

The
POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY
of the
YUCATAN MAYA

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CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
1	Introduction	3
2	The Province of Ah Canul	11
	Southern Ah Canul	13
	Northern Ah Canul	26
3	The Province of Chakan	35
4	The Province of Cehpech	41
5	The Province of Hocabá	55
6	The Province of Maní, or Tutul-Xiu	61
7	The Province of Ah Kin Chel	79
8	The Province of Sotuta	93
9	The Province of Chikinchel, or Chauaca	103
10	The Province of Tases	109
11	The Province of Cupul	113
	Northern Cupul	117
	Southern Cupul	127
12	The Province of Cochuah	135
13	The Province of Ecab	143
14	Cozumel Island	154
15	The Provinces of Uaymil and Chetumal	157
	Uaymil	157
	Chetumal	159
16	The Provinces of Chanputún and Canpech	167
	Chanputún	167
	Canpech	168
	Glossary	170
	References	171
	Index of Place Names	178

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Glossary

References

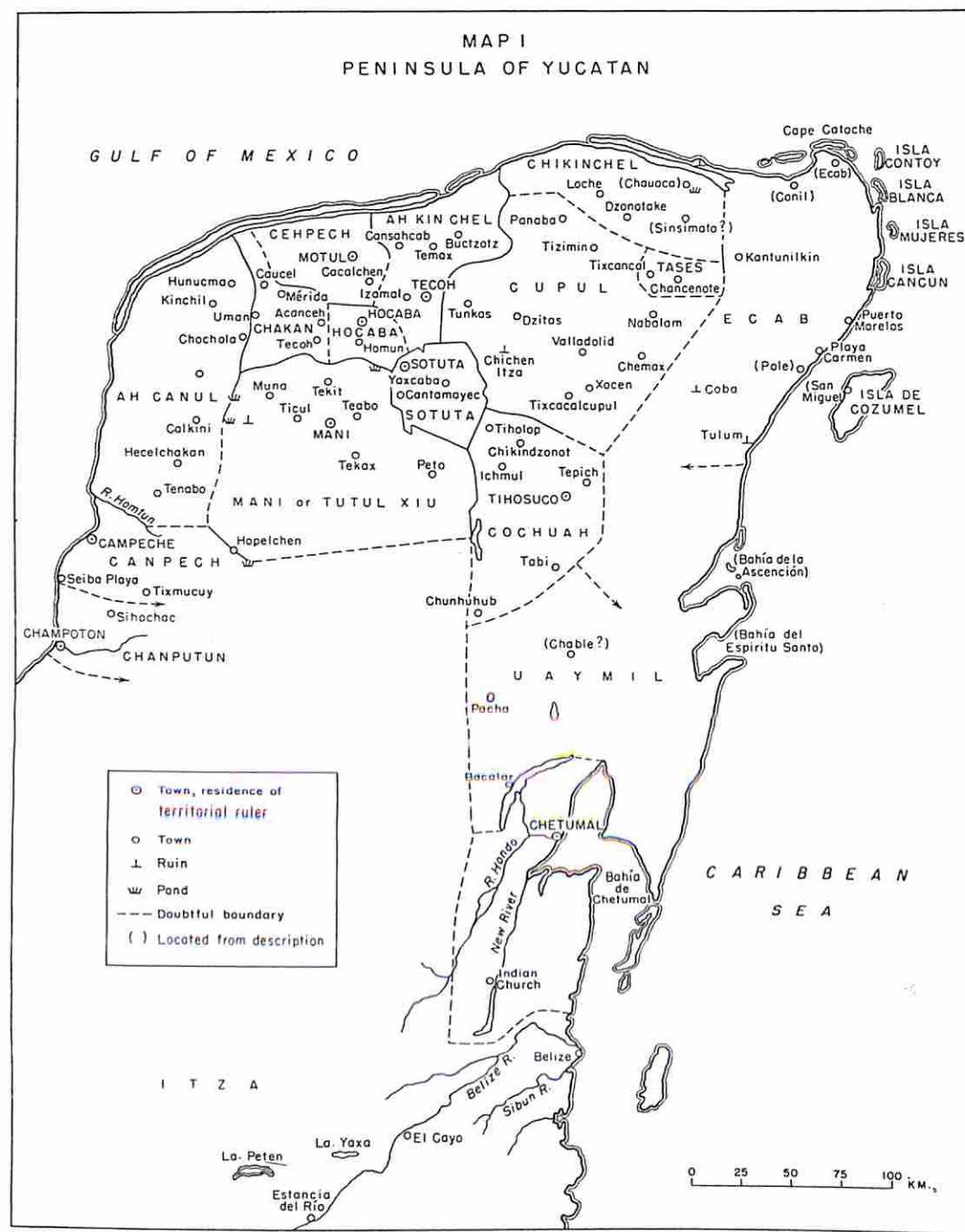
Index of Place Names

MAPS

	Page
1. Peninsula of Yucatan	2
2. Southern Ah Canul	14
3. Northern Ah Canul	27
4. Chakan	34
5. Cehpech	40
6. Hocabá	54
7. Maní, or Tutul-Xiu	62
8. Ah Kin Chel	78
9. Sotuta	92
10. Chikinchel and Tases	102
11. Northern Cupul	116
12. Southern Cupul	126
13. Cochuah	136
14. Ecab and Cozumel	144
15. Uaymil	158
16. Chetumal	160
17. Chanputún and Canpech	166

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

MAP I
PENINSULA OF YUCATAN



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INTRODUCTION

At the time of the Spanish conquest most of Yucatan, including a large adjacent island, was occupied by the sixteen native states which are the subject of this study. The inhabitants seem to have considered themselves a single people, and each of these territorial divisions was called a cuchcabal (literally "jurisdiction"), which the Spaniards translated "province." There was some reason for such a term. Twice, according to native tradition, they had been united in a single empire, although each time it had broken up. We know nothing about the political history of Yucatan before the tenth century of our era, when invaders, believed to have been Mexican, are reported to have established a great capital at Chichen Itza, which ruled over the entire peninsula until the first part of the thirteenth century. The latter half of the thirteenth century saw the founding of Mayapan, which became a fortified city. From this new center a "joint government" (multepal) ruled the country until the middle of the fifteenth century, when a great revolution destroyed the capital. The land was now split into the independent states, or provinces, which the Spaniards found when they arrived; but we do not know to what extent these provinces corresponded to the divisions of the former Mayapan joint government. The legends and the historical allusions in the Maya prophecies, valuable as they are, are confused, and it would seem that the time has come to assemble what information we do have about the political geography of Yucatan in the sixteenth century as a basis for further investigation of the earlier history of the country.

At the handsome Maya-Toltec city of Chichen Itza, we see an admirable combination of the late Classic Maya architectural and sculptural style with that of an imported culture from Tula in the highlands of Mexico. In some structures, however, we find a decadent masonry technique, which suggests the beginning of a deterioration. Later, at Mayapan there are still colonnades, triple doorways divided by serpent columns, and other features which remind us of Chichen Itza and Tula, but here a marked decline is evident. The walls and columns are constructed of roughly hewn stone, although they must have been smoothly finished with a plaster surface that has now disappeared. Some vaulted ceilings are still to be found, but they were much less numerous than beamed or thatched roofs, which appear to have covered most of the public buildings.

Mayapan was reported (*Relaciones de Yucatán*, hereinafter cited as RY, 1:118) to have been the last real city (poblazon), and it may have been more completely urbanized than any of the settlements seen by the first Spaniards in Yucatan, though, as we shall see, the latter were much impressed by Chauaca in the northeast and Champoton in the southwest. At Mayapan we find the remains of almost the entire city enclosed by a massive stone wall.

In the sixteenth century the temples continued to be set on pyramidal bases, but most public and private buildings were pole-and-thatch structures. There seems to have been a marked decline of learning. The priests and some of the nobles could still read and write the Maya glyphs, but they did not use them to write letters, and even important sales contracts were oral. Writing was employed to record their old lore, and their manuscripts were reported to consist chiefly of chronology, prophecy, genealogy, religious material, and land maps (Tozzer, 1941, pp. 231, 283; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:153; Roys, 1939, p. 423).

We shall, however, find conditions not usually associated with cultural decadence. The population was healthy before the introduction of European diseases, and the men were good fighters; moreover, agriculture and commerce were flourishing. The chief exports were cotton cloth, salt, and slaves, many of whom were captured in the frequent wars between the different provinces (Tozzer, 1941, pp. 36, 94, 123; Ciudad Real, 1932, p. 354).

The population of the Yucatan peninsula was, for so large an area, remarkably uniform in language, customs, and fundamental political ideas. Almost everywhere horticulture and agriculture followed the same pattern. There were large gardens and orchards in the towns, and in the country maize, squash, and beans were raised by so-called milpa farming, which is the well known slash-and-burn method. Much cotton was grown, but we know little about its culture. It has been estimated that perhaps not over 17 per cent of the land was under cultivation at any one time (Kempton, 1935). The remainder was left fallow for years, growing up first to weeds and brush and finally to forest, before it was farmed again. This means that during the growing season a large part of the population was widely dispersed in small hamlets or on individual farms. It is hard to tell what proportion of the population had homes in the towns where they resided during the dry season, and how many of them came in only to perform their civic and religious duties (Roys, 1939, pp. 12-13, 74-81; 1943, pp. 175-94). Near Xul I have seen Mani people carrying their crop on their backs from farms which were more than 30 km. from their homes.

A very important feature of Yucatecan Maya society was what might be called the name group. Every person of either sex had a patronymic, and the bearers of the same patronymic constituted a recognized group. This was called ch'ibal ("lineage in the male line"), and the Maya thought of it as, and called it, a lineage. Some of these lineages certainly, and probably many of them, had their own patron deities, a number of whom seem to have been deified ancestors (Roys, 1933, p. 147; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:153). For this reason these groups are called lineages in the present study, although a good many of them contained too many members and were too widely dispersed to be considered lineages in the anthropological meaning of the term. More than 250 Maya patronymics have been collected from the colonial records and those of more recent times, as well as from the Maya manuscripts cited in this study.

These patronymics and their meanings have been listed and discussed elsewhere (Roys, 1940). About 45 of them can be definitely recognized as plant names,

INTRODUCTION N MAYA

and I surmise that many others are obsolete names of flora. Nearly as many are referable to names of fauna, including insects, reptiles, and fishes; but the tax lists seem to indicate that more people bore names of the former class than of the latter. I can distinguish only about 10 Mexican names, but I feel sure that a Nahuatl scholar could find more (cf. Scholes and Roys, 1948, pp. 481-90). Landa (Tozzer, 1941, p. 99) tells us: "And this is the reason why the Indians say that those bearing the same name are all of one family, and that they are treated as such, and on this account when one comes to a place which is not known to him and is in need, he at once makes use of his name, and if there are any of the same name there, they receive him at once and treat him with the greatest kindness. And so no woman or man was ever married to another of the same name, for that was in their opinion a great infamy." I am inclined to believe that the "relations and friends" who redeemed a slave or avenged a homicide were fellow members of the name group (Landa, in Tozzer, 1941, p. 98).

INTRODUCTION

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The Maya also had matronymics (Maya naal, "mother name"), which preceded the patronymic; but I am unable to determine the social significance of such a name. A third kind of name, the "boy name," often preceded a man's patronymic instead of the matronymic. Certain official titles, however, replaced the matronymic or boy name, just as we speak of Governor Smith or Bishop Jones.

Cutting across the name groups, or lineages, we find three social classes. These were nobles, commoners, and slaves, and persons of the same patronymic could appear in all three. At the top of the social scale was a hereditary aristocracy. The Maya term is "almehen: hidalgo, noble, caballero illustrious through lineage; also the lord or principal of a town in this manner" (Martinez H., 1929). The word also has another meaning, but in the sense of noble it seems to mean "of renowned descent on both sides of the family" (literally, al, "born," and mehen, "begotten"). Many such families were created "native hidalgos" in colonial times, but others which did not have the title of Don were still called almehen in 1815 (Roys, 1939, pp. 14, 47, 51, 367). This class largely monopolized positions of power or authority, including the priesthood. There is some evidence that, although most of its members had Maya names, they all considered themselves to be descended from Mexican invaders (Roys, 1933, pp. 88-98, appendix E; 1943, p. 151). Their books of genealogy seem to have been partly an attempt to justify such a claim (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:153; Roys, 1943, pp. 78, 92-93). The Spaniards called the descendants of the territorial and local rulers natural lords and caciques, and the other nobles principales, although this last word sometimes had the meaning "heads of the wards of a town."

The bulk of the population consisted of commoners, or plebeians, who were the free workers of the country. Persons of this class were called yalba uinic ("small man"), pizil cah ("commoner"). In colonial manuscripts we sometimes find the term mazeual (Nahuatl maceualli, "subject"), but it has been suspected that the word was introduced by the Spaniards. There appears to have been an upper fringe of this class called azmen uinic ("medium man") and defined as "a man between a principal and a plebeian, of middling status" (Roys, 1943, p. 34).

I surmise that some of these persons were the sons of noble fathers and low-born mothers (cf. *Crónica de Calkini*, hereinafter cited as Cal., p. 15).

At the bottom of the social scale were the slaves (male, *ppentac*, female, *munach*). They were for the most part commoners captured in war—since noble prisoners were usually sacrificed—and persons enslaved for some criminal offense. "The children of slaves were also slaves like their parents until they were redeemed. He who made pregnant any slave woman or married her remained enslaved to the owner of such slave woman, and likewise (the same was the case with a) woman who married a slave" (Tozzer, 1941, p. 232). This quotation is from the pen of a Maya aristocrat, the son of a native priest, who afterward became court interpreter and a Latin teacher under the Spanish regime.

We find three forms of territorial organization in the different native states. Under one, the province was ruled by a *halach uinic* (literally "real man"), who bore the title of *Ahau* ("ruler"). He was the *batab*, or local head, of the town where he resided, but all the other batabs of his province were subject to him. He exacted a moderate tribute from all the towns of his province and in time of war could summon the entire male population for military service. His office was considered hereditary, but sometimes his younger brothers served in turn after his death, before his eldest son inherited the position. If none of these heirs was considered capable, another relative could be chosen to rule (Landa, in Tozzer, 1941, p. 100). The Provinces of Cehpech, Mani, and Sotuta were prominent examples of this form of organization. In Cehpech the halach uinic came of a very numerous lineage, whereas in Cochuah he was of an extremely small one.

Under a second type of organization, there was no single territorial ruler, but a large proportion of the batabs belonged to a single lineage. In Ah Canul, where most of the batabs were of the Canul lineage, they were independent, but usually they seem to have acted in harmony, although some of them welcomed the Spanish invaders whereas others opposed them. In the Province of Cupul, on the other hand, one Cupul batab often warred with another or subjected a small group of neighboring towns to his rule; nevertheless, they appear to have united against the Spaniards.

There is a third kind of territorial entity, which I hesitate to call an organization; and I call such areas provinces because the first Spaniards did, and because they had names which were used by the Maya. They consisted apparently of loosely allied groups of towns which managed to keep from being incorporated by their better-organized neighbors. One was Chakan, where the towns of Dzibikal, Uman, and Caucel welcomed the Spaniards, while the other towns put up a serious resistance. Even Caucel has been placed in Chakan only doubtfully, because it does not seem to have belonged either to Ah Canul or to Cehpech. Chikinchel is another such province. Here Chauaca and Sinsimato warred with each other, and the former was on unfriendly terms with Ake.

At the head of each town was the batab, whose functions were executive, judicial, and military. He presided over the local council, which could limit his

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INTRODUCTION

decisions; he saw to it that houses were kept in repair and that agricultural operations were carried on properly; he judged criminal and civil cases; and he was the nominal head of the local warriors, although a special war chief, called the *nacom*, actually conducted military actions. It is reported that the batab did not exact tribute, but he was supported by the town. Apparently the latter operated a farm for his benefit, as it did for his successors in colonial times. Matters involving other towns seem to have been referred to the *halach uinic*, where such existed. The batab's position usually descended to his son, but we read in Maya manuscripts of batabs who had been appointed by the *halach uinic* in provinces which had such rulers (Roys, 1939, p. 43; Brinton, 1882, p. 216).

After the Spanish conquest most batabs were created *caciques*, and the office was hereditary, but the town government was administered by a governor. During the sixteenth century the *cacique* was usually chosen governor, but later he was likely to be a different person. The *cacique* ranked above the governor, but his authority has not been well defined, and he seems to have exercised it principally when things were not going well. This division of authority was complicated, and it has been discussed elsewhere (Roys, 1943, pp. 129-71).

The batab's orders were carried out by deputies called *ah kulels*, who seem to have been next in authority, but whose actual rank was inferior to that of the *ah cuch cabs*. I surmise that the *ah kulels* became *alcaldes*, or petty magistrates, in colonial times.

Towns of any size were divided into wards, or *barrios*, each administered by an *ah cuch cab*. Later this officer was called a *principal* or a *regidor* by the Spaniards, and *chunthan* ("chief speaker") by the Maya. "He had his vote like a regidor in the municipal government, and without his vote nothing could be done" (RY, 2:211; Roys, 1939, p. 43). In provinces where a *halach uinic* ruled, however, the entire municipal organization seems to have been subject to his orders (RY, 1:89).

Another important dignitary was called *holpop* ("head of the mat"). After the conquest his functions were only social or ceremonial, but in pre-Spanish times we sometimes find him where we should expect a batab (Roys, 1939, p. 44; 1933, p. 15). In a ritual of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel the *holpops* appear as presiding over certain lineages, so I infer that he was the head of the most important lineage of a town.

The smallest organized political unit seems to have been the ward, or *barrio*, of a town. The dictionaries (Martínez H., 1929; Vienna, f. 157r) give its Maya name as *cuchteel*, which, like *cuchcabal*, can mean "jurisdiction." We also find the term *china*, but this might mean merely "neighborhood." The ward apparently enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy, for, as we have seen, its head could exercise a veto in the town council. From a tax register of 1584 (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Tierras 2809, no. 20) we know that the same name group could be distributed in several different wards of a town, and this is confirmed in the tax lists of 1688 (Archivo General de Indias, hereinafter cited as AGI, Contaduría 920). At Uman it is said that the people of the ward of Dzibikal

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

are absurdly exclusive; and Kilakan, which is now a ward of Calkini, was until recently still trying to enforce endogamy in the barrio. Both these wards, or barrios, were originally separate towns, so it is possible that these survivals really represent a former town endogamy. Among the Maya-speaking Cehache in south-central Yucatan, who are not included in the present study, not only was the town of Tiac defended against external enemies by a ditch and palisade, but its three subdivisions were fortified against one another (Scholes and Roys, 1948, p. 70). I have found no example of this in northern Yucatan.

From the tables in this study we get some idea of the relative size and the distribution of the more numerous name groups, or lineages, in 1688. In the tax registers from which most of them were compiled (AGI, Contaduría 920) the native-born taxpayers are listed separately from any outsiders who had moved to the town, and the latter are not included in these tables.

The lineages of the ruling families are of especial interest. The Canul of Ah Canul and Canpech, the Pech of Cehpech, the Cocom of Sotuta, and the Can of Chetumal all belonged to large name groups, which we find widely spread over the peninsula. The Cupul of Cupul, the Iuit of Hocabá, the Chel of Ah Kin Chel were much scarcer and were only moderately represented in the populations of the provinces over which they ruled. Their names are very rarely found elsewhere. The Xiu of Mani were hardly more numerous, but a small number of this group have been found scattered thinly across the country from southern Ah Canul to Cupul. They hardly appear in the accompanying tables, because in 1688 most of them were living at Yaxa and Oxkutzcab, towns for which we find no lists of names in the tax reports. The Couoh, who ruled Chanputún, are nowhere numerous, but the group seems to be represented in most parts of Yucatan. The Cochuah, who governed the province of that name, were very few in 1688, even in their own area, and I have never been able to find their name elsewhere in Yucatan. Table 1 will give a general idea of the distribution of the more numerous name groups in Yucatan.

Considering the obligation to aid fellow members of the same name group, it seems natural to find some of the larger lineages governing certain provinces; it is more remarkable that such small groups as the Chel, Cupul, Xiu, and Cochuah were able to rule large areas like Ah Kin Chel, Cupul, Mani, and Cochuah. Native traditions tell us that the Chel were military adventurers who won their province as a result of the great revolution at Mayapan; but the Xiu claimed to have acquired their power through political strategy rather than by force of arms (Landa, in Tozzer, 1941, pp. 31, 40; RY, 1:161, 193-94).

A brief reference should be made to the system of land ownership. Land, as such, belonged to the town organization, but improvements, such as fruit trees, cacao groves, and growing crops were likely to be private property. Otherwise, "the lands were in common." Apparently this arrangement was hardly as democratic as it sounds, for we read in the Mani land treaty of 1557: "...this land is not slave which we leave to them, in order that our nobles (c-almehenob) may sustain themselves, that they may farm it in time to come." I infer that the noble

INTROD
MAYA

INTRODUCTION

THE MORE NUMEROUS NAME GROUPS IN SIX PROVINCES OF YUCATAN
Compiled from lists of resident married tributaries in 1584 and 1688

Abbreviations: N., Nahuatl; Ch., Chontal; fl., flora; * can also be a matronymic. Two small groups are included because of political importance.

Patronymic	Cochuah		Cupul		Mani		Hocabá		Chetumal		Sotuta		Cupul		Ah Canul		Balam (Jaguar)		Ake (fl.?)			
	Total	Cochuah	Total	Cupul	Mani	Hocabá	Chetumal	Sotuta	Cupul	Chetumal	Mani	Hocabá	Cochuah	Total	Cochuah	Total	Cupul	Balam (fl.)	Hocabá (fl.)	Ake (fl.?)		
* Cab (bee; honey)	17	8	14	13	11	9	72	160	100	100	100	100	100	2	17	20	1	4	44			
* Camal	52	25	28	14	34	34	156	156	156	156	156	156	156	4	6	3	36	9	58			
* Can (any snake)	13	20	14	15	15	15	158	158	158	158	158	158	158	18	18	18	18	9	38			
* Can (fl.)	41	16	23	14	54	54	118	118	118	118	118	118	118	2	16	16	16	8	40			
Canul (ah canul: protector)	19	16	23	14	54	54	118	118	118	118	118	118	118	3	26	5	18	41	51			
Cauich	25	2	1	1	1	1	26	39	69	69	69	69	69	18	18	2	8	72	38			
Cen	65	59	2	2	2	2	32	32	100	100	100	100	100	18	17	20	1	4	44			
Cetzel (N. quetzal)	2	65	1	41	14	14	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	18	12	21	1	34	212			
Che (fl.?)	14	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	14	14	14	14	11	11			
Che (tarantula)	4	37	2	4	2	4	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	14	14	14	14	14	14			
Cime	4	3	1	1	1	1	17	24	60	60	60	60	60	16	16	6	15	11	11			
Cituk (tree)	19	16	23	14	54	54	118	118	118	118	118	118	118	35	35	17	30	41	33			
Cob	25	2	1	1	1	1	3	52	83	83	83	83	83	25	17	3	30	41	39			
Cocom (vine)	2	65	1	41	14	14	33	156	156	156	156	156	156	8	9	24	8	8	49			
Cochuah (fl.?)	14	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	26	18	18	14	14	50			
* Couoh (tarantula)	4	37	2	4	2	4	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	14	14	14	14	14	14			
Cupul (cup; vine)	19	16	8	7	7	7	15	15	1	1	1	1	1	22	12	12	9	7	11			
Chable (fl.?)	78	28	2	17	21	2	149	149	149	149	149	149	149	27	9	4	1	10	51			
* Chan (Ch. any snake)	46	108	18	44	29	29	76	320	320	320	320	320	320	10	17	5	15	31	152			
Chay (tree)	15	5	17	17	17	17	1	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	13	13	1	1	72	86		
Che (any tree)	7	1	18	16	24	24	1	67	67	67	67	67	67	67	43	2	15	14	6	5		
* Chi (shrub)	17	48	16	73	31	46	231	231	231	231	231	231	231	1	3	2	2	2	56			
Chim	12	71	8	2	6	6	8	107	107	107	107	107	107	107	11	10	22	22	43			
Chuc	12	1	7	5	5	5	13	38	38	38	38	38	38	137	137	137	137	137	137			
Dzib	4	29	55	9	12	12	30	151	151	151	151	151	151	151	157	157	157	157	157			
* Dzul	2	19	7	4	5	5	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	2	2	2	2	2	2			
Ek (logwood)	84	19	41	4	62	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	256	256	224	224	224	224			
Euan	3	3	3	4	28	28	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	1083	1083	1150	1031	1334	1482			
Haban, Aban	...	4	4	4	24	11	3	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	Totals	1083	1169	752	782	927	1233	5890
* Hau (fl.)	7473	

upper class had a preferred position in regard to the apportionment of land (Roys, 1943, pp. 36-37, 192, slightly revised).

One of the documents most often cited in this study is called here the tax list of 1549 (AGI, Guatemala 128). It gives the names of the encomiendas of Yucatan (with the exception of the Provinces of Uaymil and Chetumal), the owners, and the tribute for each. The number of tributaries in each one is also indicated (Scholes and Roys, 1948, pp. 150-51). The encomienda was "a privilege ... to enjoy for two or more lives the revenues of a stipulated town, towns, or portions thereof" (Chamberlain, 1939, p. 27). This document is valuable, because it was compiled prior to the inauguration of the civil congregation in 1552 (Roys, 1939, p. 10; Tozzer, 1941, p. 72). Before this a very considerable part of the population was dispersed in small towns and hamlets, but as a result of this policy a large number of the smaller settlements were abandoned, and their inhabitants were assembled in larger towns (Chamberlain, 1948, p. 283). Many, but by no means all, of the towns that were moved preserved their municipal organization at their new sites for a long time. Consequently the 1549 tax list is a great help in tracing towns which were moved, a method suggested by F. V. Scholes.

These tribute schedules have been published (Paso y Troncoso, 1939-42, 5:103-81, 6:73-112), but in the present study I have used photographs by F. V. Scholes and a tabulation of the relevant items compiled by E. B. Adams (n. d., MS). Here we find 180 encomiendas containing nearly 57,000 tributaries, or about 256,200 inhabitants. It is hard to tell how many more should be added for the rich and populous Provinces of Uaymil and Chetumal. There were also in 1549 many fugitives from Spanish rule in the forests. On the basis of other sixteenth-century tax lists studied by Scholes, it has been tentatively estimated that 4.5 inhabitants corresponded to each tributary.

Two Maya-speaking groups in the central southern part of the Yucatan peninsula are omitted from this study. One was the Cehache, of whom we know little. I can recall no mention of them in the native Maya literature, and I surmise that the people of the sixteen states discussed here considered them outsiders (cf. Scholes and Roys, 1948, index). The other was the Itza, who were dwelling around Lake Peten at the time of the Spanish conquest. They had once lived in northern Yucatan, but they had been driven out. Although they spoke a dialect of Maya that the northern Yucatecans could understand, the native literature of the latter refers to them repeatedly as hated and immoral foreigners (cf. J. E. S. Thompson, 1951, pp. 389-400).

I have been greatly assisted in making this study by F. V. Scholes, E. B. Adams, J. E. S. Thompson, and H. E. D. Pollock. Scholes has found and photographed the numerous documents from the Archivo General de Indias cited here; Adams has found additional data and extracted many documents for my use; and both have aided in deciphering badly written place names. Thompson and Pollock have helped me throughout in appraising the relative value of the evidence found in various sources. Thompson has also furnished much information regarding the geography of the Chetumal region.

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THE PROVINCE OF AH CANUL

The Province of Ah Canul was one of the larger native states in the northern and more thickly populated half of the Yucatan peninsula. It occupied the western coastal plain from Punta Kopte on the north coast to the Río Homtun, not far north of Campeche, a distance of about 145 km. north and south. From the west coast it extended eastward for an average distance of about 50 km.; but with a few exceptions the historic towns lie within a belt less than 20 km. wide, which narrows down to a single line of towns at its southern end. This is hardly an indication of the agricultural resources, for the archaeological remains cover a much wider area. Nevertheless, along the low seacoast there is a fairly wide strip of land that is little used for farming. A tax list of 1549 indicates that there had been a population of something over 26,000 after the Spanish conquest, but it was rapidly decreasing at that time.

Although there is some variety of climate, much of the province is dry, especially in the northern part. Away from the belt along the coast there was some agriculture almost everywhere, but over a large part of the area droughts were frequent and severe. The many ruined sites and the size of the population at the time of the conquest may be accounted for partly by the profitable fisheries and salt beds along the coast. It is possible that much of the land that seems rather poor for raising maize may have been more favorable for the production of cotton; but practically no cotton has been grown in northern Yucatan for a long time, and the records seem to tell nothing about the conditions under which it flourished. We do know that much cotton cloth was exported from Yucatan in pre-Spanish times, as it was during the colonial period.

The name of the province is referable to certain members of the Canul lineage, whose career at Mayapan and subsequent migration to western Yucatan are well known. The term Ah Canul had several meanings. It meant any member of the Canul name group, all of whom bore this patronymic. It was also applied to the members and descendants of the other groups who accompanied their leaders to the Province of Ah Canul, although as individuals they continued to retain their own patronymics. Ah canul could also mean "protector," and as such it may be referable to the verb *canan*, "to guard or protect." Persons whose patronymic was not Canul bore this title as guards of the gates of Mayapan. Moreover, Jesus Christ is said to be the ah canul of our souls, and A. Villa R. tells of certain guardian spirits who are still called *ah canulob* in Quintana Roo (Roys, 1933, pp. 69, 125; Villa R., 1945, p. 102).

Landa repeatedly refers to the group who migrated from Mayapan to Ah Canul as Mexicans, but there is little evidence of a Mexican origin in the Crónica de Calkini, which is our chief source for knowledge of these people. Much

of this document consists of a narrative which purports to be by the son of a man who received the younger Montejo at Calkini in 1541, and the writer apparently remembered the event. The document does, however, contain a few terms which we do not find with the same meaning elsewhere in Maya literature. One is the word "rich man" (ayikal). It is not an unusual word, but only here does it appear as something like a political title. Also the ah kulels, or deputies of the batab, are called "speakers" (ah canob). In Mexico the term tlatoani, which has the same literal meaning, designated a grand señor, which was a very different thing. Throughout Yucatan we find a sprinkling of Mexican words and patronymics, though they are not many; but in the Province of Ah Canul they seem even rarer than elsewhere. Ah Canul offers a striking contrast to western Tabasco, where, even in the Chontal-speaking towns, all the personal names that have come down to us, with possibly one or two exceptions, were Nahuatl, and only a few of the place names were Chontal (Scholes and Roys, 1948, pp. 61-63). In Yucatan these alleged Mexican late arrivals had evidently become much like the other Yucatecans. Indeed, as we shall see, they called themselves Maya.

The Calkini document tells of nine batabs who left Mayapan and led their followers to what became the Province of Ah Canul. Of these, the guides were Ah Paal Canul (or Ah Pa Canul) and Ah Dzun Canul. The latter is variously described as being of the lineage of Ah Ytzam-Kauat Ah Canul or of the lineage of Ah Ytzam Canul Ah Chuen Kauil, who had settled where the Itza were. The other six who are named are Ah Sulim Canul, Ah Tzab Canul, Ah Kin Canul, Ah Chacah Canul, Ix Copacab Canul, and Nabich Canul; I am unable to identify the ninth. The Ah Canul generally are said to be "Maya men" and "West Suya people." They are reported to have come from the east and to have come from Peten Itza (Cal., pp. 13-14, 36-37).

The name Peten Itza ("district of the Itza") has always been used elsewhere to designate the region around Lake Peten in northern Guatemala, to which the Itza had fled after their expulsion from northern Yucatan. Here, however, I believe it must apply to an area which the Itza had previously occupied in the north. The mention of West Suya reminds us that the Xiu also claimed to have come from a place of this name (Brinton, 1882, p. 100).

As we shall see, five of the nine Canul leaders apparently settled in the southern half of the Province of Ah Canul; but we have no record of what became of the two guides and Ah Sulim Canul, or of the ninth one. It is possible that they settled in the north of the province, of which we know little from pre-Spanish times.

Elsewhere in Yucatan we can sometimes identify certain noble families (almehenob) as having become prominent locally before the fall of Mayapan, in some cases even when the dominant group (yaxch'ibal) seems to have been descended from newcomers, as in Ah Kin Chel. In Ah Canul we cannot distinguish between the intruders and the old families, except for the Canul themselves and the Canche lineage which seems to have accompanied them. To the last we might add some members of the Couoh and Nauat lineages, since persons of these names

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

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THE PROVINCE OF AH CANUL

had the title of Ah Canul at Mayapan (Roys, 1933, p. 69). Some of the old local nobility must have retained at least a part of their former prominence, for the intrusion was evidently a very peaceful one. We are told that "they were not greedy for chieftainship nor provokers of discord," qualities which the Maya katun prophecies repeatedly ascribe to the hated Itza. Moreover, "they began to love the towns and their batabs, and they were loved also by the towns, there where my great-grandfather [Namay Canche] governed men" (Cal., pp. 13-14). This of course is their own story, and it must be admitted that a great majority of the batabs of the province at the time of the Spanish conquest bore the name Canul. But by no means all of them did, and most of their ah kulels, who were certainly of the nobility, were of other lineages, some of them presumably of the former ruling class.

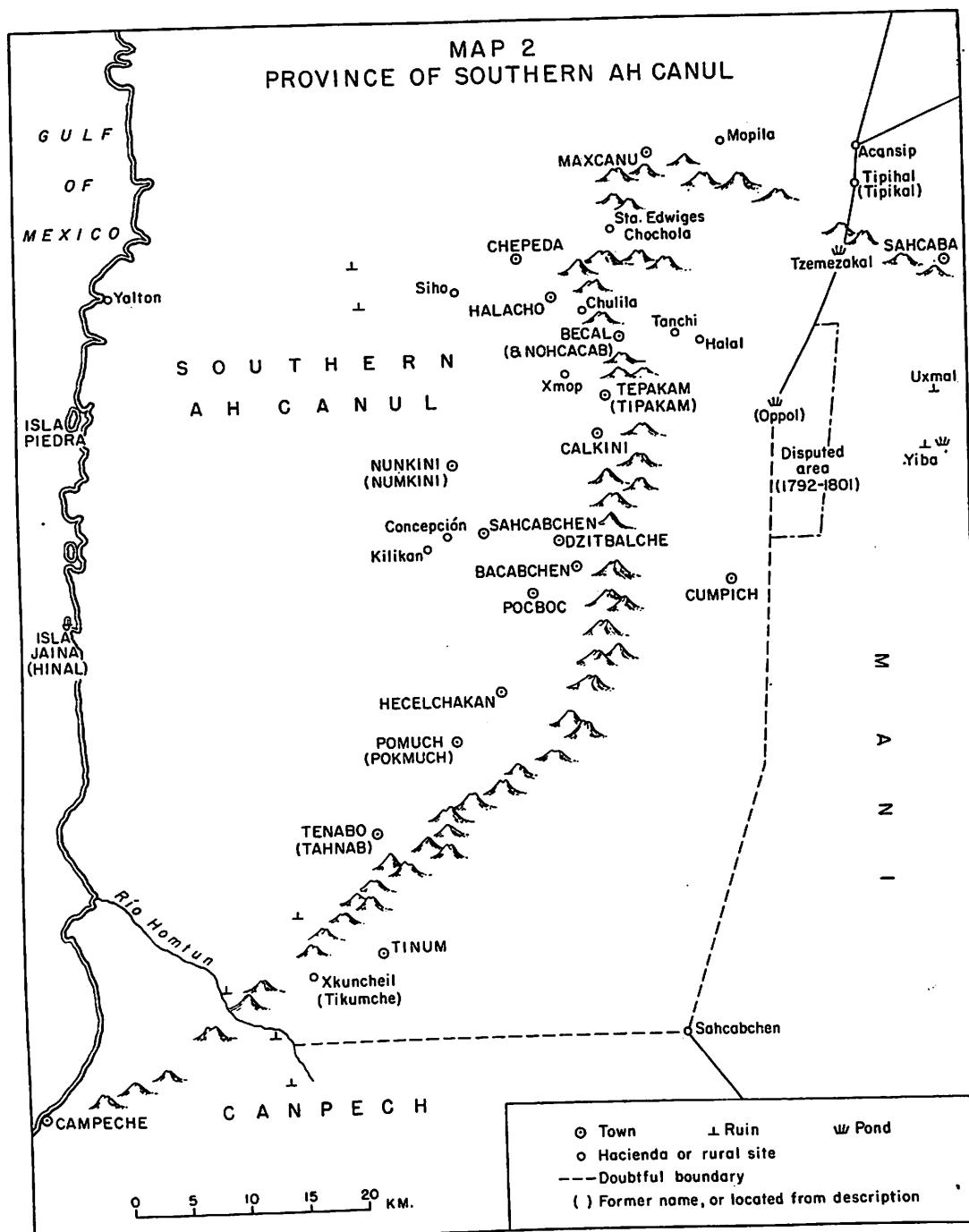
The Crónica de Calkini is the only Maya document that gives an account of slavery, though no doubt the institution was prevalent everywhere. This source gives not only the names of a number of slave owners, apparently with pride, but also those of eight slaves. The latter do not differ in character from the names of free persons. Here also we find an explanation of the different kinds of personal names.

The Province of Ah Canul was occupied apparently by a confederation of towns, the greater number of them ruled by batabs of the Canul lineage. There is no evidence of their warring with one another, as the Cupul batabs did in eastern Yucatan. The southern towns, ranging from the region of Maxcanu to that of Tenabo, seem to have been more closely associated with one another than they were with the northern Ah Canul, whom they called "the northland people" (ah xamancab). For this reason the two areas will be treated separately in discussing the individual towns.

Southern Ah Canul

The most thickly settled part of southern Ah Canul was the strip along the west side of the low range of hills called the Puuc, which extended south and southwest from Maxcanu to Campeche. Probably owing to the scarcity of water in the dry season, there were but few towns in the province east of the Puuc in conquest times; but this region contained a number of surface ponds, which supplied water during the rainy season, when the crops needed the most attention. Many people therefore crossed the range to farm these lands during a part of each year. Here, people say, there is more rainfall and the soil is more fertile than on the western coastal plain.

People also crossed the sparsely inhabited coastal belt to the sea, where the fisheries were excellent, as they still are. In the town of Calkini I was told that there is a narrow belt of high forest near the coast, but we have no record that it was formerly exploited for commercial purposes, as was the case in eastern Ah Kin Chel (Stephens, 1843, 1:9). As we shall see, in 1549 a number of towns were required to supply salt as tribute; and from this it would appear that



THE PROVINCE OF AH CANUL

there were salt beds on the coast belonging to southern Ah Canul. In a report of the coastal salt beds made in 1605 (AGI, México 72) we are told that the southernmost beds were 20 leagues north of Campeche and in the harbor of La Desconocida. At that time these were being exploited by Spaniards, who hired some Indians from Campeche and brought them there by boat. Other Indian labor was recruited from Calkini, Dzitbalche, Becal, and Maxcanu. The latter workers traveled 13 leagues by land and then by canoe to the lagoon of Yalmacan (or possibly Yalucan) and other near-by deposits. This immediate region was supplying an annual average of 27,500 fanegas of salt, and it is asserted that with more labor the yield could be increased to 35,500 fanegas. A fanega is variously defined as 1.6 bushels, and as a load or 100 pounds of grain.

Whether or not the Campeche people to the south had an uncontested right to collect salt on this coast in pre-Spanish times is somewhat doubtful. The Ah Canul seem to have claimed the whole coast, for, beginning with Punta Kopte in the north, they mention Sisal, Nimum, Tiixpat, Kinchil, Homonche, Pachcaan, and Hinal (Jaina). Of these I am able to identify only Kopte, Sisal, Nimum, and Jaina. Homtun, which was evidently on the river of that name, is said to belong to Campeche, and a port (u hol kakanab) named Bayquilci, or Baycili, was on "the sea of the Campeche people" (Cal., pp. 37-38). Sacnicteelchen was the southernmost Ah Canul settlement. By 1794 it was known only as a rural site (paraje), but we do not know whether it was near the sea or at some distance inland.

Nevertheless, as we shall see, the 1549 tax list assesses the Campeche Indians such an unusually large tribute of salt that it is hard to believe that they had not been in the business for a long time (cf. Roys, 1943, p. 52). It seems certain that there were no salt beds on the coasts of the Provinces of Canpech and Chanputun, and no salt was required of the latter. Consequently it is not unlikely that the Campeche people gathered salt on the coast of the Ah Canul.

The southern coast of the Province of Ah Canul is principally of interest because of the monumental remains and rich burial paraphernalia which have been found on the Island of Jaina (Maya, Hinal). So far as we know, however, these remains date from the Classic period, long before the late entry of the Ah Canul into the region (Proskouriakoff, 1950, p. 123).

The east boundary of southern Ah Canul is known from a Xiu source, the Mani land treaty of 1557 with its maps (Roys, 1943, p. 180, maps 5, 6). This frontier seems to have been fairly well preserved throughout the colonial period, although the Ah Canul sometimes encroached to the east in the direction of Uxmal and Santa Elena Nohcacab. The latter town is not to be confused with the Nohcacab situated at Becal. From Acansip in the north the line can be traced with considerable certainty to a pond named Tioppol east of Calkini. From there the line extended south through the unidentified sites of Tiyaxche, Zucila, Tixcabchen, and Dzepico to what is now the village of Sahcabchen. The last must not be confused with the Sahcabchen west of Dzitbalche, which is now only an insignificant village, but which was an important town at the time of the Spanish conquest. The Sahcabchen on the border may have been at or near the southwest corner of the Province

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of Ah Canul, but I am unable to trace the southern boundary of the province east of the Río Homtun.

At the time of the Spanish conquest many of the towns of southern Ah Canul were governed by members of the Canul lineage, but it is more doubtful how many of the common people bore this name. It was a surprise when local officials at Calkini recently stated that no one of the name now resides there and that they knew of only one or two Canul families in the surrounding country. Among 803 legible names in the 1688 matrículas, or tax lists, for the four southernmost towns of the province, Pocboc, Hecelchakan, Pokmuchi, and Tenabo, we find only 16 married persons of both sexes named Canul. In these four towns the names in 1688 offer only a few peculiarities, as compared with other provinces. The Pech, elsewhere numerous except in Cupul, are almost completely absent; at Hecelchakan we find 15 married tributaries called Ye, an extremely rare name in Yucatan (AGI, Contaduría 920; Roys, 1955, ser. B).

Maxcanu

Maxcanu (Maya Maxcanul) was the northernmost town of any importance in southern Ah Canul. In the 1549 tax list it has 260 tributaries, or about 1170 inhabitants. These figures probably include the people of the present villages of Kopoma and Opichen, which seem to be mentioned, though not by name, in 1610. We know little of them until they appear as the sites of visita churches subject to the Maxcanu convent about the middle of the seventeenth century (Documentos para la historia de Yucatán, hereinafter cited as DHY, 2:159; López de Cogolludo, hereinafter cited as Cogolludo, 1867-68, bk. 4, ch. 20). The town is at the foot of the Puuc, and its convent is set on a large platform which appears to be the remains of a Maya substructure.

We find an interesting reference to this town immediately following a Maya account of the conquest of Chichen Itza by an Ah Canul leader from Mayapan, who here plays the same role as Hunac Ceel in that well known episode. In the past Hunac Ceel has been considered to have been the Cocom ruler, but this narrative suggests strongly that he was an Ah Canul ally of the latter. Hunac Ceel was a halach uinic, but there was more than one of that title at Mayapan. In any case, we are told: "Then came the introduction of the sin of the ruler of Canul. Then came forth the rattlesnake [or "chief teacher," a homonym] at the mouths of the wells here at Maxcanu, at Tuchican" (Tizimin, pp. 22-23, transl. Roys, 1949a, p. 50). This would seem to indicate that the migration of the Ah Canul to western Yucatan followed not long after the defeat of the Itza and their expulsion from northern Yucatan.

At the time of the Spanish conquest a certain Nahau Canul was batab of Maxcanu; Ah Kul Cob was the second and Ah Kul Chim was the third of the "speakers." The first ah kulel's name is illegible, but it might be Canul. The lineage continued to rule for a considerable time, for a Juan Canul was still batab in 1572 (Cal., p. 11; AGI, Justicia 247).

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Tuchican

Tuchican, or Tuchicaan ("edge of the sky or highland"), was the former name of Hacienda Granada, 4 km. west by south from Maxcanu. The old name, Chican, is still remembered by the local residents. It was an important town at the time of the Spanish conquest, and the forces of Montejo the son stopped there for some time in 1541, preparing to invade the Province of Chakan and advance to Tiho (Mérida) (Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 207-8). The 1549 tribute list gives it 360 tributaries. As we have already noted, Scholes, after comparing the number of tributaries with other data for the same towns, estimates the total population at about 4.5 times the number of tributaries, so the number of inhabitants was probably about 1620. The figures given here may well include a settlement (cahal) named Chochola in the Crónica de Calkini, which still appears as a hacienda on some maps. It has also been called Chan- (little-) chochola to distinguish it from the larger town of that name farther north.

Since Tuchican paid a tribute of 8 fanegas of salt, it may be inferred that its activities extended westward toward the sea. Maxcanu, on the other hand, supplied no salt. After 1549 I can find no contemporary mention of Tuchican, except the accounts by some of the Spanish conquerors and in the Crónica de Calkini. The reference to it in the legend in the Tizimin MS has already been mentioned in connection with Maxcanu. I can only surmise that it was moved to the site of Maxcanu soon after the civil congregation was inaugurated in 1552. The latter town had more tributaries in 1586 than in 1549 (Ciudad Real, 1932, p. 340).

In the chronicle, following the account of the nine Canul batabs who came from Mayapan, we are told that Nabich Canul, presumably one of the nine, went to Tuchican with a Naun Canul and that both of them were batabs. There may well have been a Naun Canul in the group, but here I suspect he was confused by the narrator with a later batab of that name. At the time of the conquest a Naun Canul was batab of Tuchican; Nahau Dzul was his ah kulel, and a Nabich Canul was the third of the speakers. The name of the second speaker is illegible (Cal., pp. 11, 14).

Halacho, Kulcab, and Sihó

Halacho (Maya Halalch'o, "rat reed") lies on the coastal plain near the Puuc. Some of its lands extended northeast, but its interests were also concerned with the coast, for it paid a salt tribute of 6 fanegas. The 1549 tax list gives the encomienda 200 tributaries, or about 900 inhabitants, but this may have included other towns. Soon after 1552 Halacho was moved to Calkini, where we continue to find it for the next half century. It was evidently ruled by a batab of the Canul lineage at the time of the conquest, for in 1567 its cacique was Don Pedro Canul (Cal., p. 22; DHY, 2:63; Martínez H., 1929, p. 61; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

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probable that during their long official residence at Calkini they returned to their former home to cultivate their farms during the growing season (Cal., p. 22). The municipal organization was re-established at the old home about 1603, when a convent was founded at Maxcanu (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

Kulcab, or Kucab, does not appear in the 1549 list, and was probably included either with Halacho or with Sihó in that document. Kulcab was moved to Calkini presumably in the 1550's, where it was still a separate town in 1656, and it is a barrio of Calkini today (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20). In 1567 the cacique was Don Francisco Ci, and Agustín Ci, his son, was governor in 1595 (Martínez H., 1929, p. 61; Cal., pp. 23, 35). Until recent years the original site of the town was occupied by Hacienda Kulcab, but it is now the town of Cepeda.

Sihó lies out on the coastal plain west of the Puuc. The name resembles that of the *zihom*, or soapberry tree, and it is also an element in the name Ichcansihó, later Mérida. The 1549 tax list gives it 210 tributaries, or about 945 inhabitants, which perhaps included Kulcab. It was moved to Calkini in the 1550's but retained its identity as a town at least a century longer (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20). Like Halacho, it paid a salt tribute of 6 fanegas in 1549. Sihó was occupied by one of the nine leaders from Mayapan, Ah Chacah Canul, "with his vassals and rich men, Naun Uicab and Rich-man Chan" (Cal., p. 14). In 1567 the cacique was Don Francisco Uicab (Martínez H., 1929, p. 61).

Colonial references to Sihó are to the new town at Calkini, and we first hear again of the old site when Stephens (1843, 1:199-205) visited the hacienda there in the early 1840's. At this time the place was producing much logwood, which may have been a valuable asset in the region in pre-Spanish times. Stephens describes extensive ruins at Sihó and at Tankuche, 8 km. farther west. At the latter site he found brightly colored wall paintings. Evidently the region was once thickly populated.

Chulila

Chulila, or Chulilha ("water by the *chul* trees," *Croton* sp.?), is now the site of an orange grove about 3 km. southeast of Halacho. Here is a hollow 4 m. deep, and in it, a well down to the water table. About 100 m. to the northeast are two stone mounds about 12 m. high and another smaller one. No hewn stones could be seen.

Chulila appears in the 1549 tax list with 330 tributaries, or nearly 1500 inhabitants. Since it paid no salt tribute and its batab had at one time lived near the aguada of Tzemezakal, across the Puuc to the east, the principal interests of the town probably lay in that direction (Cal., p. 31).

At the time of the conquest the batab was Napuc Canul, whose boy name was Ah Cen Canul; and his two slaves were Nacamal Batún and Ah Kauitz Hau. The people were moved to Calkini soon after 1552, but I can find no specific mention of Chulila at this site in the Spanish records (Cal., p. 11).

Becal and Nohcacab
Becal ("place of the *bec* trees," *Ehretia tinifolia* L.) lies in a wide gap in the Puuc. In early colonial times the main road from the south divided here. One branch extended westward to the rich salt beds of La Desconocida; the main road went on to Maxcanu and Mérida; and a third led through the pass to an aguada near Uxmal named Yiba and into the Xiu Province of Maní (Brinton, 1882, p. 237; González, 1766).

The 1549 tax list ascribes 100 tributaries, or about 450 inhabitants, to Becal. Shortly before the Spanish conquest the batab was a Naun Canul, who left and went to Tenabo. He was succeeded by a Batab Nauat, but Nahan Canul came from Tepakan and took over the office. One suspects that the period from 1531 to 1541 was an unstable one in southern Ah Canul, some factions favoring the Spaniards and others opposing them. Nahan Canul's ah kulel was Ah Kul Tucuch, and Ah Kul Huh was the second speaker. As we shall see, he left his younger brother at Tepakan. A Don Juan Canul was batab of Becal in 1572 (Cal., pp. 21, 28; AGI, Justicia 247).

Becal paid no salt tribute, and its interests lay across the Puuc to the east. Its lands extended northeast to Tipihal and southeast to aguada Oppol, although other towns had lands in between (Cal., pp. 21, 28; Roys, 1943, p. 187).

The original site of Nohcacab ("large tract of high fertile land") probably adjoined Becal. Following several missing pages of the Crónica de Calkini (p. 11) we read: "...beside the road, when the Spaniards arrived; but the following are the people [who lived] right on the road." The document goes on to cite the people of Chulila, Tuchican, Maxcanu, Nohcacab, Becal, and Tepakan, and gives the names of their principal officials. In 1582 Nohcacab was reported to be at Becal (DHY, 2:63).

According to the 1549 tax list Nohcacab had 100 tributaries, or about 450 inhabitants. At the time of the conquest the batab of Nohcacab was Nahan Uluac, Ah Kul Chan was his ah kulel, and Ah Kul Yah was the second speaker (Cal., p. 11). Nohcacab is still cited in 1656, but it no longer appears in the matrícula of 1688 (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20; AGI, Contaduría 920).

Tepakan and Mopila

Tepakan (Maya Tipakam, "at the nopal plant") is not named in the 1549 list, but it was probably included with one of the neighboring towns. Of these Mopila shows the largest population, but the Crónica de Calkini states that the tribute of the Tepakan people was tied together with that of the people of Calkini (Cal., p. 11).

As we have seen, shortly before the conquest a Nahan Canul went to Becal to become batab, but he left his younger brother to fill this office at Tepakan. The latter's maternal name was Nabatún Canul, and his boy name was Ah Man Canul. The ah kulel was variously named Napuc Chi, Ah Kul Chi, and Ah Tzom

Chi. The second speaker was Ah Kul Dzib, also named Napuc Dzib and Ah Xoc Dzib (cf. Roys, 1940, pp. 38, 45). Here a priest, Nachi Tec, is also named. They are all said to be "genuine Calkini people," which is hard to explain. Possibly it might refer to relations between the towns in colonial times (Cal., pp. 11-12, 18, 19).

Apparently the government of Tepakan did not remain long with the Canul lineage after the conquest, for Don Francisco Chim was cacique of the town in 1567 and 1579 (Martínez H., 1929, p. 61; Cal., p. 23).

There is some doubt about the original location of Mopila ("water by the wine palm"). The 1549 tax list designates this encomienda as Cenote and Mopila, with 240 tributaries, or about 1080 inhabitants. Included in the items of tribute we find one of 6 fanegas of salt, which is usually associated with the towns out on the coastal plain. Mopila was moved from its original site to Calkini in the 1550's. In 1582 it was reported to be at Calkini (DHY, 2:63), but in 1656, although it was still a separate municipal organization, we find it at Tepakan, and this is the last mention of it that I have seen (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20). I do not find it in the 1688 matrícula for Tepakan (AGI, Contaduría, 920).

There is still a rural site named Mopila only 4.5 km. east of Maxcanu, but I would not identify it as the historic town. A salt tribute is not to be expected in that region, and the historic Mopila had lands near a place called Kumtun. No one in the neighborhood now knows the name Kumtun, but a native map of Calkini at the Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University (Gropp, 1933, p. 263), compiled soon after 1801 shows Kumtun very near the road from Tepakan to Becal and a short distance north of Tepakan.

Professor Jernando Moguel Gamboa of Calkini has made inquiries of many people in Calkini, Tepakan, and Becal, and he reports that no site named Mopila is now known in this region. There is, however, a rural site now known as Xmop, where he has seen a cenote in a hollow and at least one ancient substructure, and he believes this to be the site of the historic town of Mopila. It is 1 km. east of Finca Refugio, which is midway between Calkini and Halacho and about 5 km. northwest of Tepakan. Adjoining Xmop is the site of an abandoned hamlet called Nazareno, where there is also a water supply of some sort. Xmop is out on the coastal plain, where a salt tribute might be expected, and near enough to the Puuc region for people to go there easily to farm.

In 1549 this encomienda belonged to "Pero" Martín, and a generation later we shall find Pedro Martín de Bonilla to be encomendero of Hecelchakan, which does not appear under this name in the 1549 list.

At the time of the conquest the batab of Mopila was Ah Tzab Euan. His younger brother had the boy name Ah Xoc Euan and the maternal name Namay [Euan]. A priest named Ah Kin Canche was the ah kulel; Ah Kul Xol was the second speaker, and Ah Kul Chi was the third speaker (Cal., p. 20). In 1567 a Don Miguel Canul signed a petition to the King as cacique of Mopila (Martínez H., 1929, p. 61).

THE PROVINCE OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

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THE PROVINCE OF AH CANUL

Numkini

Numkini does not appear in the 1549 tax list, but we do find in it a large encomienda here called Tacul, belonging to Jorge Hernández. It had 480 tributaries, or about 2160 inhabitants, and its tribute included 10 fanegas of salt. The grant was dated in 1543 and applied to "the lords and natives of the towns of Taculute, Nonquini, Ciçolche, Tismuco, Poluco, with all their barrios, habitations (estancias), and milpas adjacent and belonging to the said towns, which are in the province of Calquini." I would reconstruct four of these names as Ticul, Numkini, Tixmuc, and Polyuc. When Hernández was given possession, in 1543, he presented "a lord of the town of Tacul in the said cedula, whose name is Nachan Canul" (communications from F. V. Scholes and E. B. Adams; AGI, Patronato 58, ramo 1). Later, about 1572, these so-called towns were again enumerated and reported to be at what was now called Numkini at the site of Calkini. Apparently Numkini had been moved to the latter site during the civil congregation of the 1550's, and in 1582 Numkini was again stated to be at the site of Calkini (DHY, 2:63; communication from Adams). Between 1582 and 1656, however, the town of Numkini was brought back to its original site (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20). Possibly all the people did not return, for there is still a populous Indian barrio named Numkini at the present city of Calkini.

The names of the present barrios, unlike those in Calkini, cast no light on the history of the town. They are Cruz-ch'en ("well at the cross"), Chaltun-ch'en ("well in the flat rock" or "well by the rock tank"), Ch'och'ha ("salt water"), Ch'en-thel ("well of the crest"?), San Román, and Kancab-ch'en ("well in red soil").

The Nachan Canul of Tacul (Numkini) is not to be confused with the Nachan Canul of Tepakan and Becal, nor does he appear to be the Nachan Canul who was batab of Calkini at the time. Possibly he became the Don Juan Canul who is recorded as governor of Numkini in 1557 and cacique in 1567 (Roys, 1943, p. 185; Martínez H., 1929, p. 61). Don Juan was succeeded by his son, Don Jorge Canul, who appears as cacique or governor of Numkini in 1579 and 1595 (Cal., pp. 23, 25, 26, 35).

The site of Numkini had long been a center of population in pre-Spanish times. The church is set on a large platform which rises about 2 m. above the level of the plaza and appears to be the flattened remains of a pyramid temple. Northwest of the plaza are two large mounds of stone rubble about 8 or 10 m. high, and in the barrio of San Román are the extensive remains of a low substructure about 2 m. high, but all of them have evidently been used as quarries. In and around the church and all over the town one can see many of the veneer wall stones typical of late Classic architecture. The region around Numkini is rich in archaeological remains. Within a radius of 8 km. the following have been reported by people of the town: Canmaya[c]-mul ("high table mound"?); Cacab-kusan; Cacab-pek ("rock tank on high fertile land"); Cacab-isax, containing some hewn stones; Cehach, some hewn stones; Bacab-cabal-usi, many sculptures;

Ac-zodz, remains of a superstructure; Ch'el-pak ("jay wall"), remains of a superstructure. How accurate this information is, remains to be ascertained, but it indicates many ancient Maya ruins and a former population of considerable size.

Kinlacam

There can be little doubt that Kinlacam ("sun banner," possibly an obsolete plant name) was originally situated out on the coastal plain at the rural site now known as Kilakan, about 8 km. south of Numkini and not far southwest of the present village of Concepción. The town appears on the 1549 tax list as an encomienda with 300 tributaries, or about 1350 inhabitants, and one item of tribute is 10 fanegas of salt. It was moved, presumably in the 1550's, to the site of Calkini, where we find it listed as a town in 1582 (DHY, 2:63), and in 1567 its cacique was a Don Diego Canul (Martínez H., 1929, p. 61).

Under the name of Kilakan the former town is still an important and exclusive barrio of Calkini, and its people do not consider themselves citizens of the latter. They have their own carnival and celebrate their own "Juan" separately. Until recent years they would throw stones at people from the "Centro" who wandered idly into their barrio, especially youths who made eyes at the Kilakan girls. When they had a dance, if people from the Centro were so rash as to stroll by to view the festivity, there would be a gang fight with thirty or forty people on a side (report by Professor J. Moguel G.).

Calkini and Kalahcum

Calkini is shown in the 1549 tax list as having only 70 tributaries, or about 315 inhabitants, which would make it the smallest encomienda in the Province of Ah Canul. Consequently it is hard to account for the importance implied in references to this town during the decade before the Spaniards moved a number of other towns to the site and made it a city of considerable size. As we have seen, Tacul (Numkini) was stated in 1543 to be "in the province of Calkini." I can account for this anomaly only by a conjecture that the small encomienda listed under the name in 1549 was only a part of the town, and that the remainder was a part of some other encomienda designated by another name. It is probable, however, that Calkini was not a large town before the civil congregation.

In his instructions to his son the Adelantado Montejo told him to seek the alliance of an Ah Canul lord named "Nachan Chan," believed to be the ruler of Calkini (Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 198, 202). Cogolludo (bk. 3, ch. 5) calls him Nachan Can, but the Crónica de Calkini (pp. 20-22, 35) repeatedly states that the batab of Calkini, before the other towns were moved to the site, was a Nachan Canul, and in one of these passages we read that his other name was Ah Tzab Canul, presumably his boy name. In any case, this important man, contrary to the Adelantado's expectations, turned against the invaders. His opposition does

THE PROVINCE OF AH CANUL

not appear to have had serious consequences, and the Spaniards were received by a Napot Canche, who is said by the native chronicle to have been declared batab by the Spaniards (Cal., p. 16). In 1567 a Don Gonzalo Che signed a petition to the King as cacique of Calkini; but before that, in 1557, Don Francisco Ci, cacique of Kulcab, had been governor of the town. Still later Don Miguel Canul, apparently the hereditary cacique of Mopila, was reported to be "batab" of the Calkini people, but here it probably means only governor (Martínez H., 1929, p. 61; Roys, 1943, p. 191; Cal., p. 35).

Among the towns settled at Calkini in colonial times was Kahlacum. It has been stated that this town is now known as Kanchaltun, but I have been unable to locate the site (Martínez H., 1929, p. 61). In 1567 the cacique of Kahlacum was a Lorenzo Canul, and he was governor in 1572 (AGI, Justicia 247). In the Crónica de Calkini (p. 24) its people, Ah Kalahcumob, are mentioned in connection with some lands east of the Puuc, northeast of Calkini.

