

The Indian Christ, The Indian King

The Historical Substrate of Maya Myth and Ritual
by Victoria Reifler Bricker



**The Indian Christ
The Indian King**

Bricker

By the Same Author

Ritual Humor in Highland Chiapas

BY VICTORIA REIFLER BRICKER

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242 pp.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS Post Office Box 7819 Austin, Texas 78712

ISBN 0-292-73824-2

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Bricker has made use of many unpublished documents in Spanish, English, and Maya, as well as standard synthetic historical works. The appendices contain extensive samples of the oral traditions that are explained by her analysis.

Victoria Reifler Bricker is a professor of anthropology at Tulane University. She received her Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1968. She is the author of *Ritual Humor in Highland Chiapas* (University of Texas Press, 1973) and series editor of the *Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians*.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS
Austin

Printed in U.S.A.

Victoria Reifler Bricker

The Indian Christ, the Indian King

The Historical Substrate of Maya Myth and Ritual

University of Texas Press, Austin

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University of Texas Press
Box 7819
Austin, Texas 78712

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Bricker, Victoria Reifler, 1940
The Indian Christ, the Indian king.

Bibliography: p.
Includes index.

1. Mayas—Religion and mythology. 2. Indians of Central America—Religion and mythology. 3. Indians of Mexico—Religion and mythology. I. Title.

F1435.3.R3B73 299'.72 81 7436
ISBN 0-292-73824-2 AACR2

*Tal parece que los españoles trajeron a Cristo
a América para crucificar al indio.*

*(It would even seem that the Spaniards
brought Christ to America in order to crucify
the Indian.)*

Abad y Queipo
Bishop of Michoacan

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Preface

This book is a sequel to *Ritual Humor in Highland Chiapas*. In it, I try to come to grips with a problem I was unable to solve to my satisfaction in my first book, namely, what meaning, apart from entertainment, the elaborate festivals of the Maya, in highland Chiapas and elsewhere, have for the Indian community. In the present work, I have broadened my focus to the festival as a whole, rather than just its humorous aspects, and I have made more use of historical data, many of them unpublished, to show that Maya folklore cannot be understood without a consideration of its historical substrate. At first I naïvely assumed that myth and history could be clearly distinguished from each other. I later discovered, much to my surprise, that historiography often rests on mythological foundations. Therefore, this work has become a critique of postconquest historiography about the Maya, as well as a diachronic interpretation of Maya myth and ritual.

Although ethnologists have made great strides in relating modern Maya religious beliefs and prac-

tices to the archaeological record and to immediate postconquest descriptions of aboriginal customs (e.g., Coe 1965; Gossen 1974a, 1974b; Hunt 1977; Vogt 1964a, 1964b), they have largely ignored the intervening four centuries since the Spanish conquest and the impact that they may have had on Maya myth and ritual. Furthermore, most of their efforts have been directed at explaining the past in terms of the present; their interpretations of modern myth and ritual have been almost universally synchronic (e.g., Gossen 1974a; Stross 1973; Vogt 1976). One of the unexpected results of my research has been the finding that many seemingly aboriginal elements in Maya myth and ritual are actually of postconquest origin, and it is possible to determine precisely when and, more important, why they became part of myth and ritual. Finally, the patterning of the accretion of events in folklore over time provides clues to the function, or meaning, of myth and ritual to the Maya.



Acknowledgments

The inspiration for this book came from several quarters. I owe to my colleague and coresearcher George A. Collier the insight that the Carnival ritual of Chamula might have recent, rather than Pre-columbian, antecedents. I am grateful to him for urging me to look into nineteenth-century historical records for an explanation and for calling to my attention the excellent historical materials on nineteenth century Chiapas available in the Latin American Library at Tulane University.

My interest in Maya Indian revolts was kindled by Nelson Reed's (1964) fascinating book on the Caste War of Yucatan (1847-1901), which I read for the first time during the winter of 1969. Although I did not then realize the extent to which such events have shaped Maya myth and ritual, the book stimulated me to undertake a comparative study of the myth and history of the Caste War of Yucatan, which I initiated during the summer of 1971. At the request of Marshall Durbin, Mr. Reed facilitated this project by arranging for me to receive a copy of the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz, which had recently been photographed by an expedition to Quintana Roo sponsored by Argosy magazine. This document proved to be invaluable for understanding the relationship between Maya myth and history, and I would here like to thank Mr. Reed for his help.

In the meantime, my research on the nineteenth-century history of highland Chiapas, together with my earlier discovery that much of the ritual humor of Chamula, Chenalho, and Zinacantan dealt with ethnic conflict, had suggested that it might be fruitful to include the War of St. Rose of Chamula (1867-1870) in my comparative study of myth and history. At this point, what had hitherto been separate interests in Chamulan ritual, on the one hand,

and Maya revitalization movements, on the other, converged. However, with the exception of one text from Chenalho, which I had obtained purely by accident, I did not have any myth texts about the War of St. Rose. I therefore spent several weeks in highland Chiapas during the summer of 1972 collecting oral traditions about that uprising in Chamula and Zinacantan.

The scope of my project was broadened even further the following year, when Edward E. Calnek offered to lend me, for an unlimited period of time, ten rolls of microfilm, containing 6,000 pages of documents from the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, which were entirely concerned with the Cancuc revolt of 1712. This rich source of data proved to be the key to understanding the ritual humor of Chenalho. I am profoundly grateful to Calnek for his generosity in making it available to me.

The fourth person who played a major role in shaping this book is Munro S. Edmonson, my colleague at Tulane University. First of all, he deserves credit for insisting that I round out my coverage of the Maya area by including Guatemala, and especially the Totonicapan revolt of 1820, in my study. Second, he has allowed me to quote freely from his field notes on Guatemalan dance-dramas and the manuscript of his poetic translation of the *Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin*. But most important to me have been the many discussions we have had about how to scan and translate Yucatec Maya texts, his willingness to serve as a sounding board for my ideas, and his frank criticism whenever he disagreed with my interpretations. His influence on my thinking about the Maya view of history has been subtle, profound, and cumulative. I was very fortunate to have as a colleague and a neighbor someone with

his perceptive understanding of Maya thought and culture.

Although this book is largely historical in content, it is concerned with ethnographic problems raised by my previous field work on the ritual humor of highland Chiapas. I am grateful to Evon Z. Vogt, director of the Harvard Chiapas Project, for teaching me how to conduct ethnographic research, for impressing upon me the importance of learning to speak the field language (in this case Tzotzil) fluently, and for his many kindnesses in the field and at Harvard over the past fifteen years. Without his guidance, I doubt that I would have been motivated to develop the linguistic skills necessary to prepare the native language texts that provide one-half of the data base for this study. And the research techniques he taught me in Zinacantan greatly facilitated my later field work in other parts of the Maya area.

My research got off to a good start during the summer of 1971, primarily because of the kind assistance provided by Alfredo Barrera Vázquez, director of the Instituto Yucateco de Antropología e Historia in Merida. It was he who first told me about the collection of Maya letters and other documents relating to the Caste War of Yucatan housed in the Biblioteca Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona and who made arrangements for me to work with them. He also made available space in the former Inter-University Institute for Basic Research in Social Sciences in Yucatan, Inc. (I.I.I.), where I could work undisturbed with informants eliciting and transcribing oral traditions about the Caste War. I am deeply grateful to him for his interest and efforts in furthering my research.

In Yucatan and at Tulane, I was most fortunate to have as my assistant Eleuterio Póot Yah, my teacher of Yucatec Maya and the person who helped me elicit, transcribe, and translate the Yucatecan oral traditions used in this study. Above all, I appreciate the many hours he spent producing examples that would reveal the intricacies of Maya grammar and his extraordinary patience during long, and probably tedious, elicitation sessions. His enthusiastic interest in my efforts to collect written and legendary accounts of the history of his people made working with him one of the most rewarding experiences I have had during the past seven years. I would also like to thank him and his wife, Ofelia Dzul Canché, for their hospitality whenever I visited Merida.

Among the many other people in Yucatan who

helped me with my research, I would especially like to acknowledge the courteous assistance of Don Clemente López at the Hemeroteca Pino Suárez and Don Leopoldo Peniche Vallado at the Biblioteca General del Estado "Manuel Cepeda Peraza" in Merida. I appreciate the warm hospitality of Joann Andrews during the two summers I worked in Merida and her efforts since then to keep me informed of local opinions about the Caste War by collecting pertinent newspaper clippings for me. I am also grateful to Ermilo Marín Mendoza and Doña María Cardos de Marín, both of Hocabá, for giving me the opportunity to spend some time in a Maya community, and to Daniel Barcelo Santiago, Ricardo Chablé Canché, Pedro Ek Chablé, Amado May, Anselmo Pech, Simón Póot, Francisca de Soberanis, Urbano Uh Cen, and Norberto Yeh, for sharing with me their knowledge of the Caste War of Yucatan. Finally, I would like to thank Juan Ramón Bastarrachea, Celinda Gómez Navarette, Edward B. Kurjack, Alice Littlefield, Salvador Rodríguez Losa, and James W. Ryder for acquainting me with current anthropological research in Yucatan.

My work in Belize during June 1972 was greatly facilitated by Leo H. Bradley, director of the National Archives. I am grateful to him for permitting me to examine documents in the process of rebinding and for helping to arrange my visit to Indian villages near Corozal Town in order to record oral traditions about the Caste War of Yucatan. I would also like to thank the Muñoz family and Mrs. Nessie Burn for their hospitality and kindness during my stay in Belize City. Brother Teodosio Castillo of St. John's College in Belize City and Humberto Navarro of Corozal Town graciously assisted me in my efforts to collect legends about the Caste War of Yucatan from descendants of the rebel Maya now living in Belize, and I would here like to express my gratitude for their help.

Others who assisted with my study of the Caste War of Yucatan include J. Eric S. Thompson, from whom I learned about an important letter published in the Belize *Clarion*, Don E. Dumond and Grant D. Jones, who sent me copies of their transcripts of documents I had overlooked in the Archives of Belize, Michael G. Owen, who provided me with a list of Maya letters in the Princeton University Library, and Arthur G. Miller, who gave me a copy of an Indian king myth he had found in a Yucatecan newspaper. Each of these people contributed valuable information for my study, for which I am very grateful.

Several colleagues and friends in Chiapas, Mexico, helped me obtain useful data during July 1972. I am grateful to Marcéy Jacobson for arranging opportunities to elicit Ladino versions of the War of St. Rose, to Priscilla Rachun Linn for assistance in finding a Chamulan storyteller, and to Robert F. Wasserstrom for his help in collecting Zinacanteco versions of the War of St. Rose. I would also like to thank Marian Coyaso Panchín, Amelia Flores de Alvarado, Joaquín Urbina Carpio, and Juan Vásquez Xuljol, for their willingness to tell me about the War of St. Rose, and Antonia González Pacanchil, for her help with the transcription of the Tzotzil texts. In addition, I owe a special debt to Manuel Arias Sohóm, whose version of the War of St. Rose which I recorded in 1969 served as the nucleus for a comparative study of myth and history. Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to Jane F. Collier for lending me her microfilm copy of Zinacanteco legal cases, to Robert M. Laughlin for permission to reproduce four of his texts in Appendix C, to Prudencio Moscoso Pastrana for letting me examine some important documents in his personal library, and to Liliana Schor for her excellent transcription of the Spanish texts.

In the summer of 1973 I traveled to London in order to work in the Public Record Office on Chancery Lane. I am grateful to A. R. Ford for helping me obtain copies of documents concerning the Caste War of Yucatan. I would also like to thank Leonel Zarazúa Ramírez at the Archivo Nacional de Centroamérica in Guatemala City, who arranged for me to receive copies of documents about the Totonicapan revolt of 1820 during a brief visit I made to Guatemala in August 1974. I also wish to acknowledge the more recent assistance of Rosario Parra Cala, director of the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, through whom I obtained additional documents on the Cancuc revolt of 1712.

In interpreting the religious aspects of Maya revitalization movements I have benefited from conversations with my father-in-law, the Reverend Dr. George H. Bricker, who helped me identify passages in the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz that might have come from the Catholic Mass. I am also grateful to John D. Early for his comments on an earlier formulation of the problem.

At Tulane, I wish to thank Dan M. Healan for his assistance in interpreting the masks worn by several performers at the festival of St. Sebastian in Zinacantan, Arden R. King for bibliographic advice in

writing the chapter on the conquest of Guatemala, William J. Smither for information on medieval Spanish war games and their distribution in Latin America, and Barbara O. Bode for generously making available to me her field notes on the dance-dramas of Guatemala and for permission to quote from them. I have also benefited from conversations with Richard E. Greenleaf about the Inquisition in Mexico, Michael M. Hall about historiography, Jack D. Maser about psychological explanations for the telescoping of time, and Robert Wauchope about the Aztec heart-sacrifice cult. Several students at Tulane have also made a significant contribution to this work: Philip C. Thompson shared with me his considerable knowledge of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Yucatan and drew my attention to a number of crucial documents relating to the Quisteil uprising of 1761 and the Caste War of Yucatan of 1847–1901. Marjorie Esman was of great assistance in identifying some important documents in the Latin American Library at Tulane about the conquest of the Chol. Virginia Dale Davis generously offered data from her field notes for interpreting the Lacandon theme in the ritual of Zinacantan and Chenalho. Richard O. Buhler smoothed the way for my archival research in Belize by putting me in touch with his friends there. Anne C. Collins informed me of relevant documents in the Archivo General de Centroamérica in Guatemala. And I have profited from discussions with Anatole Pohorilenko about Olmec iconography and its implications for understanding Maya ritual symbolism. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the help of the late Marjorie LeDoux, former director of the Latin American Library, in ordering the documents which provided the data base for the chapter on the Totonicapan revolt of 1820, and of Dorothy Whittemore, acting head of the Howard-Tilton Library, in making a microfilm reader available for my use during the summer of 1974.

My research in Yucatan during the summer of 1971 was supported by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, No. 2807, supplemented by a small grant from the Tulane University Council on Research. The Foreign Area Fellowship Program of the Social Science Research Council supported my work in Belize, Yucatan, and highland Chiapas during the summer of 1972. A summer research grant from the Tulane University Council on Research made it possible for me to spend three weeks at the Public Record Office

in London during June 1973. I gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance provided by these institutions, without whose help this book would not have materialized.

The text of this book was expertly typed by Elaheh Anoushirvani, Ingrid Dave, Joan Harmon, and Lorraine McBride, who deserve special thanks for their patience in following an exacting format and in making corrections. I am also grateful to Marcia J. Thompson for typing several chapters of an earlier draft of the book and to Kristin Scheidenhelm for typing up my transcripts of documents concerning the Totonicapan revolt of 1820.

I appreciate the care with which Carolyn Cates Wylie edited the manuscript and her help in work-

ing out solutions to technical problems in connection with the appendices, maps, and illustrations. I would also like to thank Patricia A. Andrews for preparing the index to the book.

Most of the photographs that appear in this book are the work of Gertrude Duby Blom, Harvey M. Bricker, Frank Cancian, Marcey Jacobson, Barbara O. Bode, and Tom Ktsanes, and their permission to publish them is gratefully acknowledged. I would also like to thank E. Wyllis Andrews V for permission to publish photographs from the archives of the Middle American Research Institute, and the New Orleans Museum of Art for permission to reproduce Giuliano Bugiardini's painting of St. Sebastian.

V. R. B.

PART I. INTRODUCTION

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The Historicity of Myth and the Myth of History

It is usually taken for granted that myth is the antithesis of history, that what is mythical is by definition untrue, and that what is transmitted orally is subject to distortion in a way that what is preserved in writing is not. According to Webster's dictionary, the terms *mythical* and *legendary* are both synonymous with *fictitious*. Perhaps because of their association with falsehood, these terms have acquired a derogatory connotation when they are used in ordinary speech.

Recently, Jan Vansina (1965), a historian, has questioned the assumption that oral traditions are necessarily unhistorical. Vansina believes that oral traditions are a source of historical information just like any other source and that distortions of fact can best be discovered by using the comparative approach, that is, by comparing oral traditions with other types of historical evidence such as archaeology, written documents, and linguistics. If an oral tradition is in agreement with, or complements, other sources of evidence, then it is unlikely that history has been distorted through oral transmission. On the other hand, according to Vansina, if two types of evidence yield discrepant or conflicting kinds of information, then one or both accounts must be distorted. But, says Vansina, the comparative method alone does not usually "establish that one source contains more 'truth' than another" (1965:138); even written sources can distort events in terms of the conscious or unconscious biases of their authors: "Each type of historical source not only has its own limitations, but also its own particular way of seeing things—its own particular bias" (1965:141). For history, according to Vansina, "is always an interpretation" (1965:183) and "no more than a calculation of probabilities" (1965:185); therefore, oral

tradition may be no less valid a source of historical data than written documents.

A persistent bias in oral tradition is what Mircea Eliade (1971:ix) calls a "revolt against concrete, historical time." Myths, in particular, ignore the temporal provenience of human events in favor of a paradigmatic interpretation of them. Eliade argues that "this rejection of profane, continuous time" is the product of an "archaic mentality" and that "archaic" or primitive societies lack the true sense of history exemplified in the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition (1971:ix, xiii, 38). However, the concern for paradigmatic regularities in events is not limited to preliterate people; comparative historians like Arnold Toynbee and Oswald Spengler are also more interested in recurrent patterns than in the uniqueness of events. Furthermore, it has been convincingly argued by philosophers such as Immanuel Kant (1961) and C. I. Lewis (1929) that all knowledge results from imposing structure on experience, and recently Thomas S. Kuhn (1970:2), the historian of science, has even suggested that scientific paradigms are also myths.

From this point of view, myths are theories of history, and mythmakers are historians in much the same sense that Toynbee and Spengler are historians. Although historians may quibble over whether the broad generalizations of these men are properly the concern of history or metahistory (Bullock 1959:292–299), it is unlikely that any historian would accuse them of suffering from an "archaic mentality." Rather, historians might argue that the attempt to discover patterns in the sequence of events is not history but the *science* of history, whose appropriate academic discipline is anthropology (Harris 1968:1; Toynbee 1959:114–115). Thus

the debate about the proper subject of historical inquiry concerns the division of labor among academic disciplines, not the epistemological value of particularistic versus generalizing approaches to the study of human events.

Obviously, if myths are theories of history, then they should be analyzed as such. It should be equally obvious that in order to analyze myths properly, one must know something about the historical events to which they refer. However, although much recent work on the structure of myth is based on assumptions about the relationship of myth to history, no attempt has been made to prove those assumptions in terms of the history of the people concerned. This oversight is largely a consequence of the fact that the folklorists in question have been almost exclusively concerned with the myths of preliterate peoples who have no recorded history.

Claude Lévi-Strauss, the leading proponent of the structural approach to myth, compares mythical thought to the work of a *bricoleur*, or jack-of-all-trades (1966: 17):

The "bricoleur" is adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks; but, unlike the engineer, he does not subordinate each of them to the availability of raw materials and tools conceived and procured for the purpose of the project. His universe of instruments is closed and the rules of his game are always to make do with "whatever is at hand," that is to say with a set of tools and materials which is always finite and is also heterogeneous because what it contains bears no relation to the current project, or indeed to any particular project, but is the contingent result of all the occasions there have been to renew or enrich the stock or to maintain it with the remains of previous constructions or destructions.

He explains that myth is a kind of intellectual *bricolage* (1966: 21–22):

The characteristic feature of mythical thought, as of "bricolage" on the practical plane, is that it builds up structured sets, not directly with other structured sets but by using the remains and debris of events: in French "des bribes et des morceaux," or odds and ends in English, fossilized evidence of the history of an individual or a society.

The variants of a myth (and ritual) correspond to alternative arrangements of the "remains and debris" of historical events (1966: 32–33):

Rites and myths, . . . like "bricolage" . . . , take to pieces and reconstruct sets of events . . . and use them as so many indestructible pieces for structural patterns in which they serve alternatively as ends and means.

According to this view, myth is composed of the "remains and debris" of historical events arranged into a structure. The variants of a myth represent different combinations of the "odds and ends" of history in different positions of the structure. The meaning of the historical components of the myth varies from version to version. An element that functions as a means in one version serves as an end in another. The structure is constant; the elements that make up that structure can produce variation by changing positions in it.

