

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO
MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Occasional Publications in Anthropology

Archaeology Series, No. 2

1970

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

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

by

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No. 4 1970

PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE CHOL, LACANDON, YUCA-
TEC LACANDON, CHOL, IT'ZA, MOPAN, AND QUEJACHE
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1524 - 1969

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May, 1970

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on the Lacandones in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé in Chiapas which I have not yet catalogued; there are hundreds of unpublished manuscripts in Guatemalan, Mexican, Spanish, and other archives which I have not yet included; and, there are undoubtedly numerous books and articles which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

Lic. Manuel Rubio Sánchez, Director of the Archivo General de Centro América; Sra. Gertrude Duby Blom, Director of the Centro de Estudios Científicos, Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé; Miss Patricia G. Arca, also of the Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé; Mr. Thomas Adams, Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library; and, Mr. Samuel Hough, also of the John Carter Brown Library, for their kind assistance. In addition, I wish to thank Drs. William Haviland, William Sanders, John Dwyer, and Dwight Heath for comments on an earlier draft of this introduction.

In addition to the entries which I located in the libraries and archives mentioned above, some entries were taken directly from the published bibliography of Wares (1968) [all the publications of the Summer Institute of Linguistics] and of Robles et al (1967) entries listed in Appendix II]

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

A second purpose of this bibliography is to make some statement about the reliability and importance of each source for anthropological studies. Some published statements are first-hand reports by trained anthropologists, others are by uninformed tourists, and there is a wide range in between. Many of the statements of uninformed romantics have made their way into the literature and are often incorporated into otherwise informative studies.

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THE USE AND MISUSE OF ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALOGY IN MESOAMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY

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 interpretate 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 analogy¹, 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 interpretate 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 Ixil" (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"², 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. Wauchope (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 either the direct descendants of the Classic Maya of the Southern Lowlands or else some very close relatives. However plausible this theory was originally in light of data available to workers in the early 1900's, it would be well to examine the hypothesis because aspects of it still appear in modern writings.

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

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

"In the Southern Lowlands, hieroglyphic inscriptions and monumental building ceased somewhere around A.D.900. A substantial population may have persisted for a while, but before long the region was nearly or totally deserted" (Willey 1956).
G. Cowgill 1964:149),

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

There is no question that eventually the Classic ceremonial centers were completely abandoned and the population declined considerably, but this does not mean that the southern lowlands was left completely deserted. There may have been at least 200

people per square mile in Classic times (G. Cowgill 1964:148; W. Coe 1965:56) or even more (Bronson 1966) and to postulate the abandonment of the entire Southern Lowlands we have to demonstrate the sudden death or mass migration of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people. All indications are that southern Yucatan, the Chiapas and Guatemalan Highlands, and all the land surrounding the Southern Lowlands was well populated in the 9th century, so to where could large populations move? It will be necessary to show archaeological evidence of a massive influx of people somewhere on the periphery of the Southern Lowlands before the migration hypotheses can be taken seriously. Perhaps current excavations in the Chenes and Río Bec regions (Lowe 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.³ 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 195?: 1956a), although Blom, if anyone, knew the region well and had considerable historical information from Villagutierre and others about the location of the site - but this does not mean that the sites are not there. In fact, there are ways to find these tiny Post Classic sites, but not through the methods usually employed for finding Classic sites.

I am presently working on such a method, plan to test it in the field in 1970 and

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

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

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

Esto, además de otras muchas almas, que habían bautizado, en caserías, y ranchos de la montaña, y más de otras seiscientas, que le había quitado el cura del Castillo, en los parajes de Niva, Zatún, Tuquilhá, Petencha, Ulpop, y Pululat, por decir que eran sus anexos, y le pertenecían, cerrándoles el paso por aquella cordillera, que va corriendo por las márgenes del río Maytol, ó Factún á los religiosos, para que no pudiesen pasar á los parajes Yaxtihal, Temax, Yacxal, Paliac, Tizimbini, Uchampán, Uacán, Guavi, Tuté, Dlutoc, Culamay, Tzuchac, Tzetúm, Beycuchá, Campin, Tité, Chibul, Pulzhá, Yaxapetén, Tzibalná, Tipotá, Noquixchán, Tzequischán, Tinocacáo y Tzibac, que en todos aquellos, y los demás, ya reducidos, por aquella parte de las montañas, pasarían de treinta mil almas las que había " (Villagutierre 1929-31:127).

..and this population was for just a tiny part of the Southern Lowlands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scholes and Roys have noted that some Yucatec-speaking Maya fled 16th century Spanish oppression in Yucatan and entered the southern lowlands (19-18:46,47), 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 that 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 Chí (Tozzer 1941:vii). Nachi Cocom was the last native ruler of Sotuta, one of sixteen native states in Yucatan. Gaspar Antonio Chi was the grandson of a former ruler of Mani (Roys 1943:123 124). Mani was another of these sixteen states (Roys 1957:Map.1, p.1). Although Landa's Relación is a compilation of information and myths from diverse sources on several distinct regional cultures, Mesoamericanists uncritically use Landa as though he were describing a single 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 1969b). This study is on the Lacandon Maya of roughly 1609 to 1705, with most of the data on the years 1695 and 1696.

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

Haviland opens with the standard view that:

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

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

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

Haviland's statement that:

"Clans and lineages were certainly passe among the lowland Maya by A.D. 1250 and all that were left by the 16th century were patrisibs" (1968:113)

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 CHOL LACANDON AND THE YUCATEC LACANDON

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

Second, a few Mesoamericanists still do not recognize the distinction between the 16th-17th century Chol-speaking "Lacandon" and the 18th-20th century Yucatec-speaking "Lacandon". Weyer (1958:67-74) 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 comparative studies because of their diminished population, a supposedly unique settlement pattern, their brother-sister and father-daughter incest, and other traits supposedly not shared with "normal" Maya groups. It is frequently asserted that their widely dispersed settlements are a recent adaptation to 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 (J. Soustelle 1935b:341-344; G.Soustelle 1959:143-144; Baer 1955a; Duby & Blom 1969:276-278; Bruce 1968:12-18; Baer & Merrifield 1969:304). Within each region there are several tiny settlements, locally spoken of as caribales. Both groups speak Lacandone, a dialect of "Maya proper" (McQuown 1956:195); both the dialect and Maya proper are usually referred to as Yucatec Maya.

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

"Lacandon" is actually a geographical term, loosely used by the Spanish and 18th-19th century Mexicans, Guatemalans, and travelers to refer to any non-Christian, "untamed" Maya inhabitants of the Chiapas lowlands. To further complicate the matter, the same lowland inhabitants of the jungle region were also called Caribes. Indios Bravos, free Indians, Acandones, Man-Ches, Jicaques, 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 1700 (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 time 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 Pinelo 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 1937:1-6; 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-chutla 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 AGC.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 (Orozco 1911, 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 Lacanrlon 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.

1st Edition, September 1969.

2nd Edition, Revised, September 30, 1969

3rd Edition, Revised, January 1, 1970.

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 Haviland. 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 crags 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 crags.

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Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

1968. Aventura en Bonampak: diario de un viaje extraordinario por la
Selva Lacandona.
México: Organización Editorial Novare, S.A.

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

Anonymous

1695?. Documentos sobre entradas contra los Lacandones.
British Museum Library, London. Add. Ms. 13974, fol. 99-101v.

[Photographic copies in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome.]

Anonymous

1??? "Death the Provincial of Oaxaca, etc."
Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas ..., Vol. I, pp. 129-132, Gates Collection.

[Assorted comments on various matters, includes mention of the Itza.]

Anonymous

Cholbal K'ih and Abilabal K'ih.
Berendt Collection, No. 58, University Museum Library, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

[Copied by C. H. Berendt as a single document under the title "Calendario de los Indios de Guatemala." Location of original mss. unknown, photographic copies made by W. Gates and by the Museum. Translation by Rudolph Schuller, edited by O. LaFarge and J. Alden Masen in the University Museum Library. (Robles et al 1967:14).]

Arai, Alberto T.

1949. Album de fotos y planos de la zona de Bonampak.
Copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome.

1950. "¿otras ruinas como las de Bonampak?"
El Nacional, Tuxtla Gutiérrez, 10 de Agosto de 1950.
Copy in Biblioteca Fray Bartolome.

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

1960. Al arquitectura de Bonampak: ensayo de interpretación del arte Maya.
México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes.

[96 pp., line drawings, and photographs; gross speculations on various aspects of Maya life, especially architecture.]

Armas, Isias

1897. Vocabulario breve de la lengua maya recogido por Isaias Armas en el pueblo de San José y San Luis. El día de ... de 1897. Provincia de Petén.

53 leaves, folio, Mss. in the library of the Dept. of Middle American Research, Tulane University.

Arochena, Fray Antonio

Catálogo y noticia de los escritores del Orden de San Francisco de la Provincia de Guatemala.

[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:107) but not in the bibliography of E. Adams (1953:xix).]

Aulie, Enrique

1961. "Nombres de lugares en Chol (Maya)."

In VIII Mesa Redonda "Los Mayas del sur y sus relaciones con los Nahuas Meridionales," México: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.

[Linguistic analysis of 43 Chol place names in the vicinity of Tumbala, research of the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.]

Aulie, Evelyn

145a. Chol primer 1.

México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

1945b. Chol primer 2.

México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

1945c. Ch'ol 3 (primer 3).

México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

1946. K'ele jun (Ch'o 1). Primer 1. New series.

México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

1948. "Chol dictionary."

In Materials on Mayan languages of Mexico, pp.

Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, No. 26, . Chicago; University of Chicago Library.

[Chol-English dictionary].

Aulie, Evelyn and John Beekman

1948. K'ele jun. Primer 1. Revised.

México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

1949. Ch'ol 2. Primer 2. Revised.
México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Aulie, Evelyn and Wilbur Aulie
1953. Termines de parentesco en Chol.
Memoria del Congreso Científico Mexicano, XII Ciencias Sociales,
Héxico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Aulie, Wilbur
1957. "High-numbered Numerals in Chol (Mayan)."
International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp.
281-283.

Aulie, Wilbur and E. Aulie
1951. Palencano-Chol Vocabulay and Folk Tales with English Translation.
Mss.

[Listed in bibliography of Thompson (1967:40).]

Aulie, Wilbur and John Beekman
1948. Jini meba tsuk (El ratoncito huerfanito).
México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Aveleyra Arroyo, Teresa
19?? Lacandonia (cuentos).
México: B. Costa-Amic, Editor.

(Reference on the back cover of Montañes 1963.]

Avendaño y Loyala, Fray Andrés de
Arte para aprender la lengua de Yucatán. Mss.

[Lost mss. listed in bibliography of Beristain and of E. Adams
(1953:15). The rest of the Avendaño manuscripts are listed in
these same two bibliographies.]

]

Diccionario abreviado de los adverbios de tiempo y lugar de la
lengua de Yucatán. Mss.

Diccionario botánico y médico de Yucatán. Mss.

Diccionario de la lengua de Yucatán. Mss.

Diccionario de nombres de personas, ídolos, danzas, y otras
antiquidades de los Indios de Yucatán. Mss.

1696a. Relación de las dos entradas que hize a la conversión de los
Gentiles Itzaexy Cehaches... Mérida.
Mss. copy in Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.
Photographic copy in Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University.
66 numbered folios, lacking fol. 65.

1696b. Relation of Two Trips to Peten.
Translation by C. P. Bowditch, revision by G. Rivera of Avendaño
1696a. Typewritten copy in Peabody Museum Library, Harvard Univ.

[135 pp. typewritten English translation, with footnotes; 13 pp.
index, with comments on the indexed entries; and a handwritten
copy of the original Spanish text.]

Aventuras de la Vida Real

1967. "Bonampak la ciudad perdida."
Aventuras de la vida real, Año XII, No. 136. México: Organización
Editorial Novaro.

[32 pp. comic book telling the story of Frey's discovery of
Bonampak. Occasional illustrations of Lacandones.]

Aviles, Fray Estevan

1663. Historia de Guatemala desde los tiempos de los Indios, hasta la
fundación de la provincia de los franciscanos; población de aquellas
tierras, propagación de los Indios, sus ritos, ceremonias, policía,
y Gobierno.

[Listed in Bibliography of Bandelier (1880:107).]

B

Baer, Mary

In "The Rabbit and Mountain Lion,"
Press. Tlalocan

Baer, Phillip

1955a. "Preliminary Report - Linguistics."
In Preliminary report on the Expedition to the Lacandon Jungle, 1 p.
Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México. Mimeographed.

[Brief comments on the distinctions between the two modern day
Lacandon dialects.]

- 1955b. "Preliminary Report - Sociology."
In Preliminary report on the Expedition to the Lacandon Jungle, lp.
Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México. Mimeographed.

[Lament about the "incestuous relationships" among the San Quintín
Lacandon and suggestions that some of the Lacandon groups be
resettled .]

Baer, Phillip and Mary Baer

1946. Hastl<wn (Primer).
México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

[24 p.; listed in bibliography of Wares 1968:70; this is probably
the same "Primer" as that entitled "Cartilla I. Lacandon" in the
bibliography of Robles et al. (1967:15).]

1948. "The Lacandon Song of the Jaguar."
Tlalocan, vol. II, No. 4, p. 376, México: La Casa de Tlaloc.

[Short song, Maya text with a literal and a free English translation.]

1949. "Notes on Lacandon Marriage."
Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 101-106,
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.

[Contains some Maya text with both literal and free English
translation; an important article, because there is little
information on this Lacandon ceremony; should be read with Del
Rio 1965; unfortunately the Baer + Baer article does not go into
the kin categories a Lacandon marries or does not marry.]