Sahcabchen

Sahcabchen (Maya Sahcabch'en, "well by the sahcab pit") was listed in 1548 as an encomienda with 350 tributaries, or about 1575 inhabitants. This must be the present village of Sahcabchen, 7 km. west of Dzitbalche, and should not be confused with a rural site of the same name on or near the Ah Canul border. I have found no further mention of the town in colonial times, until it appears as a visita of Hecelchakan (Tomás López, 1801). Where the people had been since the 1550's remains a problem.

Pocboc and Dzitbalche

Pocboc was an encomienda, according to the 1549 tax list, which was granted to Antón García of Campeche in 1546. It had 250 tributaries, or about 1125 persons all together (Scholes and Roys, 1948, p. 147). According to the Crónica de Calkini (pp. 18-19) it was one of the Ah Canul towns that did not willingly receive the Spaniards, and here the Indians by a ruse managed to burn most of the supplies and munitions of the invaders (Chamberlain, 1948, p. 207). In the Calkini document the town is associated with a priest named Ah Kin Canul. His two sons were Ah Tok Canul and Ah Chim Canul, and he had five male and five female slaves. He does not seem to be the Ah Kin Canul who came from Mayapan. Evidently the Canul lineage continued to rule at Pocboc for some time after the conquest, for a Pedro Canul was governor in 1572 (AGI, Justicia 247).

Dzitbalche ("single balche tree," Lonchocarpus longistylus Pitt.) does not appear in the 1549 tax list. It was probably at that time part of either Kinlacam or Chulila, both of which belonged to the Cepeda family of Campeche, for in the early 1560's we find Dzitbalche an encomienda of this same family (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 2:161, 304). The lands of Dzitbalche extended east of the town to the Mani border (Cal., pp. 14, 26, 28, 31). The church at Dzitbalche is set on a

platform which rises six steps, or about 1.2 m., above the plaza, and is probably the remains of a large Maya substructure. On the north side of the church is a mound of small stones and copious mortar about 3 m. high. In front of the church and in the terraces and walks of the town are many smoothly surfaced stones, which appear to have been taken from the walls of ancient structures.

Bacabchen and Cumpich

Bacabchen (Maya Bacabch'en) means "well of the Bacab," referring either to the god of that name or, more likely, to the Bacab lineage. I find no mention of it in any of the Spanish colonial sources, but it was large enough to have some sort of municipal organization. The Crónica de Calkini (pp. 14-15) tells of a Copacab Canul who, with his ah kulel, Nachan Coyi, and other retainers, ruled the town of Bacabchen. This could hardly have been the Ix Copacab Canul who came from Mayapan, for, if my reading is correct, he was sent by an assembly of batabs to Champoton when the Spaniards arrived.

Bacabchen is now a village of 300 or 400 inhabitants lying at the foot of the Puuc. There are at least six ancient substructures of rubble and mortar. East of the plaza is the tallest, about 12 m. high. Throughout the village are found cylindrical column drums of the Puuc type and many smoothly surfaced wall stones.

The name Cumpich is probably referable to the pich, or ear tree, important for its timber. This is, no doubt, the encomienda in the 1549 tax list written "Yxconpiche." It belonged to Francisco López de Sigüenza and had 230 tributaries, or about 1035 inhabitants.

Cumpich appears in neither the Spanish nor the Maya colonial records. I first find the place on an 1861 map of the State of Campeche, where it might be a hacienda or rural site (Fremont, 1861); but in 1884 it appears as a town (García Cubas, 1884). It was one of the few Ah Canul towns located well to the east of the Puuc. Cumpich appears on the Tulane-Carnegie map (Kramer and Lowe, 1940) as an archaeological site; and the town is noted throughout the State of Campeche for its beautiful cave cenote (Pacheco Blanco, 1928, p. 56).

Hecelchakan and Pokmuchi

The modern name Hecelchakan could mean "forked savanna," but the Crónica de Calkini (p. 15) and other colonial manuscripts call it Xecelchakan ("savanna of the Xece [lineage]"). This is a somewhat rare name. A few of the Xece were in southern Ah Canul and Hocabá, and only in Tacchebilchen in the Province of Sotuta have I found a group of as many as 17 adults. In 1588 the people there explained to Ciudad Real (1932, pp. 344-45) the origin of the name. In ancient times 70 "Moros" were cast away on the northeast coast near Río Lagartos. By signs they asked to be guided out of the country so that they could return home, and they were kindly treated and passed along from town to town in

THE PROVINCE OF AH CANUL

the direction of Campeche, until they reached an unpopulated savanna. Here they mistreated their guides and killed several of them, and the people of the near-by towns killed the poor Moros together with their leader and chief. The latter was named "Xeque," which meant "lord" or "chief" in the Moorish language (lengua morisca), so when a town was later founded on the site, it was called Xecelchakan. One can only conjecture that these "Moros" were strangely dressed foreign merchants who were navigating the north coast on a voyage to or from Honduras. By this time the Indians had been taught dances representing Spanish-Moorish battles.

Hecelchakan is not named in the 1549 tax list, but in 1583 the encomendero of the town was a Pedro Martín de Bonilla, whom I take to be the son of the Pero Martín who was encomendero of Cenote and Mopila in 1549. Hecelchakan may well have been included in the latter encomienda, and, since Hecelchakan was a town of some importance at the time of the conquest, it would have constituted the larger part. We know little of the early history of the town; but it was probably ruled by a member of the Canul lineage, since the governor was a Don Lucas Canul in 1572 (Scholes and Roys, 1948, p. 231; AGI, Justicia 247). In the sixteenth century the men of Hecelchakan were noted for their propensity to hunt, seek bees-wax, and trade with the heathen Cehache in the interior of the Yucatan peninsula (Ciudad Real, 1932, p. 344).

Pokmuchi ("jumping frog"; cf. Motul, Diccionario de Spanish-Maya, cayda de sapo) appears in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda with 130 tributaries, or about 585 inhabitants. One item of tribute was 3 fanegas of salt, a large amount for so small a town, suggesting that a good many of its people were engaged in salt gathering. The Calkini chronicle (p. 19) tells us only that Pokmuchi was one of the towns which did not willingly receive the Spaniards. In 1688 the Euan name group (51 adults) was by far the most numerous (AGI, Contaduría 920).

Tenabo, Tinum, Xkuncheil, and Sacnicteelchen

Tenabo (Maya Tahnab, "at the water lily") is the southernmost encomienda of Ah Canul mentioned in the 1549 tax list. It had 330 tributaries, or about 1485 inhabitants, and one of the tribute items is 6 fanegas of salt. I surmise, however, that these figures also included the towns of Tinum, Xkuncheil, and possibly Sacnicteelchen. Tenabo was on friendly terms with the towns farther north. As we have seen, a Naun Canul, who had been batab of Becal, left and went to Tenabo. The Calkini chronicle (p. 19) tells us that this town, like Pocboc and Pokmuchi, did not willingly permit the passage of the Spaniards in 1541. In 1572 a Don Juan Bautista Canul was governor of the town, so it was probably ruled by this lineage at the time of the conquest (AGI, Justicia 247).

Two colonial towns that do not appear in the 1549 list are Tinum and Xkuncheil. Tinum ("at the cactus") was recorded in 1656 (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20) as a visita of Hecelchakan; and we also find it on modern maps (Fremont, 1861).

Xkuncheil, or Tikumche ("at the bonete tree"), was listed in 1582 as a

visita of the Hecelchakan convent, but I find no further mention of the town until 1861 (DHY, 2:63; Fremont, 1861).

Sacnicteelchen (Maya Sacnicteelch'en, "well or cenote by the *Plumeria alba* L.") was a town mentioned in the Crónica de Calkini (pp. 14, 38), but it does not appear in the colonial Spanish records. We are told: "Ah Kin ('Priest') Canul settled at Sacnicteelchen. Ah Kul Tinaal was his ah kulel with Nacan Cauich and Ah Kul Ceh." This Ah Kin Canul kept four boats at Jaina for his slaves to use in fishing. "He was at Sacnicteelchen, when the Spaniards arrived at the end of the land of the people of Campeche." Homtun, which has been mentioned as being at the southern border of Ah Canul, belonged to Campeche; and Sacnicteelchen appears to have been the southernmost town of the Ah Canul people. I have been unable to identify Sacnicteelchen, but a partial translation of the Crónica de Calkini made in 1791 indicates that it was known only as a rural site (*paraje*) at that time.

Tekom

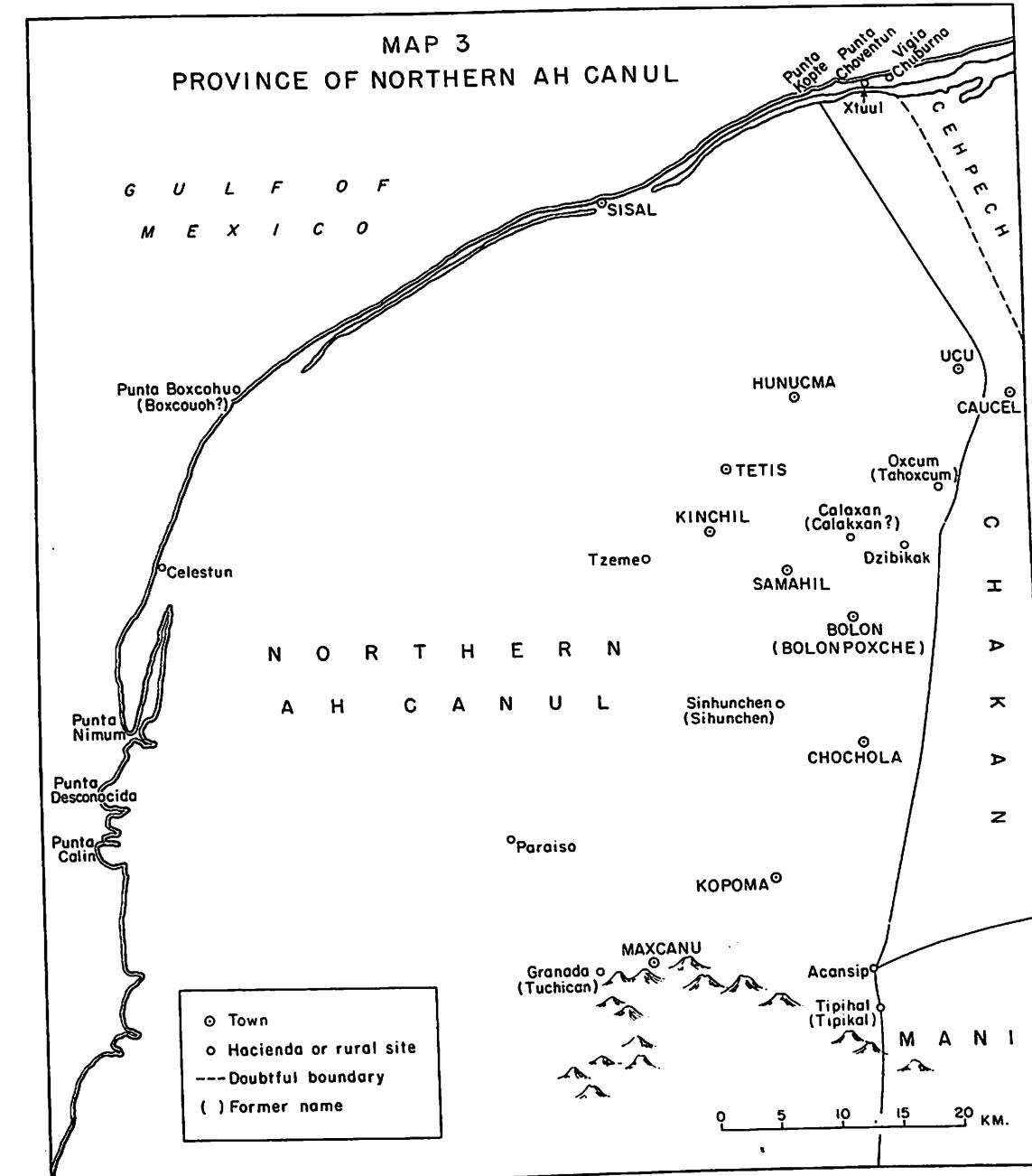
The only remaining encomienda in this part of the 1549 list is called "Tecon," which we know from analogies elsewhere must have been Tekom (Maya Tikom, "at the hollow"). It is a place name frequently repeated all over Yucatan. In the 1549 document it is the name of a large encomienda belonging to a Fragosín Piloto of Campeche. Only Tacul (Numkini) was a larger Ah Canul encomienda. The fact that the town paid no salt tribute suggests that it did not lie out on the coastal plain toward the sea, but this is most uncertain. Adams has called my attention to a document of 1551 (DHY, 1:27), according to which the population of "Tecon," said to belong to Fragosín de "Judiçibus," had decreased to 230 married couples, or about 1035 inhabitants, as compared with 430 tributaries, or a population of about 1935, in the 1540's, when the former tax list had been compiled. I am unable to identify "Tecon."

Northern Ah Canul

The territory of northern Ah Canul was long believed to be a separate cacicazgo called the Province of Zipatan. Zi-patan might be freely translated "the place which willingly gives tribute"; but I think the term referred to Yucatan in general, certainly not to any particular province. In the Pech documents we read: "...before the coming of the Spanish señores here to the land of Sipatan, Yucatan." Again we are told: "...then arrived Gaspar Suarez, first alcalde mayor, here in the district of Sipatan, Yucatan, Tiho (Mérida)" (Molina Solís, 1896, pp. 212-13; Crónica de Chicxulub, pp. 23, 25; Roys, 1943, p. 11).

The Calkini chronicle gives a definite description of the boundary of northern Ah Canul, which is worth quoting. We know from the 1557 map of the Xiu Province of Mani (Roys, 1943, map 4) that its northwestern corner was at Acansip, on the eastern border of Ah Canul; and the Calkini document (pp. 37-38) describes the latter province from this point to the north:

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"This, we know, is the end of the land, the land of the Ah Canul. Then extended the division of the Ah Canul people. These are the northland people. Straight it went also [on] the border of the lands of Acanceh. Having passed alongside of Chakan, [the region of] Tiho (Mérida), to the east of Ucu it passes. Then it reaches the shore of the sea. At Tikopte is the end of the sea of the Ah Canul. Thus, it is there at Sisal, and Nimum, and Tiixpat, and Kinchil, the sea of the Ah Canul. There is the vaulted building of Ah Coba; this is Kinchil Coba. Also at Homonche, at Pachcaan, is the sea of the Ah Canul."

If this north-and-south line extended along the edge of the lands of Acanceh, it would be unlikely to pass west of Chochola and Bolonpoxche. Consequently I believe the two latter towns were in the Province of Ah Canul. Chochola lies on the direct route from Maxcanu to Uman, and the accounts of Montejo's march from Tuchican, near Maxcanu, to Mérida indicate that Dzibikal, to the north, was the first town they reached in the Province of Chakan. It is well established that Dzibikal was in Chakan, although close to the Ah Canul border. Molina Solís (1896, p. 212) puts Chochola and Bolonpoxche in Chakan, but I believe this is because of the close relations between these towns and Uman in colonial times, after they became visitas of the Uman convent. Farther north, the Calkini document tells us, the line passed to the east of Ucu; so beyond the vicinity of Dzibikal we can trace its course with only a slight margin of error to Punta Kopte.

The town of Kizil offers a problem. In 1565 one of the conquerors stated that Kizil was in the Province of Chakan, but from other reports we learn that at the time of the conquest this town was subject to Ah Kul Canul, "chieftain and captain general of Bolonpoxche." One son, Juan Canul, succeeded him as governor of Bolonpoxche, and another, Francisco Canul, became governor of Kizil. If Bolonpoxche was in the Province of Ah Canul, then we find its chieftain also ruling over a Chakan town. This could further indicate that the Ah Canul rulers had been encroaching on the territory of their neighbors. In this connection, as we shall see later, it is of interest that a Nacouch Canul was batab of the Chakan town of Dzibikal, and a Nadzacab Canul was batab of Campeche, not far from the southern end of the Province of Ah Canul (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:151; RY, 1:210-11; AGI, Justicia 245, 247).

In northern, as in southern, Ah Canul salt gathering was an important industry. The principal source of supply for the northern part of the province began at a point about a league north of the beds at La Desconocida, where southern Ah Canul and Campeche got their salt, and a short distance south of Celestun. From here the rich beds extended north to Punta Boxcohuo (Maya box-couoh, "tarantula shell"). There must have been many poorer beds between here and Punta Kopte, but I have found no record of them. These rich beds were reported in 1605 to yield something over 31,000 fanegas of salt. They were worked by people from Hunucma, Sihunchen, Yabucu, Tetis, Kinchil, Samahil, Bolonpoxche, Dzibikal, and Uman, some of whom were at this time hired by Spaniards in Mérida. As we shall see, the provinces where there were salt deposits were always reluctant and often bitterly opposed to allowing people from other provinces to

THE PROVINCE OF AH CANUL MAYA

exploited the salt beds of Chakan, those who passed through the coast of the Ah Canul, the latter being 65 km. distant from the sea of Ah Coba. It is true that there is a small amount of evidence of a glorious past in Acanceh, which I believe indicates that the people of Acanceh, who had been engaged in salt production, had been annihilated by the Spaniards. Sweep nets, dragnets, and hook and line were used in deep-sea fishing, and people who did not have boats could shoot fish with arrows in the shallows or catch them in wickerwork fishpots. In pre-Spanish times, so far as I can learn, for transportation and commercial use fish was salted, roasted, or sun-dried without salt. When roasted, certain fish would keep well for days and could be carried 20 or 30 leagues inland; but we also have reports that in the coast provinces people often died from eating fish which had been insufficiently salted (Landa, in Tozzer, 1941, pp. 189-90; Vienna dictionary, ff. 58r, 177r; RY, 1:118; Roys, 1943, pp. 47-48).

The aridity of the province has been mentioned, but this applies especially to northern Ah Canul, where the rainfall is reported to be the lightest for any part of northern Yucatan. Such a climate is excellent for the production of sisal hemp but bad for maize. As has been suggested, it may have been good for some varieties of cotton. It is hard to tell much about the appearance of this dry, flat region before it was given over almost entirely to the cultivation of henequen, but apparently the forest growth was mostly low and scrubby. By way of exception,

there may be a heavier rainfall on the west coast, south of La Desconocida, for

Stephens (1843, map, 1:9) reports trees 100 feet high, which he apparently saw from a coasting vessel while traveling from Campeche to Sisal.

At the time of the conquest the Canul lineage was prominent politically in

northern Ah Canul, as we have found it in the southern half of the province.

There may have been many common people of the name in the north. Today, it

is true, there are not many in Chochola and Bolon (Bolonpoxche), but there are

more out in the country, and the name is not uncommon at Hunucma and, by re-

port, in some of the neighboring towns. In southern Ah Canul, it would seem,

conditions are what we might expect in an area that had been taken over by a

group of adventurers. If, as might appear, there was a larger number of Canul

commoners in the north, this circumstance would suggest that that area may

THE PROVINCE OF AH CANUL

exploit their salt beds. So it is of no little interest to note that Dzibikal, with its cacique of the Canul lineage, and the adjacent town of Uman, both of the Province of Chakan, obtained their salt from the beds of northern Ah Canul and not from those which lay on the short but very productive coast of the Province of Chakan. The latter were only about 40 km. from Dzibikal-Uman, whereas the former were 65 km. distant. Possibly we have here a clue to why Dzibikal gave the Spaniards a friendly reception at a time when the rest of the Province of Chakan was hostile. It is true that Tiho (Mérida) apparently welcomed the Spanish forces, but this was a small and impotent town, in spite of the magnificent ruins there, which were evidence of a glorious past (AGI, México 72).

One item of tribute which we did not find in southern Ah Canul was exacted from most of the northern towns of the province. This was fish. The assessments were not large, only 50 to 75 pounds per year, but this requirement indicates which of the towns were engaged in the fish business. Fishing has always been an important industry in the coastal regions of Yucatan; foods containing fats were not too plentiful before the Spaniards introduced domestic swine.

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commoners in the north, this circumstance would suggest that that area may

have been occupied by this lineage for a longer period than had elapsed since the fall of Mayapan, about the middle of the fifteenth century. The first historical reference to the Canul in Maya literature is in connection with a Katun 1 Ahau which could have fallen in the late fourteenth century (1382-1401) (Roys, 1933, p. 155). It might be considered as a possibility, but no more than that, that a Mexican group from Tabasco occupied northwestern Yucatan about that time. Nevertheless, the Canul in 1688 were found all over Yucatan; many of them were in the Province of Cupul, but few in Sotuta.

The Chumayel migration legend, which covers most of the towns of northern Yucatan from the Caribbean to the Gulf of Mexico, does not mention any of the towns of southern Ah Canul; but five of the well known towns of the "northland people" are cited, as well as two places which we know only as rural sites. Indeed, except for a brief mention of Maxcanu and Tuchican in connection with the fall of Chichen Itza, I cannot recall any reference to the southern Ah Canul towns in the Books of Chilam Balam. From this circumstance it could well be inferred that the southern area lay outside the territory which was of historical interest to the people of northern Yucatan (Roys, 1933, pp. 70-73).

Hunucma

The explanation of the natives was that Hunucma meant "many waters," because hunac can mean "much" or "many," and ha, "water." It is true that the town contains a number of cenotes. The 1549 tax list indicates that the encomienda of Hunucma then had only 180 tributaries, or about 810 inhabitants; but soon after this, Sihunchen and Yabucu were moved to the site, and the town became much larger. The enormous platform on which the large colonial convent is set is evidently the flattened base of an old Maya substructure; and to the north of it are the low remains of another, which has probably been used as a quarry.

In 1565 and 1572 a Don Juan Canul was recorded as governor of Hunucma, in 1580 as hereditary cacique, and in 1581 as "natural lord of the said town," so he was probably the son of the native ruler of the place at the time of the conquest. (AGI, Justicia 245, 247, México 104; RY, 1:278). Although the town was taxed 2 arrobas, or about 50 pounds, of fish in 1549, no salt tribute is mentioned in the document. This is hard to understand, for two reports written in 1581 tell of the fine white salt gathered from certain beds available to the town (RY, 1:134, 278).

Ucu

Ucu is mentioned in the Chumayel migration narrative as being where we find it today, between Caucel and Hunucma. In the 1540's it was evidently more important than Hunucma, for the 1549 tax list gives this encomienda 250 tributaries, or about 1125 inhabitants. Among the tribute items we find 2 fanegas of salt and 2 arrobas of fish, as is to be expected of a town near the sea (Roys, 1933, p. 71).

THE JAH CANUL IN MAYA
The Pech lineage, which was so rare in that province, seems to have infiltrated into the Canul in the late fourteenth century. The first historical reference to the Canul in Maya literature is in connection with a Katun 1 Ahau which could have fallen in the late fourteenth century (1382-1401) (Roys, 1933, p. 155). It might be considered as a possibility, but no more than that, that a Mexican group from Tabasco occupied northwestern Yucatan about that time. Nevertheless, the Canul in 1688 were found all over Yucatan; many of them were in the Province of Cupul, but few in Sotuta.

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Tetis, Kinchil, Tzeme, and Samahil
The country around these towns seems to be so dry that, in spite of its fisheries and salt beds, it is hard to understand its prosperous condition in conquest times or the size of its more ancient structures. It flourishes today because the aridity so detrimental to milpa farming favors the production of sisal hemp.

Tetis appears in the 1549 tax list with 210 tributaries, or about 945 people all together; and its tribute included 4 fanegas of salt and 3 arrobas of fish. The hewn stones without marks of metal tools in the walls of the church and beside it indicate the former presence of a Maya building, and the huge platform on which the church is set must be the remains of an ancient substructure. The local people insist, however, that there are no other Maya remains in the vicinity which they can recognize. In colonial times the town first dwindled to a village, but revived in the eighteenth century (Roys, 1952, p. 171).

Of Kinchil we know little more than we do of Tetis. In 1549 it had 150

THE PROVINCE OF AH CANUL



In 1572 Martin Pech was governor, a fact which suggests something of a Pech infiltration into Ah Canul, since the Pech lineage was so rare in that province. The principales were named Pech, Canche, and Chunab, the latter a very rare name everywhere (AGI, Justicia 247).

In 1949 there was still a large mound of rough stone about the height of the attractive eighteenth-century church, beside which it stands; and quite an expanse of lime and mortar floor still remained on the summit of the mound.

Yabucu and Sihunchen

Yabucu might be translated "large Ucu." In the 1549 tax list it is written "Yahuacu," and shows only 130 tributaries, or about 585 inhabitants, little more than half as many as Ucu. Its tribute at this time included 2 arrobas of fish but no salt. It was moved very early to the site of Hunucma, and I find no record of its original location (RY, 1:280). In 1565 a Don Francisco Canul was governor, but in 1589 Don Diego Chan and Don Alonso Chan appear as caciques of the town (AGI, Justicia 245, México 104).

Sihunchen (Maya Sihunch'en) means "well by the soapberry tree." Here, too, we know little about the original town before it was moved to Hunucma; but it was probably at what is now Sihunchen hacienda, about 8 km. northwest of Chochola. There is a ruined site named Sihunchen near the Mérida-Uxmal highway, but this apparently lies outside the Province of Ah Canul.

The 1549 tax list gives this encomienda 380 tributaries, or about 1610 inhabitants. In 1565 Don Juan Canul was governor, and in 1580 a Don Juan Canul, presumably the same man, was cacique. His signature is quite different from that of the Juan Canul who was cacique of Hunucma (AGI, Justicia 245, México 104; RY, 1:134).

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POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

tributaries, or a population of about 675. Here, too, the only visible evidence of pre-Spanish occupation is the platform on which the church is built, which is about 1 m. high and approximately 66 by 77 m. in extent. As we have seen, the Calkini chronicle (pp. 37-38) tells of a former vaulted building there associated with Kinchil-Coba ("sun-eyed chachalaca"). The latter was a tutelary divinity, represented by the statue of a man, and sometimes set on a hillock (Roys, 1933, p. 134; 1952, p. 171).

Tzeme was probably an insignificant village in conquest times—certainly this has been true since then—but its archaeological remains are important (Andrews, 1942, pp. 259-60). The population was moved during the civil congregation, probably to Kizil (DHY, 2:56), but the town retained its identity, for in 1565 we find a record of the governor, Francisco Tun, and three principales, who were named Pech, Noh, and Cab (AGI, Justicia 245). In 1656 the people were attending church at Kinchil, so they were no doubt again living at the site of Tzeme (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

The 1549 tax list gives Samahil 400 tributaries, or about 1800 inhabitants, which would make it the largest encomienda in northern Ah Canul at the time. As yet, I can find no evidence that it included any other town. The tribute included 4 fanegas of salt and 2 arrobas of fish. Don Francisco Mo was governor in 1565 and Don Juan Mo, presumably his son, in 1572 (AGI, Justicia 245, 147).

Oxcum, Bolonpoxche, and Chochola

Oxcum, or Tahoxcum, is badly written in the 1549 list; it looks like "Taxbam"; but its encomendero was Antón Julián, and in 1565 "Teuxcum" belonged to Alonso Julián, presumably Antón's son, hence I believe it to be the same encomienda. The 1549 list does not give the population at the time, but the tribute of 150 hens suggests that it had between 125 and 150 tributaries. The tribute also included 2 arrobas of fish, but no salt. In 1565 Juan Camal was governor; in 1572 the office was held by Juan Kantun, and none of the principales was a Canul. In 1580, however, Don Hernando Canul signed his name as cacique of the town (AGI, Justicia 245, 247, México 104). In 1588 it was a visita of the Hunucma convent, so I have put the town in the Province of Ah Canul (Ciudad Real, 1932, p. 339). After this last date I have found no record of it as a town, although it has long been a hacienda. No pre-Spanish remains have been found there.

Bolonpoxche ("nine custard-apple trees") is the modern Bolon. It was evidently part of the encomienda called "Acalaxan" in the 1549 tax list, where it is shown to have 250 tributaries, or a population of about 1125. The tribute included 2 fanegas of salt, but no fish (communication from Scholes). Juan de Paredes reported in 1581 that this encomienda then consisted of Bolonpoxche and Kizil (RY, 1:210). I would reconstruct "Acalaxan" as Calakxan ("two companion guano palms"). Possibly Calakxan was close to Bolonpoxche, but farther away there is still an old ruined hacienda building called Calaxan. I could find no Maya remains in the vicinity. I surmise that in 1549 the encomienda consisted of Bolonpoxche, Calakxan, and Kizil.

THE PROVINCE OF MAYA

In the modern town of Bolon there is a large rubble mound 9 or 10 m. high on the plaza opposite the church. I could see no smoothly hewn stones of Maya origin on the mound or elsewhere in the town. The place preserved its former name until 1801 (Tomás López, 1801).

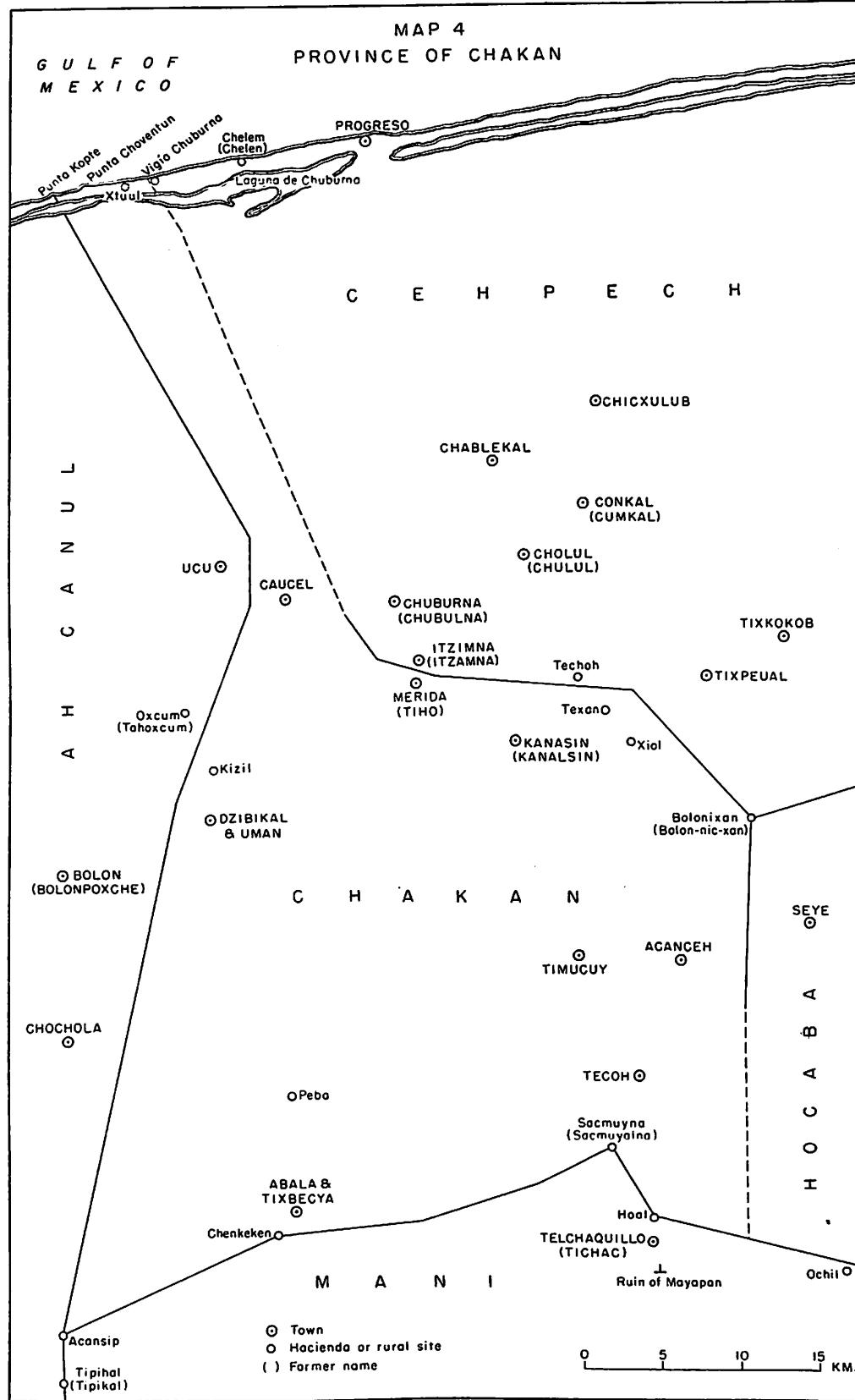
Chochola (Maya Ch'och'ola, "salt water"?) lay on the main road from Mérida to Campeche. I can learn little about its history. Ciudad Real (1932, p. 340) reports it as a small town with a church in 1588. It was only a village in 1688; its population included four adult Canuls (AGI, Contaduría 920), and about the same number are there today. Presidente Anastasio Quintal and Professor José Felipe de Gamboa, of Chochola, assure me that there were a good many more about twenty-five years ago. Near the church is a large mound about 3 m. high, and the walks or terraces of several houses are paved with smoothly surfaced veneer stones from ancient walls.

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Listed among the encomiendas of northern Ah Canul in the 1549 document is one named Muca, which I cannot identify. It belonged to Juan de Magaña, who also owned half of Sotuta, and had 250 tributaries, or about 1125 inhabitants. The tribute items include 2 fanegas of salt and 2 arrobas of fish, so it was presumably in one of the coastal provinces.



THE PROVINCE OF CHAKAN

In the Motul dictionary the expression ah chakan is defined: "he who is of Mérida or of the towns of that district, which is called Chakan." Chakan means "savanna," and is applied both to grasslands and to areas partly covered by other low scrubby vegetation. Unlike the better-organized provinces, Chakan seems to have consisted of a collection of independent towns whose relations with one another remain a matter of conjecture. Although Montejo's forces met a friendly reception at Dzibikal, most of the people of the province were hostile. On their arrival at Dzibikal the Spaniards found that the principal organizer of this resistance was Ah Kin Ch'uy, the priest of Peba, a small village in southwestern Chakan (Chamberlain, 1948, p. 208).

The western boundary of Chakan was the eastern frontier of Ah Canul, which has been discussed in the preceding chapter. Its southern border is well defined in the Mani land treaty of 1557 (Roys, 1943, p. 180, map 4). The northern and eastern limits of the Province of Chakan, as shown on the accompanying map, are determined approximately from what we know of the Chakan towns on one side of the line and those of the Provinces of Cehpech and Hocabá on the other.

Caucel

Caucel appears in the 1549 tax list with 200 tributaries, or about 900 inhabitants; and its tribute included 4 fanegas of salt and 3 arrobas of fish.

Molina Solís calls it the capital of Chakan and tells us that its batab also ruled over Tiho, the site of Mérida. I think this able historian exaggerates the prestige of the ruler, partly because he was ambassador at a conference in Mani in 1537 to discuss the problem of how the Spaniards should be received, and still more because of the importance Cogolludo ascribes to him, for he was indeed a rich and prominent person and one of the first of the Maya nobility to accept Christianity (Molina Solís, 1896, pp. 212, 628; Cogolludo, bk. 5, ch. 6; Roys, 1933, pp. 145-46).

This Ah Kin Euan combined the offices of priest and batab, which was unusual. Although he was fifty years old when he was converted and became Don Francisco Euan, Cogolludo reports that he learned to read and write. As a Maya priest, however, he would already have been able to read and write the Maya glyphs. Landa tells us that his ancestors had controlled the salt beds near Caucel under the old Mayapan government, presumably meaning that they exacted a royalty from the people who came to gather salt; and soon after the conquest the Spanish authorities confirmed Don Francisco's rights over the salt beds (Tozzer, 1941, p. 189). I have found no explicit statement either in the Maya

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

literature or in the early Spanish reports that Caucel was in Chakan, but I believe that Molina Solís was right on that point. We know that it lay east of the Ah Canul border, and I can find no indication that it was in the Province of Cehpech.

Although Caucel controlled only a short stretch of coast, its salt beds were very rich. In 1605, at a rough estimate, the beds between Punta Choventún and the west end of Laguna de Chubulna probably produced at least 25,000 fanegas annually, and possibly a great deal more. These were called the beds of the Puerto de Caucel. The deposits on the west coast near Celestún were designated the Mérida beds, and the question might be raised as to why the Mérida people did not gather salt on the north coast nearer home. This, however, was in 1605, and conditions may have changed under Spanish rule; but it still remains a problem (AGI, México 72).

Don Francisco (Ah Kin) Euan died in 1560. We find a Don Pedro Euan as governor in 1565 and a second Don Francisco Euan in 1572. In 1580 a Don Juan Euan signed a document as cacique of Caucel (AGI, Justicia 245, 247, México 104).

Tiho and Kanasin

Tiho was the usual name of the village where Mérida was founded, but in the Maya prophecies it is always called Ichcansiho. Various explanations have been offered for these names, but none seems satisfactory for the latter. As for Tiho, ti means "at" and is a frequent prefix of place names. Not only is Ho a familiar lineage name, but north of Laguna Nohbec in Quintana Roo the Espinosa map shows the site of a village named Chunho. Chun ("the foot of something, often a tree") is sometimes a prefix of place names derived from trees, so it is possible that ho was the obsolete name of a tree.

Although we have early descriptions of the handsome ruins at Tiho, we know little about the actual town, except that it consisted of pole-and-thatch structures. There was a vague legend that the old lords "came to an end" through wars and dissensions among themselves, and that the city had flourished when "the whole land was at peace and was governed by the lords of Chichen Itza, an old town which was in this province" (RY, 1:42, 43; Roys, 1952, p. 142).

Although Tiho was in Chakan, it was very close to the border of Cehpech. Indeed, the town of Itzimna, now a suburb of Mérida, was in the latter province.

Kanasin (Maya Kanalsin, "yellow skirt") is a plant name (Standley, 1930, pp. 175, 297; Roys, 1931, p. 250). The town is now practically a barrio of Mérida. In 1572 the governor was a Francisco Pech, and the principales were named Chim and Ku. In 1580 the cacique was an Andrés Tun (AGI, Justicia 247, México, 104).

Dzibikal, Uman, and Kizil

Dzibikal (Maya Dzibil-kal, "painted stone building") was apparently always at a site adjoining that of Uman. There is still an important barrio at

THE PROVINCE IN MAYA

Uman. I believe was under Ah Canul ch. Montejo 1541 the and stop Crónica bob) at D couoh Ca learn 1605, in Mani 149, 208 s a prob- utaries, Juan as ion Juan separate site of U lineage governor there, but in have As for name of the town conver- thing, so Francisco, so it is in 1565, we ernor of that it one of lourished pp. 151. This is find no. ehpech. Kizil, 1930, subject of Mérida of Hunucma named tion I 160-61. al- at

THE PROVINCE OF CHAKAN

Uman named Dzibikal, which is said to consider itself quite independent, but I was unable to find any remains of a former temple mound there. From the first, Dzibikal was friendly to the Spanish invaders. It was here that the Adelantado Montejo met his son, after the retreat of the latter from Chichen Itza in 1534. In 1541 the forces of Montejo the son entered the Province of Chakan at this point and stopped for some time at Dzibikal preparing for their advance to Tiho. In the Crónica de Calkini we read that the "people of the land of Chakan" (ah chakan ca-
bob) at Dzibikal authorized the Spanish occupation; and that their batab was Na-
couoh Canul, whose ah kulel was Namo Uc. From the Chumayel manuscript we learn that a Nachan Uc of Dzibikal was one of the ambassadors at a conference in Mani in 1537 to discuss the coming of the Spaniards (Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 149, 208; Cal., p. 19; Roys, 1933, pp. 145-46).

According to the 1549 tax list the encomienda named Dzibikal had 860 tributaries, or about 3870 inhabitants; these figures undoubtedly include the population of Uman and probably of a few neighboring villages. Dzibikal is listed as a separate town in a document of 1582, but in 1656 it was stated to be a town at the site of Uman (DHY, 2:56; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

In 1568 the cacique of Dzibikal was Don Francisco Uicab, but the Canul lineage evidently continued to have some influence in the town, for in 1599 the governor was Don Pedro Canul, and a Miguel Canul was a person of importance there at the time (AGI, México 242).

Uman, often written Tahuman, is listed by Pío Pérez (1898, p. 109) as the name of a medicinal plant, but he does not identify it. It is hard to tell whether the town was larger or smaller than Dzibikal. The great platform on which the convent was set in 1585 is obviously the flattened remains of a Maya substructure, so at one time, apparently, the site of Uman was the more important. Don Francisco Pot was the "lord" of Tahuman in 1557, and he was listed as governor in 1565. In 1568 Don Andrés Pot, presumably his son, was reported to be governor of Tahuman, Dzibikal, and "Pucumi." We know nothing of the last, except that its alguacil mayor (chief bailiff) was a Miguel Cocom; but it was probably one of several towns at the site (AGI, México 3046, 242, Justicia 245; Roys, 1952, pp. 151-52). In 1656 still another town, Dzibikak, was reported to be at the site. This is now the name of a hacienda a short distance to the northwest, but I could find no ancient Maya remains there (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

In the discussion of the eastern border of northern Ah Canul we saw that Kizil ("place of the Spanish plum") was reported to be in Chakan, although it was subject to the Ah Canul ruler of Bolonpoxche. In 1588, Ciudad Real (1932, p. 339) noted that the town was subject to the convent of the Ah Canul town of Hunucma, a point which may be of some significance. This is the latest mention I have found of the site as a town. The ruins of the old church and the interesting Maya remains at Kizil have been described elsewhere (Roys, 1952, pp. 160-61).

Timucuy

In the 1549 tax list an encomienda called "Tamocuy" is reported to belong to a certain "Peralvarez" (Pedro Alvarez). I believe this to be Timucuy ("place of the dove"), not far west of Acanceh. It had 160 tributaries, or about 720 inhabitants. One of the tribute items is 2 arrobas of fish, which suggests that the people of Timucuy may have been allowed to fish on the seashore in Cehpech. In 1565 Timucuy was the encomienda of Gaspar Juárez de Avila, and its governor was a Francisco Pech (AGI, Justicia 245).

Acanceh, Texiol, Tixbecya, Chaltun, and Tecoh

Acanceh (the name of an unidentified medicinal plant) does not appear in the 1549 tax list. In 1561 it was an encomienda of Francisco de Arceo, who also owned Chaltun. Sometime after 1552 the towns of Texiol, Tixbecya, and Chaltun were moved to the site of Acanceh, and in 1582 Timucuy was reported to be there. I believe, however, that the Timucuy people probably lived where the town now is, but went to church at Acanceh. The remarkable Maya remains at Acanceh have been discussed elsewhere (DHY, 2:58; AGI, Justicia 244, 245; Roys, 1952, p. 174).

The town of Texiol (Maya Tixiol) was probably situated at the present site of Hacienda San Antonio Xiol, north of Acanceh on the highway to Chichen Itza. In the 1549 tax list it is shown to have 200 tributaries, or about 900 inhabitants. In 1565 the cacique and governor was a Don Pablo Pech, and there were two Pech principales in the town. Following Molina Solís I have put Texiol in Chakan, but it is possible that the original site was in Cehpech. In 1562 Don Pablo had been accused by an Andrés Pech of Tahmek of attending a human sacrifice in 1558 at "Tahchamoc" (Tahch'amac) near the Chakan-Cehpech boundary with several Cehpech caciques (AGI, Justicia 245; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:162). It should be noted that not only was the town governed by several Pech dignitaries, but the tribute in 1549 included 4 fanegas of salt, a fact which apparently implies that people were allowed to cross the Province of Cehpech to gather this commodity. If Texiol was, as I believe, in Chakan, these circumstances might indicate an encroachment from Cehpech by aggressive members of the Pech lineage. We are reminded of Dzibikal, which was close to the Ah Canul border and had a Canul batab.

Tixbecya, or Becya, is a combination of two plant names: bec is Ehretia tinifolia L., and ya is the sapote. The town was moved at an early date to Acanceh, where we find it in 1582, but it was later transferred to Abala, which I believe to be near its original site (DHY, 2:58; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20). The 1549 tax list shows Tixbecya to have had 160 tributaries, or about 720 inhabitants. In 1562 the cacique, Don Pedro Cocom, was accused of attending a human sacrifice with some Cehpech dignitaries and the cacique of Texiol (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:162).

We know little about Chaltun ("flat rocky land" or "rock tank"). We do

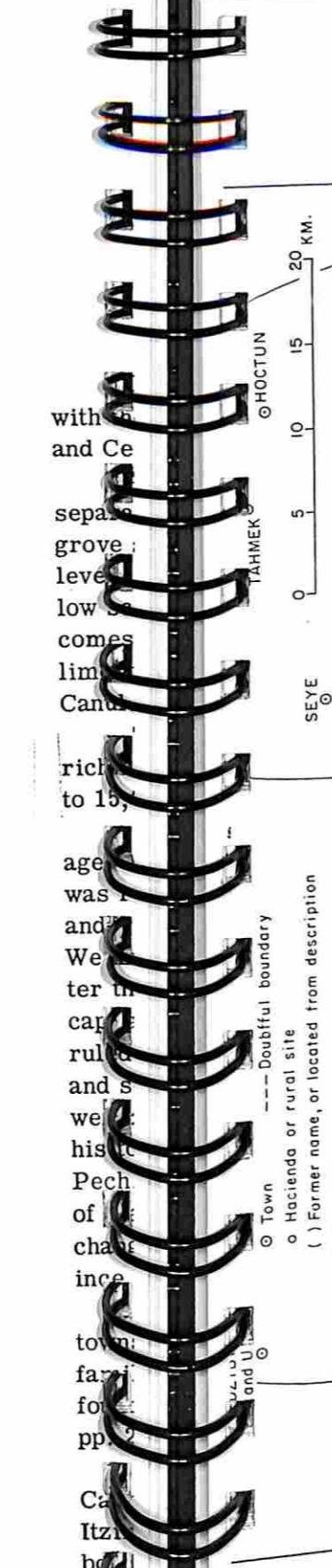
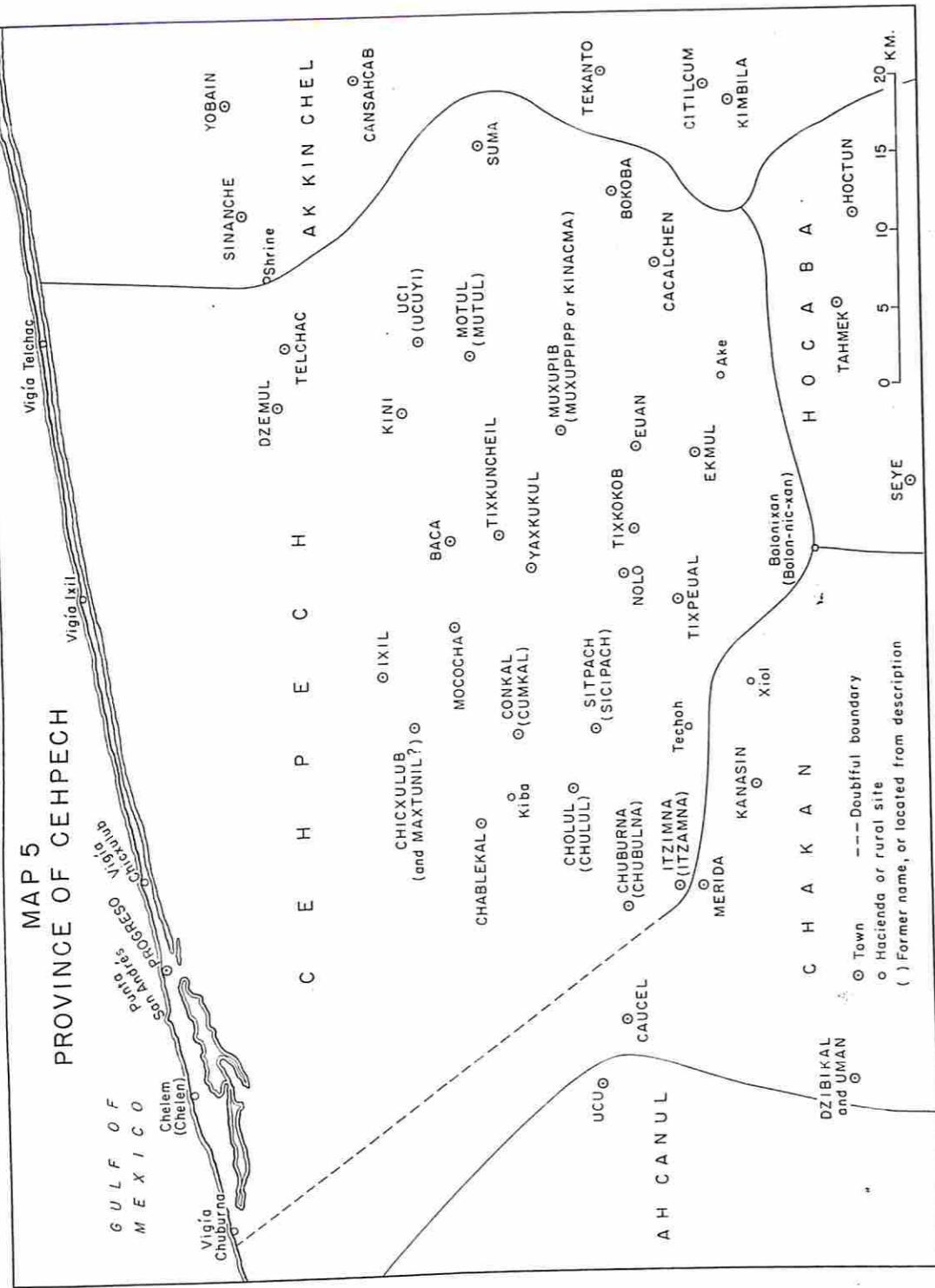
THE PROVINCE OF CHAKAN

not know its original location before it was moved to Acanceh. In 1549 it was an encomienda of Francisco de Arceo, with 130 tributaries, or about 585 inhabitants. In 1565 the governor was a Lorenzo Cocom, and the principales were named Co-com, Chable, and May. It was still considered an independent municipality located at the site of Acanceh in 1656 (AGI, Justicia 245; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

I am unable to identify Tecoh (Maya Ticoh, "place of the puma") in the 1549 tax list, but the town appears in the Mani land treaty of 1557, when its governor and cacique, Don Juan Cocom, approved the boundary line of the Province of Mani (Roys, 1943, pp. 185-86). He was still ruling the town in 1565, and two other Co-coms were principales. The Cocom are still widely spread in Yucatan, and I can see no evidence of an actual family or political connection with Nachi Cocom, the famous halach uinic of Sotuta, who was baptized Juan Cocom (AGI, Justicia 245). The former convent is set on a high platform in the center of the town, evidently the remains of an ancient Maya substructure (Roys, 1952, fig. 3).

THE PROVINCE OF CHAKAN

Another Chakan town which appears in the colonial records is Abala; but I have found no mention of it as a town in the sixteenth century.



THE PROVINCE OF CEHPECH

The name Cehpech might be a combination of the patronymic Pech either with the boy name Ah Ceh or with the patronymic Ceh. Pech means "garrapata," and Ceh, "deer."

Along the northern coast of the Province of Cehpech is a barrier beach separating a swampy lagoon from the sea; and south of this is a margin of mangrove swamp, sometimes interspersed with ponds. Behind the swamp we find a level limestone floor covered with savanna or brush, and still farther inland, a low scrubby forest. In the southern part of the province the scrubby forest becomes somewhat taller and the land is slightly rolling, sometimes broken by low limestone reefs. Cehpech is a dry region, although not so arid as northern Ah Canul. The rainfall is only a little greater than at Mérida.

The salt beds on and near the coast of Cehpech were not so phenomenally rich as those of Caucel, but they were estimated in 1605 to produce from 10,000 to 15,000 fanegas a year (AGI, México 72).

Unlike Ah Canul, which was something like an oligarchy of the Canul lineage, or Chakan, which was at most only a loose confederation of towns, Cehpech was ruled by a halach uinic, or territorial ruler, who was named Naum Pech and lived at Motul. At least some of the town batabs owed their positions to him. We know little of the history of the area before the fall of Mayapan, but soon after this event the deserted site of Motul was resettled and the town became the capital of Cehpech. Various members of the Motul branch of the Pech lineage ruled several of the towns, as follows: Ah Tunal Pech, who came from Motul and settled at Maxtunil, where he was presumably batab, had three sons. These were: (1) Ah Kom Pech of Xulkumcheil (or Tixkuncheil), presumably batab of his town; Ah Kom's son, Nakuk Pech, became batab of Chicxulub; (2) Ah Macan Pech, batab of Yaxkukul; (3) Ixkil-Itzam Pech, batab of Conkal. The appointment of these outsiders belonging originally to a family of Motul suggests political changes of some sort brought about by Naum Pech, the halach uinic of the province.

These dignitaries are said to be of the "first lineage" (*yax ch'ibal*) of the towns where they lived, and they may all have been descendants of the immediate family of a Nohcabal Pech, who resettled Motul after the fall of Mayapan and founded the Province of Cehpech as we know it in conquest times (Brinton, 1882, pp. 216, 219, 223; Martínez H., 1926, pp. 5, 11).

In our reconstruction of the boundaries of the province, the exclusion of Caucel has already been discussed. I have followed Molina Solis, who includes Itzimna, and his reason will be given in the account of that village. The southern border of the province has been placed halfway between the northern towns of the

Table 2

THE MORE NUMEROUS LINEAGE GROUPS IN THE PROVINCE OF CEHPECH

Compiled from lists of resident married tributaries in 1688

Patronymic	Tixpeual	Tixkokob	Nolo	Ekmul	Euan	Total
Ake	1	9	49	6	65
Camal	10	6	1	17
Canche	2	1	12	3	5	23
Canul	18	7	16	41
Cat	20	3	23
Cituk	19	19
Cob	17	8	25
Chable	13	6	34	20	5	78
Chan	5	9	11	16	4	45
Chi	17	17
Chim	12	12
Chuc	3	9	12
Ek	1	29	48	6	84
Huh	4	14	18
Ku	16	16
Matu	4	5	4	13
May	34	8	14	8	64
Mex	2	24	4	30
Pech	27	21	20	11	15	94
Pot	4	5	5	14
Puch	9	8	2	19
Ppol	8	11	6	25
Sel	14	14
Tun	6	15	5	26
Tuyu	22	22
Tzab	13	8	5	1	27
Tzek	9	2	11
Uc	1	9	10
Uicab	3	6	30	4	43
Uitz	13	1	12	26
Xul	7	10	17
	117	322	259	163	89	950
Other resident married tributaries bearing 33 different patronymics	37	55	10	13	18	133
Totals for legible names in this category	154	377	269	176	107	1083

Among the names not cited here, those that are of local interest will be considered in the discussions of the communities in which they occur.

Province of Hocabá and the southern towns of Cehpech near Tixkokob and Cacalchen. The eastern boundary is somewhat of a problem. Bokoba and Suma have been put in Cehpech, because in 1567 their caciques joined a large group of Pech dignitaries in signing a petition to the King of Spain. At this time, it would

THE PROVINCE OF CEHPECH

appear, I was equidistant from these two towns. In 1582 we find Bokoba and Suma grouped with the Ah Kin Chel towns. In 1656 Bokoba was again a visita of a Cehpech convent at Cacalchen, which had been founded in 1609 (AGI, Méjico 367; DHY, 2:57; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

THE PROVINCE OF CEHPECH

appear, Bokoba was a visita of the convent at Motul and not of Izamal, although it was equidistant from these two towns. In 1582 we find Bokoba and Suma grouped with the Ah Kin Chel towns. In 1656 Bokoba was again a visita of a Cehpech convent at Cacalchen, which had been founded in 1609 (AGI, Méjico 367; DHY, 2:57; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

Among the hereditary caciques of 25 towns here ascribed to Cehpech, those of 22 towns were named Pech. The other three were Gaspar Oxte of Bokoba, Juan Ek of Suma, and Pedro Canche of the unidentified town named Chanuinic. The 1688 matrículas (AGI, Contaduría 920) give us some idea of the distribution of patronymics, though they cover only the village of Yaxkukul and five towns along the southern border of the province. No Pech was then living at Yaxkukul, but table 2, compiled from these matrículas, shows that in the latter five towns Pech was the most numerous patronymic. Here we find 94 of them, out of 1083 names which have been sampled. Other frequent names were Ek (84), Chable (78), Ake (65), and May (64). The last two were largely concentrated in Nolo and Tixkokob, respectively. There were 20 of the Cat (*Parmentiera edulis* DC) at Tixkokob and 3 at Nolo, but I have not found this name elsewhere in Yucatan. The Pech may have been almost as numerous in Hocabá, and some of them are found in Sotuta and Cochahuá, but in Cupul the name was very rare. (For more complete details on Cehpech patronymics, see Roys, 1955, ser. B.)

Chuburna and Itzimna

Chuburna (Maya Chubulna, "yellow building"?) was the westernmost of the towns ruled by the Pech lineage. The 1549 tax list gives the town 350 tributaries, or about 1575 inhabitants. The present Laguna de Progreso, with its rich salt beds, was formerly called Laguna de Chuburna, and the tribute of the town included 6 fanegas of salt and 4 arrobas of fish.

At the time of the conquest Chuburna was ruled by Ah Itzam ("lizard") Pech. He was succeeded by his son, Antonio Pech, and his grandson, Juan Pech, was cacique in 1581. In the meantime a Melchor Pech served as governor in 1565 (RY, 1:278; Roys, 1940, p. 46; AGI, Justicia 245). The present late-colonial church is set on the flattened base of an ancient mound, now about 1.5 m. high; its east end is built into a still higher mound. Near by are the remains of two other substructures (Roys, 1952, p. 172).

Itzimna (Maya Itzamna, the name of one of the principal gods) is a suburb of Mérida. It first appears in the tax list of 1549, when it had only 40 tributaries, or a population of about 180. Its tribute included neither salt nor fish. Local historians have generally accepted the explanation of Molina Solís, who believed that Itzimna lay just north of the boundary between Chakan and Cehpech, because some of the people of this town were moved to the site of Chuburna. A church was built at Itzimna, and in 1572 Pablo Canche signed a document, apparently as governor of the town (DHY, 2:56; AGI, Justicia 247; Molina Solís, 1896, p. 211; RY, 1:278).

Conkal, Sitpach, Cholul, Chablekal, and Kiba

The encomienda named Conkal (Maya Cumkal, "site of the stone building"?") was rich and prosperous. Here the 1549 tax list shows 1450 tributaries, representing a total population of about 6525; and among its tribute items we find 15 fanegas of salt and 4 arrobas of fish. In a report of 1605 (AGI, México 72) we read of certain salt beds belonging to what is called "the port of Conkal." Since three of these beds were named Chelen, the port was probably at the modern site of Chelem. The actual beds appear to have been a short distance south of Laguna de Chubulna.

It seems obvious that with so large a population, the encomienda was not confined to the town of Conkal; and by a process of elimination I would also include the neighboring towns of Sitpach, Cholul, Chablekal, and Kiba, which are not mentioned in the 1549 document. These four settlements were either small or of moderate size, and it appears possible that Conkal was the largest town in western Yucatan.

At the time of the conquest, as we have seen, the batab of Conkal was Ixkil-Itzam Pech, the son of Ah Tunal Pech of Maxtunil. He went to Campeche, apparently in 1541, to offer submission and gifts to the Spaniards, and later in the year he visited Dzibikal on a similar mission shortly before the occupation of Tiho (Mérida). He was evidently considered an important person, for he is called the "great cacique" (u noh batabil) of Conkal (Brinton, 1882, pp. 219-20; Martínez H., 1926, pp. 7-8). Ixkil-Itzam Pech is known only by his pagan name, so it is probable that he was no longer living when his relatives were baptized. A Luis Pech, possibly his son, was hereditary cacique of Conkal in 1567 and was recorded as governor in 1572 (AGI, México 367, Justicia 247).

We know little of Sitpach (Maya Sicipach) in colonial times. In 1567 its cacique was a Francisco Pech, and in 1605 its people were mentioned among those who gathered salt on the north coast (AGI, México 72, 367).

Cholul (Maya Chulul, the name of a tree) was also one of the towns whose people gathered salt on the coast. From the sources just cited we know that a Luis Pech was cacique in 1567, but he is not to be confused with other Pech caciques of the same name.

Chablekal ("stone house of the Chable lineage"?") was also called Chable. I have found no mention of it in the sixteenth-century records, but the Chumayel document mentions a Holtun-Chable ("port of Chable"?") near Cholul. In some of the Maya prophecies for Katuns 10 Ahau and 8 Ahau the katun is said to be established at Chable or Lahun-Chable (10 Chable) (Tizimin, p. 32; Roys, 1933, pp. 71, 159).

There was evidently a town of Kiba in western Cehpech, and we still find a hacienda of that name about 4 km. west of Conkal. In 1567 a Tomás Pech signed a document as cacique of Kiba along with other caciques in the region of Conkal (AGI, México 367).

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

Maxtunil (Maya Ch'icxulub, "salt water"?") was a town of moderate size, mentioned in the 1549 tax list. It had 500 tributaries, and its annual tribute included 8 fanegas of salt and 3 arrobas of fish. In 1605 (AGI, México 72) we could find no one who had ever heard the name. The chronicles of the Pech family (Brinton, 1882, p. 217; Martínez H., 1926, p. 6) state that the Spaniards came to Maxtunil and were received at the home of a certain Nachi May, presumably in 1532.

According to the same source, Maxtunil was not a town in 1541, but this is not so. The Pech documents begin "Here in the town of our lord Santiago Chicxulub and Maxtunil," but this can hardly have been the case. The first encomendero of Chicxulub was Julián Doncel, who was listed as encomendero of Ixil in 1549; so Chicxulub must have been part of the latter encomienda, and that of Maxtunil probably contained only the town of that name (Crónica de Chicxulub, p. 22; Brinton, 1882, p. 241).

