle." In Amérique, Nord et Centre.

Spinden, José María

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

Spain, Archivo General de Indias, Seville
1562- Probanzas of Feliciano Bravo, escribano mayor de gobernación in Yucatán.

[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 several thousand pages of 17th century documents on the Itzá and Lacandon, 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.

Spinden, Herbert J.

Squier, E.G.
1855. Notes on Central America, Particularly on the States of Honduras and
El Salvador... New York: Harper + Brothers.

[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
18??.
Guatemala: Reisen und Schilderungen aus den Jahren 1878-1883.
(512 pp.)

1958.
"Et no gráfía de Guatemala." Seminario de Integración Social 
Pública.

[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
1932.
"Some Spanish Entradas 1524-1695." Middle American Research Series, 
Pub. No. 4. New Orleans: Dept. of Middle American Research, The 
Tulane Univ. of La.

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

Stromsvik, Gustav
1948.
"Bonampak Expedition." In Carnegie Institution of Washington, Annual 
Report of the Chairman of the Division of Historical Research, 
Washington, D.C.

Swadesh, M.
Mexico: Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México.

on the Expedition to the Lacandone Jungle, 1 p. México: Centro de 
Investigaciones Antropológicas de México.

Swayne, E.

T

Tax, Sol
1951.
"Lacandon Nasal Ornaments." American Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 1, 
p. 148.
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 länders-und völkerkundlichen Kenntnisse Uber...
Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Südamerikanischen und Iberischen Instituts zu Köln, 9 Jahrh.

1950. "Der Bericht des Pedro Alvarez de Miranda Über die Lacandonen.


[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 Lacandon.]


[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.]
San José de Gracia Real and suggests that they should be studied together with the Calderon - 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 Lacandón deities from Baer + Baer 1950. Original in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University.]


Toquemada, Juan de
(1613) Los veinte i un libros rituales i Monarchia Indiana... 3 vols.
1723. Several editions.

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

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

Tobor Cruz, Pedro

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


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 Culuacan 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 Baer's 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 Mazariogos, 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 Tudjo 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 Gehenkten.

[Mentioned by Cordan (§963:21).]

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 su suelo). Guatemala Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.


Umrey, J.

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

[Contains Goubaud 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’Olière, who was supposed to have visited a group of "indios Bravos" (p. 407).]

Valle, Fray Blas del

Valle, José Cecilio del
1830. (Title unknown). Mensual de la Sociedad Económica de Amigos del Estado de Guatemala. No. 2, Mayo de 1830.


Vázquez, Francisco

Vázquez de Herrera, Fray Francisco de Asís
1937- "Crónica de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Guatemala de la Orden de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco en el Reino de
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 Coban, 7 de diciembre de 1574." Anales de la
Soedad 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).]

(1574b)
"Relación sobre la Provincia y tierra de Vera Paz (1544-1574)

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

[This is probably the same lost manuscript mentioned in the bib-
lilography of Bandelier (1880:96) under the title "Historia de los
Indios, sus fábulas, supersticiones, costumbres..."]
1575. Teología para los Indios, en lengua de Verapaz. 4 vols. Lost mss.

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier.]

Vilaplana, Fray Hermanegildo
1775. 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.]

.Los lacandones. Mimeographed.

1963. [50 page study of the 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, Agustín


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 reyño de Guatemala, a las provincias de Yucatán en la America Septentrional. Madrid.

1701b) "Historia de la conquista de la Provincia de el Itzá..." Biblioteca 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

Vivó Escoto, Jorge A.


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

Vogt, Evon Z

[Discusses the origins and movements of various Maya groups, including the Lacandón and the Chol.]

Wadell, Hakon


[Listed in the bibliography of Mullerried (§942337).]

Wagner, Helmuth O.


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

Wagner, Henry Raup and Helen R. Parish


Haldeck, Freerick


[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 overplay 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  VILLA ROJAS 1947
CODEX MADRID  VOGT*
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
RODRIGUEZ
RUPPERT 1955
SELER, E. 1887, 1898, 1914, 1915.
SELER, C.
SHUTE
SIVER
SOCIEDAD
SVENISH 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, eg 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.

16th-18th Century Cho de Lacandón

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Author/Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA*</td>
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<td>AMRAM 1937:31**</td>
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<td>ANONYMOUS 1695 (?)</td>
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<td>CHIAPAS 1953**</td>
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<td>CIUDAD REAL*</td>
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<td>CORTEZ***</td>
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<td>GUATEMALA IDAEH*</td>
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<td>OROZCO Y JIMENEZ**</td>
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19th Century Yucatec Lacandón

ABELLA (♀)  
AGUILAR (?)  
AGUIRRE (♀)  
AICALDE 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*  
ESCOTO (♀)  
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*  
MAULSLEY***  
MEJIA**  
MORELET**  
OROZCO Y JIMENEZ***  
PIMENTEL*  
RIVERA**  
ROCKSTROH***  
ROHERO (?)  
SALÁ*  
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
DELGADE***
DIAZ DEL CASTILLO**
ESCOBAR*
ESCOTO (?)
GAGE
GALLATIN*
GARCIA
GUATEMALA AGCA***
GUATEMALA COM. DE LIH. (?)
JOHNSON
LA FARGE***
LAS CASAS*
LEON FINDELO***

19th--20th Century Chol

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

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

GENET
GOUBAUD
GOULD**
GUATEMALA AGCA***
HERNANDEZ
HITCHNER*
KAUFMAN
LA FARGE***
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McQUOWN
MENDIZABAL
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THOMAS
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<td>REMESAL**</td>
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MENDIZABAL
PENDERGAST*
REINA*
SAPPER***
SCHUMANN**
SOZA*

SQUIRE
STEPHENS*
STOLL**
THOMAS*
VALENZUELA, S.

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