Like Eliade (1971), Lévi-Strauss recognizes the timeless, paradigmatic quality of mythical thought (1963: 209):

What gives myth an operational value is that the specific pattern described is timeless; it explains the present and the past as well as the future. This can be made clear through a comparison between myth and what appears to have largely replaced it in modern societies, namely, politics. When the historian refers to the French Revolution, it is always as a sequence of past happenings, a non-reversible series of events the remote consequences of which may still be felt at present. But to the French politician, as well as to his followers, the French Revolution is both a sequence belonging to the past—as to the historian—and a timeless pattern which can be detected in the contemporary French social structure and which provides a clue for its interpretation, a lead from which to infer future developments.

In his four-part work, *Mythologiques*, Lévi-Strauss (1964, 1967, 1968, 1971) presents a wealth of evidence in support of his structural interpretation of myth. Unfortunately, however, these data cannot constitute proof of his statements about the relationship between myth and history. His data consist of myths of North and South American Indians who have no written history. It is therefore impossible to evaluate the historical content of those myths.

Lévi-Strauss's interpretation of the relationship between myth and history is a hypothesis which can be tested only by systematically comparing a body of myth with the historical data from which it is derived. This is not an impossible task—not even in the case of preliterate New World Indians. Many of these peoples have oral traditions about their relations with Europeans, with whom they may have been in contact for several hundred years. Such encounters were often described in the journals and reports of the Europeans who traveled among the Indians and /or were administratively responsible for them. Their accounts of their experiences with the Indians they met can serve as an independent source

of evidence for evaluating the historical content and structure of American Indian oral traditions about ethnic relations.

Perhaps the best-documented aspect of ethnic relations in the New World is ethnic conflict. In Mesoamerica, for example, there is a wealth of ethnohistorical information about colonial Indian uprisings. Of course, when subjugated peoples rebel, they threaten the well-being of the dominant group. They become the focus of public attention and the subject of historical records. Colonial rebellions are often incorporated into the oral traditions of both the dominant and the subordinate groups. Therefore, myths of ethnic conflict are especially useful for evaluating the historical inferences of the structuralists.

I have selected for such a test the folklore of ethnic conflict of the Maya Indians of southern Mexico and Guatemala. The ethnic groups in question are Indians, on the one hand, and descendants of the Spanish conquerors of Mexico and Guatemala, on the other. The Indians speak related languages belonging to the Maya family of languages: (Yucatec) Maya is spoken in the Yucatan peninsula; Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Tojolabal, Chol, and Lacandon are spoken in the state of Chiapas, Mexico; and Quiche, Cakchiquel, Achi, Tzutujil, Uspantec, Mam, Aguacatec, Ixil, Pokoman, Pokomchi, Kekchi, Chuj, Jacaltecs, Kanjobal, Chorti, Mopan, and Itza are spoken in Guatemala (McQuown 1956). Indians in the Yucatan peninsula refer to people of known Spanish descent as Dzul (*ç'ùul*), a word they gloss variously as 'Spaniard' (*español*), 'White person' (*blanco*), or 'rich person' (*rico*); the Indians of Chiapas call them Castilians (*hkašlan*) or Ladinos (*lарino*); Guatemalan Indians also call them Ladinos (e.g., *muuz* or *mooz* in Quiche means 'Ladino' or 'White' [Edmonson 1965:75]). In order to avoid confusion, I will refer to members of this ethnic group as Ladinos, which is the only term that is understood in all three regions.

People who consider themselves to be of Spanish descent and Western culture are today politically dominant throughout the Maya area, as they have been since the conquest. They call their written descriptions of ethnic conflict "history" (*historia*). Indian accounts of the same events are called "legends" (*leyendas*), or "stories" (*cuentos*), even though, as I shall show, they are often no less accurate factually than the "history" of the other group. In fact, there is some evidence that the "history" of ethnic relations in the Yucatan peninsula and high-

land Chiapas is simply the folklore of the dominant ethnic group. (Guatemalan historians have utilized some native historical traditions in their works.)

Like Lévi-Strauss (1969:4), I make no effort to distinguish between myths and legends. Although these are salient, named categories in European folklore, the distinction has no ethnographic validity among the Maya, who often combine elements from what European folklorists call myth and legend in a single text. Speech about past events is called *zantivo k'op* in Tzotzil, *úuc'b'en t'aan* in Yucatec Maya, and *zoher tzih* in Quiche. The terms *zantivo*, *úuc'b'en*, and *zoher* all mean 'ancient,' 'old,' or 'former,' and *k'op*, *t'aan*, and *tzih* are glossed as 'speech,' 'language,' or 'word.' These labels are applied to all speech about past events, whether recent or ancient. The Maya treat legendary and mythical events as part of a single genre, and so shall I.

The first conflicts between the two ethnic groups occurred during the first half of the sixteenth century. The Guatemalan highlands came under Spanish domination in 1524, and the Chiapas highlands were conquered in 1528; the Yucatan peninsula, on the other hand, was not completely subdued until 1545. Since then, there have been a number of Indian uprisings in the Maya area. Major uprisings occurred in Chiapas in 1712 and 1867, in highland Guatemala in 1820, and in the Yucatan peninsula in 1761 and 1847.

The Indian rebellions of Chiapas, Guatemala, and the Yucatan peninsula are examples of what Anthony Wallace has called "revitalization movements": "deliberate, organized, conscious effort[s] by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (1956:265). Maya efforts to revitalize their culture have usually taken one of two forms: (1) an attempt to reinterpret (i.e., "revitalize") the symbols of the Catholic cult forced on them by their Spanish conquerors, in order to make it more relevant to the Indian experience, or (2) an attempt to throw off what they considered to be the yoke of "foreign" domination and establish their own government, based on the Spanish model. In two of the movements under consideration here, the reinterpretation took the form of "Indianizing" the concept of the Passion of Christ. In highland Chiapas, in 1868, the Indians of Chamula crucified an Indian boy and proclaimed him to be the Indian Christ; a spiritual leader of the Caste War of Yucatan (1847–1901) identified himself with Christ and used his role as the Indian Christ to lead his people to victory

against the Ladinos. The theme of two colonial revolts was the putative coronation of an Indian king, first in Quisteil (Yucatan) in 1761 and subsequently in Totonicapan (Guatemala) in 1820. The fifth rebellion, which took place in highland Chiapas in 1712, had an Indian Virgin as its revitalization focus. Thus Indian Christs, Indian kings, and Indian Virgins are the principal themes of revitalization movements among the Maya.

Although the focus of this work is on Maya revitalization movements, the relationship between the history and folklore of ethnic conflict cannot be understood without some appreciation of the Spanish view of the conquest. For long before a single Spaniard had set foot in the Yucatan peninsula, Chiapas, or Guatemala, the history of all subsequent ethnic conflict in those regions (and others) had already been distorted in terms of what I shall call "the Myth of Pacification." In 1493, Pope Alexander VI drew the famous Line of Demarcation running from the North to the South Pole and assigned the peoples and lands west of that line to the rulers of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, and Granada (Gottschalk 1927:33–37), thereby making

those peoples and lands henceforth the vassals and domains of the Crown of Castile. . . . Thus, the inhabitants of the New World immediately became the subjects of the Castilian monarch, and their lands, his property whether or not Spaniards had ever seen them. When his representatives arrived, they came to affirm a theoretically preexisting status, to take formal possession of realms already part of the domain of the Crown of Castile and to receive the allegiance of people already vassals of the Castilian monarch. (Chamberlain 1948a:27)

Whenever and wherever the Spaniards encountered a new group of Indians, they were required to read a formal summons to them which explained how the Indians had become vassals of the Crown of Castile and requested them to swear allegiance to it:

If the natives refused to heed it or if they resisted the Spaniards, "just war" could be made against them. "Just war" once begun could be carried to any limits.

War on such Indians could even be regarded not as war in the usual sense but as "pacification" of "rebellious vassals," especially if they were Indians who had once given allegiance and who later rose up in arms. The captains who fought Indians in the name of their king were merely bringing them back to obedience. The term "pacification" is frequently found in preference to "conquest," and even the term pacificador [pacifier] was sometimes used. In the most advanced form of this doctrine, there could be no such thing as conquest, only legal pacification. (Chamberlain 1948a:27)

This Myth of Pacification has colored the historical interpretations of ethnic conflict of many Ladino authors. For example, the most complete history of Indian rebellions in highland Chiapas treats the two initial attempts of the Spaniards to conquer the Indians as the first two "rebellions" (Pineda 1888). The influence of the Myth of Pacification is also evident in some Ladino oral traditions of ethnic conflict, in which it is the principal distorting factor. For example, Ladinos often confuse the nineteenth-century Caste War of Yucatan with the earlier rebellion in 1761 and also with the conquest, treating events separated by more than one hundred years as equivalent and interchangeable (cf. Text B-3 in Appendix B). The Myth of Pacification makes it logically possible to equate the Indian uprisings of 1761 and 1847 with the conquest of the Yucatan peninsula during the sixteenth century, since they are all "pacifications," they all have the same theme.

The telescoping of time is apparently a frequent distortion in oral tradition (Vansina 1965:102), and it is equally characteristic of Indian versions of ethnic conflict. The two ethnic groups differ, however, in their motivation for temporal distortion. The events treated as structurally equivalent and interchangeable in Maya oral tradition are dictated by the Maya calendar rather than the Myth of Pacification.

At the time of the conquest, the Maya had a cyclical notion of time which they expressed in a calendrical system of three intermeshing cycles of time: the *tzolk'in* of 260 days, the *tun* of 360 days, and the *haab* of 365 days. Each day had a number (from 1 to 13) and a name (from a series of twenty names). The series of thirteen numbers and the series of twenty names repeated continuously, with the result that a given combination of number and day name, such as 8 Ahau, would be repeated only once every 260 days. This is the basis of the ritual calendar known as the *tzolk'in*.

The *tun* consisted of eighteen months of twenty days each. Twenty *tuns* formed a *katun*. Both the *tun* and the *katun* were named after the day on which they ended, which was always Ahau. The numerical coefficients of the days on which *katuns* ended occurred in a regular sequence: 13, 11, 9, 7, 5, 3, 1, 12, 10, 8, 6, 4, and 2. They repeated after thirteen *katuns*, thus resulting in a cycle of 260 *tuns*, or approximately 256 solar years (Edmonson 1976:713).

The *haab* corresponded to the solar calendar of 365 days. It consisted of eighteen twenty-day months and one five-day "month" called the *uayeb* (Edmonson 1976:713).

The Maya believed that history was repetitive, that the events in one cycle would be repeated in all successive cycles as they had been repeating since time immemorial. Therefore, the calendar could be used to predict events in the future (i.e., in succeeding cycles), and people had no control over their fate.

This cyclical repetition of history is illustrated in the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (Roys 1933), which records the count of the *katuns* since the first settlement was established at Chichen Itza. Below is the historical account for each Katun 8 Ahau in one chronicle:

The First Katun 8 Ahau

It was in 8 Ahau

That Chichen Itza was destroyed.

Thirteen folds of the *katun* [256 years] had passed

When Chakanputun began;

They were in their homes

For that *katun* period.

The Second Katun 8 Ahau

It was in 8 Ahau

That the people of Chakanputun were destroyed
By the Itza people.

And they came to seek their homes again.

For thirteen folds of the *katun*

The people of Chakanputun

Had settled there

In their homes.

This was the *katun* period

When the Itza went

Beneath the trees,

Beneath the bushes,

Beneath the vines

In such misery.

The Third Katun 8 Ahau

It was in 8 Ahau

That the Itza people were destroyed

In their homes again

Because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel;

Because of the dispute

With the people of Izamal.

For thirteen folds of the *katun* they had lived there.

And they were destroyed

By Hunac Ceel;

Because of their being asked those Itza riddles.

The Fourth Katun 8 Ahau

It was in 8 Ahau

That there occurred the smashing with stones

Within the fortress

Of Mayapan;

Because of the capture of the fortress,

The destruction of the stronghold;
Because of that confederation

In the city of Mayapan.

(Roys 1933:48–49; my translation)¹

Note that in each Katun 8 Ahau, a city was abandoned or destroyed (and subsequently abandoned).

Katun 8 Ahau recurred approximately every 256 years, and for a thousand years every time a katun of this name occurred, the Itzá were driven from their homes, no matter where they were living at the time. Late in the Seventh Century A.D. they were expelled from Chichen Itzá after their first occupation of that city. In the middle of the Ninth Century they were driven out of Chakanputun. At the end of the Twelfth Century they were again driven from Chichen Itzá by Hunac Ceel. About the middle of the Fifteenth Century Mayapan was sacked and destroyed, and strangely enough it was again in a Katun 8 Ahau at the end of the Seventeenth Century that the Spaniards conquered the last Itzá stronghold at Tayasal, which was the end of this remarkable nation. (Roys 1933:136n3)

Although the events in each cycle were structurally similar, the individual human participants in them were not the same (Hunac Ceel lived only during the third Katun 8 Ahau), nor were the places which were destroyed always the same (Chichen Itza was destroyed during the first and third Katun 8 Ahau, Chakanputun was destroyed during the second Katun 8 Ahau, and Mayapan was destroyed during the fourth Katun 8 Ahau). What could be predicted in each cycle was only the structure of events. Thus wars might occur in each cycle, but the leaders and the warriors would not be the same personalities in any two cycles.

I have called these *katun* chronicles "history," but Coe (1966:117) calls them "prophecies," pointing out that "prophecy and history are almost inextricably entwined in these documents that sometimes read like divine revelation" (1966:117–118). Archaeologists have been unable to correlate the Katun 8 Ahau events with the archaeology of Chichen Itza (Tozzer 1957). It may well be that whether or not an event predicted for a future Katun 8 Ahau occurred then, the Maya recorded it as having taken place during that *katun* in order to fulfill the requirements of their cyclical view of history. This would make the *katun* chronicles of the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* myth rather than history.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that the Maya intervened in history and made events conform to their prophecies. The conquest of the last Itzá capital at Tayasal referred to in the quote

from Roys (1933:136n3) above is a case in point. The Itza had resisted several attempts to convert them to Christianity on the grounds that the time prophesied for this to take place had not yet arrived. At the end of 1695, the Itza sent word of their willingness to be converted. A new Katun 8 Ahau began in 1697, the year that the Itza were finally conquered by the Spaniards (see Chapter 2). This suggests that the Katun 8 Ahau "prophecies" may well be historically accurate and that the Itza actually did abandon their capital every 256 years.

In no part of the Maya area has the ancient system of reckoning time survived intact. The most conservative region in this respect is the northwestern highlands of Guatemala, where thirty-four towns still use both the *haab* and the *tzolkin* (Miles 1952:273). In the midwestern highlands of Guatemala, twenty-three towns have only the *tzolkin* (Miles 1952:275).

By contrast, no communities in highland Chiapas still use the *tzolkin*, but the *haab* is still in use in approximately thirteen communities (Gossen 1974a:26-27, 1974b; Miles 1952:277).

The Maya of the Yucatan peninsula use neither the *haab* nor the *tzolkin*. Only in their beliefs about eclipses are there perhaps traces of esoteric calendrical knowledge and prophecy. For example, in Chan Kom,

Some of the people of the village begin to regard an eclipse as brought about by the motions of sun and moon. One suggests that the moon hits against the sun, knocking out its light; another says that every eighteen years the moon passes under the sun covering the earth with its shadow; a third proposes that there is probably a hole in the sun through which the moon has to pass at certain intervals. But these speculations have not seriously affected the general belief that periodically some evil animal seeks to devour the heavenly luminaries and that eclipses are occasions of great danger for mankind. (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:206)

Although approximately seventy modern Maya communities still reckon time in terms of some of the ancient calendrical cycles, none of them has a unit of time that would correspond to the *katun*. The twenty-year *katun* and the *katun* cycle of 256 years were the principal units of historical time or prophecy in the Yucatan peninsula at the time of the conquest. The largest cycle in use today is the *haab*.

The modern Maya still have a cyclical notion of time, but it is based on the repetition of natural and cultural events rather than on the ancient calendar. For example, the Chamulans of highland Chiapas

regard the life cycle and the agricultural cycle as the important natural cycles; the festival cycle is the most noteworthy cultural cycle (Gossen 1974a:24-29). The ancient Maya solar calendar is used "extensively to indicate the correct days for activities in the agricultural cycle. Festival days are also reckoned by it but are checked with the Catholic festival calendar, which is used by religious officials" (Gossen 1974a:27). The people of Chan Kom, like the Chamulans, organize their activities in terms of the life cycle, the festival cycle, and the agricultural cycle (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:127-159, 181-204). But in Chan Kom the ancient Maya solar calendar has been entirely replaced by the Christian ecclesiastical calendar for the determination of feast days.

For the modern Maya, as for the ancient Maya, time is cyclical, only now the cycles are much smaller; the largest is the life cycle of one generation rather than the *katun* cycle of 256 years. Vansina (1965:100) points out that "Peoples without writing do not have any units of time based on the concepts of mathematical physics. They divide time according to standards of measurement based on ecological or sociological data. Ecological time is measured by natural phenomena which appear at certain given moments and which regulate human activity. This kind of time is cyclical, and the largest unit seldom exceeds a year or a season." The modern Maya whose folklore is the subject of this study are, on the whole, illiterate peasants. Like other illiterate peasants in the world, they have a view of time that is cyclical, rather than linear, and they tend to telescope time in their folklore. But their ancestors, who were not illiterate, also had a cyclical notion of time which made the structure of their recorded history strikingly similar to the structure of the oral tradition of their descendants.

Whatever the origin of their cyclical notion of time and history, the modern Maya emphasize structure at the expense of personality in their folklore of ethnic conflict. In the timelessness of oral tradition and ritual there is no place for individuality. The hero of one cycle or century or millennium is the hero of all time. He may be referred to by the names of all heroes or any one of them. The villain who opposes him can be called by the name of any villain from any time period. What is important is the structural message: ethnic conflict is characterized by warfare, death, rape, soldiers, weapons, fireworks, and the division of people into two groups, the conquerors and the conquered.

The folklore of ethnic conflict among the Maya covers a time span of at least two thousand years. As new conflicts arise and become history, they are mentally fused and confused with older conflicts, their structural components squeezed into the pigeonholes of the timeless folklore paradigm. The only distortion necessary to achieve this result is the telescoping of time.

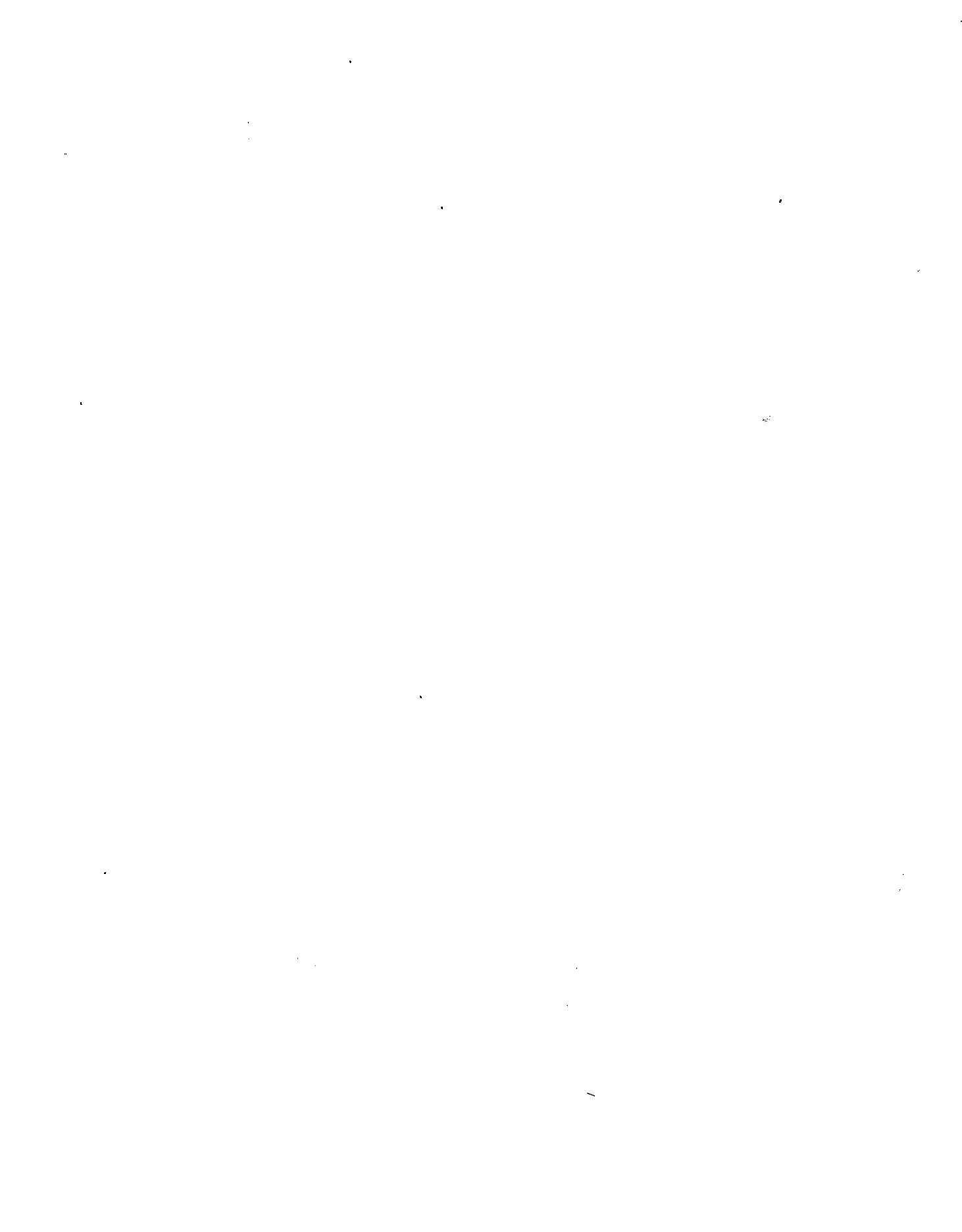
Thus temporal distortion characterizes both Indian and Ladino oral traditions about ethnic conflict. In the Indian case the distortion is consistent with the traditional Maya cyclical notion of time. In the Ladino case it seems to have been inspired by the *Myth of Pacification*.