From the well known chronicle of Nakuk Pech (Brinton, 1882, pp. 233, 239-40) we get the impression not only that Maxtunil and Chicxulub shared the same church, but also that they were very close together. Nakuk Pech tells us that he related or stated certain things to the people at Maxtunil; and that he did not settle there after the conquest, but "descended" to Chicxulub, where he built his home to the north of the church.

The batab of Maxtunil appears to have been Ah Tunal Pech, who had come from Motul and whose sons and grandson were supported in pursuing an aggressive policy by the halach uinic of the province. He was evidently baptized before his death, for we find his signature to a land document as Don Fernando Pech, governor (Brinton, 1882, p. 233; Crónica de Chicxulub, p. 16).

In the Maya texts Chicxulub is variously named Ch'icxulub, Hunch'icxulub, and Ch'acxulubch'en. It was apparently a town of very moderate size, until a church was built and it absorbed its larger neighbor. It is important for its Maya chronicles. The principal narrator, Nakuk Pech, apparently was already batab of the town when the Spaniards came, but it is implied that he had achieved the position only a short time before. It is also possible that this was not very long after his grandfather came from Motul to Maxtunil and his father and uncles made themselves batabs of Tixkuncheil, Conkal, and Yaxkukul. This was done with the support of a group of ah kulels, holpops, warriors, war chiefs, and priests. A good many names of this auxiliary group are given, but oddly enough none of them is Pech. Nakuk Pech went with other members of the family on missions to Campeche and Dzibikal to meet the Spaniards, and later he, his father, and two uncles acted as Maya auxiliaries in the conquest of eastern Yucatan (Brinton, 1882, pp. 217, 219-21, 223-25).

THE PROVINCE OF CEHPECH

Maxtunil, Chicxulub, and Ixil

The name of Maxtunil has disappeared since the sixteenth century. It is mentioned only in a single Spanish document, but we read of it repeatedly in the records of the Pech families of Chicxulub and Yaxkukul. In and around Chicxulub I could find no one who had ever heard the name. The chronicles of the Pech family (Brinton, 1882, p. 217; Martínez H., 1926, p. 6) state that the Spaniards came to Maxtunil and were received at the home of a certain Nachi May, presumably in 1532.

In the 1549 tax list Maxtunil appears as the name of an encomienda belonging to García de Vargas. It had 500 tributaries, or about 2250 inhabitants, and its annual tribute included 8 fanegas of salt and 3 arrobas of fish. Since one of the Pech documents begins "Here in the town of our lord Santiago Chicxulub and Maxtunil," it might be thought that Chicxulub was part of the same encomienda, but this can hardly have been the case. The first encomendero of Chicxulub was Julián Doncel, who was listed as encomendero of Ixil in 1549; so Chicxulub, must have been part of the latter encomienda, and that of Maxtunil probably contained only the town of that name (Crónica de Chicxulub, p. 22; Brinton, 1882, p. 241).

From the well known chronicle of Nakuk Pech (Brinton, 1882, pp. 233, 239-40) we get the impression not only that Maxtunil and Chicxulub shared the same church, but also that they were very close together. Nakuk Pech tells us that he related or stated certain things to the people at Maxtunil; and that he did not settle there after the conquest, but "descended" to Chicxulub, where he built his home to the north of the church.

The batab of Maxtunil appears to have been Ah Tunal Pech, who had come from Motul and whose sons and grandson were supported in pursuing an aggressive policy by the halach uinic of the province. He was evidently baptized before his death, for we find his signature to a land document as Don Fernando Pech, governor (Brinton, 1882, p. 233; Crónica de Chicxulub, p. 16).

In the Maya texts Chicxulub is variously named Ch'icxulub, Hunch'icxulub, and Ch'acxulubch'en. It was apparently a town of very moderate size, until a church was built and it absorbed its larger neighbor. It is important for its Maya chronicles. The principal narrator, Nakuk Pech, apparently was already batab of the town when the Spaniards came, but it is implied that he had achieved the position only a short time before. It is also possible that this was not very long after his grandfather came from Motul to Maxtunil and his father and uncles made themselves batabs of Tixkuncheil, Conkal, and Yaxkukul. This was done with the support of a group of ah kulels, holpops, warriors, war chiefs, and priests. A good many names of this auxiliary group are given, but oddly enough none of them is Pech. Nakuk Pech went with other members of the family on missions to Campeche and Dzibikal to meet the Spaniards, and later he, his father, and two uncles acted as Maya auxiliaries in the conquest of eastern Yucatan (Brinton, 1882, pp. 217, 219-21, 223-25).

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

Nakuk Pech was baptized Pablo Pech and was awarded a hereditary cacique-ship, but he reported that he relinquished his governorship to his son, Pedro Pech, in 1552 (Brinton, 1882, p. 222; Crónica de Chicxulub, p. 25). In 1567 a Juan Pech signed a petition as cacique, and in 1572 a receipt was signed by Andrés Pech, governor of Chicxulub, and a Juan Pech as principal (AGI, México 367, Justicia 247).

The Crónica de Chicxulub contains an interesting survey of the border of the town lands, which must include those of Maxtunil, although the latter is not mentioned. It is dated 1542, but since it is stated to have been made at the order of Tomás López [Medel], it could not have been made before 1552. From the minutes of this survey it is still possible to reconstruct the boundaries of the southern part of the area surveyed. Farther north these lands spread out like a fan and take in a wide extent of savannas, swamps, and coastal lagoons. Strangely enough, the report of this survey does not mention Chicxulub Puerto, usually shown on the eighteenth-century and modern maps as Vigía de Chicxulub. Nor is there any mention of the salt beds belonging to the port and town. These are described in a document of 1605 (AGI, México 72) as lying one league east of Chelen and belonging to the port of Chicxulub. This would be a short distance west of Progreso and about south of Punta San Andrés, somewhere near the east end of Laguna de Chubulna (now Laguna de Progreso). The largest of these beds was named Nitunchuay (Maya Nitunch'auay, "rocky nose" or "rocky tip") and produced 2000 fanegas of salt annually.

There are at least six archaeological sites in the Municipio de Chicxulub and close to the town. The most important is on Lactun hacienda, 1 km. north of the village and not far east of the railroad.

Ixil appears in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of Julián Doncel. It had 280 tributaries, or a population of about 1260, and its annual tribute included 6 fanegas of salt and 3 arrobas of fish. As we have seen, this encomienda must have included Chicxulub. It is hard to tell how far the Ixil coast line extended before it reached the boundary of Dzemul, which no longer reaches the coast. According to the 1605 survey of the salt beds, there was none on the Ixil coast, and the people of the town appear to have gathered their salt in the region of Laguna de Chubulna.

At the time of the conquest the batab of Ixil was Ah Dzulub Pech. When the land survey was made, he had the title of gobernador, although he had as yet no Christian name, which seems unusual. He may, however, have been the hereditary cacique who signed a document in 1567 as Don Pedro Pech, batab of Ixil. In 1572 a Don Luis Pech was governor, and among the principales of the town were Diego, Martín, Francisco, and Alonso Pech. Even as late as 1659-65 we still find a governor there named Francisco Pech (Martínez H., 1926, p. 7; AGI, México 367, Justicia 247, Escribanía de Cámara 318A). Just west of the town are two ruined sites, and close to the church is a large mound.

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA
Yaxkukul, Mococha, Baca, and Tixkuncheil
Yaxkukul, known as the 1549 tax list. Its tributaries, or about 270 people all together. Its tribute included neither salt nor fish.
In the church, where the Spanish invaders at Campeche and Dzibikal, and took part in the conquest of the eastern provinces of Yucatan. He was baptized Pedro Pech and became governor and cacique of Yaxkukul, where he was still living in 1567 (AGI, México 367). He had four sons, Alonso, Miguel, Lucas, and Francisco, and Miguel succeeded him as governor in 1552. He states that Alonso and Miguel were made batabs and hidalgos and given the title of Don (Martínez H., 1926, pp. 8, 11, 13, 22). It is of interest that none of the Pech was actually residing at Yaxkukul in 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920).
In 1937 the fairly high remains of an ancient Maya substructure were still standing close to the church. The Yaxkukul papers contain a survey of the town lands made by Ah Macan Pech. It is dated 1544, but probably it was made in 1552 (Martínez H., 1926, p. 33).
Mococha must have been a town of some importance. The 1549 tax list gives the encomienda of that name 500 tributaries, or about 2250 persons of all ages. Its tribute included 8 fanegas of salt, but no fish. I can find no evidence that any other town was included, except perhaps Kumun, now a hacienda 3 km. to the south. In 1567 the cacique of Mococha was a Miguel Pech, and in 1572 Juan Ciau was governor. All we know of Kumun is that it still had a cacique in 1567, whose name was Martín Pech (AGI, México 367, Justicia 247).
Baca was another large encomienda in 1549. It had 480 tributaries, or about 2160 inhabitants. Its tribute included 8 fanegas of salt, but no fish. At the time of the conquest the batab of Baca was Op Pech, who was baptized Ambrosio Pech and became governor and presumably cacique of the town. He appears to have been closely associated with the Pech family of Maxtunil, whose papers do not mention the batab of Mococha. In 1567 a Pedro Pech, probably Ambrosio's son, was cacique; in 1572 Pedro Che was governor, but a Gaspar Pech was one of the principales (Brinton, 1882, p. 240; AGI, México 367, Justicia 247).
Tixkuncheil ("at the bonete tree") appears in the 1549 tax list with 220 tributaries, or about 990 inhabitants. The tribute included 4 fanegas of salt, but no fish. In the Pech papers the town is almost always called Xulkumcheil. The batab in conquest times was Ah Kom Pech, son of Ah Tunal Pech of Maxtunil and father of Nakuk Pech of Chicxulub. He accompanied his relatives on missions to the Spanish invaders. After his baptism he became Don Martín Pech, cacique

THE PROVINCE OF CEHPECH

Yaxkukul, Mococha, Baca, and Tixkuncheil

Yaxkukul ("green plumage") was always a small town; like Chicxulub, it is known chiefly because of the chronicle by its ruler, Ah Macan Pech. According to the 1549 tax list Yaxkukul had only 60 tributaries, or about 270 people all together. Its tribute included neither salt nor fish.

As we have seen, Ah Macan Pech was the son of Ah Tunal Pech of Maxtunil. In the chronicle he seems to attach some importance to the fact that he had two priests named Cutzuc and Itza. He accompanied other members of his family on missions to the Spanish invaders at Campeche and Dzibikal, and took part in the conquest of the eastern provinces of Yucatan. He was baptized Pedro Pech and became governor and cacique of Yaxkukul, where he was still living in 1567 (AGI, México 367). He had four sons, Alonso, Miguel, Lucas, and Francisco, and Miguel succeeded him as governor in 1552. He states that Alonso and Miguel were made batabs and hidalgos and given the title of Don (Martínez H., 1926, pp. 8, 11, 13, 22). It is of interest that none of the Pech was actually residing at Yaxkukul in 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920).

In 1937 the fairly high remains of an ancient Maya substructure were still standing close to the church. The Yaxkukul papers contain a survey of the town lands made by Ah Macan Pech. It is dated 1544, but probably it was made in 1552 (Martínez H., 1926, p. 33).

Mococha must have been a town of some importance. The 1549 tax list gives the encomienda of that name 500 tributaries, or about 2250 persons of all ages. Its tribute included 8 fanegas of salt, but no fish. I can find no evidence that any other town was included, except perhaps Kumun, now a hacienda 3 km. to the south. In 1567 the cacique of Mococha was a Miguel Pech, and in 1572 Juan Ciau was governor. All we know of Kumun is that it still had a cacique in 1567, whose name was Martín Pech (AGI, México 367, Justicia 247).

Baca was another large encomienda in 1549. It had 480 tributaries, or about 2160 inhabitants. Its tribute included 8 fanegas of salt, but no fish. At the time of the conquest the batab of Baca was Op Pech, who was baptized Ambrosio Pech and became governor and presumably cacique of the town. He appears to have been closely associated with the Pech family of Maxtunil, whose papers do not mention the batab of Mococha. In 1567 a Pedro Pech, probably Ambrosio's son, was cacique; in 1572 Pedro Che was governor, but a Gaspar Pech was one of the principales (Brinton, 1882, p. 240; AGI, México 367, Justicia 247).

Tixkuncheil ("at the bonete tree") appears in the 1549 tax list with 220 tributaries, or about 990 inhabitants. The tribute included 4 fanegas of salt, but no fish. In the Pech papers the town is almost always called Xulkumcheil. The batab in conquest times was Ah Kom Pech, son of Ah Tunal Pech of Maxtunil and father of Nakuk Pech of Chicxulub. He accompanied his relatives on missions to the Spanish invaders. After his baptism he became Don Martín Pech, cacique

and governor of Tixkuncheil, where we still find him in 1565 and 1567. In 1572 the governor was a Don Francisco Pech (AGI, México 367, Justicia 245, 247).

Sabanal and Tixpeual

The exact location of Sabanal has not been ascertained, but it was probably between what is now Techoh hacienda and the town of Tixpeual. From a 1610 copy of an earlier document we learn that in 1543 an encomienda of this name was granted to Juan de Contreras, and two of its subject towns or villages were Techoh and Tixpeual. There were three others, whose garbled names might be reconstructed as Tixchac, Xulucmul, and Tikax or Tiox. In 1549 we find the encomienda vested in the Crown, with 250 tributaries or about 1125 inhabitants (AGI, Patronato 56, no. 4, ramo 2; Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, p. 11; DHY, 1:27). In 1562 the tribute of Sabanal is again mentioned, but for the last time (communication from Adams; AGI, Justicia 209, no. 4). The town was probably moved to the site of Tixpeual during the civil congregation.

Tixpeual (perhaps referable to peeu, a small and early variety of maize) is first mentioned, except as a subject of Sabanal, in 1582 (DHY, 2:56), and we find a record of its tribute in 1606 (AGI, México 1841; communication from Adams). The Pech lineage was evidently a strong group at Tixpeual; in 1688 it was the most numerous name group in the town (AGI, Contaduría 920).

Tixkokob, Nolo, Ekmul, and Euan

In the 1549 tax list Tixkokob ("place of the kobob snake") appears as a large encomienda with 530 tributaries, or about 2385 inhabitants; its tribute included 8 fanegas of salt, but no fish. The salt was probably obtained from beds near Laguna de Chubulna. In 1562 the cacique, Hernando Pech, was charged with attending a human sacrifice at Tahch'amac near the Cehpech-Chakan border (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:162). In 1581 it was reported that a Mérida Indian named Lorenzo Puch had been put in his place (RY, 1:281). The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel tells of an Ah Kin ("priest") Chable at Tixkokob who acted as informant to the Adelantado Montejo and supplied his captains with roasted meat. He became Don Lorenzo Chable and had a son named Martín Chable (Roys, 1933, pp. 86, 119).

The 1549 tax list shows Nolo as an encomienda of Montejo the nephew, with 120 tributaries, or about 540 people all together. Its tribute included 6 arrobas of fish, but no salt. In 1562 the cacique, Francisco Pech, was accused of having attended a human sacrifice four years before (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:162). In 1581 the governor was a Jorge Pech (RY, 1:281). In 1688 half the townspeople were of three lineages, the Ake, Ek, and Chable, and the Pech occupied fourth place (AGI, Contaduría 920).

Ekmul ("black mound") appears among other Pech towns in the 1549 tax list with 180 tributaries, or a population of about 810. Its tribute included neither salt nor fish.

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The name Euan is also a common patronymic, but I can find no meaning for it. In 1549 the encomienda of this name had 380 tributaries, or about 1710 inhabitants; no part of its tribute consisted of salt or fish. In 1562 the cacique, Diego Pech, was charged with attending a human sacrifice in 1558 with other caciques, but we still find him governor of the town in 1565 and cacique in 1567 (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:162; AGI, Justicia 245, México 367). Although only 15 adult resident taxpayers named Pech are shown in the matrícula of 1688, there were 34 other Pech living elsewhere at the time who were born in Euan (AGI, Contaduría 920). Many of the latter were working on cattle ranches in the region.

Telchac and Dzemul

Telchac (Maya Tichac) is given in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda belonging to the Crown. It had 1030 tributaries, or about 4635 inhabitants, and its tribute included 12 fanegas of salt, but no fish. Scholes has suggested that it included Dzemul, which was also a Crown encomienda; but the population was so large that I suspect that it may have also comprised one or more other towns.

In 1567 the town had two caciques, Francisco Pech and Diego Pech. About 1560 the former, called el barbudo ("the long-bearded"), wrote a letter to Diego Tzab, cacique of Sanahcat, concerning lineages. He said Hun-ix-kin-chac was the god of the Puc lineage (los Ah Puces), and "Chocunquinchac" was the deity of "those who are called Ah Kumun," meaning the Kumun lineage. The greatest of these gods was called Çacaalpuc. Francisco Pech had read this in a book which he had. Although Landa tells of the interest the Maya took in genealogy, this is the only specific evidence we yet have that there were books on the subject. We are told definitely by Gaspar Antonio Chi that although they had characters with which they wrote, they did not write letters to an absent person. So it seems possible that the letter was in Maya but written in European script, which many town clerks had mastered by 1560 (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:153; Scholes and Roys, 1938, p. 609; AGI, México 367; Tozzer, 1941, pp. 98, 231).

In a document of 1572 Don Juan Pech, Don Andrés Pech, and Don Diego Pech are named as governors, but I think the last was cacique and ex-governor of the town at the time. Two others bearing the name Pech were principales (AGI, Justicia 247).

Dzemul ("small mound"), as we have seen, was probably a part of the Telchac encomienda in 1549. The lands of the town extended to the coast in the sixteenth century; and here in 1605 were the only salt beds between Chicxulub Puerto and those belonging to Sinanche. Dzemul had one large bed and two small ones, but the annual production of all three was only 500 to 600 fanegas (AGI, México 72).

In 1565 a Luis Pech was governor, and in 1567 he signed a petition as cacique. In 1572 a Don Ambrosio Pech, possibly Luis' son, was governor of Dzemul (AGI, México 367, Justicia 245, 247).

Motul, Uci, and Kini

Motul (Maya Mutul) might be translated "the mut bird"; the latter has been explained as a name applied to a species of the Cracidae family and to the tordo cantor, a rare bird with a red bill and a long tail. Mut and Mutul are also Maya patronymics, possibly variants of the same name (Roys, 1931, p. 337; Pacheco Cruz, 1939, p. 86).

The 1549 tax list records Motul as an encomienda of Francisco de Bracamonte with 640 tributaries, or a population of about 2880. Its tribute included, among other items, 640 mantas, each consisting of about 10 square yards of cotton cloth, and 12 fanegas of salt, but no fish. These figures evidently reflect an earlier period, for the population was rapidly diminishing; and in 1552 Tomás López Medel commuted the tribute to 474 mantas of the same size, 8 fanegas of salt, and 8 arrobas of fish. In 1560 the tribute was further reduced to 315 mantas, 2 fanegas of salt, and no fish. Apparently conditions were now such that the salt tribute had become especially burdensome (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 2:11-13).

Motul is one of the few important conquest towns on which we have any extensive historical information. The account given by the governor and principales in 1581 is as follows:

"The first lord of this town of Motul, of whom its natives have knowledge, was a captain named Sac- ("white") Mutul, which means white man, as I have noted. He came with people from the east to seek where to settle; and they do not know whence he came, except that he was an Indian. He arrived at the site where this town is and populated it with his people. There he made his home and abode, and he and his descendants held the lordship for 140 years. At the end of this period there came against the one who was then lord of the said town of Motul another lord and captain named Kak-u-pacal with warriors. The latter killed him and depopulated the town. After many years the said town of Motul was populated anew by another lord and captain named Nohcabal Pech, a close relative of the great lord of Mayapan, with the people whom he brought with him. After that the lordship was held by this Nohcabal Pech and his descendants; and today the cacique and governor of the said town is Don Juan Pech, a descendant of the ancient Peches" (RY, 1:77-78).

Kak-u-pacal was an Itza war chief who destroyed Chakanputun (probably Champoton in the Province of Chanputun) when his people were expelled from that region and who later ravaged northern Yucatan. According to the third Chumayel chronicle, he lived in the last Katun 8 Ahau preceding that in which the fall of Mayapan occurred, which would be 1185-1204. If Sac-Mutul arrived 140 Maya years, or 7 katuns, earlier, it would be in a Katun 9 Ahau (1047-66) during the first Mexican occupation of Chichen Itza. I think it is reasonable to put the reoccupation of Motul in the Katun 8 Ahau when Mayapan fell, 1441-61. Although we are not told which of the two great lords of Mayapan was claimed as a relative of Nohcabal Pech, it was probably Tutul-Xiu and not the Cocom, for the Pech aided the Spaniards against the Cocom and their allies at the time of the Spanish conquest (Roys, 1933, p. 141).

THE PROVINCE OF CEHPECH

At the time of the conquest, as we have seen, the halach uinic of Cehpech was Naum Pech of Motul. A so-called chronicle is ascribed to him, in which he foretells the coming of bearded men from the east bearing the sign of Hunabku, a deity whom the Maya claimed to be the same as the Christian God. Here, too, he adjures his own people and those of other provinces to welcome these men and offer them gifts (Martínez H., 1926, p. 27).

We do not know just when he was baptized and became Don Francisco de Montejo Pech. A certain Naum Pech, said to be a principal of Motul, was accused in 1560 of having attended a human sacrifice on the Chakan-Cehpech border two years before, and I suspect he may have been the brother of the halach uinic. The latter was succeeded by Melchor Pech, presumably his son, but just possibly his brother, who not only was cacique and governor in 1565 and 1567, but was also called governor of the province of Motul. Among his principales were two, both named Juan Pech; in 1572 a Juan Pech is recorded as governor and in 1581 as governor and cacique (Martínez H., 1926, p. 25; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:162; AGI, Justicia 245, 247. México 367).

In the alleged chronicle of Naum Pech a mound or pyramid and the house of Sac-u-hol-patal and Sac-mut-ix-tun are mentioned, which I take to be the name of the local temple. In 1588 Ciudad Real noted close to the Motul convent an old pyramid, then surmounted by a calvary, "to which one mounts by many steps" (Ciudad Real, 1932, p. 333). Part of this was still visible about the middle of the nineteenth century.

As we shall see, the people of Muxuppipp reported another name for the principal ruler of Cehpech, but do not mention him in connection with the town of Motul.

Uci (Maya Ucuyi) is not recorded in the 1549 list. In 1565 it was an encomienda of Juan Bautista Contreras. In 1567 the cacique was a Francisco Pech, and throughout the colonial period the town was a visita of Motul. Although we find little mention of it, in 1688 it had 370 native householders, about 84 per cent of the population of Motul at the time, for the latter had 440 householders. There is a ruined site at Uci with a number of large mounds but no remaining superstructures. A sacbe, or ancient paved road, is believed to extend from the east edge of the mounds to Izamal (AGI, México 367, Contaduría 920; Roys, 1952, pp. 174-75).

Kini does not appear under this name in the 1549 tax list, but we find there a crown encomienda named "Quibil," which is believed to have been at Kini. The encomienda had 470 tributaries, or about 2115 inhabitants. In 1565 a Pedro Pech was recorded at Kini as governor, and in 1567 as cacique. In 1572 a Don Luis Pech signed a receipt as governor, but Don Pedro Pech also signs it, probably as cacique (AGI, México 367, Justicia 245, 247; communication from Scholes).

Muxupipp and Cacalchen

Muxuppipp ("to grind or break up"?") had two names; the other, by which it was known at the time of the conquest, was Kinacma, explained as meaning "timeless." The 1549 tax list gives only the latter name for the encomienda. At this

time it was claimed to have 300 tributaries, or about 1350 inhabitants, and its tribute included 6 fanegas of salt. In a report of 1581, however, we are told that at the time of the conquest it had 400 tributaries, and because of the deaths of many people it was moved half a league to the east, presumably to its present site. At the time of this later report it had only 160 tributaries (RY, 1:252-53).

The 1581 report, in which the famous Maya interpreter Gaspar Antonio Chi collaborated, contains the following interesting statement (RY, 1:254): "The said town of Muxuppipp in the old days was in the Province of Cehpech and it still is. Also the greatest lord of the said province, to whom all were subject, was called Ah Cun Pech, which in our Spanish vernacular means 'crafty or acute man' (hombre sotil)."Ah cunyah and ah cunal, however, are defined as "a sorcerer, who can charm snakes and wild animals." This statement is probably to be understood as meaning that Ah Cun Pech was the boy name of Naum Pech; but since the town of Motul is not mentioned here, it is possible that he may have been either a predecessor of Naum Pech or a rival claimant to the latter's position.

In 1562 a Luis Pech was cacique and was accused of attending a human sacrifice in 1558; but he was still cacique in 1567. In 1565 a Diego Pech was governor (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:162; AGI, México 367, Justicia 245).

The name Cacalchen (Maya Cacalch'en, "well in high fertile ground") does not appear in the 1549 tax list, but Scholes has tentatively suggested that the encomienda there called "Atimciçibique" and "Atimçibiciq" included Cacalchen. The encomendero was Francisco Tamayo Pacheco, who was encomendero of Cacalchen in 1581. In 1549 this encomienda had 200 tributaries, or about 900 inhabitants, and its tribute included 3 arrobas of fish, but no salt. The two names in the 1549 document might be reconstructed as Tisisbic ("at the vanilla plants"). In pre-conquest times the "lord" of Cacalchen was Nachan Pech, and the local temple was a small stone building set on a substructure (RY, 1:126-32).

In 1565 a Don Luis Pech was governor of the town, and one of his principales was a Francisco Pech; in 1567 Don Luis signed a petition as cacique (AGI, Justicia 245, México 367). What is probably the same name as in the 1549 document appears in 1572 as "Tebçique," and the town authorities were Don Juan Pech, governor, a Don Juan Tun, and a principal named Juan Kantun. It is uncertain whether "Tebçique" was always an adjoining town, or whether it had been moved there during the civil congregation (AGI, Justicia 247).

Bokoba and Suma

It is hard to determine whether Bokoba and Suma were in Cehpech or in Ah Kin Chel. Neither had a cacique of the Pech lineage, nor do we know that either one ever had a governor of that name. Here they have been put in the Province of Cehpech, because they joined a group of Pech caciques in signing a petition to the King of Spain in February 1567, and did not sign an almost identical petition of the same month which bears the signatures of a number of Ah Kin Chel caciques (AGI, México 367).

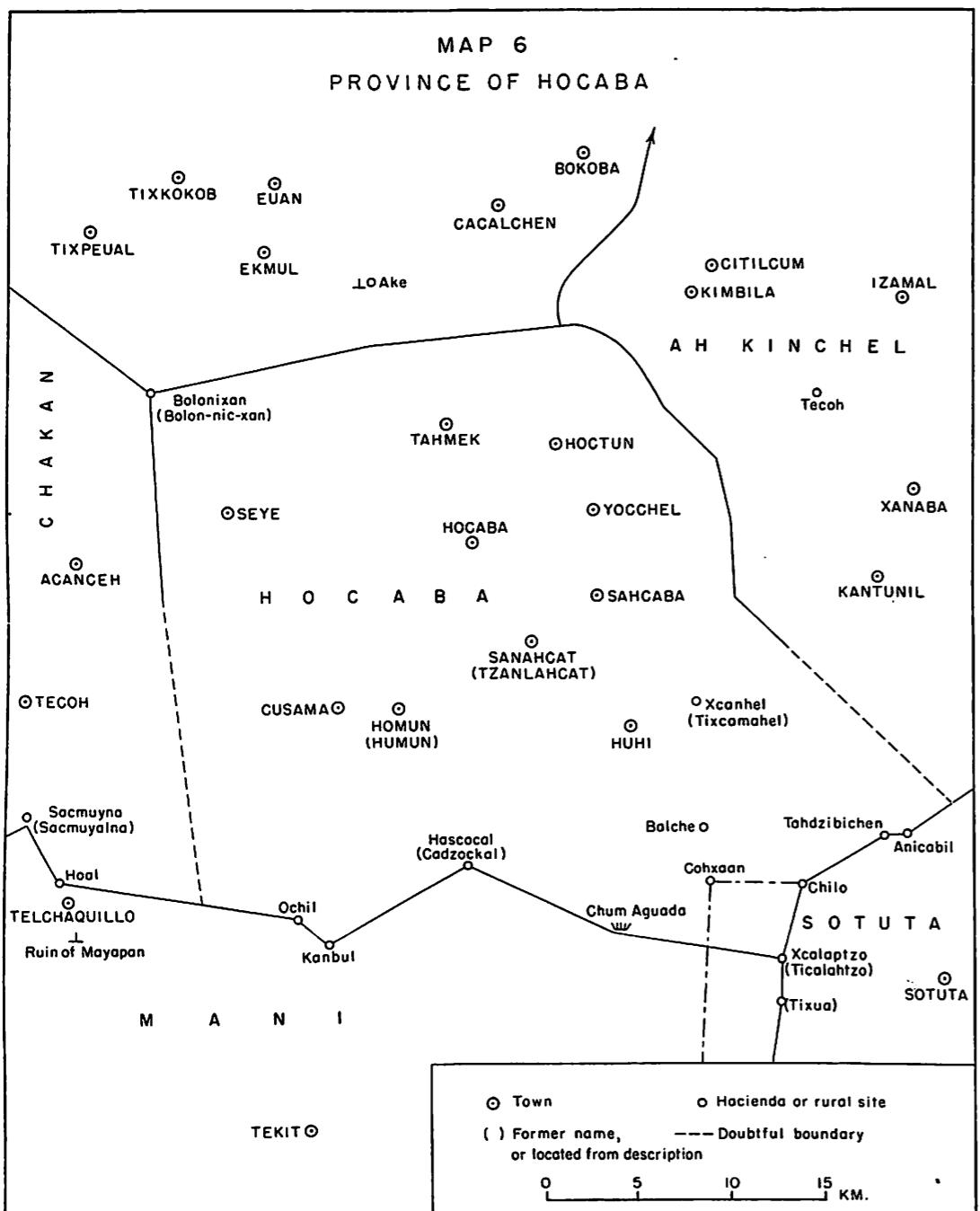
Both these towns were apparently comprised in a large encomienda in the

1549 list, among a group of Ah Kin Chel towns. Here it is called Papacal, which, if Paap-akal was intended, could mean "pond of the jay." The entire encomienda had 680 tributaries, or about 3060 inhabitants, at that time, and belonged to a certain Júarez. Adams (communication) has traced this encomienda to the well known towns of Suma and Bocoba through its later history. In 1565, under the

name of Suma, it was held jointly by Antón de Bohorquez and "the minor heiress of a certain Xúarez." In 1606 the encomienda, now designated as Suma and Bokoba, was owned, half by Simón de Bohorquez in second life, and half by a Juan de Céspedes in third life. Adams suggests that the latter came into his half of the property by marrying the Júarez heiress.

In 1567 the cacique of Bokoba was Don Gaspar Oxté, and the town was probably a visita of the Motul convent, which was founded in that year. In 1582, however, Bokoba was listed as a visita of Tekanto in Ah Kin Chel. Still later, in 1656, Bokoba appears as a visita of Cacalchen in Cehpech (DHY, 2:57; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

The cacique of Suma in 1567 was Don Juan Ek. Like Bokoba, Suma was subject to the Tekanto convent in 1582, but in 1656 it was under the Cansahcab convent, also in Ah Kin Chel (DHY, 2:57; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).



THE PROVINCE OF HOCABA

The Province of Hocabá was evidently named for its principal town. Landa and others have sometimes called it the Province of Hocabá and Homun, but more often only the name of Hocabá was employed (Tozzer, 1941, p. 18; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:52, 66-67, 136-40).

The western and northern boundaries of the province have been discussed in the previous chapters, covering Chakan and Cehpech. The northern part of its eastern border has been set halfway between the Hocabá towns to the west and those known to be in Ah Kin Chel to the east. For the region to the southeast and south we are on firmer ground, for we have the 1545 and 1557 surveys and early native maps of the Provinces of Sotuta and Mani to guide us. The Sotuta survey cuts off what I believe to have been a part of the southeast corner of Hocabá, and the difference is shown by a dotted line on the accompanying map. At the southeast corner of this disputed area, however, was a rural site called Ticalahctzo, now known as Xcalaptzo, which the 1557 treaty of Mani named as the point where the lands of Homun and Cusama in the Province of Hocabá, those of Sotuta, and those of Tekit in the Province of Mani all met (Roys, 1939, pp. 9, 87-89, 425-27; 1943, p. 188, figs. 4, 5).

The Province of Hocabá was evidently governed by a single halach uinic of the Iuit lineage. We know nothing of the Iuit's history, but they were apparently of Mexican origin, for the name is a Nahuatl word meaning "feather." Outside this province the name is extremely rare in northern Yucatan, but it was more frequent among the Maya Chontal of Acalan in the south (Scholes and Roys, 1948, p. 48).

One of the conquerors, Melchior Pacheco, wrote a report of the town of Hocabá in 1581, part of which reads as follows:

"In the former time of their paganism the lordship of this town and province was held by Nadzul Iuit, a very important cacique; and he was so well obeyed and considered by his natives that they did not dare to anger him, but rather served him in the wars without recompense. This province was constantly at war with its neighbors, and they made prisoners and sold as slaves those whom they captured. . . . This lord governed and ruled his people in this province with his caciques, whom they called holpops, who were like regidores or captains; and through these, they [the people] negotiated with the lord for what they desired" (RY, 1:89-90).

This reference to the holpops is of especial interest, and we shall find them mentioned again in our discussion of the Province of Sotuta. In colonial times their functions are described as only social, but before the Spanish conquest they were more important. A passage in the Chumayel document suggests

that primarily the holpops may have been the local heads of the lineage organizations, of which we know very little (Tozzer, 1941, p. 63; Roys, 1943, pp. 63-64; 1933, pp. 15-16, 65).

Although the Iuit had few, if indeed any, representatives of their lineage in the other northern provinces, and in spite of their alleged belligerent character, in early colonial times we find them on excellent terms with the caciques of Chakan and Cehpech, who joined them at surreptitious human sacrifices near their common frontiers. Moreover, one of the caciques in Ah Kin Chel sent a gift of six little girls to Don Lorenzo Iuit to be sacrificed.

For this area the 1549 tax list records two halves of a large encomienda named Hocabá, which appears to have comprised a large part of the province. Each half had 1200 tributaries, making a total of 2400. The only other encomienda in this list which I can identify as being in Hocabá is one named Cusama, with 900 tributaries, which probably included one or more other towns as well. This would give the entire province a population of about 14,850, but it would be difficult to make any estimate of the size of the individual towns at that time.

In the towns for which we have information regarding the patronymics of people generally, the Iuit were nowhere numerous; indeed, at Homún, the second town in importance at the time of the Spanish conquest, the 1688 matrícula does not show a single person of that name. We know nothing of the composition of the population in the town of Hocabá, but it seems possible that more of the Iuit were living there than elsewhere. Fortunately we have matrículas of 1688 for several of the northern and two of the southern towns of the Province of Hocabá, and these enable us to compare the distribution of patronymics with that in the nearest towns of the adjoining provinces to the north and south.

Table 3 sums up the more numerous name groups in the matrículas of five towns in the Province of Hocabá for 1688 and gives a general idea of their distribution at that time. The largest lineage group was the Chan, with 108 out of 1393 persons. After these were the Pech (88), the May (85), the Chim (71), and the Cocom (65); but our samples include only 40 Iuit. If these samples are at all typical, it would appear that the Pech and Cocom were almost as numerous here as in the provinces where they were the ruling lineages. The large number of the Chim is of interest, because, except for 12 at Tixkokob in Cehpech, it seems to be a rare name elsewhere (AGI, Contaduría 920; Roys, 1955).

Seye and Tahmek

We know little of the history of Seye (Maya Siye). I have followed Molina Solís in putting it in the Province of Hocabá, chiefly because Bolonixán, which lies to the northwest, appears to have been on, or very near, the border of the province (Molina Solís, 1896, p. 222; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:155, 158).

An analysis of the more numerous lineage names in 1688 shows that the proportion of the Pech was as large in Seye as in most Cehpech towns, but here we find only two married tributaries named Iuit. The governor at this time was

THE PROVINCE OF HOCABA

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THE PROVINCE OF HOCABA

Table 3
THE MORE NUMEROUS LINEAGE GROUPS IN THE PROVINCE OF HOCABA
Compiled from lists of resident married tributaries in 1688

Patronymic	Seye	Tahmek	Xocchel	Homún	Cusama	Total
Ake	6	11	24	16	2	59
Balam	2	15	17
Be	6	14	20
Cahum	14	14
Can	2	19	1	30	52
Canche	6	1	3	3	13
Canul	3	11	2	16
Cauich	1	1	1	1	12	16
Cetzel	12	2	14
Coba	9	1	6	4	20
Cocom	1	59	1	4	65
Chable	6	4	16	1	2	29
Chan	31	2	28	30	17	108
Chay	15	15
Chi	20	21	6	1	48
Chim	3	1	21	35	11	71
Dzul	19	4	1	5	29
Ek	1	12	6	19
Euan	9	14	18	41
Iuit	2	14	20	4	40
Ku	5	29	17	51
May	21	5	4	25	30	85
Noh	2	4	11	9	26
Pech	33	33	1	7	14	88
Pot	7	13	14	14	48
Puc	1	18	15	1	35
Ppol	7	5	4	1	17
Tun	9	1	3	5	18
Tzuc	5	22	27
Uc	15	1	1	17
	201	151	238	296	232	1118
Other resident married tributaries bearing 59 different patronymics	36	35	43	129	32	275
Totals for legible names in this category	237	186	281	425	264	1393

Other resident married tributaries bearing 59 different patronymics

Totals for legible names in this category

Don Juan Balam, a rare name in the town, but his wife, Doña Fabiana Chan, was of one of the more numerous lineages there (31 tributaries). Other large name groups were the Pech (33), the May (21), the Chi (20), and the Dzul (19). At the time there were 237 persons in this category (AGI, Contaduría 920).

The earliest mention I can find of Tahmek was in 1562, when its cacique, Francisco Pech, was charged with having been present at a well attended human sacrifice a few years before at Bolonixan. He was accompanied by a principal named Francisco Chan. In 1563 a barrio of Homun named Tahmek was mentioned, which might imply that some of the people of Tahmek had been moved to Homun (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:158, 313).

In the 1688 matrícula of Tahmek the Pech were the most numerous (33 out of 186 legible names). They were followed by the Chi (21), the Can (19), and the Iuit (14) (AGI, Contaduría 920; Roys, 1955, ser. B).

Hoctun and Xocchel

Hoctun appears in the Chumayel narrative of a migration which passed from northeastern Yucatan through Motul, Muxuppipp, and Ake to this town, and on to Xocchel, Bohe, and Sanahcat. In 1562 the cacique was Juan Iuit, the brother of Francisco Namon Iuit of the town of Hocabá. At this time Juan Iuit was accused of attending human sacrifices at Bolonixan, Balche, Yaxleua, and Tiactun. The first two of these sites are at the northwestern and southeastern corners of the province, and Tiactun was close to Tixcamahel. At Yaxleua the cacique himself was reported to have killed a small girl by beating her breast with a thorny club of pochote wood (a species of ceiba). This sounds like the dramatization of some savage myth. If the myth could be identified, it might lead to tracing the history of the Iuit lineage, whose name is of Nahuatl origin. Among those present at these rites were a former cacique named Francisco Cocom, the local schoolmaster, Francisco Pech, and a Juan Mex Iuit. Cacique Juan Iuit was also charged with taking part in other pagan ceremonies (Roys, 1933, p. 73; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:145-48, 157). In spite of these accusations, he was still governor of Hoctun in 1565. He was succeeded in this position by Don Lorenzo Uc, who was holding the office in 1572 (AGI, Justicia 245, 247).

The Hoctun church is set on an ancient Maya substructure approached by two short flights of steps (Roys, 1952, pp. 166-67).

The principal cacique of Xocchel (Maya Xocch'el, literally "shark jay") in 1562 was Juan Blanco Iuit, a brother of the cacique of Huhi. There was, however, another cacique there at the time, named Francisco Che, a fact which might imply that there had been two municipalities there. A short distance east of Xocchel on the highway to Chichen Itza is a hacienda named Bohe, which the Chumayel migration narrative cites in its catalogue of towns. Both caciques were charged with having attended human sacrifices and other pagan ceremonies; indeed, Francisco Che was accused of having taken an active part in two ritual murders (Roys, 1933, p. 73; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:137, 154-57). In 1565 the governor of Xocchel was Juan Francisco Iuit, and two of the principales were also of his lineage (AGI, Justicia 245).

Although Hoctun had 14 Pech and only 7 Iuit among its taxpayers in 1688, at Xocchel we find only a single Pech at this time, whereas the Iuit are well

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represented. There was also a Don Bernardino Couoh at the latter town, apparently an Indian hidalgo (AGI, Contaduría 920; Roys, 1955, ser. B).

Hocabá

Nadzul Iuit, the warlike halach uinic of the province who ruled at the town of Hocabá, has already been discussed in the introduction to this chapter. He was succeeded as cacique and governor of the province by Francisco Namon Iuit, presumably his son, whom we first encounter in idolatry trials of 1562. His Christian name is of interest, for it is one of the rare cases where the matronymic was preserved after baptism. One of his brothers was named Juan Namon Iuit, but the others are recorded only by their Christian names and Maya patronymics (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:137, 2:79). Like other caciques of the province, Francisco Namon Iuit did not give up his pagan practices after baptism. Not only did he burn incense to the old gods in the Hocabá church, but he ordered it to be done in all the other churches of the province. Worse than this, he attended human sacrifices and other heathen ceremonies at Bolonixan, Balche, and other rural sites (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:139-42, 157).

He was a bold and reckless leader, for he declared at an assembly of prominent caciques of his own and other provinces (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:150): "You already know that I am wearied, and we are wearied, of being imprisoned at the command of the padres. It will be well for us to resort to war, for I shall remind you that at Izamal I seized the arm of Father Fray Diego de Landa; and they did not whip me nor do anything to me, although I was imprisoned. Now it will be well for us to seize the padres, whip them, and kill them, as well as our master [the encomendero], for they will neither kill us nor do anything to us." In spite of his apostasy and defiance, we still find him governor of his town and province in 1564 and 1565. In 1572 the governor of the town was a Lorenzo Cen (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 2:138; AGI, Justicia 245, 247).

Although it was reported in 1581 (RY, 1:90) that there were no "edifices" at Hocabá, the present church is set on a large platform 2 m. high, which must be the flattened remains of an ancient temple pyramid.

Sahcaba, Sanahcat, Huhi, and Tixcamahel

The earliest mention of Sahcaba ("water at the sahcab pit") that I have found was in 1562, when the cacique, Juan Pot, was charged with attending human sacrifices at Bolonixan, Balche, and Tiactun. At Balche he was accompanied by the town schoolmaster, Luis Iuit. Nevertheless we find him governor in 1565, when the officials and principales of the town were named Ake, Bas, Camal, Canche, Coyi, Chan, Chimal, Dzib, Iuit, Ku, May, Noh, Pot, and Sulu (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:137, 142-45, 157). In 1572 the governor was Francisco Cen (AGI, Justicia 245, 247).

Sanahcat (Maya Tzanlahcat) appears to have had three caciques according

to the records of the idolatry trials in 1562. One was Diego Hau, accused of attending the ritual murder at Bolonixan. Another, Francisco Mo, was charged with being at the Yaxleua and Balche ceremonies; and the third, Diego Tzab, besides being at various sacrifices, officiated as priest, though not as executioner, at Yaxleua. In spite of this confession, he was governor of the town in 1565 (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:137-45, 149, 157; AGI, Justicia 245).

Huhi ("place of the iguanas") also figured prominently in the 1562 trials. The cacique was Lorenzo Iuit, a brother of Francisco Namon Iuit of Hocabá, who was charged with attending four human sacrifices. In 1572 a Diego Iuit was governor, and the principales were named Tzuc, Dzul, and Ku (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:137-45, 157; AGI, Justicia 247; Roys, 1952, p. 173).

Tixcamahel, according to the inquisition papers of 1562, had three caciques. The most prominent was Diego Iuit, another brother of Francisco Namon Iuit. The other two were Diego Uicab and Andrés Puch. In 1572 Andrés Iuit was governor (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:141-45; AGI, Justicia 247). By 1656 the town had been moved to Sanahcat, but the name is still preserved as that of a well known hacienda (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 19; Espinosa, ca. 1910).

Homun and Cusama

The town of Homun (Maya Humun) was politically the second in importance in the province, but I have found no record of any Iuit citizens there. In 1557, 1564, and 1565 the cacique and governor was Gaspar Tun, and his principales bore the names Cahum, Ceh, Chan, Chuc, Hau, Ku, Na, Nauat, Tun, and Tzuc, all of which except Chan and Cahum are sparsely represented in the 1688 records (Roys, 1943, p. 185; 1955, ser. B; AGI, Justicia 245; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:46, 53, 2:76-79). The church is set on an enormous platform between 3 and 4 m. above the plaza, evidently the remains of a very large Maya substructure. In the 1688 matrícula we find three rare names, Mum (8), Tab (3), and Tutzin (8). The last may be referable to the Nahuatl name Tlotzin and to tlotli ("hawk") (AGI, Contaduría 920; Roys, 1955, ser. B).

Cusama ("water where the swifts are") has several cenotes. As we have seen, in the 1549 tax list the encomienda included other towns. Cusama was apparently moved for a time to Homun before 1564, but its lands are mentioned in 1557, and by 1656 it was back at its original site (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 2:77; DHY, 2:58; Roys, 1943, p. 185; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20). Here too, the patronymics recorded in 1688 are of interest. The most frequent names were Can, May, and Tzuc, and the Pech were fairly well represented; but there were only 4 Iuit among the married taxpayers. Tzuc is a somewhat rare name elsewhere (AGI, Contaduría 920; Roys, 1955, ser. B, D).

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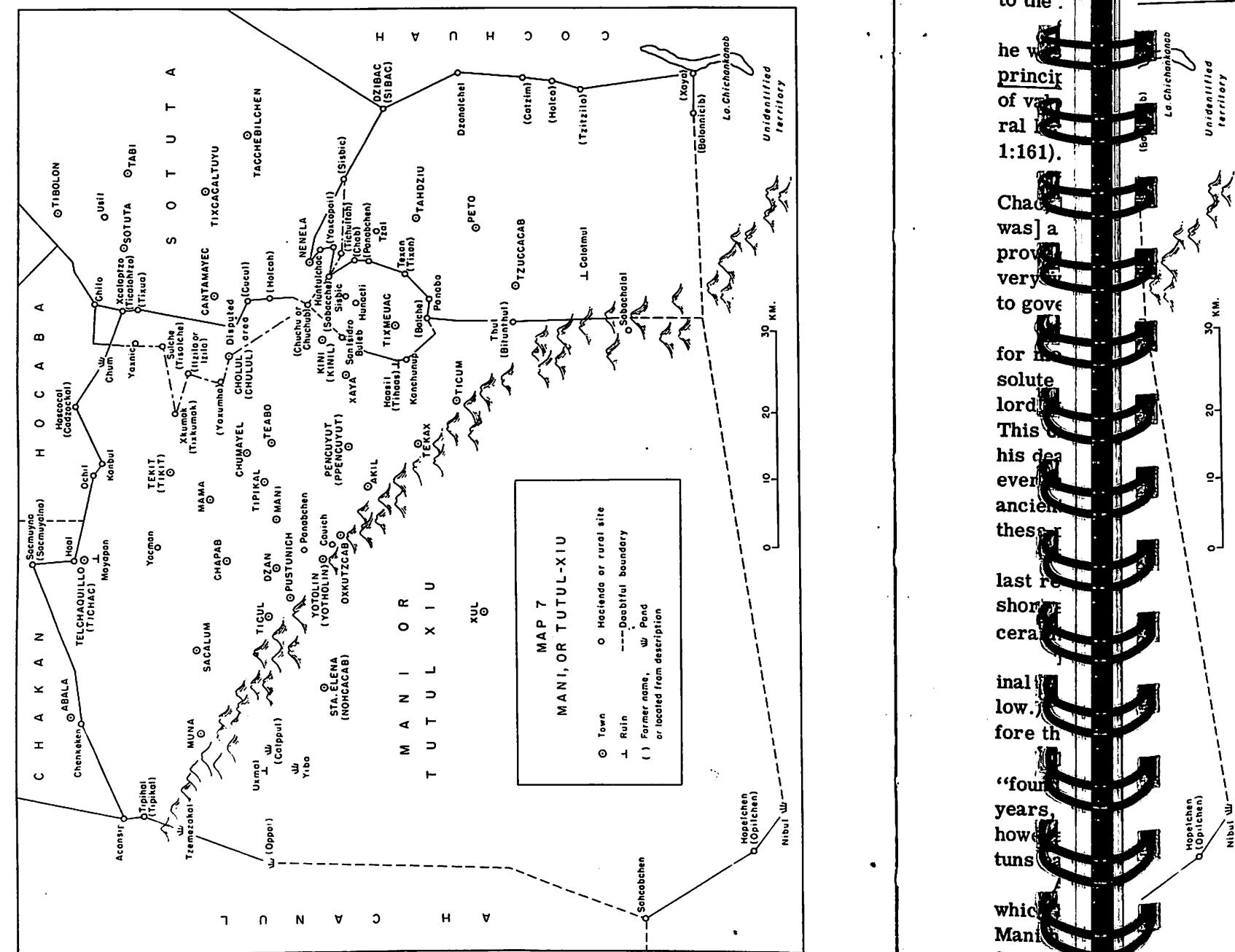
THE PROVINCE OF MANI, OR TUTUL-XIU

In the sixteenth century the large and important province here discussed was variously named Mani, for its capital, and Tutul-Xiu, for its ruling family. It lay east of southern Ah Canul, south of Chakan and Hocabá, and west of the Provinces of Sotuta and Cochuah. Its boundaries, as shown in the accompanying map, were established by the Mani land treaty of 1557; and since a translation of the text and the native maps illustrating this agreement have been published and analyzed elsewhere (Roys, 1943, pp. 60, 64, 175-94), no detailed discussion is given here. It should be noted, however, that the eastern frontier differs somewhat from that shown in a survey of the Province of Sotuta, claimed to have been made in 1545. The latter frontier is also traced on the present map.

The Province of Mani was divided diagonally by a range of high hills, which the Spaniards called the sierra, and the Maya, the puuc. To the northeast of this range lay all, or nearly all, the towns of the province, on a rocky limestone plain corrugated with low ridges like reefs emerging from the sea. The water supply consisted mostly of cenotes, but a few wells had apparently been excavated in some of the natural hollows. Southwest of the sierra are many detached hills. Here the water table is so far below the surface that it was impossible to dig wells until the Spaniards introduced iron or steel tools. There were a few deep caves which went down to water, but people depended mostly on artificial reservoirs or surface ponds. Farmers from the towns and villages crossed the range to this region to cultivate their fields during the growing season, as they still do, but very few sixteenth-century villages have been mentioned there. This is surprising, since this fertile region is studded with the remains of ancient stone cities, many of them still fairly well preserved. Archaeologists have called this area the Puuc.

Of the Tutul-Xiu and their followers, Landa tells us: "The Indians say that numerous tribes with their chiefs came to Yucatan from the south, ... And they say that these tribes wandered around in the uninhabited parts of Yucatan for forty years, without there being any water in that time except that which came from the rain, and that at the end of that time they reached the mountains which lie almost opposite the city of Mayapan and ten leagues from it. And there, they began to settle and to construct very good buildings in many places; and the people of Mayapan became very good friends with them and were glad to see that they cultivated the land as the natives do; and in this way those of Tutul Xiu subjected themselves to the laws of Mayapan and thus they intermarried, and as the lord Xiu of the Tutul Xius was such he came to be very much esteemed by everybody" (Tozzer, 1941, pp. 29-31).

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A number of the *Relaciones de Yucatán* (written in 1581) contain references to the Xiu rulers:

"They were subject to a lord named Tutul-Xiu, a Mexican name. They say he was a foreigner from toward the west; and having come to this province, the principales of it by common consent raised him to be king, in view of his qualities of valor. And before he came they were subject to the Cocom, who was the natural lord of a large part of these provinces until the said Tutul-Xiu came" (RY, 1:161).

"They say that the first of these [the Tutul-Xiu] was named Hun-Uitzil-Chac, lord of Uxmal, a most ancient city and very noted for its buildings. [He was] a native of Mexico. From there [Uxmal] he made entry into all the other provinces; and for greatness and special qualities, they say of him that he was very wise in matters of nature. ... And little by little the said Tutul-Xius came to govern the land, much to the liking of the natives" (RY, 1:287).

"After much time [subsequent to the hegemony of Chichen Itza, which lasted for more than two hundred years], the city of Mayapan was settled, where the absolute lord was one whom they called Tutul-Xiu, from whom descend the natural lords of the town of Mani of the Royal Crown [i.e., tributary to the King of Spain]. This one took all the land more by strategy and benefit than by war; ... And after his death, and even before it, there were other lords in every province. ... In every province there were lords, because after the destruction of Mayapan, an ancient city where the said Tutul-Xiu was lord, there was no enduring peace in these provinces; but each province had its own cacique and lord" (RY, 1:176-77).

Since Mayapan was destroyed about the middle of the fifteenth century, this last report indicates a very late date for the Xiu occupation of Uxmal. Such a short sojourn at the site would account for the failure to find any significant ceramic remains from the Mexican period in the ruins of Uxmal.

The most convincing evidence, however, is in the Xiu family tree, the original of which is in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. (See table 4, below.) This document places Hun-Uitzil-Chac Tutul-Xiu only five generations before the Spanish conquest (Morley, 1946, pl. 22; Crónica de Oxkutzcab).

The Tizimin Chronicle states that a person named Ah Zuytok Tutul-Xiu "founded" Uxmal in a Katun 10 Ahau. A katun of this name recurred every 256 years, and one Katun 10 Ahau could have fallen in 1421-41. The Mani Chronicle, however, puts the same event in a Katun 2 Ahau, which would be at least 10 katuns earlier (Brinton, 1882, pp. 102, 146).

After the fall of Mayapan the Xiu and their followers took over the area which became the Province of Mani; and the head of the group made the town of Mani his capital, where he ruled as halach uinic. Relations with the Province of Sotuta were unfriendly, and there were probably frequent raids across the border by both sides. A bitter war occurred about 1536, after the Sotuta ruler murdered a group of Xiu dignitaries who were traveling across his territory under safe-conduct. During the earlier stages of the Spanish conquest, the Xiu maintained a benevolently neutral attitude; but in 1542, soon after the founding of Mérida, they came out openly as active allies.

The accompanying map, following the Mani land treaty of 1557, shows three subdivisions of the province, but the halach uinic appears to have ruled the entire area in pre-Spanish times.

The name Xiu is derived from the Nahuatl and means "herbaceous plant." Today, as in the past, most of the people of this name live in the Mani area, now especially in the vicinity of Ticul and Mama, but a few of them have long been scattered over a large part of the peninsula. Nowhere has it been a common name.

The accompanying diagram, table 4, based on the genealogical tree of the Xiu family, will be cited in the following accounts of the towns of the province. The tree itself is of the usual European type and arises from the loins of Hun-Uitzil-Chac, who is well drawn in a European style. His headdress, loincloth, tattooing, and regalia, however, display a knowledge of the costume of a pre-Spanish ruler. Beside him kneels his wife, whose dress is European. Her name is almost obliterated, but she is stated to be from Ticul.

As originally drawn, the tree brings us down only to a short time after the Spanish conquest, for most of the names are pagan. A later addition, however, consists of four more generations descended from Melchor Xiu, the older brother of Francisco de Montejo Xiu, the last halach uinic of Mani. The last two generations, VIII and IX, are omitted from table 4 for lack of space. They consist only of Pedro Xiu's son, Alonso, and his grandchildren, Petrona and Juan.

In table 5 an attempt is made to give some general idea of the distribution of the more numerous Maya patronymics of the Province of Mani. The towns sampled are Tekit in the north, Pencuyut in the center, and Peto in the south. This table is somewhat inconsistent in that the sources for Tekit and Peto date from 1688, whereas that for Pencuyut was compiled in 1584. Nevertheless, information of this sort from the sixteenth century is so scarce that it seems advisable to incorporate the Pencuyut matrícula in the present study. The Tekit and Peto patronymics in the original matrículas are listed in two barrios for each town, and the Pencuyut names are distributed in three barrios. We often find the members of a single name group distributed in more than one barrio, so it is evident that they did not necessarily live together (AGI, Contaduría 920; Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Tierras 2809, no. 20; Roys, 1955, ser. A).

The most numerous group in the province according to these matrículas was the Na, who numbered 73 out of 1150 persons sampled and are found mostly at Tekit in the north. They are also well represented in the Provinces of Sotuta and Cochuah. Other frequent names are the Ku and the Dzul (55 each). The former was fairly common in the other five provinces for which we have compiled tables; the latter is frequent only here and in Hocabá and Cochuah. The Tun (50) seem to be frequent everywhere. The Cime (37) appear to be very scarce in the matrículas of the other provinces. Here we find 19 of the Uluac, who are elsewhere absent from our tables, although they were an important noble family in the Province of Tases in northeastern Yucatan, and, as we have seen, a Nachan Uluac was batab of Nohcacab in Ah Canul.

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XII. FAMILY TREE Table 4	<p>ows three the entire</p> <p>plant.”</p> <p>rea, now g been</p> <p>non</p> <p>re of the ince.</p> <p>of Hun- eloth,</p> <p>pre-</p> <p>Her name</p> <p>After the owever, brother</p> <p>genera- sist only</p> <p>distribution</p> <p>towns</p> <p>outh.</p> <p>eto date</p> <p>ess, in-</p> <p>ns ad-</p> <p>e Tekit</p> <p>es for</p> <p>often</p> <p>barrio, so</p> <p>1920;</p> <p>, ser.A)</p> <p>rículas</p> <p>mostly</p> <p>f Sotuta</p> <p>The for-</p> <p>mpiled</p> <p>Tun (50)</p> <p>ce in the</p> <p>else-</p> <p>mily in</p> <p>Nachan</p>
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Table 4

THE PROVINCE OF MANI

XIU FAMILY TREE						
II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	
Ah Op Xiu	Nappol Chuuh Xiu	Ah Cetz Xiu	Ah Uitz Xiu	Melchor Xiu Montejo Xiu, go- bernador, Mani, marido de Doña Marfa Xiu Xiu Ah Op Xiu	Don Francisco Xiu, hijo de Don Melchor	... Pedro Xiu, hijo de Don Francisco
Ah Cetz Xiu	Ah Kukil Xiu	Ah Tzam [Itzam] Xiu	Ah Tzam [Itzam] Xiu	Don Diego Xiu, Tikit	[Doña] Marfa Xiu, Calotmul, mujer de Montejo Xiu	[Doña] ... Xiu,
Ah Dzun Xiu	Ah Uitz Xiu	Ah Lel Xiu	Ah Kauil Xiu	Ah Dzul Xiu Visavelo de Don Francisco Pacab, Oktutzcab Ah Ultz Xiu	Ix Kukil Xiu, madre de Gaspar Antonio Ix Kauil Xiu Ah ... Xiu Ah Pitz Xiu Ah Mochan Xiu	Yotholin
Ah Cuat Xiu	Ah Cuat [Coatl] Xiu	Ah Cuat [Coatl] Xiu	Ah Cuat [Coatl] Xiu	Ah Atira Xiu [no x in Maya]	Nabatun Xiu	Don Alonso Xiu, Tikit
Ah Uitz Xiu	Ah Uitz Xiu	Ah Uitz Xiu	Ah Uitz Xiu	Ah Chac Xiu	Ah Chac Xiu	Don ... Xiu

Table 5

THE MORE NUMEROUS LINEAGE GROUPS IN THE PROVINCE OF MANI
Compiled from lists of resident married tributaries of Tekit and Peto in 1688,
and of Pencuyut in 1584

Patronymic	Tekit	Pen-	cuyut	Peto	Total	Patronymic	Tekit	Pen-	cuyut	Peto	Total
Balam	1	11	3	15		Nauat	10	...	4	14	
Cab	8	3	11		Pat	16	...	2	18	
Camal	3	...	11	14		Pech	2	10	12	
Can	10	15	25		Pot	15	2	13	30	
Canche	11	...	9	20		Puc	10	2	4	16	
Canul	16	...	6	22		Sel	1	12	...	13	
Cauich	7	12	7	26		Selu, Sulu	10	14	...	24	
Cime	30	...	7	37		Tec	3	...	11	14	
Couch	11	5	16		Tun	43	...	7	50	
Chab	15	2	17		Tut	13	1	1	15	
Chan	4	3	11	18		Tzakum	14	14	
Che	7	11	18		Tzum	28	28	
Chi	1	7	8	16		Uh	13	...	13	
Dzib	14	14		Uicab	14	...	1	15	
Dzul	12	43	55		Uluac	18	...	1	19	
Hoil	17	17							
Homa	11	...	1	12							
Itza	6	10	16							
Kantun	9	17	...	26							
Keuel	12	12							
Ku	23	20	12	55							
May	4	7	6	17							
Mis	11	1	1	13							
Mo ^e	3	12	8	23							
Na	65	2	6	73							
Nal	2	10	12							
					425	209	261	895			
					Other resident married tribu- taries bearing 74 different pa- tronymics	68	76	111	255		
					Totals for leg- ible names in this category	493	285	372	1150		

The absence of the Xiu from the accompanying table is misleading, for we have no matrícula from Oxkutzcab, Yaxa, or Yaxakumche, where most of them were living after the middle of the sixteenth century.