1950. "Materials of Lacandon Culture of the Petha (Pelhá) Region."
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 tíz (Libro de números)

México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

- 1954a. Xok 123:1 (Number book 1). Revised edition.
Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

- 1954b. Xoc 123:2 (Number book 2).
Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- 1954c. Xoc 123:3 (Number book 3).
México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
1955. Primera cartilla lacandón. Completely Revised.
México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
1959. "Testing the fire-god's prowess - a Lacandon sacred narrative."
América Indígena, Vol.XIX, No.4, pp.269-273,
México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.
- [English, no Maya text.]

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

Baer, Phillip and W.R.Merrifield

1967. "Restatement of the pronomial series in Maya (Lacandon)."
International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol.33, No.
3, pp. 206-208.
1969. "Report on lacandone research."
América Indígena, Vol.XXIX, No.1, pp.303-308,
México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

Balfour, Lyn

1952. Journal of a Jungle Jaunt.
Typewritten mss. in the Biblioteca Fray .
- (21 pp.; diary, little information.)

Ballinas, Juan

1951. El desierto de los Lacandones: memorias 1876-1877.
Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas: Publicaciones del Ateneo de Chiapas.
- [Introduction and notes by Frans Blom, photographs by Gertrude Doby,
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 Orozcoy Jimenez (1911, II:182-187).]

Bancroft, Hubert Howe

- 1874- The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. 5 vols.

1875. San Francisco:A.L.Bancroft + Co.
[Mentions Royle's ride (See Boyle (1867; 1868)), mentioned by Charnay (1904:14, footnote 2).]

1882- History of Central America.

1887. 3 vols. In The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol.VI, VII, and VIII;
San Francisco:A.L.Bancroft + Company, Publishers.

[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

1880. "Notes on the Bibliography of Yucatan and Central America."
Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Annual Meeting,
Oct. 21, 1880, pp.82-118.

[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.]

- n.d. Alphabetical Index of notes on the Bibliography of Yucatan and Central America.
Typewritten mss.in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University.

Barlow, Robert H.

1943. "The Lacandon of the 1790's."
Tlalocan, Vol. I, pp. 158-159, Sacramento:The House of Tlaloc.

[Brief note calling attention to the Calderon-Quentas Zayas mss. in the Bancroft Library; English translation of some short passages; on the Lacandón settlement of San José de Gracia Real, 1793-180?, near Palenque. Thompson (1945) also mentions these Calderon-Quentas Zayas papers. Other 18th century descriptions of this Lacandón settlement are contained in Orozco Y Jimenez (1911,II:162-182) and in Calderon and Berganzopapers from the Archivo General de Centro America and in Chiapas (1953) .]

Basauri, Carlos

1940. La población Indígena de México.
México:Secretaría de Educación Pública.

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

BBC - TV

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

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

This film begins with an exploration of the ancient Mayan cities
and temples. It proceeds to the Lacandones and their ancient way of
life. Finally we are shown a group of scientists from the Nuclear
Energy 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." (Roebeck 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."
Memorias de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate", Torno 29, pp.
69-171, México: Imprenta del Gobierno Federal.

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

1932. Nombres geográficos indígenas del Estado de Chiapas.
Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas.

1934. "Los Chontales de Tabasco: estudio etnografico y lingüístico." Revista Investigaciones Lingüísticas, Tomo II, No.1, pp.29-36, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

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

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

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

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

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

[Mentions Palenque and gives some Chol terms.]

Beekman, John

1950. "The use of preprimer syllable charts in Chol literacy work." Language Learning, Vol. 3, pp.41-50.

1956. "The effect of education in an Indian village." In Estudios Antropológicos publicados en homenaje al Doctor Manuel Gamio, pp.261-264, Mexico:

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

1957. "A Culturally Relevant Witness." Practical Anthropology, Vol.4, No. 6, pp. 83-88. Tarrytown, N.Y.:

[On Chol religious beliefs and how to "select those Scriptural truths which will have the greatest relevance to their particular needs and concerns."]

1959. "Minimizing religious syncretism among the Chols."
Practical Anthropology, Vol. 6, No.6, pp. 241-250,
Tarrytown, N.Y.

[Contains scattered references to various aspects of Chol "religion,"
but unfortunately does not present any systematic anthropological
discussion of this important subject.]

- 1960a. "A Culturally Relevant Witness,"
Practical Anthropology, Supplement 1960, pp. 27-30.
Tarrytown, N.Y.:

[A reprint of Beekman 1957.]

- 1960b. "A Cultural Extensions in the Chol Church."
Practical 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 state-
ments (p.33 and p. 83).]

Berendt, Carl Herman

1872. "Report of Explorations in Central America."
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 East-
ern group and a Western group, the Chal (Lacandón); mentions
collection of a vocabulary of Putum (Chol).]

1876. "Remarks on the centres of ancient civilization in Central America and their geographical distribution."
[Address read before the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, Session 1875-76, No. 2, New York: Douglas Taylor, Printer.]
[American Geographical Society, July 10, 1876]

1877. "Collections of Historical Documents in Guatemala."
Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1876, pp. 421-423. Washington,
D. C.: Government Printing Office.

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

Berendt Linguistic Collection

- 1877a. "Vocabulario del dialecto de Peten."
Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42, Vol. I, No. 5.

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

- 1877b. "Doctrina cristiana en el dialecto de la Momaña de Holmul (Peten)."
Berendt Linguistic Collection, No. 42, Vol. I, No. 10.

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

Berganzo, Fray Mariano

- 1794- Sobre la buena disposición que manifestaron para abrasar otra
1800. 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 Berganzo 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

1962. Bibliografía de arqueología y etnografía : Mesoamericana y norte de México 1514-1960.

México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Bernasconi, Antonio and Antonio Calderon

Expediente relativo al descubrimiento de las ruinas del Palenque e informes referentes a ellas. Mss.

Copy in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University.

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

Quatrième Partie: Chez les Derniers Mayas, pp. 221-257,
Paris: Imprimeries Oberthur Rennes.

1961b. "Le Mexique."

Cap. VI, Chez les Derniers Mayas, Paris: Fernand Nathan.

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 Agustín Blasquez."

Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas..., Vol. I, pp. 69-74, Gates Collection.

[Mentions settlements of Chamiquin, Chaclan, Ave María, Polochic, Chismes, Pancajoc, and Panimac, of Verapaz (p.73).]

Blom, Frans

192? [Movie on the Lacandon). Exact title unknown, mentioned in Hilton (1942:183).

1929. Preliminary report of the John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition.
New Orleans:Department of Middle America Research, The Tulane
University of Louisiana.

[Lacandonese 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 Lacandonese has not been published. See also Blom 1930.]

1930. "Trails and no trails: concerning the John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition, 1928."
Holland's Magazine of the South, Feb. 1930, pp. 10-11, 29-30, 33, 35.

1935. "The Pestac Stela."
Maya Research, Vol. 2, pp. 190-191.

1944. "Estadística sobre los Lacandonese."
Boletín Indigenista, Vol. IV, No.1, pp. 60.
México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

[Partial population figures and list of settlements.]

1949a. "Ciudades misteriosas en la Selva Lacandona."
Suplemento de El Nacional, 8 de mayo de 1949, p. 6 México.

[On ancient ruins, no ethnographic information.]

1949b. "La ciudad perdida de los Mayas."
Nueva Mundo, Vol. , pp. 10-15, México.

1949c. "Noches en la selva Lacandona."
Prometeus, Vol. L, No. 3, pp. 203-206, México.

[Bits of ethnographic data.]

1954. "Osuaries, cremation and secondary burials among the Maya of Chiapas, Mexico,"
Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Tome 43, pp
 123-135, Paris.

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

- 195? Selva Lacandona: Expedición Viking Fund 1950: Indumentaria Lacandona.
 Typed mss. in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome.

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

- 1956a. "La gran laguna de los Lacandones."
 Tlatoani, Vol. 2, No. 10, pp. 4-9.

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.'" American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, No. , pp. 185-186.

[Gives Miranda's recipe for Lacandon balche (Miranda, Vol. I, p. 199).]

1961. "Notas sobre algunas ruinas todavía sin explorar."
 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."
Boletín Indigenista, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 80-83,
 México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

- 1949b. "Entre los indios lacandones de México."
América Indígena, Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 155-164,
 México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

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

- 1955- La Selva Lacandona. 2 vols.
1957. México: Editorial Cultura.

[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

1963. "Exploration in Lake Peten Itza, Guatemala. "
Archaeology, Vol.16, No 1, pp. 14-24.
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

- 19??a. Books Photographed by William E. Gates: copies given by Charles P. Bowditch to the Peabody Museum. 3 vols.
Typewritten, with occasional written pages, copy in Peabody Museum Library.

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

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

Boyle, Frederick

1867. "The Free Indian Tribes of Central America."
Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, Vol. VI, pp.
207-215, London.

[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

1865. "La Maya et ses dialects, Lacandon, Petén, Mopán, Chol."
Archives de la Commission Scientifique du Mexique, pp. 127-
129. Paris.

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

1871. Bibliothèque mexico-Guatemalienne 8 vols.
Paris.

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

[Photographic copies by William Gates; the entries are described in Bowditch (1972a, vol II:Miscellaneous), Gates (1937), Amer. Art Assoc. (1924b), and Brasseur de Bourbourg (1871). In this bibliography the entries are listed under: Abella, Aguilar, Aguirre, Ahxoy, Alcaldes de Coban, Anonymous, Blasquez, Chica, Coban, Delgado, Oliveres y Aguilar,

Brine, Lindsay

1894. Travels Amongst American Indians...
London: Sampson Low, Harston + co.

Brinton, Daniel Garrison

1869. "A Notice of Some Manuscripts in Central American Languages."
American Journal of Science and Arts, 2nd series, Vol. 47,
pp. 223-230.

1880. "On the Chane-Abal (Four language) Tribe and Dialect of Chiapas."
American Anthropologist, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp.

1897. "The .Missing Authorities on Nayan Antiquities."
American Anthropologist, Vol. X, No.6, pp. 183-189.

[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."
Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Arts of Pennsylvania,
Vol .II, No.4, pp. 203-221.

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

Bronson, Bennet

1966. "Roots and the Subsistence of Ancient Maya."
Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp.251-270.
Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico.

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

Bruce .s., Roberto L.

- n.d. The Book of Chan Kin (inedito).

1965. Gramática del Lacandón.
Tesis Profesional, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México.

1967. "Jerarquía Maya entre los Dioses Lacandones."
Anales, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Tomo XVIII-1965, pp. 93-108, México: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

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

- 1968a. "Terminos de parentesco entre los Lacandones."
Anales, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Torno XIX-1966, pp. 151-157, México: secretaria de Educación Pública.

[The most complete list of Lacandón kin terms available since Baer + Baer (1950), with kin charts, but no genealogical charts of actual persons.]

- 1968b. Gramática del Lacandón.
México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

[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.]

Billiard, William R., Jr.

- 1960a. "Maya Settlement Pattern in Northeastern Peten, Guatemala."
American Antiquity, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 355-372, Salt Lake City.

- 1960b. "Archaeological Investigation of the Maya Ruin of Topoxte, Petén , Guatemala."
Yearbook of the American Philosophical society for 1960, pp. 551-554, Philadelphia.

1965. "Stratigraphic Excavations at San Estevan, Northern British Honduras." Occasional Paper 9, Art and Archaeology, Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

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

Bunting, Ethel-Jane W.

1932. "From Cahabon to Bacalar in 1677."
The Maya Society Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 112-119.

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

C

Caceres Lopez, Carlos

1958. Historia general del Estado de Chiapas desde la época prehispánica hasta su independencia y reincorporación a México.
México: Imprenta Mexicana.

Cadena, Fray Guillermo

[See Viana, Fr. Francisco De, Fr. Lucas Gallego, and Fr. Guillermo Cadena).

Calderon, Josef Antonio

1784. Informe, fecho en 15 de diciembre de 1784.

Mss. translated and published by Brasseur de Bourbourg in his
"Ruinas de Palenque," 1866.

Calderon, Manuel Joseph

17 - Correspondence with Agustin de las Quentas Zayas.

17 . Mss., Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[Mss. .No. 1466 QS, 36 folios. Short passage translated in Barlow
(1943:158).]

1790- Various letters.

1798. In Cumplimto de la Rl. orn de 25, de Octubre de 1789,, sraque
se den las providencias concentes para reduzir a ntra religi3n los
Yndios Lacandones en la Prova. de ciudad real.

Mss. in the Archivo General de Centro America, Guatemala.

Other letters to and about M. Calderon are in Orozco Y Jimenez
(1911, II:163-182).]

Calnek, Edward E.

1961a. Distribution and Location of the Tzeltal and Tzotzil Pueblos of
the Highlands of Chiapas from the Earliest Times to the Present.

Mimeographed. Chicago: Dept. of Anthropology, university of Chicago.

1961b. Highland Chiapas before the Spanish Conquest.

Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

[Mimeographed copy in the Brown University Library.]

Cano, Fray Agustin

1686. Contestaci3n de Fray Agustin Cano a la petici3n del
Señor Alonso Quesada.

Mss. in the University of Texas Library, 3 pp.

1696a. Informe dado al Rey por el Padre Fray Agustín Cano sobre la
entrada que por la parte de Verapaz se hizo al Petén en el año
de 1695. Mss.

[For English translation see Cano 1696b; for published Spanish
transcription see Cano 1696c.]

(1696b) Manche y Petén.
19??. Typewritten mss.

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

(1696c) "Informe dado al Rey por el Padre Fray Agustín Cano... y fragmento
1942. de una carta al mismo, sobre el propio asunto."
Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, Tomo
XVIII, pp. 65-79. Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional.

[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 ampara 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 historial eclesiastica de la provinzia de Yucatán de la Nueva España q. se hico en ella en virtud de Zedula Rl. del año de 1635. Mss., original in the Bristish Museum.

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

Carrascosa
1888. [Memoria del Gobierno del sr. Carrascosa, tiene una exacta descripción del río de Chiapa.]
Incomplete reference in Santibañez (1911:i).