The organization of this book reflects the distinction between historical time and mythological timelessness. In historical time each of the rebellions is a separate event, and they are so treated in Parts II, III, and IV. My historical synthesis is based on published and unpublished documents written by members of both ethnic groups.

In Part V, I discuss the structure of Maya and Ladino folklore of ethnic conflict. The Appendices contain examples of the oral traditions which are the basis of my analysis, as well as two hitherto unpublished nineteenth-century Yucatecan Maya documents that seem to bridge the gap between myth and history.



PART II. THE FIRST "REBELLIONS" (1511 1697)



The Conquest of Yucatan

On the eve of the conquest, the Yucatan peninsula was divided into a number of centralized states and loose confederations of towns. The two most powerful native provinces, Mani in the west and Sotuta in the east, were traditional enemies. This basic east-west political division was important during the conquest. The west, led by the Tutul Xiu rulers of Mani, eventually sided with the Spaniards. The east, led by the Cocom rulers of Sotuta, consistently resisted the Spaniards. It was only with the help of the western provinces that the Spaniards were finally able to conquer the peninsula.¹

The First Contacts: 1511–1519

Although Yucatan was not effectively conquered until 1545, its discovery preceded the conquest of Tenochtitlan. In fact, Cortés landed on the island of Cozumel, a few miles off the northeastern coast of the peninsula, before setting off to conquer Montezuma's empire.

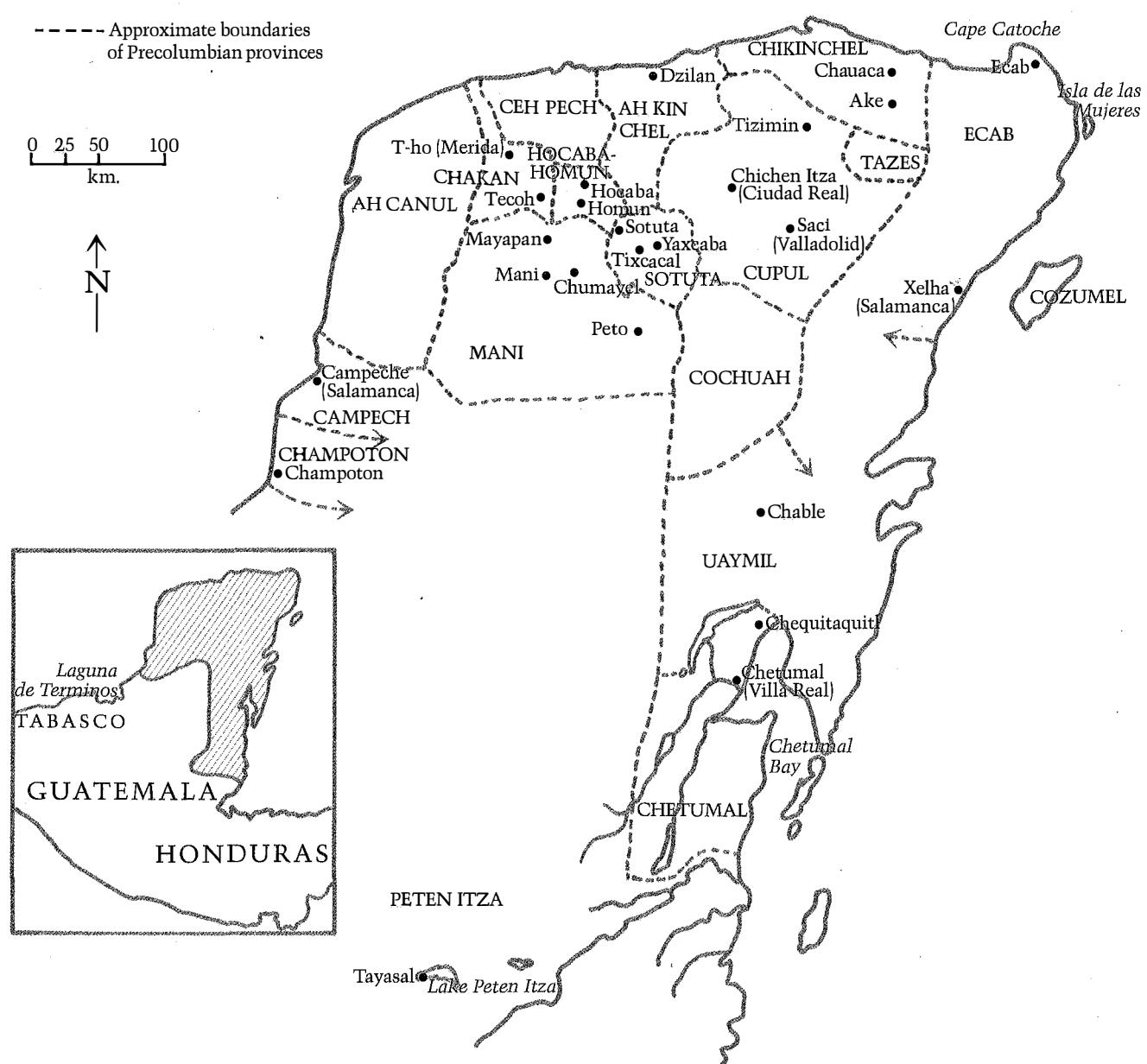
In 1511, a Spanish ship on its way from Panama to Santo Domingo was blown off its course and shipwrecked off the southern coast of Yucatan. Only two men who finally reached the mainland in a small boat survived, Gerónimo de Aguilar and Gonzalo Guerrero. Aguilar was picked up by Cortés on Cozumel in 1519, but Guerrero had found life among the Maya so much to his liking that he refused to rejoin the Spaniards. Aguilar's knowledge of the Maya language was useful to Cortés during the conquest of Mexico. Guerrero, on the other hand, was later of great help to the Maya because of his knowledge of Spanish military tactics (Chamberlain 1948a:15; Díaz del Castillo 1904:1:73–74).

Although Aguilar and Guerrero came to Yucatan as refugees rather than as conquerors, they may have

unconsciously paved the way for the eventual conquest of the peninsula. Apparently during the years prior to Francisco de Montejo's arrival in 1527, the population of the peninsula was devastated by a series of epidemics that were probably of European origin. It is likely that they were introduced by Spaniards like Aguilar and Guerrero who had been shipwrecked off the coast of the peninsula (Morley 1946:99; Roys 1933:138n; Tozzer 1941:42n).

The Spaniard who is credited with discovering Yucatan is Francisco Hernández de Córdoba. In 1517 Córdoba sailed from Havana and almost immediately ran into a storm. The wind drove his ship southward toward a small island which was either the Isla de las Mujeres or the northeastern point of Yucatan, which the Spaniards called Cape Catoche.² After landing at Ecab, where they were attacked by Indians, the Spaniards continued their voyage along the coast of the peninsula. They were attacked again when they tried to go ashore at Champoton, and Córdoba was seriously wounded. Realizing that they were far outnumbered by the Indians, the Spaniards decided to return to Cuba, where Córdoba died of his wounds soon after (Chamberlain 1948a:12).

The following year, a new expedition of four ships and 250–300 men led by Juan de Grijalva set out from Cuba to explore the peninsula. Grijalva landed on Cozumel Island and took possession of it for the Crown of Castile. Then the Spaniards went around the peninsula as far as Campeche, where they were attacked by Indians. After defeating the Maya, they moved southward past Champoton as far as the Laguna de Terminos and then north to the Panuco River. On their voyage home they stopped at Campeche, where they were again attacked by Indians (Chamberlain 1948a:13–14).

Map 1. Conquest of Yucatan (1511–1545).

The next expedition to Yucatan was organized by Hernán Cortés, also in Havana. Grijalva's principal captains, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco de Montejo, and Alonso Dávila, joined Cortés's expedition. Montejo was later to be credited with the conquest of Yucatan (Chamberlain 1948a: 14–15).

Cortés set out for Yucatan in 1519 with four hundred men and ten ships. Their first stop was at Cozumel Island, where Cortés learned of the two Spaniards, Aguilar and Guerrero, who had been shipwrecked in 1511 and were living among the Maya of the mainland. Cortés sent messages to them with friendly Indians from Cozumel. Aguilar joined Cortés's expedition and served as an interpreter in the conquest of Montezuma's empire. Guerrero, who had married a Maya woman and had become a military captain in the Maya army, refused to return; later he did his best to thwart Montejo's attempts to conquer Yucatan (Chamberlain 1948a: 15; Díaz del Castillo 1904: 1: 73–74, 80).

Cozumel was apparently Cortés's only stop in Yucatan. His ships went around Cape Catoche along the coast as far as the Laguna de Terminos without stopping at any Maya towns. Instead, Cortés went on to Tabasco, where he fought and won a major battle, after which he acquired the services of the Indian girl known to the Spaniards as Doña Marina, who was later immortalized in Mesoamerican folklore and historical drama as Malinche. This girl spoke both Maya and Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs and their conquered peoples. Working together from Nahuatl through Maya to Spanish and back, Malinche and Aguilar would serve as interpreters in the conquest of Mexico (Chamberlain 1948a: 16).

Neither Córdoba nor Grijalva nor Cortés had been given the right to conquer and colonize Yucatan. Their expeditions had been approved by the governor of Cuba solely for exploration and trade. But whatever the intentions of the Spanish authorities, these expeditions served to prepare the Maya for what was to come. By the time Francisco de Montejo arrived in Yucatan in 1527 as the Crown-appointed "pacifier" of the peninsula, the Maya had already been decimated by smallpox and were probably much less prepared to resist the Spaniards than they might have been in 1511 or 1517. The sixteen years between 1511 and 1527 was ample time for smallpox to "soften" the Maya for conquest. On the other hand, the period of exploration had given the Maya an opportunity to test the Spaniards in battle and

familiarize themselves with Spanish military tactics. In this they were aided by Gonzalo Guerrero.

For the Maya, the coming of the Spaniards was closely associated with epidemics of hitherto unknown diseases, as some of their accounts of the arrival of the foreigners explicitly demonstrate:

XI,
Eleven Ahau
Was when they arrived,
The mighty men from the East.
Their sickness was made to come,
And arrived
For the first
And original time
Here,
To these lands
Of ours,
The Maya people here,
In the year,

1513. (Roys 1933: 49)

The year having come,
Was the beginning of the arrival of Christianity
here,
Bloody vomit [yellow fever],
Painless death,
Time of drought,
Time of locusts,
Pustule fever [smallpox]
Was the burden of misery,
The gift of the Devil,
White crown [scab].

(Roys 1933: 60)

Thus the devastating effects of contact with the Spaniards was probably more important to the Maya than the Spaniards' technical and legalistic distinction between discovery and attempted conquest. For some of the most effective Spanish weapons in the conquest were the diseases they had brought during the period of exploration.

Montejo's First Campaign: 1527–1529

Although Francisco de Montejo had accompanied Grijalva and Cortés on exploratory expeditions to Yucatan, he did not undertake the conquest of the peninsula until 1527. Most of his time between 1519 and 1526 was spent furthering Cortés's interests in New Spain and Castile. It was not until November 19, 1526, that he formally requested permission from the King of Spain and the Council of the Indies to conquer and colonize Yucatan (Chamberlain 1948a: 18–19).

Late in September 1527, Montejo and his men arrived in four ships at Cozumel Island. The Maya ruler of the island, Naum Pat, received them in friendship. The Spaniards then moved over to the mainland near the town of Xelha, where Montejo immediately went through the ceremony of declaring the land to be the possession of the King of Castile (Chamberlain 1948a:34–36).

Montejo's next step was to found a Spanish town (*villa*) near Xelha, which he named Salamanca. In late 1527 or early 1528, after burning his ships so that his men could not return to Cuba or Spain, he led an expedition northward from Salamanca to explore the coast. With Naum Pat's help, he established good relations with the inhabitants of the province of Ecab, where he remained for four months (Chamberlain 1948a:38–49).

From Ecab, Montejo and his men moved westward into the interior. They met no opposition until they reached Chauaca, where, after having been given a friendly reception to put them off guard, they were attacked by masses of Maya warriors. After their initial surprise, the Spaniards rallied and managed to beat back the Maya army. They were attacked again at Ake, but this time they were prepared (Chamberlain 1948a:50–55).

Pleased with his success in "pacifying" a large part of the peninsula, Montejo returned to Salamanca on the coast, where he made preparations to lead another exploratory expedition southward in a ship that had recently come from Santo Domingo. After sailing along the coast as far as Chetumal Bay, the Spaniards made a night foray and captured several Indians, who informed them that Gonzalo Guerrero, the shipwrecked Spaniard who had refused to join Cortés, was a military chief of the lord of Chetumal. Montejo sent a letter to Guerrero with one of the captured Indians, urging him to renounce his pagan ways and return to the service of the King of Spain. Once again Guerrero refused to rejoin the Spaniards, giving as an excuse that he was a slave of the Indians and was not free to leave (Chamberlain 1948a:60–63).

Montejo was favorably impressed with Chetumal Bay as a potential site for a permanent Spanish settlement. But he could not achieve that goal without more men and supplies, so he sailed off to Spain in the same ship that had carried him to Chetumal. Montejo expected to return within a few months in order to organize the move to Chetumal, but developments in other parts of Mesoamerica led him to abandon this plan and effectively brought an end

to his attempt to conquer Yucatan from the east (Chamberlain 1948a:65–66).

Montejo's Second Campaign: 1531–1534

In Spain, Montejo saw an opportunity to extend his dominions into the province of Tabasco, which adjoined the southwestern part of Yucatan. The Indians of Tabasco were difficult to control, and, by the end of 1528, the Spaniards there were on the verge of abandoning the colony. Taking advantage of this situation, Montejo asked for and received permission to try to subjugate the province (Chamberlain 1948a:73–74).

The pacification of Tabasco occupied Montejo until the beginning of 1531, when, because of political difficulties with the former *alcalde mayor* (provincial governor) of the province, he was forced to leave Tabasco, and he decided to return to Yucatan. After establishing a camp at Campeche, he summoned all the Indian chiefs in the region to appear before him; many of them declared their allegiance to him at that time. Next, he founded a Spanish town at Campeche, which he also named Salamanca (after his birthplace). Then he apportioned the Indian towns that had pledged their loyalty to him among the Spanish citizens of the new town to serve them in *encomienda* (Chamberlain 1948a:93–98).

Even though Montejo had shifted the base of his operations to Campeche on the west coast of Yucatan, he had not lost interest in the eastern part of the peninsula. He sent Alonso Dávila on an exploration of the southern and eastern regions of Yucatan with instructions to found a town in the interior province of Cochuah, if that region proved favorable for settlement. If not, Dávila was to establish a town at Chetumal or nearby (Chamberlain 1948a:99–100).

Dávila set out on his mission in 1531. Not finding a suitable site for a settlement in Cochuah, he decided to follow Montejo's second suggestion and moved on into the neighboring provinces of Uaymil and Chetumal. Dávila met no resistance from the Indians in Uaymil, but the rulers of Chetumal spurned his request to form an alliance with the Spaniards. By the time Dávila reached the town of Chetumal, it had been abandoned in favor of a less accessible place called Chequitaquitl, from which the Indians could launch a better offensive (Chamberlain 1948a:101–104).

The Spaniards were left undisturbed in Chetumal for about two months. Dávila, who had mistakenly interpreted the peacefulness with which the Indians

of Cochuah, Uaymil, and parts of Chetumal had received him as an indication of their willingness to submit to Spanish rule, apportioned the Indians of these districts to his men in *encomienda* (Chamberlain 1948a: 103–104).

In the meantime, the Indians continued to fortify Chequitaquitl and prepare for an attack on the Spaniards. When Dávila learned of their plans, he decided to strike first, surprising the Indians one morning at dawn. The Indians fled in disarray (Chamberlain 1948a: 104).

But this victory did not complete the pacification of the region. One by one, almost all the towns that only a few months before had received the Spaniards peacefully rose up in arms. This was the region in which Dávila was trying to introduce the exploitative institution of *encomienda*. The Indians clearly no longer regarded the Spaniards as harmless visitors. Eventually Dávila had to abandon the town he had founded at Chetumal because the Indians refused to supply the Spaniards with food, thereby effectively blockading the settlement (Chamberlain 1948a: 105–119).

Montejo, in the meantime, had been having his own problems in Campeche. On June 11, 1531, the Maya of the provinces of Campech and Ah Canul attacked the Spanish settlement at Campeche. After fierce fighting, the Indians were forced back. "Montejo followed his triumph with a rapid campaign against Ah Canul. He met with staunch resistance, but succeeded in restoring Spanish control throughout the province" (Chamberlain 1948a: 131).

In 1532, after the coastal provinces in the west had been brought once more under Spanish control, Montejo sent his son, Francisco de Montejo the Younger, to carry out in the northern interior provinces what Dávila had been instructed to accomplish in the southern part of the peninsula, that is, to found a Spanish settlement in the interior (Chamberlain 1948a: 99, 132–133).

Montejo the Younger ran into no opposition until he reached the province of Cupul. The Spaniards pushed on, however, as far as Chichen Itza, where Montejo the Younger founded a town which he named Ciudad Real after the city of Castile in Spain. He then sent well-armed parties out to explore the surrounding area and to try to win the allegiance of the local rulers they met. And, of course, one of the first things Montejo the Younger did was to assign the Indians in the area to the Spanish citizens of the town in *encomienda* (Chamberlain 1948a: 134–139).

The Cupules, like the Indians farther south, did not take kindly to the *encomienda* system. One of their leaders, Nacon Cupul, tried unsuccessfully to kill Montejo the Younger. The other Cupules refused to give the Spaniards any tribute or service. In 1533, the Cupules decided to attack the Spanish settlement at Chichen Itza. Their attack failed, but they successfully blockaded the town for several months, and the Spaniards were eventually forced to return to Campeche (Chamberlain 1948a: 144–149).

Montejo the Elder then himself moved into the field in an effort to regain the prestige that his son had lost at Chichen Itza. By the middle of 1534, he could claim control over the Indian provinces of Champoton, Campech, Ah Canul, Ceh Pech, Ah Kin Chel, and Mani. He established a new Ciudad Real at the port of Dzilan in Ah Kin Chel (Chamberlain 1948a: 158–159).

The Spaniards were now in a stronger position than ever to attempt the conquest of the interior. Unfortunately, however, just about this time news reached them of Pizarro's conquest of Peru and of the great riches there. Montejo's men were disappointed that there was no gold in Yucatan. Attracted by the possibility of becoming rich in Peru, many of them deserted Montejo and went off to join Pizarro (Chamberlain 1948a: 160–161). Montejo's forces were so weakened by the exodus of Spanish colonists to Peru that he realized that unless he abandoned this attempt to conquer the peninsula, he and his remaining men could easily be finished off by the Indians. Thus, just as Montejo was on the point of bringing his conquest to a successful conclusion, he was forced, by his own men, not by the Maya, to retreat and admit defeat (Chamberlain 1948a: 166–167).