The Province of Mani is one of the few native states where one dares to make even a very tentative estimate of the population from the 1549 tax list. Mani apparently did not suffer greatly from the actual Spanish conquest, and in the 1540's the almost incredible toll taken by the introduction of European diseases to a people who had inherited no immunity to them had little more than begun. It seems possible to identify 16 encomiendas in the 1549 tax list with considerable certainty as being located in the Province of Mani. These contained 7220 tributaries, or about 32,500 inhabitants, which would be a minimum estimate for the province. This calculation still leaves the names of 10 villages and small towns unaccounted for, but I believe that nearly all were included in the above 16 encomiendas.

THE PROVINCE OF MANI

Telchaquillo and Yacman

Telchaquillo (Maya Tichac) first appears in two of the native maps illustrating the Mani land treaty of 1557 (Roys, 1943, figs. 1, 3), but it has always been an unimportant village. It is of interest because of its proximity to the northern border of the province, which ran past the cenote of Hoal, an archaeological site just north of the village, and because it has been the nearest settlement to the ruins of Mayapan to the south. The architecture at Hoal is very similar to that of Mayapan.

Yacman, sometimes written Yicman or Yecman, was a small town 10 or 12 km. south of the ruins of Mayapan. The site has long been deserted, but the cenote there still preserves the name. There are several mounds and a ruined church of the ramada type set on an ancient Maya substructure (communication from R. H. Thompson; Roys, 1952, p. 163). The town appears on the Mani map of 1557, and its ruler was Ah Ziyah Xiu, who was the father of Don Francisco de Montejo Xiu, the last halach uinic of Mani. He was probably the Ah Ziyah Xiu who was one of the dignitaries murdered by the Cocom ruler in 1536 (Xiu family tree; Morley, 1920, pp. 478, 507; 1946, pl. 21).

Tekit

Tekit (Maya Tikit) was the northernmost of the more important Xiu towns. It first appears in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda with 400 tributaries, or about 1800 inhabitants. Like the neighboring region, the town is studded with rocky knolls, which were the favorite house sites in the sixteenth century.

The lands of Tekit extended north to the border of the Province of Hocabá. There was apparently some distrust of the people of Homún and Cusama, for in 1557 Diego Itza and Juan Balam of Tekit were set at the frontier as guardians, a precaution which was not taken on the Ah Canul and Chakan boundaries (Roys, 1943, p. 188).

In 1557, 1562, and 1572 Alonso Xiu was governor of Tekit and presumably was also the cacique. His father was Nabatún Xiu, who was probably the man of that name who was batab of Panabchen near Dzan at the time of the Spanish conquest. By 1581 Alonso was succeeded by a Diego Xiu, apparently a distant cousin and probably the Diego Xiu who had been cited in 1572 as a principal of Tekit; but it is possible that there were two Diego Xius at Tekit, and that Alonso's successor was his own son and not the Diego who appears on the family tree (Roys, 1943, p. 185; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:35; AGI, Justicia 247; RY, 1:103; Xiu family tree).

In 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920) the married taxpayers of Tekit were listed in two barrios of the town, and Don Francisco Tun was the governor. The largest lineage group was the Na, of whom there were then 65 married tributaries. Here we find 10 such persons named Bacal ("corn cob"), which is a very rare name.

Muna and Sacalum

The name Muna, also written Mona, was explained by the inhabitants as being derived from muana, "water of the sparrowhawk," but the muán bird was probably the screech owl (RY, 1:155; Thompson, 1950, p. 114). According to the 1549 tax list this encomienda had 350 tributaries, or about 1575 inhabitants.

Muna appears on the maps illustrating the Mani land treaty of 1557, and Alonso Pacab was then cacique and governor; but in 1572 and 1581 we find his son, Juan Pacab, in his place (Roys, 1943, p. 185; AGI, Justicia 247; RY, 1:158).

Sacalum (Maya Saclum, "white earth") was recorded in 1549 as having 220 tributaries, or about 990 inhabitants. Its cacique and governor, Gaspar Che, was imprisoned in 1562 for idolatry, but was released the following year (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:32, 196, 246). In 1572 a receipt for the town was signed by Juan Pacab and Miguel Kuyoc, the governors of Muna and Dzan (AGI, Justicia 247).

Mama and Chapab

The first notice of Mama is in the 1549 tax list, which gives it 440 tributaries, or about 1980 inhabitants. It was reported to have formerly been subject to the Cocom family, but that must have been before the fall of Mayapan (RY, 1:161). The town appears in the text and on the maps of the Mani land treaty of 1557, and its governor was then a Juan Che, who was arrested for idolatry five years later. In 1572 Francisco Che, probably Juan's son, had succeeded to the position (Roys, 1943, p. 185; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:33; AGI, Justicia 247). In 1581 a report of Mama was signed by Alonso Pech, the town schoolmaster (RY, 1:173).

Chapab probably does not belong in this study, for I have found no mention of it in the sixteenth century. It contains ancient Maya remains.

Teabo, Tieck, Chumayel, and Tipikal

Teabo (Maya Tiab, "at the Spanish plum tree") and Tieck ("at the logwood tree") were two adjoining towns in 1581, but earlier they had been at more widely separated sites (RY, 1:285). There is still a farm property named Ek about 2 km. northwest of Chumayel, but it is hard to tell whether this was the original site of Tieck. The 1549 tax list records an encomienda named Tieck (written Ateque) belonging to Baltasar González and having only 140 tributaries, or about 630 inhabitants; but in 1581 a later encomendero, Juan Bote, reported 200 tributaries, or about 900 persons all together, for the combined towns of Teabo and Tieck. Moreover, he stated that the population had greatly decreased (RY, 1:289).

The natives of Teabo reported to Juan Bote that according to their old histories the town had been settled by a noble captain named "Cacomcat" and his friends, who constructed vaulted buildings of stone. The correct name is believed to have been Cocomcat, and is perhaps referable to the Cocom lineage

THE PROVINCE OF MANI

who formerly ruled at Mayapan and later at Sotuta, although, as we have seen, another Cocom family ruled at Tecoh in Chakan. Consequently, we are told, Teabo was populated by very noble people, from whom the Nauats, Chulims, Euans, and Chunabs were descended. This settlement appears to have occurred before the Tutul-Xiu established the Province of Mani (RY, 1:286-87, transl. Roys, 1952, p. 167). There was also a prominent cacique family at Teabo named Ucan, who once owned the central part of the town, where the church, plaza, and municipal buildings now are, and who in 1845 still owned the enormous stone mound near the church (Pollock and Strömsvik, 1953, p. 84).

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The cacique of Teabo who surrendered to the Spaniards was baptized Juan Nauat. He was succeeded by Juan Chulim, who was governor and cacique in 1572 and 1581 (RY, 1:286; AGI, Justicia 247). Teabo appears in the text and on the maps of the Mani land treaty of 1557, and even as late as 1656 Teabo and Tieck were still considered separate towns (Roys, 1943, p. 188, figs. 1, 2; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

We know little of Chumayel and Tipikal in colonial times, although both appear in their present location on the Mani maps. Chumayel is known chiefly for the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, compiled by José Hoil of that town in 1782. A person named Cit-Couat ("father serpent") Chumayel is associated with one of the katun prophecies, apparently as a prophet (Roys, 1933; Codex Pérez, p. 82).

Mani

Mani was often mentioned as a large and prosperous town. In the 1549 tax list it appears with 970 tributaries, or about 4365 inhabitants, and I believe they all lived in or around Mani.

Mani was respected as a religious center by people outside as well as within the province. Some of the other provinces sent handsome feather banners to the town for the great annual festival in honor of Kukulcan, the special deity of rulers, which continued to be held at Mani after the fall of Mayapan (Landa, in Tozzer, 1941, pp. 157-58).

Mani was at first benevolently neutral, but soon became friendly to the Spaniards. The famous priest Chilam Balam, who lived there about 1500 and whose home site is still pointed out across the street from the town cenote, had predicted that strangers from the east would inaugurate a religious change and said they should be welcomed and not resisted (RY, 1:44-45). Another reason for this favorable attitude may have been Mani's unfriendly relations with the Cocom rulers of Sotuta.

This enmity was an old one. Not only had the Xiu headed the revolution at Mayapan, but there are indications that the Cocom rulers had been ousted from Mama, Teabo, and other towns now governed by the Xiu. Possibly this hostility had abated somewhat during the severe drought and famine in the 1530's, for in 1536 the Xiu halach uinic obtained a safe-conduct for a group of his prin-

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

cipales to travel through the Province of Sotuta on a pilgrimage to placate the rain gods who dwelt in the sacred cenote at Chichen Itza. Nachi Cocom met them at Otzmal, a rural site not far south of the town of Sotuta, and at first entertained them royally, but in the night he set fire to the house where they were lodged and massacred some forty persons. Accounts differ, but it is possible that the Xiu ruler himself was among them. Cogolludo (bk. 5, ch. 8) expresses the belief that the Tutul-Xiu who allied himself with Montejo the son in 1542 had died before 1548, when Ah Kukum Xiu, the current ruler, was baptized Francisco de Montejo Xiu. S. G. Morley (1941) believes that this earlier Xiu ruler, who was at Mérida for a time in 1542, was the Melchor Xiu on the family tree. He was a king who came bringing gifts. This would make him the elder brother of Montejo Xiu.

We have the name Ah Kukum Xiu only from Spanish sources, and it is a somewhat unusual Maya name. Since we see four persons on the family tree named Kukil ("quetzal") Xiu, it seems possible that Montejo Xiu's name was Kukil, not Kukum. In the 1557 treaty he was entitled "governor here in the town and district of the Tutul Xiu," so he apparently retained his status as a territorial ruler (Roys, 1943, p. 185; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 2:144-45).

He appears to have left no descendants, and after his death we find the heads of the family to be the descendants of Melchor, living at Yaxa adjoining Oxkutzcab. I have met many Mani people on the road from Oxkutzcab to Xul, who were farming south of the latter town and transporting their crops back to Mani; and I believe they already held these lands in conquest times.

Ticul, Pustunich, and Nohcacab

The name Ticul might be referable to culul, and if so, it would mean "at the cactus." In 1549 Ticul was the name of an encomienda with 790 tributaries, or about 3555 inhabitants. Near the edge of the town is an extensive ruined site of at least 36 mounds; and the convent church in the center of town is set on a very large platform over a meter high (Roys, 1952, pp. 152-53). Ticul is mentioned in the Chumayel migration narrative, and the wife of Hun-Uitzil-Chac Tutul-Xiu was from this town (Roys, 1933, p. 73; Xiu family tree). The town appears in its present location on the native maps of 1557. At the Mani land treaty Ticul was represented by its governor and cacique, Francisco Che, who was also mentioned in 1562 and 1564 (Roys, 1943, p. 185, figs. 1, 3; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:186, 2:143). In 1572 Melchor Coba was one of the two town clerks, and in 1588 we find him as governor of the town (AGI, Justicia 247; Roys, 1943, p. 190). A number of Ticul people today are farming near the ruins of Kabah across the Puuc, so it is possible that this region belonged to the town in conquest times.

Pustunich (Maya Ppustunich) could mean either "humped rock" or "hunch-backed stone dwarf." We read of small people in Maya mythology called Ppus, and Andrews relates that the people of Pustunich in Campeche have recently been worshiping an idol named Ppus, from which they derived the name of their town (Thompson, 1930, p. 166; Andrews, 1943, p. 29).

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THE PROVINCE OF MANI

I cannot identify Pustunich in the 1549 tax list, but on the maps of the land treaty of Mani in 1557 it is shown with a church at its present location (Roys, 1943, figs. 1, 3). In 1559 two principales of Sahcaba in the Province of Sotuta went to Pustunich, where they purchased a very small boy from Juan Puc, who was a principal of the town, for a fathom of thick beads. The child, who was afterward sacrificed, was the son of a slave woman belonging to the vendor (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:101). In 1565, 1572, and 1588 an Alonso Xiu was governor and presumably cacique of the town, but he is a different person from Alonso Xiu of Tekit (AGI, Justicia 245, 247; Roys, 1943, p. 190).

Nohcacab, now Santa Elena on the Campeche highway near the ruins of Kabah, is not to be confused with the Nohcacab at Becal. It is doubtful whether it was a town in conquest times, for in one of the 1557 maps it appears as a recorded site but without a church. I find it recorded as a town in 1656 (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

Dzan and Panabchen

We find in the 1549 tax list an encomienda of Alonso Rosado under the name "Hayan," which Scholes has identified as Dzan. It had 360 tributaries, or about 1620 inhabitants. I am sure that these figures included the town of Panabchen, which Rosado had also held since a time when the caciques of both towns were known only by their pagan names.

In a report of 1581 (RY, 1:155) Rosado tells us that Dzan meant "the arrival or descent of many people." This is probably true, since the famous Maya interpreter Gaspar Antonio Chi collaborated in the report. When Rosado received his encomienda, probably soon after 1542, the town was ruled by a Napot Xiu. This could hardly have been the man of this name, also called Ah Pulha ("the rain bringer"), who was murdered by Nachi Cocom in 1536. I believe, however, that he was a brother of the murdered Napot Xiu, because it is known that Nadzul Pox of Dzan was a member of the suite of Ah Pulha and lost his life at the same time (Documentos de Tabi; Brinton, 1882, p. 149).

Dzan appears with its church in its present location on the Mani maps of 1557. Some of the people appear to have owned lands across the Puuc near Tabi, a hacienda and archaeological site. In 1572 Miguel Kuyoc was governor, and in an undated paper of the Tabi documents Jorge Xiu of Panabchen appears as governor. In 1581 he still held this position (Roys, 1943, figs. 1, 3; AGI, Justicia 247; RY, 1:155-58). Dzan is an archaeological site. During the quarrying of stone from a large substructure on the plaza, an interesting superstructure, apparently early Classic, with a roof comb was uncovered (L. Roys, MS).

Panabchen (Maya Panabch'en, "excavated well") was ruled by Nabatun Xiu at the time of the conquest; he was succeeded by his son, Jorge Xiu (RY, 1:155, 158). The former was probably the man of that name who appears on the Xiu family tree as the father of Alonso Xiu of Tekit. The people were moved to the site of Dzan during the civil congregation, but there can be little doubt that the

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

town was at what is now Panabchen hacienda, 4.75 km. south of Dzan and 2.5 km. north of Yotolin.

In an undated petition written in Maya to the governor of Yucatan (*Documentos de Tabi*) Diego Pox of Dzan complained bitterly of the actions of "the noble Don Jorge Xiu," governor of Dzan. Not only did he accuse him of maladministration of the estate of Diego's father, but he goes on to state: "Four times he enters my house to take hold of my woman and commit adultery with her. He desired it in vain; he was not to fulfill his desire. Then I declared his guilt to Don Jorge Xiu, that it was not fitting for him to act thus toward us, that we should obey him. This is all I said, but he would not stop. This is the cause of the quarrel." Another document of this series, dated in 1593, refers to merchants of Dzan, who were still traveling to Bacalar and the Río Hondo to buy cacao.

Oxkutzcab, Cauich, and Yotolin

In early colonial times Oxkutzcab was composed of three towns named Oxkutzcab, Yaxa, and Tikumche, each with its own governor and municipal organization.

I can find no applicable meaning for Oxkutzcab, although the matter is still a favorite subject of discussion there. In 1548 two missionaries, Villalpando and Benevente, are reported to have made their headquarters at a site called Oxkutzcab, and a town was founded there (*Cogolludo*, bk. 5, ch. 7). The convent is set on a platform, which must be the flattened remains of a Maya substructure. Cogolludo goes on to say: "...after this, when the *oidor*, Tomás López [Medel] was making an inspection of the land [1552-53], with his license the Indians who were at a site called Tixul (which lies behind the sierra) settled that of Oxkutzcab, in order that, being so near, they could be administered from the Mani convent."

In the 1549 tax list this encomienda, which belonged to Hernando Muñoz Zapata, is called "Texul" and is given 630 tributaries, or about 2835 inhabitants. Apparently most of these people were still living at or near the site of the modern village of Xul, about 30 km. south of Oxkutzcab across the Puuc. It is puzzling to find so large a population in a region generally believed to have been sparsely settled at the time of the Spanish conquest. Muñoz Zapata tells us (*RY*, 1:234) that his encomienda included neither of the other two towns adjoining Oxkutzcab. It would seem, either that the encomienda included some other town not identified in the 1549 list, or, more likely, that there was a surprisingly large number of fugitives in the region, who had fled from the towns north of the Puuc during the Spanish conquest. After the move the name Texul disappeared, except possibly as a rural site, but we find it again in the late eighteenth century as a town of 1710 inhabitants (*Rubio Mañé*, 1942, 3:224).

Oxkutzcab is shown at its present location on the 1557 maps. At that time the governor and cacique was Francisco Pacab, who also appears on the Xiu family tree as a descendant of Ah Dzulub Xiu and Hun-Uitzil-Chac Tutul-Xiu,

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

an indication that the Pacab family was closely allied with the Xiu rulers. Although he was implicated as an accessory to a ritual murder in 1562, we still find him in this position in 1565 and 1572 (*Scholes and Adams*, 1938, 1:35, 196; AGI, *Justicia* 245, 247).

The earliest record of Yaxa ("green water") is in the 1549 tax list, where it appears as an encomienda of Gonzalo Camina, with 460 tributaries, or about 2070 inhabitants, and presents somewhat the same problem we encountered in the case of Texul. A later encomendero, Francisco Tamayo Pacheco, reported in 1581 (*RY*, 1:132): "This town ... is not at the same site [where it had been], for they removed them from a sierra which [still] belongs to the same town. They were 4 leagues distant in the sierra; and to keep them at hand for Christian instruction, they brought them down to the plain, which was the right thing [to do], because where they were, it is all rough hilly forest, and they could not leave them to practice idolatry there." I have been unable to identify the site of the original town, but one land document (*Roys*, 1941, pp. 630-31) suggests that it may have been southwest of Bolonchenticul. In any case, it seems strange to find so large a group of people in such wild country. In 1551 (AGI, *Patronato* 20, no. 2, ramo 4; Morley, 1941, ch. 2) the population had shrunk to half its former size; and I surmise that many of the missing inhabitants fled to the forests in the interior of the peninsula.

THE PROVINCE OF MANI

Yaxa is of especial interest, for it is here that we find the ennobled heads of the Xiu family after the death of Don Francisco de Montejo Xiu of Mani. We do not know when the family of his older brother Melchor moved to Yaxa, but very likely it was soon after the town was moved to the site of Oxkutzcab.

I have found no connection of Tikumche ("at the bonete tree") with any encomienda. The town is mentioned briefly in the reports of the idolatry trials of 1562, but the only arrest reported was that of Diego Chan, governor of the town. In 1572 a receipt by the town was signed by Pedro Chan as cacique (*Scholes and Adams*, 1938, 1:34, 246; AGI, *Justicia* 247). Tikumche was listed in 1582 as a separate visita of the Oxkutzcab convent, but situated at the same place. Tikumche probably became a part of Yaxa between 1632 and 1640, after which we often find the name Yaxakumche (*DHY*, 2:59; *Roys*, 1941, chs. 1, 2).

I can find no meaning for Cauich, though it is a fairly common patronymic. The village was of sufficient importance to appear with its church on the 1557 map of the province. An unnamed cacique of Cauich was arrested and severely treated during the idolatry trials of 1562; and the town is mentioned for the last time, so far as I can learn, in the 1582 catalogue of churches (*Roys*, 1943, figs. 1, 3; 1952, p. 163). The ruins of the church are still to be seen.

Yotolin (Maya Yotholim or Yotholin) is rarely mentioned in the sixteenth-century records. I find it in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of Diego López with 160 tributaries, or about 720 inhabitants. It appears on all three of the 1557 maps, but only one of them shows a church there (*Roys*, 1943, figs. 1, 3; Stephens, 1843, 2:264). The present church is small, plain, and apparently quite late. There was evidently a Xiu cacique there in the sixteenth century, for on the Xiu family tree is a half-obliterated item "[Doj] ... Xiu Yotholim."

Tekax and Akil

Tekax (Maya Tikax, "at the kax tree," *Randia* sp.) appears in the 1549 tax list as "Cax," a large encomienda of Francisco de Bracamonte with 940 tributaries, or about 4230 inhabitants. We are told of a town (*pueblo*) named Petcah ("round town"), which was said to be subject to Tekax in 1563, but in 1603 the place was called a ward (*parcialidad*) and governed by a principal of Tekax, who was the *ah cuch cab* of the ward (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:259; AGI, *Escribanía de Cámara* 305A, no. 2). The encomienda may well have included Akil, and possibly the villages of Ticum and Tixcuytun, but I have found no mention of the last two in the sixteenth century. Tekax is shown with its church on the 1557 maps of the province, and its cacique and governor took a prominent part in making the treaty of that year (Roys, 1943, p. 185, figs. 1, 3).

In 1562, however, this cacique, Diego Us, was arrested for idolatry and implicated in the ritual murder of two boys near Oxkutzcab along with a Francisco Xiu of Tekax. Don Diego was flogged, fined, and exiled for ten years from his town, with the result that he died only two weeks after his release; and his son, Don Juan Us, also died a few days later, allegedly of chagrin (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:89, 220, 259). The caciqueship, however, seems to have remained in the family, for about 1609 a Don Fernando Us signed a complaint against the governor (AGI, *Escribanía de Cámara* 305A, no. 2). The Us ("midge") lineage is not a large one, and the name is very rare except in the Province of Sotuta (AGI, *Conaduría* 920).

Akil could mean "vine" or "vinelike," but I suspect that here it refers to some particular species. The town with its church appears on the maps illustrating the Mani land treaty of 1557.

Pencuyut and Xaya

I can make nothing applicable of Pencuyut (Maya Ppencuyut); it suggests the Maya *ppen* ("lewd") and the Nahuatl *coyotl* ("coyote").

In the 1549 tax list Pencuyut is the name of an encomienda with 250 tributaries, or about 1125 inhabitants. The town is mentioned in the Mani land treaty of 1557 and appears with its church on two of the maps (Roys, 1943, p. 189, fig. 2; Stephens, 1843, 2:264). In 1562 a Juan Ku, the governor and probably cacique, was arrested for idolatry, but he was still governor in 1565, and a Juan Ku was either governor or cacique in 1583 (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:33, 35). The caciqueship evidently remained in the family, for in 1640 Doña Catalina Cime, the widow of Don Alonso, the head of the Xiu family at Yaxa, was the wife of Don Francisco Ku of Pencuyut, a hidalgo who had his own documentary proofs of nobility (Roys, 1941, doc. 13).

Much of our knowledge of the distribution of Maya patronymics dates only from 1688, but for Pencuyut we have a tax register of 1584 (Archivo General de la Nación, México, *Tierras* 2809, no. 20). In this list the town is divided into three barrios, Mocoche, Ppencuyut, and Chacxulu, and the list is headed by a

THE PROVINCE OF MANI

Juan Ku. As in the Cozumel tax list of 1570 (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940), the names of the inhabitants are divided by horizontal lines into groups. The groups contain from one to seven married couples each, besides widowed persons and children. The children of each group are given collectively, but otherwise the composition of the groups resembles somewhat that which we find at Cozumel. The patronymics are sufficiently well distributed among all three barrios to suggest that there was no strong tendency for the members of a name or lineage group to live in the same barrio unless closely related.

Following Pencuyut in the group of Mani towns recorded in the 1549 tax list, we find a large encomienda called "Hayan," not to be confused with another "Hayan" identified as Dzan. It belonged to a Martín de Leguizamo and had 390 tributaries, or about 1720 inhabitants. I am inclined to believe that Xaya was intended, but we cannot be certain. If there was a conquest town at Xaya, it must have been moved away soon after 1552, for in 1557 we find a rural site named Tahxaya in the neighborhood. The first mention of a town named Xaya that I have found was in 1656 (Roys, 1943, p. 190; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20). As we shall see in the discussion of the large town of Yaxcaba in the Province of Sotuta, there is some reason to believe that this "Hayan" encomienda was composed mostly of the people of Yaxcaba, and that Xaya contained only a small proportion of its tributaries.

Hunacti and Tixmeuac

Hunacti, also written Hunacthi, does not appear in the 1549 list, but I believe this town formed the larger part of the encomienda called "Cisnuache," apparently intended for Tixmeuac. This encomienda had 360 tributaries, or about 1620 inhabitants.

After the fall of Mayapan and the founding of the Province of Mani, Hunacti became the local capital of a small outlying section of the province. Its boundaries are defined in the Mani land treaty of 1557 (Roys, 1943, pp. 192-93, map 4). Only after six years of inquiry was it learned by canvassing the ruins of the region that the site generally named Sisbic had always been called Hunacti by the farmers on the spot (Roys, 1939a, p. 253).

In 1557 and 1561 the cacique was a Don Juan Xiu, who was the cousin and intimate friend of Don Francisco de Montejo Xiu of Mani. He was accused of idolatry and human sacrifice, apparently with good reason, and he seems to have died during the preliminaries to his trial (Roys, 1952, pp. 155-56). In 1565 Hernando Xiu, who had also suffered during the idolatry trials, was cacique and governor; and in 1572 Pablo Cen was governor (AGI, *Justicia* 245, 247). After this Hunacti disappears from history, and I surmise that it was transferred to the site of Tixmeuac, only 5 or 6 km. to the southwest.

Hunacti is a fairly important archaeological site, and we also find the remains of an early church with some other indications of a colonial town (Roys, 1952, pp. 155-56; R. H. Thompson, 1951, pp. 234-35).

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

We know little of Tixmeuac in colonial times. It appears with Hunacti and Sal in the Chumayel migration legend (Roys, 1933, p. 72), and the town was recorded as a visita of Tekax in 1582 and 1656 (DHY, 2:59; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

Sal and Tahdziu

Sal (Maya Titzal, "at the thin flat stone"?") is evidently to be identified with the encomienda appearing in the 1549 tax list as Tixualahtun, belonging to Antón Julián, who also owned an encomienda in Ah Kin Chel named Tixtual. The Sal-Tixualahtun encomienda had 220 tributaries, or about 990 inhabitants, in 1549.

In 1581 Antón's successor, Alonso Julián, called these encomiendas Tixtual and "Tetzal" and gave the following account of the latter (RY, 1:297):

"The people of Tetzal were never subject to anyone; but each lived as he wished, scattered (despoblados), until Napuc Camal came, collected them, and established a town at Tixualahtun. After his death they took Holpop Hau as their principal, who moved them from this town and settled Tahbuleb, because it was a healthier site. They were at the latter town when the Spaniards conquered them. After the death of the latter [Holpop Hau] they appointed as principal Napuc Chable, a stepson of Napuc Camal. He died and they appointed Nahau Te; and at his death they appointed Juan Xiu. The last was baptized and afterward died, and they appointed Juan Pol [Ppol] as cacique. At his death they chose his son, Gaspar Pol, who now governs them."

It will be seen from the accompanying map that they moved from Tixualahtun, northeast of Peto, to the present San Isidro Buleb, northwest of Hunacti. Then they migrated in a southeasterly direction to Sal, which is a short distance north of Tahdziu. People at Tixmeuac report extensive Maya ruins at San Isidro Buleb.

In 1562 a Juan Ppol, possibly the cacique, and Juan Na, the schoolmaster, were arrested for idolatry, and the latter was severely punished; also five other men of the town died before they came up for trial. About this time two boys with pagan names had been obtained at Sal and carried off to Kanchunup near Sotuta, where they were sacrificed. In 1572 Gaspar Ppol was governor of the town (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:33, 196, 2:75, 199; AGI, Justicia 247).

Sal was recorded as a visita church in 1582, but I have found no later reference to it as a town, although it has long been a well known hacienda (DHY, 2:60).

The name of Tahdziu ("at the cowbird") was reported to be derived from a local idol in the form of a woman, which was named Hunpicdzu ("eight thousand cowbirds"). I am unable to identify the town in the 1549 tax list. Juan de Magaña Arroyo, who was the encomendero in 1581, reported that Tahdziu was subject to the Tutul-Xiu of Mani, to whom it gave an annual tribute that included 20 small mantles, turkey hens, and honey, as well as military service. The people were governed by a holpop, whom they chose and then conducted to their lord, the Tutul-Xiu, for confirmation and instructions as to how to rule the town (RY, 1:186-87).

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THE PROVINCE OF MANI

About 1561 two boys with pagan names, it was reported, were purchased at Tahdziu and taken to Tekom in the Province of Sotuta, where they were sacrificed and thrown into a cenote. The following year the governor, Diego Ceh, was imprisoned for idolatry, but we still find him holding office in 1572 (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:35, 94; AGI, Justicia 247).

Calotmul, Peto, and Tzucacab

Calotmul ("twin mounds") appears in the 1549 tax list as a large encomienda of 440 tributaries, or about 1980 inhabitants, belonging to Rodrigo Alvarez, who also owned Samahil in Ah Canul. This Calotmul is not to be confused with the better-known town of the same name in Cupul. It was the southernmost Xiu town, and to the south was an unpopulated region of forest, savannas, and swamps extending almost to Chunuhub in Cochuah, some 55 km. distant. Calotmul appears to have been the principal town of an outlying district of the Province of Mani, which also comprised Peto and Tzucacab (Roys, 1943, pp. 180, 192-94).

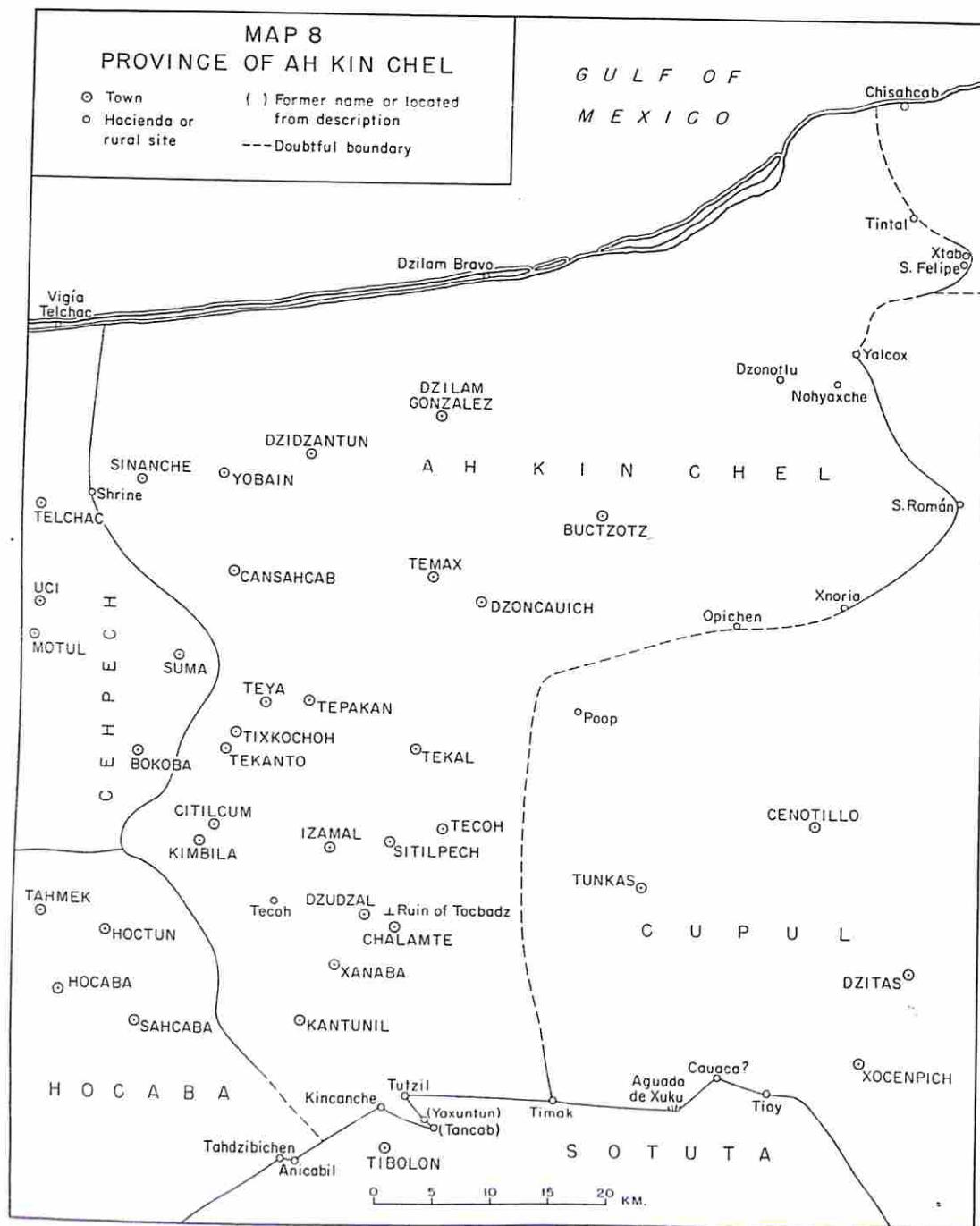
In 1557 the governor was Juan Montejo Xiu, whose pagan name was Ah Kukil Xiu. His daughter, María Xiu, was the wife of Francisco de Montejo Xiu, the halach uinic of Mani, although it was very rare for a person to marry another of the same patronymic. In 1565 a Hernando Xiu was recorded as cacique of Calotmul, and in 1572 the governor was a Francisco Xiu, whose principales were named May and Kuyoc. In 1582 and 1656 Calotmul was listed as a visita of the Peto church, but by 1688 it had shrunk to about 125 adult persons. The site has long been abandoned (AGI, Justicia 247, Contaduría 920; DHY, 2:59; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 19; Roys, 1952, pp. 163-64).

The Maya name of Peto is Petu ("round moon"), which is probably an unidentified plant name, just as petkin ("round sun") is the name of a species of lantana. Peto can be identified in the 1549 tax list with Kantemo (written Cante-moy), which is also the name of an acacia. The latter appears in 1549 as an encomienda with 310 tributaries, or nearly 1400 persons; and a later encomendero explained that Kantemo and Petu were the same town. The latter encomendero, Juan de Aguilar, also tells us that the former lords and caciques of Peto had been the "Tzakes," evidently meaning the Tzek lineage, "although at present [1581] they are finished, and Don Juan Col now governs it" (RY, 1:173). Tzek was everywhere a rare name, but Col is perhaps even scarcer.

In 1557 the governor of Peto was Pablo Camal; in 1572 Agustín Can was governor; and, as we have seen, Juan Col held the position in 1581 (Roys, 1943, pp. 192-94; AGI, Justicia 247).

In 1688 the inhabitants of Peto were listed in two subdivisions, one named Petu and the other Nohcacab (AGI, Contaduría 920; Roys, 1955).

I have been unable to identify Tzucacab (Maya Tzuccacab) in the 1549 tax list, although it appears as an important town in the Mani land treaty of 1557, when a Juan Xiu was the governor (Roys, 1943, pp. 192-94). In 1572 a Gaspar Pol was recorded as governor, and his principales were Antonio Pol and Gaspar Chi (AGI, Justicia 247).



AH KIN CHEL

The Province of Ah Kin Chel (Maya Ah Kin Ch'el) was named for the leader of a group of military adventurers who established a territorial government over this area after the fall of Mayapan, about the middle of the fifteenth century. Ah Kin ("priest") was his title and Ch'el ("blue jay") his patronymic, or lineage name. I have found no other place name in the Americas which contains either of these words. The latter is not a common name anywhere, and is very rare outside this province. I have found it elsewhere only in Mani, and not more than seven adult persons of the name even there (AGI, Contaduría 920).

The western boundary of the province has already been discussed in the description of Cehpech, and its southern border has been established by native descriptions of the Province of Sotuta, as we shall see in the following chapter. These accounts suggest that the southeastern corner of Ah Kin Chel was near Timak, about 4 km. north by east from what is now Libre Unión on the Chichen Itza highway. From here the eastern border of Ah Kin Chel extended in a northerly direction, certainly well to the west of the site of Tunkas, and apparently to a point near the present railroad not far northwest of Hacienda Pop. From here I can only surmise that the line turned to the northeast to include the lands of Dzoncauich and continued to the boundary of the present municipality of Buctzotz, probably near Xnoria northwest of Tixbaca. From here the eastern boundary of Ah Kin Chel has been traced on the accompanying map according to the advice of the municipal authorities of Buctzotz, Dzilam González, and Dzilam Bravo on the north coast. It is the line which still separates their lands from those of Sucila, Panaba, and San Felipe to the east, which were in the former Provinces of Cupul and Chikinchel; and there is every reason to believe that this division was a very old one, for there is no evidence of any intervening towns, important cattle ranches, or haciendas in the colonial period which would have altered the general conditions of land ownership (cf. Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, frontispiece).

In appearance the landscape of most of the province resembles that of Cehpech, but the rainfall increases as one travels east. Cehpech is nearer Mérida, which has an annual rainfall of 34.73 inches, whereas that of Izamal is 38.90 inches. In the extreme north of Ah Kin Chel, however, the rainfall has been estimated at only 20 to 30 inches (Page, 1933, p. 418).

In the region east of the two Dzilams and Buctzotz, the rainfall is evidently greater, for we begin to find evidence of a past or present high forest growth. Buctzotz was noted in the sixteenth century for its production of cedar planks and beams, and the people there still report stands of tall forest in the neighborhood of Dzonotlu, Nohyaxche, and Santa Elena.

On the north coast salt gathering was an important industry. In 1605 there were five productive beds extending from what the report calls the port for

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Sinanche to a point a league east of the port for Dzidzantun. The former is unidentified, but the latter is probably the modern Santa Clara. At this time the annual production of the province was 10,600 fanegas. Nevertheless, according to the 1549 tax list only the towns of Sinanche, Yobain, and Temax paid a salt tribute. Fishing was also important. Landa (Tozzer, 1941, p. 40) tells us that "the Chel, who lived on the coast would not give fish nor salt to the Cocom, making him go a long distance for it." Only Dzidzantun and Dzilam, however, were assessed a tribute of fish in 1549 (AGI, México 72).

Izamal was the principal city of the province before the fall of Mayapan, about the middle of the fifteenth century. In early Classic times it must have been the greatest religious center in northern Yucatan. Here are four very large substructures, and only a few years ago the remains of a number of smaller ones were still to be seen. The large stucco sculptures on the rough masonry of the retaining walls of the substructures were still preserved in the latter part of the nineteenth century; and earlier descriptions of the superstructures also suggest that they were built during the early Classic period (Holmes, 1895-97, pp. 97-100; RY, 1:119).

Lizana tells us (1893, ch. 4): "There they made great offerings and brought gifts, and they made pilgrimages from all parts. For this they had constructed four roads, or causeways, to the four winds, . . . of which fragments and traces are still seen today in many places." A paved road has been found extending in a westerly direction from Izamal to the important ruins of Ake. It has been examined by Pollock, Shook, and Proskouriakoff, who found it to be 12 m. wide, consisting of a dry rock fill between retaining walls of large, roughly cut stone blocks. They report: "This foundation was topped with crushed gravel and smoothly finished with lime concrete." Also modern highway workers on the road from Izamal south to Kantunil have told Morley that this route followed the remains of an ancient sacbe, or paved causeway. At Uci, just north of Motul, I was informed by local Indians that east of the extensive ruins there is the beginning of a sacbe which leads to Izamal. This last, however, may be only a survival of the old legend (Shook and Proskouriakoff, 1951, p. 237; communication from S. G. Morley).

The legendary history of the province begins with an account which is repeated in several reports written in 1581. Of Izamal we are told (RY, 1:269, transl. Tozzer, 1941, pp. 172-73, slightly revised): "The inhabitants of the said city were conquered by Kak-u-Pacal and Uilo (Bilhuh?), valorous captains of the Ah Itza, who were those who [later] founded Mayapan. The first inhabitants were Kinich-Kabul, Kinich-Kakmo, Cit-Ah-Cutz, Cit-Ah-Coyi, from whom are descended the Xol, Mo, and Coyi, Indians of this Province, called by these family names and surnames." Cit is a reverential term for "father," and, as Tozzer notes, these so-called first inhabitants might be considered founder gods. I should think perhaps they were deified lineage ancestors.

One of the Maya chronicles places Kak-u-Pacal ("fiery shield") and Uilo in a Katun 8 Ahau, and the katun prophecies also put Kinich-Kakmo ("sun-eyed

fire macaw") in a katun of the same name. Since these episodes occurred before the founding of Mayapan, and yet recently enough for the natives of conquest times to remember the details of the Kinich-Kakmo cult and to trace their descent back to the time of its founder, it would seem fairly certain that this Katun 8 Ahau (which recurred every 256 years) was the one that fell in 1185-1204 (RY, 1:119; Roys, 1954, pp. 8, 22).

In these 1581 reports the mention of the conquest by Kak-u-Pacal and Uilo precedes that of the settlement of Izamal by Kinich-Kakmo, which would imply a previous occupation of the site during the period of foreign domination, or the Toltec hegemony at Chichen Itza. In any case the descendants of Kinich-Kakmo and his associates were still living in the region at the time of the Spanish conquest.

During the ensuing period Kinich-Kakmo was deified, and Izamal is recorded as a great center of pilgrimage, where people came to be healed of their diseases. Indeed, the Virgin of Izamal continued to be invoked in colonial times as an aid in times of pestilence. Shortly before the fall of Mayapan, according to the Books of Chilam Balam, Izamal seems to have come to grief, and when the Spaniards arrived they found only an unimportant village on the site (Lizana, 1893, ch. 4; Tizimin, pp. 22-23; Codex Pérez, pp. 120-21; Roys, 1949a, pp. 48-50).

During the last days at Mayapan there lived a young noble named "Mo Ch'el" (probably Namo Ch'el), who was the disciple and son-in-law of an important priest named Ah Xupan, very possibly the Ah Xupan Nauat whose prophecy is still preserved. He became a priest himself and was called Ah Kin ("priest") Chel. Soon after the capital was destroyed he assembled a group of followers and went to the northeast, establishing a territorial government over what became the Province of Ah Kin Chel. Oddly enough, instead of making his capital at Izamal, he settled at Tecoh, about 8 km. to the east; and Izamal seems to have remained a small town until the Franciscans built a convent there (Roys, 1952, p. 158).

We are told that Mo Chel established himself on the north coast at first. Perhaps he was attracted by the prospect of salt royalties, which appear to have been a feature of the old Mayapan government at Caucel. He succeeded, however, in making a settlement at Tecoh, where he recruited followers. He then went to the Province of Cupul, where many people joined him; but he returned to Tecoh, and here the Spaniards found his descendant in power. Considering the former prestige of Izamal and the economic advantage accruing from its being a center of pilgrimage, this break with the past is of interest. If, as would appear, he was a foreign usurper, since the Chel name does not appear among those of the prominent old inhabitants, there would have been good reason for a breach with the previous hierarchy (Tozzer, 1941, p. 40; Roys, 1952, p. 158).

In 1532-33 Montejo the son found Tecoh to be the largest settlement in the Province of Ah Kin Chel. Here the ruler, apparently the halach uinic, was reported as Namux Chel. I would reconstruct the name as Na-mo-x-Ch'el, which

would be the same as that of his famous ancestor. He was apparently the Namox Chel mentioned in the Pech chronicles as the ruler at Dzidzantun. The Spanish conquerors found the people of Ah Kin Chel more docile than those of many other regions, for they, "on account of their priestly character, which they continue to hold today, are not so haughty as the others" (Tozzer, 1941, pp. 50-53; Brinton, 1882, p. 218).

At the time of the Spanish conquest Ah Kin Chel warred with the neighboring Provinces of Cehpech and Cupul and was on unfriendly terms with Sotuta. Relations seem to have been better with Hocabá, for, as we shall see, in early colonial times the cacique of Cansahcab sent a gift of six small girls to the cacique of Huhi to be sacrificed (Roys, 1943, p. 69).

We know little of the general distribution of Maya patronymics in Ah Kin Chel, for the seventeenth-century matrículas for this province give only summaries of the population and not the names of the taxpayers.

In the 1549 tax list we can identify most of the Ah Kin Chel encomiendas. In these we find 8390 tributaries, or about 37,755 inhabitants, a figure which can safely be considered a minimum population for the province at the time the tax list was compiled. Besides these, there are two encomiendas in the group which I cannot identify. They are "Cancho" with 340 tributaries and "Papacal" with 680.

Sinanche, Yobain, and Cansahcab

Sinanche ("scorpion tree," Zanthoxylum caribaeum Lam.) has been placed in Ah Kin Chel because its cacique, Juan Euan, signed a petition on February 12, 1567, together with the heads of a number of towns of this province, and not the similar petition bearing the signatures of a group of Cehpech dignitaries dated the preceding day. There is still a large thatched shrine on the main road halfway between Telchac in Cehpech and Sinanche; and one is tempted to believe that it indicates a more important division than the usual cross marking the boundary between the lands of two neighboring towns (AGI, México 367).

In the Chumayel migration legend we read: "Then they arrived at Sinanche, where the devil bewitched them"; but our earliest definite notice of the town is in the 1549 tax list, where it appears as an encomienda of Ambrosio de Villafrades with 320 tributaries, or about 1440 inhabitants. Among other items of tribute it paid 4 fanegas of salt. Three leagues east of Dzemul in Cehpech and at the port for Sinanche there was a large salt bed, artificially improved, which had an annual production of 4000 or 5000 fanegas in 1605 (Roys, 1933, p. 71; AGI, México 72).

Yobain also appears in the Chumayel migration narrative. I cannot fully explain the name, but ain, or ayin, means "crocodile," and we read: "Then they arrived at Yobain, where the crocodile bewitched them through their maternal grandfather, Ah Yamazi, their ruler at the seashore." An alternative translation could be: "they turned them into crocodiles." We are told that the Maya worshiped the crocodile (Roys, 1933, p. 71; Tozzer, 1941, p. 192).

In the 1549 tax list Yobain (written Louain) appears as a split encomienda.

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It belonged to a certain Galiano and to a man named San Martín, and each half had 370 tributaries. This would make a total of 740, or about 3330 inhabitants. Only San Martín's half paid a salt tribute, 4 fanegas. This seems a larger town than might be expected, and I surmise that these figures included Cansahcab, which does not appear in the 1549 list.

I have found little about Yobain in early colonial times, but a Francisco Chel signed a petition as cacique of the town in 1567; and in 1581 the cacique, presumably the same man or his son, was reported to be a direct descendant of the Mo Chel who founded the province. In 1605 there was a salt bed, artificially improved, at the port for Yobain, said to be half a league to the east of the Sinanche port. At this time the annual production was estimated as being from 2000 to 3000 fanegas (AGI, México 72, 367; RY, 1:194).

Cansahcab, which I would reconstruct as Canal-sac-cab ("high lime pit"), does not appear in the 1549 tax list, but in 1581 it was an encomienda of Cristóbal de San Martín, one of the first citizens of Mérida. I believe him to be the San Martín who owned half of the Yobain encomienda in 1549. The Cansahcab encomienda, as such, was granted by Governor Guillén de las Casas (1575-81), but this would appear to be a readjustment of San Martín's half of the old Yobain encomienda, which I believe included Cansahcab (RY, 1:191; Molina Solís, 1896, p. 637).

The first notice I have found of Cansahcab was in 1562, when the cacique, Francisco Chel, was reported to have sent six small girls to cacique Lorenzo Iuit of Huhi in Hocabá to be sacrificed. This gift, which was called cim ch'ich' ("kill the little birds"), appears to have been a conventional courtesy from one friendly batab to another. We hear no more of Francisco Chel, but in 1567 an Andrés Chel signed a petition as cacique of the town. The latter may well have been the unnamed cacique of Cansahcab who was stated in 1581 to be a descendant of Mo Chel, the founder of the province (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:152; AGI, México 367; RY, 1:194).

In the 1581 report we are told (RY, 1:196): "The said town of Cansahcab is settled on a level site, healthy for the natives, and where they gather without difficulty maize and all the other produce with which they maintain and support themselves, without going beyond their boundaries nor to any other town to seek it." "The said town of Cansahcab is 4 leagues from the sea, where it has its salt beds and fisheries, with which they maintain and support themselves; and they make a profitable business of gathering the said salt and selling it in other Indian towns who have need of it . . . and the said salt beds are public, from which they produce 2000 to 3000 fanegas each year."

Dzidzantun and Dzilam González

Dzidzantun (Maya Dzidzomtun) appears in the 1549 tax list as a large encomienda of [Hernán] Muñoz Baquiano. It had 600 tributaries, or about 2700 inhabitants. Its tribute included 15 arrobas of fish, but no salt. Two leagues east

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

of the port for Yobain was the port for Dzidzantun, now Santa Clara. Here was a salt bed named Tiyaxcach ("at the place of the flies"), but it was producing only about 600 fanegas in 1605 (AGI, México 72).

It is hard to find an applicable meaning for Dzidzomtun, except that tun can mean a precious green stone. In 1581 the local people said (RY, 1:200):

"This town of Cicontun (Dzidzomtun) was so named in ancient times, because they had an idol called 'aquinpergual' [Ah Kin Pekual?], which had on its head a hair band of green and red beads, with its necklace and bracelets of the same beads." Genet (1934, p. 49) tells us that the Maya of San José Peten have a name tzitz for an ancient headdress, so Dzidzomtun may be referable to this word. It has been variously defined as "crown" and "helmet." In any case, it would appear that the name of the town was believed to be descriptive of these ornaments.

In the prophecies we find references to Ah Masuy of Dzidzomtun, Chac-hubil-ahau ("great trumpeter or destructive lord"?), and he is said to ascend a tree in time of drought. I suspect he was a crocodile god. Here, too, we read of a "great demon shark" and a "great muddy crocodile," but they are not associated with any particular region (Tizimin, p. 19; Roys, 1949, pp. 168, 176).

There is some confusion in the accounts of the conquest as to who was the ruler at Dzidzantun and Dzilam at the time of the expedition of Montejo the son to Chichen Itza. As we have seen, the chronicles of the Pech family mention Namox Chel as the principal ruler (ahau) at Dzidzantun. When Montejo retired from Chichen Itza to Ah Kin Chel, a Namox Chel, apparently the same ruler who had previously befriended him at Tecoh, is reported to have been the lord of Dzilam. When Montejo abandoned Dzilam, he was accompanied to Campeche by this Namox Chel and his two first cousins, who were the sons of the lord of Yobain. The government of the successors and descendants of Mo Chel was said to have been especially strong in the regions of Izamal (i.e., of Tecoh) and Dzidzantun, so Namox Chel may have had two capitals, one at Dzidzantun and the other at Tecoh. At Dzilam, however, I am inclined to believe that a local batab ruled the town under him (Brinton, 1882, p. 218; Landa, in Tozzer, 1941, pp. 52-53; Roys, 1952, p. 175).

In 1565 and 1567 a Francisco Chel was governor and cacique of Dzidzantun, and a Martín Sánchez was encomendero. It was the latter who made the report in 1581 (AGI, Justicia 245, México 367).

Here Dzilam González will be called simply Dzilam, for I can find no evidence of a Maya town at Dzilam Bravo, or Dzilam Puerto, in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The latter site was always the port of the town, and the short-lived Spanish settlement in 1534 may have been there, for the Pech documents state that it was at the port of Dzilam (tu hol u payil Dzilam) (Brinton, 1882, pp. 194, 217).

In the 1549 tax list Dzilam is the name of an encomienda of Francisco de Montejo the son, with 580 tributaries, or about 2610 inhabitants. I suspect, however, that these figures include some other town, probably Buctzotz. The tribute

THE PROVINCE OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

items included a salt bed, but not salt. There was a salt bed only

estimated annual production of 2000 fanegas in 1605. Apparently these beds did not belong to Dzilam, and I surmise they belonged to the Cansahcab people, who produced a large amount of salt (AGI, México 72).

We know little about Dzilam in early colonial times. In 1567 the cacique

was Juan Can, and in 1581 it was the encomienda of Francisco de Montejo's son,

Juan de Montejo. A century ago extensive ruins were still standing in the town,

and the remains of two large Maya substructures are still to be seen (AGI, México 367; RY, 1:9; Roys, 1952, pp. 175-76).

Buctzotz, Temax, Tixtual, and Achtunich

I surmise that Buctzotz, or Tahbuctzotz, is a plant name. Buc means

"garment," a term usually applied to a light scarf worn by women covering the breast, shoulder, and sometimes the head. Tzotz means "hair." The prefix

tah is occasionally applied to plant names, although the feminine prefix ix is more common. In the Chumayel migration narrative we read: "Then they arrived at Buctzotz, where they covered the hair of their heads with a garment."

This town was the nearest to the eastern frontier of the province, although a considerable distance away from it. Buctzotz warred with Dzonot near Tizimin, as

did also Dzilam, and these wars were caused by brawls over the collection of

commercial debts and a desire to plunder or capture slaves (Roys, 1933, p. 71;

RY, 2:208-9).

Buctzotz does not appear in the 1549 tax list, although in 1581 it was re-

ported that in heathen times "judging by what one sees of the abandoned part [of the town], it was one of the largest settlements in these provinces," so it must have been included somewhere in the 1549 list. In 1565 it was recorded as an

encomienda of Francisco de Montejo the nephew, who married the daughter of Francisco de Montejo the son; but in view of its apparent size I find it difficult

to consider it a part of any one of the encomiendas ascribed to Francisco the nephew in 1549. It seems more likely that in 1549 it was part of the Dzilam en-

comienda belonging to Francisco the son at that time, but that it was later given

to his son-in-law (AGI, Justicia 245; RY, 1:277-78).

The Balam family seems to have been important at Buctzotz, for in 1567

Diego Balam was the cacique. In 1565 Juan Ucan was governor, and in 1581

Martín Uitz held the position (AGI, México 367, Justicia 245; RY, 1:282).

In 1581 Diego de Santillán, who had married Francisco the nephew's widow

and inherited the encomienda from her, reported that the water was bad and the town was at a humid, unhealthy site. "It is a town which abounds in the things

and products of the land. It has salt beds and much cedar timber, of which

planks and beams are made" (RY, 1:282). The territory of Buctzotz extended

apparently to the sea, for Cogolludo mentions certain plains and lagoons to the

north of the town, which were called "those of Buctzotz." I can, however, find

THE PROVINCE OF AH KIN CHEL

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

no record of any salt beds in colonial times between Dzilam and Río Lagartos, which was in the adjoining Province of Chikinchel (Cogolludo, bk. 2, ch. 9; for excellent views of Dzilam Bravo and Buctzotz, see Shattuck, 1933, pls. 63, 66).

Temax (Maya Timax or Timaax) could have several meanings. Among them, max or maax could mean "monkey," "rogue," "wild chile," and "to pound or bruise." It is recorded in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of "the heirs of [Juan de] Sosa," one of the first citizens of Mérida, and it had 580 tributaries, or about 2610 inhabitants. One item of its tribute is 6 fanegas of salt, apparently the largest such assessment in the province, but it is hard to tell where this was gathered. Possibly there were beds east of Dzilam which later fell into disuse.

In 1565 another Juan de Sosa was encomendero, and Pedro Ek and Juan Chan are both named as governors; but I believe the latter was governor of Achtunich, for in 1567 we find Pedro Ek named as cacique of Temax. From the records of 1581 and 1582 we learn of two other towns, Tixtual and Achtunich, that were also located at the site of Temax (AGI, Justicia 245, México 367; RY, 1:293; DHY, 2:57).

Tixtual, or Ixtual, is listed in 1549 as an encomienda of Antón Julián with 280 tributaries, or about 1260 persons all together. In 1581 the encomendero, now Antón's son Alonso, stated that the town was situated at Temax, but I can find no indication whether it had always been an adjoining or neighboring town, or whether it had been moved there from some more distant site during the civil congregation of about 1552. We do know that Hernando Batún was reported as governor of Tixtual in 1565 and as cacique in 1567 (AGI, Justicia 265, México 367; RY, 1:293; DHY, 2:57).

All that I can learn of Achtunich (written Achuniche) has already been stated. I have found it mentioned only in the list of religious headquarters and visitas in 1582. One is tempted to believe it was the same as the "Chachetu-nyche" in the 1549 tax list, but, as we shall see, it is more likely that the latter was a name for Yaxa, formerly a suburb of the town of Sotuta.

Until 1591 the three towns were visitas of Dzidzantún, after which a convent was founded at Temax, and Tixtual and Achtunich disappear from the records. In 1656 we read for the first time of Dzoncauich, situated about 5 km. southeast of Temax, but we know nothing of the early history of the site (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

Tekanto, Tepakan, Tixkochoh, Teya, and Tekal

There can be little doubt that Tekanto and Tepakan are both to be identified with "Tixzocpay" in the 1549 tax list. The last appears in a large group of Ah Kin Chel encomiendas as belonging to the minor heirs of Diego Sánchez, and had 700 tributaries, or about 3150 inhabitants. In 1581 Cristóbal Sánchez reported that he had inherited Tekanto and Tepakan from his father, Diego Sánchez. Originally these people had lived in seven or eight towns, but they

THE PROVINCE OF AH KIN CHEL

had been congregated in the two larger settlements, presumably soon after 1552. Sánchez stated, however, that formerly the population had been 600 Indios, or married men, and there were still over 500 tributaries. This is an unusually large survival (RY, 1:116-17).

Tekanto was said to mean carrizal ("reed grass"), but I am unable to confirm this definition. The town was described in 1581 as being on a pleasant, level site. The land was considered good and was not very stony. The most important cacique of the original group of towns was a man whose name is written "Nacaupo" and "Naconpo." I would reconstruct it as probably Nacan (his matronymic) Pot, but possibly Nacom ("war chief") Pot. After the pacification of the region he was active in helping to bring in Franciscan missionaries. He left a son named Juan Pot (written "Poo") who was the cacique in 1581, and he had an unnamed nephew who was governor at this same time. In 1565 the governor was Juan Ake, and the principales were named Pech, Pot, Canul, and Xoc (RY, 1:116-17, 225; AGI, Justicia 245).

Tepakan (Maya Tipakam, "at the nopal") was ruled in conquest times by an Indian principal, who became Francisco Couoh. His son, Hernando Couoh, was also a principal. In 1565 the governor was Pedro Cauich, and in 1581 Juan Mo held the position (RY, 1:116-17; AGI, Justicia 245).

Tixkochoh lies almost adjoining Tekanto to the east; their borders are only about 1 km. apart. It appears to be the encomienda named "Tecalt" in the 1549 tax list, for Tecalt belonged to Juan del Rey; and in 1565 Tixkochoh was the encomienda of Juan Del Rey's minor son (RY, 118-19; communication from Adams; AGI, Justicia 245). In 1549 Tecalt had 310 tributaries, or about 1395 inhabitants. The Pech chronicles (Brinton, 1882, pp. 203, 227; Martínez H., 1926, p. 17) mention Len Pot as the ruler of Tixkochoh. In 1565 the governor was Juan Tun, and the principales were named Canul, Oy, Pot, Huh, and Tun (AGI, Justicia 245).

In 1582 we read of another settlement at the site of Tixkochoh called Tixculum, which was still a separate town in 1656 (DHY, 2:57; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20). This may be referable to the encomienda called "Texcolmud" in the 1549 tax list. The latter had 60 tributaries, or about 270 inhabitants.

I have found little about Teya (Maya Tiya, "at the sapote tree"), and I am unable to identify it in the 1549 tax list. In 1565 it was an encomienda of Alonso de Castro, who signed a letter to the municipality of Mérida in 1563; its governor at the time was Jorge Tun (AGI, Justicia 245; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 2:52).

The Maya name of Tekal is Tikal, which was explained as meaning "stone house with a masonry roof" (casa de piedra y azotea); the encomendero inferred that "those who settled the said town this last time found in it a small stone house, from which came the name of the town." In the Chumayel migration narrative we read: "Then they arrived at Tekal, where they shut themselves in" (RY, 1:174-76; Roys, 1933, p. 71).

Tekal appears in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of [Diego] Briceño with 420 tributaries, or about 1890 inhabitants. In 1565 Pedro Canche was

governor; Gaspar Ppol held the post in 1572. Briceño was one of the old conquerors, and in 1581 he wrote a valuable report of the country as a whole; but he tells us little about his own town of Tekal (RY, 1:174; AGI, Justicia 245, 247).

Kimbila and Citilcum

One is tempted to reconstruct the modern name Kimbila as Kinbila ("hot water"), but the 1582 and 1656 catalogues of churches give it as Quinimila and Cinimila, which are probably intended for Kinimila, "water by the kinim tree." The last appears to be a variety of Spanish plum.

In the 1549 tax list it is written "Quimula" and is one of the encomiendas of Rodrigo Alonso, who also owned Pixila. It then had 280 tributaries, or about 1260 inhabitants. I have found no names of its caciques or governors in early colonial times.

The town of Citilcum can be identified as a great part of the encomienda listed as Texan in the 1549 tax register. Texan belonged to Pero Hernández Nieto and had 320 tributaries, or about 1440 persons all together. When he died, his son, Íñigo Nieto, inherited the encomienda, but in 1581 the son described it as consisting of two towns named Citilcum and Cauich. He explains that the people of this encomienda were subject to the Chel dynasty and were originally scattered in seven or eight towns which were afterward assembled in Citilcum and Cauich. The question might be raised, however, whether this Cauich was at the site of Citilcum, or whether it was the town of Cauich close to Oxkutzcab in the Province of Maní; for the 1582 Memoria of visitas records only the latter. As we shall see, a similar confusion exists in the report of Sitolpech (RY, 1:221-22, 225; DHY, 2:57).