Caso Mier, Vicente De

1935. "Among the Lacandones."
Three Americas, Vol I, No. 5, pp. 10-14.

[Important for its early mention of father-daughter and brother-sister incest, and 12 year old male-60 year old female marriage; also has other bits of ethnographic information.]

Castelar, Fray Tomás

- 15?? Tratado de los ídolos de Guatemala.

[Lost mss. listed in the bibliographies of Bandelier (1880:104) and Brinton (1897:187).]

1880. Triunfos de los martires del Orden de Predicadores en las Indias.

[Listed the bibliography of Bandelier (1180:104).]

Castillo, D.Geronimo

1866. Diccionario histórico, biografico y monumental de Yucatán.
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

1961. "Conquista y colonización de Chiapas."
In VIII Mesa Redonda, Los Mayas del Sur y sus relaciones con los Nahuas Meridionales, pp. 207-219. México: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.

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

Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México

1955. Preliminary Report on the Expedition to the Lacandone Jungle.
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 DEPTH MEASURE, 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."]

1956. "Recent Bonampak Expedition."
Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México,
Vol. I, No. 2, pp.22.

Ceough, Richard

1944. Informal Report on the Exploration of Agua Azul and the Valley of Lost Desires.
College of the City of New York.

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

Cerda Silva, Roberto de la

1944. Expedición científica a la Selva Lacandona.
México:Publicaciones del Diario el Universal.

[Listed in the bibliography of Basilio (1959:24).]

1957. Etnografía de México: síntesis monográficas.
México:Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

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

Chamberlain, Robert S.

1936. "A Report on Colonial Materials in the Government Archives of Guatemala City."
In Handbook of Latin American Studies, A guide to the material published in 1936, pp. 387-432. Cambridge.

1937. A Report on Colonial Materials in the Government Archives of...
Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

1948. "The Governorship of the Adelantado Francisco de Montejo in Chiapas 1539-1544." Contributions to American Anthropology and History, Vol. IX, Contribution No. 46, C.I.W. Pub. 574. Washington, D.C.:Carnegie Institution of Washington.

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

Expedition of Blom and Duby, caves in the vicinity of Lake Miramar were entered and collections taken, but no proper archaeological report ever appeared on either of these "excavations."]

1956. "Recent Bonampak Expedition."
Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México,
Vol. I, No. 2, pp.22.

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1944. Informal Report on the Exploration of Agua Azul and the Valley
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College of the City of New York.

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

Cerda Silva, Roberto de la

1944. Expedición científica a la selva Lacandona.
México:Publicaciones del Diario el Universal.

[Listed in the bibliography of Basilio (1959:24).]

1957. Etnograffa de México:síntesis monograficas.
Mxico:Instituto de Investigaciones sociales, Universidad Nacional
Autónoma de México.

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

Chamberlain, Robert S.

1936. "A Report on Colonial Materials in the Government Archives of
Guatemala City."
In Handbook of Latin American Studies, A guide to the material
published in 1936, pp.387-432. Cambridge.
1937. A Report on Colonial Materials in the Government Archives of...
Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
1948. "The Governorship of the Adelantado Francisco de Montejo in
Chiapas 1539-1544." Contributions to American Anthropology and
History, Vol.IX, Contribution No.46, C.I.W. Pub.574. Washington,
D.C.:Carnegie Institution of Washington.
- [Brief mention of the Chol and (Chol) Lacandon on p.181-182.]

Charnay, Désiré

1882. "Voyage au Yucatan et al pays des Lacandons." Compte Rendu de la Société de Géographie de Paris, pp. 529-553. Also in: Tour de Monde, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 33-48, Paris, 1884.

1883. "La ville Lorillard au pays des Lacandons." Revue de Ethnographie Tome 2, No. 6, pp. 481-503. Paris.

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

1885. Les anciennes villes du Nouveau-Monde: voyages d'exploration au Mexique et dans l'Amérique Centrale (1857-1882). Paris:Hachette.

1887. The Ancient Cities of the New World, Being Travels and Explorations in Mexico and Central America from 1857-1882. London.

[Practically a translation of the 1885 French edition.]

1904. "Les explorations de Téobert Maler." Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris, Tome I, No. 3, pp.3-22, Paris.

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

1933. Viajes a Yucatán a fines de 1886. Mérida:Talleres Graficos Guerra.

n.d. Yucatan Photographs. 6 vols.

[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

1953. "Algo sobre lacandones." Boletín, Año I, Num. 2, pp. 11-24, Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas.

[A collection of 5 sparate 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.]

1954. "Exploración del Río Usumacinta o de la Pasión, Departamento de Ocosingo, Chiapas.- Año de 1882." Boletín, Año II, Núm. 3, pp. 73-120, Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas.

[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.]

1955. "Plano y relación geográfica del obispado de Ciudad Real de Chiapa, formado por el Illmo Sor. Obispo, Fr. José Cubero Ramírez de Arellano. año 1748. Boletín, 5, Año III, Num. 5, pp. 51-56, Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas.

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

1956. "Apertura de un camino entre Bachajon y Palenque, año 1821." Boletín, 6, Año IV, Num. 6, pp. 133-139, Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas.

[Transcription of a mss. in the Archivo General de Centro America, 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.]

hica, Fray Manuel María de la

1817. El R. P. Fr. Manuel de la Chica sobre que se le auxilie para emprender la Conquista de Yndios Lacandones en las Montañas de Verapaz. Mss. in the Archivo General de Centro América, Guatemala, Al. 12, Exp. 7065, Leg. 334, 15 folios.

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

1819. "Informe del Fray Manuel María de la Chica" Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas..., Vol. I, pp. , Gates Collection.

[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.'"]

1821. El P. Prior de los P.P. Dominicos da cuenta de los progresos de la misión del Lacandón. (Index title)
Mss., A G C A., Al .12, Exp. 7066, Leg. 334, 10 folios.

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

Ciudad Real, Antonio de

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

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

Cline, Howard

1944. "Lore and Deities of the Lacandon Indians, Chiapas, Mexico."
Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 57, pp. 107-115.

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

1685. "Informe del Prior de Coban al Arzobispo de Guatemala sobre las misiones de Verapaz y Ahitzaes." Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas., Vol. I, pp. 89-117, Gates Collection.

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

Cochelet, A.

1832. "Lettre de M. Cochelet ... a M. Jomard." Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, Tomo 18, No. 114, pp.
Paris: Imprimé Chez Paul Renouard.

[Mentions a trip made through the Petén].

Coe, Michael D.

1966. The Maya.
New York, Praeger.

[Lacandones are mentioned on pages 22, 23, 32, 33, 34, 100, 101, 111, 116, and 137. Incorrect conclusions are presented on the origin, movement, and significance of the Yucatec Lacandón.]

Cogolludo, Diego Lopez de

1888. Historia de Yucatán. 3rd.ed., 2 vols. Mérida, Imprenta de Manuel Rivas.

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

Colmont, Bernard de

1935. "Le tragique destin d'une race, les Indiens Lacandon." L'Illustration, Annie 93, Dec. 21, 1935, pp. 524-525.

1936a. "Recit d'un voyage chez les indiens Chamula et Lacandon." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Tome XXXVIII, p. 250, Paris.

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

1936b. "Revisiting the Mysterious Lacandones." The Sphere, p. 291, London.

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

[Translation of Colmont 1935 ?]

(La) Comisión Guatemalteca de Límites con Guatemala

1964. Memoria sobre la cuestión de límites entre Guatemala y México. Guatemala: José de Piñeda Ibarra.

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

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

195?. Various newspaper clippings mounted on cardboard, and some glossy photographs. Copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome.

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

Cardan, Wolfgang

1955. "Die Mayastadt: Entdeckungen im mexikanischen Dschungel." Frankfurter Allgemeine, Sept. 3, 1955, Num. 204, Wochenendausgabe, Bilder und Zeiten.

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

1959. Geheimnis im Urwald. Dusseldorf-Koln.

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

1964. Secret of the Forest: on the Track of Maya Temples.
Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday + Co.

Cordry, Donald and Dorothy Cordry

1968. Mexican Indian costumes.

[Describes and has photograph of Lacandon attire.]

Cortés, Fernando

1868. The Fifth Letter of Hernan Cortés to the Emperor Charles V, containing an account of his expedition to Honduras.
London: Hakluyt Society.

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

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

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

Cortés y Larraz, Pedro

1958. Descripción geográfico-moral de la Diócesis de Goathemala.
2 vol., Biblioteca "Goathemala," Vol. XX, Guatemala: Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala.

[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 estadísticos.

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

Cosío, Toribio

- 17?? . Relación histórica de la sublevación y pacificación de la Provincia de los Tzendales.

[Lost mss. mentioned by Bandelier (1880:98) 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
"Antonio Alzate," Folleto No. I.
México: Editorial Cultura.

Cummins, Harold

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

D

Davis, 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

1962. "El maíz en la cultura prehispánica." Artes de México, No. 40, Vol. 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."

Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas..., Vol. I, pp. 217-232, Gates Collection.

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

- 1677b "Account of the stopping places and rivers from the town of San (1932). Miguel Manché as far as the Itzá Indians; the road and the Indians. June 7, 1677." In Cahabon to Cacalar in 1677, E-J. W. Bunting, ed, pp. 116-119. The Maya Society Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 112-119.

1684. "Carta e información del padre Joseph Delgado al Rdo. Padre Provincial de Santo Domingo de Guatla. sobre los sucesos y entradas al Lacandon, etc." Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas..., Vol. I, pp. 119-128, Gates Collection.

[Listed in Amer. Art Assoc. (1924b:Cat. No. 620): "Closely written and detailed report by padre Joseph Delgado of the events of the above Entrada. Folio, 98 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

1965. "La cuarta esposa de Chambor." Novedades Magazine, 17 de Enero de 1965. México.

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

Díaz del Castillo, Bernal

- 19 - The True History of the Conquest of New Spain. 5 vols.
1916. A. L. Maudslay, ed. London: Hakluyt Society, vols. 23-25, 30, 40.

[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.

- 1909a. "Klassifizierung seiner archaologogischen Funde im nordlichen Guatemala." Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 41, pp. 862-874. Berlin: Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte.

- 1909b. "Mr. Erwin P. Dieseldorff (Coban) Lectures on Classification of His Archaeological Finds in Northern Guatemala." In E. P. Dieseldorff Miscellaneous Pamphlets, 1893-1909. Text and translation, No. 5.

[Typed English translation of his 1909a work. Includes data on pottery, deities, and religious practices of the presentday Yucatec Lacandones and on the earlier Chol Lacandon, Acala, 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- Kunst und Religion der Mayavölker im alten und heutigen Mittel-
1933. amerika. 3 vols. Berlin:

Dockstader, Frederick J.

1961. "Lacandon." In 'The Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XVI, p. 607.
New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C.:American Corp.

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

Doria, Vicent and Frans Blom

1954. Letter: El Real, Bonampak, Agua Azul, Yaxchilan, 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,
México: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

1944b. "La región lacandona de Chiapas."
Boletín Indigenista, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 208-214.
México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

1954c. "Besuch bei Urwald-Goettern." Freies Deutschland, No. 8, México.

1946. "Lacandones." Flama, Año I, No. 2, México.

[Listed in bibliography of Robles et al- (1967:20).]

1947a. "Los indios lacandones, su pasado y su presente." Revista de Guatemala, Año II, Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 5-12. Guatemala.

[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 distinction between the (Chol) Lacandones of the 16th-17th centuries and the (Yucatec) Lacandones of today.]

1947b. "Los Lacandones." Ferronales, Tomo XVIII, No. 8, pp. , México.

1947c. "Wie der Mexikanische Indianer sein Land zurückgewinnt." Atlantis, Vol. XIX, Jahr, Heft 11, Nov.

1947d. "Indios Lacandones: 9 grabados de Gertrude Duby." Revista de Guatemala, Año II, Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. Guatemala.

1949a. "Dioses de la selva." Nuevo Mundo 5, 164, pp. 8-13, México.

1949b. "Preliminary explorations in the Lacandon zone, Chiapas." Boletín Indigenista, Vol. IX, No. , pp. 80-83.
México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

1950. "Mueren de hambre los ultimos 20 lacandones." Impacto, Año II, No. 43.

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

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

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

1955a. "Bor Uech Yuk, Lacandón de Jataté," El Universal, 8 de mayo, México.

1955b. "Eclipse de luna, los lacandones y el fin del mundo." Tribuna Israelita, Año XI, No. 128, p. 2.

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

1957. "Los Lacandones." In *Etnografía de México. síntesis monográficas*, pp. 479-491.
México: Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
1959. "El estado actual de los lacandones de Chiapas, Mex." *América Indígena*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, pp. 255-267.
México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.
- 1961a. Chiapas indígena.
México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- [Has some excellent color photographs of the Lacandones.]
- 1961b. "Last of the Lacandones." Pacific Discovery, Vol. XIV, No. 5, pp.
1968. "Ein Leben bei den Lacandonas." Die Tat, Zürich, den 6, June 1968.

Duby, Gertrude and Frans Blom

1949. "Mañana en la selva Chiapaneca." Mañana, Feb.-Mar., México.
1969. "The Lacandon." Chapter 24 in *Ethnology, Part One*, E. Z. Vogt, ed., Handbook of Middle American Indians, Vol. 7, Austin: University of Texas Press.

Dunbaugh, Frank M.

1960. "Dr. Blom and the Lacandones." Americas, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 31-34.
Washington, D.C. Pan American Union.
- [Contains good photographs and some comments on Lacandon food, religion, and marriage.]

Dupaix, Capitaine Guillaume

1834. Antiquités mexicaines: relation des trois expéditions du capitaine Dupaix, ordonnées en 1805, 1806, et 1807 pour la recherche des antiquités du pays, notamment celles de Mitla et de Palenque. 2 vols. Paris: Au Bureau des Antiquités Mexicaines.