The Last Phase of the Conquest: 1540–1545

In the years following his forced evacuation from the peninsula, Montejo the Elder lost interest in Yucatan and turned his attention to Honduras. He was not involved in the final conquest of Yucatan, but left that task to his son and his nephew.

In 1537 Montejo the Younger sent Lorenzo de Godoy to Champoton to set up an advance base in preparation for the occupation of the peninsula. The Spaniards at Champoton led a difficult life for several years. Montejo the Younger found it difficult to send reinforcements and supplies to them, mostly because his father had need of forces in Honduras. In 1538 Montejo the Younger sent his cousin, Fran-

cisco de Montejo the Nephew, to replace Godoy in Champoton (Chamberlain 1948a:189–190).

Montejo the Nephew ran into difficulties almost immediately at Champoton. The Indians began to refuse to pay the tributes and give the services the Spaniards demanded of them. Montejo the Nephew responded with force, thereby alienating the Indians even more. The base camp was in great danger of starvation and attack (Chamberlain 1948a: 190–195).

In 1540, when the Spaniards at Champoton were on the point of evacuating their camp, Montejo the Younger arrived with about sixty well-equipped men. One of the first things he did was to promise the Indians of Champoton that "in reward for such help as they had given to the Spaniards, no matter how grudging at times, they would be henceforth relieved from all tributes and services" (Chamberlain 1948a: 200). Montejo the Younger then decided that Campeche was better located strategically than Champoton; he therefore abandoned Champoton and took all his soldiers to Campeche (Chamberlain 1948a: 201).

After setting up his camp in Campeche, Montejo the Younger summoned the Maya leaders of the region before him and asked them to swear their allegiance to him. When some of the chiefs of Ah Canul defied him, Montejo the Younger responded by invading the province and forcing the disobedient leaders to submit (Chamberlain 1948a: 202–203).

In the second half of 1541, Montejo the Younger led his entire force to T-ho and established a strongly fortified camp in the midst of the ruins of the ancient city that had once been there. His next step was to summon the native leaders of that region, but only two or three towns responded. The Spaniards then made war on the towns of the region and forced the inhabitants of the towns to submit to Spanish rule. On January 6, 1542, Montejo founded the city of Merida on the ruins of T-ho (Chamberlain 1948a: 212–213).

Not long after the founding of Merida, the settlement was attacked by a coalition of Maya forces led by Nachi Cocom, the ruler of the province of Sotuta. Even though they were greatly outnumbered, the Spaniards defeated the Maya handily. Montejo the Younger followed up this victory by sending companies into outlying districts to attack Maya towns. These campaigns brought the provinces of Chakan, Hocabá-Homún, and Ah Kin Chel firmly under Spanish control (Chamberlain 1948a: 214–216).

Montejo the Younger then moved into the eastern part of the peninsula, overrunning and subjugating Sotuta and Cochuah. One by one, the rest of the eastern provinces were brought under at least nominal control. Cochuah and Cupul proved difficult to conquer. Ecab, on the other hand, did not resist the Spaniards (Chamberlain 1948a: 221–229). Perhaps the bloodiest campaign of all was the one led by Alonso and Melchor Pacheco in Uaymil-Chetumal:

Maya, both male and female, were killed in numbers with the garrote, or were thrown into lakes to drown with weights attached to them. Savage dogs of war, although used not for the first time in Yucatan, tore many defenseless natives to pieces. It is said that the Pachecos cut off the hands, ears, and noses of many Indians. . . . The Pachecos' campaign . . . left disastrous effects on Uaymil-Chetumal, . . . Some areas which were thickly peopled when the Pachecos entered the province remained to a large degree depopulated by the exceptionally ruthless fighting and by starvation, for the Indians had no chance to plant their fields or replace the food they destroyed or that which the Spaniards took from them. Large numbers abandoned their towns and went to more inaccessible regions in an attempt to place themselves beyond Spanish reach forever. Some seem to have migrated permanently to the province of Petén Itzá, which lay deep inland, about Lake Petén. The cacicazgo of Petén Itzá, with its island fortress of Tayasal, was now the last refuge of the Yucatecan Maya. (Chamberlain 1948a: 234–236)

With the people of Uaymil-Chetumal now brought to their knees, the Spaniards considered the conquest of Yucatan complete. This was not, however, how the Maya viewed the situation. They continued to resist Spanish domination until the end of 1547.

The Maya's Last Stand: 1546–1547

On the night of November 8–9, 1546, the eastern Maya made their last and most united effort to resist Spanish domination. The date for the uprising corresponded to 5 Cimi 19 Xul in the Maya calendar. Cimi means 'death,' and Xul means 'end,' and, according to the Yucatecan scholar Juan Martínez Hernández, this date was probably chosen to symbolize the anticipated death of the Spaniards and the end of Spanish rule in Yucatan (Chamberlain 1948a: 240n).

The provinces involved in the uprising were Cupul, Cochuah, Sotuta, Tazes, Uaymil-Chetumal, and Chikinchel.

The majority of victims were in the Cupul area, although there were others in Uaymil-Chetumal. . . .

Some were crucified under the burning rays of the tropical sun and set up as the targets for arrows. Others were roasted to death or killed by slow torture. Two Spanish children were roasted over copal, the Maya incense, under the direction of native priests. Still others, sacrificed by the priests before their idols, had their chests cut open and their hearts torn out in the ceremonial Mexican fashion. (Chamberlain 1948a:241)

Maya priests seem to have played an important part in this uprising, as the above description suggests. Montejo placed the blame for the revolt entirely on the native priests, claiming that

[The Indians rose] because of some Chilams, whom they call gods among themselves. One of them made it understood that he was the Son of God, while others [declared] they were sent by God. [These] Chilams told the people that they should let the Spaniards go to the pueblos of their encomiendas, and that they should [then] kill all of them. [This was to be done] because God said that all the Spaniards had to die and that none should remain in the land. . . . The principal [Chilam] . . . was he who said he was of God, who was called Chilam Anbal, who [later] confessed many evil things that the devil had given him to understand. (Chamberlain 1948a:239)

In my opinion, the Maya priest referred to here as Chilam Anbal is really Chilam Balam.³ Chamberlain (1948a:237) argues that the Maya priests, or *chilams*, revolted at this time because they "knew full well that the ancient faith would inevitably be broken before the Catholic zeal of the Spaniards, and that with it their own influence and power would be lost."

This interpretation of the motivations of the Maya priests who were involved in the revolt has been challenged by Ann C. Collins (1973:3), who points out that

. . . it is worth noting that Franciscan influence in the eastern portion of the Peninsula was negligible at this point in time. All of their work was being carried out from the two base missions at Campeche and Mérida, and, in fact, it was not until several years later that the friars committed themselves to the Christianization of eastern Yucatan with the establishment of a base mission at Valladolid (1553). This is not to deny that there were Christian Indians in the eastern provinces at the time of the revolt: the records clearly indicate that there were, especially among the natives attached to Spanish households in Valladolid. One can only wonder why, if Chamberlain's emphasis is correct, the revolt did not originate in or spread to areas where Christianization efforts were most intense and where native priests had much more substantial reasons for taking measures to counteract the influence of the friars.

There were Chilam Balams in the western part of the peninsula also, and one of the most famous Chilam Balams lived in Maní. Christianity was just as much a threat to the traditional religion of the western Maya, but they were not the ones who resisted Spanish domination. This suggests that economic and political factors may have been more important than religious ones.

There is evidence that, even at this early date, some Christian concepts had made an impression on the Maya, including the *chilams*. The most obvious of these was the crucifixion. In 1546 the Maya crucified some of their Spanish victims (Chamberlain 1948a:241). This was perhaps the first occurrence of a practice that was to be repeated in the Maya area, much to the dismay of the Catholic friars. Sixteen years later, Father Diego de Landa would launch an investigation of this practice in the western part of the peninsula.

The Chilam Balam of Cupul's claim to be the Son of God may also be an example of the early influence of Catholicism on the Maya religion. If so, it is significant that he was using a Christian concept in order to achieve political objectives. As time went on, more and more Christian elements would creep into the sermons and prophecies of the Chilam Balams (e.g., Roys 1933).

It took the Spaniards more than four months to crush the revolt. The Maya defended their towns fiercely. When this failed, they destroyed their food supplies so that the Spaniards could not make use of them and fled into the bush, where they carried on guerrilla warfare. The eastern and southern provinces were reduced "to a state of chaos exceeding anything that had existed heretofore. Pueblos lay deserted, their inhabitants were scattered, agriculture was ruined, and native life was totally disorganized. Large numbers of Indians left their homes permanently to migrate to other areas, as had happened during earlier phases of the conquest. Some undoubtedly went to distant and still free Petén Itzá" (Chamberlain 1948a:251).

The Maya of the Yucatan peninsula held out longer against the Spaniards than any other group in Mesoamerica. It took Cortés only two years to conquer the Aztecs, but it took the Montejos twenty years to conquer the Maya. Even in 1547, the Spanish victory was not complete. The Maya who had fled south to Lake Petén Itzá would not be brought under Spanish control for another 150 years.

The Inquisition in Yucatan

The spiritual conquest of Yucatan was equally difficult. The Maya were eclectic; their response to the Franciscan missionary friars' efforts to convert them was to enrich their aboriginal religion by combining selected Christian beliefs and practices with their own traditions. In 1557, a native priest in Sotuta tied two girls to crosses, saying: "Let these girls placed on the cross die as Jesus Christ died, who they say was Our Lord, only we don't know if he was" (Scholes and Adams 1938:1:78). Then he lowered the girls from the crosses, cut open their chests, and tore out their hearts, which he offered to idols. Finally, he threw their bodies into a well (Scholes and Adams 1938:1:78). In Tecoh in 1562 two boys were crucified alive, with their hands nailed and their feet tied to crosses. The crosses were raised while the boys screamed. Eventually the crosses were lowered, the boys' hearts were torn out and offered to idols, and their bodies were thrown into a well (Scholes and Adams 1938:1:94).

These are some of the earliest examples of Maya religious syncretism, in which selected aspects of two historically distinct traditions were integrated. The priests of Sotuta and Tecoh had combined, in one ceremony, the aboriginal heart sacrifice with the Christian crucifixion. Munro S. Edmonson (1960) and Donald E. Thompson (1954) have pointed out that Maya religious syncretism was also nativistic,⁴ for the integration of the crucifixion with the heart sacrifice implied an unwillingness to give up the ancient Maya rites in favor of a wholehearted acceptance of Catholicism.

Father Diego de Landa, who was Provincial of the Franciscan Order during this period, was apparently also aware of the nativistic implications of Maya syncretism. He realized that the task of converting the Indians to Catholicism would not succeed until every vestige of idolatry had been extirpated. He therefore decided, in the summer of 1562, to conduct an investigation of these practices in order to discover and punish the guilty parties. This was the famous Inquisition of Yucatan.

The first investigation took place in Mani at the end of June and during the first half of July (Scholes and Roys 1938:594). Hearings were held in Hocabá, Homún, and Sotuta in late July and early August (Scholes and Adams 1938:1:112-114; Scholes and Roys 1938:598). The timing of this investigation was probably of great symbolic significance to the Maya, because it included the five unlucky days of

the *uayeb* period, which in 1562 fell on July 21-25 (Tozzer 1941:134).

These days were indeed unlucky in 1562, because during the investigation 156 Maya leaders were imprisoned in Mérida (Scholes and Adams 1938:1:lxiv-lxv) and subjected to severe torture:

The method most frequently employed was to suspend the Indians in mid-air by means of rope tied to their wrists. If this proved ineffective, heavy stones were then tied to their feet. They were also whipped while in this position, and in many cases hot wax was dropped on their naked bodies. In certain cases the ancient form of torment by water was employed, as well as the *burro*, the latter being a wooden frame to which the Indians were tied and then subjected to other forms of punishment. So severe were these measures in some cases that they resulted in permanent injury or death. There is also evidence that a few Indians committed suicide . . . in order to escape from the torment or because of fear of the penalties that the inquisitors would impose as sentence for their idolatries. (Scholes and Roys 1938:596)

The methods used in the Inquisition aroused considerable unrest among the Indians. Indian opposition reached such a pitch that some ecclesiastical authorities feared that a general uprising would engulf the province (Scholes and Roys 1938:596).

Landa was eventually reprimanded and relieved of his post because of his use of torture in the extraction of confessions from recently converted Indians (Scholes and Roys 1938:595). His departure did not, however, mark the end of inquisitorial activities in Yucatan. Further investigations of idolatry were carried out in the peninsula in 1582, 1597, 1607, 1610, 1614, 1721, and 1785 (Greenleaf 1965:143, 153n, 164; Uchmany 1967; Sánchez de Aguilar 1953:289-290, 303).

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, "relapses into idolatry" were, in general, no longer the result of conscious efforts to revive the aboriginal religion. The Indians accepted Catholicism and practiced its rites to the best of their knowledge. Religious revitalization movements after that date did not reject Catholicism per se. What they did reject was Spanish monopolization of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Perhaps the earliest example of this shift in revitalization emphasis occurred in 1610:

There were two Indians, one named Alonso Chablé and the other Francisco Canul. The former pretended to be the Pope and supreme pontiff and the latter a bishop, and they announced themselves to be such among the Indians. Also they caused themselves to be venerated, deceiving the wretched Catholic Indians

with their infernal doctrine. They said mass at night dressed in the sacred vestments of the church which no doubt the sacristans had given them. They profaned the holy chalices and consecrated oils, baptized boys, confessed adults and gave them communion, while they worshipped idols which they placed on the altar. They ordained priests for service, anointing their hands with the oil and the holy chrism, and when they ordained them they put on a miter and took a crozier in their hands. They commanded the Indians to give them offerings and openly taught other deadly heresies. (Roys 1933: 202)

The self-proclaimed Indian "pope" and "bishop" clearly did not reject Catholicism; rather, they were arrogating for themselves the dress, privileges, and duties monopolized by Spaniards. This sacrilege was apparently suppressed without provoking a violent response from the Indian community.

The Conquest of the Itza⁵

The first Spaniard who visited the Itza was Hernán Cortés. In 1524, three years after the conquest of the Aztecs had been completed, Cortés commissioned his friend, Cristóbal de Olid, to establish some Spanish settlements in Honduras. Shortly after reaching his destination, Olid rebelled against Cortés. When Cortés learned of his friend's betrayal, he decided to go to Honduras in order to punish Olid (Cortés 1971: 221).

Cortés and his men traveled overland through the swamps and jungles of Tabasco, Chiapas, and Guatemala. Eventually they reached Lake Petén Itzá. They captured an Indian, who informed them that the area was controlled by the Itza, who had their capital at Tayasal on an island in the middle of the lake (Cortés 1971: 241).

The ruler of the Itza, who was named Canek, received the Spaniards warmly and gave them news of Olid's whereabouts (Cortés 1971: 242). Canek seems to have been impressed with what the Spaniards taught him about Christianity. According to Villagutierre Soto-Mayor (1933: 44–45), he even promised to destroy his idols, although there is no evidence that he ever followed through on his promise.

No further contact seems to have been made with the Itza until 1614, almost one hundred years later. In the meantime, much of the Yucatan peninsula was brought under Spanish domination. Many peninsular Maya fled southward in order to escape economic exploitation, and some of them undoubtedly eventually joined the Itza.

In 1614 the Itza at Tayasal sent an embassy to

Merida apparently in fulfillment of a prophecy that the time had come for the Itza to return to the northern part of the peninsula (Roys n.d.: 12–13). Munro S. Edmonson (forthcoming) has paraphrased the opening lines of this prophecy as follows: "Then is the return to the center at Mayapan. . . . at the beginning of 1611, towards the end of 5 Ahau" (*Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin*, lines 2677–2692). These lines imply that plans for the visit to Merida were first made in 1611.

The Spanish version of this visit was given by Father Diego de López de Cogolludo (1842–1845: 2: 192): "The Itza Indians . . . came during the time of this governor [Antonio de Figueroa] to the city of Merida, saying it was to give obedience to the king, and the governor in his name gave them staffs of alcaldes, and appointed a council, with which they returned, understanding that they were voluntarily subjects; but it was later seen to be a hoax."

Apparently, when the Itza ambassadors returned to Tayasal, they were repudiated for having capitulated to the Spaniards and were seized and punished. Edmonson (forthcoming) has paraphrased the description of their return in the *Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin* as follows: "And when they got back to the towns and villages the respected nobles were seized and beaten. The return of the Itza was a disaster. They suffered penance in fulfillment of the oath of office, but also at the desire of the villages" (lines 2733–2750).

The Spaniards used the failure of this embassy as a pretext to make war on the Itza: "Especially, since they had already given their allegiance (although it was feigned) and had renounced it, the prohibition against making war on them had ceased to be in effect; for if they had given it genuinely and truly, they were already vassals of the king; and not to fulfill it was a kind of rebellion, and uprising; and if they had given it as a pretence, and deceit; or other dishonest motive, it was a form of rudeness, which should not remain unpunished" (Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1933: 68). In this way, what was probably intended as a peaceful mission was cleverly reinterpreted into an uprising.

In 1618 two priests, Fathers Bartolomé de Fuen-salida and Juan de Orbita, went to Tayasal with the object of trying to convert the Itza to Christianity. They were cordially received by the ruler of the Itza, whose name was also Canek. However, when the priests urged the Itza to adopt Christianity, Canek told them "that the time had not yet arrived, in which their ancient priests had prophesied to them,

that they would cease to worship their gods, because the period in which they were at that time, was what they called *oxahau* [3 Ahau], which means third period. . . . And so, they asked them, not to continue with that any longer, at that time" (Villagutierrez Soto-Mayor 1933:86). The Spanish priests left when they discovered that the Itza were resolved to resist Christianity until the appointed time had come.

In 1621 Father Diego Delgado decided to make another attempt to Christianize the Itza, but he was much less fortunate than Fuensalida and Orbita had been. When he landed on the island with a small escort of thirteen Spanish soldiers, they were at first received peacefully enough. But soon after their arrival, the Indians attacked them. "All the soldiers were killed, and their hearts were torn from their breasts, while their heads were set upon stakes around the village. Later they took Fray Diego, cut him up into pieces, and set his head on a stake also" (Means 1917:81). Delgado's death brought an end to the proselytizing phase of Spanish efforts to control the Itza.

The Itza were apparently left alone by the Spaniards during the next seventy years (Means 1917: 83). In 1695 Martín de Urzúa y Arismendi, the acting governor of Yucatan, and Jacinto de Barrios Leal, the president of the Audiencia of Guatemala, decided to coordinate efforts to conquer the lowlands which lay between the settled parts of their respective provinces (see Chapter 4). The Chol and Lacandon, who were neighbors of the Itza, had been giving the Guatemalan authorities trouble, and Urzúa and Barrios Leal were interested in building a road that would link the two provinces, to their mutual economic benefit. Urzúa explained the purpose of the road in a letter to King Charles V:

So I propose to Your Majesty that at my own expense, and at no [cost] to the Royal Treasury, as soon as I have become governor and whenever I have made my preparations, I shall undertake to open a highway from the provinces of Yucatan to those of Guatemala; at the same time peacefully reducing, by means of evangelical preaching, all the Indians who shall be found in those regions; but the conversion must not interfere with the objective of opening the road, which is more important because it will later facilitate the reduction of all those who live in those parts by the continuous movement and trade of Spaniards from one province to the other. (Villagutierrez Soto-Mayor 1933:150)

Barrios Leal took the initiative, in March 1695, by leading a military expedition into the lowlands. According to Father Agustín Cano, a Dominican priest

who accompanied the expedition, the Spaniards first passed through territory inhabited by Chol and Mopan Indians. They were well received by these Indians and were successful in Christianizing many of them (Cano 1942:65–67; see also Chapter 3). Then they moved on to Lake Peten Itza, where they were met by armed Itza. When the Itza learned that one of the objectives of the expedition was to convert them to Christianity, they attacked the Spaniards. The battle was won by the Spaniards, who captured two of the Itza leaders, one of whom later escaped. In spite of their victory, the Spaniards decided to leave the lake region. Apparently Father Cano saw no point in staying in Tayasal because it was obvious that the Indians would not adopt Christianity peacefully, and Cano did not feel that he had the authority to try to impose the new religion on them by force (Cano 1942:67–68).