Nieto's account of his encomienda (RY, 1:221-22) reads in part as follows: "The most important cacique of these towns and he who gave obedience to the captain was an Indian called Alcucan (Ah Kul Can?), who was like a commander or captain general of the said two towns. He left a son named Francisco Cam (Can), and after him an Indian governed, who was a cacique and principal of the said town named Gaspar Cahum. After his death he was succeeded by his son, Pedro Cahum, who now governs the said town Citilcum of my encomienda; and the other [town, Cauich,] is governed by Francisco Pech." We should expect a military commander to be a batab or a nacom ("war chief"), but the title name Ah Kul Can would imply that this man had been an ah kulel, or deputy of a batab.

Izamal

The name Izamal (Maya Itzmal or Itzamal) was explained by the early inhabitants as meaning "place of the iguanas." This seems obviously true, for itzam means "iguana." I can see no grounds for associating it with the name Itza. The pre-Spanish history of Izamal has already been discussed in the introduction to this chapter. So far as I can learn, there were not many people living

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there at the time of the conquest, although the surrounding countryside was thickly populated. In 1565, 1582, and 1656 Izamal was reported to consist of three towns at the same site. One was close to the center of the present city and was called Izamal; and here the great convent was founded in 1549 on the substructure of what was considered the principal temple there. The second town was small and variously named Santa María and La Concepción. It was settled by some of the Mexican auxiliaries of the Spaniards, whose families still preserved their own language as late as 1588. The third, San Ildefonso Pomolche, was a different encomienda from the other two and was situated at the north end of the town at the foot of the enormous substructure called Kinich-Kakmo (RY, 1:266-70; DHY, 2:57; Cogolludo, bk. 5, ch. 15; Ciudad Real, 1932, pp. 328-29).

The encomienda of Izamal and Santa María was first granted to Pedro Muñoz, who was afterward exiled for being involved in a homicide, and it was reported in 1581 to have had more than 500 tributaries originally. The part called Izamal consisted of seven or eight towns, the principal one of which was named "Cachupuy"; its cacique was baptized Luis Che. The towns were all assembled at the site of Izamal, probably between 1549 and 1552 (RY, 1:266-67).

This can hardly be other than the encomienda called Chaltunha ("rock tank") in the 1549 tax list, which had 550 tributaries, or about 2475 inhabitants. Berendt records a hacienda of this name in the Department of Izamal, and it was presumably another of the several towns comprised in the Muñoz encomienda. Chaltunha belonged to García Hernández, who died in Mexico before 1563, and in 1565 it was recorded as the encomienda of Izamal, now the property of a minor daughter of García Hernández. In the latter year the governor was Pedro Che, and one of the principales was named Diego Bas; but Concepción was represented only by two principales. In 1572 Izamal was reported as being represented by two caciques ("batabs") named Francisco Motul and Diego Bas. In 1581 Izamal had 370 tributaries and Santa María had only 34 (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 2:50; AGI, Justicia 245, 247; RY, 1:267; Berendt, MS).

Pomolche is the name of Jatropha gaumeri Greenm., or wild physic nut. This tree or shrub is endemic in Yucatan, and the type was supplied from Izamal. As we have seen, Pomolche was at the north end of what is now the city of Izamal, beside the great platform and pyramid, and Cogolludo tells us that it was "founded" by Landa. In 1565 "Pomche" (corrected in 1582 to Pomolche) was reported as belonging to the Crown, and its governor then was Francisco Ucan. It was probably at the site of Izamal at the time of the conquest, but it is hard to be certain. The point is of considerable interest, for, if it was not, this great historic city was apparently deserted after the fall of Mayapan. In any case, there could have been only a small town on the site. I am unable to identify Pomolche in the 1549 tax list. The only Crown encomienda I can find there which seems to be in the Province of Ah Kin Chel is the one called "Taxan," which will be discussed in our account of Tecoh (Lizana, 1893, ch. 4; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20, bk. 5, ch. 15; AGI, Justicia 245; DHY, 2:57; for an excellent view of a street in the former village of Pomolche and the pyramid of Kinich-Kakmo, see Charnay, 1887, p. 307).

Sitilpech, Chaltunpuhuy, and Tecoh

Sitilpech ("jumping garrapata"?) appears in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda with 250 tributaries, or about 1035 inhabitants. From a confused report by a later encomendero in 1581, Andrés Canche appears to have been the cacique. The small colonial church of Sitilpech is set on a platform about 1 m. high, which I take to be the flattened remains of a former temple pyramid (RY, 1:210-11; Roys, 1952, p. 172).

I have been unable to find the original location of Chaltunpuhuy ("rock tank of the parauque," a bird of omen), but Berendt (MS) has reported a hacienda of that name in the Department of Izamal. In the 1549 tax list it is called Chaltunpollo and is reported as an encomienda of Beltrán de Cetina with 100 tributaries, or about 450 inhabitants. By 1565 it had been moved to the site of Tecoh, and its governor was Juan Mutul (AGI, Justicia 245); but in 1582 we find it at the village of Sitilpech (DHY, 2:58).

The early history of Tecoh (Maya Ticoh, "the place of the puma") has already been discussed in the introduction to this chapter. It was one of the easternmost towns of the friendly Province of Ah Kin Chel, and in 1542 Montejo the nephew established a military outpost at the site. The local people supplied ample provisions, and here he remained about four months negotiating with the chiefs of the Provinces of Cupul, Tases, and Chikinchel and preparing to occupy their territory (RY, 2:7; Chamberlain, 1948, p. 223).

Tecoh was probably a part of the encomienda called "Taxan" in the 1549 tax list, which had 400 tributaries, or 1800 inhabitants. This encomienda, which had been taken from Juan de Esquivel, the Adelantado's stepson, and now belonged to the Crown, comprised several towns in the region of Izamal, and one of them was called Tecoh. There is another Tecoh, however, which is a hacienda about 6 km. southwest of Izamal; so we cannot be certain that the Tecoh of the encomienda was the Chel capital east of Izamal, although it probably was (Plano del Departamento de Izamal; communication from Scholes).

In 1581 the encomendero of Tekal reported that Tecoh had at one time been depopulated, because there was a pond and the place was unhealthy. Later other towns were moved there. The remains of the town and the pond have been described elsewhere (RY, 1:182-83; Roys, 1952, pp. 159-60).

In 1565 Sebastián Vázquez reported four other towns at the site of Tecoh. These were Chaltunpuhuy, Tocbadz, Tunkas, and Sahcaba. In 1582 the site of Tecoh was shared with the towns of Tocbadz and Kuxbila, and this is the last mention I find of Tecoh. Chaltunpuhuy has already been discussed, and we shall come to Tocbadz shortly. Tunkas, Kuxbila, and probably Sahcaba were the names of Cupul towns and will be considered in the chapter devoted to that province (AGI, Justicia 245; DHY, 2:58; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

Pixila, Chalamte, Dzudzal, Uitzil, and Tocbadz

Pixila ("covered water"?) was until recently the name of a village between Izamal and Dzudzal. The 1549 tax list records it as an encomienda of Rodrigo

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I have found outside the Province of Cupul. The governor of Dzudzal was a Francisco Mutul. Rojas later reported that both towns had been at these sites as long as anybody could remember. Sometime between 1656 and 1688 Chalamte was moved to Dzudzal, but it is still the name of a hacienda (Roys, 1933, pp. 18, 73; AGI, Justicia 245, Contaduría 920; RY, 1:241-42; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

Uitzil was moved to Chalamte in early colonial times, and in 1565 its governor and one of the principales were Pedro and Diego Pech. It was still at Chalamte in 1582, and in 1656 it shared an unspecified site with Tocbadz. In 1688 it was at the site of Dzudzal (AGI, Justicia 245, Contaduría 920; DHY, 2:58; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

The name of Tocbadz is still preserved by the ruined site not far east of Dzudzal. It appears in the 1549 list (written "Tocouas") as an encomienda of the "minor heirs of Borjas" with 370 tributaries, or about 1665 inhabitants. In 1565 and 1582 we find it at the site of Tecoh; in the former year the encomendero was Blas Hernández, and the governor Francisco Uicab. As already noted, it shared the same site with Uitzil in 1656, and eventually it probably became a part of Dzudzal, which has shrunk today to a total population of 1262 in an area of some 250 sq. km. (AGI, Justicia 245; DHY, 2:58; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

Xanaba and Kantunil

Xanaba is hard to translate as a place name; xanab means "sandal," and -a, "water." In 1549 it was an encomienda of Francisco de Arceo with 200 tributaries, or about 900 persons. In 1565 the governor was Pedro Huch'im.

In 1581 the town still had 150 tributaries, but in 1688 there were only 66 (AGI, Justicia 245, Contaduría 920; RY, 1:241).

Kantunil ("yellowish") was the southernmost town of the province. The

1549 list shows it as an encomienda of Juan de Aguilar with 380 tributaries, or about 1710 inhabitants. In 1565 it belonged to Francisco López, and its governor was Pedro Dzul. In 1688 it had only 43 married men (AGI, Justicia 245, Contaduría 920; RY, 2:241).

THE PROVINCE OF AH KIN CHEL

Alonso with 260 tributaries, or about 1170 inhabitants. He was still encomendero in 1565, and the governor was named Uitzil ("Viçé"). In 1581 the encomienda belonged to Antón Corajo and the population was still over 200 tributaries, an unusually small decrease for that time (AGI, Justicia 245; RY, 1:241).

Chalamte might be the name of a tree, but in the Chumayel migration narrative a pun is made on the name: "Chalamte where their anger was appeased (ti chalhi yolobi)." In the 1549 list it is the name of a large encomienda of "Francisco and Ortiz Quiros, brothers." It had 700 tributaries, or about 3150

inhabitants, but these figures included the near-by town of Dzudzal. Both towns belonged to Alonso de Rojas in 1565. The governor of Chalamte was then a Francisco Cupul, the only important official of that name in colonial times that I have found outside the Province of Cupul. The governor of Dzudzal was a Francisco Mutul. Rojas later reported that both towns had been at these sites as long as anybody could remember. Sometime between 1656 and 1688 Chalamte was moved to Dzudzal, but it is still the name of a hacienda (Roys, 1933, pp. 18, 73; AGI, Justicia 245, Contaduría 920; RY, 1:241-42; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

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POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

proceeded numerous families, and the province where this lord reigns is called Sotuta."

Here, as in Hocabá, the holpops appear to have played an important part politically, for we are told (RY, 1:95-96): "They were governed in former times by their caciques, whom they called holpop, who were like mandones ("overseers"?); and these consulted with the lord about matters and embassies from outside; others [did] not." The account goes on to say that the Sotuta people warred with those of other provinces, such as Maní, Hocabá, and Ah Kin Chel. Here Cupul and Cochuah are not mentioned, but during his 1545 survey Nachi Cocom conferred with the last two and not with the other three. The enmity toward Maní was especially bitter, for the Xiu had instigated and led the revolution at Mayapan.

The accompanying table (table 6) containing the more numerous patronymics in the Province of Sotuta is compiled from the tax lists of 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920) and will give some idea of their distribution in the province. The

Table 6

THE MORE NUMEROUS LINEAGE GROUPS IN THE PROVINCE OF SOTUTA
Compiled from lists of resident married tributaries in 1688

Patronymic	Sotuta	Tibolon	Yaxcaba	Total	Patronymic	Sotuta	Tibolon	Yaxcaba	Total
Balam	11	5	9	25	Mo	5	2	13	20
Batu	8	...	7	15	Na	12	...	16	28
Cab	12	12	Noh	4	...	14	18
Cach	12	12	Oy	21	...	21
Cal	14	14	Pech	13	...	8	21
Camal	1	...	12	13	Pot	3	7	13	23
Can	12	2	14	28	Ppol	6	23	1	30
Canche	5	...	9	14	Tun	14	14
Cauich	7	5	2	14	Uc	15	15
Ceh	15	...	11	26	Uicab	10	...	4	14
Cocom	28	2	11	41	Us	5	10	15
Chable	7	9	1	17	Yah	9	...	13	22
Chan	12	10	22	44		289	143	399	830
Chay	2	...	15	17	Other resident married tribu- taries bearing 60 different patronymics	76	47	77	201
Che	1	15	...	16					
Chi	38	17	18	73					
Dzib	9	7	6	22					
Euan	19	2	41	62					
Hau	1	2	21	24					
Hoil	3	...	17	20					
Kantun	3	...	8	11					
Ku	5	6	17	28					
May	24	3	14	41					
Totals for legi- ble names in this category..				365 190 476 1031					

THE PROVINCE OF SOTUTA

samples are taken from Sotuta in the west, Tibolon in the north, and Yaxcaba in the east. The most numerous name group is the Chi, with 73 married tributaries. They are well represented in other provinces, but they are especially numerous here. Following them are the Euan with 62, the Chan with 44, and the Cocom and May with 41 each. As bearing the name of the former ruling family, the Cocom are of special interest. They are even more numerous in Hocabá, where we find 65, but the name rarely occurs in Cehpech and Maní. Like the Cocom, the Euan are numerous both in Hocabá and Sotuta and very rare in Cehpech and Maní. The May are widely distributed and perhaps the most numerous name group in Yucatan (for more complete details see Roys, 1955, ser. B).

The Province of Sotuta was a centralized state ruled by a halach uinic, who was the head of the Cocom family.

Sotuta and Yaxa

Sotuta (Maya Sututa, "encircling water") was named for its principal cenote, which is on the main square of the town. It is described (RY, 1:94-95) as a circular cave cenote containing a small island, presumably a rock, in the middle, surrounded by water. This feature is no longer visible, since it is now covered by a pavement pierced by a mouth like a well. Near by is an ancient Maya substructure, formerly ascended by thirty stairs. It is now surmounted by a handsome fortified mansion, probably dating from the colonial period (Roys, 1952, p. 152).

When the Cocom and their surviving followers came to the province, they first settled at Tibolon but afterward moved to Sotuta. At the time of the Spanish conquest the ruler was Nachi Cocom, who was the great-grandson of the last Cocom ruler at Mayapan. He was baptized Juan Cocom and was the friend and one of the principal informants of Landa (Tozzer, 1941, pp. 43-46).

In the 1549 tax list Sotuta appears as a split encomienda belonging to Gonzalo Méndez and Juan de Magaña, with 720 tributaries or about 3380 inhabitants. These figures also include Tibolon, which was probably never a large town; but they do not comprise the group of towns in the immediate neighborhood of Sotuta.

Don Juan Cocom died in 1561 and was succeeded by his brother, Lorenzo Cocom, because his son was a young boy, we are told. Lorenzo, however, committed suicide the following year, when he was charged with attending or taking part in various human sacrifices, some of them in the Sotuta church. At two of them he was accompanied by Don Juan in an effort to preserve the life of the latter, who was seriously ill and soon died. He was also accused of having sent some children to Chichen Itza to be cast into the sacred cenote there (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:73-80). In 1565 we find Don Juan's son with the rank of governor of the town and Province of Sotuta; and in 1581 he was still governor and was described as an intelligent and capable man who could speak Spanish (AGI, Justicia 245; RY, 1:98). The prestige of the Cocom lineage was evidently firmly established, for we find its members from time to time occupying the position

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

of governor of the town down to the end of the eighteenth century (Roys, 1939, pp. 107, 431).

Yaxa (Maya Yaxhaa, "green water") was a suburb on the west side of Sotuta. On an early native map of the province it takes the place of Sotuta and the latter is omitted, although Yaxa was described as being a small place in 1565 (Roys, 1939, p. 9). It is known today only as the name of a cenote on a cattle ranch near the outskirts of the town; the sole indication of a former settlement I could find was the large number of surface sherds in the neighborhood—none, however, close to the cenote (Roys, 1952, p. 158).

Yaxa is probably to be identified in the 1549 tax list with "Chachetunyche," which we find among the Sotuta encomiendas, and which belonged to a man named Cea. It had only 70 tributaries, or about 315 persons all together. In 1565 Gonzalo de Cea was recorded as encomendero of Yaxa, and in 1563 his encomienda was stated to adjoin Sotuta. In 1565 the governor was Juan "Naual" (probably Nauat) (AGI, Justicia 245; Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:279). We still find Yaxa at the same place in 1582; in 1656 Cantamayec was reported now to be at the same site (DHY, 2:58; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 19).

Kanchunup, Xiat, Popox, Uayacuz, and Tekom

All these towns are evidently included in the encomienda called "Guayacuz" in the tax list, or *matrícula*, of 1549. The encomienda was granted to Pedro García in 1545, although Xiat was a separate grant from the other three (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:83; communication from Scholes). In 1549 the encomienda had 270 tributaries, or a total population of about 1215. About 1569-71 the people were all moved to the town of Tabi, but after 1581 I can find no record of the separate towns. In 1581 Tabi was not at its present site, for it had been moved to Tibolon. It was reported in 1581 that the region around Kanchunup was not healthy, but it seems to be a salubrious place today (RY, 1:146).

Kanchunup is now known only from the cenote of that name, which is about 3.5 km. from Sotuta on the road to Tixcacaltuyu. Here are the ruins of a church of the ramada type and of a secular building with *kancab* ("red earth") mortar. No ancient Maya remains could be found in the neighborhood (Roys, 1952, p. 157). During Landa's investigations of idolatry and human sacrifice a surprisingly large number of pagan priests were found there, who enjoyed the co-operation of the town officials and the schoolmaster. The cacique and governor at the time was Juan Ix (an extremely rare name in Yucatan), who still held his position in 1565. Sometime before 1572 he was succeeded by his son Pedro Ix, although both of them had been accused of attending human sacrifices, some of which were reported to have been performed at the orders of the father (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:84, 90; AGI, Justicia 245, 247).

Xiat (a small edible palm) was a separate encomienda grant to Pedro García in 1545, so it must have been a town at the time. It is now a farm near the eastern edge of Sotuta on the road to Kanchunup, belonging to Sr. Eleuterio Sosa.

THE PROVINCE OF SOTUTA

The latter's son, who accompanied me to Kanchunup, knew of no Maya remains on the property.

Popox, or Tepopox (Maya Tippoppox, "at the *ppoppox* plant," an herb that stings like a nettle), is well known in Sotuta as the name of a cenote near the road to Tixcacaltuyu, about 5 km. beyond Kanchunup. In a number of reports of the idolatry trials of 1562 it is mentioned only as an *asiento*, a term usually applied to a rural site; but in one report we read of "*el asiento y población de Tepopox*" (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:86-95, 206). Some people may have remained on the site after the town was moved. Since the human sacrifices at Tepopox were conducted by the municipal authorities and pagan priests of Kanchunup, I believe that the actual town had been transferred to Kanchunup in the civil congregation of the 1550's.

Uayacuz (also written "Guayacuz") might be reconstructed as Uayalcutz; cutz means "wild turkey." I surmise that Uayacuz was at or near Kanchunup in the 1560's, but I have found no indication of its original location.

The native circular map of Sotuta shows a place named Tikom ("at the hollow"), and in the account of the 1545 survey of the province (Roys, 1939, pp. 9, 425), two of the principales who accompanied Nachi Cocom were Holpop Hau and Napuc Tuyu of Tikom. Elsewhere the place is mentioned only as the name of a cenote, into which the bodies of sacrificial victims were thrown (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:87-94). This was probably on the present farm recorded as "Tekon" not far from Popox cenote (Plano del Departamento de Sotuta).

Tibolon and Usil

The name Tibolon (literally "at the 9") was explained as being derived from *ti bul on*, "we were deceived," referring to the alleged treachery at Mayapan (Tozzer, 1941, p. 39); but Bolon, like other numerals, was a Chontal personal name. Although the Cocom settled first at Tibolon after leaving Mayapan, and one of them was a principal in 1562, the lineage was weak there in colonial times.

In 1549 Tibolon was a part of the Sotuta encomienda, so we have no indication of its size at that time. Later several other towns were moved to the site. In 1562 the cacique and governor was a Juan Ix, a rare name, although the lineage was also prominent at Sotuta and Kanchunup. There was evidently a strong cenote cult in the town, for the cacique and several principales, including Juan Chuil and Luis Nauat, were charged with a number of human sacrifices, after which the bodies of the child victims were cast into cenotes near the town or the one at the abandoned site of Tabi. They were also implicated in a similar ceremony that took place at Chichen Itza (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:120-25, 206).

In 1565 Juan Chuil was governor; Juan Sulu (or Selu) occupied the position in 1572 (AGI, Justicia 245, 247). In 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920) I can find no taxpayers named Ix, Nauat, or Sulu (or Selu) among the 1031 persons taken as samples for the province, and only 2 of the Chuil, who were at Yaxcaba.

I am unable to identify Usil (also written Seyeusil and Tiuchih) in the 1549

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

list. In 1565 there was also another town at the site, the name of which might be deciphered as "Cuyhua" or "Čihua." There is still a large landed property named Cuyul in the vicinity. In 1565 Usil was an encomienda of Bartolomé Rojo, and the other belonged to Alonso de Rojas and Sebastián Vázquez (communication from Scholes). In 1562 the cacique was Tomás Tun, who was charged, with other local officials, with collaborating in a number of human sacrifices, one of them to Kakalku ("fiery god"); in most cases the bodies were cast into Tabi cenote. Another local cacique named Pedro Yah, presumably of Cuyhua, was also implicated (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:114, 116, 163). In 1565 Juan Cauich was governor of Usil, and Juan Kantun of Cuyhua, both of whom had been alguaciles in 1562; and in 1572 the governor of Usil was Juan Pech, a former schoolmaster. All three had been implicated in the charges of human sacrifice in 1562 (AGI, Justicia 245, 247). Sometime after 1656 Usil ceased to be a town, but it still appears as a hacienda on some later maps.

Chululteil and Tabi

In the 1549 tax list we find an encomienda written "Chilultel" belonging to Martín Sánchez, "el mozo," with 350 tributaries, or about 1575 inhabitants. I can find no town of this name, but it must be the same as that of Finca Chululteil ("place of the chulul trees"). This large property extends between Sotuta and Tabi for a distance of 7 km. Kanchunup is in the western part of the finca, and Popox is near its southern border; Tabi, which is not named in the 1549 document, is only a little over 1 km. from its eastern boundary. Since the areas of towns generally were greatly reduced in the 1550's, quite apart from any shrinkage of population (Cogolludo, bk. 5, ch. 16), it seems almost certain that at the time of the conquest the town of Tabi included a part of what is now Finca Chululteil.

Tabi (*Trixis radialis* [L.] Kuntze, a medicinal shrub better known as toka-ban) appears apparently in its present, and presumably original, location on the maps illustrating the Mani land treaty of 1557 (Roys, 1943, fig. 1; Stephens, 1843, 2:264). In 1562, however, it is mentioned only as the name of an abandoned town and a cenote there, into which the bodies of sacrificial victims were thrown (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:102, 115-18, 121-24, 206, 209). In 1582 we are told that Tabi was at the site of Tibolon (DHY, 2:59), and it seems probable that the town was moved there during the civil congregation. Ciudad Real (1932, pp. 326-27) tells of Tabi and its church in 1588, but the distances from Yaxcaba and Izamal suggest the site of Tibolon. Cogolludo (bk. 4, ch. 19) seems to consider it a separate town, and the same is implied in 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920), when it was a small town of less than 200 inhabitants. In 1801 it was certainly at its present location (Tomás López, 1801).

Yaxcaba, Mopila, and Sahcaba

The name Yaxcaba does not appear in the 1549 tax list, but among the encomiendas of the Province of Mani we find one named "Hayan," belonging to

THE PROVINCE OF SOTUTA IN MAYA

Juan de Leguízamo, with 390 tributaries, or about 1755 inhabitants. I have reconstructed this name as Xaya, but since there is no indication that the latter could have been anything but a small town, it would appear that the encomienda must have included another larger town. Leguízamo, or Leguizamón, is an unusual Spanish name, so when we find Joaquín de Leguízamo the encomendero in 1562 of the large town of Yaxcaba, it seems reasonable to conclude that the latter constituted by far the greater part of the "Hayan" encomienda of 1549 (AGI, Justicia 245).

In 1562 Yaxcaba consisted of two towns with a single municipal organization; the other was Tanuz. In 1545 "Napuc Us of Yaxcaba from Titanus" was one of the principales who accompanied Nachi Cocom on his survey of the province (Roys, 1939, p. 425). In 1562 there was a Batab Sak ("Čaque") in the town, whose name shows he had never been converted (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:211, 350).

THE PROVINCE OF SOTUTA

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Yaxcaba appears in the text and maps of the Mani treaty of 1557 (Roys, 1943, p. 186, fig. 1), when a Don Juan Hau was reported to be governor. In 1562 he was cited as a principal of the town, and the cacique and governor was now Diego Pech, who was implicated in a charge of human sacrifice. The cacique of Tanuz was Juan Tzek (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:104-13). In 1565, however, Juan Hau was governor of Yaxcaba (AGI, Justicia 245). The latter continued to be an important town throughout the colonial period.

Mopila ("water by the wine palm") might be identified in the 1549 tax list with the encomienda called "Caçauaca," which belonged to "Campos" and had 180 tributaries, or about 810 inhabitants. He was probably the conqueror Jerónimo de Campo, whose son, Juan Bautista de Campo, was Landa's interpreter and the encomendero of Mopila in 1562 (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:96, 206).

The name Mopila appears on the native map of the Province of Sotuta and on the Mani map of 1557 (Roys, 1939, fig. 2; 1943, fig. 1). In 1562 the cacique and governor was Juan Canul, who was implicated in charges of human sacrifice. Bodies of the victims were thrown into cenotes at Popox, Yaxcaba, and Sahcaba; two of these were boys purchased from a wealthy Mopila man named Francisco Pot (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:95-98). In 1565, however, Juan Canul still held the position; in 1572 Juan Us was governor (AGI, Justicia 245, 247). Mopila continued to be recorded as a town, and it is only in recent years that it has ceased to appear on the maps as a town or village.

Sahcaba ("water by the sahcab pit") is difficult to identify in the 1549 tax list. In 1565 the Sahcaba encomienda was held by two persons, Gaspar Ruiz and a minor heir of Antonio de Yelves. In 1562 a Hernando Cocom was mentioned as the "lord and cacique," but he may have retired by this time, for Baltasar Cocom, probably his son, was also named as the cacique. The latter and a pagan priest, Francisco Chuc, were involved in charges of human and animal sacrifice. The wells of the town were covered, to make the gods provide rain for the corn crop, and some of the victims' bodies were thrown into a cenote (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:100-2). In 1565, however, we find Baltasar as governor, and

Two important principales were Luis Cocom and Diego Pech; in 1572 Diego Pech was the governor (AGI, Justicia, 245, 247). Sahcaba was still a town with a church in 1582, but by 1656 it had disappeared from the church records (DHY, 2:59; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 19).

Tacchebilchen

Tacchebilchen (Maya Tacchebilch'en) means a well or cenote with poles or some sort of wooden supports. It suggests the modern "brush" table, like the one recently found on the floor of a dry cenote near the ruins of Mayapan. This table served as an altar for the ch'a-chac, or rain ceremonies (communication from Pollock). We also find "Tacchebilch'en" on the native map of Sotuta and the Mani map of 1557 (Roys, 1939, fig. 2; 1943, fig. 1). This may be the "Tilcibichen" cited in Landa's inquisition in 1562 as the name of a cenote into which the bodies of two little girls were said to have been cast, after they had been sacrificed in the Sotuta church (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:80). I can find no further mention of the place until 1656, when Cogolludo (bk. 4, ch. 19) listed it as a visita of Yaxcaba. In 1775 two caciques from the town attended a land conference on the Cupul border (Roys, 1939, p. 113).

Tacchebilchen is the southernmost of the Sotuta towns and the nearest to the Province of Cochuah. Among the names of some 300 adults of both sexes whom we find there in 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920), the Cocom are scarce, as they also are in the nearer Cochuah towns, although they are well represented still farther to the south in Tihosuco. Cox (the name of a bird resembling the wild turkey) and Muan ("screech owl") are both extremely rare names, so it is of interest to find here 20 of the former and 6 of the latter. Here, too, are 17 of the Xece, from whom Hecelchakan got its name. This is also an infrequent name, but seems to be found slightly more often in the southern Ah Canul, Hocabá, and Sotuta Provinces.

Cantamayec, Tixcacaltuyu, and Chomulna

Cantamayec (in Maya also Cantemeyec) first appears on the 1557 map of the Province of Mani, apparently at its present site (Roys, 1943, figs. 1, 2), but it must have been moved at about that time, apparently to the site of Yaxa adjoining Sotuta; for I do not find it mentioned again until 1656, when Cogolludo (bk. 4, ch. 19) records it as a visita of Sotuta at the same site as Yaxa. By 1801, however, we find it located where it is now (Tomás López, 1801).

There is some indication that Tixcacaltuyu is to be identified in the 1549 tax document with the encomienda recorded there as "Cacabachuc," which appears in the list close to the names of known Sotuta towns. This encomienda then had 300 tributaries, or about 1350 inhabitants, and belonged to Francisco Manrique, who is known to have been the encomendero of Tixcacaltuyu in 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245).

THE PROVINCE OF MANI MAYA

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THE PROVINCE OF SOTUTA

The first mention I can find of the name Tixcacaltuyu is on a map by Tomás López (1801). Before that the town was called Tixcacal or Cacal. It appears in the text and on the maps of the Mani land treaty of 1557 (Roys, 1943, pp. 185-86, 189-91, fig. 1), when Gonzalo Tuyu was governor and presumably cacique of the town. Apparently there were land disputes at this time with the people of Hunacti, for guards were placed on this border. In 1565 Don Gonzalo Tuyu was still governor of Tixcacaltuyu.

The 1688 records of Tixcacaltuyu are badly burned, but it is plain that there were few of the Cocom in the town at the time. Among 600 legible names we find 30 Chable, 26 Tuyu (who are very scarce in the adjoining Province of Mani and much less numerous elsewhere in Sotuta), and 5 of the rare Muan lineage. The governor was now a Don Profugio Xix, also a rare name. There were 16 adult Xix in Tixcacaltuyu, but among nearly 7500 names sampled elsewhere in northern Yucatan I could find only 3 Xix (AGI, Contaduría 920).

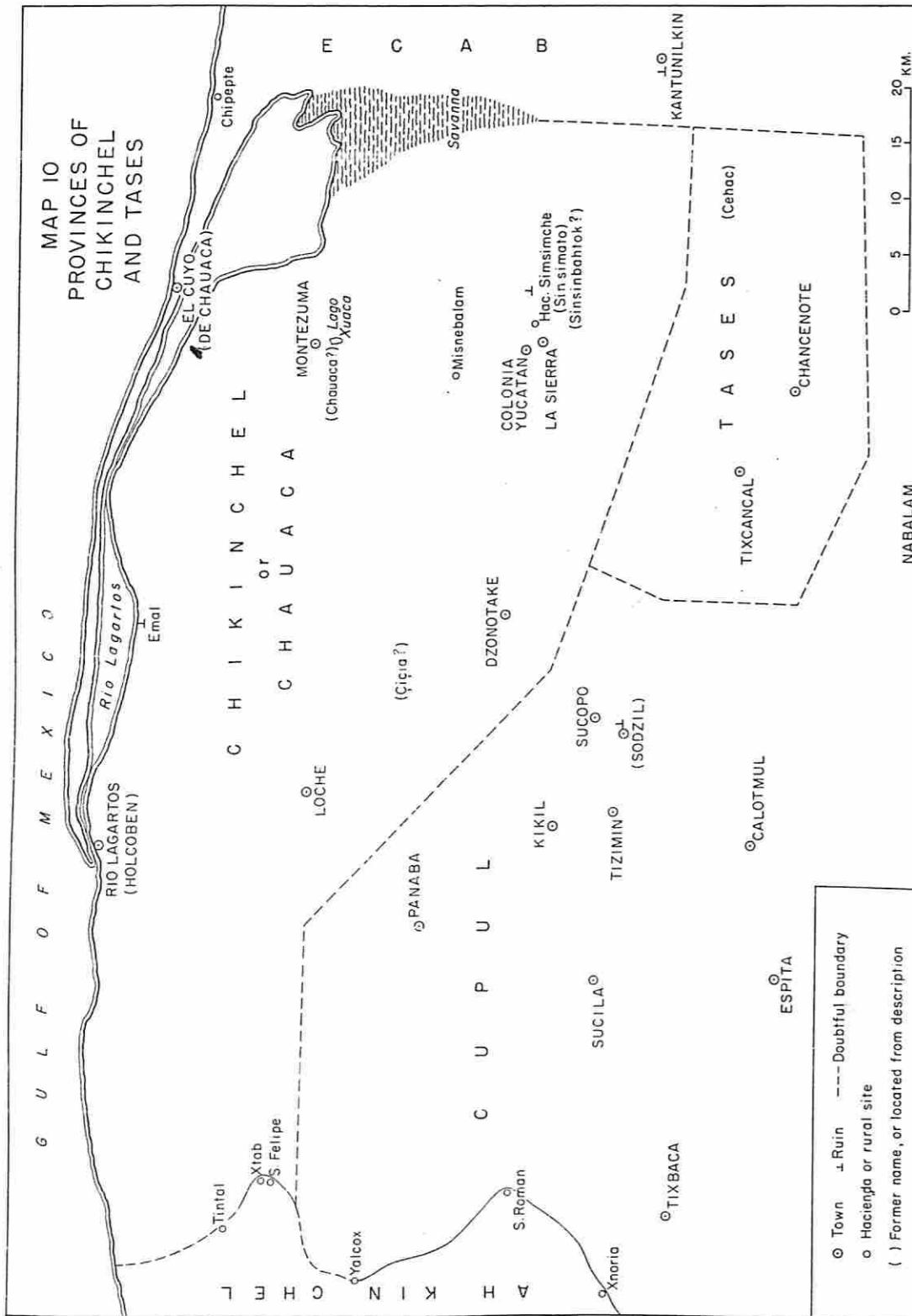
Another name listed among the Sotuta encomiendas in the 1549 list is "Chomulna." It belonged to Rodrigo Nieto and had 740 tributaries, or about 3330 inhabitants. In the account of Nachi Cocom's survey of the boundaries of the province in 1545 (Roys, 1939, p. 426), we read of an Ah Kul Chi of Homulna, which I surmise is the same as "Chomulna." In spite of its large population, I am unable to identify it with any of the towns that we know. The name of this man is immediately preceded by that of Ah Kul Ueuet, who was probably from the same place.

THE PROVINCE OF CHIKINCHEL, OR CHAUACA

Chauaca (Maya Chauac-ha, "long water") was sometimes given as the name of this province, probably because that was its largest and most important town, although it did not rule the others. Chikinchel (Maya Chikin-cheel, "west woods") is descriptive of the region, for it is mostly a wooded area lying west of the great band of swamp and savanna that separates it from the Province of Ecab to the east. Chikinchel extended along the north coast from the east end of Ah Kin Chel to El Cuyo, the site of a large stone pyramid built on the sand dunes of the barrier beach. This well known structure, now surmounted by a lighthouse, evidently dates from Classic times, for the head of a ceremonial war club carved in the style of that period has been found at the site. Although the accompanying map shows the western end of the province as occupying an area of some breadth south of the coast, we only know positively that the inhabitants laid claim to all the salt beds along this shore and occasionally fought for their possession. West of Loche, about 20 km. south of the coast, the province widened and its boundary veered to the southeast, taking in Sisla, Dzonotake, and Sinsimato. The southern border, therefore, has been traced halfway between these and the northernmost towns of the Provinces of Cupul and Tases. Kantunilkin has been placed just east of the border, for an early native report puts it in Ecab. According to a forest map of the region (Sánchez Ayala, 1951, p. 30), the eastern half of the province is about evenly divided between the scrubby tree growth, swamps, and lagoons so frequent elsewhere in the coast belt, and a high forest containing many Spanish cedars with a sprinkling of sapote trees.

People at Colonia Yucatán tell of savannas interspersed in this forest area, but the forest map does not show them. We know nothing of the phytogeography of the western half of the province, but it was probably similar to that of eastern Ah Kin Chel. As one travels from Colonia Yucatán to El Cuyo on the north coast, the trees continue to diminish in height, and the natural openings in the forests become larger as one approaches the swamp bordering the large shallow lagoon. Beyond is the broad barrier beach, on which we find the pyramid and fishing village of El Cuyo.

Along the lagoons and ponds behind the barrier beach, which extends from the vicinity of El Cuyo to that of the port of Río Lagartos (formerly Ch'oben), were the richest salt beds in Yucatan. In 1605 they were reported (AGI, Méjico 72) to produce, or to be capable of producing, from 50,000 to 57,000 fanegas of salt (about 80,000 to 90,000 bushels) annually. The largest was over half a league long and yielded from 15,000 to 20,000 fanegas each year. A very large labor force was required to gather the annual crop, since this, we are told, had to be accomplished within 15 or 20 days. Once the salt was collected, the surface of



POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

each mound was hardened by fire, so that a crust was formed which resisted the elements for a long time. In pre-conquest times the beds belonged to certain towns, but the colonial government later threw them open to people generally, and many were appropriated by Spaniards, who hired labor as far south as Valladolid.

The Spanish colonists did not consider the land rich agriculturally, but the sea and the northern lagoon swarmed with fish, and some of the forests produced great quantities of copal which was exported to the other provinces. The great wealth of the province, however, was its salt beds.

Chikinchel does not seem to have been a very closely united province, for Chauaca sometimes warred with Sinsimato and appears to have been on unfriendly terms with Ake (Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 50, 54). Nevertheless, the towns were apparently united in the common purpose of keeping the provinces to the south from exploiting their salt beds.

The Spaniards greatly admired the culture of the Indians of this province, whom they considered more intelligent than those elsewhere. In two reports (RY, 2:14, 23) we read: "The people of Chikinchel are more precise in their reasoning and more polished in their language, although the latter is the same all over Yucatan." "Formerly the Indians of the Province of Chikinchel called those of this Villa of Valladolid and the other provinces of the Cupuls and Cochuahs Ah Maya, disparaging them as base and vile people of low minds and propensities." This attitude toward the name Maya suggests the possibility that Chikinchel had not been subject to Mayapan in the past; but, as we shall see, there is evidence that the Province of Tases immediately to the south belonged to the Mayapan confederation.

Sinsimato

The name Sinsimato, as it stands, has little meaning in Maya, but it appears to be a corruption of Sinsinbahtok ("spreading flint chisel"), apparently an obsolete plant name. The latter is a reconstruction of "Çinqinbahtoc," which was reported in 1582 (DHY, 2:61) as the name of an unlocated village whose people were attending church at Dzonotake at that time. If Sinsinbahtok is pronounced rapidly, it sounds like Sinsimato to the European ear.

In the spring of 1528, when the Adelantado Montejo left Cachi in the Province of Ecab (Chamberlain, 1948, p. 50), he was on his way to Chauaca in Chikinchel. The first town he reached was recorded as Sinsimato, a name that the Spaniards were still using in 1579. In the latter year the encomendero reported (RY, 2:48) that the town had once contained 600 Indian men, which would mean about 2700 inhabitants; but the 1549 tax list gives only 90 tributaries, or a population of about 385.

As they approached the town, Montejo's soldiers observed well tended groves of "incense trees" (Protium copal Engl.), "because there is a great deal of traffic in this merchandise and large shipments of it to other parts" (Oviedo y

THE PROVINCE OF CHIKINCHEL

Valdés, 1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 3). The town was said to have a monopoly of this business, because the copal tree did not grow elsewhere "in the entire province." Standley (1930, p. 314) tells us that no specimens are at hand from northern Yucatan, although the tree grows in British Honduras and Quintana Roo and is common in the Petén (Thompson, 1930, p. 188; Lundell, 1937, p. 11).

Of the actual town, we are told only that it was larger than Cachi, which is described as an important commercial center. The 1579 report states that Sinsimato was the nearest town to Chauaca, and the people, who were warlike, fought with the latter. Here we are told that Sinsimato was situated "in the midst of some savannas, fruit lands, and grassy meadows." The people had been moved by the missionaries from one place to another a number of times, and their numbers steadily decreased, until in 1576, when they were finally allowed to return to their old home, only eight families remained.

On the map of Tomás López (1801) the only two places shown in the region directly south of El Cuyo are two cattle ranches, Misnebalam ("broom-tail jaguar") and "Sincinbuc" (recorded as "Simsimche" and "Simsimcha" on modern maps). Dzonotake is the nearest town. López and Espinosa (ca. 1910) put Misnebalam at its present site, and the other is shown where Colonia Yucatán is today. About 1.5 km. east of the sawmill at Colonia Yucatán are the remains of the corral and other walls of a very old cattle ranch, apparently the one shown on the nineteenth-century map. About 2 km. east of the old ranch is an unusually large ruined site. Here the rough stone masonry coated with thick layers of plaster suggests an early Classic date, and it is covered by deep forest loam. Since both the old ranch and these ruins lie in the high forest, I am inclined to locate the town of Sinsimato at Colonia Yucatán, where the country appears to have been more open. Here also, people said, were the remains of an unimportant Maya substructure, which have been removed.

Chauaca

Chauaca must have been one of the largest towns in northern Yucatan. When Montejo's expedition, coming from Sinsimato, reached what was taken to be the edge of the town, they are reported to have traveled from noon to nightfall before arriving at the house of the cacique. Even if we discount this statement by Alonso de Luján, it seems certain that the southern environs of Chauaca were thickly populated. In the town, we are told, "most of the houses were of stonework and the temples, or cues, were of extremely fine workmanship. . . . And all the greater part of the population is of lords, upper-class citizens, and merchants" (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 3).

In a report of 1579 (RY, 2:13-14) it is said that there were thatched masonry buildings, where the people had their assemblies and markets, but that the houses of the citizens were large and strongly built of wood with thatched roofs. The streets, however, were not laid out in rectangular lines (no compasadas). The intelligence and polished manners of the inhabitants have already been

mentioned. Besides using the maize and fruit grown locally, the town depended partly on the good fisheries 3 leagues to the north, but the chief source of its wealth was the salt beds.

Blas González (RY, 2:112), who accompanied the first expedition to Chauaca in 1528, reports a population of "as many as 3000 indios," a term which would imply about 13,000 inhabitants, but this seems to be an exaggeration. Juan Gutiérrez Picón (RY, 2:154), who went there in 1543 when the Spaniards established a villa at the site, tells us that there were 250 houses and about 600 or 700 vecinos (citizens). This would indicate 2700 to 3150 inhabitants, and implies the interesting circumstance that many of them lived in multiple-family houses, such as we have found on Cozumel Island in 1570 (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940). The short-lived Spanish settlement evidently played havoc with the population, for the 1549 tax list, six years later, shows only 200 tributaries, or about 900 inhabitants.

In the volume of reports made in 1579 by various encomenderos of Valladolid (RY, 2:7, 12, 13, 73, 154-55) we find several accounts of the location and environs of Chauaca. It is said to be situated about 3 leagues from the sea, evidently south of El Cuyo, for a decade later Ciudad Real (1873, 2:380) gives the name of the latter as el Ku de Chuacan. The town lay beside a lake of the same name, said in one passage to be two gunshots long and more than one in width, and in another to have a perimeter of half a league. Other lakes formed during the rains, but most of them dried up in the dry season; the lake of Chauaca, however, retained its character and did not dry up. The Spanish villa was on the west side. One account puts the Maya town opposite, on the east side, but another states that it was on the brow (falda) of the lake to the north.

We are told that "this lake is surrounded by more than two leagues of grassy meadows, which they call savannas, very flat and with no forests that shade them in these two leagues." Part of the region, nevertheless, must have been wooded, for we also read of forests of copal trees and others of wild fruits or products (frutos silvestres). Moreover, the maize fields are reported to have yielded two crops a year, and, so far as we know, in Yucatan this grain has never been grown on a savanna, but only by a slash-and-burn method on wooded land.

Some years ago a lake named Xuaca, a short distance south of Montezuma, was reported to Chamberlain and myself at Dzonotake, and a recent visit shows it to be at the same distance from the sea and of precisely the same size and shape as the historic lake Chauaca. Nor could I learn of any other such lake in the region. Xuaca, however, is now surrounded, not by a savanna, but by a thick forest of moderate height. Much of the lake was covered by aquatic plants late in March, but there was a fair amount of open water. West of the lake are natural openings of some size in the forest, which can be seen from the road passing the lake, but no large savannas were visible. Later I was told at Colonia Yuca-tán that there are such savannas not far away. Lawrence Roys and I made the entire circuit of the lake, walking through the forest on the east side at a distance of 125 to 200 m. back from the shore. The land there was somewhat rolling and high enough above the water to be suitable for house sites, even when the

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THE PROVINCE OF CHIKINCHEL

savannas are flooded. Our guide, an aged hunter from Montezuma (not an Indian) who knew the country well, thought he remembered the location of some mounds or ancient substructures, but we were unable to find them. On the road near the lake on the west side is a monument with an inscription to the effect that near the spot, it is believed, was the first site of the Villa of Valladolid.

During the civil congregation the houses of Chauaca were burned and the population moved nearer "their doctrinal headquarters," which may have been either Tizimin or Chancenote; and in 1579 only 20 families were left (RY, 2:14, 74).

Dzonotake, Sisia, and Loche

These three towns have been put in the Province of Chikinchel, partly because it would have been difficult to keep the Cupul away from the north coast so much of the time if there were no Chikinchel towns lying between them and the great salt beds. I am, however, unable to associate a salt tribute with any of them in early colonial times.

From Chauaca, Adelantado Montejo's expedition in 1528 went on to an important place called Ake, which Luján (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 3) claimed was as large as the former town; and here a battle occurred. This place is believed to be the present Dzonotake. There is a small cenote near the church, and only 1 km. distant is a fairly large ruined site. Along one side of the mounds are what appear to be the remains of a ditch and rampart, and among the substructures is a great open cenote, which looks like a surface pond, for here the water table is not far beneath the surface of the ground (Roys, 1943, p. 68; Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 54-55).

Ake must have been included in one of Juan de Recalde's encomiendas in the 1549 list, since we find him encomendero of Ake in 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245); at this time the governor was Luis Na, and one of the principales was named Ku. I am inclined to ascribe Ake to the Sisia encomienda, which was the largest of the three that Recalde owned in 1549, and perhaps of sufficient size to include both towns. The other two were Ixcacache, which was later moved to Tizimin, and "Enaçir," as yet unidentified. I first find the name Dzonotake in the 1582 catalogue of churches (DHY, 2:61); the people of "Çinçinbahtoc" (Sinsimato) were attending church there at that time.

Sisia (Maya Tzitzya or Dzidzya?) is the name of Dipholis salicifolia (L.) A. DC. I think this was the Chikinchel town called "Duya" in the 1579 report of Kikil (RY, 2:86). The editor of this series of reports sometimes transcribes the reversed c (representing the glottal sound now expressed by dz in Yucatan) as d, just as he prints "Dohot" for Dzonot. I suspect that what he found was dzisya, and he took the is for u.

Montejo passed through Sisia in 1528, and Luján (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 3) reported it to be halfway between Ake and Loche and larger than the towns he had already seen. According to the 1549 tax list it had 420

tributaries, or about 1890 inhabitants, which seems very large for a time when the other Chikinchel towns had greatly shrunk. I am unable to trace Sisia after 1549.

Loche (Maya Tahloxche?) was reported by Luján to be even larger than Sisia. Here Montejo was received peacefully, although the cacique was very haughty. I think Loche is to be identified in the 1549 list as a part of the northern Cupul encomienda here named Cenote (Dzonotchuil). It belonged to Diego de Ayala, who was recorded as encomendero of both Dzonot and Loche in 1565. At this time the governor of Loche was Jorge Dzib, and the principales were named Homa and Huh. A later encomendero claimed that the entire encomienda once had 600 tributaries, but the 1549 list gives it only 330 tributaries, or about 1485 inhabitants (AGI, Justicia 245; Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661). Loche is still, as it was in colonial times, a village serving as a halfway station between Tizimin and Río Lagartos.

On the largest of the lagoons which extend along the north coast is the archaeological site of Emal. The remains are called "the edifices of Ehemal and Petentun" in the salt report of 1605 (AGI, México 72). Here and on the opposite shore of the lagoon at a place called Tixchel the salt beds yielded about 4000 fanegas annually. Although there was a village and probably also a small church at Emal in 1656 (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20), I can find no evidence that a town existed there at the time of the conquest. There had apparently been a town at the site in the not too distant past, for the Chumayel narrative (Roys, 1933, p. 156) refers to the people of Emal as being "the guardians of the sands, the guardians of the sea." It is hard to tell, however, whether they were guarding the rich resources of the region from enemies from the interior or from foreign invaders. The people of Uaymil were also characterized as such guardians. The value of the salt beds can only be appreciated after one has observed the painfully laborious process by which salt is still obtained at Sacapulas in the highlands of Guatemala. The name of the bed across the lagoon from Emal, which was Tixchel, is of historical interest, because the Chumayel migration narrative mentions it as one of the places where the Itza stopped between Ake and Sucopo. It suggests that there was formerly a Chikinchel town named Tixchel, which gave its name to a salt bed that it possessed on the north coast.

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THE PROVINCE OF TASES

The name Tases, or Tasees, seemed inexplicable until Scholes discovered the probanza (a proof of nobility and services) of a Captain Don Juan Chan of Chancenote. These documents are dated from 1601 to 1617. Here we learn that a family named Dzeh founded the province after the fall of Mayapan (AGI, Méjico 140), so at his suggestion I would reconstruct the name of the province as Tahdzeh ("the place of the Dzeh lineage"). Also I have found the family name sometimes written Tzeh, and I suspect it to be a contraction of Dzahe. The latter name is very rare except in the region between Valladolid and Chemax; but here, in the town of Tesoco, 27 tributaries named Dzahe were found out of 371 names sampled, and only one lineage, the Huch'im, was slightly more numerous (AGI, Contaduría 920).

The land is flat and rocky, and a forest map of the region shows an extensive area of high cedar with some sapote trees extending east of Chancenote (Sánchez Ayala, 1951, p. 30).

The Province of Tases consisted of a compact group of towns, most of them apparently not very far from Chancenote, although their lands no doubt extended over a larger area. The province lay south of Chikinchel, east and north of Cupul, and west of Ecab. We have several lists of towns, giving in some cases their distance from Chancenote, but the precise locations of only Chancenote and Tixcancal have been identified. The boundaries on map 10 have been placed halfway between these two towns and the nearest towns of the surrounding provinces. I am unable to give the correct Maya names of most of the Tases towns, for as yet they are known to us only through Spanish scribes who evidently did not have a writing knowledge of Maya.

In a report of 1579 (RY, 2:66) the encomendero, Juan de Urrutia, tells us: "Chancenote [was] the capital (cabecera) of the Province of Tases, where the other towns of the said province recognized the lords of the said capital as superiors, and this not by way of vassalage but by confederation and friendship." It is hard to tell who these lords were. They may have been of the Uluac family, who were represented by a cacique in 1556 and a governor in 1565, and who were the only Indian hidalgos in Chancenote in 1688. On the other hand, Urrutia may have meant the powerful Chan family, who came from Temasa and took over the government of Chancenote between 1565 and 1571. Urrutia does not seem to know about the Dzeh family of Tixcancal, for whom the province appears to have been named.

In any case, the province as a whole consisted of a confederation of groups of towns, and there was no one territorial ruler, such as we have found in Mani, Cehpech, Hocabá, and Sotuta. They went to war occasionally during the hot dry

season against such opponents as their lords wished to fight, and to retaliate for injuries their people received from other provinces. The nearest Cupul town was Nabalam, which had been subjected by the bellicose ruler of Ekbalam.

Tixcancal and Surrounding Towns

From the probanza of Captain Don Juan Chan (AGI, México 140), who lived at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we learn that his wife, Isabel Dzeh, was the daughter of a Don Hernando Dzeh, "cacique and natural lord of the towns of Tixkubul, Tiaguan, and Yaxhaal. From there proceeded the lineage called Kaual-Op Dzeh, when they vacated the houses that they had in the city of Mayapan, because God so commanded." This is important, for it implies that the region had belonged to the confederation at Mayapan. I have associated these towns with Tixcancal, because Don Hernando Dzeh was the cacique, natural lord, and governor of the latter town.

The name Tixcancal is not in the 1549 tax list, and I am unable to identify the town there through its encomenderos, although there is a somewhat doubtful clue. In the series of 1565 documents (AGI, Justicia 245) we find a "Tixcacal," which we know is not Tixcacalcupul. Since I know of no other Tixcacal in eastern Yucatan, I am inclined to read the name as Tixcancal. This "Tixcacal" belonged to Juan López de Mena, a prominent citizen of Valladolid, who appears in the 1549 tax list only as encomendero of "Cixmo," which I cannot identify. It seems possible that Tixcancal was a part of "Cixmo," which had 310 tributaries, or about 1395 inhabitants. We shall return to López de Mena when we come to the Cupul town of Chemax east of Valladolid.

Chancenote and Surrounding Towns

Chancenote (Maya Chandzonot, "great or admirable cenote") is called Chemdzonot ("trough cenote" or "boat cenote") by one writer (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 19). Its cenote is described as unusually large, an underground lake of sweet water with many mouths. It is hard to tell why Chancenote should appear in the 1549 tax list as the name of the encomienda, for it was not the largest town of its group at that time. Indeed, we know little of the town in conquest times, but the Uluac family was probably then the most important. In 1556 a Juan Uluac was batab, apparently meaning cacique, and in 1565 he was named as governor of the town (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Inquisición 6; AGI, Justicia 245). In 1688 the only Indian hidalgos, or native nobles, at Chancenote were nine persons named Uluac (AGI, Contaduría 920).

In the 1549 tax list the encomienda of Juan de Urrutia is called Chancenote and is given 600 tributaries, or about 2700 inhabitants, but this also included other towns, although the accounts of them do not entirely agree. In 1579 the encomendero, still Juan de Urrutia, gave the following names for these towns and their distances from Chancenote: Tizno, 3 leagues; Tecaz, 2.5 leagues;

Temasa, 2 leagues; Holcol, 1 league; and Teçamay, half a league (RY, 2:66). He

goes on to tell us that the largest town "of the entire province" (which might mean either the Chancenote district or the Province of Tases) was Temasa, with 400 Indian men (presumably 1800 inhabitants) and more than 170 houses, an interesting indication of multiple-family homes. He deplores the fact that an overzealous friar burned the town, together with its very good church, and moved the people to Chancenote. Within a week, he states, the caciques and most of the principales, whose houses were "very sumptuous although of wood," died. There may have been good reason for this action, however, for not many years before, an uprising and massacre had occurred in which the leaders of Tases were accused of taking part.

Our knowledge of the history of Temasa is derived from a petition by Captain Don Juan Chan dated in 1601 (AGI, México 140). At this time he was a middle-aged or elderly man, for one of his sons had already established a record as an efficient officer of the Indian militia of the region. The captain reported that his grandfather, Nahau Chan, was lord of eight towns, named Tipox ("at the cherimoya"), Tixcocom ("at the cocom vine"), Tihas ("at the mamey"), "Tichi-quich," Tixcumche ("at the bonete"), "Axulchen," Tixmoeb, and Tahku, all of which paid him tribute. He is said to have lived for sixty years at Tixcocom, which was a sort of capital of the group of towns. He probably died in the 1540's, for he was never converted to Christianity, as his name indicates. After his death, but "at his command," his son Don Juan Chan, who was married to a María Pat, assembled all these towns at Temasa. This was probably during the civil congregation in the 1550's. Whether Temasa was a new site or a new name for Tixcocom is not disclosed, but the latter might possibly be implied. "For ten years my father, the aforesaid Don Juan Chan was lord there, until he moved with all his towns to this site of Chancenote, where he now governed by the title given him by Don Luis de Céspedes, former Governor of these Provinces" (1565-71). He was obviously more compliant to the order to move the town than were most of the other caciques and principales at Temasa.

Other Tases Towns

The Tases towns listed in 1582 (DHY, 2:61) were Chancenote, Tixcancal, Tixmukul, Tixholop, and Tzemcay, of which the first two have already been discussed. Tixmukul is here reported to be 3 leagues from Chancenote. In 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245) it belonged to Alonso de Villanueva, and the governor was Luis "Ce," which might be read Dzeh. In 1579 it had its own church, partly of masonry construction (RY, 2:49), and in 1601 the governor was Juan Uc (AGI, México 140). In 1565 another town named Tebatun (Maya Tibatun, "at the batun plant," *Anthurium tetragonum* Hook.) was also reported to be at the same site. It appears in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of Villanueva with 220 tributaries, or about 990 inhabitants. I find Tixmukul mentioned again in 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920), but it may have been only a hacienda at that time. Tixholop

was 2 or 3 leagues from Chancenote. In 1579 it had its own church, and Villanueva owned half of it. In 1656 it was the only Tases town listed except Chancenote and Tixcancal. All we know of Tzemcay is that it was at the site of Tixholop in 1582 (RY, 2:49, DHY, 2:61; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 19).

One other town in the region was Cehac, which was in all probability in Tases, although it must have been near the border of the Province of Ecab. It appears in the 1549 tax list as "Tequeat," an encomienda of [Sebastián de] Burgos with 160 tributaries, or about 720 inhabitants.

In a report of 1579 Sebastián's son, Diego de Burgos Cansino, tells us that Cehac was situated 4 leagues from Chancenote on the camino real to Conil, which was a port on what is now the Laguna de Yalahau not far from Cape Cotoche. Judging by other distances given in leagues at this time, Cehac was probably about 20 km. from Chancenote. Molina Solís (1896, p. 189) puts it only 2 leagues from Chancenote; but he does this apparently by reading the name Tecaz as "Tecceac." The former, as cited above, has been taken from the published report (RY, 2:66). In a document of 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245) no governor or cacique is mentioned, but the garbled names of four principales are given as "Tuy" (Tuyu?), "Yec" (Ye or Ek?), "Ahic," and "Nulah." I have ascribed Cehac to the Province of Tases because its governor in 1608 was Don Francisco Chan, a son of Don Juan Chan of Chancenote (communication from Adams).

Cehac was still a visita of Chancenote in 1656 (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 19). The latest mention of the name that I have found is in a tax list of 1688, where a Joana Noh is reported as being from Cehac (AGI, Contaduría 920), but I surmise that it was only a hacienda or a ranchería at that time.

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THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL

The Province of Cupul was one of the largest and possibly the most populous of the native states of Yucatan at the time of the Spanish conquest. It is named for the Cupul lineage, and Cupul is apparently referable to the cup vine (Calopogonium coeruleum Benth.), the root of which was eaten in time of famine. The northern and western boundaries of the province have been discussed in the chapters devoted to Tases, Chikinchel, Ah Kin Chel, and Sotuta. Our knowledge of the southern frontier, where it adjoins the Province of Cochuah, is derived from the Titles of Ebtun (Roys, 1939, pp. 74-77, pl. 1). The eastern limit is doubtful, and it seems open to question whether there was a well defined boundary on this side of the province. Only about a generation after the conquest a wide belt of forest was reported to exist between the easternmost Cupul towns and the Caribbean coast, which must have included the ruins of Coba. When Father Cristóbal Asensio was at Valladolid in 1570 and planned to go to Zama (Maya Tzama), adjoining the ruins now known as Tulum, he found no direct route. He was obliged to travel 40 km. northeast to Nabalam and then more than 20 leagues to the southeast through uninhabited country to Zama on the coast (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, pp. 7, 24-25, map). The González map of 1766 still shows this as the only land route from Valladolid to Zama, and here the country between Nabalam and Zama is marked "Despoblado."

East of Nabalam and Chemax is a tall cedar forest with some sapotes. It is interspersed with savannas, but they are smaller than those lying to the east of Chikinchel and Tases (Sánchez Ayala, 1951, p. 30).

The climate of Cupul is more favorable for agriculture than is that of western and central Yucatan outside the region south of the Puuc. The rainfall is higher, with an annual mean average of 47.5 inches at Valladolid as compared with 38.60 inches at Sotuta and 34.73 at Mérida. Cenotes are numerous in the region, and furthermore the province abounds in natural hollows which go down almost to the water table. Here it was possible to dig for water with primitive tools; and although cacao was mostly imported everywhere except in Uaymil and Chetumal, a limited amount could be grown on the moist soil at the floor of these depressions.

There was no single halach unic, or territorial ruler, as in Cehpech, Hobo, Maní, Ah Kin Chel, and Cochuah. In 14 or 15 of the 36 towns about which we can find some evidence, members of the Cupul lineage either governed the town or were wealthy and influential citizens during early colonial times; and the lineage must have been still more powerful before the Spanish conquest, when a strong batab could intimidate, raid, or even conquer some of his neighbors. We are reminded of the Canul lineage in Ah Canul, but there no evidence

has been found of internal war. In the Province of Cupul, however, one local ruler readily made war on another, even of his own lineage. Ekbalam and Nabalam both had Cupul rulers, but the former warred on the latter, and captives were enslaved or sacrificed (RY. 2:161).

Presumably the Cupul united against a common enemy, as in the case of the Spanish conquest. As we have seen, some towns warred with Ah Kin Chel and Chikinchel, but the Cupul appear usually to have been on more friendly terms with the people of Sotuta and Cochuah.