E

Echeversy, 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

relativa a los asuntos de la Provincia de Santo Domingo de Guatemala, dirigida al muy Ylustre señor Don Antonio Petra Echévers Y año de 1724." Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas..., Vol II, pp. 233-308, Gates Collection.

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

Eggan, Fred

1943. "The Maya kinship system and cross-cousin marriage." American Anthropologist, n.s. Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 188-202.

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

Elorza Y Rada, Francisco de

1714. "El extracto de la conquista de la Provincia del Ytza, en la Nueva España, por el Conde de Lizarraga Vengoa, Natural del Partido de la Valdorba." In his Nobiliario de el Valle de la Valdorba, pp. 207-279. Pamplona: Francisco Antonio de Neyra, Impressor del Reyno .

1930. A Narrative of the Conquest of the Province of the Itzas in New Spain Performed by Don Martín de Ursua y Arizmendi, Count of Lizarraga Vengoa. Translation and introduction by P. A. Means. Paris: Les Editions Genet.

Erben, H. K.

1955. "Preliminary Report Geology." In Preliminary Report on the Expedition to the Lacandone Jungle, México: Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México.

Escobar, Alfonso de

"Account of the Province of Verapaz, in Guatemala, and of the Indian settlements or pueblos established therein." Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XI, S.14.

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

Escoto, Fray Luis

- 18??. "Ynforme del Fray Luis Escoto." Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas..., Vol. I, p. 68, Gates Collection.

Estacheria, José de

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

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

F

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 Seventeenth Century. London: JOHN Murray.

Farias, Sergio Alejandro

1968. Chiapas, Land of Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. San Cristóbal de 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, Lacandón 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 idolatrías de los indios de aquel país, despues 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

1952. "La música primitiva." Juventud, Agosto 1952, México. Copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome.

[On Lacandón music.]

Fowler, Henry

1879. A Narrative of a Journey Across the Unexplored Portian of British Honduras with a Short Sketch of the History and Resources of the Colony. Belize: Government Press.

Franco Torrijos, Enrique

- 1950a. Odisea en Bonampak. México: Artes Graficas.

- 1950b. Narración inedita de una azarosa expedición. Mexico

Frey, H. Carlos

1947. "Gran zona arqueología descubierta en Chiapas." Vida, mayo 5, México.

- 19??. "Descubierta en Chiapas...Vida, pp. 21-26, México.

[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 "Goathemala," Vols. VI-VIII, Guatemala:
Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala.

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Gage, Thomas

1928. The English American: a survey of the West Indies, 1648. Edited with an introouction by A. P. Newton. London: Broadway Travelers.

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.

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

1831. "Palenque et autres lieux circonvoisins." Antiquites Mexicaines, Vol. I, English translation in the Literary Gazette, No. 769, London.

[Listed in bibliography of Bandelier (1880:99).]

- 1831- Papers, plans, sketches, etc. relating to archaeology, ethnology,
1832. geography, and history of Guatemala in the 1830's..
Deposited in: Departement des Imprimeries, Cartes, et Plans, Section
des Imprimeries, Collection Angrand, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

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

- 1832a. [title unknown) Boletín Oficial, No.21, 2nd part, p.205,
Guatemala, 22 Aug.1832.

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

- 1832b. "Mémoire de M. Galindo, officier supérieur de la république de
l'Amérique centrale, adressé a M. le secrétaire de la Société de
géographie de Paris." Bulletin de la société de Géographie, Tomo 18,
No. 114, pp.198-214, Paris.

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

- 1833a. "Description of the River Usumacinta, in Guatemala." Journal of the
Royal Geographical Society, Vol.III, pp.58-64. London.

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

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

- 1834a. "Description de la Riviere Usumasinta dans le Guatemala." Nouvelles
Annales des Voyages, 3rd Series, Vol.III, pp.147-151.

- 1834b. "A Short Account of Some Antiquities Discovered in the District of
Peten, in Central America; in a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel JUAN
GALINDO, Governor of Peten, addressed to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq.
F.R.S., Secretary." Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts Related
to Antiquity, Vol.XXV, pp. 570-571. London: Society of Antiquaries
of London.

[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 Pacaitun, 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 :).]

1836. "On Central America." Journal of the Royal Geographic Society, Vol. VI, pp. 116-136.

- 18??a. [On Galindo's administration as Commandant of the Peten.]." Guatemala, Archivo Nacional, leg. 181, Exp. 3951.

[Mentioned by Griffith (1960:26, footnote 8)]

- 18??b. "Report on the antiquities of Lake Peten." Antiquites Mexicaines, Vol. I, pp. 73-76.

[Listend in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:92).]

Gallatin, Albert

1845. "Notes on the Semi-Civilized Nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and Central America." Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, Vol!

Gallego, Fray Lucas

see VIANNA, FRAY FRANCISCO DE et al.

Gamboa, Fernando

1949. Excursión Fernando Gamboa a Bonampak 1949. Binder filled with about 50 pp. of various newspaper clippings, Copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolome .)

Gann, Thomas

1917. "The Chachac or rain ceremony as practiced by the Indians of southern Yucatan and northern British Honduras." Proceedings of the XIX International Congress of Americanistas, Washington, D. C., 1915, pp. 409-41n.

[Lacandones are mentioned on p . 409, nothing important.]

1918. "The Maya Indians of Southern Yucatan and Northern British Honduras." Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 64, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

Gann, Thomas and J.Erick S.Thompson

1937. The History of the Maya from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.

Garay, A. L.De

1966. "Proyecto GH 2: investigación sobre biología humana en la población Lacandona." México: Comisión Nacional de Energía Nuclear, Programa de Genética y Radiología, Informe Anual, Universidad Nacional de México.

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

- 19??. Frequency of Colour Blindness, PTC Tasting, Blood Groups and Other Characters in the Maya Population of Mexico. México: Comisión Nacional de Energía Nuclear, Programa de Genética y Radiología.

García de Palacio, Diego

1873. Uebersetzt von A.V.Trautwein. Berlín.

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

García Pelaez, Francisco de Paula

1943. Memorias para la historia del antiguo Reino de 2nd ed.,
3 vols.in one. Guatemala. Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional.

1968. "Memorias para la historia del antiguo reyno de Guatemala." 3rd. ed. Biblioteca "Goathemala", Vol.XXI, Guatemala: Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala.

[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.]

García S., J. Mario

1952. "Juan Ballinas, el Cristobal Colon de la region Lacandona y la tragedia de la tribu," Il Informador, Miercoles, 5 de.Nov. de 1952, Tuxtla Gutierrez.

1963. "Tragedia de la Tribu Lacandona." La Tribuna, Jueves 8 de Agosto, Mexico.

[Short article on the death of Frans Blom.]

García y Cubas, Antonio

1876. The Republic of Mexico in 1876. Mexico: La Enseñanza Printing Office.

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

1899. Diccionario geographico, historico y biografico. 5 vols. México.

Gates, William

1920. "Distribution of the Several Branches of the Mayance Linguistic Stock." In The Inscriptions at Copan, by S. G. Morley, Appendix XII, pp. 605-615, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Pub. 219. Washington, D.C.

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

1937. The Maya Society and Its Work. Baltimore: Maya society Press.

[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

1927. Historia de los pueblos Mayas-Quichés: (Mexique, Guatemala, Honduras). París: Les Editions Genet.

1929. "Lenguas indígenas de la Región Maya." Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, Tomo V, No. 3, pp. 312-316, Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional.

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

Genovés, Tarazaga Santiago

1967. "Some Problems in the Physical Anthropological Study of the Peopling of America." Current Anthropology, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 313-343, Chicago.

Gerard, G.

1953. Bonampak: Mayas of yesterday and today. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union.

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

German Parra, Manuel and Wigberto Jimenez

1954. "Bibliografía indigenista de México y Centroamericana (1850-1950)." Memorias del Instituto Nacional Indigenista, Vol. IV, México.

Gómara, Francisco Lopez de

1552. Historia general de las Indias... y la conquista de México y de la Nueva España. Various editions.

González, Manuel S.

1961. "Memorias sobre el Departamento del Peten." Guatemala Indígena, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 75-102, Guatemala.

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

Goubaud Carrera, Antonio and A. Arriaga

1965. "Mapa de las lenguas indígenas actuales de Guatemala." In Lenguages Indígenas de Guatemala, by A. Valdes Oliva, Guadernos del Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, No. 8, Guatemala: Ministerio de Educación.

[Portions of this map may be incorrect.]

Gould, Harley N.

1946. "Anthropometry of the Chol Indians of Chiapas, Mexico." Middle American Research Records, Vol. I, No. 9. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University.

Graham, Ian

1963. "Juan Galindo, Enthusiast." Estudios de Cultura Maya, Vol. III, pp. 11-35. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Seminario de Cultura Maya.

Graham, R. B. Cunningham

1949. The Horses of the Conquest. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press.

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

Grajales Ramos, Gloria

1961. "Lista de algunos de los documentos que sobre la historia de Chiapas se encuentran en el Museo Británico, en la ciudad de Londres, Inglaterra." In VIII Mesa Redonda: Los Mayas del Sur y sus relaciones con los Nahuas Meridionales, pp. 283-288. México: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.

Greene, Merle

1966. "Classic Maya Rubbings." Expedition, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 30-39. Philadelphia: The University Museum.

[Mentions the Lacandones.]

Griffith, William J.

1960. "Juan Galindo, Central American Chauvinist." The Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 25-52.

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 fhos, sobre la reducion y conquistta de los yndios, yn fieles, 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 iterns seem to be in the new catalog system also.]

1878. Ynventario del archivo de la Muncipalidad de Guatemala. 1. 878. Mss. 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 serciorado del estado en que se hallan las reducciones de Indios de la Provincia del Petén • Año de 1754." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año I, Num. 3, pp. 257-293.

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

- 1937a. "Reducción de los Lacandones:Fee de la llegada al peñol y autos de los que en la jornada zusedio." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año II, Núm. 2, pp. 133-184.

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

- 1937b. "Año de 1763. Autos formados sobre la Real cédula, para que esta Real Audiencia con la brevedad y reserva posible remita una relación individual de los Corregimientos y Alcaldías Mayores de este Reyno." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año II, Núm. 3, pp. 274-329.

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

1938. "Estado de Curatos del Arzobispado de Guatemala, 1806." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año II, Num. 2, pp. 202-229.

[Curatos, feligresías, 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.]

- 1939a. "El Rey ordena a la Audiencia de Guatemala, que dé ayuda a don Diego de Vera Ordoñez de Villa Quirán, encargado de la conquista de el Próspero (a) el Lacandon," Boletín del Archivo General de Gobierno, Año V, NÚm. 1, pp. 14-15.

- 1939b. "A la audencia de Guatemala dándole gracias por la reducción que ha hecho de los indios Choles." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm. 1, pp. 15-16.

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

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

[Short paragraph, no ethnographic information.]

- 1939d. "Real Cédula acerca de que los religiosos Dominicos empleados en la reducción del Petén Itzá." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno Año V, NÚrn. 1, pp.31-32.

[No ethnographic information.]

- 1939e. "Su Majestad niega titulo de Castilla y Adelantado de las Provincias del Itzá a don Martin deUrsua y Arismendi." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm.1, pp.33-36.

[No ethnographic information.]

- 1939f. "Danse 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.

- 1939g. "Su Majestad asigna cierta suma a los misioneros del pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Lacandon." Boletfn del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, NÚm. 1, p. 41.

- 1939h. "Su Majestad aprueba la mutación de indios lacandones al paraje nombrado Asantic, jurisdicción de Huehuetenango." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm. 1, pp. 42-43.

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

- 1939i. "Al Presidente de la Audiencia de Guatemala dándole gracias por lo que ejecuta en mayor seguridad y buen gobierno del presidio y poblaciones del Itzá y Petén y ordenandole lo conveniente sobre punto de misiones para aquel paraje," Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, NÚm. 1, pp. 43-45.

- 1939j. "Su Majestad aprueba el traslado de indios lacandones de la reducción de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores al paraje de Asquepala, jurisdicción de la Alcaldia Mayor de Huehuetenango." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Num.1, pp.45-46.

[See 1939h].

- 1939j. "Su Majestad prohíbe que sean extraídos los indios de las reducciones de Ytzá y del petén.: Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm. 1, p.47.

- 1939l. "Al Presidente de la Audiencia Su Majestad le da las gracias por la pacificación y reducción de los nativos de Ytzá y Petén." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm. 1, pp. 47-48.

- 1940a. "Informes de Fr. Blas Guillen y de Fr. Lucas Gonzalez, del estado de los indios de El Lacandon y Mopan." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año v, Núm. 2, pp.149-151.

1940b. "Don Francisco de Mella y Frías, comunica haber sido encontrado el desague de la laguna del Ahizá." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm. 2, p. 151.

1940c. "Carta de Fray Domingo López solicitando medios para que Fray Miguel de Loayza y Fray Francisco de Burgos, entren en las montañas de El Lacandón." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm. 2, pp. 151-152.

[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.]

1940d. "Cabildo.-Año de 1695.- Sobre la fundación de los Rdos.Ppes. Misioneros en esta ciudad." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm, pp. 158-172.

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

1940e. "Fray Lucas González, rinde al Provincial de los PP. dominicos, informe de la reducción del Manché," Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm 3, pp. 175-176.

1940f. "El Capitán General don Jacinto de Barrios Leal, informa de su llegada al pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V. Num. 3, pp. 177-178.

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

1940h. "Informes de la reducción de indios lacandones al paraje nombrado Ypchia." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno, Año V, Núm. 3, pp. 180-186.

1945. "Relación histórica de los monasterios de la provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala." Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno Año X, Núm. 2, pp. 104-127.

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

Guatemala, Comisión de Límites

1929. Cartografía de la América Central. Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional.

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

Guatemala, Dirección General de Cartografía
1961- Diccionario geográfico de Guatemala. 2 vols. Guatemala: Tipografía
1962. Nacional.