In the meantime, Urzúa was organizing a Yucatecan expedition to the Itza. He appointed a Franciscan priest, Father Andrés de Avendaño y Loyola, to lead the spiritual conquest of the Itza. And just to make sure that conversion would not "interfere" with the construction of the road, Urzúa organized a military expedition to accompany Avendaño (Avendaño y Loyola 1696:3).

The Yucatecan expedition set out for Lake Peten Itza on June 2, 1695 (Avendaño y Loyola 1696:1). On the way, the Spanish soldiers plundered some Indian towns against the wishes of the priests who accompanied them. Father Avendaño, the leader of the priests, realized that the religious mission among the Itza was doomed to failure unless the soldiers could be restrained. When the avaricious soldiers refused to heed his warnings and advice, the priests decided to return to Merida before further, irreparable harm was done. The expedition turned back just before arriving at Lake Peten Itza and reached Merida on September 17, 1695 (Avendaño y Loyola 1696: 31–42).

Three months later, Avendaño agreed to return to Lake Peten Itza after he had convinced Urzúa to restrain his soldiers. This time the soldiers controlled their desire for plunder when they passed through Indian towns on their way to Lake Peten Itza (Avendaño y Loyola 1696:1, 42–44, 51–54; Means 1917:123).

When the Spaniards arrived at Lake Peten Itza, a group of Indians, led by their ruler named Canek, came in a boat from Tayasal (Avendaño y Loyola 1696:64). In his conversations with Canek, Avendaño very cleverly explained his mission in terms of

the prophecies that the Itza had used to discourage Orbita and Fuensalida almost eighty years earlier: "I am the one who is fulfilling your own Prophecies by which you are to become Christians: This benefit will come to you by means of some bearded men from the east who, according to the signs of their [sic] prophets, were ourselves, to come many leagues from the East, ploughing the seas, with no other interest than, borne by our love of their souls (bringing them at the cost of much effort) that favor which the true God shows them" (Avendaño y Loyola 1696:66). Apparently it was now the appointed time for the conversion to take place, and this time the Itza were receptive to Christianity. The priests baptized hundreds of Itza during the following weeks (Avendaño y Loyola 1696:78; Means 1917:138–139).

The people Canek ruled over lived in twenty-two districts, each headed by a political chief. Canek's authority over his district chiefs evidently was not absolute, for after Avendaño had been in Tayasal for some time, the Indians of one of the districts plotted to kill the Spaniards. When Canek learned of this plot, he helped Avendaño and the other Spaniards escape from Tayasal. After wandering in the jungle for many days and enduring many hardships, Avendaño and his companions finally returned to Merida on April 6, 1696 (Avendaño y Loyola 1696:79, 105–139).

On his way home, Avendaño learned that, shortly after he had left Merida, in December 1695, the Itza had sent an embassy to Merida to inform Urzúa that the time had come for them to be converted to Christianity (Avendaño y Loyola 1696:139). This explains why the Itza were so responsive to Avendaño's efforts to convert them. The head of that embassy, who was King Canek's nephew, is said to have made the following speech to the governor of Yucatan:

Sir: As the representative of my uncle, the great Can-ek, king and lord of the Itza, in his name and on his behalf I came to prostrate myself at your feet, and to offer to them his royal crown, so that in the name of your great king, of whom you are the representative, you will receive and admit us in his royal service, with his aid and protection, and you will send us father priests who will baptize us, who will govern us and teach the law of the true God. This is why I have come, and what my king seeks and wishes, with the shared feeling of all his vassals. (Embajada de los Itzaes 1845:6)

had rejected Fuensalida and Orbita's urgings that his people adopt Christianity by pointing out that they were only in the period Katun 3 Ahau and that the appointed time for such a change had not yet come (Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1933:86). According to the prophecies of the Chilam Balam of Chumayel, as discussed in Chapter 1, the Itza capital was scheduled for destruction or abandonment in Katun 8 Ahau (Roys 1933:135–137).

In one of the chronicles of the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, Bishop Francisco Toral's arrival in Yucatan in 1562 is correlated with the sixth *tun* (360 day year) of Katun 9 Ahau (Roys 1933:143). If this correlation is correct, then it means that the year 1618 fell approximately two years after the beginning of Katun 3 Ahau. Counting forward from 1616, the year Katun 3 Ahau supposedly began, we can calculate the beginning of the next Katun 8 Ahau, which should have been in 1695.⁶ The fact that 1695 was the year that the Itza sent word of their willingness to be converted (Embajada de los Itzaes 1845; Avendaño y Loyola 1696:139) lends support to this reasoning.

It was Urzúa, the governor of Yucatan, who finally brought the Itza under Spanish rule. He mobilized Indians from a number of Yucatecan Indian towns, including Sotuta, Yaxcaba, Tixcacal, Peto, and Maní, to assist in the conquest. They set out for Lake Petén Itza on January 23, 1697 (Means 1917:182–183).

When the Spaniards arrived at Lake Petén Itza, they found that the Indians were prepared for war. The decisive battle took place on March 13, 1697. The arrows of the Indians were no match for the artillery of the Spaniards; the Indians broke ranks and fled into the lake. The Spaniards took possession of Tayasal the next morning (Means 1917:184–185).

Although Lake Petén Itza was technically not part of the Yucatan peninsula, the conquest of the Itza was an important event in the Spaniards' interpretation of colonial Yucatecan history. Whether it was true or not, both the Spaniards and the Indians of Yucatan believed that the Itza were a Yucatecan people who had migrated from Chichen Itza in the northern part of the peninsula some years before the arrival of the Spaniards (Means 1917:101). Thus, as long as they remained independent, the conquest of Yucatan was not complete.

Of even further symbolic importance was the fact that the timing of the conquest of the Itza represented the fulfillment of an old Maya prophecy. According to the prophecies of the Chilam Balam of Chumayel, as mentioned above, the Itza capital had

The timing of this embassy, like that of the one in 1614, was by no means accidental. In 1618 Canek

to be conquered during a Katun 8 Ahau, and the relevant Katun 8 Ahau began around 1695.⁷ The fact that the Itza in effect invited the Spaniards to conquer them after that date suggests that the Maya *katun* prophecies should be regarded as history as well as prophecy. The Itza made the prophecy come true by asking the Spaniards to convert them at the right time.

It is therefore difficult to view the conversion of the Itza as a "conquest" in the usual sense of the term. It is clear that when the time foretold for the destruction of their city came, the Itza tried to comply with the prophecy by inviting the Spanish priests to return. It is also clear that Avendaño was aware of the prophecy and timed his mission to the Itza to coincide with the beginning of Katun 8 Ahau.

The Maya View of the Conquest

The Maya history of the Spanish conquest is recorded in the Books of Chilam Balam which were written in the Latin-based alphabet developed by Franciscan friars after 1545. Just how soon after the completion of the conquest these books were first written is not known. The extant versions seem to date from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but, as Ralph L. Roys (1933:5–6) has pointed out, there is linguistic evidence that they were probably copied from older manuscripts. The *Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin* is usually regarded as the oldest of these books because "it retains the Maya forms of a number of words which are translated into Spanish in other versions" (Roys 1933:120n).

Perhaps the best known of these books is the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, which has been published in English by Roys (1933). Roys also transcribed the text of the Tizimin version, but his transcription and notes were never published. The typed manuscript of his transcription and critical comments on it belong to the manuscript collection of the Latin American Library of Tulane University.

My account of the Maya view of the conquest is based on the Chumayel and Tizimin versions of the Books of Chilam Balam. Wherever the historical sections in the two versions are similar, I have quoted from the Tizimin version because it is probably older and therefore more likely to express the view of the Maya at the time of the conquest.

The Books of Chilam Balam are not exclusively historical records; the *chilams* were prophets rather than historians, but their prophecies often contained historical material. One passage in the *Book*

of *Chilam Balam of Tizimin* suggests that *chilams* served as intermediaries between the supernatural and natural worlds:

This is the record of how it happened,
 The descent of the sole God,
 The thirteen gods [of the overworld],
 8,000 gods [i.e., a myriad of gods],
 In the words of the priests,
 The prophets,
 Chilam Balam
 And Ah Xupan,
 Napuctun,
 The priest,
 Nahau Pech,
 Ah Kauil Chel.
 And he explained
 His words of counsel to them.
 The parable was delivered to them.
 But they did not understand
 Those words
 Which were spoken to them there.
 Then Chilam Balam went there;
 He was stretched out on the ground.
 He went into his cell,
 Into his house.
 They say that he was not arising,
 Nor was his face being seen
 As long as
 There was someone speaking
 Above his house,
 His home.
 Because he went there;
 He straddled
 Above his house,
 His home.
 And then are going to begin
 The words to be spoken there.
 A crowd of priests were going there,
 In the presence of Chilam.
 And the declaration of the word began;
 It was coming to them there.
 They did not know
 Who spoke to them.
 And they said:
 Great Four Lords [the four yearbearers].⁸
 Thus went their words.
 And they went to lie face down
 On the ground
 In order to listen to these words
 Of the prophet,
 Chilam.
 (Roys n.d.: 13–14)

In the Books of Chilam Balam, the arrival of the Spaniards is associated with the twenty-year period or *katun* called 11 Ahau:

11 Ahau
 Was the *katun*.
 The first,
 The original
 Count of the *katun*,
 The first *katun*
 [When] the White men arrived.
 At Merida the *katun* was established.
 O red were the beards of the sons of the Sun,
 The White men!
 How we prayed
 When they came.
 From the east they came
 And arrived here,
 The bearded ones,
 The sorcerers,
 With their sign of God
 Sagging on the tree above.⁹
 [Roys n.d.: 29]

According to Roys (1933:81n), "The Spanish Conquest of northern Yucatan was completed and Merida founded early in Katun 11 Ahau, but it was during the previous Katun that Montejo first landed on the east coast of Yucatan." It was also during the preceding *katun*, which was named Katun 13 Ahau, that Cortés landed at Cozumel (Roys 1933:186). Nevertheless, some of the events that actually took place during Katun 13 Ahau are assigned to Katun 11 Ahau in the following passage from the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*:

The count of the *katuns*
 And years
 [When] the peninsula
 Of Yucatan was first seized
 By the foreigners,
 The White men.
 It was during 11 Ahau
 Katun that it happened,
 Their seizure of the port
 Of Ecab.
 From the east they came
 When they arrived.
 They were the first to breakfast on custard apples.
 That is the reason they were called
 The "pond-apple foreigners";
 The "strangers who sucked custard apples" was
 their name.
 They say that this was the name
 Of their host
 Whom they seized there
 At Ecab:
 Captain Jaguar
 Was his name.
 He was the first to be seized there at Ecab
 By the first captain,

Don Juan de Montejo,¹⁰
 The first conqueror.
 Here in the peninsula
 Of Yucatan it was.
 It was still during this *katun* that there occurred
 Their arrival here at Merida.
 In the year
 1513,
 13 Ahau
 Was the *katun*
 [When] there occurred
 Their seizure of Campeche.
 They were there
 For one *katun*.
 Ah Kin Caamat of Campeche
 Admitted the foreigners
 Here
 Into the peninsula.
 Today,
 On August 20
 Of the year
 1541,
 I have made known the name of the years
 When Christianity began here.
 The year
 1519 arrived.
 Sevenscore years
 And eleven years
 [When] there occurred the agreement with the
 foreigners
 According to which
 We paid for the initiation
 Of the war
 Of the foreigners
 With the other men
 Here
 In the towns.
 It was those captains of the towns [who made war]
 then;
 It is we who pay for it now.
 Today
 I have written
 That in the year
 1541
 The foreigners first arrived
 From the east;
 Ecab
 Was its name.
 In that year occurred
 Their arrival
 At the port of Ecab,
 At the town of Captain Jaguar
 On the very first day
 Of the year
 Of the *katun*,
 Katun 11 Ahau.
 [Roys 1933:21-22]

In this chronicle, two twenty year periods have been telescoped into one, with the result that Montejo's first campaign is placed in the wrong *katun*. On the other hand, as Chamberlain (1948a: 347–348) has pointed out, Spanish historians have not done much better—they have telescoped Montejo's first two campaigns into one:

The history of the conquest as it was handed down in printed form until Oviedo's complete work was made generally available through publication in 1851–55, became confused within a comparatively short time after the Spaniards finally colonized Yucatan. Gómara, in his *Historia general*, failed to clarify the three phases of the conquest and set forth an exceedingly inaccurate and superficial summary. . . . In his celebrated *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* as it now stands, Bishop Diego de Landa fused the first and second phases of the conquest and gave no proper indication of developments in Tabasco. . . .

Diego López de Cogolludo, another Franciscan, in the second half of the seventeenth century wrote what for a long time was to be the standard history of Yucatan during its first one hundred years as a Spanish province. This work, *Historia de Yucatán*, was first published in Madrid in 1688. . . . Notwithstanding the fact that he consulted original documents . . . , López de Cogolludo postulated the basic elements of Landa's, Herrera's, and Cárdenas y Valencia's accounts of a merged, continuous first and second entrada [campaign]. . . .

Eligio Ancona, a Yucatecan historian who lived from 1836 to 1893, followed López de Cogolludo's interpretation of the conquest in his *Historia de Yucatán desde la época mas remota* (Mérida 1878–80), as did Hubert H. Bancroft in his account of the occupation of Yucatan in his three-volume *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1886–87). These two historians fell into the old error, despite the full publication of Oviedo between 1851 and 1855.

It should be pointed out, however, that Spanish historians, unlike Maya historians, did not merge the exploratory and conquest phases of the history of the conquest of Yucatan; rather, they telescoped events *within* those phases. Apparently, for the Spaniards, the distinction between the two phases of the conquest was more important than the chronological position of events within them. Maya historians, on the other hand, have telescoped the two phases of the conquest into one twenty-year period of their calendar, and they do not recognize any functional differences among the various expeditions. Nevertheless, although the actual dates they assign to the events which took place between 1511 and 1545 are often wrong, their relative chronological ordering of Montejo's three campaigns is essentially correct. In other words, Spanish historians

have lumped what Maya historians have correctly regarded as discrete events, and Maya historians have incorrectly placed in one twenty-year period events which Spanish historians argue should be assigned to two functionally different phases.

Another passage in the same section of the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* suggests that it was the fact that the Spaniards were foreigners, rather than their motives for leading expeditions in the peninsula, that was important to the Maya. In this passage, which comes after the selection quoted above, the arrival of another group of foreigners, the Itza, is also described:

And then they were in agreement
About what was prudent.
There was no sin then;
In their holy compunction
Was their life.
There was no sickness then;
They had no aching bones then;
They had no high fever then;
They had no pustule fever [smallpox] then;
They had no burning chests then;
They had no abdominal pains;
They had no consumption then;
They had no headaches then;
The course of humanity was orderly then.
The foreigners made it otherwise
When they arrived here.
They brought shameful things
When they came.
And they lost their innocence in sexual perversion;
They lost their innocence in the sexual perversion
Of Quetzalcoatl the Flower,
In the sexual perversion of his companions.
No lucky days
Were indicated to us then.
This was the origin of the two-day seat,
The two-day reign.¹¹
This was the cause
Of death to us also.
There were no lucky days for us also.
There was no sound judgment for us.
At the end of our loss of vision
And shame
Everything will be revealed.
There was no great teacher;
There was no great speaker;
There was no learned lord¹²
When there was this change of rulers,
When they arrived here.
Lewd were their priests
Who came
To be established here
By the foreigners.

And then they left their borne children,
 Their engendered children
 Here,
 At Tancah [Mayapan].
 In that year they received their misery;
 There happened their being bitten
 [By] these foreigners here.
 The Itza went.
 Three times perhaps
 The foreigners went.
 Because in that year
 [When] we have reached threescore years
 They will free us
 From our tribute,¹³
 Because there occurred
 Their having been bitten
 By those men,
 The Itza here.
 It was not we who did it;
 It is we who pay for it now.
 However, there is an agreement;
 It must end,
 That there might be peace between us
 And the foreigners.
 Otherwise,
 We are going to have a great war.
 (Roys 1933:22)

The only foreigners specifically referred to in this excerpt are the Itza and the Mesoamerican culture hero Quetzalcoatl, with whom the coming of the Itza is often associated. On the other hand, at least one of the evils attributed here to the arrival of the Itza was probably brought by the Spaniards, namely smallpox. I have already quoted passages that link the introduction of smallpox with the Spaniards. Furthermore, the bitter comment:

It was not we who did it;
 It is we who pay for it now.

is similar to the observation made in reference to the arrival of the Spaniards, quoted earlier:

It was those captains of the towns [who made war]
 then;
 It is we who pay for it now.

This suggests that both the Spaniards and the Itza are meant in the quoted excerpt, even though only the Itza are mentioned.

Roys (1933:84n) suggests that "The confusion of this narrative is probably due to the fact that while the writer was referring ostensibly to the Itzá, he really had the Spaniards in mind." I agree with Roys's interpretation for several reasons: (1) both

groups of foreigners are discussed in the same chronicle; (2) the arrival of the Itza in Yucatan was also associated with a Katun 11 Ahau (Roys 1933:74); and (3) some of the events attributed to the Itza conquest clearly date from the period of the Spanish conquest.

The above description of the arrival of the Itza lists the misfortunes for which they were supposedly responsible. In another part of the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, the Spaniards are blamed for a comparable list of sufferings:

It was only because he was ruling then,
 This unfortunate priest,
 That suffering was introduced,
 That Christianity was introduced.
 Because those [people]
 Were true Christians.
 Here
 They arrived
 With the true God,
 The true Lord,
 The cause of our misery,
 The origin of tribute,
 The origin of church dues,
 The origin of violent purse-snatching,
 The origin of forcible rape,
 The origin of witchcraft disputes,
 The origin of losses from robbery,
 The origin of debt peonage,
 The origin of debts from false testimony,
 The origin of hair-pulling quarrels,
 The origin of torture,
 The origin of losses from robbery,
 The origin of service to the Spaniards
 And the priests,
 Of service to the headmen,
 Of service to the teachers,
 Of service to the public prosecutors
 By the youths,
 The boys of the town.
 Meanwhile they might be tortured,
 Those miserable people.
 As for those miserably poor people,
 Those very poor people,
 They did not depart,
 In spite of what they did,
 In spite of the violence.
 As for those Antichrists here
 In the world,
 The human kinkajous,
 The human foxes [cunning people],
 The human leeches,
 The suckers of poor commoners here,
 Well, it shall come to pass
 On the day that

Tears come
To the eyes
Of our Lord,
God,
There will descend
The justice
Of our Lord,
God,
Everywhere
In the world.
Directly
From God
Upon the adulterators of maize
And the soul-destroying woman,
Those avaricious hagglers here
In the world.
(Roys 1933:20)

It is clear that both the Itza and the Spaniards were sources of misery and ruin for the Maya. To the Maya, what was salient about the arrival of the Spaniards was that they, like the Itza, were foreigners and exploiters. I submit that it is for this reason that all the events of the conquest period were usually assigned to Katun 11 Ahau, which was also the *katun* with which the arrival and exploitation of the Itza were associated.¹⁴

Thus the Maya interpreted the conquest in terms of their cyclical view of history, according to which the arrival of the Spaniards was not unexpected because it occurred approximately 256 years, or one full series of *katun* cycles, after the arrival of the Itza. One result of this apparent coincidence is that the two invasions were often treated as one.

This cyclical view of history seems to have played an even more important role in the conquest of the Itza of Lake Peten Itza, who were presumably the descendants of the foreigners who had invaded the peninsula during the previous Katun 11 Ahau. The Itza were the last of the peninsular Maya to hold out against the Spaniards, and they did so for 150 years. But when the time prophesied for the destruction of their city arrived, they meekly invited the Spaniards to come and convert them!