Although the towns where the Cupul lineage was prominent were scattered throughout the province from Yalsihon in the extreme north to Tixcacalcupul in the south, nearly half of them lay in the vicinity of Valladolid, so it seems possible that they had spread from that region. In the records of the famous Valladolid lawsuit of 1618 (Brinton, 1882, pp. 116-18) we read that a Kukum Cupul was one of three or four warlike lords who came from Mexico. They are said to have founded towns at Chichen Itza, at Bacalar, on the coast to the north, and toward Cozumel. Whether all this occurred in the same period, or whether it represents various waves of invasion at different times, is hard to tell. The people who settled at Chichen Itza are said to have been "those who built the sumptuous edifices which are in the said locality." Also a daughter of Kukum Cupul named Ix Nahau Cupul was claimed as an ancestress of the noble Kauil family living at or near Valladolid in 1618. I have found no statement that the Cupul were represented in the confederacy of Mayapan, but I am sure that such must have been the case.

Like the Xiu of Mani, the Chel of Ah Kin Chel, and the Cochuah of Cochuah, the Cupul were a small ruling group in their own province; and like the Chel, the Cochuah, and the Iuit of Hocabá, they are very rarely, if ever, found outside their own province in the colonial period, or even today.

The Cupul were, however, hardly quite so scarce as would appear from the tax records of the towns used as samples in the present study, which show only 15 married tributaries named Cupul out of 1334 names in this category. In the matrículas of 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920) we also find a few at Chemax and Tíkuch and 15 in Tixualah tun, and a number of others will be cited in the discussion of the individual towns. I surmise that other groups, like that at Tixualah tun, existed in towns for which we have no detailed tax records. It will be recalled that hardly any Xiu were found in the 1688 or other matrículas for the Province of Maní; but we know that most of the Xiu in the province had moved in early colonial times to Yaxa and Oxkutzcab, where we have no lists of the names of the tributaries.

Table 7, however, gives us a general idea of the more numerous patronymics in the province. It is compiled from tax lists of 1583 for Tizimin and three neighboring towns which had been moved to the site of Tizimin during the civil congregation (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661), and a matrícula for 1688 for Tesoco (AGI, Contaduría 920). These names, as a whole, differ more from those of western Yucatan than from those of Sotuta in the north central part of the peninsula. The largest name groups in Cupul are the Cauich,

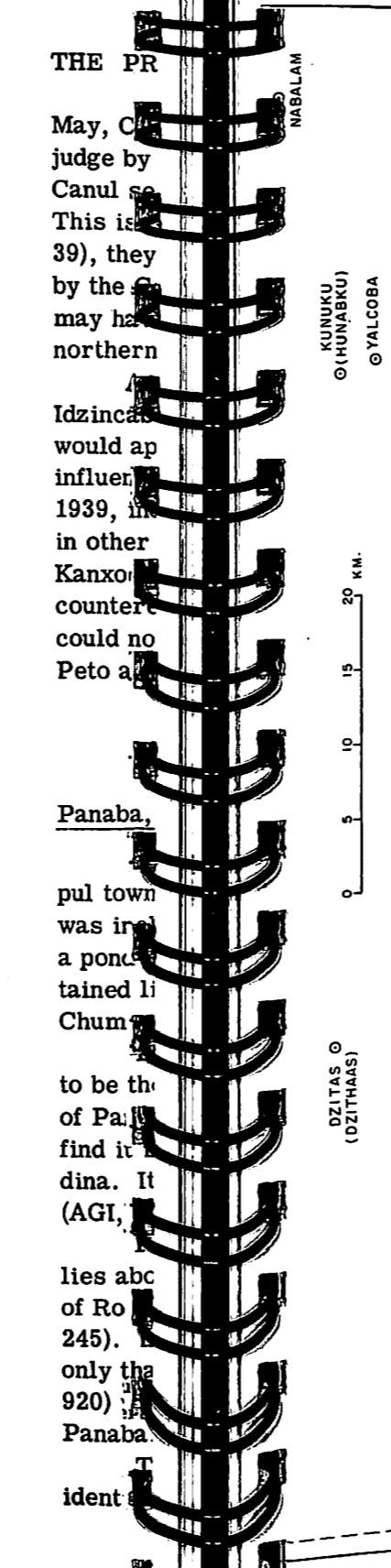
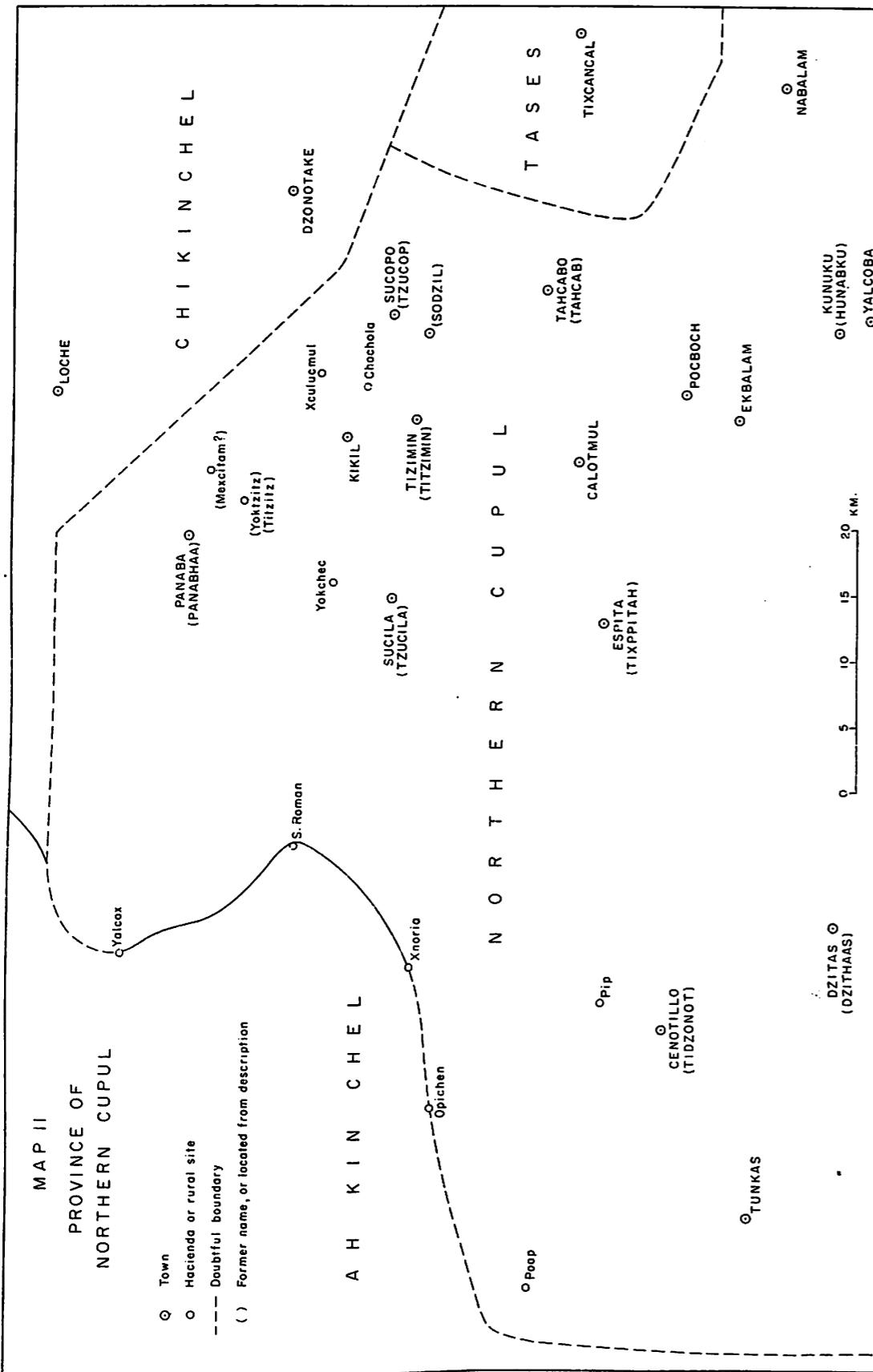
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THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL

Table 7
THE MORE NUMEROUS LINEAGE GROUPS IN THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL
Compiled from lists of resident married tributaries of Tizimin-Boxchen,
Dzonotchuil, Tecay, and Tixcacauche in 1583,
and of Tesoco in 1688

Patronymic	Tizimin-Boxchen	Dzonot-chuil	Tecay	Tixca-cauche	Tesoco	Total
Balam	5	4	3	11	...	23
Cab	2	4	5	3	...	14
Can	4	7	3	...	14
Canche	2	8	2	3	...	15
Canul	4	4	5	20	15	48
Cauich	8	22	9	13	2	54
Cen	2	16	...	3	5	26
Cituk	4	...	9	4	17
Cocom	9	1	2	2	...	14
Cum	13	13
Cupul	1	...	7	7	15
Chable	5	16	21
Chan	10	4	6	8	1	29
Che	5	15	4	...	3	31
Chi	9	13	4	2	...	28
Dzahe	1	...	27	28
Dzib	3	13	...	6	13	35
Euan	3	1	1	1	17	23
Haban or Aban	2	1	29	36
Huch'im	4	2	...	1	15	33
Itza	12	...	3	3	4	30
Ku	5	15	4	2	...	17
Kumun	6	19
Kuyoc	11	1	1	...	19	49
May	8	6	2	14	...	15
Mian	1	14	17
Mo	3	1	...	7	6	17
Noh	12	14	9	4	2	41
Och	4	7	...	6	...	17
Pot	5	5	7	5	2	24
Puc	4	6	5	15
Ppol	6	1	...	19	15	41
Tab	19	1	20
Tep	12	1	1	...	31
Tun	3	5	3	14
Tus	11	3	4	31
Uc	5	13	6	3	...	17
Xuluc	318	953
	162	223	91	159		
Other resident married tributaries bearing 86 different patronymics ...	102	104	37	83	53	381
Totals for legible names in this category	264	329	128	242	371	133



THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL

May, Canul, Noh, and Ppol, which are well represented in other provinces. To judge by the towns which have been somewhat arbitrarily chosen as samples, the Canul seem to have been more numerous in Cupul than in any other province. This is of especial interest because, according to Landa (Tozzer, 1941, pp. 32, 39), they were believed to be foreigners from Tabasco, brought into the country by the Cocom rulers at Mayapan. It now seems possible that these intruders may have affiliated with a Canul name group, which was already numerous in northern Yucatan.

Among the rarer names, which are not listed in our table, is that of the Idzincab ("little brother bee"?). These were probably more numerous than would appear from the sample towns analyzed for this study. At Ebtun they were influential landowners. I have not encountered the name outside Cupul (Roys, 1939, index; 1955). Other names found in Cupul which are very rare or absent in other provinces are Dzahe, Cuxim, Chiclin, Chicmul, Xuluc ("dace"), and Kanxoc ("blackfish"). Still another interesting name is Itza, which I have encountered heretofore in only three of the towns sampled, although examples could no doubt be found elsewhere. Two Itza were at Cusama in Hocabá, 16 at Peto and Pencuyut in Maní, and 33 in the Province of Cupul.

Northern Cupul

Panaba, Titzitz, Mexcitam, and Temul

Panaba ("excavated watering place") is today the northernmost of the Cupul towns. I am unable to identify it in the 1549 tax list, but I surmise that it was included with one of the towns which was later moved to its site. There was a pond or lake of some size there, but the water was yellow, "as though it contained lime" (a manera de encalada) (RY, 2:122). Panaba is mentioned in the Chumayel migration legend (Roys, 1933, p. 70).

Titzitz ("at the tzitz," a plant yielding a blue dye) is believed in Tizimin to be the site now known as Yoktzitz ("beside the tzitz"), about 5 km. southeast of Panaba. It was moved, probably in the 1550's, to the latter town, where we find it in 1582 (DHY, 2:61). In 1565 Titzitz was an encomienda of Alonso de Medina. It had no governor, and the principales were named Tun, May, and Tamay (AGI, Justicia 245).

People at Tizimin think that a site named Mexcitam ("peccary beard") lies about 5 km. east by south from Panaba. In 1565 it belonged to a minor son of Rodrigo Cisneros, and the governor was named Juan Cupul (AGI, Justicia 245). In 1582 (DHY, 2:61) it was reported to be at Panaba, but this may mean only that the people attended church at the latter town. In 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920) we find both Titzitz and Mexcitam recorded as barrios (parcialidades) of Panaba.

The original site of Temul (Maya Timul, "at the mound") has not been identified, but it appears to have been in the region of Panaba. The town was so

named because of a large block or foundation in the town cenote on which an idol was set. An interesting platform, apparently devoted to the same purpose, has recently been discovered in Cenote X-Coton at Mayapan (Smith, 1953, pp. 68-69). In the 1549 tax list is a large encomienda called Temul, belonging to Juan Rodriguez. It had 460 tributaries, or about 2070 inhabitants; but since the population of Temul comprised only about 80 householders thirty years later, I believe the 1549 encomienda of that name included Sucopo, east of Tizimin. Temul is reported to have consisted originally of four towns, the principal one of which bore this name. About 1564 the missionaries are said to have moved the town to Panaba; but the population diminished so rapidly at this site that they were moved again, this time to Mexcitam, which was a healthier place and where we find them living in 1579 (RY, 2:122-23).

Yalsihon and Chuyubchuen

The name Yalsihon is probably referable to the soapberry tree (zihon or zihum). Scholes suggests that it may be identified in the 1549 tax list with an encomienda of Juan de Triana called "Ciho." The latter had 410 tributaries, or about 1845 inhabitants. It was probably near Panaba. The 1582 catalogue of churches (DHY, 2:61) puts it 4 leagues from Tizimin, and in 1688 the Yalsihon people were attending church at Panaba (AGI, Contaduría 920). Yalsihon appears in the Chumayel migration narrative (Roys, 1933, p. 70). In 1565 the governor was a Francisco Cupul (AGI, Justicia 245).

Chuyubchuen, or Chuychuen (Maya Ch'u'yubchuen, or Ch'u'yuchuen), was probably moved in the 1550's to Yalsihon, although it is possible that they were always adjoining towns. In 1582 both were at the same site, and in 1688 they were called different barrios of the same town. In 1565 the governor of Chuyubchuen was Marcos May. It is interesting to find five adults named Itza living there in 1688 (DHY, 2:61; AGI, Contaduría 920, Justicia 245).

Kikil, Yaxcaba, Chochola, Thothila, and Xculucmul

It is difficult to identify Kikil ("place of the rubber trees") in the 1549 tax list, but it seems possible to trace this town and Yaxcaba (not to be confused with another Yaxcaba in the Province of Cupul northeast of Valladolid) back through the succession of encomenderos. In the 1549 list we find two encomiendas named "Xuchbila" ("potable water"?). One of them I am unable to trace further, but the other belonged to Miguel de Tablada and had 200 tributaries, or about 900 inhabitants. Tablada died in 1560 or 1561, and his Indian wife, Isabel, inherited the encomienda. When she died in 1565, Dr. Quijada, the alcalde mayor, granted it under the name of Yaxcaba to his former servant, Luis Diaz. There was some criticism, and it was alleged that Diaz was the brother of a doctor in Seville who had been burned as a Lutheran propagandist (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 2:256, 303, 319-20, 388). Later Diaz died and the encomienda passed, through his widow,

THE PROVINCE OF MAYA

Beatrix de Vergara, to her second husband, Francisco de Cárdenas, who made a report in 1579 as encomendero of Kikil and Yaxcaba (RY, 2:87). In 1572 the governor of Kikil was Francisco Canul. In 1688 some of the barrios, called parcialidades, were listed. Of these, Chochola had once been a different town, but Ichutunich ("among the rocks"), Holtunchen ("well piercing a flat layer of rock"), and Kancaba ("water in red soil") may have been subdivisions of the original town (AGI, Justicia 247, Contaduría 920).

THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL

Beatriz de Vergara, to her second husband, Francisco de Cárdenas, who made a report in 1579 as encomendero of Kikil and Yaxcaba (RY, 2:87). In 1572 the governor of Kikil was Francisco Canul. In 1688 some of the barrios, called parcialidades, were listed. Of these, Chochola had once been a different town, but Ichutunich ("among the rocks"), Holtunchen ("well piercing a flat layer of rock"), and Kancaba ("water in red soil") may have been subdivisions of the original town (AGI, Justicia 247, Contaduría 920).

The encomendero of Kikil tells us (RY, 2:85-86): "This town was settled by people who were dwelling among the Cupuls; and in a year when the locusts had destroyed their fields and gardens certain barrios left their lands and went to this site of Yaxcaba, as it was fertile land. They brought along as their leader Ah Ix Hau, a warlike person. ... After the death of this lord they were governed by native tyrants of the same town, and not by natural lords. ... They were subject to the Cupul who resided at Huebilchen, of which these were natives. They paid a tribute of maize and certain stones which were their money; and it is not known how much it was in former times." I cannot locate Yaxcaba, nor can I identify "Huebilchen," which is evidently a garbled name. Possibly the latter was intended for Chuyubchuen.

Cárdenas goes on to tell us that the "Franciscan friars moved them from this town of Yaxcaba, where they had become accustomed to reside, and brought them to where they are at present [at Kikil], so that they might be near the monastery [at Tizimin]." In 1565, as we have seen, the place was called Yaxcaba. In this year the governor was Francisco Puc, and the principales were named Ake, Pot, and Ku (AGI, Justicia 245).

Chochola (Maya Ch'och'ola, "salt water") still appears on the modern maps as the name of a hacienda northeast of Tizimin. During the civil congregation the people were moved to Kikil, but Chochola continued to be recorded as a separate town until after 1656 (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20). In 1565 the governor was Juan Yam; and in 1579 Juan Farfán, who was the encomendero and one of the old conquerors, wrote a full and valuable account of the customs, wars, government, and religious ceremonies of his subjects in pre-Spanish times (AGI, Justicia 245; RY, 2:176-95).

Thothila ("water of the thoth frogs") appears in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of [Martín?] de Velasco with 210 tributaries, or about 945 inhabitants. It was probably moved to Kikil, where we find it listed in 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920) as a hacienda somewhere in that region, which was subject to the Kikil church.

Culucmul, or Xculucmul ("site of the mound"), is recorded in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of [Alvaro] Osorio with 140 tributaries, or a total population of about 630. I can find no further record of a town of this name, but Xculucmul still appears on the modern maps as a hacienda a short distance north of Chochola.

Suquila and Yokche

The Maya name of Suquila has been given as Tzucila (Espinosa, ca. 1910), but I have found only the modern form in the colonial manuscripts, and I am inclined to reconstruct it as Suucilha ("water by the zuuc grass"). The first mention I have found of the name is in the 1582 catalogue of churches (DHY, 2:61), but there are some grounds for believing that Suquila and Mexcitam near Panaba are referable to the encomienda called "Yxpona" in the 1549 tax list. The last belonged to Rodrigo de Cisneros, who also held "Axcaba" at that time. "Yxpona" had 250 tributaries, or about 1125 inhabitants. "Axcaba" can be identified as one of the adjoining towns of Yaxcaba and Tahmuy not far north of Valladolid. Consequently I am inclined to trace Suquila and Mexcitam in the north to the "Yxpona" encomienda. In 1565 and 1583 Cisneros' son Rodrigo was recorded as encomendero of Suquila, Mexcitam, Tahmuy, and Yaxcaba (AGI, Justicia 245; Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661). The only account I have found of the prominent families of Suquila is in a matrícula of 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920), where the local Indian hidalgos are listed. They were Pedro, Juan, Petrona, and María Balam, Diego and Mateo Ku, and Bartolina Canche.

Yokche ("above the chec," a cenote fish) appears in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of Francisco Hernández with 80 tributaries, or a total population of about 360 inhabitants. Early in colonial times the people were moved to the site of Suquila, where in 1582 (DHY, 2:61) it was still a separate municipality, but in 1688 it was simply a ward, or barrio, of Suquila. In 1565 the governor of Yokche was Pedro Pox, a rare name, and the principales were named Dzul, Chan, and Huh (AGI, Justicia 245). The original site was evidently at what is now Hacienda Yokche, a short distance north of Suquila.

Tizimin, Dzonotchuil, Tixcacauche, and Tecay

The usual name of Tizimin (Maya Titzimin) means "place of the tapir," but the sixteenth-century natives explained that originally it was "Tatzimin," or "tapir dung," because of what the first settlers had found at a watering place there. In his report of 1579 the encomendero, Diego de Burgos Cansino, seems to trace the people of the town back to a place called "Çismopo" (Dzitmop, "place of the wine palm"), the capital of six other towns, all of which were later united (RY, 2:165). Until the late sixteenth century Tizimin was also frequently called Boxchen ("well of the box fish"?), and under this name we find it in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of Sebastián de Burgos with 210 tributaries, or about 945 inhabitants. In 1565 the governor was Melchor Xol, and in 1583 Juan Huchim occupied the position (AGI, Justicia 245; Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Civil 661). The following three towns were moved to the site during the civil congregation. Except for Xculucmul, which may have formed a part of one of them, we do not know their original locations, but they were presumably in the neighborhood of Tizimin, where we still find them in 1582 and 1656 (DHY, 2:61; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 19).

THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL

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THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL

Dzonotchuil ("cenote of the Chuil family") is sometimes simply recorded as Dzonot or Cenote, but in one document it seems to be called "Tituz" and "Tiz- tuyenot" (AGI, Justicia 245). In the 1549 tax list it appears as an encomienda of Diego de Ayala named "Çenot" and having 330 tributaries, or a population of about 1485. In 1565 Juan Chuil was recorded as governor, and in 1583 as governor and cacique; but he must have lived at Calotmul at one time, for his son, Gonzalo Chuil, aged 40 in 1583, reported that town as his birthplace (AGI, Justicia 245; Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661). A later encomendero, Giraldo Díaz de Alpuche, made an excellent report of the Indians of the town in 1579 (RY, 2:204-23), and he tells us that Dzonot meant "something deep," although it usually means simply a cenote. He also states that the town had once contained 600 married men, not counting the boys and bachelors, although there were now only 200 tributaries.

Tixcacauche (literally "at the cacao tree," but meaning Alseis yucatanensis) Standl., which is not of the cacao family) is apparently referable to an encomienda of Juan López de Recalde in the 1549 tax list, here written "Yxcacauche." It had 360 tributaries, or about 1620 inhabitants. In 1583 Juan's son, Diego López de Recalde, reported that he had recently inherited Tixcacauche from his father. Diego also owned Chuyubchuen and half of Cenotillo at this time. The governor of Tixcacauche in 1565 was Francisco Cupul, and in 1583 Juan Canche (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661; AGI, Justicia 245). Since the 1549 tax list shows that "Yxcacauche" paid a tribute of 8 fanegas of salt, it seems possible that the encomienda may have included some town in Chikinchel.

Tecay (Maya Ticay, "place of the fish") was named for the fish in a cenote at the original site. In 1579 and 1583 it was recorded as a split encomienda belonging to Diego Osorio and his nephew, Juan Ruiz Darce. Each reported that he had inherited his share from his father, so I infer that their towns were referable to the encomiendas in the 1549 list belonging to the two fathers. In the latter document Alvaro Osorio owned "Paçaluchen" with 200 tributaries and Xculucmul with 140 tributaries; Martín Ruiz Darce had Dzitcacauche with 150 tributaries and Sodzil with 150 tributaries. Xculucmul has already been discussed, and Sodzil will receive consideration below. Osorio stated in 1579 that these encomiendas had contained 600 tributaries at the time of the conquest, but the number had now shrunk to 200 (RY, 2:88-89, 149-50). In 1583 the governor of Tecay was Pablo Mis (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661).

Sucopo and Sodzil

Sucopo (Maya Tzucop, literally "grove of custard apple") was probably a part of the encomienda recorded as Temul in the 1549 tax list, since the latter was a large encomienda of 460 tributaries and the only one belonging to Juan Rodríguez, and we find him as encomendero of Sucopo in 1565. At this time the governor of the latter town was Miguel Chuc (AGI, Justicia 245). In 1583 the cacique of Sucopo was reported to be Juan "Çuco" (Tzuc?), and the principales

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

were Juan Pech and Francisco Dzul (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661). In his report of Sucopo (RY, 2:99) Rodríguez tells us his encomienda originally consisted of five towns, which the friars later assembled in one.

Sodzil ("place of the bats") was said to take its name from the many bats infesting a cave cenote at the site (RY, 2:90). This may be the Sodzil where Katun 5 Ahau was established, although there was another site of that name at or near Motul (Roys, 1933, pp. 86, 132). In the 1549 list we find Sodzil as the name of an encomienda of Martín Ruiz [Darce] with 150 tributaries, or about 675 inhabitants. In 1565 the governor was Francisco Batún (AGI, Justicia 245). Sodzil was still a town about the end of the eighteenth century (Tomás López, 1801). In 1688 it had 104 taxpayers of both sexes, or a population of about 234. On a later map (García Cubas, 1884) we find it only as the name of a hacienda. Informants at Colonia Yucatán and the bus driver on the Sucopo highway describe Sodzil as a site with a ruined church and a large Maya pyramid, located about 9 km. west of Tizimin and 1.5 km. south of the highway.

Cogolludo (bk. 4, ch. 20) and the 1688 matrícula tell of a town named Komilchen ("well in the hollow") which is apparently in this immediate neighborhood, but I can find no mention of it in the sixteenth century.

Tepop and Tixconti

When Captain Montejo the nephew left Tecoh in Ah Kin Chel in 1542 to conquer northeastern Yucatan, he crossed the Cupul border and went first to Tepop ("at the rushes"), where he stopped for a month to reconnoiter before going on (RY, 2:6-7; Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 224-25). In view of its location, this can hardly be other than the site of the present Hacienda Pop, but I find nothing more about any place of this name.

From the same sources we learn that the expedition moved from Tepop to "Ixconti," which is said to be a Cupul town, and where a number of Chikinchel dignitaries came to offer peace. After remaining here for some time, the Spaniards went on to Chauaca in Chikinchel. "Ixconti" appears in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of [Alonso de] Medina with 360 tributaries, or about 1620 inhabitants, but I do not find the name again in any of the records I have seen. Molina Solís (1896, p. 667) suggests that it was at Itzimte near Tunkas, which I doubt. Not only would this be far off the route from Tecoh in Ah Kin Chel to Chauaca, but one of the items of tribute paid by Ixconti consisted of 8 fanegas of salt, so I believe it must have been in northern Cupul and much nearer the sea. Apparently not all the Cupul towns were excluded from the salt beds in the 1540's. In 1549 Medina also owned Tixol, afterward moved to Espita, and "Talinoli," with 290 tributaries, which I am unable to identify.

Tunkas, Kuxbila, and Sahcaba

Tunkas was moved, presumably from where it now is, to Tecoh during the civil congregation, where we find it in 1565. At this time it was an encomienda

THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL

of Francisco de Palomo, who also owned Uitzil, and the governor was Juan Masun ("Maçin") (Roys, 1933, p. 73; AGI, Justicia 245). In 1656 we find it at its present location (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 19).

Kuxbila ("water by the annatto tree") is, like Tunkas, mentioned in the Chumayel migration legend. The 1545 survey of the Province of Sotuta states that Nachi Cocom conferred with Nahau Cupul at his home in this town, which was north of the Sotuta-Cupul frontier, and apparently not very far from Cauaca (Roys, 1939, p. 427). Under the name of "Cuxbil" it appears in the 1549 tax list as a very large encomienda belonging to Hernando de Bracamonte and having 620 tributaries, or about 2790 inhabitants. Sahcaba was no doubt a part of this encomienda, but the latter must have included one or more other towns. The latest mention I find of the name Kuxbila is in the 1582 catalogue of churches, when the people were living at Tecoh (DHY, 2:58).

Sahcaba ("water by the sahcab pit") first appears in a document of 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245), when the people were living at Tecoh. At this time, I suspect, Sahcaba was simply another name for Kuxbila. It was then an encomienda of Francisco de Bracamonte, who was listed as the owner of Kuxbila in 1549, and the governor was Agustín Pot. By 1656 the people of Sahcaba had been moved to Tunkas, which was now at, or very near, its present site (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

Dzitas, Bolonkauil, and Cenotillo

Dzitas (Maya Dzithas, "single mamey tree") appears to have been part of an encomienda in the 1549 list called Bolonkauil, which belonged to Juan Cano. It had 210 tributaries, or a population of 945 all together. The Chumayel migration legend (Roys, 1933, p. 73) puts Bolonkauil near Dzitas, but no site named Bolonkauil is known in the region today. In 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245) a Juan Cupul was reported as governor of Dzitas. According to a report by Cano in 1579, the people of Bolonkauil and some other people of this encomienda were deported to Tinum and Temoson, but in 1582 we seem to find Dzitas where it is now (RY, 2:132; DHY, 2:61).

In the sixteenth century the name Cenotillo would indicate, not a small cenote, but the less important of two towns named Dzonot, or Cenote. Here the native name was Dzonot, but the town was also called Cenote, Cenotepip, Cenote-Tepip, and on one occasion Muxupip. Since there is still a hacienda named Pip a short distance north of Cenotillo, I surmise that it was formerly a town which was merged with Dzonot. In 1583 (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661) Cenotillo was a split encomienda belonging to Diego de Burgos and Diego López de Recalde, so I believe it is referable to those of their respective fathers in the 1549 list. The latter encomiendas were named for towns in the north, except Cacalchen near Kanxoc.

Espita, Tixol, and Tzabcanul

The name of Espita (Maya Tixppitah) does not appear in the 1549 tax list, but in 1565 we find it as an encomienda of Luis de Baeza, so it may well be identified as one of his 1549 encomiendas. These were Zama on the east coast and "Cuytum" (Maya Suytun, "immovable rock"); and I am somewhat inclined to identify it with the latter. The encomienda called "Cuytum" had only 160 tributaries, or about 477 inhabitants. In 1565 the governor of Espita was Francisco Dzib (AGI, Justicia 245).

Tixol appears in the 1549 list as an encomienda of [Alonso de] Medina with 300 tributaries, or a population of about 1350. In a 1565 document it was recorded as "Axol." Medina was still encomendero, and the governor was Juan Mis. I do not know whether Tixol had always been near the site of Espita, or whether it was moved there by the missionaries; but in 1583 it was "a town which is called Texol at Pespita" (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661). The 1582 catalogue of churches (DHY, 2:61) evidently considered Tixol a part of the town of Espita, for it does not mention it.

We know little about Tzabcanul (possibly a combination of the patronymics Tzab and Canul), except that it was at the site of Espita in 1582 and 1656 (DHY, 2:61; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20). It was a separate municipality, and we also have the names of the local officials there between 1657 and 1666 (AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 318B, pza. 58).

Calotmul, Yocbos, Tahcabo, and Nabalam

Calotmul ("twin mounds") may have been the most powerful town in northern Cupul at the time of the conquest, for the Spaniards also ascribed the name to a "province." In 1543, only a few days after the foundation of a villa at Chauaca, a letter to the Crown stated that the captain general "dispatched a captain to the province of Chikinchel and another to the province of Calotmul, where they had many battles, until by force of arms they gained victory" (RY, 2:233).

The name Calotmul does not appear in the 1549 tax list, but in 1565 Marcos de Ayala was recorded as its encomendero. In 1549 Ayala's two encomiendas were a small one called Yocbos and a rather large one named "Tachay"; so it seems likely that Calotmul was at least a part of the latter. Tachay had 620 tributaries, or a population of about 2790. In 1565 Pablo "Tos" (Tus) was reported to be alcalde "of the town and province of Calotmul" (AGI, Justicia 245). In 1583 (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661) the son, aged 40, of Don Juan Chuil, cacique of Dzonotchuil at Tizimin, testified that he was born at Calotmul. This suggests that the Chuil family may have been prominent at Calotmul in 1543. This Calotmul in Cupul is not to be confused with the town of the same name in the Province of Maní.

Yocbos (probably Maya Yokbos, "above the bubbling spring") is reported

THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL

in the 1549 list as an encomienda of Marcos de Ayala with 110 tributaries, or about 495 inhabitants. The people were moved apparently to the site of Calotmul, where Yocbos was still listed as a separate town in 1582 (DHY, 2:61).

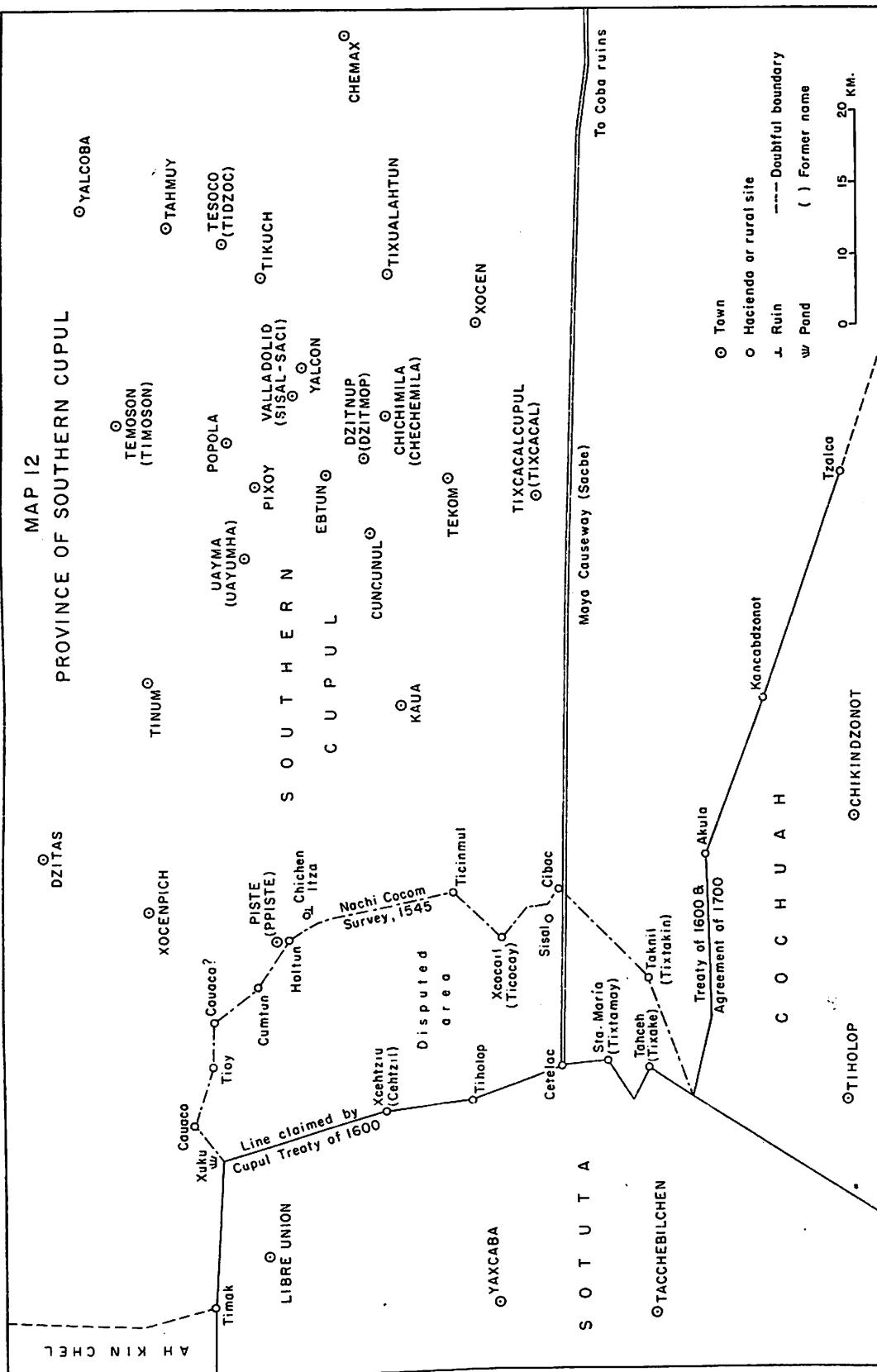
Tahcabo (Maya Tahcab) is hard to trace. It belonged to Juan de Contreras in 1565, and in 1549 it may have been included either with Nabalam or with his unidentified encomienda called "Enteçud" (en Tesul?). His son Diego reported (RY, 2:53-54; Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, p. 13) that in pre-Spanish times Tahcabo and Nabalam were subject to Namon Cupul, ruler of Ekbalam, who sent people to these towns to collect a tribute of maize, turkey hens, fish, cotton, and cotton cloth. The fish must have been from cenotes. In 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245) Tahcabo probably consisted of two towns, for there were then two governors, Juan Tun and Juan Panti.

Nabalam ("house of the jaguar") was listed in 1549 as an encomienda of Juan de Contreras with 320 tributaries, or about 1440 persons all together. In 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245) the governor was Pedro Cupul, and the principales were named Cupul, Puc, Ho, Toc, and Haban (Abnal). As we have seen, in pre-Spanish times the town was subject to the ruler of Ekbalam.

Ekbalam, Kunuku, and Yalcoba

Ekbalam ("black jaguar") does not appear on the 1549 list, but I believe that at that time it was a part of the encomienda written "Hunycu" in this list, which belonged to Juan Gutiérrez Picón (or Pizón). In any case, in his account of Ekbalam in 1579 (RY, 2:158) Gutiérrez Picón tells us that his encomienda consisted of "Ekbalam, the head town (cabecera), with five [other] towns, four of which were depopulated by the friars." I have come to believe that the town now called Kunuku was the one that was left, and that one of the four that were moved was "Quechemas" (Cehchemax?), which we find near the Sisal convent at Valladolid about 1555 or 1556 (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:xxii-xxiii).

In 1579 Gutiérrez Picón (RY, 2:159-62) described the imposing ruins and gave an account of the history of Ekbalam. The town was so named after a "great lord," who was also called cochcalualan, said to mean "lord over all." He was a sorcerer and came "from the east with a considerable number of people who were valiant people and genteel and who were chaste." After forty years, when they had become powerful, this lord and his captains became wicked and oppressive, demanding excessive tribute, but the common people killed them. Ekbalam was succeeded by Heblaychac, who was of his lineage; and when in course of time he was about to die, he had himself deified and had an image of himself made. When these "Ekbalamists" finally died out, the people took as their ruler a Cupul, who was a very renowned lord and governed justly for a long time. They cultivated a farm for him and kept his house in repair. This lord warred with Yalcoba and other towns which were now (in 1579) depopulated, and his captives were enslaved or sacrificed. The descendants of this great Cupul still governed the town, for Juan Cupul was governor and Alonso Cupul was one of his



THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL
principal officials (cf. Tozzer, 1941, p. 60). As we have seen in the discussion of Tahcab, one of the last pre-Spanish rulers of Ekbalam was Namon Cupul, who held Tahcab and Nabalam in subjection.

Kunuku, or Hunuku (Maya Hunabku), was recorded in the 1549 list as an encomienda of Juan Gutiérrez [Picón] with 550 tributaries, or about 2475 inhabitants. I can find no name of a governor in 1565, but a Juan Cupul was one of the principales (AGI, Justicia 245). Here the present church is set on a platform accessible by a stone stairway, presumably the remains of a Maya substructure (Roys, 1952, p. 173).

The name of Yalcoba might be a diminutive of Coba (a bird like a pheasant and a familiar Maya patronymic). If so, it is interesting to speculate whether it was so named at a time when the ruined site of Coba in the uninhabited forest to the east was still a center of population. In 1565 the governor was a Pedro Cupul, and the principales were named Uicab, Ku, Pol, and Haban (AGI, Justicia 245). At this time it belonged to Alonso de Medina, who appears in the 1549 list as encamendero of Tixconti, Tixol, and "Talinoli." Of the last we know little except that it had 290 tributaries.

Southern Cupul

Chichen Itza

The accounts of Montejo the son, who established for a time a Spanish city at Chichen Itza (Chich'en Itza, "the mouth of the well of the Itza") in 1532-33, imply that he found a town at the site. Although there is no doubt that he was received there by the local ruler, Naobon Cupul, Brinton's translation of the Pech chronicle (1882, p. 228), "they stopped at the house of Captain Cupul," is an unfortunate interpretation. Martínez H. (1926, pp. 17-18) translates the same words in a parallel passage as "they killed Naobon Cupul." The neighboring towns of Xocenpich and Piste do not seem to have existed in conquest times. The region abounds in cenotes and hollows in which cacao could be grown (Roys, 1939, p. 5), and a large population was reported in the region. Nevertheless, Chichen Itza must have been a small town, although it was evidently a powerful one. The people of Sodzil near Tizimin later related (RY, 2:150) that in heathen times they obeyed and paid a tribute of red beads, green stones, maize, produce, and turkey hens to a lord named Naobon Cupul, who resided at Chichen Itza 18 leagues distant. In 1588, Ciudad Real (1873, 2:404) reported that Chichen Itza was the site of a cattle ranch, and the handsome stone buildings "lay in fields and pastures (*campos y dehesas*)."

Tinum and Temoson

Tinum ("at the cactus") belonged in 1565 and 1579 to Juan Cano, one of the old conquerors. The encomienda is apparently referable partly to the Bolonkauil

encomienda in the 1549 list, already discussed, and possibly also to Cano's unidentified encomienda called "Cacalud" and "Cacalut" in that list. The latter had 180 tributaries, or about 990 persons all together. In 1565 no governor was named, possibly because he was involved in the idolatry investigation that was going on at Tinum at that time. The principales, who seem unusually numerous, were named Kantun, Canche, Ho, Cob, Ek, Cauich, and Chim.

Temoson (Maya Timoson, "at the whirlwind") seems a strange name for a town. In 1565 it was a joint encomienda of Juan Cano and Andrés González de Benavides, so it appears to be referable partly to Cano's two encomiendas in the 1549 list and partly to Benavides' half of the Temoson encomienda, which I am unable to trace back to the original grant. In 1565 the governor of Temoson was Francisco Cen (AGI, Justicia 245).

Uayma, Pixoy, and Popola

Uayma (Maya Uayumha, "water by the guayo tree," *Talisia olivaeformis* Rdlk.) was reported in 1579 by the encomendero, Juan de Vellido (RY, 2:79-80), to have had 300 tributaries (or about 1350 inhabitants) when it was first granted to him, about 1544. The actual town was at its present site, but most of the people were living in the countryside from 1 to 2 leagues distant. Even before the civil congregation the population was decreasing rapidly, for the 1549 tax list shows only 200 tributaries. In 1565 the governor was Pedro Camal, of a lineage that was also important at Sisal, adjoining Valladolid. By 1579 the population had shrunk to 120 tributaries. At this time there were still some high temple pyramids in the town.

Pixoy (the name of *Guazuma ulmifolia* Lam.) was reported to be named for a large pixoy tree which stood over the town cenote. The town does not appear under this name in the 1549 tax list, but it might be referable to an encomienda called "Cocoyz" (Cocuitz?) in that document. The latter encomienda belonged to Gaspar González and had 112 tributaries, or a population of about 504 inhabitants. In 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245) we find Pixoy belonging to a minor son of Gaspar González; and in 1579 Estéban González Najera, apparently this son, wrote a report on the town (RY, 2:139-41). He tells us that in former times Pixoy had had 300 tributaries and now there were not over 100; so it seems obvious that if Pixoy is referable to Cocuitz, the population was recruited from some other source after 1549. In pre-Spanish times the town was subject to a cacique, or batab, named Nadzul Cupul, and one wonders whether he was the dignitary of that name who resided at Valladolid. In 1565 the governor was Melchor Cupul.

Popola ("water by the rushes") was listed in 1549 as an encomienda of Francisco de Cieza, with 430 tributaries, or about 1935 inhabitants. In 1579 a later encomendero, who had married Cieza's widow, reported (RY, 2:42-46) that originally the town had been a sort of capital with thirteen other villages subject to it; but all the houses of the latter had been burned by the friars, and

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THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL

the people concentrated at Popola. They were formerly subject to a certain Namy Cupul, who was succeeded by "Achichuen" Cupul, and the latter by a Nadzul Cupul. The last, who was baptized Juan Cupul, was still governor in 1565. Both the people of Popola and those of the subject villages paid a moderate tribute to the ruler, and the report emphasizes the pomp and ostentatious respect with which he was treated. These lords warred with the people of Sotuta and apparently also with those of Chauaca (written "Noata").

Valladolid and Sisal

The Villa of Valladolid was moved from Chauaca in 1544 to a native town variously called Saci (an agave, the source of henequen fiber) and Sacial, named for Ah Sacial, which was the principal idol there. The name of the adjoining town of Sisal ("the freshness and shade made by great trees") was explained by the natives as meaning a "lake or pool (lago) of cold water." It probably referred to the cenote, now in the convent grounds and covered over. Both towns are comprised in the 1549 tax list by an encomienda called "Cique," a garbled form of Saci. It belonged to Baltasar Gallego de Montenegro and had 340 tributaries, or about 1530 inhabitants, at this time. Originally Sisal had four subject villages, and we are told that at one time it had 500 "male Indians," which would imply a population of 2250. I believe, however, that this last figure applied to the entire encomienda and included both towns.

Valladolid has the most beautiful cave cenote I recall seeing in Yucatan; and Saci was one of the few towns in the interior where the Spanish colonists described a pyramid temple in use at the time of the conquest. This great edifice and other Maya substructures furnished stone to build the Spanish villa and the enormous convent at Sisal (Roys, 1952, pp. 137, 147). Saci was especially noted for its powerful war chief, named Nacahun Noh, who was widely feared. The dignitaries of various towns, including those of the important Idzincab lineage prominent in the region of Tizimin, were reported (RY, 2:5) to have presented him with valuable red-shell beads, "sending to learn of this captain and lord whether he was angry with them or wished to make war on them." The principal lord at Saci, presumably the batab, was Ah Tzuc Cupul, for whom the people cultivated a field of maize, beans, chile, and cotton, and they made him gifts of game, turkey hens, and red-shell beads. The people of Dzitup, as we shall see, said they had been subject to a batab named Nadzul Cupul, who resided where the Villa of Valladolid was founded (RY, 2:23, 129). This discrepancy may be accounted for by assuming either that Nadzul Cupul was the naal (maternal) name of a man whose boy name was Ah Tzuc Cupul, or that one of them preceded the other in time.

The 1579 report of Sisal (RY, 2:201-3) also speaks highly of the cacique of this town. It states that he was the "capitán general of all this province," but perhaps it means only that particular region. This was Batab Camal, the title name of a leader who was afterward baptized Juan Camal. After the conquest

"they made him governor of all this province [probably meaning only the immediate district in this case], and such he was until he died and left a son in his place, who is called Juan Camal like the father." Another important family, either of Sisal or of some neighboring town, was that of the noble Don Juan Kauil, who figures in the Valladolid lawsuit of 1618 (Brinton, 1882, pp. 114-18). This family was descended from Kukum Cupul, Sacalpuc (a deified lineage ancestor), and other prominent lords who had come from Mexico to found towns on the east coast of Yucatan and at Chichen Itza. (Cf. Roys, 1933, p. 147; 1943, pp. 78, 93.)

Tikuch and Tesoco

Tikuch ("place of the vulture") has sometimes been written Kuche ("cedar"), and I have found both forms in Maya manuscripts (Roys, 1933, p. 74; AGI, Contaduría 920). It appears in the 1549 list as an encomienda of Blas González with 180 tributaries, or a population of about 810, but the latter had shrunk to about 360 in 1579. González (RY, 2:116) tells us that "they had as their lord a cacique called Naobon Cupul, who was lord of all that province, [and] whom all the natives recognized as such, giving him tribute." The tribute included cotton cloth and red-shell beads, and the people also cultivated a field for him. This sounds like the Naobon Cupul of whom we have read in connection with Chichen Itza, but it may possibly have been a brother. In 1565 the governor of Tikuch was Marcos Cupul, and the principales were named Pot, Nauat, Dzib, and Balam (AGI, Justicia 245).

Tesoco (Maya Tidzoc) is mentioned in the Chumayel migration legend (Roys, 1933, p. 72), and in 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245) it is recorded as an encomienda of Alvaro Osorio, who has been discussed in connection with the town of Tecay at Tizimin. He seems to have shared the encomienda with Martín Ruiz Darce. At this time the governor was a Pedro Cupul. (Cf. RY, 2:88-92.)

Tahmuy, Yaxcaba, and Chemax

Tahmuy ("place of the buck rabbit"?), only recently revived as a town, has been located from the map of Tomás López (1801). I do not know when it went out of existence as a town. The name was recorded in 1565 as the encomienda of a minor son of Rodrigo Cisneros, also named Rodrigo; both these men have been discussed in connection with Suquila. Since the son was also cited in 1583 as encomendero of Yaxcaba at the site of Tahmuy (Archivo General de la Nación Méjico, Civil 661), it would seem to follow that both properties were included in the encomienda called "Axcaba" in the 1549 tax list. The latter had 120 tributaries, or about 540 inhabitants, at this time. In 1565 the governor was Diego Na (AGI, Justicia 245).

The latest record I have found of this Yaxcaba, the third town of the name to be found in the colonial records, is in a Maya document of 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920). Here we find the names of about 90 taxpayers of both sexes, at least 18 of whom are named Na.

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THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL

Chemax is hard to identify in the 1549 tax list. At the time of the great uprising of 1546 two boys named Cansino were at Chemax "studying and learning their letters in the company of a conqueror, who was teaching them and was named Juan López de Mena" (RY, 2:21). At the particular time when they were caught and murdered, Mena was on his encomienda, called Pistemax, or Hemax, and managed to escape (Cogolludo, bk. 5, ch. 2). The accounts of the rebellion indicate that Pistemax was near Chemax. In 1565 Mena was recorded as encomendero of Chemax, and I am inclined to believe that his encomienda, called "Cixmo" in the 1549 list, included both Pistemax and Chemax. "Cixmo" had 310 tributaries in 1549, or a population of about 1400, which must have been much less than before the uprising, during which a great number of Indians either lost their lives or fled to the forests never to return (Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 247, 251). In a tax list for 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920) the governor is Don Antonio Chuc. Here is a sprinkling of such interesting names as Xiu and Kanxoc ("blackfish"). The latter is absent from the west and rare in the east of Yucatan. Among the legible names are 7 Cupul, of whom 5 were tax-free hidalgos. The principal noble Indian family, apparently, bore the name Herrera, of whom there were 10, though Spanish names are rarely found in such lists. Here, and usually elsewhere, the resident Spaniards, mestizos, and colored people, if any, are listed separately.

Kaua and Ebtun

Kaua and Ebtun ("stone stairs") were closely associated in colonial times, but it is hard to tell whether the common interest goes back to pre-Spanish times, or whether it was because the civil congregation settled the people of scattered hamlets somewhat indiscriminately in the two towns. In any case they jointly engaged in land litigation throughout most of the colonial period with a similar group of towns composed of Cuncunul, Tekom, and Tixcacalcupul. Any attempt to give here an account of the hamlets which were settled in these towns would be repetitious, for a detailed study of the matter has already been published (Roys, 1939, *passim*). In a general way, the lands claimed by Kaua and Ebtun covered a rude triangle, with its points at Ebtun, the west end of the Yaxuna-Coba causeway, and a site north by west of the latter not far north of the present highway to Chichen Itza. It should be remembered, however, that the Yaxcaba people of the Province of Sotuta encroached almost as far as Chichen Itza in the north and to a point not far south of Chan Kom farther south. There can be little doubt that this dispute went back to pre-Spanish times.

Kaua and Ebtun are almost certainly referable to an encomienda in the 1549 tax list designated as "Caba" and belonging to Esteban Ginovés, with 210 tributaries or about 945 inhabitants. This seems too little for the two towns, and I suggest that it was a split encomienda, and that the other part was another 1549 item, also called "Caba," belonging to [Martín] Velasco, who also owned Thothila in the north. The latter encomienda had 140 tributaries, or about 630 persons all together. The two items, with a total population of about 1575, would seem about

right for that time. I can find nothing for Kaua in 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245), but in this year Esteban Ginovés and Juan de la Cruz were recorded as joint encomenderos of Ebtun, and later of both Ebtun and Kaua. In 1565 a Juan Cupul was governor of Ebtun, but from 1600 until the end of the colonial period no Cupul appears in the Ebtun archives, nor, so far as we know, at Kaua. In Ebtun the Noh, Idzincab, Camal, Dzul, and Nauat families were prominent landowners, and members of the last three were specifically designated as nobles (*Maya almehen*). At Kaua, Don Alonso May was governor and Don Juan Chi ex-governor in 1600 (Roys, 1939, pp. 48, 49, 87).

Cuncunul, Tekom, and Tixcacalcupul

In colonial times these three towns were associated in much the same way as Kaua and Ebtun. Their lands lay between those of the latter group and the Cupul-Cochuah border. Cuncunul, Tekom, and Tixcacalcupul belonged in 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245) to Juan de Cárdenas the elder; and since he seems to have succeeded to all the encomiendas of Juan de Triana in the 1549 list, I would identify these three with Triana's encomienda in that list called "Tecon." There is one complication, however. The "Tecon" encomienda is assessed 10 fanegas of salt, which was impossible for any of these three Cupul towns to produce. Triana also held "Boxchen," apparently on the east coast, and I believe the salt item belonged there. "Tecon" had 480 tributaries, or about 2160 inhabitants, which seems a rather small population. The 1549 list, however, was compiled before the civil congregation in the early 1550's, and the people of a large number of hamlets, afterward concentrated in the three towns, may not have been counted in 1549. A detailed account of these hamlets and the names of many of their inhabitants have already been published (Roys, 1939, pp. 73-95).

In 1565 a Don Juan Xiu was recorded as governor of Cuncunul, the only governor of that name that I have found outside the Province of Mani; and the principales were named May, Xiu, Chi, and Ucan. There was, however, an important Cupul family there. Don Fabián Cupul was governor in 1600, Don Cristóbal Cupul held the position in 1632, and a Don Francisco Cupul was mentioned as ex-governor in 1717 (Roys, 1939, pp. 91, 149, 243). The Tun family was also wealthy and important during the last half of the seventeenth century. At this time a cacique named Don Lucas Tun was taking advantage of the misfortunes of his fellow townsmen to acquire land, and he may well be the Don Lucas Tun who was governor of the town of Chichen Itza from 1659 to 1666 (Roys, 1939, pp. 24-26).

The encomienda named for Tekom (Maya Tikom, "at the hollow") in the 1549 list has already been discussed. In the 1565 documents (AGI, Justicia 245) no governor is mentioned, but the principales are named Canche, Chim, Cupul, Cocom, Batun, and Nal. In 1579 (RY, 2:174) the encomendero explained the name as being that of an idol in the town, which seems to be an error. In 1600 the governor was Juan Dzul, and among the later governors were two more Dzul, two

THE PROVINCE OF CUPUL

Kauil, a Batun, and a May. Batun is not a very rare name in Yucatan, but few of them have been found as governors of towns (Roys, 1939, pp. 50, 73).

Although the name Tixcacalcupul appears on the Tomás López map of 1801, in colonial times the town was almost always called simply Tixcacal. In 1565 the governor was Juan Kauil, and the principales were named Puc, Chim, Xiu, and Nauat. Before the civil congregation Ah Ceh Xiu and Napuc Xiu were living at a site named Tidzadz, apparently in the southeastern part of the province (Roys, 1939, pp. 73-79), but in 1600 their descendants were living at Tixcacalcupul. At this time the governor of the town was Pablo Cupul. There is still a Xiu family at Tixcacalcupul. A tax document of 1688 (AGI, Contaduría 920) mentions separately a ward (*parcialidad*) named Tahtun with a population of 64 married persons of both sexes, as compared with about 260 in Tixcacalcupul proper at that time.

Dzitnup, Chichimila, Chibxul, and Yalcon

The name Dzitnup seems to date only from the seventeenth century. Before that the town was properly called Dzitmop ("single wine palm"), and was said to be so named for a cocoyol palm growing above the town cenote. The name, however, is often garbled in the records and spelled Çismopo. In pre-Spanish times the town was subject to a Nadzul Cupul, who lived at the foot of the temple pyramid in Saci (Valladolid) (RY, 2:128-29). In the 1549 tax list it appears as the only encomienda of Andrés González de Benavides at that time, although later we find his son owning others. In 1549 Dzitnup had only 110 tributaries, or about 500 inhabitants. In 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245) the governor was Andrés Uc. In the eighteenth century we read of two prominent landholders of Dzitnup, Don Antonio Pat and "the noble Marcos Mo" (Roys, 1939, p. 291).

Chichimila (Maya Chechemila, "water by the poisonwood") is named in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of Juan de Urrutia. At this time it had 160 tributaries, or about 720 persons all together. In 1565 Lorenzo Ek was governor (AGI, Justicia 245). In 1609 it became a convent town of some importance (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

I have found no record of the original site of Chibxul, but in 1565 it was an encomienda of Alonso de Villanueva and situated at the site of Chichimila. The governor was then Don Diego Camal, of a lineage prominent at Sisal and Ebtun; the principales were named Cauich and Be (AGI, Justicia 245). Villanueva appears in the 1549 list with two encomiendas. One, called Tebatun, was in the Province of Tases, but the other, named "Çenput," is difficult to trace, at least under that name. I surmise that the latter was the same as Chibxul. Çenput had 190 tributaries in 1549, or about 855 inhabitants. Chibxul was still listed in 1688 as a separate town with a population as large as that of Dzitnup (AGI, Contaduría 920).

Yalcon was listed, under the name "Yel," in 1549 as an encomienda of Lucas Pimentel with 109 tributaries, or a total population of about 490. In 1579 the cacique was Don Lorenzo "Xoe," probably either Xoc or Xol. By this time

Yalcon had shrunk to a quarter of its former size, but the town still maintains its existence (RY, 2:169-70).

Tixualah tun, Kanxoc, Kauan, Cacalchen, and Xocen

Tixualah tun ("at the erected stone"?") was reported to mean "place where they set one worked stone above another, so that this town was like the archive of Simancas among us" (Sánchez de Aguilar, 1937, pp. 143-44). It appears in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of Giraldo Díaz de Alpuche, with 170 tributaries, or about 765 inhabitants. In 1565 Bernaldo Sánchez owned it, and the principales were named Chan, Kanxoc, and Canche.

It is hard to identify Kanxoc ("blackfish") and Kauan in the 1549 list. In 1565 (AGI, Justicia 245) both towns were apparently at the same site and were joint encomiendas belonging to Martín Ruiz Darce and Sebastián de Burgos. At one time, presumably in 1544, the two towns together had 470 tributaries, or a population of about 2115 persons. In 1565 the principales of Kanxoc were named Mo, Tuyu, and Cox, and in 1583 an ex-governor, recently deceased, had been named Juan Ppol. At Kauan the governor in 1583 was Diego Tzeh (RY, 2:165-67; Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661).

Cacalchen (Maya Cacalch'en) is reported in the 1549 tax list as an encomienda of Sebastián de Burgos with 50 tributaries, or about 225 persons all together; but the town had already shrunk, for Burgos' son reported in 1579 that there had once been 100 tributaries, or about 450 inhabitants. He also stated that these people, now living at the site of Kanxoc, did not know where they had come from, so they must have been there a long time (RY, 2:167; Archivo General de la Nación, México, Civil 661).

The natives of Xocen explained that it was named for their cacique and meant "natural lord." Xocen appears in the 1549 list as an encomienda of Alonso González with 110 tributaries, or about 495 inhabitants. A later encmendero stated in 1579 that at one time the town had paid a tribute of 50 mantas every four months, which would imply a larger population than that indicated in 1549 (RY, 2:135-38). In 1565 the governor was Don Diego Xoc ("shark"?), and the principales were named "Hum" (Hun), Nauat, Xoc, and Tus. In 1579 Don Francisco Xoc was governor. Xoc was an extremely rare name in Yucatan.