[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 Recinos (1954:225).]

Guatemala, Instituto de Antropología e Historia (I.D.A.E.H.)
1967. Guía del Museo Nacional de Arqueología y etnología. Guatemala
: Ministerio de Educación.

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

Guatemala Instituto Geográfico Nacional
1968. Suplemento del Diccionario Geográfico de Guatemala 1961-1964.
2 vols., Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional.

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

Guatemala, Instituto Indigenista Nacional
1961. "Dialogo u "original" del Baile de la Conquista." Guatemala Indígena,
Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 103-147. Guatemala: Instituto Indigenista
Nacional.

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

Guiteras Holmes, Calixta
1963. "Roberta Montagu (1924-1962)." Estudios de Cultura Maya, Vol. III,
pp. 315-317. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México,
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Seminario de Cultura Maya.

[R..Montagu had visited the Lacandón area.]

Guiteras Holmes, Calixta and D.Leonard
1950. "Los últimos de Jatate." Tiempo, Vol. XVII, Núm. 422, 2 de
junio, pp.25-28, México.

Guthe, C. E.

1921. "Report on the Excavations at Tayasal." Carnegie Institution of Washington Yearbook, No. 20, pp. 364-368. Washington, D.C.
1922. "Report on the Excavations at Tayasal." Carnegie Institution of Washington Yearbook, No. 21, pp. 318-319. Washington, D.C.

H

Halle, Louis J.

1941. River of Ruins. New York: Henry Holt + Co.

[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

1885. "Les Lacandons de la Haute Usumacinta." Revue de l'Ethnographie, Vol. IV, pp. 1-5, Paris.
1897. La galerie américaine du Musée d'Ethnographie du Trucado Choix de pieces archéologiques et ethnographiques. Paris.
- 1899-1902. Decades Americanae: Mémoires d'Archéologie et d'Ethnographie Américaines. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur.

[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 Fruhlings. Reiseerzahlungen 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 de Lacanja, Edo, de Chiapas." Diario de Yucatán, junio 12, pp. 1-8.
1949. "Oxlahantun." Archaeology, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 129-133. Cambridge: 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.]

1950. "The Lacanja Valley." Archaeology, Vol. 3, No. , pp. 12-15.
Cambridge, Mass.: Archaeological Institute of America.

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

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

n.d. Photographs of the Lacandones.

[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 Bartholomäus

1853. Reisen in Mexico. Leipzig.

[Includes comments on the Lacandones.]

Hellmuth, Nicholas Matthew

1968. San José de Garcia Real, Chiapas, Reino de Guatemala, 1793-1806, Missionary Lacandón Settlement: Its Significance in the Study of the Historic Yucatec Lacandón Maya. Typewritten mss. Anthropology 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.]

- 1969b. 17th Century Chol Maya of Peta and Map, Chiapas. Paper read at the 17th Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Ithaca, N. Y., October, 1969.

[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 Garcia Real, a settlement near Palenque. Also included will be annotated transcriptions of portions of the Calderon-Quentas Zayas letters from the Bancroft Library, and portions of some Calderon papers from the A.G.C.A., all on the Lacandones of San José.]

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

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

- Hernández 1965. Tirado de Tobón, Otilia, Iris Wares, Viola Warkentin, and Ruby Scott Fechas inolvidables de nuestra vida civica. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

[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 firma del mar oceano. Various editions.

Hitchner, Ruth

1947. "Notas sobre la alimentación e idumentaria de los indios chol de Chiapas, México." Boletín Indigenista, Vol. 7, No. , pp. 160-163. México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.

1948. "Chol texts." In Materials on Mayan languages of Mexico, pp. 1-59. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, No.26, Chicago: University of Chicago Library.

Holland, William R.

1961. "Relaciones entre la religión Tzotzil contemporánea y la Maya Antigua." Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Vol.13, pp 113-131.

- 1964a. "Conceptos cosmológicos Tzotziles como una base para interpretar la civilización Maya prehispánica." América Indígena, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 11-28. México.
- 1964b. "Contemporary Tzotzil cosmological concepts as a basis for interpreting prehistoric Maya civilization." American Antiquity, Vol. 29, No. , pp. 301-306.

Hurtado, Manuel

1966. Reminiscencia de una expedición a Yaxchilan ciudad sagrada del primer imperio Maya. México: Editorial Orion.

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

I

Ibarra, Fray Juan

- 1956a. "Caribes y Lacandons." Pinceladas Misionales, Tomo , No. , pp. 6-7.
- 1956b. "Los Lacandones de Chiapas pertenecientes a nuestra misión de Tenozique." Pinceladas Misionales, Tomo , No. , pp. 12-14.

Illustrated London News

- 1947a. "New Mayan discoveries of First-Class Importance." Illustrated London News, June 28.
- 1947b. "An Amazing Discovery in the Field of Maya Archaeology." Illustrated London News, August 9.
1949. "The Brilliant Murals of Bonampak." Illustrated London News, November 5, supl.

Ivanoff, Pierre

1967. "The Tribe That Turned its Back." The Geographical Magazine, Vol. XL, No. 3, pp. 178-185, London.

[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.

1883. "Die Lacandones Indianer." Globus, Vol. XLIII, pp. 270-271, Braunschweig.

- 1946- "Mexiko-Centralamerika." Ethnographiska Avdelningen, 1945, pp. 53-54,
1947. 1946, p. 57.

[Incomplete reference.]

J

Johnson, Frederick

1940. "The Linguistic Map of Mexico and Central America." In The Maya and Their Neighbors, pp. 88-113, New York, London: D. Appleton-Century Company.

[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

1832. "Rapport sur un nouvel ouvrage contenant la relation des trois expéditions du capitaine Dupaix en 1805, 1806, et 1807, pour la recherche des antiquités mexicaines, etc." Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, Tome 18, No. 114, pp. 218-220. Paris.

[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

1927. "Report on the British Museum Expedition to British Honduras, 1927." Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. LVIII, pp. 295-333, London.

Juarros, Domingo

1808. Compendio de la historia de la Ciudad de Guatemala. 2nd. ed., Guatemala: Tipografia Nacional.

1823. A Statistical and Commerical History of the Kingdon of Guatemala, in Spanish America. London.

K

Kaufman, Terrence

1967. Book review of: Chol Texts on the Supernatural. By Arabelle Whittaker and Viola Warkentin. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. XXX III ' No. 3, p. 258.

Keller, Kathryn C.

1955. "The Chontal (Mayan) Numerical System." International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. XXI, No. pp. 258-275, Baltimore.

1958. "The Phonemes of Chontal (Mayan)." International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 25, No. , pp. 49-53.

Keller, Kathryn C. and Margaret Harris

1946. "Masculine Crab and Mosquitoes: Two Chontal Texts." Tlalocan, Vol. II, No. , pp. 138-140. México: La Casa de Tlaloc.

Kelsey, Vera and Lilly de Jongh Osborne

1955. "Caribes y Lacandones, dos tribas Guatemaltecas." Revista Geografica Americana, Año XXII, No. 231, pp. 136-140, Buenos Aires.

Krustev, Dimitar

19??. "Secret of the Lacandones." Telenews, Vol. No. , pp. 12.

[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

1967. "Drama, Dance, and Music." Chapter 9 in Social Anthropology, Manning Nash, ed., Handbook of Middle American Indians, Vol. 6. Austin: University of Texas Press.

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

L

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.]

193?. Chol Studies: 1, "Choles, Chorties, and Puctunes." Typewritten mss.

[Original in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard Univ.: This is an excellent study of the Chol which seems never to have been consulted by later writers on the Chol.]

1947. Santa Eulalia: The Religion of a Cuachumatan Indian Town. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

La Farge, Oliver and Ernest Noyes

- 193?a. Chol Studies, II: Noyes - La Farge Correspondence. Typewritten mss.

[Original in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard.]

- 193?b. Chol Studies, III: Text + Translation of Moran's "Confesionario."
Typewritten mss.

[Original in the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard.]

La Farge, Oliver and Douglas S. Byers

1931. "The Year Bearer's People." Middle American Research Series, Pub. No. 3, New Orleans: Tulane University.

Lamb, Dana and Ginger Lamb

1951. Quest for the Lost City. New York: Harper + Brothers.

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

Las Casas, Fray Bartolomé

1951. Historia de las Indias. 3 vols. México: Fondo de Cultura Economica.

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

1944. "Dermatoglyphics and functional lateral dominance in Mexican Indians, V: the Zinacantecs, Huixtecs, Amatenangos and Finca Tzeltals..."
Middle American Research Records, Vol. 1, No. 6, Middle American Research Institute, Pub. 15. New Orleans: The Tulane University of Louisiana.

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

León, Nicolas

1901. Linguistic families of Mexico. México: Imprenta del Gobierno Federal en el ex-Arzobispado.

["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 Manché i Lacandón, que pretende hazer Don Diego de Vera Ordóñez de Villaquirán...

1932. "Report made in the Royal Council of the Indies." In Some Spanish "Entradas" 1524-1695, by Doris Z. Stone. Middle American Research Series, Pub.No. 4, New Orleans: Department of Middle American Research.

[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)

1950. "Raras costumbres de los Lacandones." Impacto, 17 de junio de 1950.

- 1955a. "The Pierced Septum among the Lacandones." El México Antiguo, Vol. VIII, pp. 347-351.

- 1955b. "Preliminary Report - Ethnology." In Preliminary Report on the Expedition to the Lacandone Jungle, 7 pp., México: Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México:-

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

Leonard, Donald (Juan) and Calixta Guiteras Holmes

1950. "Cita en la selva: Los lacandones del Jataté reciben pronto respuesta a su angustioso llamado." Impacto, 17 de Junio, Año II, Núm. 47, México.

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 Límites; for No. 2, see El Mensajero.]

Lizarraga, Nicolas

16??. Representación al Rey pidiendole la conquista de Itzá y Lacandón, con unas noticias y mapa de dichas tierras.

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

Longacre, Robert

1967. "Systemic comparison and reconstruction." Chapter 5 in Linguistics, N. McQuown, ed., Handbook of Middle American Indians, Vol. 5, Austin: University of Texas Press.

[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).]

Lopez de Cogolludo, Diego

1867- Historia de Yucatan. 3rd. ed., 2 vols, Merida, Imprenta de Manuel
1868. Rivas.

Lopez de Llergo, Jeronimo

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

Loyd, Clay

1964. "A Psychiatrist Studies a Vanishing Tribe." Topeka Capital-Journal, Sunday Magazine, Dec. 16, 1964. Copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé.

[5pp.; many incredible and misleading statements about the past history of the Lacandones, but also has some useful comments on kinship.]

M

Mac Nutt, Francis Augustus

1908. Fernando Cortés: His Five Letters of Relation to the Emperor Charles V. 2 vols., Cleveland:A. H. Clark Co.

McBride, Felix Webster

1932. "A Hot Norther and Terrific Squall in Eastern Chiapas, April 6, 1928." American Meteorological Society, Bulletin 10, pp.130-131.

McQuomom, Norman A.

1956. "The Classification of the Mayan Languages.'" International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. XXII, No. 3, pp. 191-195.

[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 McQuown. Historic data, not utilized by McQuown, or by Thompson in his study of the Mopan-Itzá differences, might alter this placement.]

1964. "Los orígenes y la diferenciación de los Mayas según se infiere de estudio comparativo de las lenguas Mayanas." In Desarrollo cultural de los Mayas, E. Z. Vogt and A. Ruz, eds., pp. 49-81. México; Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Seminario de Cultura Maya.

Madeira, Percy D., Jr.

- 1931a. "An Aerial Exploration of Central America." Geographical Society of Philadelphia, Bulletin, XXIX pp.71-83.

- 1931b. "An Aerial Expedition to Central America." Pennsylvania University, University Museum, Museum Journal, Vol. XXII; pp. 95-153.

Maler, Toeber

1901. "Researches in the central portion of the Usumatsintla Valley." Memoirs, Peabody Museum, Harvard, Vol. II, No.1. Cambridge.

[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.]

1903. "Researches in the central portion of the Usumatsintla Valley - Part Second." Memoirs, Peabody Museum, Harvard, Vol. II, No. 2.

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

- 1908a. "Explorations of the upper Usumatzintla and adjacent region..." Memoirs, Peabody Museum, Harvard, Vol. IV, No. 1. Cambridge.
- 1908b. "Explorations in the Department of Petén Guatemala and adjacent region..." Memoirs, Peabody Museum, Harvard, Vol. I.V, No. 2. Cambridge.
1910. "Explorations in the Department of Petén, Guatemala and adjacent region (continued)." Memoirs, Peabody Museum, Harvard, Vol. IV, No. 1, Cambridge.

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

Margain Araujo, Carlos R.

- 1950a. "Los Mayas de ayer y hoy: Bonampak." México en el Arte, No. 9, pp. 37-54. México.

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

- 1950b. "Reseña de Franz Termer: Der Bericht des Pedro Alvarez de Miranda uber die Lacandonen. Expedition nach Ostchiapas im Jahre 1695." Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg, Vol. XLIX. Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana, Vol. XIII, parte II, p. 156. México.

1951. "Los Lacandones de Bonampak." Enciclopedia Mexicana de Arte, No. 13. México: Ediciones Mexicanas.

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 Tundo 1882, and Tozzer 1913.]

- n.d. Letters and reports. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, 65-6-28.

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

- n.d. Arte de la lengua Choltí. Lost Mss.

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

Marimon y Tundo, Sebastiful
1882. "Fray Antonio de Margil, Über die Lacandonen, 1695." Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. XIV, pp.130-132. Stuttgart.

Martínez, Manuel
1911. "Exploraciones del Río Jataté y muerte del Ing. Cornelio Colorado." In Colección de documentos inéditos relativos a la Iglesia de Chiapas, Orozco y Jiménez, ed., Vol. II, pp.182-187. San Cristóbal de las Gasas: Imprenta de la Soc. Católica.