Although the Maya philosophy of history probably worked to the advantage of the Spaniards during much of the Colonial period, it later became a source of anxiety to the Spanish authorities. For, according to any cyclical view of history, no cycle lasts forever. In the Maya case, the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* predicted:

Then he will leave the land of stones
And the land of trees [i.e., the wilderness],
There to become a man,

There then to establish a town.
There shall be no fox then
Which is going to bite them.
It will be in Katun 9 Ahau.
For five years it will run
Until the completion,
The end of my prophecy then.
It arrived then,
In the time of the declining tribute.
It ended then,
Their paying for
The raising of armies
[By] our masters.
You will not call
Your reign war.
He is coming here,
Among us,
Our savior,
That Jesus Christ,
The guardian
Of our souls.
Just as here on earth,
So he is going to receive
Our souls
In Holy Heaven also,
O ye sons.
The true God. Amen.
(Roys 1933:43)

Roys (1933:125n) thinks that this prophecy refers to the seventh and eighth decades of the sixteenth century. It should be pointed out, however, that a later Katun 9 Ahau began in 1848 during the Indian uprising known as the Caste War of Yucatan.¹⁵ In 1850, two years after the beginning of Katun 9 Ahau, one of the leaders of that rebellion claimed to be the Second Coming of Christ (see Chapter 11). Furthermore, during the decade preceding the Caste War, Indians were recruited into the armies of rival Ladino political factions which were competing for power in the vacuum left by the withdrawal of the Spanish government after Mexico had won its War of Independence in 1821; the Indians were promised a reduction of their taxes ("tributes") if they fought in those armies. Finally, after five years of Katun 9 Ahau had passed, many of the rebels signed a treaty with the Yucatecan government (see Chapter 8).

The most recent date on the manuscript of the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* is either 1838 or 1858 (Roys 1933:7), so this prophecy could very well have been common knowledge at that time. Finally, people of Spanish descent believed that the Indians were being influenced by the prophecies of Chilam Balam on the eve of that rebellion (González Navarro 1970:78).

The Conquest of Guatemala

Guatemala, like the Yucatan peninsula, was divided into several warring political groups on the eve of the Spanish conquest. During the second half of the fifteenth century, the Quiche, under their ruler, Quicab, had brought much of the Guatemalan highlands under their control (Bode 1961:217; Wauchope 1948:38). However, by the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century, the power of the Quiche had begun to decline and was being successfully challenged by a neighboring tribe, the Cakchiquel. Between 1511 and 1522, the Quiche and the Cakchiquel were frequently at war (Recinos and Goetz 1953:113–116). At the same time, the Quiche were continuing to expand eastward into Pokom (Pokoman and Pokomchi) territory and westward into the Mam domain (see Map 2). Probably in response to this encroachment on their lands, the Pokom towns that had not yet been taken over by the Quiche allied themselves with the Cakchiquel (Miles 1965:282). Nor were all towns within the area where Quiche was spoken content with Quiche rule; the Indians of Rabinal, who spoke a Quiche dialect with Cakchiquel admixture, were at times allied with the Cakchiquel (Recinos 1957:147, cited in Miles 1965:280). Thus, when the Spaniards arrived in highland Guatemala, the Indians of that region were polarized into two groups, composed of the Quiche and their subjugated peoples, on the one hand, and the Cakchiquel and their allies, on the other.

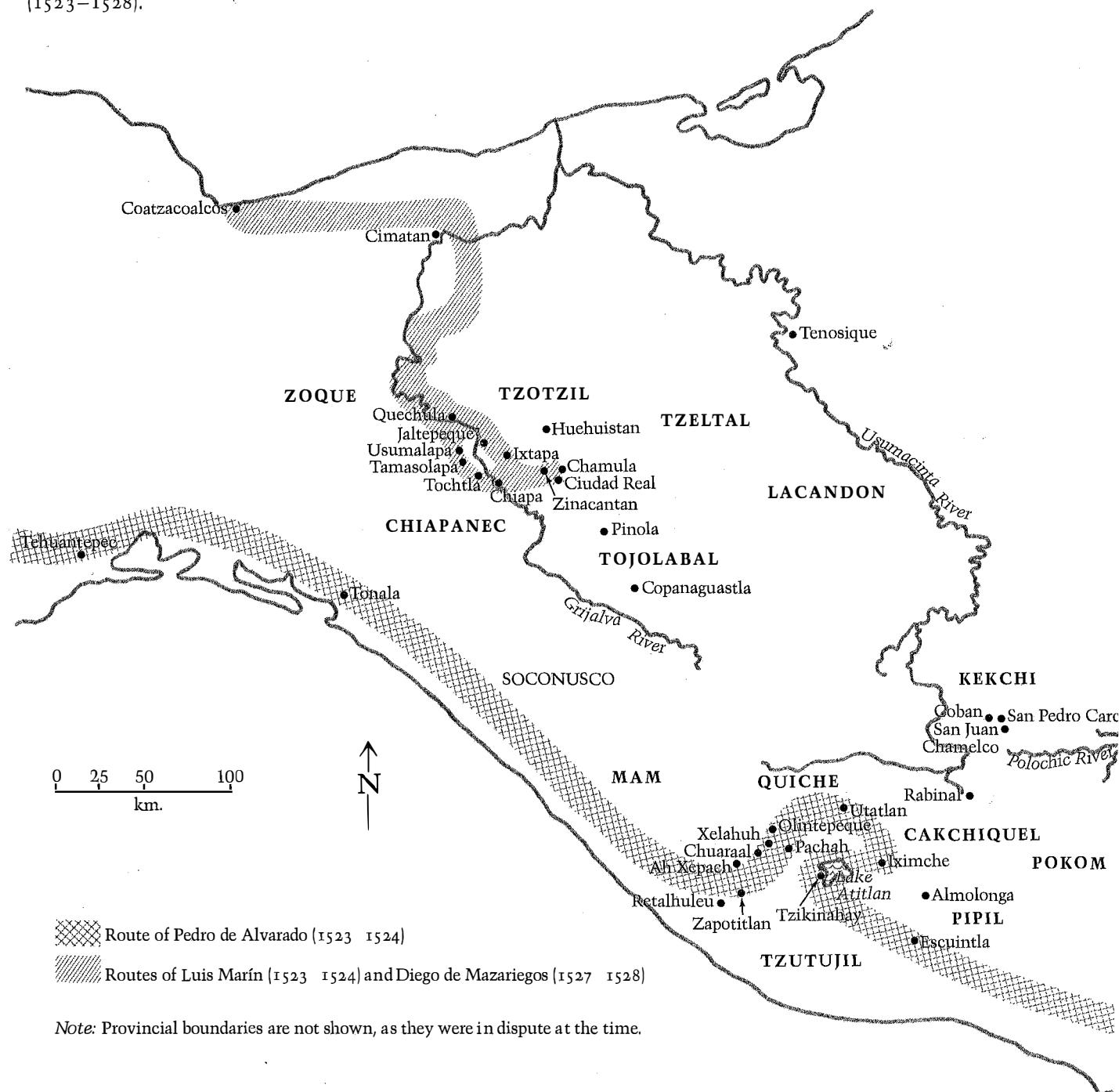
In spite of the great distance that separated Tenochtitlan from the Guatemalan highlands, both the Quiche and the Cakchiquel were involved in diplomatic relations with the Aztecs. In 1510, the capitals of both tribes were visited by Montezuma's ambassadors (Recinos 1957:84; Recinos and Goetz 1953:112–113). One result of this relationship was

that Montezuma sent a messenger to the Quiche, informing them of the arrival of the Spaniards (Recinos 1957:84–85). Since Montezuma's messenger probably arrived in 1519 or 1520, three or four years before Pedro de Alvarado appeared on the scene, the Guatemalan tribes had plenty of time to prepare an effective resistance against the Spaniards. The Cakchiquel, however, did not at first view the arrival of the Spaniards as a threat to their own well-being. On the contrary, they thought that by siding with the Spaniards against the Quiche, they would be able to destroy Quiche hegemony for once and for all. A Cakchiquel delegation was sent to Cortés to convey their people's willingness to recognize the sovereignty of the King of Spain (Recinos and Goetz 1953:18; Mackie 1924:12). Thus, in Guatemala, as in other parts of Mesoamerica, local political conflicts undermined the position of the Indians and gave the Spaniards the advantage, in spite of their much smaller numbers.¹

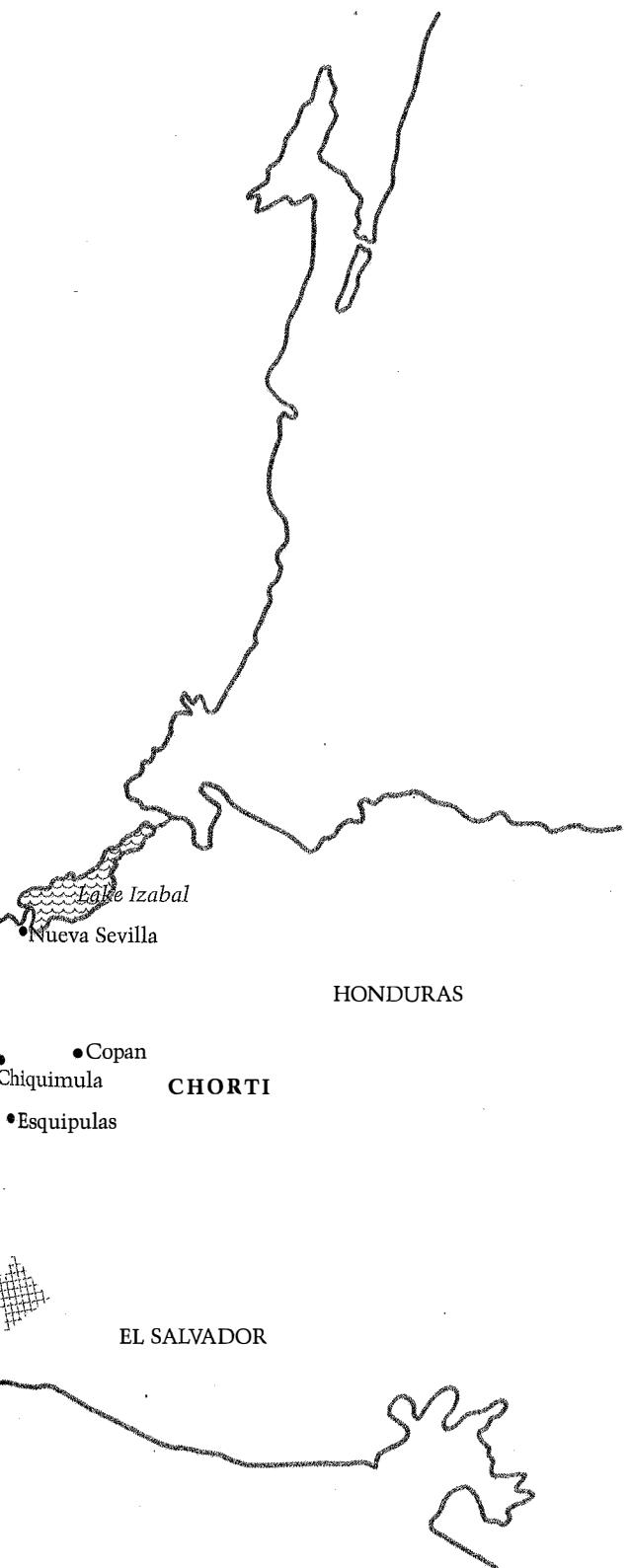
The Conquest of the Quiche

Not long after the possibility of conquering Guatemala had been brought to his attention by the Cakchiquel delegation, Cortés received news of Indian "uprisings" in the provinces of Chiapas and Soconusco (see Chapter 4). On December 6, 1523, Cortés sent his lieutenant, Pedro de Alvarado, to southern Mexico to pacify the rebellious provinces and to begin the conquest of Guatemala. Alvarado took along with him 120 horsemen, 300 foot soldiers (including 130 musketeers and cross bowmen), 200 Tlaxcalans, and 100 Mexican Indians (King 1974:15; Mackie 1924:14). The expedition arrived in the province of Tehuantepec on January 12, 1524, and went from there to Soconusco (Mackie 1924:14–15).

Map 2. Conquest of Guatemala and Chiapas (1523–1528).



Note: Provincial boundaries are not shown, as they were in dispute at the time.



At that time, Soconusco and the southwestern part of Guatemala were inhabited by Mam speakers. In Soconusco, the Indians around Tonala opposed Alvarado's advance, but he defeated them (Juarros 1823:21, 219, 227–228). In a letter to Cortés, Alvarado states that his first battle in Guatemala occurred near the town of Zapotitlan, which lay in what is today the Department of Retalhuleu. Some of his men captured three spies from this town. Alvarado sent the captured Indians back to their town with instructions that its rulers should come before him and swear their allegiance to the King of Spain. They did not do so (Mackie 1924:54–55).

Alvarado's next move was to march on Zapotitlan. When they arrived at the outskirts of the town, the Spaniards discovered that the inhabitants had prepared to resist the invaders by barricading all the roads leading into it. Alvarado decided not to force his way immediately into the town, where he might be ambushed. Instead, he established a camp nearby from which he sent some of his Mexican allies out to explore the region. His scouts were attacked by hostile Indians, and some of them were killed or wounded. Alvarado responded to this challenge by sending out some of his horsemen. They were also attacked, and some of their horses were wounded (Mackie 1924:54–55).

Two days later, Alvarado ordered his men to try to enter the town. When they reached a river which cut the road in two, they were met by armed Indians who engaged them in battle. They defeated the Indians and moved into the town. After all opposition had been dealt with, the Spaniards camped in the marketplace of the town, where they remained for two days. Next they moved on to the city of Xelahuuh (now Quezaltenango), which lay in some very rugged mountains. After crossing several mountain passes, the Spaniards were attacked by three or four thousand Indians. The Spaniards defeated them and were in the process of regrouping for continuing their march when they saw a horde of perhaps thirty thousand Indians bearing down on them. Alvarado claimed that what saved the Spaniards on that occasion was the Indians' evident fear of their horses (Mackie 1924:56–57).

The Spaniards arrived in Xelahuuh the next morning. The city had been abandoned by the Indians and was completely deserted. The Spaniards camped in the city and explored the surrounding region for six days. At the end of that time, a great army, which included twelve thousand Indians from Xelahuuh and

surrounding towns, advanced on the city from all directions. Alvarado went out to meet the Indians in battle on a plain outside the city. The Spaniards drove the Indians off and took many prisoners (Mackie 1924: 58–60).

Instead of accepting this defeat and surrendering to the Spaniards, the rulers of Xelahuah appealed to the rulers of other towns in the highlands, urging them to forget their differences and unite in the common cause against the Spaniards. At the same time, they pretended that they wished to be friends with the invaders and invited the Spaniards to go to the city of Utatlan (now Santa Cruz Quiche), where, they claimed, the Spaniards would be well received. When they arrived at Utatlan, Alvarado discovered that the city had only two entrances, one of which had been partly destroyed and was almost impossible for the horses to pass through. He noted also that "As the city is very closely built and the streets very narrow, we could not have stood it in any way without either suffocating or else falling headlong from the rocks when fleeing from the fire" (Mackie 1924: 61). Apparently, the Indians had conspired to lure the Spaniards into the city, make the only exits impassable, abandon the city themselves, and then set fire to it. Fortunately Alvarado realized what was in store for the Spaniards in time to lead his men and horses to safety while the exits were still functioning (Mackie 1924: 60–63).

During the fighting that followed their escape from the city, the Spaniards captured two of the Quiche leaders, Oxib-Queh and Beleheb-Tzy. These men confessed that they had participated in the plot to set fire to the city while the Spaniards were shut up in it; in retaliation, Alvarado had them put to death by fire (Mackie 1924: 62–63, 138). The fall of Utatlan, the capital city of the Quiche, marked their final defeat at the hands of the Spaniards. The date of this event was April 4, 1524 (King 1974: 15).

Alvarado also decided to burn Utatlan because "it is a very strong and dangerous place, that more resembles a robbers' stronghold than a city" (Mackie 1924: 63). He then conducted mopping-up operations in all directions with the help of Indian troops sent by the Cakchiquel at his request. In a few days, the remaining recalcitrant Quiche surrendered and declared their willingness to serve the King of Spain (Mackie 1924: 63–64). By April 11, Alvarado felt confident enough of his control over the Quiche to move into new territory (Mackie 1924: 65).

The Conquest of the Cakchiquel and Their Neighbors

It is somewhat misleading to speak of the "conquest" of the Cakchiquel. Not only had the Cakchiquel voluntarily offered to serve the Spaniards several years before Alvarado's arrival, but they had also responded positively to Alvarado's request for military assistance in completing the conquest of the Quiche. Furthermore, Alvarado and his men were warmly welcomed in the Cakchiquel capital at Iximche, as Alvarado himself admitted: "I was very well received by its chiefs that I could not have been better off in our parents' house, and we were so well provided with everything necessary that nothing was lacking" (Mackie 1924: 69).

The Cakchiquel informed Alvarado that only a few leagues away there was another city, whose people were enemies of both the Quiche and the Cakchiquel. The city in question was Tzikanahay, the capital of the Tzutujil, which was situated on the shores of Lake Atitlan (Mackie 1924: 69, 139n). The Cakchiquel asked Alvarado to help them defeat the inhabitants of Tzikanahay. Alvarado agreed and, with about half of his men, set off with the Cakchiquel army. Their first encounter with the Tzutujil took place at a town that was built on a rock which stood out in the water. The Cakchiquel and the Spaniards crossed over to the rock before its inhabitants had time to destroy the bridges that connected them with the mainland. The Tzutujil were overwhelmed by the attacking army. Many of them jumped into the water and swam to safety on another island (Mackie 1924: 71).

After the success which the Spaniards and the Cakchiquel experienced at the rock fortress, the Tzutujil offered no further resistance. Tzikanahay had been abandoned by the time the Spaniards arrived, in spite of the fact that it was well fortified. The rulers of Tzikanahay were so impressed with the taking of their fortress that they peacefully swore their allegiance to the King of Spain (Mackie 1924: 73).

Alvarado's success in overcoming Tzutujil resistance apparently convinced the rulers of towns lying between Lake Atitlan and the south coast of Guatemala that they should accept Spanish domination peacefully. They came in a steady stream to Alvarado and declared their loyalty to the King of Spain. In this way, much of the territory south of Lake Atitlan was "conquered" without force (Mackie 1924: 73–74).

Not all groups, however, were so quick to recognize Spanish sovereignty. The rulers of the province of Escuintla, for example, not only refused to come before Alvarado and swear their allegiance to him, but also tried to prevent the inhabitants of neighboring provinces from capitulating without a fight. Alvarado realized that he would have to take Escuintla by force. The task proved much easier than he had anticipated, because a change in the weather put the inhabitants of the first town he came to off guard:

Next morning when we entered the outskirts of the said town, that is very heavily wooded, we found all the roads closed and very narrow—really only pathways—because they did not trade with anybody and had no open road. And I sent the cross-bowmen ahead because the horsemen could not fight there on account of the many marshes and wooded thickets. And it rained so much that on this account their watchmen and spies had returned to the town; and as they did not think I would arrive amongst them that day, they were somewhat careless and did not know of my sally until I was in the town amongst them. [Mackie 1924:75]

The Indian warriors were taken by surprise and did not have time to prepare for an attack. Instead, they fled into the woods. After their ignominious defeat, the rulers of that town capitulated. The rulers of other towns in the region soon followed suit [Mackie 1924:75].

The province of Escuintla was populated by people who spoke a language called Pipil, which is not a Maya language but is closely related to Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs. In the rest of his second letter to Cortés, Alvarado describes his experience among other non-Maya peoples of southern Guatemala and El Salvador, who are of no importance for this study. Thus Alvarado seems to have brought under his control, by force or persuasion, portions of the territories of only four major Maya linguistic groups of Guatemala: the Mam, the Quiche, the Cakchiquel, and the Tzutujil. They represented less than half the Maya languages which were spoken within the boundaries of what is today the country of Guatemala.

The rest of the Maya of Guatemala proved more difficult to conquer by force. The Chorti were not effectively conquered until 1530, when a "revolt" led by the rulers of Chiquimula, Esquipulas, and Copan failed [Fuentes y Guzmán 1933:2:169–209; Juarros 1823:300–307]. The Spaniards captured the towns, one by one, after a series of bloody engagements. The Indians of Copan, under their ruler Copan Calel, were the last to give up after they had

twice thrown back the Spaniards and their allies [Juarros 1823:300–307]. The Kekchi and Pokoman in the north proved impossible to conquer militarily; they were eventually assigned to the Dominican friars to attempt by persuasion what Spanish soldiers had failed to achieve by force. The story of their "pacification" is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the conquest of the New World (see below).