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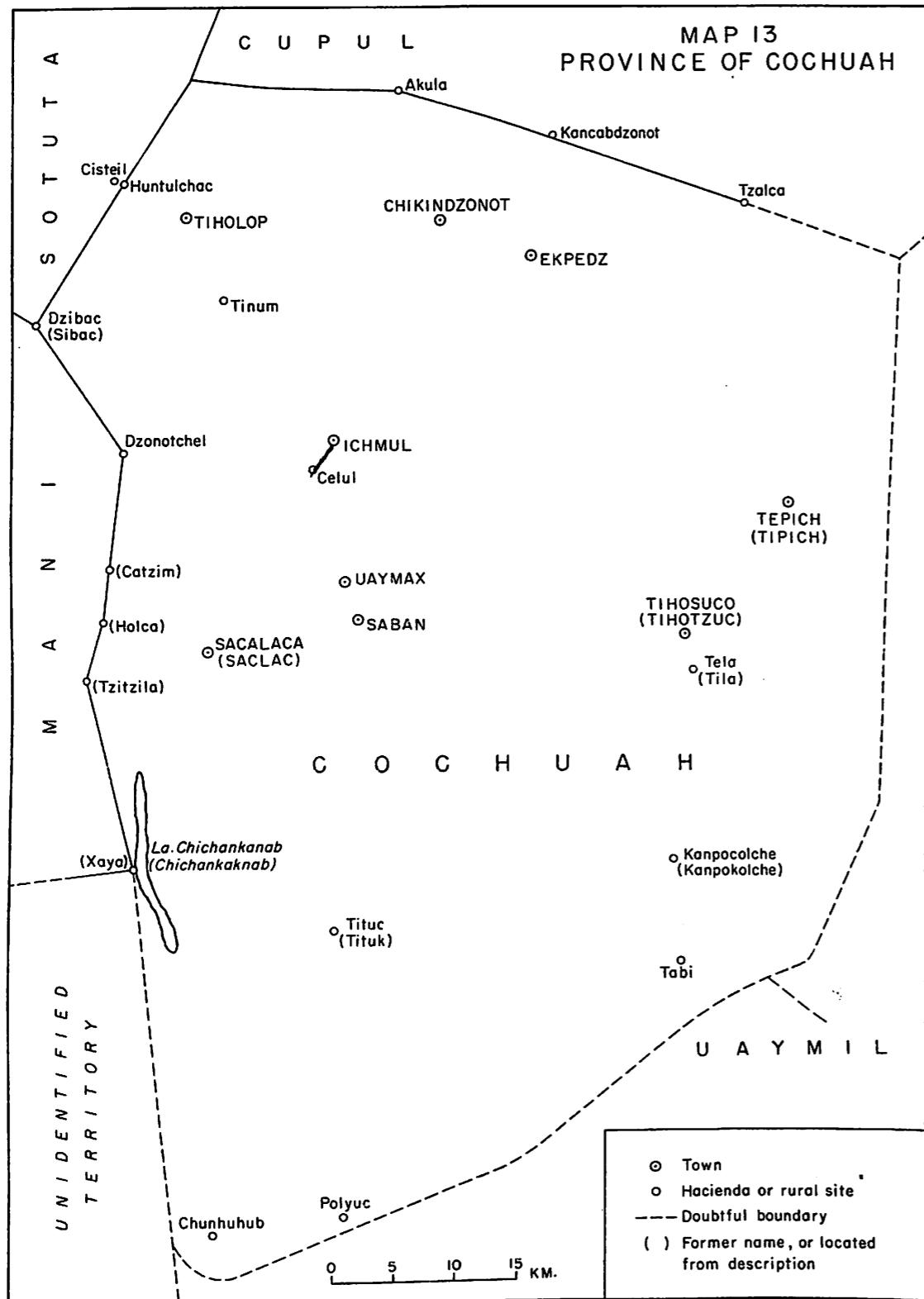
THE PROVINCE OF COCHUAH

Like some of the other provinces, Cochuah was apparently named for its ruling family. The natives explained it as meaning "nuestra comida de pan," which was further interpreted as "well-fed province that has never found itself in need" (RY, 2:96). The name could indeed be so translated by dividing it as follows: C (our)- och (food)- uah (bread). An alternative translation could be Coch (broad)- uah (bread). We are told that Cochuah was also the name of a local idol which was considered a patron of bread (abogado del pan); but I suspect it was an obsolete plant name, for a rural site in southern Cupul was called Tixcochuah. The prefix Tix- suggests that the name might mean "at the cochuah [plant]."

The northern border of the province has been discussed in the chapter on Cupul, and the western boundary down to the shore of Laguna de Chichankanab ("little sea") was traced in the Maní land treaty of 1557 and the 1545 survey of the Province of Sotuta. Southeast of Calotmul, the southernmost Maní town, the road to Bacalar passed through 15 leagues of uninhabited country, past lakes or ponds and over stretches of marsh or savanna, to the town of Chunuhub, which is reported to have been in Cochuah but "on the border of the Villa of Salamanca" (Cogolludo, bk. 9, ch. 5; RY, 1:147). This villa was the town of Bacalar, and its territory comprised the Provinces of Uaymil and Chetumal. Chunuhub, therefore, is considered to mark the southwestern corner of the Province of Cochuah.

For the southern boundary, we are told (RY, 2:11) that when eastern Yucatan was conquered in 1543, Tabi was the last Cochuah town in the direction of Bacalar. Chunuhub really lies farther to the south, but at that time it was under the jurisdiction of Mérida, and the statement was made with reference to the Villa of Valladolid. The eastern limit of Cochuah offers the same problem which we have encountered in the case of Cupul. Since the conquest, we have no record of any town in the great forested area that extended from the easternmost Cochuah towns to the Caribbean, a distance of 65 to 75 km. Indeed, we have no record of any town on the east coast of Yucatan between Zama, at the ruins of Tulum, and Ascensión Bay. The Maya name of the bay was Camabac; it is now Bahía Emilio Zapata (Sánchez de Aguilar, 1937, pp. 39, 164).

It seems very possible that the Cochuah people controlled the region of Ascensión Bay. It was reported at Ichmul in 1588 (Ciudad Real, 1932, p. 325) that some ruined stone buildings near the bay were the remains of temples "of the lords of Chichen Itza," who sacrificed at that place when they embarked or disembarked on their trading expeditions to Honduras. This of course was very ancient history, but we know that in the early 1530's the Cochuah people had trading factories on the Ulúa River in Honduras (Scholes and Roys, 1948, p. 130).



THE PROVINCE OF COCHUAH

Though it is possible that they went overland to Chetumal Bay and embarked there, it would seem more likely that they went by land only as far as Ascensión Bay and took advantage of water transportation for the remainder of the journey. Such a route may have obviated the necessity of crossing the neighboring Province of Chetumal.

The Province of Cochuah was ruled "in the time of its paganism" by Nacahum Cochuah, who presumably held the title of halach uinic, but it is hard to tell where his capital was in pre-Spanish times. He was reported in 1579 to have resided at Tihosuco. It should be noted, however, that Tihosuco was reported to be a new site, to which the people had been moved about 1559, so that they could be nearer the convent at Ichmul (RY, 2:95-96). As we shall see, there is some reason to believe that the Tihosuco people had previously lived at or near Tepich, but this is uncertain.

We know nothing about the antecedents of Nacahum Cochuah or any of his lineage, and one can only surmise that the area was formerly a part of the confederation at Mayapan. The Cochuah appear to have been on friendly terms with Sotuta and Cupul, whose people they joined in resisting the Spanish conquest and in the great uprising of 1546. Also, when Nachi Cocom surveyed the boundaries of Sotuta in 1545, he left the border, entered the neighboring province, and conferred with Nacahum Cochuah (Roys, 1939, p. 427).

The 1549 tax list probably offers a very imperfect picture of the Cochuah population at the beginning of the Spanish conquest. They suffered severely during the 1540's, and many of them fled to the islands in Ascensión Bay and the neighboring region. They were very slow in returning to their old homes, and in 1588 Ciudad Real (1932, pp. 324-25) was told at Ichmul that there were still "many people to convert and conquer, that they have many plantations of cacao trees, and that they are in communication with the Indians of the aforesaid islands." Many of these people were recovered a few years later.

The 1582 catalogue of churches (DHY, 2:60, 62) lists only nine Cochuah towns, but in 1656 Cogolludo (bk. 4, ch. 19) recorded seven more. Most of these can be located and are shown on the accompanying map.

Table 8 will give some idea of the patronymics of the Province of Cochuah. It is compiled from the 1688 matrículas of Tiholop and Chikindzonot in the north and Tihosuco in the center of the province. Of the five most numerous lineage groups, the Chan (76), Uc (74), and Canche (73) were well or moderately well represented in the northern parts of both western and eastern Yucatan. The Pat (72) were very strong on Cozumel Island and probably on the east coast. There were 18 in the Mani group sampled, but the name seems rare elsewhere. The Uh (72) had 13 representatives among those sampled in Mani, but I have found very few of them anywhere else.

The Cochuah name was probably the rarest among all those of ruling families in Yucatan. In the 1688 matrículas (AGI, Contaduría 920) I have found about 16 at Ichmul, which is not one of the towns included in table 8, but hardly any elsewhere, either in or out of the province. Just as the Xiu left Mani and congre-

Table 8

THE MORE NUMEROUS LINEAGE GROUPS IN THE PROVINCE OF COCHUAH

Compiled from lists of resident married tributaries in 1688

gated at Yaxa and Oxkutzcab in colonial times, so apparently, the Cochuah group forsook Tihosuco and went to Ichmul. They may have gone there, however, long before 1688; Sánchez de Aguilar (1937, pp. 140-41), writing about the second decade of the seventeenth century, refers to the "Cochuahes" of Ichmul in his discussion of the various ruling families of Yucatan.

The name Cuxim is represented by 24 taxpayers in our Cochuah lists, but only one appears in Cupul, and none in any of the other provinces. Of the Itza, we find 33 in Cupul, 16 in Mani, 2 in Hocabá, and 7 in Cochuah, although none of the last was in any of the three towns sampled for the accompanying table. The Xool name, which was prominent and well represented in Cochuah, was very rare elsewhere in Yucatan.

THE PROVINCE OF COCHUAH

Tiholop, Tinum, and Ekpedz

Tiholop first appears in the minutes of the 1545 survey of the Province of Sotuta (Roys, 1939, pp. 425-27) as a frontier site of the Province of Cochuah, where Napuc Chi dwelt and where Nachi Cocom entered the latter province to confer with Nacahum Cochuah, the halach uinic, and Ah Kin ("priest") Xol. I believe, however, that the border really extended close to Cisteil, a short distance to the northwest. The latter site became famous as the scene of the Indian insurrection of 1761. Tiholop also appears on the native map illustrating the Mani land treaty of 1557, and in the 1582 catalogue of churches (Roys, 1943, fig. 1; DHY, 2:62). Ciudad Real (1932, p. 325) mentions Tiholop as a small town, where he stopped in 1588. In 1600 the governor was Don Francisco Chuc, who witnessed a land agreement between the Sotuta people and those of southern Cupul (Roys, 1939, p. 83). In 1688 there were still 13 taxpayers of both sexes named Chuc, but the governor was now a May, and the most numerous name groups were the Ake, Can, and Uc.

A short distance southeast of Tiholop is the village of Tinum, which appears on the 1557 map and in the 1656 catalogue of churches by Cogolludo (bk. 4, ch. 20). We know little about the place in colonial times. Ciudad Real does not mention it, although he must have passed very close to the site in 1588; and it may well have been deserted for a considerable time.

The name Ekpedz (literally "black trap" or "black incantation") might possibly be taken from an obsolete plant name. This is probably the correct name of the encomienda called "Chepez" in the 1549 tax list. The latter had 300 tributaries, or about 1350 inhabitants. It belonged to A. Ruiz de Arévalo, who also owned two other encomiendas in eastern Yucatan; I have been unable to identify the latter. No governor was cited in the 1565 document (AGI, Justicia 245), but the principales were named Canche, Pot, and May. Ekpedz is listed in the 1582 and 1656 catalogues of churches, and in the latter record a town called Tuci was also reported to be situated at the same site, but I have found no other mention of it (DHY, 2:62; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 19). In 1688 the governor was Don Joseph Ppol, and the town had shrunk to a village of about 70 married couples. Here the Nauat and Kauil names, somewhat rare elsewhere, are fairly well represented (AGI, Contaduría 920).

Tepich, Chikindzonot, Tihosuco, and Ichmul

Tepich (Maya Tipich, "at the ear tree") appears in the 1549 tax list with 340 tributaries, or about 1530 inhabitants. A 1579 report (RY, 2:94-96) indicates that it also comprised another town, which is not named. In the 1550's both communities were moved to Chikindzonot and Tihosuco, which are called "new sites" in the report.

The lands of Chikindzonot ("west cenote") evidently extended to the Cupul border, for we find Chikindzonot trespassing on Cupul lands in colonial times,

in spite of the historical friendship between these provinces. I find no governor mentioned in 1565, but in that year two of the principales were named Pot, and the others were of the Chi and Dzib lineages (AGI, Justicia 245). In 1600 the cacique and governor of Chikindzonot was Don Francisco Xool (Roys, 1933, pp. 429-30). In 1688 the Pat were the most numerous lineage, or name group, in the town. (For views of Chikindzonot and Ekpedz, see Roys, 1939, pl. 10.)

Juan de Loria, who was the encomendero of Tihosuco in 1579, tells us that Nacahum Cochuah, the halach uinic of the province, had his seat of government there. As we have seen, however, this statement presents something of a problem, for Tihosuco was a "new site." The Cochuah family apparently soon moved to Ichmul; for in 1565 the governor of Tihosuco was Don Francisco Xool, and the principales were named Canche, Chim, Pech, and Xool (AGI, Justicia 245). In 1688 the most numerous name group at Tihosuco was the Xool, and the tax list was headed by Don Jorge Canul and Don Agustín Xool. I surmise that the former was the governor and the latter the cacique of the town (AGI, Contaduría 920).

Ichmul ("among the mounds") was evidently named for the four or five ancient substructures on the site. They have been described by Ciudad Real (1932, p. 325) and Strömsvik, Pollock, and Berlin (1955, pp. 170-71). Names of this sort are not rare, and they suggest that in conquest times people had no traditional knowledge of the earlier occupants of such structures. This is the more surprising when we consider that until recently many Indians still referred to Mérida and Valladolid as T'ho and Saci, after so long a period of Spanish influence. Moreover, Ichmul, with its two good cenotes, must always have been a desirable site for a settlement. In the 1582 catalogue of churches the town is called "Ichmultiuah." Possibly there was then another town at the site, or perhaps it had two barrios, Ichmul and Tiuh.

Ichmul must be in some way referable to an encomienda in the 1549 tax list belonging to Blas González and here called "Tepaca," for we know that Blas González was granted the town of Ichmul soon after the conquest of eastern Yucatan, as he reported in 1579 (RY, 2:115-17). He had two other encomiendas in 1549, but one was at Tikuch near Valladolid, as we have seen, and the other was on the Caribbean coast. This identification presents a problem, for "Tepaca" (Tepakam?) had only 150 tributaries, or about 675 inhabitants, and González reported in 1579 that Ichmul had a population of 400 married Indians (indios casados). A convent, however, was established at Ichmul, which was probably the reason for the increase in population, as we have seen to be the case at Calkini. I can find no governor for Ichmul in 1565, but the principales in that year were Agustín Cochuah and Andrés Cupul (AGI, Justicia 245). As we have already noted, the only descendants of the former Cochuah rulers whom we can still trace in the seventeenth century were living at or near Ichmul in 1688.

Sacalaca and Kanpocolche

The first account of Sacalaca (Maya Sacalac, "white ac grass") was written in 1579 (RY, 2:145-46) by Pedro de Valencia, who owned half of the town.

THE PROVINCE OF COCHUAH

Originally his half had yielded a tribute of 180 mantas, which in the 1540's meant the same number of tributaries; so the statement would imply a total of 360 tributaries. We continue to find the town in the 1582 and 1656 catalogues of churches and on late colonial and modern maps.

Kanpocolche (Maya Kanpokolche, the name of a shrub, *Duranta repens* L.) was also reported to be the name of a local idol. The town was first granted to Juan Durán, who was murdered in the insurrection of 1546; and it later belonged to Juan Farfán, who wrote a report of it in 1579 (RY, 2:180-81) and considered the place unhealthy. In the 1550's the people were moved to the site of Sacalaca, but Kanpocolche preserved its identity for a considerable time. In 1565 the governor was Francisco Cauich. The original site has kept the name down to the present time, as shown on map 13.

Chunhub

Chunhub means "at the foot of the huhub tree"; huhub has been identified as the name of the Cuban pine, but since no pines have been reported from that part of the Yucatan peninsula, I surmise that the name was formerly applied to some other tree. In 1579 the encomendero, Pedro García, reported (RY, 2:147-51) that Chunhub had formerly had more than 300 tributaries, or over 1350 inhabitants. Originally the encomienda also comprised the people of Haasilchen, Polyuc, Tikukubche, and Tihobonche, all of whom were moved to Chunhub during the civil congregation. Of these towns, only the site of Polyuc, a short distance to the east, can still be identified. In 1565 the cacique was Francisco Uc (Scholes and Adams, 1938, 1:166).

Samyol, Tabi, and Uaymax

In the 1549 tax list we find an encomienda called Samyol belonging to Francisco de Cieza and having 160 tributaries, or about 720 inhabitants. In 1579 Diego Sarmiento de Figueroa, who had married Cieza's widow, reported (RY, 2:49) that it was in the Province of Cochuah and situated 3 leagues from the doctrinal headquarters, which at that time could only be Ichmul. He also states that it had its own masonry church, so it must have been, at that time, at the site of one of the towns in the 1582 list (DHY, 2:62), but I am unable to determine which one.

In 1579 Tabi was reported (RY, 2:11) to be the last Cochuah town toward Uaymil-Chetumal. The town has been depopulated and resettled apparently at various times, but the original site seems always to have preserved its name. Tomás López (1801) puts it at its present site, as do other more recent maps.

We know little of Uaymax, except that it appears in the 1582 list (DHY, 2:62) and that of Cogolludo (bk. 4, ch. 19), and the Tomás López map of 1801 shows it in its present position.

Celul, Saban, Tela, and Tituc

These towns are not shown in the 1582 list of churches, but Cogolludo cited them in 1656, and they all appear in their present positions on the Tomás López

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

map of 1801. Only Saban, Tela, and Tituc are shown on the González map of 1766 (cf. Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, frontispiece). Saban must have been a place of some importance in late colonial times, to judge by its enormous church and handsome cuartel (Shattuck, 1933, pl. 50). The site of Celul, now called Xkerul, has long been abandoned. Here are a pyramid and a sacbe, or raised causeway, apparently connecting Celul with Ichmul (Strömsvik, Pollock, and Berlin, 1955, pp. 171-72).

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THE PROVINCE OF ECAB

The Province of Ecab evidently took its name from the town of the same name ("point of land"), which was one of the largest settlements in the area. All the editions of Landa call it Ekab, which has been translated "black land" (ek cab); but the Maya colonial writers as well as most of the early Spanish reports give the name as Ecab (Brinton, 1882, p. 194; Martínez H., 1926, p. 6; Roys, 1933, pp. 80-81). In similar cases, for example Sotuta, Mani, Canpech, and Chanputun, the province was governed by a halach uinic, who was also the local ruler of the town for which it was named; but here we have no evidence of a single territorial ruler. Scholes suggests that the Pat lineage, so powerful in Cozumel, was the most influential in Ecab.

To the west Ecab adjoined Chikinchel and Tases, but in the north it was separated from Chikinchel by the lagoons and swampy savannas to the east end of Río Lagartos. Farther south I put the border not far west of Kantunilkin, which belonged to Ecab (Brinton, 1882, p. 194; Martínez H., 1926, p. 6; Crónica de Chicxulub, p. 23). Of one of the early Spanish expeditions we read: "Then they went to settle in Ecab." Kantunenkin (Kantunilkin) is the name of the land where they settled. There they were when they were attacked by the Ecab people; and they departed and arrived at Chauacha [in Chikinchel]."

Some 30 km. north of Kantunilkin is the modern Solferino, the former Labcah ("old ruined town"), which is in an agricultural region; and 10 km. farther north is the port of Yalahau, on a swampy plain at the entrance to Laguna de Yalahau, formerly known as Bahía de Conil. East of Yalahau is Chiquila, which lies in another cultivated zone. I have found no mention of these places in the colonial records (Sánchez Ayala, 1951, p. 36). At the time of the conquest Conil was an important port on this coast, but the town has long since disappeared, and the name survives only in that of Boca de Conil. An early map of Yucatan and Guatemala (Chamberlain, 1948, fig. 10) shows the town of Conil immediately to the east of what appears to be the present Río Turbio. The accounts of the first Spanish expedition would seem to indicate that at this time the inhabited part of the province followed the north coast to the historic Cape Cotoche and the east coast southward, probably as far as the ruins of Tulum (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 2). Landa (1938, pp. 6, 127) tells us that Mujeres Island lay opposite the coast of Ecab; and it has long been believed that the towns to the south belonged to the same province (Molina Solfs, 1896, p. 186).

Whether or not we can believe that Conil contained 5000 houses, it seems to have been larger than Ecab and was probably the largest town in the province. Oviedo, whose informant was a member of Montejo's first expedition in 1527, tells us that the northern part of the coast was thickly populated; but south of

THE PROVINCE OF ECAB

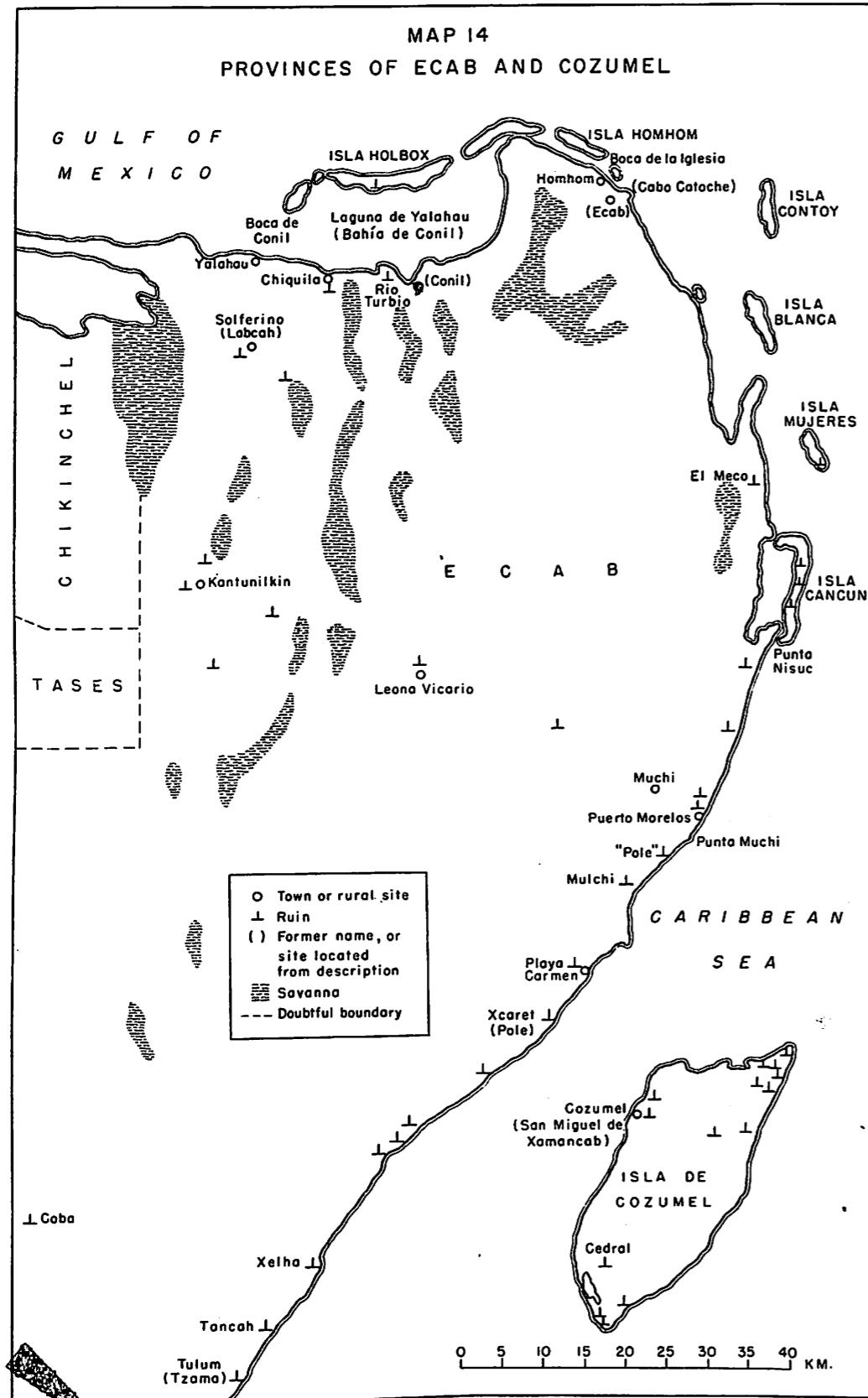
Mochi, near the present Puerto Morelos, the settlements appear to have been smaller (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 2; RY, 2:111; Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 45-48).

Except for Cachi and Kantunilkin in the northwest, I can find no mention of any settlements situated at a distance from the sea. Several ancient ruins have been found near the present road from Kantunilkin to Puerto Morelos, but few have been reported from the interior. Coba is believed to have been uninhabited at the time of the conquest; a few writers have apparently confused that site with Yalcoba, a Cupul town. The González map of 1766 shows only two roads crossing the former Province of Ecab. One ran from Chancenote in Tases to Pole on the east coast, and the other extended directly from Nabalam in Cupul to Zama, now called Tulum. Except for one plantation apparently near Chancenote, both roads crossed uninhabited territory; that this is true of the road to Zama is definitely shown both by the map and by the statements of a traveler who journeyed over it in 1570 (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, pp. 7, 24-25, frontispiece). A later map (Tomás López, 1801), however, shows a third road connecting Chancenote with Cape Cotoche, and a branch of this route may have extended to Conil in earlier times (DHY, 2:61).

A number of ancient Maya ruins have been found on the islands of Holbox, Cancun, and Mujeres. Díaz del Castillo (1933-34, ch. 30) calls the last a point and not an island. He tells us: "There were some dwellings, where there were maize fields; and they made salt; and they had four cues, which are houses of idols. In them were many images, most of them women, and they were tall-bodied; and they named that land La Punta de Mujeres. I recall Aguilar said that near those dwellings was the town where he was a slave." This last does not agree with the story that Aguilar related elsewhere, as we shall see in the discussion of Zama. It is hard to tell whether or not there was a town there on the island, but the houses may have been dwellings of seasonal farmers and salt gatherers. It is well known that idols were worshiped in the old temples of depopulated towns. In 1549 the salt beds were still being exploited, but they had fallen into disuse by 1579 (RY, 2:173).

Agriculture did not prosper greatly along the east coast, nor do we get the impression that people went far back from the sea to farm. The principal industry was fishing, but there was also commerce along this important trade route to Chetumal and Honduras. Finds are reported of copper celts, jade, carnelian, and rock-crystal beads, and other ornaments, which had been brought from elsewhere (RY, 2:197; L. M. Hewen, communication).

Savannas are large and numerous in many parts of the interior. It was impossible by Maya methods to cultivate either these wet grasslands or the zones of scrubby forest with a grassy floor which bordered them, so the areas which are unsuitable for farming are larger than the accompanying map indicates. From the northern shore down to the latitude of Mujeres Island the coast is reported to be characterized by halophytes and mangrove swamps (Sánchez Ayala, 1951, pp. 25-27, 36). Lothrop (1924, p. 3) tells of "stretches of limestone cliff



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fronting the sea"; and Shattuck (1933, pp. 161, 167) describes swamps and sand dunes along the shore at Puerto Morelos. I can find no evidence of human occupation at the time of the Spanish conquest in the great sapote forest reported to lie between the east coast and the zone of savannas to the west. There has been so little exploration of this area that it is hard to tell to what extent it was populated at a still earlier period.

We know little about the Province of Ecab, because the population decreased very rapidly during the first two decades of the colonial period. Indeed, the 1582 catalogue of churches (DHY, 2:61-62) names only five towns in this area: Cachi, Conil, Ecab, Pole, and Zama. None of them was large at this time, and some were very small.

Since the region is so little known at the present time, a number of archaeological sites are indicated on the accompanying map in order to show locations which we know to have been settled in former times (Sanders, 1955, *passim*; Tuleane-Carnegie map). The savannas were mapped by an aerial survey (Sánchez Ayala, 1951, p. 30).

Few personal names have come down to us from the Ecab towns, but fortunately we have a complete census of the people of Cozumel Island compiled in 1570. I surmise that these names were fairly representative of the population on the east coast of Ecab.

Zama and Xelha

We know from an official letter addressed to the batab and principales of the town, written in Maya in 1570, that Zama is a Spanish corruption of the Maya Tzama, which is the name of a late variety of bean, besides being a lineage name on the Island of Cozumel (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, p. 22; Standley, 1930, p. 301). The site was well known to mariners in colonial times, to whom it was a landmark. It was reported by Juan da Raygosa in 1579 (RY, 2:199) that "...the navigators, who come from Honduras by sea outside, see the hills at the said port of Zama and call it the mesa of Zama," and it is explained that the mesa is of hewn stone and resembles a fortress.

We have evidence from a dated stela that the city goes back to the sixth century of the Christian era; but most of the buildings may have been contemporary with the hegemony of Mayapan, which ended about the middle of the fifteenth century. The site is famous for its massive city wall, which encloses a large ceremonial group of buildings on three sides. The place is now called Tulum ("enclosure"), but I have been unable to identify it under this name in the colonial records. Hewen (communication) thinks from the forestation of the environs that the soil is of about average quality, although it appears to be somewhat less rich than at Tancah, a short distance to the north. No estimate of the area which might have been occupied by residences outside the large walled ceremonial center has yet been published.

Zama was almost the first Yucatan town visited by Europeans. In 1511 a

THE PROVINCE OF ECAB IN MAYA

group of Spaniards was shipwrecked in the Caribbean, and their small boat was driven to the east coast. Here some were promptly sacrificed, but the rest escaped to another ruler, who enslaved them. They were worked hard and all died except Gerónimo de Aguilar, who was ransomed by Cortés, and Gonzalo Guerrero, who fell into the hands of the cacique of Chetumal. They had fled from their first captors to "Xamanzama" ("north Tzama"), which Hewen suggests might have been the modern Tancah. Here the ruler has been variously reported to have been Ah Kin ("priest") Cutz and a cacique named Kinich. Both Cutz ("wild turkey") and Kinich ("sun eye") are rare lineage names. Elsewhere I have found the former only in the western Provinces of Hocabá and Maní, and the latter only in Cupul. According to both accounts the ruler died and was succeeded by "Taxmar" or Ah May (Cogolludo, bk. 1, ch. 8; Tozzer, 1941, pp. 8, 236-39). Ah Kin Cutz, Kinich, and Ah May are good Maya names, but Taxmar is not.

THE PROVINCE OF ECAB

In 1518 Grijalva's expedition viewed a site now believed to be that of Tulum, but did not land. They saw buildings which they seem to have thought were occupied, for Juan Díaz, the chaplain, reported (*Crónicas de la conquista de México*, 1939, pp. 23-24): "Towards sunset we saw from afar off a town or village so large that the city of Seville could not appear greater or better; and in it was seen a very great tower. Along the coast walked many Indians with two standards, which they raised and lowered, signaling us to come closer, but the captain did not wish it."

Blas González, who was a member of Montejo's expedition in 1527, tells us (RY, 2:111) that Zama had a small population. In the 1549 tax list Zama appears as the name of an encomienda of Luis de Baeza with 88 tributaries, or about 396 inhabitants. Among other items of tribute are 4 fanegas of salt and 4 arrobas of fish, implying that people still gathered salt, presumably on Mujeres Island. This would seem to be quite a journey, but, as we have seen, the people of Campeche traveled almost as far in their canoes for the same purpose. In 1565 Zama belonged to Diego Martín, and its governor was a Francisco Cauich (AGI, Justicia 245). The principales were Francisco Pat, Juan Kinich, and Francisco Mo. In 1579 the guardian of Martín's son, Juan, made the report which has already been partly quoted describing the appearance of the port at Zama (RY, 2:197): "The said town of Zama has had a population of many Indians; and during the last 20 years a great number of them have died, so that today there are not 50 Indian tributaries. These are [persons] of low thoughts and propensities. The town is not laid out, nor is there any good arrangement of its streets or plan, but it is like a hamlet."

The report goes on to say (RY, 2:200) that although the place was quite well sheltered, "the town and port of Zama are very small and [the latter] is not suitable for large ships because of the shallow draft, which is not more than 2 brazas (ca. 3.34 m.)." Earlier it had been used for shipments to and from Honduras, but because of shortage of labor and bad roads Río Lagartos had taken its place. Hewen sees no possibility of anchorage for ocean-going vessels at Tulum, and he suggests that the reference must be to Tancah, 5 km. to the north, where there is fair protection.

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

Zama appears in the 1582 catalogue of churches, but I cannot find it in Cogolludo's list, compiled in 1656. On the González map of 1766 it is shown only as a watchtower and not as a settlement (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, frontispiece). Tomás López (1801) no longer shows the site.

The name Xelha ("break in the water"?") might be descriptive either of the reef in the opening to the bay of this name, or of the small island and peninsula. A wall crosses the peninsula, and the latter is joined to the island by a ruined causeway (Hewen, communication). The island is 1.5 km. from the principal archaeological site.

Blas González (RY, 2:111) reports a small town at the site in 1527, when Montejo's expedition landed perhaps 5 or 6 km. to the south "at a port and bay which is called Soliman." It was said to be near a swamp. Montejo's headquarters could have been at the latter site, the name of which is still preserved in that of Caleta de Soliman. I have found no report of Xelha in colonial times, but I find it as the name of a "hacienda" or "rancho" in a later map (García Cubas, 1884).

Pole, Xamanha, and Mochi

The location of Pole is hard to determine, although the name appears on various maps from 1766 to 1884. I doubt whether it was as far north as the ruins of that name on the Tulane-Carnegie map or as far south as shown on the González and Tomás López maps. Hewen (communication) suggests the site of Xcaret, the only point on the mainland from which he could see Cozumel Island. It has a good canoe harbor and is an important archaeological site, from which several ancient causeways extend into the interior. We are reminded of Cogolludo's account (bk. 4, ch. 7) of the pilgrimages to Cozumel: "And the remains of causeways are seen which traverse this entire realm; and they say they terminate at its east side on the shore of the sea ... so that they might arrive at Cozumel."

Pole (Maya Ppole) is the first town cited in the Chumayel migration legend of the Itza. Here we read (Roys, 1933, p. 70): "Whereupon they departed [presumably from Cozumel] and arrived at Ppole, where the remainder of the Itzá were increased in number; they took the women of Ppole as their mothers." This suggests that until now many of the migrants had not been accompanied by women. From here they went to Ake in Chikinchel.

From the place Montejo called Salamanca de Xelha his expedition moved north to Pole. No towns are reported along this march, and they often had to cut their own road; but the country was not entirely unoccupied, for we are told that the Indians left their homes and fled inland (Chamberlain, 1948, p. 45; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 2).

Pole was well known throughout the colonial period as the usual embarking point for Cozumel (DHY, 2:62; Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, p. 9); but I think it unlikely that it was one of the larger towns on the east coast. When Montejo the nephew arrived there in 1543 on his way to take possession of Cozumel, he

THE PROVINCE OF ECAB

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THE PROVINCE OF ECAB

was obliged to send to the island for canoes to transport his thirty soldiers and presumably some native allies, although only twelve large canoes were needed (RY, 2:6-10, 219). The 1549 tax list, which was compiled only six years later, shows Pole as having 17 tributaries, or about 76 inhabitants. Among the tribute items are 1 fanega of salt and 2 arrobas of fish.

In 1571 several witnesses from Pole testified at Valladolid against some pirates. Their names are given as Juan Yel (Ye), Juan Pac (Puc), Juan Pat, and Diego "Niho" (communication from Adams; Archivo General de la Nación, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1945, p. 45). In 1590 the cacique and governor was reported to be Diego "Malah" (Mah?), and one of the principales was Juan Puc (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Inquisición 150). In 1601 the "cacique batab" of Pole was Juan Ye (AGI, México 140). The González map of 1766 shows Pole as a watchtower, and a plantation of some sort is indicated. On the García Cubas map of 1884, Pole appears only as an abandoned site.

Xamanha ("north water") is described as "a small town of fishermen opposite Cozumel and a point of embarkation to it." The town must have been only a short distance north of Pole, for Montejo stopped here on his way to Mochi after leaving Pole. Here he encountered Naum Pat, a chieftain of Cozumel, who had come with a large following to the mainland to attend his sister's wedding. Some months later Montejo's lieutenant, Dávila, who had been exploring the south, returned to Salamanca de Xelha and moved the headquarters to "Salamanca de Xamanha," where it continued to be occupied until 1529 (Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 45-46, 64, 79-80).

I find nothing more about Xamanha until 1601, when it was reported that there were about 100 persons at the place (AGI, México 140). Some of these people, however, were fugitives from Tases and Cupul.

I believe that the present Muchi is referable in name to Oviedo's Mochi, although it still had the latter name in 1550 according to a letter by Fr. Luis de Vilalpando (communication from Adams; Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Cartas de Indias, caja 2, no. 54). Muchi is now about 5 km. northwest of Puerto Morelos, but this site could hardly be that of the original Mochi, for no archaeological remains are reported there (García Cubas, 1884; Atlas Arqueológico, 1939, p. 208; Tulane-Carnegie map, 1940).

Oviedo y Valdés (1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 2) describes Mochi as a town of as many as 100 good houses and many pyramid temples (*qües*) of well hewn stone. It seems very possible that most of the "qües" were ancient structures and not official temples in regular use, although we know that people then, as they do now, sometimes made offerings in abandoned buildings.

Mochi may have been depopulated during the civil congregation in the 1550's; we know it had disappeared before 1582. In 1601, however, a number of pagan Indians along with fugitives from Tases and Cupul were living near the east coast. Some of them were settled in what are variously called the forests of Mochi and the forests of Muchi, and it is plain that the same place is indicated by both names (AGI, México 140).

From Mochi Montejo's expedition continued north, now finding the coast thickly populated. I am unable, however, to find colonial records of any settlements that I can identify as lying between Mochi and the immediate region of Cape Cotoche. It is true that some archaeological sites have been reported from the area. The best known is the imposing temple at El Meco (Lothrop, 1924, pp. 144-47), but no mention has been made of any colonial remains there.

Ecab and Pachihomhom

Finally the expedition reached "the chief town (*cabecera*) of a province, near the sea, which is called Belma." Here it stayed two months (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 2; Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 46-47). The name does not recur in the records, but it has long been thought by many that this was the town of Ecab. The official discovery of Yucatan by Hernández de Córdoba in 1517, his landing near the historic Cape Cotoche, his battle with the natives, and his failure to reach a large town which appeared to be 2 leagues from the shore and which he called "Gran Cairo," are too well known to repeat here; but it has been questioned whether this was Ecab. This question would seem to be settled by a report of the city of Mérida written in 1581, when Ecab was still a well known colonial town (RY, 1:74): "Some say that when there passed near the coast a ship of Spaniards, who must have been those of Grijalva [sic], they encountered some Indians of the Cape of Cotoche and talked with them. Since they did not understand the language and thought they were being asked where they were from, the Indians replied to the Spaniards, 'Ecab c'otoche' (literally, '[at] Ecab [is] our house'), which means to say 'we are of Ecab' (*somos del Cab*). And when the Spaniards asked what land this was, the Indians thought they were asking where Ecab was and answered, pointing with the hand, '*toloquitan*' which means right there, ahead." Hence the alleged origin of the name Yucatan.

Molina Solís (1896, p. 186), apparently relying on one of Brinton's rare errors in his translation of the Pech family papers (1882, pp. 206, 231), tells us that a cacique named Ek Box ruled the *cacicazgo*, or native province, of Ecab. I would read the passage as meaning that a shipload of African Negroes (Maya *ek box*) was wrecked on the coast of Ecab and recaptured by the Spaniards. (Cf. Lothrop, 1924, p. 23.)

In the 1549 tax list Ecab, under the name Boxchen, appears as an encomienda of Juan de Triana with 210 tributaries, or about 945 inhabitants. A 1565 document (AGI, Justicia 245) tells us that Boxchen is another name for Ecab and *Juan de Cárdenas* is now the encomendero. No governor is mentioned, but one of the *principales* is named "Hoh" or "Hoch" (probably Huh), and the other two are Pablo and Gonzalo Pat. In 1571 two witnesses against some French buccaneers were Pablo Pat, now *mayordomo* of the town, and his son Francisco, who knew Spanish and was probably the town clerk (Archivo General de la Nación, México, Inquisición 58, no. 5). In the 1582 catalogue of churches Ecab is listed as a *visita* of the Chancenote church and 20 leagues distant. In 1579

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Cárdenas' son Juan made a report on the town (RY, 2:173-74). Ecab seems to have been about 2 leagues from the *playa*, or landing place, but I doubt whether it was that far from the water. It was on high ground, so that the town and its church could be seen from 4 leagues out at sea. Right around the town was a tract of black soil, but in other parts the land was sandy. Consequently a good many people went to do their farming at the port of Conil, 8 leagues from this cape. "Although at the said cape they harvest maize, it is not as abundant as what they get at the said port of Conil." From this it seems evident that Ecab and Conil were in the same province.

Ecab was still listed as an encomienda in 1689 (AGI, Contaduría 920), but it is possible that the people had been moved to some other site inland by this time. On the González map of 1766 a ruined church is shown at the place, which was now a landmark for mariners; and modern maps still name the pass just outside, Boca de la Iglesia (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, frontispiece; Stephens, 1843, 2:356).

Colonial records mention a town near Cape Cotoche named Pachihomhom ("behind the rushing tide"? or "behind Homhom Island"). On some modern maps we find in this vicinity a site, probably a hamlet, called Homhom. Scholes assures me that it was a separate town in colonial times and not a later name for Ecab. I have thought it possible that after the sixteenth century a village may have been settled at the landing place of Ecab. In 1656 Cogolludo (bk. 4, ch. 19) lists Pachihomhom, "which is on the Cape of Cotoche," as one of the visitas of the Chancenote church, but he does not mention Ecab.

Conil

Leaving Ecab, Montejo's expedition proceeded eastward to Conil, elsewhere stated to be 8 leagues distant. Oviedo y Valdés' account of the journey (1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 2) makes two statements regarding the country they traversed. One is that they passed "through many towns of 1000 houses, and of 500 houses, more or less, and they saw many and good sites where they could have settled, if they dared." This sounds unlike what little we know of the Conil area, where some of the Ecab people had to go to farm. Possibly Oviedo confused this region with what his informant had seen on the east coast south of Ecab. The other statement agrees better with the recent aerial survey of northeastern Quintana Roo (Sánchez Ayala, 1951, p. 30): "There are some stretches of savannas, and all the rest is thickly forested or many and diverse woodlands." Oviedo also mentions 4 leagues of uninhabited country. (Cf. Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 48-49).

Conil was situated on a bay said to extend a considerable distance inland. Cogolludo (bk. 2, ch. 5) complicates matters somewhat by stating that this town was Coni, and Conil was "another seaport before arriving at Coni" and only a small place. I doubt whether Conil had 5000 houses, but it must have been a very large town for Yucatan. It shrank incredibly in the next two decades, for the 1549 tax list gives it only 80 tributaries, or about 360 inhabitants. Its

tribute included neither salt nor fish, so it must have been chiefly a commercial town. In 1565 it belonged to a minor son of the Gaspar González who owned "Mape" in 1549, and the governor was Juan "Pola" (Ppol?). In 1579 (RY, 2:166) we read of a main road (camino real) from Chancenote to the port of Conil; and the 1582 catalogue of churches cites Conil as a visita of Chancenote 15 leagues distant (DHY, 2:61). This would be just about the distance either to the Río Turbio or to Chiquila. Cogolludo, writing in 1656, does not mention Conil in his list of churches, convents, and visitas, nor does the place appear on the maps of González in 1766 and Tomás López in 1801.

Cachi and Kantunilkin

After a two months' stay at Conil, Montejo's expedition moved on to Cachi, which is hard to locate. Oviedo y Valdés tells us it was 3 leagues distant, but it must have been more than that, for the 1582 catalogue of churches tells us that Cachi was 5 leagues from Chancenote, and the latter is some 75 km., or about 15 sixteenth-century leagues, from the former Bahía de Conil. The 1582 document, too, may well have underestimated the distance.

Oviedo's informant was greatly impressed by the place, not so much by its size as by its urbanization and importance as a commercial center. On the large marketplace he saw many traders and every kind of merchandise. Here were inspectors, and at one side was a sort of mercantile court, where business disputes were settled with order and dispatch. A high pole at the place of execution was a prominent feature of the town (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 3), which I suggest was a place where coastal traders traded with merchants from the interior. If enemy groups met here to exchange goods, severe repression of crime or disorder was probably very necessary.

By 1565 Cachi had shrunk to a village of only ten houses, although they may still have been multiple-family dwellings; and the principales were named Pat, Batun, and Chim (communication from Adams; AGI, Justicia 245). No one at Kantunilkin seems ever to have heard the name Cachi.

The short occupation of Kantunilkin by early Spanish invaders has already been discussed. Not far from the mounds at the town—and one of them is very impressive—is another group one or two kilometers to the northeast. Here one substructure contains a high vaulted passage, so narrow as to seem utterly out of keeping with its height. It is approached from above, with a stepped roof over the descent, which must have had stairs (Roys, 1952, p. 271). In 1544 Kantunilkin had 120 tributaries, or about 540 persons, but after the uprising of 1546 the 1549 tax list shows less than half that population. In 1565 the principales were named Ye, Chan, and Cen. Sometime before 1579 the people had been moved to a site nearer Chancenote, and only three families remained (RY, 2:79; AGI, Justicia 245). The site was resettled only in recent years, although the priest of Chemax had a hacienda there over a century ago. He it was who found a European pen-knife in a grave along with some stone tools (Stephens, 1843, 2:341-44).

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There is another archaeological site with a high pyramidal substructure, about 4 km. east of a point just 10 km. due south of Kantunilkin, but I could learn no name for it. I have tried to reconcile its location with the description of Cehac in Tases, but it lies too far to the east.

COZUMEL ISLAND

although [redacted] 57, 85). It is the Kukulcan nob, or "Tantunite" [redacted]. I have Tantun Cozumel (1929), refer to the legend of Ecab, the leader of the Tantunites, at Ppole." [redacted] pp. 66, 70, associated with the legend of the four kinsmen, with their followers, who came from Mexico and settled at Chichen Itza, Bacalar, on the coast to the north, and toward Cozumel (Brinton, 1882, pp. 114-18). Columned buildings of the Mexican type are extremely rare in Yucatan except at Mayapan, in the neighborhood of Chichen Itza, along the east coast, and on Cozumel Island, where such remains are frequent.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo (1933-34, ch. 8) states that there were three towns on the island. One of these became San Miguel Xamancab ("north land"), now known as Cozumel. The second was Santa Maria Oycib, described as lying three leagues from the first and half a league from the sea. Father Asensio suggested in 1570 that a Spanish village be founded "between the two towns, on the coast close to the harbor (puerto) and estuary (rio salado)." To one who does not know the place, this sounds like the present ruins at Cedral (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940). Hewen has seen nothing on the west side of the island that could be called a "puerto." A. V. Kidder, however, has suggested that the present lagoon, now separated from the sea by a strip of sand, might then have been a harbor. I can find nothing about the third town mentioned by Bernal Diaz; but if there was such a town, it might have been Tantun. Hewen writes me: "The great number of sites, many with quite late structures, indicate a considerable population at some time."

The tax list of 1549, however, gives the island only 220 tributaries, or about 990 inhabitants, and the tribute items include 6 fanegas of salt and 6 arrobas of fish. Judging by the almost incredible decrease in population at Chauaca and Conil during the decade preceding 1549, it seems possible that the number of inhabitants on the island at the time of the Spanish conquest was much greater than this tax list would indicate. By 1570 the population of Cozumel Island had shrunk to 143 married couples, 62 in San Miguel and 81 in Santa Maria. An interesting feature of the census is that it shows these 143 couples living in only 39 houses, with 2 to 8 couples in each house along with widowed persons, adolescents, and children. In the lists of names, which do not include the smaller children, the most numerous were the Pat (62), followed by the Puc (33), Cab (31), Pot (23), and Ch'oo (18). Several names, such as Akhol, Cumux, Ch'oo, Tzama, Pitz, and Xamancab, are either lacking or very rare in Yucatan away

COZUMEL

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COZUMEL ISLAND

Cozumel (Maya Cusamil, "place of the swifts") is the only name I have ever seen given to the island, except in the Motul dictionary (Martinez H., 1929), where we read (p. 712): "Oy cen, or oy, oy cib [is what] they call the Island of Cozumel." As we shall see, Oycib (written Oyquib) was the name of one of the towns there. Cib means "wax," and the island was traditionally important for its apiculture (Roys, 1933, pp. 65-66).

Since a study of Cozumel has already been published (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940), little more than a brief résumé of the previous paper will be offered here. A good deal, however, has been added to the published archaeological knowledge of the area. Hewen (communication) believes there are about thirty sites on the island. Statements not documented here can be traced to their sources in the earlier study (pp. 1-10 and frontispiece; Sanders, 1955, pp. 190-200; Fernández, 1945).

Cozumel was famous chiefly for its important shrine, which was a center of pilgrimage. Just as pilgrims went to Chichen Itza to solicit good crops and weather forecasts of the rain gods, and to Izamal to be cured of their bodily ills by the sun god, so they went to the shrine of Ix Chel on Cozumel to seek an oracle from this goddess of procreation, pregnancy, and divination. In all probability she was also a moon goddess (Thompson, 1939a, p. 133). Her shrine was said to be in the interior of the island; and here was a large hollow clay image in which a priest was concealed while he delivered the oracle. Not only did pilgrims cross the peninsula to the shore opposite the island from all parts of the Maya area, but they also came from the towns of Xicalango and Tabasco. I believe that the visitors from these towns, and probably also those Yucatecans who were from Champoton and Campeche, were traders in canoes, who rounded the peninsula on their way to and from Honduras.

Although the Kukulcan cult is not mentioned in the early accounts of Cozumel, Hewen (communication) reports that there are at Rancho Santa Rita two round temples of the type usually associated with the worship of this god. Sherds found in these structures are mostly of a late utility ware. It is also of interest that three warlike groups, whose leaders were especially active in this cult, seem to trace their history back to this island. The Cocom halach uinics of Sotuta claimed descent from Kukulcan, and it was recorded that Cozumel was once subject to the Cocom ruler (Torquemada, 1943, 2:52; Brinton, 1882, p. 117). Again, Auxaual, whose successor in the sixth generation was Paxbolonacha, the Maya-Chontal ruler of Acalan in Cortés' time, came from Cozumel, apparently in the late fourteenth century, and founded a government at Tenosique on the Usumacinta River. The Spaniards found Paxbolonacha at Itzamkanac on the Candelaria River. Here the god of the ruler was Kukulcan,

from Cozumel and the Caribbean coast. Pat also is a rare name elsewhere, except in Cochuah, where we find 72 taxpayers of that name in 1688, and in Mani, where there were 18 (AGI, *Contaduría* 920).

When Montejo arrived in 1527, Naum Pat was a very prominent chieftain on the island; and in 1570 Francisco Pat was batab, or cacique, of San Miguel, while at Santa María Pedro Pot and Juan Mah were both called batabs. At the former town Juan Chan was also reported to be an old cacique (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, pp. 16, 21, 25).

Although there were only two adult Cumux on the island in 1570, Cogolludo (bk. 9, ch. 7) tells of an important person at Tipu in Chetumal in 1618 named Don Francisco Cumux. He "was a descendant of the lord of the Island of Cozumel who received Don Fernando Cortés, when he passed on to the conquest of New Spain." Oviedo y Valdés (1851-55, bk. 17, ch. 8) tells us that there was a halach uinic on the island, but he gives neither his name nor that of the town where he lived. A Francisco Cumux was still town clerk of Santa María in 1673 (communication from Adams), but by this time apparently the people had been moved to the mainland (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 19).

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THE PROVINCES OF UAYMIL AND CHETUMAL

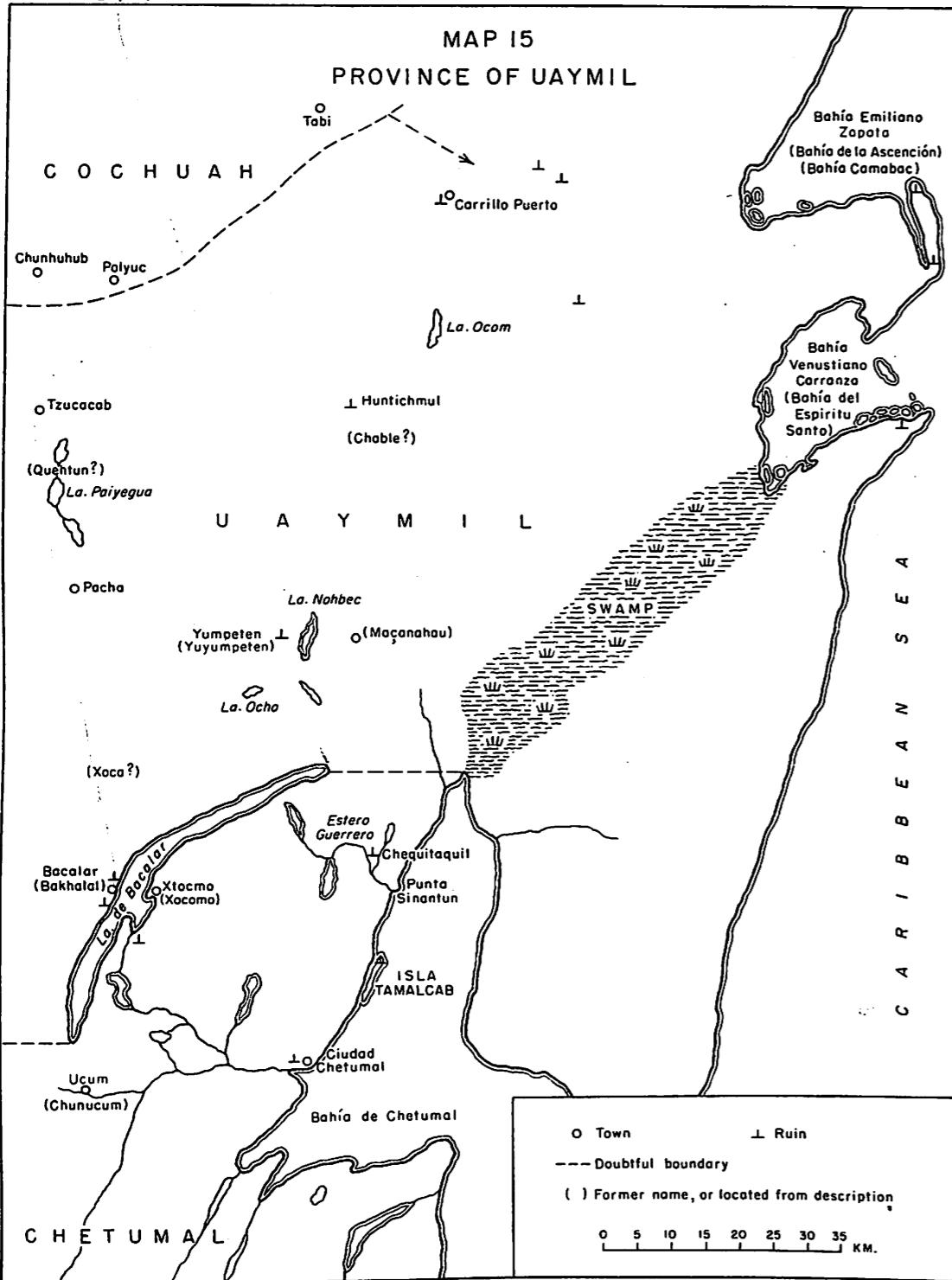
Although the entire area here discussed was later called the Province of Chetumal, the Spanish conquerors considered it to be two provinces and stated that they were divided from each other by Lake Bacalar. Chamberlain (1948, pp. 101-2) suggests that "the lords of Uaymil . . . accepted the overlordship of the cacique of Chetumal only with reluctance."

Uaymil

The name Uaymil is that of a variety of opossum. No organized population seems to have bordered the area on the west; nor can I find evidence of travel between the Uaymil towns and the sea north of Chetumal Bay. The *Carta General del Territorio de Quintana Roo* (1936) shows a vast swamp between the southern Uaymil towns and the Caribbean. Nevertheless, a Maya prophecy (Roys, 1933, p. 156) calls the Uaymil people "the guardians of the sands, the guardians of the sea."

The González map of 1766, which often reflects conditions of earlier times, shows two roads running south from Cochuah to Lake Bacalar. The eastern route extends directly from Ichmul to the northern end of the lake, mostly through land marked "Despoblado Nuevo" (newly depopulated). The western road goes from Chunuhub on the frontier of Cochuah through "Despoblado de Bacalar" to the town of that name (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940, frontispiece). Along this route, however, are the names of seven rest houses, two of which correspond to those of former towns.

Dávila's expedition in 1531 must have traveled not far from the first of these two routes. Leaving the unidentified Cochuah town of Tulma (Tulumha, "enclosure by the water" or "enclosed by water"), he went to Chable in Uaymil. This was a town of some size, flanked by swamps and reported to lie 9 leagues north of Lake Bacalar. It had been abandoned long before 1656 and probably before 1582. From here he continued 7 leagues to Mazanahau, said to be 2 leagues north of the lake. This was still a visita of the Bacalar church in 1582 and is not to be confused with the Mazanahau on the Belize River. Oviedo y Valdés describes it as a town of 3000 houses, which is surely a gross exaggeration. Near Mazanahau was another town "no smaller than it, which is called Yumpeten." The latter must be the ruined site named Yuyumpeten ("oriole island") just west of Laguna Nohbec ("big *Ehretia tinifolia* L.") (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Cogolludo, bk. 2, ch. 6; Chamberlain, 1948, pp. 101-2; García Cubas, 1884, map 9; Espinosa, ca. 1910).



THE PROVINCES OF UAYMIL AND CHETUMAL

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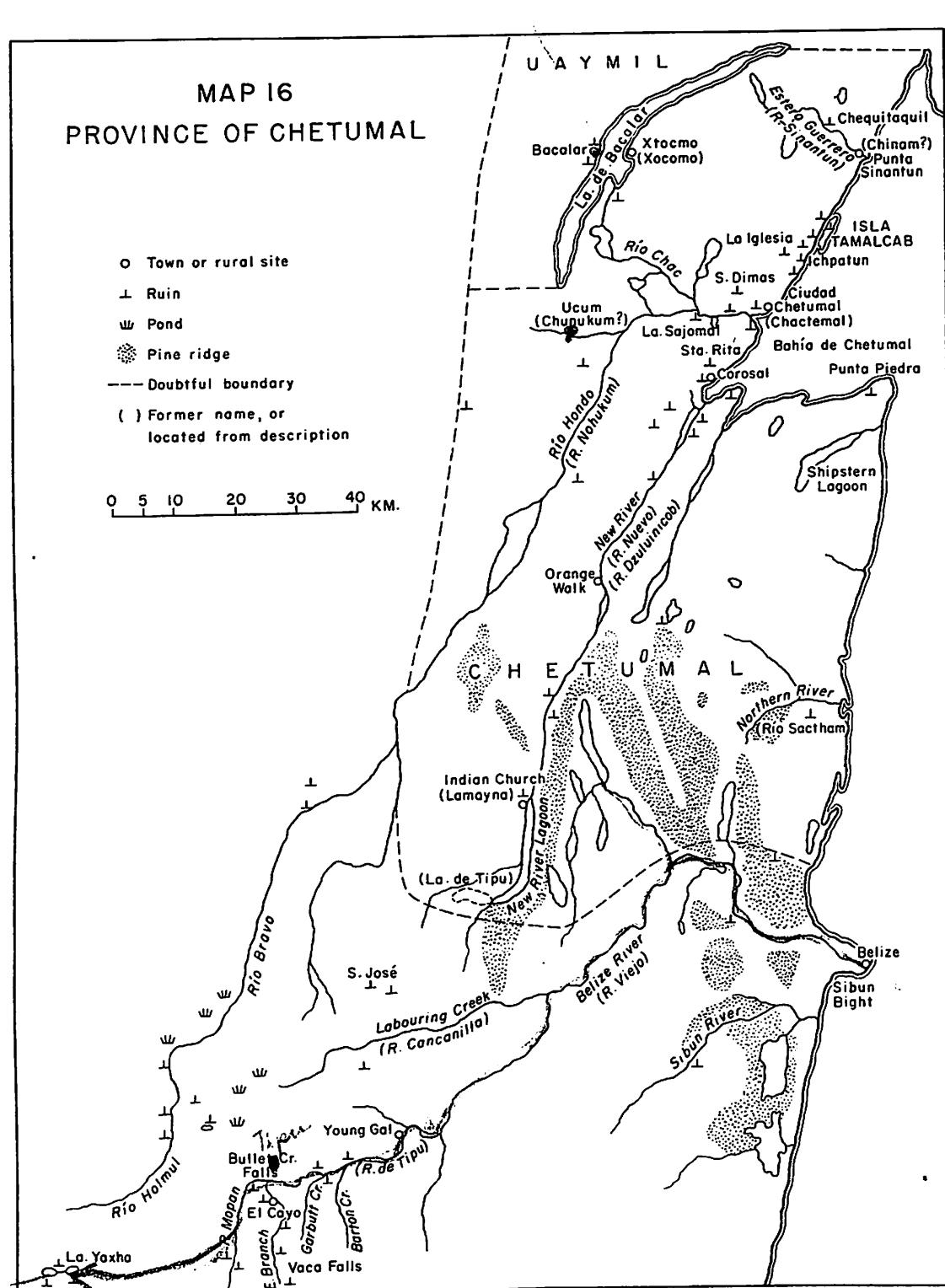
Most of the other Uaymil towns lay along the western road, which was a part of the main route from Mérida to Bacalar in colonial times. Tzucacab was listed as a visita of Bacalar in the 1582 catalogue of churches; and the García Cubas and Espinosa maps place the site about 20 km. south of Chunuhub. González (1766) garbles the name, but he shows it as a rest house in his time. "Quetun" (Cehtun, or Kehtun?) is in the 1582 list and was probably south of Tzucacab. Pacha ("behind the water") was long a well known site. We find it in the 1582 catalogue of churches and on the González, García Cubas, and Espinosa maps. Cogolludo (bk. 9, ch. 5), who passed over this road in 1638, tells us that Pacha was 15 leagues from Chunuhub. The region was then unpopulated and the road was bad. In the rainy season it was overflowed, and canoes were needed in spots. Some swampy stretches were called u-bacel-tzimin ("horse bones"), because so many pack animals bogged down and were left there. It was 10 leagues farther to Xoca, which is also in the 1582 list. On this stretch there was never a sign of houses or churches, and the forest was so thick "that it is painful to look at it." Along the road, however, he saw large ponds of good water, containing fish. Xoca was the last stopping place before Bacalar, 5 leagues away. Lieutenant James Cook (1935, pp. 13-16) traveled the same road in the 1760's. He describes it as 15 to 20 feet wide and well shaded from the sun. The rest houses were always near a lagoon or other watering place. The forests were chiefly of mahogany, cedar, copal, "the small wild cotton," palmetto, coconut, and many aloes, with not much underbrush. On the swampy ground was logwood, and even in the dry season the mules sank knee-deep in the thick bluish mud.