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

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

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[See MONTERO DE MIRANDA, FRANCISCO]

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see Scholes and Adams 1936.

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16??a. Libro de quartilla grande alto. Lost mss.

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

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

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

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

[Copies as 16??b.]

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) .]

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[This is the issue in which Murdock gives the references he used for his coding of the Lacandones (SalO, 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.]

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[Scholes speaks of his research in the Archivo de Indias, Sevilla and about the documents he located on the conquest of the Itzá, Chol, and Lacandón in the 1690's. See under Scholes 196?-196?.J

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[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.]

1952. "Una conversación sobre una laguna en Chiapas." Tlalocan, Vol. III, No. , pp. 184-186.

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

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[Listed in the bibliography of Castillo (1961:218).

[See also under Ciudad Real, Antonio de]

Poniatowska, Elena

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[Newspaper article, has ethnographic information.]

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[Listed in Gates (1937:30).]

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Quentas Zayas, Agustín de las
[See under Calderon]

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

"Recinos, Adrian

1954. Monografía del Departamento de Huehuetenango. 2nd edition. Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública.

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

Reina, Ruben E.

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Remesal, Antonio de

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[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).

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Ritter, C.

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Rivas, Fray Diego

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[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 Goatha informa ... de operarios este reino pa la mission del puo de Lacandon. Mss. in the Library of the University of Texas.

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Rivet, Paul

1952. "Langues de Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale." In Les langues du monde, Meillet and Cohen, eds. Collection Linguistique Publiee par la Société de Paris, Vol. , pp. 1067-1097.

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

1967. Los Lacandones. I.- 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.

1947. "Tesoro en la selva. "La Semana, mayo 26. México.

Roldán, Fray Joseph Antonio Maria de

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

Roman, Geronimo

1575. Republicas del Mundo. Salamanca.

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

Romero, Matias (editor

1877. Bosqueso 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.)

1897. "Mr. Blaine and the Boundary Question Between Mexico and Guatemala." Bulletin American Geographical Society, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, pp. 281-330.

Romero, Pedro H.

1926. "Expedición a Chiapas y Tabasco...1892." Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía Anales, época 4, Tomo IV, pp. 459-477.

Rosica de Caldas, Sebastian Alvarez Alfonso

1667. Sobre la conquista, reducion, y conversion de las Provincias del Lacandon, en 30 de enero, 1667. Guatemala: Joseph de Pineada 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.

1932. "Antonio de Ciudad Real, Ethnographer." American Anthropologist, n.s., Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 118-126.

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

1933. "The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel." Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 438. Washington, D.C.

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

1943. "The Indian Background of Colonial Yucatan." Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 548, Washington, D.C.

[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

1947. "Bonampak Expedition." In C.I.W. Annual Report of the Chairman of the Division of Historical Research, C.I.W. Yearbook No. 46, pp. 177-179. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

1952. "Bonampak." Die Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik, Part 23, pp. Frankfurt-am-Main.

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

1955. "Bonampak, Chiapas, Mexico." Carnegie Institution of Washington, Pub. 602.

S

Sala, Antenor

1890. Informe acerca de la explotación del tejido cortical del árbol tabasqueco llamado Holocin.

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

Salazar, Fray Gabriel de

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

Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas..., Vol. I, pp. 3-15, Gates Collection.

Sanchez, José María

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

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

?? Apuntaciones para la historia de Guatemala.

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

Sanches de Aguilar, Pedro

1937. Informe contra idolorum cultores del Obispado de Yucatan. 3rd edition. Mérida: E. G. Triay e Hijos, Imps.

Sanchez Garcia, Fray Daniel

1917. Un gran apostol de las Americas. Guatemala.

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

1920. Catálogo de los escritores franciscanos de la Provincia Serafica del Santisimo Nombre de Jesús de Guatemala. Guatemala.

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

1911. Chiapas, reseña geográfico y estadistics. México: Libreria de la Vda. de C.Bouret.

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

Sapper, Karl

1889. "Ein Ausflug in die Walder der Alta Verapaz (Guatemala) ." Beilage sur Allgemeinen Zeitung. Nr. 336, pp. 1-2. München.

[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 "Quekchí" may have some such data.]

- 1891a. "Die Verapaz und ihre Bewohner." Das Ausland, No. 51-52, pp. 1011-16, and 1034-36. Stuttgart.

- 1891b. The Verapaz and Its Inhabitants. English translation of "Die Verapaz und ihre Bewohner."

[Typed original in the Peabody Museum Library).

- 1891c. "Ein Besuch bei den ostlichen Lacandonen." Das Ausland. 64 Jg., pp. 892-895. Stuttgart.

- 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.]

- 1892a. "Eine Reise in's Petén." Beilage zur AllgemeineinP Zeitung, Nr. 261, pp.4-6. Muchen.
- 1895a. La lengua de San Luis (Petén). Mss.
[Mentioned by Thompson (1930:201).]
- 1895b. "Altindianisch Siedlungen und Bauten im nördlichen Mittelamerika." Globus, Bd. 68, pp.165-169, 183-189. Braunschweig.
- 1895c. Old Indian Settlements in Guatemala and Chiapas. English translation of.
[Tiped original in the Peabody Museum Library; mentions locations of Lacandón settlements, past and present (p. 13); and Choles (p.13).]
- 1895d. "The old Indian settlements and architectural structures in northern Central America." Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1895, pp. 537-555 Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.
[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".
- 1897a. Das Nordliche Mittel-Amerika nebst einem ausflug nach dem Hochland von Anahuac. Braunschweig: Friedrich Viewig und Sohn.
- 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]
1904. "The Independent States of Yucatan."
Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 28. Washington, D. C.
1906. "Titulo del Barrio de santa Ana, 1565." Internationaler Amerikanisten Kongress, 14th Session, Stuttgart 1904, Vol. II, pp. 373-381.
[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.]

1907. "Choles und Chorties." Proceedings, Congr s International des Americanistes, XV Session, Quebec 1906, Vol. II, pp. 423-439.

[Includes a lengthy vocabulary of German, Chorti, Chol, and Pocoman. This is one of the most important works on the Lacand n. Sapper was the first to recognize that the (Chol) Lacand n of the 16th and 17th centuries were a different group than the (Yucatec) Lacand n 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.]

1912. " ber Finice Sprachen von Sudchiapas." Proceedings, Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, XVII Session, M xico, 1910, pp. 295-320.

Satterthwaite, Linton

1946. "Incense Burning at Piedras Negras." University of Pennsylvania, University Museum, Bulletin, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 16-22.

[Has an illustration of a Lacand n type incensario?]

Saville, M. H.

1921. "Reports on the Maya Indians of Yucatan." Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. 9, No. 3. New York.

Scherzer, Karl

1857. Travels in the Free States of Central America... 2 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, + Roberts,

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

Scholes, France

- 196?- Correspondence between France Scholes and the Peabody Museum. Original
196?. 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 Scholes donated to the Museum Library. Gives catalog numbers of many documents on the Chol, Chol Lacand n, Itz , etc.]

Scholes, France and Eleanore Adams

1936. "Documents Relating to the Mir nes Expedition to the Interior of Yucatan, 1621-1624." Maya Research, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 153-176; Vol. III, No. 3/4, pp. 251-276.

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

1960. Relación historica descriptiva de las Provincias de la Verapaz y de la del Manché, escrita por el Capitán don Martín Alfonso Tovilla.
Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria.

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

Scholes, France V. and Ralph L. Roys

1948. "The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalan-Tixchel." Carnegie Institution of Washington, Pub. 560. Washington D.C.

[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

- n.d. Apuntes inéditos sobre las lenguas Itzá y Mopan de Guatemala.

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

in press "Descripción estructural del Maya Itzá hablado en El Petén, Guatemala." Seminario de Estudios de la Escrita Maya, Cuadernos No. 6. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Schute, Henry A.

1961. "The Mysterious Lacandones." Mexican American Review, Vol.29, No. 5, pp.

Seler, Caecilie

1925. Auf alten Wegen in Mexiko und Guatemala. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroder.

Seler, Eduard

1887. Die Konjugation der Mayasprachen. Druck von Gebr. Unger. Berlin.

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

- 1895 "Alterthumer aus Guatemala." Veroffentlichungen aus dern Koniglichen
(1960b). Museum für Volkerkunde, Band IV, Heft i, S. 21-53.

[Republished in: Seler 1960, III:578-640. Illustrates Lacandón incensarios on p.585-588 and a similar type from Tabasco on p.589. Seler makes use of much of Sapper's excellent data.]

1898. "Mittelamerikanische Musikinstrumente." Globus, Band LXXIV, No. 19, pp. 109-112. Braunschweig.

1904. "Antiquities of Guatemala." Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 28, pp. 77-121. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

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

1914. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen sprach und Altertumskunde. Berlín.

1915. "Beobachtungen und Studien in den Ruinen von Palenque." Philosophisch-Historische Abtheilung Abhandlungen, No.5, Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften.

- 1960a. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde. 5 vols. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt.

Scott, Ruby and Viola Warkentin

1960. Aprendo castellano. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

[47 pp; Tumbalá Chol Mayan.]

Shattuck, George C. and Collaborators

1933. "The Península of Yucatan: Medical, Biological, Meteorological, and Sociological studies." Carnegie Institution of Washington, Pub. 431. Washington, D.C.

[Lacandones and Chols are mentioned on p. 48, 55. Chapter on "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

1959. The Changing Winds.

Shute, Henry A.

- 1961a. "The Mysterious Lacandones." Mexican American Review, Vol. 29, No.5, pp.

- 1961b. "The Mysterious Lacandones." Intercambio, Organo de la British Chamber of Commerce, June 30, 1961, Num. 111, 3 pp.

[Repinted from the Mexican American Review.]

Silíceo Pauer, Paul

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

Sivers, Jegór Von

1861. "Über Madeira und die Antillen nach Mittelamerika." Reisedenkwürdigkeiten und Forschungen, Vol. XII. Leipzig.

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

1964. La literatura de los Mayas. México: Editorial Joaquín Mortiz.

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

Sohns, Ernest R.

1955. "Preliminary Report - Botany." In Preliminary Report on the Expedition to the Lacandone Jungle, 1 P. Mexico: Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México.

Sotomayer, Arturo

1949. Dos sepulcros en Bonampak. México: Librería del Prado.

Soustelle, Georgette

1938. "Some observations on the religion of the Lacandones of southern Mexico." Congres International des Sciences Antropologiques et Ethnologiques, Compte-Rendu II, pp. 286-287. Copenhagen.

1939. "Notes sur le rituel religieux chez les Lacandones de Chiapas." Proceedings, Congres Internacional de Americanistas, XXVI Session, Mexico, Vol. II:pp. 408-418.

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

1959. "Observations sur le religion des Lacandones du Mexique Meridional." Journal de la Société des Americanistes, Vol.XLVIII, pp.141-196.

[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 "servent". 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.]

1961. "Observaciones sobre la religión de los lacandones del sur de México." Guatemala Indígena, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 31- . Guatemala: Instituto Indigenista Nacional.

[A Spanish translation of G. soustelle 1959.]

1966. "Collections Lacandons." Catalogues du Musée de l'Homme. Serie H, Amérique III, Supplément au Tome VI, 2, D'Objects ET Mondes, Revue du Musée l'Homme.

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

Soustelle, Jacques

1933. "Notes sur les Lacandon du Lac Peljá et du Río Jetjá (Chiapas)." Journal de la Société des Américanistes, n.s. Tome XXV, pp.153-180. Paris.

[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.]

- 1935a. "Les idées religieuses des Lacandons." La Terre et la Vie, No. 4, avril 1935, pp.170-178.

- 1935b. "Le totémisme des Lacandons." Maya Research, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 325- 344.

[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.]

- 1935c. "Les Lacandons de l'Etat de Chiapas et les auteurs locales." Journal de la Société des Américanistes, n.s. Tome XXVII, p. 260. Paris.

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

- 1936a. "Recherches sur l'Usumacinta." Journal de la Société des Américanistes, n.s. Tome XXVIII, p. 262. Paris.

- 1936b. Mexique, terre indienne. Paris.

- 1937a. La culture des indiens Lacandon. Doctoral thesis, University of Paris.

"La culture matérielle des Indiens Lacandons." Journal de la Société des Américanistes, n.s. Vol. XXIX, pp. 1-97. Paris.

[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).]

- 1937c. "Peintures repestres du Mexique." Arts et Netiers Graphiques, Janvier 1, Paris.

1940. "La pensée cosmologique des anciens Mexicains (représentation du monde et de l'espace)." Actualités scientifiques et industrielles, 881, Ethnologie, I. Paris: Hermann et Cie.

1943. "The Lacandone Indians of Southern Mexico: Summary." Man, XLIII, p. 117.

1946. "Les Lacandons du Chiapas." Journal de la Société des Américanistes, n.s. Tome XXXV, pp.

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

1948. "La religion des Indiens Lacandons, la religion des Azteques, des Maya et des Inca." In Histoire generale des religions, Quillet, ed. (?), Tome I, pp.177-202 Paris.
1954. "Les derniers Mayas libres vivent comme il y a 2 millénaires le cigare aux levres." In Le Rendez-Vous Mexicain ou Depuis 1300 Ans les Dieux Attendent. 17-18 Janvier, pp. Paris: Presse l'intransigeant.
1967. Les quatre soleils/ souvenirs et réflexions d'un ethnologue au Mexique. Paris: Librairie Plon.
- [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 Amerique, Nord et Centre.

soza, José María

1957. Pequeña monografía del Departamento del Petén. Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública.

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

Spain, Archivo General de Indias, Seville

- 1562- Probanzas of Feliciano Bravo, escribano mayor de gobernación in Yucatán.
1882. México, Leg. 109.