Whether it was accurate or not, within a few years after his arrival in Guatemala, Alvarado had acquired a reputation as the crudest "pacifier" in all Mesoamerica. His principal detractor, Father Bartolomé de las Casas, claimed that during his march through Guatemala, Alvarado had massacred one group of Indians after another: ". . . he advanced killing, ravaging, burning, robbing and destroying all the country wherever he came, under the above mentioned pretext, namely that the Indians should subject themselves to such inhuman, unjust and cruel men, in the name of the unknown King of Spain, of whom they had never heard and whom they considered to be much more unjust and cruel than his representatives. He also gave them no time to deliberate but would fall upon them, killing and burning almost at the same instant that his envoy arrived" [Mackie 1924:126]. Las Casas accused Alvarado of having killed more than four million Indians between 1524 and 1540 [Mackie 1924:132].

In Las Casas's version of Alvarado's conquest of Guatemala, Alvarado and his men are portrayed as bloodthirsty gold-seekers. This is quite different from Alvarado's own description of his conquest, which I have summarized above. Alvarado mentions only one act of cruelty, his order that two Quiche leaders be burned to death, which he claims was justified because they had conspired to massacre the Spaniards at Utatlan.

There is good reason to believe that Las Casas exaggerated the excesses of the Spanish soldiers in order to gain his own political ends. Las Casas "believed that the only way to conquer man was to conquer his mind and that this could only be done through patience, persuasion, and kindness" [King 1974:17]. He argued that the Indians of the New World could be conquered peacefully if responsibility for the conquest were given to missionary friars instead of soldiers. He chose the Verapaz region of Guatemala as the place for testing his theory. In order to convince Charles V and his councillors

that the conquest of the rest of Guatemala should be turned over to the friars, he found it necessary to portray Alvarado's expedition in the most unfavorable light possible.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that Alvarado's bad reputation had some factual basis. In 1527, a number of years before Las Casas became interested in Guatemala, Alvarado was called to Spain to face charges of malfeasance and graft. With the help of influential friends and a strategic marriage, he was able to refute those charges and win the governorship of Guatemala. Nevertheless, in 1536 he was again ordered to Spain, this time to face charges of embezzlement and dereliction of duty (King 1974:16). Both of these trials apparently took place before Las Casas wrote his account of Alvarado's conquest of Guatemala (Mackie 1924:125).

Furthermore, Las Casas's account is not the only evidence that Alvarado mistreated the Indians of Guatemala. Of much more significance is the fact that his own allies, the Cakchiquel, found his treatment of them so intolerable that they rose up against him (Ximénez 1929–1931:1:152). Their "revolt" is testimony that Alvarado treated his allies more harshly than other "pacifiers," such as Montejo (Chapter 2) and Mazariegos (Chapter 4). For neither in Yucatan nor in Chiapas did the men entrusted with leading the conquest treat their allies so cruelly that they later revolted. In fact, Montejo the Younger made a special point of exempting his allies from tribute and service (Chamberlain 1948a:200). If the Cakchiquel, who were allies, found Spanish rule unbearable, then it must have been even worse for the Indian groups, such as the Quiche and the Tzutujil, who had resisted the conquest.

The Cakchiquel "Revolt"

Alvarado chose as the site for his administrative headquarters the Cakchiquel capital at Iximche. The city of Santiago, the first Spanish capital of Guatemala, was founded there on July 25, 1524 (Mackie 1924:86, 140). This was a strategic choice of location because the Cakchiquel had allied themselves with the Spaniards from the beginning.

It was not long, however, before the Cakchiquel became disillusioned with Spanish rule and rebelled against their allies. There are two major, conflicting accounts of this uprising which disagree both as to its cause and as to the year in which it occurred. One position is represented in the principal Cakchiquel chronicle, *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* (Recinos

and Goetz 1953); the second, that of the Spaniards, is represented in the works of Fuentes y Guzmán (1933), Juarros (1823), and Vázquez (1937).

According to the Cakchiquel account, Alvarado began to display the avaricious side of his character shortly after he returned from El Salvador. He asked the Cakchiquel kings to bring him money and gold. When the gold was not immediately forthcoming, he threatened to hang and burn the native rulers if they did not bring him all their money (Recinos and Goetz 1953:123).

Next Tunatihu [Alvarado] ordered them to pay twelve hundred pesos of gold. The kings tried to have the amount reduced and they began to weep, but Tunatihu did not consent, and he said to them: "Get the metal and bring it within five days. Woe to you if you do not bring it! I know my heart!" Thus he said to the lords. (Recinos and Goetz 1953:123–124)

While this was going on, a man came forth and said:

"I am the lightning. I will kill the Spaniards; by the fire they shall perish. When I strike the drum, depart [everyone] from the city, let the lords go to the other side of the river. This I will do on the day 7 Ahmak [August 26, 1524]." (Recinos and Goetz 1953:124)

The people of Iximche believed him and followed his instructions. They left their city on the day 7 Ahmak in the mistaken belief that now that Alvarado had received the gold he craved, he would not make war on them.

But they were wrong. Ten days after the Cakchiquel had abandoned their city, Alvarado attacked them.

On the day 4 Camey [September 5, 1524] they began to make us suffer. We scattered ourselves under the trees, under the vines, oh, my sons! All our tribes joined in the fight against Tunatihu. The Spaniards began to leave at once, they went out of the city, leaving it deserted.

Then the Cakchiquels began hostilities against the Spaniards. They dug holes and pits for the horses and scattered sharp stakes so that they should be killed. At the same time the people made war on them. Many Spaniards perished and the horses died in the traps for horses. The Quichés and the Zutuhils died also; in this manner all the people were destroyed by the Cakchiquels. (Recinos and Goetz 1953:124–125)

According to the principal Spanish historians, the "insurrection" occurred in 1526 (Ximénez [1929–1931:1:152] says 1527), not 1524, and it was Gonzalo de Alvarado, not his brother Pedro, who extorted gold from the Indians (Juarros 1823:434–435, 452). In 1526, Pedro de Alvarado left the government of the new province in the hands of his brother while

he went to Honduras to pay his respects to Cortés. The later date for the Cakchiquel "revolt" therefore makes it possible to portray Pedro de Alvarado in a much more favorable light than the earlier date, since he was supposedly absent from Guatemala in 1526 when it began.

The later date also makes it possible to view the Cakchiquel "revolt" as the stimulus for the general uprising that apparently occurred in Guatemala in 1526 not only among the Cakchiquel, but also among the Quiche and southern Pokoman. In fact, according to the Spanish view, the general uprising resulted from a conspiracy between Sequechul, the ruler of the Quiche, and Ahpozotzil, the ruler of the Cakchiquel (Juarros 1823:434, 441).

Apologists for Pedro de Alvarado would obviously prefer the later date for two reasons: (1) it implies that he was not directly responsible for the uprising, and (2) it facilitates the interpretation of the uprising as part of a general conspiracy to drive the Spaniards out of Guatemala. The earlier date, on the other hand, makes Pedro de Alvarado directly responsible for the Cakchiquel "insurrection" and lends support to the charges of cruelty that were brought against him in Spain.

In my opinion, the real significance of the Cakchiquel "revolt," whenever it occurred, is the fact that it took place among people who were originally allies of the Spaniards. This fact suggests that there was some truth to Las Casas's claim that Pedro de Alvarado mistreated the Indians of Guatemala, a claim which paved the way for turning the rest of the conquest over to the regular clergy.

The Peaceful "Conquest" of "The Land of War"

After the Cakchiquel and other rebellious groups had been subdued, Spanish soldiers tried to extend their conquest northward into what is today called the Verapaz region. The first military engagements between the Spaniards and the Quiche, Kekchi, and Pokoman who inhabited that region took place in 1529. The Indians resisted the Spaniards so fiercely and successfully that the Spaniards called that region Tuzulutlan or "the land of war" (Remesal 1932:1:182).

Between 1529 and 1537, the Spaniards made a number of attempts to conquer the Indians of Tuzulutlan. All of them failed. In 1537, in desperation, Alonso de Maldonado, who was serving as Alvarado's temporary successor as governor of Guatemala while Alvarado was defending his administration in Spain, asked the Dominicans to try out Las Casas's

principles in Tuzulutlan. On May 2, 1537, Maldonado signed an agreement with the Dominican Order authorizing its personnel to undertake the peaceful conquest of the Indians of that region (King 1974:17).

The Dominicans entered Tuzulutlan in August of that year. They established their first *reducción*, or resettlement of Indians, at Rabinal in the Quiche area. Early in 1538 they moved into the Kekchi area. Neither the Quiche nor the Kekchi seem to have offered any opposition to their presence (King 1974:18).

In May of the same year, Las Casas embarked for Spain in order to recruit more missionaries for his venture. Las Casas stayed in Spain until the spring of 1544 in order to obtain legal ammunition to proceed with his planning. His recruits did not arrive in Guatemala until the end of 1541 or the beginning of 1542 (King 1974:19).

In the meantime, Alvarado had returned from Spain and reassumed control of the colony. "Alvarado had decided to ignore the Maldonado agreement and had given part of the Verapaz to a man named Barahona (Ximénez, 1930, 2:xvi). The remainder was entrusted to the wife of Juan Fernández (Ximénez, 1929, 1:208), but it was never activated because it could not be enforced. The net result was that the Barahona encomienda effectively eliminated Christianity in the Verapaz until the end of 1541 or early 1542, when Luis Cancer arrived with new missionaries from Spain" (King 1974:19).

Soon after their arrival in Guatemala, Luis Cancer and another missionary friar, Pedro de Angulo, entered Tuzulutlan and established their headquarters at Coban. They immediately tried to "reduce" or resettle the Indians in larger settlements, but their efforts met with little success at first. Their activities around Coban were also opposed by Spanish colonists who had established a settlement called Nueva Sevilla on the Polochic River (García Peláez 1851-1852:1:102; King 1974:20). "Frightened by the lack of success, de Angulo issued a plea for all Indians of the Verapaz to meet in Rabinal to be baptized, for in this fashion, it was argued, peaceful conquest would be accomplished and danger from the colonists be lessened. . . . The gathering in Rabinal led to successful reducciones and the founding of Coban, San Pedro Carcha, and San Juan Chamelco" (King 1974:20).

In the meantime, Las Casas was obtaining impressive legal support for his cause in Spain. "The King . . . signed an edict endorsing Las Casas' ideas for

the peaceful conquest of the Verapaz and . . . dispatched letters guaranteeing the Indians of Tuzulutlan their land" (King 1974:20). The New Laws of the Indies were signed by the King on November 20, 1542. Some time after that, Las Casas was offered the bishopric of Chiapa. On February 13, 1544, Tuzulutlan was officially transferred to the episcopal province of Chiapa by papal bull. Six weeks later, on March 30, 1544, Las Casas was confirmed in his office as bishop of Chiapa. And just before he departed from Spain on July 10, 1544, "royal decrees were issued eliminating the encomienda in the Verapaz" (King 1974:20).

By 1547, the peaceful "conquest" was recognized as a success. The Dominicans had founded many towns in Tuzulutlan, and most of the region had become at least nominally Christian. On October 30, 1547, Charles V renamed Tuzulutlan ("the land of war") Verapaz ("the land of true peace") (King 1974:20–21).

Thus the Verapaz region of Guatemala was brought under Spanish control by missionary friars instead of soldiers. The Spanish settlement of Nueva Sevilla was abandoned in 1549, after it had been disenfranchised by the King of Spain (Juarros 1823: 41; King 1974:21), and no new secular settlements were established to challenge the authority of the clergy. In 1550, the Verapaz was officially recognized as the exclusive domain of the Dominicans, and it remained under their administrative control for almost three hundred years after that (King 1974:21).

*The "Pacification" of the Manche and Mopan*²

During the sixteenth century, the tropical lowlands at the base of the Yucatan peninsula and the mountains north and east of the Tzotzil and Tzeltal sectors of Chiapas and north of the Kekchi zone of Guatemala were inhabited by groups of Indians variously known as the Chol, the Chol-Lacandon, the Lacandon, the Chol Manche, the Manche, the Itza, and the Mopan. Apparently the term *Chol* was used to refer collectively to both the Lacandon and the Manche (the Itza and Mopan were separate groups). In order to avoid confusion, I have decided to avoid the term "Chol" and to refer to the two groups in question as Lacandon and Manche.³

These four groups (Lacandon, Manche, Mopan, and Itza) remained independent for more than 150 years after the rest of the Yucatan peninsula, Chiapas, and Guatemala had been conquered. Their independence represented a serious threat to the well-being of those colonies, not only because they

symbolized the fact that the conquest had not been completed, but also because they raided the settlements of newly Christianized Indians and encouraged them to renounce their new religion. The Lacandon, in particular, were so warlike and hostile to the Spaniards that the Dominicans were eventually forced to abandon Las Casas's principles for peaceful conquest and request military assistance in subduing them (King 1974:24).

Although the area inhabited by these four groups was really a no-man's-land, each of the three colonial provinces that bordered on it has included at least some part of it in its colonial history. For example, Yucatecan historians have claimed the conquest of the Itza as a chapter in their histories of the peninsula; that is why I have described the conquest of the Itza in the chapter on Yucatan (Chapter 2). Similarly, the pacification of the Manche and Mopan is usually considered to be part of Guatemalan history (this chapter). The Lacandon, on the other hand, are important in both Chiapan and Guatemalan history. I have somewhat arbitrarily chosen to include them in my description of the conquest of Chiapas because of the important role they now play in the native folklore of that state (see Chapters 4 and 10).

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Manche lived northeast of the Kekchi between the Acalan Lacandon (see Chapter 4) and the Caribbean Sea. In 1564, a group of Manche visited the Dominican mission in Coban and expressed an interest in Christianity. Several priests responded to this call, and in 1566 Fathers Lucas Gallego, Thomás de Cárdenas, Juan Díaz, and Francisco Quintero entered Manche territory via Cajabon. Their accomplishments during the following years included congregating Indians in four towns, among them San Lucas Tzalac, which Gallego named after his own patron saint. The Indians eventually abandoned these towns, but San Lucas Tzalac was later repopulated several times, and it retained its name (see below and Ximénez 1929–1931:2:484–485). Gallego served as Prior of the Convent of Coban in 1574 and 1584; he became Provincial of the Order in 1587.⁴

The Manche seem to have kept to themselves from 1584 until 1594, when some of them contacted the Dominicans at Cajabon. Eleven Manche Indians appeared at San Agustín, a town near Cajabon, during Lent the following year. The Dominicans took advantage of that visit to preach to them over a period of four or five days, apparently without adverse

results, for the visits continued, with ever-larger delegations of Manche appearing at Cajabon, and even Coban (Ximénez 1929-1931:2:11-12).

The cordiality of these visits encouraged the Dominicans to initiate a campaign to establish Christian settlements among the Manche in 1596. In spite of their careful groundwork, however, this effort failed, and it was not until ten years later that they succeeded in congregating six thousand Manche in nine towns (Ximénez 1929-1931:2:209). Even with this foothold in their territory, they were not able to increase the number of Manche settlements during the years between 1606 and 1625 (King 1974:23). Not until 1627 was a vicariate, called San Miguel del Manche, established in the area (Ximénez 1929-1931:2:187).

But even these modest achievements were short-lived. In 1628 the Lacandon raided and destroyed Christianized Indian settlements in the neighborhood of Coban, and in 1630 the Itza raided the Manche, carrying off more than one hundred captives to Tayasal. When Martín Alfonso Tovilla, the *alcalde mayor* of Verapaz, visited the Manche the following year, he was told that the Itza raids had increased in frequency since the Manche had become Christians because the Itza were afraid that the Christianized Manche would eventually lead the Spaniards to Lake Peten Itza (King 1974:24; Tovilla 1960:185).

Perhaps goaded on by the Itza, the Manche themselves rose up during Lent in 1633, sacking the churches and burning the towns. Then they fled into the mountains, and despite military assistance supplied by the *alcalde mayor* of Verapaz, the Dominicans were completely unsuccessful in congregating them again (Ximénez 1929-1931:2:209-212, 341).

Only Father Francisco Morán, the first (and only) vicar of San Miguel del Manche, continued to work among the Manche between 1633 and his death in 1664. In spite of his diligence, and some help from Spanish soldiers, he failed to recongregate the Indians in Christian villages, and his vicariate was never re-established. His principal accomplishments during that period were a grammar and a dictionary of Manche Chol (Morán n.d.; Ximénez 1929-1931:2:342).

The Manche continued to avoid the Dominicans until 1671, when they responded favorably to a visit by Father Gerónimo Naranjo. In the meantime, Morán's grammar and dictionary seem to have fallen into the hands of Father Joseph Delgado, who set about learning the Manche dialect. By 1672 he

had learned enough of the language to converse with a delegation of Manche who had come to Guatemala City to request that priests be sent to teach them. Delgado volunteered to return with them to Manche territory so that he could perfect his knowledge of their language (Ximénez 1929-1931:2:357-358).

Delgado made five trips among the Manche, in 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, and 1682. He made the first trip alone. Father Francisco Gallegos, the Provincial of the Order at that time, accompanied him in 1675 and 1676; working together, they congregated many Manche in Christian settlements. Delgado's longest journey took place in 1677, when he traveled by himself on a special mission to Merida through Manche and Mopan country. Delgado carried letters from the president of the Audiencia of Guatemala, Fernando Francisco de Escobedo, who had previously served as governor of Yucatan, concerning the opening of a road to facilitate commerce between the two colonies. When he reached Manche territory, Delgado discovered that the *alcalde mayor* of Verapaz, Sebastián de Olivera y Angulo, had established a flourishing trade with the Manche through Kekchi intermediaries, exchanging metal objects such as axes, knives, and bells for cacao and other forest products. The greedy *alcalde mayor* punished Indians who did not deliver all the goods he expected by sending his Kekchi agents to seize all their possessions, including the clothes on their backs. The Indians retaliated by fleeing into the mountains and rising up against the Spaniards in 1678. The disheartened Dominicans did not venture into their territory again for several years (Ximénez 1929-1931:2:360-371, 382-396, 402-404).

The *alcalde mayor* of Verapaz refused to accept responsibility for the Manche uprising of 1678. Instead, he blamed it on the Dominicans' lack of missionary zeal, noting, in a letter sent to the King of Spain in 1680, that no priests had contacted the Manche during the two intervening years. The King believed him and turned to the bishop for help (Ximénez 1929-1931:2:416-417). Evidently the bishop then requested an explanation from the Provincial of the Order, who responded with a letter denouncing the *alcalde mayor's* mistreatment of the Manche and accusing him of lying.⁵

Delgado made his last visit to the Manche early in 1682, accompanied by Fathers Juan and Leonardo Serrano. The few Indians they met ridiculed their attempts to Christianize them; the rest remained dispersed in the mountains where the priests could

not find them. After a month of searching in vain for Indians to congregate in settlements, they realized that the situation was hopeless and decided to leave the area.⁶

In spite of these setbacks, the Dominicans did not give up. In 1685, the Provincial of the Dominican Order, Father Agustín Cano, himself paid a visit to the Manche and succeeded in recongregating thirty Indians in the town of San Lucas Tzalac. Other priests followed his example between 1687 and 1689 (Jiménez 1929–1931:2:458–467).

But progress was slow, and after 1685 the Dominicans seem to have given up their policy of trying to establish settlements on Manche lands. It had become clear that as long as the Manche remained in familiar territory, they would continue to abandon the settlements at the slightest provocation and hide in the mountains where the priests could not find them. Between 1686 and 1688, the Dominicans collected small groups of Manche and resettled them in the Urran Valley near Rabinal in the Quiche area. And in the latter part of 1688, the *alcalde mayor* of Verapaz resettled more small groups of Manche in the same place (Juarros 1823:39, 278; Jiménez 1929–1931:2:487–489).⁷

In 1692 the Council of the Indies ordered the Verapaz to make an all-out effort to conquer the Manche and the Mopan for once and for all. Indians from as far away as Chiapas participated in this campaign, as did Indians from Cobán and Salama (Juarros 1823:279; Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1933:222; Jiménez 1929–1931:2:55). In 1695 a small expedition led by Captain Juan Díaz de Velasco and accompanied by Father Cano marched through Manche, Lacandon, and Mopan territory (Cano 1942; Juarros 1823:280; Means 1917:97–98). On the way Velasco met some Manche Indians who had run away from a town founded by Fathers Delgado and Gallegos in 1675. Velasco gathered up these Indians and resettled them in towns (Juarros 1823:282–283; Jiménez 1929–1931:2:360–362).

The Spaniards then moved on into Mopan territory. The Mopan resisted the Spaniards, but were eventually persuaded to move into towns and adopt Christianity. The Spaniards constructed a fort, garrisoned by thirty soldiers under the command of Pedro Ramírez de Orozco, before leaving Mopan territory (Juarros 1823:283–284).