Bacalar (Maya Bakhalal, "surrounded by reeds") was associated with an early Mexican invasion of Yucatan and a province called Ziancaan (Brinton, 1882, pp. 101, 117). In conquest times it was perhaps the most important town in Uaymil, for it was a point of transshipment for merchandise, especially cacao, brought from Honduras by canoe and carried by packers to central Yucatan. The Bacalar people owned many canoes, "And that town provides all the Indians of that district with canoes for the freights which are the source of their livelihood" (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55, bk. 6, ch. 6; Chamberlain, 1948, p. 101).

XXXII

Chetumal

The Province of Chetumal (Maya Chactemal) was apparently named for its principal town, which was near the mouth of the Río Hondo (Maya Nohukum, "great river"). It extended from a point near the northern end of Lake Bacalar, certainly as far as the New River Lagoon on its western side, and on its east side to Northern River, which was between Chetumal Bay and the mouth of the Belize River. The capital of the province lay in a rough quadrangle between Lake Bacalar and Chetumal Bay, enclosed on the other two sides by barriers of swampy streams and small lagoons. South of this area, in what is now British Honduras, most of the towns extended in a line along New River from near its mouth to New River Lagoon.



THE PROVINCE OF CHETUMAL

Down to Indian Church on New River Lagoon we seem safe in considering the country a part of the Province of Chetumal, and this assignment is confirmed by the archaeological evidence. The pottery of this region, especially as exemplified by that of Santa Rita near the mouth of New River, much resembles that of Mayapan. In this connection J. E. S. Thompson (communication) mentions jaguar figurines, little turtles, a kneeling warrior with a spear, the diving-god cult, and even ordinary pottery types as common to the two regions (Shook, 1954, fig. 2,i). Also in this area we find a special type of mound, from the top of Chetumal Bay almost down to Northern River (Gann, 1918, p. 70). Farther south, however, the Belize River lies outside this cultural area. In the region of El Cayo the incensarios are not of the Mayapan-Chetumal type, nor for that matter are those found around Lake Peten (communication from Thompson). So I am uncertain whether or not to include the towns on the Belize River and in its drainage as a part of the Province of Chetumal. The people of these towns were speaking Yucatecan Maya in the early seventeenth century and perhaps as early as 1582; but it is hard to tell whether they were there before the Spanish conquest, which caused a great dislocation of the Chetumal population. During the late sixteenth century we find many fugitives from the north in south-central Yucatan (Scholes and Roys, 1948, *passim*).

South of New River Lagoon was an unpopulated gap extending to the Belize River. This part of the latter was then called Río de Tipu, and up the river were a number of Maya-speaking towns on the way to Tipu, which was the last town in this direction.

Elsewhere at the end of the sixteenth century there were few Maya-speaking towns in the Chetumal region. There was a small cluster of towns in the drainage of the Eastern Branch of the Belize River. Further west there were a number of Maya-speaking towns on the way to Tipu, which was the last town in this direction.

It has been well established that the former town of Chetumal was near the present Ciudad Chetumal at the mouth of the Río Hondo. Already in the early seventeenth century it was known that the old town was somewhere on the "rancho del Obispo," later Payo Obispo (Cogolludo, bk. 9, ch. 6, bk. 11, ch. 15). Although there is an archaeological site close to the present town and the shore, it seems possible that the original Chetumal was farther back, perhaps near the Dimas López ruins, for Oviedo y Valdés (1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 6) tells us that the town was 2 leagues from the sea. It contained 2000 houses, he claims, and around it were orchards of mamey and cacao trees and prosperous maize fields. The

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South of New River Lagoon was an unpopulated gap extending to the Belize River. This part of the latter was then called Río de Tipu, and up the river were a number of Maya-speaking towns on the way to Tipu, which was the last town in this direction. Tipu may have been on the Mopan River above its junction with Eastern Branch.

Elsewhere in the Chetumal region there were few Maya-speaking towns at the end of the sixteenth century, and those must have been near the shores of Chetumal Bay and the Caribbean Sea, to judge by the 1582 catalogue of churches (DHY, 2:63). One visita church was at Xibum, which was evidently near the Sibun River, but the Maya inhabitants may have gone there only after the Spanish conquest. Farther south were the Mopan. Strangely enough, the only place name in the drainage of the great Río Hondo that I can find in the sixteenth century was a site named Chunukum ("source of a river"?), apparently near the Río Hondo not far south of Lake Bacalar. There must have been other towns on Río Hondo which were wiped out during the notoriously savage conquest of Chetumal by the Spaniards.

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POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

Spaniards were much impressed by the apiaries there, and much honey was exported.

In the Maya-Chontal chronicle of Acalan (Scholes and Roys, 1948, p. 385) we are told that the Acalan ruler Pachimalahix, who was the father of a contemporary of Cortés, went from the Candelaria-Usumacinta region to attack Chetumal and imposed tribute on the town. Gonzalo Guerrero, a companion of Aguilar who was wrecked on the east coast in 1511, became a slave of Nachan Can, the ruler of Chetumal, but he married the latter's daughter and became war chief. He bitterly resisted Montejo's expedition, and Chamberlain has found a report that he was later killed in Honduras, where he had come with a fleet of 50 war canoes to fight the Spaniards (Tozzer, 1941, p. 8). I believe that Nachan Can had a factory and commercial interests on the Ulúa River, where this occurred. (Cf. Roys, 1943, pp. 116-17.) Ciudad Real's observation (1932, p. 352) that the Maya dialect of Uaymil resembled that of Campeche suggests the existence of commercial relations between Chetumal and southwestern Yucatan. These minor linguistic variations (Motul dictionary, Martínez H., 1929, pp. 464, 714) suggest Chontal influence, which also appears in the second paragraph of the Chronicle of Nakuk Pech in Cehpech (Brinton, 1882, p. 193); but the evidence is somewhat tenuous. I have come to believe, however, that a Chontal turn of speech was found all around the coast of Yucatan, and that, as at Chauaca, it was considered more stylish and elegant than the language spoken in the interior.

In 1531 Dávila pursued the cacique of Chetumal to "Chequitaquil," said to be 4 leagues up the coast. The archaeological maps give this name to a ruined site on the Estero Guerrero, about 30 km. from Ciudad Chetumal (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 6). In 1547 the people of Chanlacam revolted and killed their encomendero. The expedition which quelled them is reported by Cogolludo (bk. 5, ch. 4) to have embarked from Bacalar in canoes. "Traveling over rivers and lagoons, they arrived in sight of the town, which was set on an islet, all surrounded by water, well fortified." I can only surmise that this town was on one of the small lagoons between Lake Bacalar and the Río Hondo. We still find Chanlacam as a visita of Bacalar in the 1582 list of churches (DHY, 2:63). Another visita in this list is called Xocomo, which was probably the place called Xtocmo in more recent maps. The latter is near Lake Bacalar, about opposite Bacalar (García Cubas, 1884; Espinosa, ca. 1910).

There are three other visita towns in the 1582 list that appear to have been in the same region. One is called Mayapan, a name that may be referable to the ruins of Ichpatún, which are enclosed by a massive wall. No colonial remains have been reported from this site, but a short distance to the north, 14 km. from Ciudad Chetumal and about 1 km. from the coast, is a ruined church of the early ramada type, of which Gann (1927, pp. 26-27, 33-37) has published a description and photographs. This is now called La Iglesia. The second town is Tamalcab, probably referable to Isla Tamalcab, where there is an archaeological site. The third appears as Chinab on the list, but it is probably the place that Cogolludo (bk. 11, ch. 12) calls Chinam (cf. Nahuatl chinamitl, "cane enclosure"). Father

THE PROVINCES OF UAYMIL AND CHETUMAL

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Fuensalida reported that it was up a salt lagoon a quarter of a league from the sea. The lagoon, he stated, was 5 leagues from the mouth of the Río Hondo and 7 or 8 leagues from that of New River, so it would appear from this description that it could have been near the mouth of Estero Guerrero.

Our knowledge of the locations of the towns on New River and the upper Belize River is drawn from the account of Fuensalida's journeys in 1618 and 1641 (Cogolludo, bk. 9, ch. 6, bk. 11, chs. 13, 14, 15). Between the mouths of Río Hondo and New River he stopped at Uaytibal, which appears in the 1582 list of churches (DHY, 2:63) and may have been near Corozal. He calls New River "Río de Dzuluinicob" (literally, "river of the foreign men"), which, he says, meant "river of the Spaniards," and indeed Dzul is what the Maya called the Spaniards. J. E. S. Thompson (communication) suggests the presence of early British logwood cutters, which seems very possible. On the Usumacinta River, however, the Dzul were certain enemies of the Maya Chontal. Their leader had a Mexican name, and they were presumably Nahuatl-speaking inhabitants of Tabasco (Scholes and Roys, 1948, pp. 86, 384). Since the remains at Santa Rita near the mouth of New River display marked Mexican characteristics, I suggest that the river's Maya name goes back to pre-Spanish times.

Traveling up New River, Fuensalida passed the towns of Ppuncuy ("arched or curved heel"), Zonail or Zonauil, a site called Bolonkak ("nine or many fires"), and the towns of Holpatin and Lamayna ("sunken or submerged building"). All these towns except Zonail appear in the 1582 list of churches (DHY, 2:63). Lamayna (also written Lamanay) was situated where the river spreads into a long lagoon, apparently at the modern Indian Church, which is an archaeological site and still has the remains of an early visita church (Gann, 1926, p. 64). Fuensalida left New River at the south end of the lagoon to go overland to the Río de Tipu, which, as we have seen, was the upper Belize River. It is interesting to find at this point on the González map of 1766 an arm of New River Lagoon named Laguna de Tipu. This lagoon also appears, although without a name, on the Tomás López map of 1801.

On leaving New River, Fuensalida walked south 6 leagues through a pine forest (pinal), still shown on a modern forestry map (Thompson, 1939, fig. 100). At the end of the pine ridge he waded across a good-sized stream named the Cancanilla, on what he calls a natural stone bridge; and I believe this must be Labouring Creek. From here he walked 6 leagues farther to a town on Río de Tipu named Luku, or Lucu, possibly the modern Young Gal. Luku was a prosperous place with many cacao groves and noted for its annatto and vanilla. From here to Tipu Fuensalida considered the distance to be 12 leagues; but it took three days to pole or drag the canoe up the numerous rapids. In 1541 Fuensalida did not quite get to Tipu, but he went up the river past villages called Mazanahau, Zacathan (Nahuatl Zacatlan?), and Petentzub ("agouti island") to Zacsuc ("white grass," Eragrostis amabilis Wight. & Arn.). The last-mentioned place was near a tributary, navigable for canoes, called Yaxteel Ahau. Since Barton Creek and Garbutt Creek are not navigable for canoes, Thompson suggests that Zacsuc may

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

have been near the junction of Eastern Branch and Río Mopan. In spite of the name Mazanahau, I am sure that none of these sites is referable to the 1582 list of churches.

—Tipu, however, is on the list. In 1618 it was on a route to Lake Petén, which passed by way of Lake Yaxha. Two leagues from Tipu the route crossed a good-sized river, which could be forded, and from there it was 8 or 10 leagues to Lake Yaxha. From this description the ford appears to have been over the Río Mopan above Tipu. The people of the latter town seem to have been the only Yucatecan Maya who maintained friendly relations with the Itza on Lake Petén in colonial times. On the González map of 1766 the only settlement on the headwaters of the Belize-Mopan drainage is Estancia del Río, and a road is shown running in a northwesterly direction to Lake Petén. Although a part of the Río Mopan is not now considered to be navigable, I suggest that this road, the Río Mopan, and the Belize River formed one of the old trade routes from Lake Petén to the Caribbean Sea. (Cf. Thompson, 1931, frontispiece.) There was also, however, another route farther south, which ascended the Pasión and Cancuen and crossed the divide to the Sarstoon River, down which it led to the Bahía de Amatique near Nito, a famous commercial center on the Río Dulce in what is now Guatemala (Scholes and Roys, 1948, p. 60).

In 1618 Tipu had 100 married men. A former cacique, Don Luis Mazun, had recently died at Mérida while awaiting trial for idolatry, and he was succeeded by Don Cristóbal Na. The titular patron of the church was San Pedro, which may sometime be a clue to its location. The present Indians in the region are described by Thompson (1930, p. 37).

Two other colonial towns can be located in a general way; both are on the 1582 list of visita churches (DHY, 2:63). One is Tiçactam, which seems to be referable to "Río Sactham" on the González map. The river is shown on the east coast, about halfway between Punta Piedra and the Belize River. This position corresponds to that of Northern River on modern maps, which is near an archaeological site. The other is called Xibum, which must have been on or near Sibun River. It is unlikely that this site actually lay in Chetumal, but it may have been a commercial outpost of the people of the province. One more possible site was Chunukum, which has already been mentioned. It was near the south end of Lake Bacalar, and in the late sixteenth century merchants were still coming to the place from the Province of Maní to buy cacao. (*Documentos de Tabi*). I suggest that this was the village of Ucum (Ukum), on a stream of that name which flows into the lower Río Hondo or Nohukum (García Cubas, 1884; Espinosa, ca. 1910).

Cogolludo (bk. 11, chs. 16, 17) tells of Cehake and Zoite, which were old sites, but repopulated only in 1642. He indicates that they were on the east coast, which the inhabitants navigated for long distances to the south. The cacique of Zoite, Don Diego Canche, served as interpreter for a missionary to the people living farther to the south, whom I take to have been the Mopan Indians (Thompson, 1930, pp. 36-37, 204; 1931, p. 229). Modern examples of the Mopan

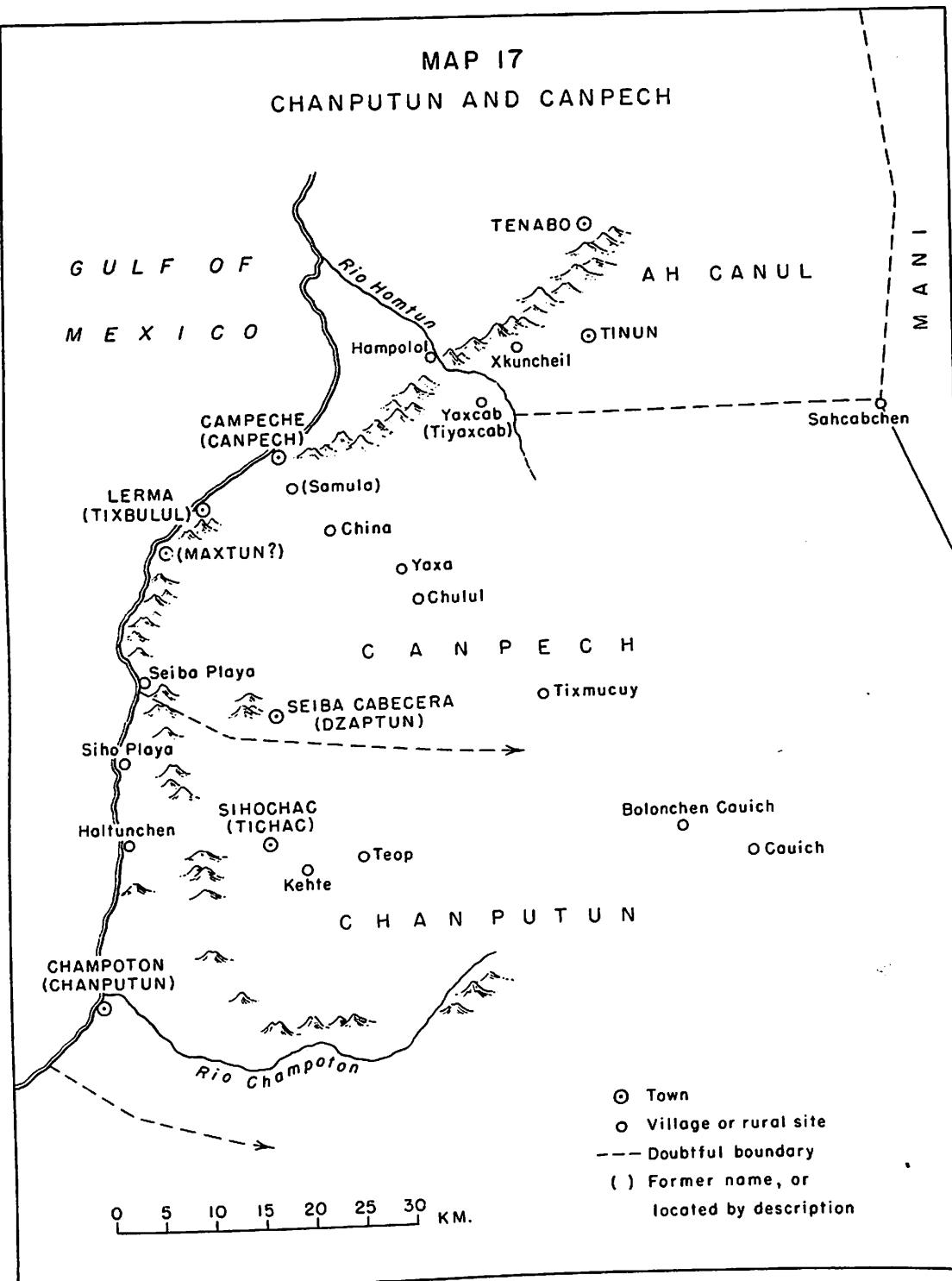
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THE PROVINCES OF UAYMIL AND CHETUMAL

language seem so similar to Yucatecan Maya that one would not expect an interpreter to be needed; this similarity, however, might be due to later Yucatecan influence.

Three other towns, Tzaman, Ticabte, and Calakçolpat, also appear in the Bacalar list of the visita churches in 1582 (DHY, 2:63), but it is hard to tell whether they were in Chetumal or Uaymil.

The accompanying maps of Uaymil and Chetumal (maps 15 and 16) are compiled principally from the Tulane-Carnegie map, the Carta General del Territorio de Quintana Roo, and a forestry map of British Honduras (Thompson, 1939, fig. 100).



THE PROVINCES OF CHANPUTUN AND CANPECH

Chanputun was evidently named for its principal town, now known as Champoton. Puton, or Poton, was a name applied to Maya Chontal, to Chol, and to a non-Maya language farther south, the last apparently by Nahuatl-speaking neighbors. Only in Chol does the term seem to have an applicable meaning, which is "peaceful." The Mexicans are reported to have called the entire region of Champoton and Campeche the "province of Cochistan." Even as early as 1527, the name Champoton was defined as lugar hediondo ("stinking place"), but I doubt whether this was the original meaning of Puton (Scholes and Roys, 1948, pp. 34, 52).

Chanputun

The southernmost town of Canpech was Dzaptun ("one flat stone laid on another"?), now Seiba Cabecera (Cal., p. 38; Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20). From here the Province of Chanputun extended to a point not far south of Champoton, almost the end of the Yucatecan Maya area. The site of the Maya Chontal town of Tixchel was unoccupied at the time of the conquest (Scholes and Roys, 1948, p. 171). It is hard to tell how far inland the country was settled. The 1582 catalogue of churches shows only Tichac, now Sihochac, besides Champoton. The other towns on the accompanying map had become visitas in 1656 (Cogolludo, bk. 4, ch. 20).

Champoton was probably the Chakanputun of the Maya chronicles and prophecies (Brinton, 1882, pp. 101-2, 145-46; Roys, 1933, pp. 136, 141). There the people of Chichen Itza went, we are told, when their town was depopulated; and there, too, the Itza were living until they were driven out and went to northern Yucatan. Landa (Tozzer, 1941, p. 25) calls the place Champoton and states that the deified statesman Kukulcan, who was associated with the Itza and founded Mayapan, later returned to Mexico. He stopped on his way at Champoton, where he erected a building in the sea; and the foundation of such a structure is still to be seen on a reef not far from the shore (Shook and Proskouriakoff, 1951, p. 239). The few Maya column drums lying about at Champoton seemed to me to resemble those at Mayapan more than they do the drums of columns in the Puuc (an archaeological area south of the range of high hills in the Province of Mani) or at Chichen Itza. In the second half of the fifteenth century a Maya Chontal, the grandfather of a contemporary of Cortés, established his people for a time at Tixchel on the coast about 70 km. southwest of Champoton. This was directly on the important trade route from Champoton to Xicalango and Potonchan in Tabasco; but the three last-mentioned towns attacked them and drove them back

into the interior (Scholes and Roys, 1948, pp. 81, 384). The fierce attacks by the Champoton people on the first Spanish exploring expeditions indicate that they were a warlike group.

Oviedo y Valdés (1851-55, bk. 32, ch. 5), probably with a good deal of exaggeration, tells us that in 1531 Champoton was a city of 8000 thatched stone houses and some others with flat roofs (*azoteas*). It was surrounded by a wall of dry stone with good ditches. Within the wall the people constructed quarters for the Spaniards apart from the homes of the townspeople and around a plaza. Oviedo's informant was much impressed by the fishing fleet of over 2000 canoes that put out to sea each day, and by the temple on the reef, which was dedicated to the gods of fishing. In 1517 and 1518 the ruler was Moch ("cripple") Couoh; and a century later the Couoh were still mentioned as one of the most important cacique families of Yucatan (Landa, in Tozzer, 1941, p. 56; Sánchez de Aguilar, 1937, p. 140).

In the 1549 tax list Champoton is given 420 tributaries, or a population of about 1890. One item of tribute was 80 arrobas of fish, but no salt was required. This encomienda belonged to the Crown, and it must have included the other towns of the province. The river at Champoton is the only one in Yucatan north of Chetumal Bay and Laguna de Términos that is navigable for any distance inland, and it no doubt facilitated trade with the southern interior of the peninsula.

Canpech

Like Chanputun, the Province of Canpech ("snake garrapata") evidently took its name from its principal town, now called Campeche. Torquemada gives the Maya name as Kinpech, which has been reconstructed as Ah Kin ("priest") Pech, but the colonial Maya manuscripts call it only Canpech. The latter name is confirmed by one of the Spanish conquerors (RY, 1:146), who tells us that it was the name of "an idol which bore on its head the insignia of a coiled serpent [can] and on the head of the serpent, a garrapata [pech]."¹ Here the temples were large and imposing. On a large stone platform were sculptures. One was of animals biting a man, and another was of a huge serpent swallowing a puma (Torquemada, 1943, bk. 4, ch. 3). To me these figures suggest representations of the activities of the military orders introduced by the Toltecs at Chichen Itza (Roys, 1933, appendix F). The Spaniards were told that this was a place for the punishment of evildoers. "Three beams stood there, planted in the floor with three others that crossed them, and many arrows and darts sprinkled and stained with blood were scattered on the pavement" (Torquemada, 1943, bk. 11, ch. 21). Tozzer (1941, p. 117) suggests that this was a frame to which victims of the arrow sacrifice were bound.

The Crónica de Calkini (p. 38) tells us that the jurisdiction of the Province of Canpech extended from Río Homtun, which hardly deserves to be called a river, on the north, to Dzaptun, now Seiba Cabecera. Presumably it included the site of Seiba Playa on the coast. It is hard to tell how far inland the province

THE PROVINCE OF MANI AND CANPECH

extended. The people may well have cultivated scattered milpas for a considerable distance into the interior, just as the Mani people still do some of their farming near Xul, 30 km. away from their town. Map 17 shows the towns which had churches in 1656 (Cogolludo, bk. 4, chs. 19, 20). It may be significant that on the González map of 1766 the only road to Hopelchen on the Mani border is from the Province of Ah Canul and not from Campeche. This suggests that there may have been an unoccupied belt of forest between Canpech and Mani. A Maya manuscript strongly implies that the ruler of Canpech was Nadzocab (also written Nadzaycab) Canul (Brinton, 1882, p. 236).

Torquemada (1943, bk. 11, ch. 21) quotes Peter Martyr as stating that Campeche was a town of 3000 houses at the time of its discovery. Ximénez (1929-31, bk. 2, ch. 34) describes it as a town of 500 houses in 1545. These pole-and-thatch structures were set in no regular order and were widely separated from one another. The 1549 tax list gives the encomienda 630 tributaries, or about 5985 inhabitants, but this figure included the other towns of the province. Among the tribute items are 50 fanegas of salt and 100 arrobas of fish. The ex-

ploitation of the salt beds west of Ah Canul by Campeche people has been discussed in the chapter on Ah Canul. Commerce, fishing, and salt gathering seem to have been the principal activities of the Province of Canpech. It is still a good country for milpa farming, however, and in 1545 much cotton was raised there.

GLOSSARY

- adelantado (Span.): a title conferred on some of the conquerors.
- ahau (Maya): ruler; title of a halach uinic.
- ah cuchcab (Maya): member of a town council; head of a ward of a town.
- ah kin (Maya): priest.
- Ah Kul (Maya): title of an ah kulel.
- ah kulel (Maya): deputy or assistant of a batab.
- alcalde (Span.): a local magistrate.
- almehen (Maya): noble.
- arroba (Span.): a weight of about 25 pounds; a measure of about 4 gallons.
- barrio (Span.): ward of a town.
- batab (Maya): the civil and military head of a town; later, a cacique.
- cabecera (Span.): principal town of a district or mission area.
- cacique (Span.): an Indian chief; in colonial times the holder of a certain hereditary position, and later the governor of an Indian town.
- cenote (from Maya dzonot): a natural well peculiar to Yucatan.
- encomendero (Span.): holder of an encomienda.
- encomienda (Span.): an allotment of Indians obligated to give tribute, service, or both, to a Spanish colonist.
- estancia (Span.): a habitation; later, a cattle ranch.
- fanega (Span.): a dry measure of about 1.6 bushels.
- halach uinic (Maya): a territorial ruler.
- holpop (Maya): holder of a rank and possibly an office of undetermined character; sometimes called a cacique.
- manta (Span.): a length of cloth; the tribute manta contained about 10 square yards.
- matrícula (Span.): an official list, such as a count of tributaries.
- milpa (Nahuatl): a farm or field cultivated by the slash-and-burn method.
- nacom (Maya): war chief; also a sacrificial priest.
- principal (Span.): an Indian of noble status; head of a ward of a town.
- ranchería (Span.): a hamlet or small settlement.
- regidor (Span.): member of a town council.
- relación (Span.): an account or report.
- villa (Span.): a town with certain privileges of local government.
- visita (Span.): an Indian town with a church but no resident clergy.

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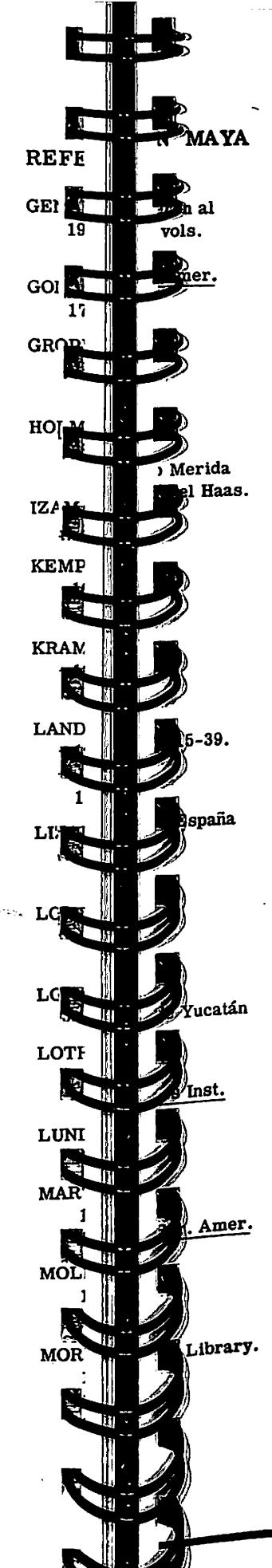
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INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

Unless otherwise indicated, the following names are those of towns, villages, and rural sites. When the usual name differs from its Maya form, the latter, if known, follows in parentheses. Since some of the place names have in the past been better known by the forms recorded in *Relaciones de Yucatán*, these are also given here and designated (RY); some variants are included which are not cited in the text. Some of the more garbled forms appearing in the 1549 tax list are repeated here and designated ('49).

- Abala, 38, 39
- Acalan, province, 55, 154, 162
- Acalaxan ('49), see Calakxan
- Acanceh, 28, 38, 39
- Acansip, 15, 26
- Achtunich, 86
- Ac-zodz, 22
- Ah Canul, province, 6, 8, 11-13, 15, 16, 22, 23, 26, 28-33, 35-38, 41, 61, 64, 67, 77, 100, 113, 169
- Ah Kin Chel (Ah Kin Ch'el), province, 8, 12, 13, 43, 52, 53, 55, 56, 79, 81, 82, 84, 89, 90, 93, 94, 103, 113, 114, 122
- Ake, in Cehpech, 58, 80
- Ake, in Chikinchel, 6, 104, 107, 108, 148
- Akil, 74
- Amatiq, Bahía de, 164
- Ascensión Bay (Camabac), 135, 137
- Ateque ('49), see Tiek
- Atequeaque (RY), see Cehac
- Atimciqibique ('49), see Cacalchen in Cehpech
- Axcaba ('49), see Yaxcaba near Valladolid
- Axulchen, 111
- Baca, 47
- Bacab-cabal-usi, 21
- Bacabchen (Bacabch'en), 24
- Bacalar (Bakhhal), 72, 114, 135, 155, 157, 159, 162
- Bacalar, Lake, 157, 159, 161, 162, 164
- Balche, 58-60
- Barton Creek, 163
- Bayquilci (Baycilci), 15
- Becal, 15, 19-21, 25
- Becya, see Tixbecya
- Belize-Mopan drainage, 164
- Belize River, 157, 159, 161, 163, 164
- Belma, see Ecab
- Boca de la Iglesia, pass, 151
- Bohe, 58
- Bokoba, 43, 52, 53
- Bolon, see Bolonpoxche
- Bolonchenticul, 73
- Bolonixan (Bolon-nic-xan), 56, 58-60
- Bolonkak, 163
- Bolonkauil, 123, 127
- Bolonpoxche, 28, 29, 32, 33, 37
- Boxchen (Boxch'en), in Cupul, 115, 120
- Boxchen, in Ecab, 132, 150
- Boxcohuo (Box-couoh), point, 28
- British Honduras, 105, 159, 165
- Buctzotz, 79, 84-86
- Buleb, San Isidro (Tahbuleb), 76
- Caba ('49), see Kaua
- Cacabachuc ('49), see Tixcacaltuyu
- Cacob-isax, 21
- Cacob-kusan, 21
- Cacob-pek, 21
- Cacalchen (Cacalch'en), in Cehpech, 43, 52
- Cacalchen, in Cupul, 123, 134
- Cacalud ('49), see Tinum in Cupul
- Caçauaca ('49), see Mopila in Sotuta
- Cachi, 104, 105, 145, 146, 152
- Cachupuy, 89
- Calakpolpat, 165
- Calaxan (Calakxan), 32
- Calkini, 12, 13, 15-23
- Calkini, "province of," 22
- Calotmul, in Cupul, 77, 121, 124, 125

INDE

- Calotmul, in Mani, 65, 77, 124, 135
- Calotmul, "province of," 124
- Camabac, see Ascensión Bay
- Campeche (Canpech), 11, 13, 15, 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, 44, 45, 47, 84, 147, 154, 162, 167, 168, 169
- Campeche, State of, 24, 70
- Cancanilla, stream, 163
- Cancho, 82
- Cancuen, river, 164
- Cancun, island, 145
- Candelaria River, 154
- Candelaria-Usumacinta region, 162
- Canmayac-mul, 21
- Canpech, province, 8, 15, 143, 167-69
- Cansahcab, 53, 82, 83, 85
- Cantamayec, 96, 100
- Caucel, 6, 30, 35, 36, 41, 81
- Caucel, Puerto de, 36
- Cauich, 73, 88
- Cax ('49), see Tekax
- Cedral, 155
- Cehac, 112, 153
- Cehach, 21
- Cehake, 164
- Cehpech, province, 6, 8, 9, 35, 36, 38, 41-44, 48, 51, 52, 55, 56, 79, 82, 95, 109, 113
- Celestun, 28, 36
- Celul, 142
- Cenote, at Cenotillo, 123
- Cenote, in Ah Canul, 20, 25
- Cenote, in northern Cupul, see Dzonotchuil
- Cenote-Tepip, see Cenotillo
- Cenotillo, 121, 123
- Çenput ('49), 133
- Cepeda, 18
- Chable, in Cehpech, see Chablekal
- Chable, in Uaymil, 157
- Chablekal, 44
- Chachetunyche ('49), 86, 96
- Chacxulu, barrio of Pencuyut, 74
- Ch'acxulubch'en, see Chicxulub
- Chakan, province, 6, 17, 28, 29, 35-39, 41, 43, 48, 51, 55, 56, 61, 67, 69
- Chakanputun, 50, 167
- Chalamte, 91
- Chaltun, 38
- Chaltunbolio, 90
- Chaltun-ch'en, barrio of Numkini, 21
- Chaltunha, 89
- Chaltunpuhuy, 90
- Champoton (Chanputun), 3, 50, 154, 167, 168

- Chancenote (Chandzonot), 107, 109-12, 145, 150-52
- Chan-chochola, see Chochola near Maxcanu
- Chan Kom, 131
- Chanlacam, 162
- Chanputun, province, 8, 15, 50, 143, 167, 168
- Chanuinic, 43
- Chapab, 68
- Chauaca (Chauac-ha), 3, 6, 104-7, 122, 124, 129, 155, 162
- Chauaca, lake, 106
- Chauaca, province, see Chikinchel
- Chelen (Chelem), 44, 46
- Ch'el-pak, 22
- Chemax, 109, 110, 113, 114, 131, 152
- Chemdzonot, see Chancenote
- Ch'en-thel, barrio of Numkini, 21
- Chepedz ('49), see Ekpedz
- Chequitaquil, 162
- Chetumal (Chactemal), 147, 157, 161, 162
- Chetumal, province, 8, 10, 113, 135, 137, 145, 156, 157, 159, 161, 162, 164, 165
- Chetumal Bay, 137, 157, 159, 161, 168
- Chibxul, 133
- Chican, see Tuchican
- Chichankanab, Laguna de, 135
- Chichen Itza (Chich'en Itza), 3, 16, 30, 36-38, 50, 58, 63, 70, 79, 84, 93, 95, 97, 114, 127, 130-32, 135, 154, 155, 167, 168
- Chichimila (Chechemila), 133
- Chicxulub (Ch'icxulub), 41, 45-47
- Chicxulub, Municipio de, 46
- Chicxulub Puerto, 46, 49
- Chicxulub, Vigía de, 46
- Chikinchel (Chikin-cheel), province, 6, 79, 86, 90, 103, 104, 107-9, 113, 114, 121, 122, 124, 143, 148
- Chikindzonot, 137-40
- Chinab, 162
- Chinam, see Chinab
- Chiquila, 143, 152
- Ch'oben, see Rfo Lagartos, port
- Ch'och'ha, barrio of Numkini, 21
- Chochola (Ch'och'ola), in Cupul, 119
- Chochola, in northern Ah Canul, 28, 29, 33
- Chochola, near Maxcanu, 17
- Cholul (Chulul), 44
- Chomulna, 101
- Choventun, point, 36
- Chuacan, 106
- Chubulna, Laguna de, 36, 43, 44, 46, 48
- Chuburna (Chubulna), 43

Chulila (Chulilha), 18, 19, 23
 Chululteil, 98
 Chumayel, 68, 69
 Chunchuchu (RY), see Chunhuhub
 Chunho, 36
 Chunhuhub, 77, 135, 141, 157, 159
 Chunukum, 161, 164
 Chuychuen (Ch'uychuen), see Chuyubchueen
 Chuyubchueen (Ch'uyubchueen), 118, 119, 121
 Çicab (RY), see Sisal in Cuyul
 Cicontun (RY), see Dzidzantun
 Çiho ('49), 118
 Çihua, see Usil
 Çique ('49), see Saci
 Çismopo (RY), in northern Cupul, see
 Dzitnop
 Çismopo (RY), near Valladolid, see Dzitnup
 Çisnuache ('49), see Tixmeuac
 Cisteil, 139
 Citilcum, 88
 Ciudad Chetumal, 161, 162
 Çixmo ('49), 110, 131
 Coba, 113, 127, 145
 Coccoyz ('49), see Cocuitz
 Cochistan, "province of," 167
 Cochuah, province, 6, 8, 9, 43, 61, 64, 77,
 93, 94, 100, 113, 114, 132, 135, 137-39,
 141, 156, 157
 Cocuitz, 128
 Colonia Yucatán, 103, 105, 106, 122
 Concepción, 22
 Coni, 151
 Conil, 112, 143, 145, 146, 151, 152, 155
 Conil, Bahía de, 143, 152
 Conil, Boca de, pass, 143
 Conkal (Cumkal), 41, 44, 45
 Conkal, port of, 44
 Corozal, 163
 Cotoche, Cape, 112, 143, 145, 150, 151
 Cotuta (RY), see Sotuta
 Cozumel, see San Miguel Xamancab
 Cozumel (Cusamil) Island, 75, 93, 106, 114,
 137, 143, 146, 148, 149, 154-56
 Cruz-ch'en, barrio of Numkini, 21
 Çuçal (RY), see Dzudzal
 Culucmul, see Xculucmul
 Cumpich, 24
 Cuncunul, 131, 132
 Cupul, province, 6, 8, 9, 16, 30, 43, 77, 79,
 81, 82, 90, 91, 93, 94, 100, 103, 109,
 110, 113-15, 117, 118, 123, 124, 132,
 135, 137-39, 145, 147, 149

Cusama, 55-57, 60, 67, 117
 Cuxbil ('49), see Kuxbila
 Cuyhua, see Usil
 Çuytum ('49), see Suytun
 Cuyul, see Usil

Despoblado de Bacalar, area, 157
 Despoblado Nuevo, area, 157
 Dimas López, 161
 Dohot (RY), see Dzonotchuil
 Duya (RY), see Sisia
 Dzan, 67, 68, 71, 72, 75
 Dzaptun, see Seiba Cabecera
 Dzemul, 46, 49, 82
 Dzepico, 15
 Dzibikak, 37
 Dzibikal (Dzibil-kal), 6, 7, 28, 29, 35-48, 44, 45, 47
 Dzidzantun (Dzidzomtun), 80, 82-86
 Dzilam, 79, 80, 84-86
 Dzilam Bravo, see Dzilam Puerto
 Dzilam González, see Dzilam
 Dzilam Puerto, 79, 84, 86
 Dzitas (Dzithas), 123
 Dzitbalche, 15, 23
 Dzitcacauche, 121
 Dzitmop, in northern Cupul, 120
 Dzitnup (Dzitmop), near Valladolid, 129, 133
 Dzoncauich, 79, 86
 Dzonot, at Cenotillo, 123
 Dzonot, in northern Cupul, see Dzonotchuil
 Dzonotake, 103, 104-7; see also Ake
 Dzonotchuil, 85, 108, 115, 121
 Dzonotlu, 79
 Dzudzal, 90, 91
 Dzuluinicob, Rfo de, see New River

Eastern Branch, stream, 161, 164
 Ebtun, 117, 131, 132
 Ecab, 143, 146, 150, 151
 Ecab, province, 103, 104, 109, 112, 143, 145, 146, 150, 155
 Egum (RY), see Euan
 Ek, 68
 Ekab, see Ecab
 Ekbalam, 110, 114, 125
 Ekmul, 42, 48
 Ekpiedz, 139, 140
 El Cayo, 161
 El Cuyo, 103, 105, 106

INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

El Meco, 150
 Emal, 108
 Emiliano Zapata, Bahía, see Ascensión Bay
 Enaqir ('49), see Ake in Chikinchel
 Enteçud ('49), 125
 Espita (Tixppitah), 122, 124
 Estancia del Río, 164
 Esterro Guerrero, estuary, 163
 Euan, 42, 49

Garbutt Creek, 163
 Granada, 17; see also Tuchican
 Gran Cairo, 150
 Guatemala, 12, 108, 164
 Guayacuz, see Uayacuz
 Guayma (RY), see Uayma

Haasilchen, 141
 Halacho (Halalch'o), 17, 18, 20
 Hayan ('49), near Mani, see Dzan
 Hayan ('49), near Tixmeuac, see Xaya
 Hecelchakan (Xecelchakan), 16, 20, 23-26,
 100
 Hinal, see Jaina
 Hoal, 67
 Hocabá, 55, 56, 58-60
 Hocabá, province, 8, 9, 35, 43, 55-57, 61,
 64, 67, 82, 83, 94, 95, 100, 109, 113,
 114, 117, 138, 147
 Hoctún, 58
 Holbox, island, 145
 Holcol, 111
 Holpatin, 163
 Holtún-Chable, 44
 Holtunchen, barrio of Kikil, 119
 Homhom, 151
 Homhom Island, 151
 Homonche, 15, 28
 Homtún, 15, 26
 Homtún, Río, 11, 16, 168
 Homulna, 101
 Homun (Humun), 55-57, 60, 67
 Honduras, province, 93, 135, 145-47, 159,
 162
 Hopelchen, 169
 Huebilchen (RY), 119
 Huhi, 58, 60, 82, 83
 Hunabku, see Kunuku
 Hunacti, or Hunacthi, 75, 76, 101
 Hunch'icxulub, see Chicxulub

Hunucma, 28-32, 37
 Hunycu ('49), see Kunuku

Ichcansihó, see Mérida
 Ichmul, or Ichmultiuah, 135, 137, 138, 140-141
 Ichpatun, 162
 Ichtunich, barrio of Kikil, 119
 Indian Church, 161, 163
 Itzamkanac, 154
 Itzimna (Itzamna), 36, 41, 43
 Itzimte, 122
 Ixcacauche, see Tixcacacauche
 Ixconti ('49), 122, 127
 Ixil, 46
 Ixtual, see Tixtual
 Izamal (Itzmal), 43, 51, 59, 80, 81, 84, 88-90,
 98, 154
 Izamal, Department of, 89, 90
 Izcontí (RY), see Ixconti

Jaina (Hinal), island, 15, 26

Kabah, 70, 71
 Kahlacum, 23
 Kanasin (Kanalsin), 36
 Kancaba, barrio of Kikil, 119
 Kancab-ch'en, barrio of Numkini, 21
 Kanchaltun, 23
 Kanchunup, 76, 96-98
 Kanpocolche (Kanpokolche), 141
 Kantemo, see Peto
 Kantunil, 80, 91
 Kantunilkin, 103, 143, 145, 152, 153
 Kanxoc, 123, 134
 Kaua, 131, 132
 Kauan, 134
 Kiba, 44
 Kikil, 107, 118, 119
 Kilakan, see Kinlacam
 Kilakan, barrio of Calkini, 8, 22
 Kimbila (Kinimila), 88
 Kinacma, 51
 Kinchil, 15, 28, 31, 32
 Kini, 51
 Kinlacam, or Kilakan, 22, 23
 Kinpech, 168
 Kizil, 28, 32, 37
 Komilchen, 122
 Kopoma, 16

Kopote, point, 11, 15, 28
 Kucab, see Kulcab
 Kulcab, 18
 Kumtun, 20
 Kumun, 47
 Kunuku, 125, 127
 Kuxbila, 90, 123
 Labcah, see Solferino
 Labouring Creek, 163
 Lactun, 46
 La Concepción, see Santa Marfa
 La Desconocida, harbor, 15, 19, 28, 29
 Laguna de Términos, 168
 Lahun-Chable, 44
 La Iglesia, 162
 Lamayna, or Lamanay, 163
 Libre Unión, 79
 Loche (Tahloxche), 107, 108
 Louain ('49), see Yobain
 Luku, or Lucu, 163
 Mama, 64, 68, 69
 Mani, 35, 39, 63, 64, 65, 67-71, 74, 75, 77, 99, 100, 135, 137, 139, 169
 Mani, province, 6, 8, 9, 19, 23, 26, 39, 55, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 73, 75-77, 79, 88, 93, 94, 95, 100, 101, 109, 113, 114, 117, 124, 132, 135, 137, 138, 143, 147, 156, 164, 167, 169
 Mape ('49), 152
 Maxcanu (Maxcanul), 13, 15-20, 28, 30
 Maxtunil, 41, 44-47
 Mayapan, capital, 3, 8, 11-13, 16, 18, 23, 24, 30, 35, 41, 50, 61, 63, 67-69, 75, 79-81, 89, 93, 95, 97, 100, 104, 109, 110, 114, 117, 118, 137, 146, 155, 161, 167
 Mayapan, in Chetumal, 162, 164
 Mazanahau, in Uaymil, 157
 Mazanahau, on Belize River, 157, 163
 Mérida (Tiho, or Ichcansih), 17-19, 26, 28, 29, 33, 35-37, 43, 44, 48, 63, 70, 83, 113, 135, 140, 159, 164
 Mexcitam, 117, 118, 120
 Mexico, 114, 130, 155, 167
 Misnebalam, 105
 Mochi, 145, 149, 150
 Mococha, 47
 Mocoche, barrio of Pencuyut, 74

Mona, see Muna
 Montezuma, 107
 Mopan River, see Río Mopan
 Mopila, in Ah Canul near Maxcanu, 20
 Mopila, in Ah Canul near Tepakan, 19, 20, 23, 25
 Mopila, in Sotuta, 99
 Motul (Mutul), 41, 43, 45, 50-52, 58, 80
 Motul, "province of," 51
 Muca ('49), 33
 Muchi, 149
 Mujeres, "Punta de," 145
 Mujeres Island, 143, 145, 147
 Muna, 68
 Muxupip, at Cenotillo, 123
 Muxuppipp, in Cehpech, 51, 52, 58
 Nabalam, 110, 113, 114, 125, 127, 145
 Nazareno, 20
 New River, 159, 161, 163
 New River Lagoon, 159, 161, 163
 New Spain, 156
 Nimum, 15, 28
 Nito, 164
 Nitunchauay (Nitunch'auay), 46
 Nohbec, Laguna, 36, 157
 Nohcacab, barrio of Peto, 77
 Nohcacab, in Ah Canul, 15, 19, 64, 71
 Nohcacab, in Mani, 15, 71
 Nohukum, see Río Hondo
 Nohyaxche, 79
 Nolo, 42, 43, 48
 Northern River, 159, 161, 164
 Numkini, 21, 22, 26
 Numkini, barrio of Calkini, 21
 Opichen (Opilch'en), border site, see Hopelchen
 Opichen, near Maxcanu, 16
 Oppol, see Tioppol
 Oqui (RY), see Uci
 Oscuzcas (RY), see Oxkutzcab
 Otzmal, 70
 Oxcum, 32
 Oxkutzcab, 8, 66, 70, 72-74, 88, 114, 138
 Oycib, or Oyquib, 154-56
 Paçaluchen ('49), 121
 Pacha, 159
 Pachcaan, 15, 28

YUCATEC
MAYA
INDEX

Pachihomhom, see Homhom
 Panaba, 79, 117, 118, 120
 Panabchen (Panabch'en), near Dzan, 67, 71, 72
 Panabchen, near Peto, 65
 Papacal, 82
 Pasión, river, 164
 Payo Obispo, see Ciudad Chetumal
 Peba, 35
 Pencuyut (Ppencuyut), 64, 66, 74, 75, 117
 Petcah, barrio of Tekax, 74
 Peten, in Guatemala, 105
 Peten, Lake, 10, 12, 161, 164
 Peten Itza, region, 12
 Petentun, 108
 Petenzub, 163
 Peto (Petu), 64, 66, 76, 77, 117
 Petu, barrio of Peto, 77
 Piedra, Punta, 164
 Pip, 123
 Piste, 127
 Pistemax, 131
 Pixila, 88, 90
 Pixoy, 128
 Pocboc, 16, 23, 25
 Pokmuchi, 16, 25
 Pole (Ppole), 145, 146, 148, 149, 155
 Polyuc, in Ah Canul, 21
 Polyuc, in Cochuah, 141
 Pomolche, 89
 Pomuch, see Pokmuchi
 Pop, 79, 122
 Popola, 128, 129
 Popox (Tippoppox), 97, 98, 99
 Potonchan, 167
 Ppencuyut, barrio of Pencuyut, 74
 Ppuncuy, 163
 Progreso, 46
 Progreso, Laguna de, 43, 46
 Pucumi, 37
 Puerto Morelos, 145, 146, 149
 Pustunich (Ppustunich), in Mani, 70, 71
 Pustunich, southeast of Champoton, 70
 Puuc, archaeological area, 61, 167
 Puuc, range of hills, 13, 16-19, 23, 24, 61, 70, 71, 113
 Quechemas, 125
 Quehtun, 159
 Quibil ('49), see Kini
 Quinacama (RY), see Kinacma
 Quinché (RY), see Ah Kin Chel

INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

Quintana Roo, territory, 11, 36, 105, 151, 165
 Quitelcam (RY), see Citilcum
 Rancho del Obispo, see Ciudad Chetumal
 Refugio, 20
 Río de Tipu, see Tipu, Río de
 Río Dulce, 164
 Río Homtun, see Homtun, Río
 Río Hondo (Nohukum), 72, 159, 161-64
 Río Lagartos, lagoon, 24, 143
 Río Lagartos (Ch'oben), port, 86, 103, 108, 147
 Río Mopan, 161, 164
 Río Sactham, 164
 Río Turbio, 143, 152
 Saban, 142
 Sabanal, 48
 Sacalaca (Sacalac), 140, 141
 Sacalum (Saculum), 68
 Saci, or Sacial, 129; see also Valladolid
 Sacnicteelchen (Sacnicteelch'en), 15, 25, 26
 Sahcaba, in Cupul, 90, 123
 Sahcaba, in Hocabá, 59
 Sahcaba, in Sotuta, 71, 99, 100
 Sahcabchen (Sahcabch'en), border site, 15
 Sahcabchen, in Ah Canul near Dzitbalche, 15, 23
 Sal (Titzal), 76
 Salamanca de Bacalar, see Bacalar
 Salamanca de Xamanha, 149
 Salamanca de Xelha, 148, 149
 Samahil, 28, 77
 Samyol, 141
 Sanahcat (Tzanlahcat), 49, 58-60
 San Andrés, point, 46
 San Felipe, 79
 San José Peten, 84
 San Miguel Xamancab, 155, 156
 San Román, barrio of Numkini, 21
 Santa Clara, 80, 84
 Santa Elena, in Ah Kin Chel, 79
 Santa Elena Nohcacab, see Nohcacab in Mani
 Santa Marfa, 89
 Santa Marfa Oycib, see Oycib
 Santa Rita, in Chetumal, 161, 163
 Santa Rita, Rancho, in Cozumel, 154
 Sarstoorn River, 164
 Seiba Cabecera (Dzaptun), 167, 168
 Seiba Playa, 168
 Seville, 147

- Seye (Siye), 56, 57
 Seyeusil, see Usil
 Sibun River, 161, 164
 Siho, 18
 Sihocac, 167
 Sihunchen (Sihunch'en), in Ah Canul, 28, 30, 31
 Sihunchen, in Chakan, 31
 Simsimeche, see Sinsimato
 Sinanche, 49, 80, 82
 Sinhunchen, see Sihunchen in Ah Canul
 Sinsimato (Sinsinbahtok), 6, 103, 104, 105, 107
 Sisal, in Ah Canul, 15, 28, 29
 Sisal, in Cupul, 125, 128-30
 Sisbic, 75
 Sisia (Tzitzya), 103, 107, 108
 Sitolpech, 88, 90
 Sitpach (Sicipach), 44
 Sodzil, 121, 122, 127
 Solferino, 143
 Soliman, Caleta de, 148
 Sotuta (Sututa), 33, 63, 69, 70, 76, 86, 93-98, 100, 113
 Sotuta, province, 6, 8, 9, 24, 30, 39, 43, 55, 61, 63, 64, 69-71, 74, 75, 77, 79, 82, 93-97, 99-101, 109, 113, 114, 123, 129, 131, 135, 137, 139, 143, 154
 Suchel (RY), see Xocchel
 Sucila, see Suquila
 Sucopo (Tzucop), 108, 118, 121, 122
 Suma, 43, 52, 53
 Suquila (Suucilha?), 79, 120, 130
 Suyua, West, region, 12
 Suytun, 124

Tabasco, 154
 Tabasco, province, 12, 30, 117, 163, 167
 Tabi, in Cochuah, 135, 141
 Tabi, in Mani, 71
 Tabi, in Sotuta, 96-98
 Tacchebilchen (Tacchebilch'en), 24, 100
 Tachay ('49), see Calotmul in Cupul
 Tacul, 21, 22, 26
 Tahbuçoz (RY), see Buctzotz
 Tahbuctzotz, see Buctzotz
 Tahbuleb, see Buleb
 Tahcabo (Tahcab), 125, 127
 Tahch'amac, 38, 48
 Tahchebilchen, see Tacchebilchen
 Tahdzech, see Tases

INDEX

- Ten
Tepaca
Tepaka
Tepal
Tepal
Tepop,
Tepop
Teop
Térmi
Tesoc
Tet
Tet
Tetzin
Texan
Tex
Texio
Texul:
Tev
The
Tiac,
Tiact
Tia
Tibol
Ticab
Tic
Tica
Ticha
Tich
Ti
Ticul
Ticur
Tid
Ties,
Tiha:
Tic
Tid
Tihol
Tiho:
Tid
Tika
Tiko
Ti
Ti
Tiku
Tiku
Ti
Tim
Tim
Ti
Ti
Tinu
Tier

INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

- Tenosique (Chontal, Tanodzic), 154
 Tepaca ('49), see Ichmul
 Tepakan (Tipakam), in Ah Canul, 19-21
 Tepakan, in Ah Kin Chel, 86, 87
 Tepich (Tipich), 137, 139
 Tepop, see Pop
 Tepopox, see Popox
 Tequeat ('49), see Cehac
 Términos, Laguna de, 168
 Tesoco (Tidzoc), 109, 114, 115, 130
 Tetis, 28, 31
 Tetzal (RY), see Sal
 Tetzimin (RY), see Tizimin
 Texan (Tixan), see Citilcum
 Texcolmud ('49), see Tixculum
 Texiol (Tixiol), 38
 Texul, see Xul
 Teya (Tiya), 87
 Thothila, 119, 131
 Tiac, 8
 Tiactun, 58, 59
 Tiaguan, 110
 Tibolon, 94-98
 Ticabte, 165
 Tiçactam, 164
 Ticalahctzo, see Xcalaptzo
 Tichac, see Sthochac
 Tichiuiquich, 111
 Ticul, in Ah Canul, 21
 Ticul, in Man1, 64, 65, 70
 Ticum, 74
 Tidzadz, 133
 Tiek, 68, 69
 Tihaas, 111
 Tiho, see Mérida
 Tihobonche, 141
 Tiholop, 137-39
 Tihosuco (Tihotzuc), 100, 137-40
 Tiixpai, 15, 28
 Tikax, 48
 Tikom, see Tekom in Sotuta
 Tikopte, see Kopte
 Tikuch, 114, 130, 140
 Tikumche, in Ah Canul, see Xkuncheil
 Tikumche, in Mani, 72, 73
 Tikuxubche, 141
 Timak, 79
 Timucuy, 38
 Tinum, in Ah Canul, 25
 Tinum, in Cochuah, 139
 Tinum, in Cupul, 123, 127, 128
 Tioppol, pond, 15, 19
 Tiox, 48
 Tipihal (Tipikal), 19, 69
 Tipox, in Tases, 111
 Tippoppox, see Popox
 Tipu, 156, 161, 163, 164
 Tipu, Laguna de, 163
 Tipu, Rio de, 161, 163
 Tiquibalon (RY), see Ekbalam
 Tisisbic, 52
 Titanus, see Tanuz
 Tituc, 141
 Tituz, 121
 Titzitz, 117
 Tiucih, see Usil
 Tixbaca, 79
 Tixbecya, 38
 Tixcabchen (Tixcabch'en), 15
 Tixcacalcupul (Tixcacal), 110, 114, 131-33
 Tixcacaltuyu (Tixcacal), 96, 97, 100, 101
 Tixcacauche, 107, 115, 121
 Tixcamahel, 58, 60
 Tixcancal, 109-12
 Tixchac, 48
 Tixchel, in Chikinchel, 108
 Tixchel, south of Champoton, 167
 Tixcohuah, 135
 Tixcocom, 111
 Tixconti, see Ixconti
 Tixculum, 87
 Tixcumche, 111
 Tixcuytun, 74
 Tixholop, 111, 112
 Tixkochoh, 87
 Tixkokob, 42, 43, 48, 56
 Tixkubul, 110
 Tixkumche, 111
 Tixkuncheil, 41, 45, 47, 48
 Tixmeuac, 75, 76
 Tixmoeb, 111
 Tixmuc, 21
 Tixmukul, 111
 Tixol, 122, 124, 127
 Tixpeual, 42, 48
 Tixtual, 76, 86
 Tixualah tun, in Cupul, 114, 134
 Tixualah tun, in Mani, 76
 Tixul, see Xul
 Tixzocpay ('49), 86
 Tiyaxcach, 84
 Tiyaxche, 15
 Tizimin (Titzimin), 85, 107, 108, 114, 115,
 117-20, 124, 127, 129, 130

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE YUCATAN MAYA

- Tizno, 110
 Tiztuyçenot, 121
 Tocbadz, 90, 91
 Tuchican (Tuchicaan), 16, 17, 19, 28, 30
 Tula, in Mexico, 3
 Tulma (Tulumha), 157
 Tulum, 113, 135, 143, 145-47; see also Zama
 Tunkas, 79, 90, 122, 123
 Tutul-Xiu, see Mani, province
 Tzabcanul, 124
 Tzama, see Zama
 Tzaman, 165
 Tzemcay, 111, 112
 Tzeme, 32
 Tzemezakal, pond, 18
 Tzucacab (Tzuccacab), in Mani, 77
 Tzucacab, in Uaymil, 159
 Uayacuz (Uayalcutz), 97
 Uayma (Uayumha), 128
Uaymax, 141
 Uaymil, province, 10, 108, 113, 135, 157, 159, 162, 165
 Uaymil-Chetumal, area, 141
 Uaytibal, 163
 Uci (Ucuyi), 51, 80
 Ucu, 28, 30, 31
 Ucum (Ukum), 164
 Uitzil, 90, 123
 Ulua River, 135, 162
 Uman, 6, 28, 29, 36, 37
 Unacama (RY), see Hunucma
 Usil, 97, 98
 Usumacinta River, 154, 163
 Uxmal, 15, 19, 63
 Valladolid (Saci), 104, 107, 109, 110, 113, 114, 118, 125, 128-30, 133, 135, 140, 149
 Xamancab, see San Miguel Xamancab
 Kamanha, 149
 Xamanzama, 147
 Kanaba, 91
 Kaya, 75, 99
 Xcalaptzo, 55
 Xcaret, 148
 X-Coton, Cenote, 118
 Xculucmul, 119-21
 Xecelchakan, see Hecelchakan
 Xelha, 148
 Xiat, 96
 Xibum, 161, 164
 Xicalango, 154, 167
 Xiol, San Antonio, see Tixiol
 Xkerul, see Celul
 Xkuncheil (Tikumche), 25
 Xmop, 20
 Xnoria, 79
 Xoca, 159
 Xocchel (Xocch'el), 57, 58
 Xocen, 134
 Xocenpich, 127
 Xocomo, 162
 Xtocmo, see Xocomo
 Xuaca, see Chauaca, lake
 Kuchbila ('49), 118
 Xul, 4, 70, 72, 73, 169
 Xulkumcheil, see Tixkuncheil
 Kulucmul, 38
 Yabucu, 28, 30, 31
 Yacman, 65, 67
 Yalahau, port, 143
 Yalahau, Laguna de, 112, 143
 Yalcoba, 125, 127, 145
 Yalcon, 133, 134
 Yalmacan, 15
 Yalsihon, 114, 118
 Yaxa, in Mani, 8, 66, 70, 72-74, 114, 138
 Yaxa (Yaxhaa), in Sotuta, 86, 96, 100
 Yaxakumche, 66, 73
 Yaxcaba, in northern Cupul, 118-20
 Yaxcaba, in Sotuta, 75, 94, 95, 97-100, 131
 Yaxcaba, near Valladolid, 118, 120, 130
 Yaxha, Lake, 164
 Yaxhaal, 110
 Yaxkukul, 41, 43, 45, 47
 Yaxleua, 58, 60
 Yaxteel Ahau, stream, 163
 Yaxuna-Coba causeway, 131
 Yel ('49), see Yalcon
 Yiba, pond, 19
 Yicman, see Yacman
 Yobain, 80, 82-84
 Yocbos (Yokbos) ('49), 124, 125
 Yokchec, 120
 Yoktzitz, 117
 Yotolin (Yotholin or Yotholim), 65, 72, 73
 Young Gal, 163
 Yumpeten, see Yuyumpeten

INDEX OF PLACE NAMES
IN
MAYA

Yuyumpeten, 157
 Yxconpiche ('49), see Cumpich
 Yxpona ('49), 120

INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

Zacathan (Nahuatl, Zacatlan?), 163
 Zacsuc, 163

Zama (Tzama), 113, 124, 135, 145-48; see also Tulum
 Ziancaan, province, 159
 Zipatan, "province of," 26
 Zoite, 164
 Zonail, or Zonauil, 163
 Zucila, 15