[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 Lacandón, but they are not completely cataloged, and are not included in this edition of the bibliography. The Bravo mss.has information on the Petén and is discussed in Appendix D of Scholes + Roys.]

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

Spinden, Herbert J.

1957. Maya Art and Civilization. Indian Hills, Colo.: The Falcon's Wing Press.

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.]

1858. The States of Central America, Their Geography, Topography, Climate, Population. New York.

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

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

1871. Introduction and Notes to: Travels in Central America, by Arthur Morelet. New York: Leypoldt, Holt, + William.

Starr, Frederick

1902. "The Physical Characters of the Indians of southern Mexico." The Decennial Publications, Vol. IV, pp. 53-109. University of Chicago Press.

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

1904. "Notes on the Ethnography of Southern Mexico: Expedition of 1901." Proceedings of Davenport Academy of Sciences, Vol. IX, pp. 72-100. Davenport.

[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.

1841. Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan. 2 vols. New York: Harper.

[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

1884. Zur Ethnographie der Republik Guatemala. Zurich.

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

1958. "Et nografía de Guatemala." Seminario de Integración Social
Guatemalteca , Pub. 8. Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación
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,
Carnegie Institution of Washington Yearbook No.47, pp. 211-213.
Washington, D.C.

Swadesh, M.

1955a. "Informe preliminar. Cronología Lingüística Divergente." Yan.
Mexico: Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México. -

1955b. "Preliminary Report - Linguistic Depth Measure." In Preliminary Report
on the Expedition to the Lacandone Jungle, 1 p. México: Centro de
Investigaciones Antropológicas de México.

Swayne, E.

1917. "British Honduras." The Geographical Journal, Vol. L, pp. 161-179.

T

Tax, Sol

1951. "Lacandon Nasal Ornaments." American Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 1,
p. 148.

Tejeda F., Antonio

1948. "Bonampak Expedition." In Carnegie Institution of Washington, Annual Report of the Chairman of the Division of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution of Washington Yearbook. No.47, pp. 213-214. Washington D.C.

Termer, Frans

1920. Die Entwicklung der l nder-und v lkerkundlichen Kenntnisse  ber Mittelamerika im 16. Jahrhundert. Dissertation, Faculty of Philosophy, University of W rzburg.

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

1921. Die Entwicklung der l nder-und v lkerkundlichen Kenntnisse  ber... Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Sudamerikanischen und Iberischen Instituts zu Koln, 9 Jahr.

1950. "Der Bericht des Pedro Alvarez de Miranda  ber die Lacandonen. Expedition nach Ostchiapas im Jahre 1695." Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg, Vol.XLIX, pp.36-63, Hamburg.

- 1956a. "Carlos Sapper - explorador de Centro Am rica (1866-1945)." Anales de la Sociedad de Geograf a e Historia de Guatemala, Tomo XXIX, No. pp.55-101. Guatemala: Tipograf a Nacional.

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

- 1956b. "Bibliograf a de Carlos Sapper." Anales de la Sociedad de Geograf a e Historia de Guatemala, Tomo XXIX, No. pp.102-130. Guatemala: Tipograf a Nacional.

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

1957. "Etnolog a v etnograf a de Guatemala." Seminario de Integraci n Social Guatemalteca, Pub.5. Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educaci n P blica.

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

Thomas, Cyrus

1911. "Indian Languages of Mexico and Central America and Their Geographical Distribution." Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin. 44. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office.

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 .

1930. "Ethnology of the Mayas of Southern and Central British Honduras." Field Museum of Natural History Pub. 274, Anthropological Series Vol. XVII, No . 2 . Chicago .

[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.:)

1931. "Archaeological investigations in the southern Cayo District British Honduras." Field Museum of Natural History Pub. 301, Anthropological Series Vol. XVII, No. 3. Chicago.

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

1938. "Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Reports on the Chol Mayas." American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, No. . pp. 535-6-4.

[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.]

1939. "The Moon Goddess in Middle America, with Notes on Related Deities." Contributions to American Anthropology and History, Vol. Contribution No. c. I. N. Pub. 509. Washington, D. C.

[Mentions Lacandon deity.]

- 1945a. Vocabulary of Spanish-Chol, Derived from the Vocabulario Grande de Fray Francisco Moran. Rearranged as Chol-Spanish. Typewritten mss.

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

- 1945b. "The Lacandon of the 1790's." Tlalocan, Vol. II, No. 1. p. 70.

[Thompson mentions the Orozco y Jimenez volume which has the Calderon - Quantas Zayas letters on the Lacandón of the 1793 settlement of

San José de Gracia Real and suggests that they should be studied together with the Calderon - Quentas Zayas letters in the Bancroft Library.]

1946. "Some Uses of Tobacco among the Maya" · Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. III , No. 61. 'Washington , D. C .
Carnegie Institution of Washington .

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

1950. "Maya Hieroglyphic Writing." Carnegie Institution of Washington,
Pub. 589, Washington , D. C.

1951. "The Itzá of Tayasal, Fetén." In Homenaje al Doctor Alfonso Caso ,
pp. 389-400. México: Imprenta Nuevo Mundo.

1952. "Waxen Idols and a Sacrificial Rite of the Lacandon. Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology , Vol. IV , No. 109 Washington , D .C
Carnegie Institution of Washington. .:

[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.)

1958. Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World. Norman, Okla: University of
Oklahoma Press.

1963. "Frans Blom (1893-1963)." · Estudios de Cultura Maya , Vol. III, pp.
307-314. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de
Filosofía y Letras, Seminario de Cultura Maya.

- 1965 . "Maya Creation Myths, Part I." Estudios de Cultura Maya, Vol. V,
pp. 13-32. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad
de Filosofía y Letras, Seminario de Cultura Maya.

- 1966a . "The Maya Central Area at the Spanish Conquest and Later: A Problem
in Demography." Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute
of Great Britain and Ireland 1966, pp. 23-37.

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

1966b. The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization. 2nd edition, enlarged. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press.

1967. "Maya Creation Myths, Part II." Estudios de Cultura Maya, Vol. VI, pp. 15-43. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Seminario de Cultura Maya.

Tobar Cruz, Pedro

1967. "Papeles históricos del Abate Brasseur de Bourbourg." Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 84-93. Guatemala Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala.

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

Torquemada, Juan de

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

Torre, Fray Tomas de la

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

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

Torsvan

[See Traven, Bruno]

Toscano, Salvador

1947. "Los murales de Bonampak." Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos, Vol. 9, No. 1-3, pp. 5-9. México.

1948. Bonampak y su paisaje. Acuralas, dibujos y litografías. México: Instituto nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Tovilla, Capitán Don Martín Alfonso

(1635). Relación histórica descriptiva de las Provincias de la Verapaz y de la de L Manché. Edited and with an introduction by Francesc X. Scholes and Eleanor Adams. Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria.

[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.

- 1902- "Report of the First Fellow in American Archaeology of the Archaeological Institute of America. 1902-1905." American Journal of Archaeology, Second Series, Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America, Vol.VI, Supplement, pp.2-4; Vol.VII, Supplement, pp.45-47; Vol.VIII, Supplement, pp.54-56. Vol IX, Supplement, pp.41-47; Vol.X, Supplement, pp.40-42.

(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.)

- 1907a. A Comparative study of the Mayas and the Lacandones. New York: Macmillan Co.

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

- 1907b. "Survivals of Ancient Forms of Culture among the Mayas of Yucatan and the Lacandones of Chiapas." Proceedings, Congres International des Americanistes, XV Session, Quebec 1906, Tome II, pp.283-288.

[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.]

1912. "The Ruins of Northeast Guatemala." Proceedings, Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, XVII Session, México 1910, 2a Sesión, pp.400-405.

1913. "A Spanish Manuscript Letter on the Lacandones in the Archives of the Indies at seville." Proceedings, International Congress of Americanists, 18th Session, London 1912, Vol.II, pp.497-509.

[An important ethnographic account of the (Chol) Lacandón of 1695 at Nuestra sefiora de los Dolores de Lacandón. The letter, signed by Frailes Antonior Margil de Jesús, Lazaro de Mazariegos, 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 Tudo in 1882.]

1921. "AMaya Grammar: with Bibliography and Appraisalment of the Works Noted." Papers of the Peabody Museum Vol. IX Cambridge:

[Has a Lacandón chant on p. 118-119.)

1941. "Landa's Relación de las cosas de Yucatán: a translation." Papers of the Peabody Museum, Vol. XVIII. Cambridge.

[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.]

1957. "Chichén Itzá and Its Well of Sacrifice: a Comparative study of Contemporaneous Maya and Toltec." 2 vols. Memoirs, Peabody Museum, Harvard, Vols. 11-12. Cambridge.

[Contains a study of Itzá history.]

Traven, Bruno

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

1952. Rebellion of the Hanged. New York: Knopf.

[Translation of "La rebelión de los colgados"]

- 19??. Der Aufruhr der Gehenktcn.

[Mentioned by Cordan (1963:21).]

Trens, Manuel B.

- 1930a. "Los Indios Lacandones; su vida y su historia." Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, Tomo 42, No. 4, pp. 267-296. México.

- 1930b. Los indios Lacandones: su vida y su historia. México: Imp. El Progreso.

[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.]

1957. Historia de Chiapas desde los tiempos mas remotos hasta la caída del Segundo Imperio. 2nd. edition. México.

Trinidad Ferreira, Angel

1964. La genética escudriña a los Lacandones. Six parts: 31 de marzo, ?, ?, ?, 4 de Abril, and 5 de Abril. Excelsior. México.

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

U

Ulrich, Matthew and Rosemary Ulrich

1962. Alphabet Book. Guatemala: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

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

- 1964a. La viruela. Guatemala: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

- 1964b. Ca wila'a mejen (Cuida a tus hijos). Guatemala: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

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

1966. "Mopan Maya." In Lenguas de Guatemala, Cap. XI, pp. 355-382, Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, Pub. 20. Guatemala; Departamento Editorial. "José de Piñeda Ibarra".

Umrey, J.

1910. "Un viaje al país de los Lacandones. Una serie de peripecias y penalidades sufridas por el Doctor Bauer y su esposa." El País, 15 Sept., 1910.

[Copy in the Biblioteca Fray Bartolomé.]

V

Valdés Oliva, Arturo

1965. "Lenguas indígenas de Guatemala." Cuadernos del Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, No. 6. Guatemala:Ministerio de Educación.

[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, Nicolas de

1695. An Account of the Expedition Against the Lacandones. 402 pp. Lost mss.

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

Valenzuela, Salvador

1951. "Informe sobre el departamento del Petén, dirigido al Ministerio de Fomento." Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia, Tomo XXV, No. 4, pp. 397-410. Guatemala:Tipografía Nacional.

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

Valle, Fray Blas del

"Informe del Fray Blas Del Valle, sobre Verapaz." Photographic copy in Brasseur de Bourbourg, Documentos originales sobre las entradas..., Vol. I, pp. 21-24, Gates Collection.

Valle, José Cecilio del

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

1930. "Guatemala hace cien años." Part I, Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia, Tomo VI, No.3, pp. 263-294; Part II, Ibid, Tomo VI, No. 4, pp. 466-480.

Vazquez, Francisco

1931. "Cronistas de la colonia: literatura Guatemalteca." Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, Tomo VII, No. pp. 482-512.

Vázquez de Herrera, Fray Francisco de Asís

- 1937- "Crónica de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Guatemala
1944. de la Orden de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco en el Reino de

la Nueva España." Biblioteca "Goathemala", Vols. 14-17. Guatemala: Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala.

Vázquez Vázquez, Elena

1965. Distribución geográfica y organización de las órdenes religiosas en la Nueva España: Siglo XVI. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Geografía.

[Has a good bibliography on church organization.]

Vega, Nuñez de la

1702. Constituciones diocesanas del Obispado de Chiapas. Rome

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

Vela, David

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

Veytia y Echeverria, Mariano Fernández de

Historia del origen de las gentes que poblaron...

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

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 Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, Tomo XXVIII, No. pp. 18-31.

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

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

1962. Guatemala Indígena, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 141-160. Guatemala: Instituto Indigenista Nacional.

Vico, Fray Domingo

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

[This is probably the same lost manuscript mentioned in the bibliography of Bandelier (1880:96) under the title "Historia de los Indios, sus fábulas, supersticiones, costumbres..."]

- 15??. Teología para los Indios, en lengua de Verapaz. 4 vols. Lost mss.
[Listed in the bibliography of Bandelier.]

Vilaplana, Fray Hermenegildo

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

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

1939. "Notas sobre la Etnografía de los Mayas de Quintana Roo." Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos, Vol. III, pp. 227-291. México .

1945. "The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo" Carnegie Institution of Washington, Pub. 559. Washington, D. C .

1954. "Los Quejaches: tribu olvidada del antiguo Yucatan." Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos, Tomo 17, pp. 97-117. México: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología .

[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.]

- 1967a. Los lacandones: su origen, costumbres y problemas vitales." América Indígena, Tomo XXVII, No. 1, pp. 25-54. México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano .

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

- 1967b. "Los lacandones: recursos económicos y organización social." América Indígena, Tomo XXVII, No. 3, pp. 465-494. México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano .

- 1968a. "Los lacandones: sus dioses, ritos y creencias religiosas." América Indígena, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, pp. 81-137. México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano .

- 1968b. Los lacandones. México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano .

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

1968c. Espacio y tiempo entre los mayas contemporaneos. México:Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

1968d. "Lacandones." In Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol.13, p.568-569. Chicago:Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.

[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.]

1969. "Maya Lowlands; the Chontal, Chol, and Kekchi." Chapter 11 in Ethnology, Part One, E. Z. Vogt, ed., Handbook of Middle American Indians, Vol.7. Austin:University of Texas Press.

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

1929. "Arqueología Guatemalteca XI: Pokama, Cak-yu Chama, Chajcar, Panzamala, Chisec, Purulja, Chacujal, etc." Anales de la sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, Tomo VI , No. 1, pp. 52-71. Guatemala.

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

Villagra Caletí, Agustín

1947. "Las pinturas de Bonampak." Cuadernos Americanos, Año VI, No.4, pp. 151-160. México.

1948. Las pinturas de Bonampak y su paisaje: acuarelas, dibujos y litografías del pintor Agustín Villagra Caletí. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

1949. Bonampak: la ciudad de los muros pintados. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

1952. "Expedición de 1951 a Bonampak." Tlatoani, Tomo I, No. 5-6, pp. 51-56. México.

Villagutierre Soto Mayor, Juan

- 1701a. Historia de la conquista de la Provincia de el Itzá, reducción y progressos de la de el Lacandón, y otros naciones de indios barbaros, de la medición de el reyno de Guatemala, a las provincias de Yucatan en la America Septentrional. Madrid.

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

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

Villanueva, José

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

Vivó Escoto, Jorge A.

1941. "Razas y lenguas indígenas de México, su distribución geográfica." Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Pub. No. 52.
1942. "Geografía lingüística y política prehispánica de Chiapas y secuencia histórica de sus pobladores." Revista Geográfica, Tomo II, Nos. 4-6, pp. 121-156. México: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia.
1946. México prehispánico: culturas - deidades - monumentos México: Editorial Emma Hurtado.

Voegelin, F. M..

Map of North American Indian Languages.

Vogt, Evon Z

1964. "The Genetic Model and Maya Cultural Development." In Desarrollo cultural de Mayas, E.Z. Vogt, A. Ruz, eds., pp. 9-48. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Seminario de Cultura Maya.

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

1969. "The Maya Introduction." Chapter 2 in his Ethnology, Handbook of Middle American Indians, Vol. 7, Part One. Austin: University of Texas Press.

W

Wadell, Hakon

1926. "Yucatan halvön och relation till närgränsande delar av Central-Amerika." Medd. fram Kunds Univ. Geogr. Inst., Ser. C, Nr. 17.

[Listed in the bibliography of Mullerried (1942:337) .]

Wagner, Helmuth O.

1956. 'Reilandsbeobachtungen der Klammeraffen. Zeitschr. Tierpsychologie, Band 13, Heft 2, pp. 302-313.

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

Wagner, Henry Raup and Helen R. Parish

1967. The Life and Writings of Bartolomé de las Casas. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Haldeck, Frederick

1838. Woyage pittoresque et archeologique dans la province d'Yucatan (Amerique centrale) pendant les années 1833 et 1836. Paris: Bellizard Dufour et Co.

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

Wares, Alan C.

1968. Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics 1935-1969. Santa Ana, Calif.. Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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

Warkentin, Viola and Ruby Scott

1959. La' laj q'uel jun (Let's look at a book). Revised and amplified edition. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

(104 pp. Tumbalá Cho Mayan.)

1960. La' laj q'uel yamb jun Let's look at another book). México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

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

1965. Historia de México. México: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

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

Wauchope, Robert

1938. "Modern Maya Houses: a Study of their Archaeological Significance."
Carnegie Institution of Washington, Pub. 502, Washington, D.C.

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

1965. They Found the Buried Cities. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

[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.

1956. "Chiapas Expedition." Explorers Journal, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, pp. 5-6.
New York.

- 1957a. "To the Land of the Lacandones, Part I" Natural History, Vol. LXVI,
No. 5, pp. 253-259.

- 1957b. "Modern Mayas, Part II." Natural History, Vol. LXVI, No. 6, pp.
314-321.

1958. Primitive Peoples Today. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday + Co.

[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)

1959. C'd' jun (aprenda a leer). 1st primer, trial edition. México
Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

[Tila Chol Mayan].

1960. C'n' jun (aprenda a leer). 2nd primer, trial edition. México:
Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

1965. C'n' jun (aprenda a leer). 1st edition. México: Instituto Lingüístico
de Verano.

Whittaker, Arabelle and Viola Harkentin

1965. "Chol texts on the supernatural." Summer Institute of Linguistics
Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, Pub.No. 13. Norman,
Okla.; Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Wilson, Charles M.

1947. "Backwards a Dozen Centuries." Natural History, Vol. LVI, No. 8,
pp. 370-378.

- 1948a. "Open Sesame to the Maya." Pan American Union Bulletin, Vol. 82,
pp. 376-384.

1948. "Rediscovering Lost Temples of the Mayas." Travel, Vol. 92, No. 1,
pp. 24-33.

Wisdom, Charles

1940. The Chorti Indians of Guatemala. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1961. "Los Chortis de Guatemala." Seminario de Integración Social
Guatemalteca, Pub.No. 10. Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio
de Educación Pública "José de Piñeda Ibarra".

- 19??. "Materials on the Chorti Language." Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts
on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, No. 28. Chicago: University
of Chicago Press.

Wissler, Clark

1957. The American Indian. 3rd edition. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith.

[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"]

X

Ximenez, Francisco

- 1929- "Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapas y Guatemala de la
1931. Orden de Predicadores." Biblioteca "Goathemala", Vols. I-III.
Guatemala: Sociedad de Geografia e Historia de Guatemala.

[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.]

Y

Yergo, Geronimo

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

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

Z

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	PAVON 1949
ANONIMO MS	PENAGOS
BERRIER	PERIGNY 1910
BLOM 1935, 1949	POMPA Y POMPA
CEOOGH	RIVET
CIAM 1956	RODRIQUEZ
CHARNAY 1882	RUPPERT 1955
COLMONT 1938	SELER, E. 1887, 1898, 1914, 1915.
CULEBRO	SELER, C.
DUBY 1944, 1946, 1952, 1953, 1955.	SHUTE
FERIA	SIVERS
FRANCO	SOCIEDAD
HEALEY 1946	SWADISH 1955a
ILLUS. LONDON NEWS	TERMER 1950
MARGAIN 1950	TRENS 1930a
MEANS 1917	VILLAGRA 1948, 1949.
MENDIETA	
MENDIZABAL 1943	
MULLER	
NUNEZ	
OLIVERA	

*

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 Lacandón

AXHOYS***	MEANS
ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA*	MILES*
AMRAM 1937 :31**	MILLA
ANONYMOUS 1695 (?)	MIRANDA, P.**
ANONYMOUS 1??? (?)	MORAN***
BANCROFT	NOVAL
CASTILLO T.	OROZCO Y JIMENEZ**
CHAMBERLAIN	PAYNE
CHIAPAS 1953**	PONCE*
CIUDAD REAL*	RECINOS***
COBAN (?)	REMESAL???
COGOLLUDO***	RIVAS
CORTES***	ROSICA DE CALDAS*
DIAZ DEL CASTILLO***	ROYS
ECHEVERS***	SALAZAR*
GUATEMALA A.G.C.A.***	SCHOLES**
GUATEMALA COM DE LUM.	STONE***
GUATEMALA IDAEH*	TERMER**
JOHNSON*	THOMPSON***
LA FARGE***	TOVILLA***
LEON PINELO***	TOZZER 1913***
LIZARRAGA**	VALLE (?)
MARGIL DE JESUS***	VIANA***
MARIMON Y TUDO**	VILLAGUTIERRE***
	XIMENEZ***

19th Century Yucatec Lacandón

ABELLA (?)	GRAHAM*
AGUILAR (?)	GRIFFITH
AGUIRRE (?)	GUATEMALA AGCA***
ALCALDES DE COBAN (?)	GUATEMALA COM. DE LIM (?)
AMRAM 1937:28—36***	GUATEMALA DIR. GEN. DE CAR.*
BALLINAS***	HAMY ***
BANCROFT	HELLER**
BARLOW***	HELLMUTH**
BERENDT***	IZIKOWITZ*
BERGANZO***	LEON*
BERNASCON I	MALER***
BLASQUEZ (?)	MARTINEZ**
BODDAM-WHETHAM	MARURE*
BOYLE**	MAUDSLAY***
BRASSEUR***	MEJIA**
BRINE**	MORELET**
BRINTON	OROZCO Y JIMENEZ***
CARRASCOSA (?)	PIMENTEL*
CALDERON, J(?)	RIVERA**
CALDERON, M..***	ROCKSTROH***
CRARNAY***	ROHERO (?)
CHIAPAS***	SALA*
CHICA***	SAPPER***
DIESELFORFF***	SCHERZER*
DUPAIX	SELER***
ESCOBAR*	SOZA**
ESCOTO (?)	SQUIRE*
FAJARDO (?)	STEPHENS**
GALINDO***	STOLL***
GALLATIN (?)	TERMER*
GARCIA P.	VALENZUELA, S.***
GARCIA S.*	WALDECK***
GARCIA Y CUBAS**	YERGO*
GENET	
GONZALEZ	

20th Century Yucatec Lacandón

ALBORES	BAUER
AMRAM***	BBC-TV
ANDRADE**	BECERRA 1909, 1932*
ANGUIANO	BERRIER (?)
ARAI	BLANK
AVELEYRA	BLOM***
AVENTURAS	BRUCE***
BAER***	CASO MIER**
BALFOUR	CEOOGH
BASUARI	CENTRO DE...***
BASILIO	CLINE***

COE
COLMONT
COOK
CORDAN
CORDRY*
CUMMINGS
DAVIS
DEL RIO*
DORIA
DUBY***
DUNBAUGH*
ERBEN*
FARIAS
FERRER
FRANCO
FREY
GAMBOA
GANN
GARAY***
GENOVES
GERARD
GOUBAUD
GREENE
GUITERAS
HALLE
HEALEY***
HURTADO
BARRA*
ILLUS. LON. NEWS
IVANOFF*
KELSEY*
KRUSTEV
KURATH
LA BORDE
LAMB
LECHE
LEONARD*
LOYD
McBRIDE
McQUOWN
MADEIRA
MALER***
MARGAIN
MASON, G.
MASON, J.
MATSON*
MENA*
MENDIOLA*
MENDIZABAL
MENDOZA
MIRAMDA, F.*
MONTAÑES

MULLERRIED**
MURDOCK
MUSEUM
NOVAL
OLVERA
ORTIZ
PALACIOS**
PATELLANY
PAVON
PERAGOS
PETERSON
PETRYSHYN*
PIÑA CHAN
POMPA Y POMPA
PONIATOWSKA
RECINOS**
RITTLINGER*
ROBLES***
RUBIO
RUPPERT
SANTIBAÑEZ***
SATTERTWAITE
SELER. C. (?)
SHUTE
SILICEO
SODI
SOHNS*
SOTOMAYER
SOUSTELLE, G.***
SOUSTELLE, J.***
STARR
STROMVIK
SWADISH**
TAX
TEJEDA
TERMER
THOMAS*
THOMPSON, J.E.S.***
TOSCANO
TOZZER***
TRENS***
TRINIDAD*
UMREY
VELA
VILIA ROJAS***
VILIAGRA
VILLANUEVA
VOGT
MEYER*
WILSON
WISSLER

16th-18th Century Chol

AXHOYS***	LONGACRE
BANCROFT	LOPEZ DE COGOLLUDO
BUNTING***	MILES
CASTILLO**	MONTERO
CALDERON, M.**	MORAN***
CALNEK	NOYES
CANO***	OROZCO Y JIMENEZ
CARDENAS	PAYNE
CHAMBERLAIN	PROVINCIAL (?)
COBAN*	ROYS
COGOLLUDO***	SALAZAR*
CORTES*	SCHOLES**
CORTES Y LARRAZ	STONE***
DELGADO***	THOMPSON***
DIAZ DEL CASTILLO**	TOVILLA***
ESCOBAR*	VALLE (?)
ESCOTO (?)	VIANA***
GAGE	VILIAGUTIERRE***
GALLATIN*	XIMENEX***
GARCIA	
GUATEMALA AGCA***	
GUATEMALA COM. DE LIH. (?)	
JOHNSON	
LA FARGE***	
IAS CASAS*	
LEON PINELO***	

19th-20th Century Chol

ABELLA (?)	GENET	WARKENTIN*
AGUILAR (?)	GOUBAUD	WHITTAKER*
AGUIRRE (?)	GOULD**	
ALBORES	GUATEMALA AGCA***	
ANDERSON*	HERNANDEZ	
ANDRADE**	HTCHNER*	
AULIE***	KAUFMAN	
BECERRA***	LA FARGE***	
BEEKMAN	LEON	
BERENDT**	McQUOWN	
BERGANZO***	MENDIZABAL	
BESUCHS	MLLS	
BLAZQUEZ***	NOYES*	
BODDAM-WHETHAM	ORDOÑEZ	
BRASSEUR***	POLOCHIQ*	
BRINE	RIVERA*	
BRINTON	SAPPER***	
CERDA.	SCOTT	
DIESELDORWF**	SOCIEDAD	
FAJARDO (?)	STARR**	
FERNANDEZ**	STEPHENS**	
GALINDO***	STOLL***	
GARCIA Y CUBAS	THOMAS	

Mopan

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

McQUOWN*
MENDIZABAL
SCHUMAN**
STOLL***
THOMPSON***
ULRICH***
VILLAGUTIERRE**
XIMENEZ**

Quejaché

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

RELACIONES DE YUCATAN*
ROLDAN
SCHOLES***
VILLA ROJAS***

16th-18th Century Itzá

AXHOYS (?)
ANCONA
AWONYMOUS 1???
AVENDAÑO***
BERENDT
BORHEGYI
BULLARD
CANO***
CORTES***
COMGILL***
DELGADO***
DIAZ DEL CASTILLO***
ELORZA Y RADA
FANCOURT
GRAHAM
GUATEMALA AGCA***
GUTHE*

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

19th-20th Century Itzá

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

GALINDO***
GENET
GONZALEZ
GOUBAUD
McQUOWN
MEJIA*

MENDIZABAL
PENDERGAST*
REINA*
SAPPER***
SCHUMANN**
SOZA*

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