In 1696 another expedition moved into Lacandon and Mopan territory while, at the same time, Yucatecan troops were moving into the area from

the north (Chapter 2). These movements resulted in the conquest of the Itza and the “pacification” of the Lacandon (Chapters 2 and 4). By 1697 much of the area seems to have been under Spanish control. The rest of the Manche were forced to evacuate their lands and were resettled in the towns of El Chol and Belén south of Rabinal. The Manche no longer exist as a linguistic group (Escobar 1841:95; King 1974:25; J. E. S. Thompson 1970:63–64; Jiménez 1929–1931:2:487–489).

The Indian View of the Conquest

The Indian view of the conquest of Guatemala is represented in three types of documents: (1) native historical chronicles, of which *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* (also known as the *Memorial de Sololá*) provides the most extensive treatment of the conquest and events following it; (2) documents in support of land claims, among which the *Títulos de la casa Ixquín-Nehaib* contains the most information on the conquest; and (3) texts of the dance-drama known as the Dance of the Conquest, which are exclusively concerned with that event. According to Bode (1961:218–219), who has studied a number of variants of the Dance of the Conquest, the texts in question are in general agreement with the *Títulos de la casa Ixquín-Nehaib*, although the latter document is a much richer source of historical information concerning the conquest than the dance texts are. Therefore, in summarizing the native view of the conquest, I have relied principally upon *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* (Recinos and Goetz 1953) and the *Títulos de la casa Ixquín-Nehaib* (Recinos 1957) and have postponed my discussion of the Dance of the Conquest until Chapters 10 and 12, where it is more relevant.

The Annals of the Cakchiquels, of course, provides the Cakchiquel view of the conquest. The *Títulos de la casa Ixquín-Nehaib* provides the Quiche view; according to Carmack (1973:32–33), it was probably written by representatives of the Nehaib branch of the Quiche. The two documents thus represent two separate native versions of the conquest, those of the Quiche and the Cakchiquel, who were traditional enemies and would therefore not be expected to represent a single point of view.

According to the Quiche document, the Indians of highland Guatemala were first informed of the arrival of the Spaniards in the western hemisphere in 1512, when Montezuma sent his messenger, Hummingbird (Uitzitzil), to urge them to prepare to

resist the Spaniards (Recinos 1957:84–85). The Quiche responded appropriately:

Then, as soon as the chiefs of Chi Gumarcaah Yzmachi [Utatlan/Santa Cruz Quiche] learned of this news, then they raised their flags and began to collect all their arms, and they ordered all their drums and all their instruments of war to be played. (Recinos 1957:85)

The Cakchiquel obviously did not heed Montezuma's advice, and their document does not mention this incident.

The Quiche document continues as follows:

Then in the year 1524 came the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, after having already conquered Mexico and all those lands. He came to the town of Xetulul Hunbatz [Zapotitlan] and conquered the lands, he came to the town of Xetulul; that Don Pedro de Alvarado Tunadiú was there, conquering this entire coast [for] three months. (Recinos 1957:85)

There is one obvious inaccuracy in this passage. The conqueror of Mexico was Cortés, not Alvarado. In the eyes of the Quiche and probably the other Indians of Guatemala, Alvarado was the symbol of the Spanish conquerors, just as Cortés was to the Indians of Mexico. It is therefore understandable, particularly in terms of the argument developed in this book, that, in Guatemala, Alvarado would be credited with Cortés's exploits in Mexico. In all other respects, the Quiche account of the conquest, as quoted so far, is not in conflict with Alvarado's version.

In what follows, the Quiche document supplies information that was probably not available to Alvarado and for that reason not mentioned by him:

Then at the end of this time those of Xetulul [Zapotitlan] sent a messenger to this town of Lahunqueh [Xelahuah/Quezaltenango], announcing that the Spaniards had now come here to conquer, and then the chief who was in this town of Lahunqueh, [who] was called Galel Atzih Vinac Tieran, sent another messenger to those of Chi Gumarcaah [Santa Cruz Quiche] informing them also how the Spaniards had now come to conquer them so that they would be warned immediately and would arm themselves. He also sent a messenger to another chief of the town of Sakpoliah [San Pedro Almolonga], [who] was called Galel Rokché Zakanoy Isuy. He also sent another messenger to the chiefs of Chi Gumarcaah, this messenger was called Ucalechih, he who went with the news to the king. (Recinos 1957:85–86)

In this way the most important towns in the Quiche realm were warned of Alvarado's arrival.

From this point on the Quiche version diverges significantly from Alvarado's account and describes in elaborate detail an event which Alvarado discusses only briefly and incompletely. This event represents the essence of the native view of the conquest, so much so that it now provides the dominant theme for the Dances of the Conquest which are performed all over the highlands of Guatemala. Because this event is of great symbolic importance to the Indians of Guatemala, I have quoted (in translation) the entire passage in which it is described.

Immediately the king of Chi Gumarcaah [Santa Cruz Quiche] sent [a message] to a great captain called Tecún-Tecum [Tecum Umam], grandson of Quicab, [the] chief. Another came by his ensign called Quicab Cavisimah. Another messenger came to Chi Gumarcaah sent by the captain Don Francisco Izquín Ahpalotz Uzakilbalhá. He sent a sergeant, Don Juan Izquín, who was the grandson of Don Francisco Izquín Nehayb, captain, the great Captain Tecum, grandson of Quicab, and the ensign called Quicab Cavisimah and he was carrying the flag [of] Tecum, captain, and the ensign and sergeant were carrying the flag, and this flag bore much gold on the tip, [and] many emeralds [jade?]. And this captain brought many people of many towns, who were ten thousand Indians in all, all came armed with their bows and arrows, slings, lances and other arms. And Captain Tecum, before leaving his town and in front of the chiefs, demonstrated his fortitude and his courage and immediately put on wings with which he flew and his two arms and legs were covered with feathers and he wore a crown, and on his chest he wore a very large emerald [jade?] which looked like a mirror, and he wore another on his forehead. And another on his back. He looked very gallant. This captain flew like an eagle, he was a great nobleman and a great sorcerer.

The Adelantado Tunadiú [Alvarado] came to sleep at a place named Palahunoh, and before the Adelantado had come, thirteen nobles went with more than five thousand Indians to a place named Chuabah. There they constructed an enormous blockade of stones that the Spaniards could not penetrate, and they also dug many enormous pits and ditches, closing the passes and blocking the road by which the Spaniards had entered, who were at Palahunoh for three months, because they could not penetrate the numerous Indians. And immediately there was one [person] of the town of Ah Xepach, an Indian captain who became an eagle, with three thousand Indians, to fight with the Spaniards. At midnight the Indians went and the captain of the Indians who had transformed himself into an eagle became anxious to kill the Adelantado Tunadiú, and he could not kill him because a very fair maiden defended him; they were anxious to enter, but as soon as they saw this maiden they fell to the earth and they could not get up from the ground, and then came many footless birds, and those birds had surrounded

this maiden, and the Indians wanted to kill the maiden and those footless birds defended her and blinded them. Those Indians who could never kill Tunadiú nor the maiden came back and returned to send another Indian captain who could become lightning named Izquín Ahpalotz Utzakibalhá, named Nehaib, and this Nehaib went before the Spaniards as lightning wishing to kill the Adelantado, and as soon as he arrived he saw an exceedingly white dove above all the Spaniards, which was defending them, and which returned to repeat it again and it blinded him and he fell to the earth and could not get up. Three times this captain rushed against the Spaniards like lightning and each time his eyes were blinded and he fell to the earth. And since this captain saw that they could not penetrate the Spaniards, he returned and they informed the chiefs of Chi Gumarcaah saying to them how those two captains had gone to see if they could kill Tunatiuh [Tunadiú, i.e., Alvarado] and that they had the maiden with the footless birds and the dove, which defended the Spaniards.

And immediately the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado came with all his soldiers and penetrated via Chuaraal; they brought two hundred Tlaxcalan Indians and they covered the holes and ditches which had been made and they disposed of the Indians of Chuaraal, for the Spaniards killed all the Indians of Chuaraal who were three thousand in all; they brought two hundred bound Indians of Xetulul [Zapotitlan] and more of Chuaraal whom they had not killed, and they were all bound and tortured so that they would reveal where they kept the gold. And seeing this the tortured Indians told the Spaniards that they should not torture them more, that they had much gold, silver, diamonds and emeralds there belonging to the captains Nehaib Izquín, Nehaib who could become eagles and jaguars. And they informed the Spaniards immediately and they remained with them, and this Captain Nehaib invited all the Spanish soldiers to eat and he gave them birds and eggs of the land to eat. And then on the next day he sent a great captain named Tecum to call the Spaniards saying that he was very annoyed because they had killed three thousand of his valiant soldiers. And as soon as the Spaniards were acquainted with this news, they arose and saw that he had brought the Indian captain Izquín Nehaib with him and the Spaniards began to fight against Captain Tecum and the Adelantado asked this Captain Tecum whether he wished to make peace, and Captain Tecum responded that he did not wish it, but that he only wished the courage of the Spaniards. And immediately the Spaniards began to fight against the ten thousand Indians which this Captain Tecum had brought with him, but neither [side] was able to turn the other aside, they separated themselves by half a league and then confronted each other; they fought for three hours and the Spaniards killed many Indians, there was no count of those whom they killed, not a single Spaniard died, only the Indians of those which Captain Tecum had brought and much blood ran from all the Indians whom the Spaniards killed, and this happened in Pachah.

And then Captain Tecum flew up, he came like an eagle full of real feathers, which were not artificial; he wore wings which also sprang from his body and he wore three crowns, one was of gold, another of pearls and another of diamonds and emeralds. That Captain Tecum came with the intention of killing Tunadiú who came on horseback and he hit the horse instead of the Adelantado and he beheaded the horse with one lance. It was not a lance of iron but of shiny stone and this captain had placed a spell on it. And when he saw that it was not the Adelantado but the horse who had died, he returned to fly overhead, in order to come from there to kill the Adelantado. Then the Adelantado awaited him with his lance and he impaled this Captain Tecum with it. Immediately two dogs ran up, they did not have a single hair, they were hairless, those dogs seized this Indian in order to tear him into pieces, and as the Adelantado saw that this Indian was very gallant and that he wore these three crowns of gold, silver, diamonds and emeralds and of pearls, he came to defend him from the dogs, and he stood looking at him very deliberately. He appeared covered with quetzal [feathers] and very beautiful plumes, for which reason this town of Quetzaltenango [Quetzaltenango] was given its name, because here is where the death of this Captain Tecum came to pass. And immediately the Adelantado called to all his soldiers to come and see the beauty of the quetzal Indian. Then the Adelantado told his soldiers that he had never seen another Indian as gallant and as noble and covered with such beautiful quetzal feathers, in Mexico, nor in Tlaxcala, nor in any of the towns that he had conquered, and therefore the Adelantado said that the name of this town would henceforth be Quetzaltenango. Immediately Quetzaltenango became the name of this town.

And as the rest of the Indians saw that the Spaniards had killed their captain, they fled, and immediately the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, seeing that the soldiers of this Captain Tecum were fleeing, said that they also should die, and immediately the Spanish soldiers pursued the Indians and caught up with them and killed every one of them. There were so many Indians that they killed, that they made a river of blood, which became Olintepeque, that is why it was given the name of Quiquel [blood], because all the water became blood and also the day became red on account of the great bloodshed that day. (Recinos 1957: 86–91)

Tecum Umam is today the culture hero of the Indians of highland Guatemala. His tragic death represents for them not only the end of Indian independence but also the first realization that the native religion might be less powerful than the religion of the Spaniards. For, as described in this document, the Indians lost the battle because their magical arsenal was no match against the spiritual arsenal of the Spaniards: the magical eagle and lightning sent by the Indian chiefs against Alvarado were grounded, blinded, and immobilized by the "fair maiden" (the Virgin Mary), the footless birds (the

Holy Spirit], and the white dove of peace, and Tecum Umam in his guise as the sacred quetzal bird was downed by Alvarado's spear. Thus the battle at Xelahuuh symbolizes both the victory of the Spaniards over the Indians and the triumph of Christianity over the native religion.

To Alvarado, by contrast, this was just another battle, to which he devoted only a few lines in his first letter to Cortés:

While dismounted and drinking, we saw many warriors approaching and we allowed them to approach as they came over very wide plains; and we defeated them. Here we made another very big advance to where we found people awaiting us, one of them to two horsemen. We continued the pursuit for a full league and they brought us to a mountain and there they faced us, and I put myself in flight with some of the horsemen to draw the Indians to the plains, and they followed us, until reaching the horses' tails. And after I rallied with the horsemen, I turned on them, and here a very severe pursuit and punishment was made. In this affair one of the four chiefs of the city of Utatlan [Chi Gumarcaah/Santa Cruz Quiche] was killed, who was the captain general of all this country. (Mackie 1924: 58)

Nowhere does Alvarado mention Tecum's name, although Tecum is obviously the chief referred to in the quote. Alvarado is similarly brief in his description of the battle of Olintepeque:

Later we returned against them, and our friends and the infantry made the greatest destruction in the world, at a river. They surrounded a bare mountain where they had taken refuge, and pursued them to the top, and took all that had gone up there. That day we killed and imprisoned many people, many of whom were captains and chiefs and people of importance. (Mackie 1924: 59–60)

The Quiche account of the conquest ends with the battle of Xelahuuh. It is clear that in the minds of the Quiche, that was the decisive battle that marked the turning point in the conquest. Although the battle at Xelahuuh was actually only one of many battles of the Spaniards against the Quiche, it had greater symbolic value for the Quiche than the later battles, including the one which resulted in the destruction of their capital, because it represented the first significant defeat of a people who were accustomed to thinking of themselves as conquerors.

The Cakchiquel document essentially takes up the history of the conquest where the Quiche document ends. It describes Alvarado's arrival in Guatemala and the battle of Xelahuuh in a few terse sentences:

During this year the Spaniards arrived. Forty-nine years ago the Spaniards came to Xepit and Xetulul [Zapotitlan].

On the day 1 Ganel [February 20, 1524] the Quichés were destroyed by the Spaniards. Their chief, he who was called Tunatiuh Avilantaro [Alvarado], conquered all the people. Their faces were not known before that time. Until a short time ago the wood and the stone were worshiped.

Having arrived at Xelahuuh [*sic*], they defeated the Quichés; all the Quichés who had gone out to meet the Spaniards were exterminated. Then the Quichés were destroyed before Xelahuuh. (Recinos and Goetz 1953: 119–120)

The Cakchiquel account of what happened in the Quiche capital is similarly brief:

Then [the Spaniards] went forth to the city of Gumarcaah [Utatlan/Santa Cruz Quiche], where they were received by the kings, the Ahpop and the Ahpop Qamahay, and the Quichés paid them tribute. Soon the kings were tortured by Tunatiuh.

On the day 4 Qat [March 7, 1524] the kings Ahpop and Ahpop Qamahay were burned by Tunatiuh. The heart of Tunatiuh was without compassion for the people during the war. (Recinos and Goetz 1953: 120)

Recinos points out that this description of the burning of the two Quiche kings is in close agreement with Alvarado's account of the incident (Recinos and Goetz 1953: 120n).

Not surprisingly, *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* treats more fully events in which the Cakchiquel were themselves involved. Their first contact with the Spaniards occurred while Alvarado was still in Quiche territory:

Soon a messenger from Tunatiuh came before the [Cakchiquel] kings to ask them to send him soldiers: "Let the warriors of the Ahpozotzil and the Ahpoxahil come to kill the Quichés," the messenger said to the kings. The order of Tunatiuh was instantly obeyed, and two thousand soldiers marched to the slaughter of the Quichés. (Recinos and Goetz 1953: 120–121)

The Cakchiquel document describes in some detail the arrival of the Spaniards at Iximche, their capital:

On the day 1 Hunahpu [April 12, 1524] the Spaniards came to the city of Yximché, their chief was called Tunatiuh. The kings Belehé Qat and Cahí Ymox went at once to meet Tunatiuh. The heart of Tunatiuh was well disposed toward the kings when he came to the city. There had been no fight and Tunatiuh was pleased when he arrived at Yximché. In this manner the Castilians arrived of yore, oh, my sons! In truth they inspired fear when they arrived. Their faces were strange. The lords took them for gods. We ourselves, your father [*sic*], went to see them when they came to Yximché.

Tunatiuh slept in the house of Tzupam. On the following day the chief appeared, frightening the warriors, and went toward the residence where the kings were. "Why do you make war upon me when I can make it upon you?" he said. And the kings answered: "It is not so, because in that way many men would die. You have seen the remains there in the ravines." And then he entered the house of the chief Chicabal. (Recinos and Goetz 1953:121)

The claim that the Spaniards were well received by the Cakchiquel at Iximche is substantiated by Alvarado himself (see above).

The Cakchiquel document continues with a brief description of the conquest of the Tzutujil, which is also in close agreement with Alvarado's account:

Then Tunatiuh asked the kings what enemies they had. The kings answered: "Our enemies are two, oh, Lord: the Zutuhils and [those of] Panatacat [Escuintla]. Thus the kings said to him. Only five days later Tunatiuh left the city. The Zutuhils were conquered then by the Spaniards. On the day 7 Camey [April 18, 1524] the Zutuhils were destroyed by Tunatiuh. (Recinos and Goetz 1953:121-122)

This is followed by a brief account of Alvarado's journey to Central America. After returning to Iximche, "Tunatiuh then asked for one of the daugh-

ters of the king and the lords gave her to Tunatiuh" (Recinos and Goetz 1953:123).

The next section of *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* is concerned with the Cakchiquel rebellion, much of which has already been quoted in an earlier section of this chapter and will not be repeated here. The rest of the Cakchiquel document records the history of the colony until 1601. It describes the colonists' attempts to exploit Indian labor in the search for gold, the collection of tribute, and the efforts of the regular clergy to convert the Indians to Christianity.

Thus, two events of the conquest period have received special attention from native historians, namely the death of Tecum Umam and the Cakchiquel rebellion. The first, which symbolized the end of Indian independence, became the dominant theme of the ritual and folklore of ethnic conflict in much of Guatemala. The second was proof, from the Indian point of view, of Alvarado's avariciousness. This, then, was the significance of the conquest for the Indians of Guatemala (as it was for the Indians of Yucatan also), namely the loss of their political and religious independence and their economic exploitation by foreigners.

The Conquest of Chiapas

On the eve of the conquest, Chiapas was inhabited by people speaking languages belonging to several linguistic stocks. Most of the languages belonged to the Maya family. They included Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Tojolabal, and Lacandon, which were spoken in the central and eastern highlands of what is today the state of Chiapas. In the western part of the state, at lower elevations, lived the linguistically unrelated Chiapanec and Zoque.

Of particular importance for this study are the Spanish attempts to conquer the Tzotzil, Tzeltal, and Lacandon groups. When the Spaniards arrived, these peoples were apparently "divided into small, warring principalities or petty states, called *provincias* in early accounts" (Calnek 1962:9). The Chiapanec, who were late arrivals in the region, exerted constant pressure against bordering Tzeltal and Tzotzil towns (Calnek 1962:11–12). Thus there was conflict between linguistic groups as well as among people who spoke the same language. These political divisions would play an important role in the conquest.¹

The Expedition of Luis Marín

After the Aztecs were conquered in 1521, the Spaniards founded towns in various parts of Mexico. In 1522, Gonzalo de Sandoval founded a town at Coatzacoalcos which he named Espíritu Santo. He then distributed among the Spanish inhabitants of the new town the Indians of sixteen surrounding "provinces," including those in what is today the state of Chiapas, in *encomienda*. Many of the Indians refused to pay tribute to the Spaniards of Coatzacoalcos. Although there is no evidence that, prior to apportioning the Indians among themselves, the Spaniards had even met the Indians they were treating as vassals, let alone conquered them, they

nevertheless interpreted the Indians' refusal to pay them as "rebellions" (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:210; Pineda 1888:11–28, 30n; Trens 1957:108).

Captain Luis Marín decided to send four Spaniards, including Bernal Díaz del Castillo, and four Indians to Cimatan, one of the rebellious districts, to inform the Indians of their obligation to pay the tribute. When the eight men were about two leagues from the town of Cimatan, the Spaniards sent messengers to announce their arrival. The Indians of Cimatan responded to this message by sending three squadrons of archers and lancers against them. Two of the Spaniards were killed immediately. Díaz del Castillo was badly wounded by an arrow in his throat. Nevertheless, he and the other remaining Spaniard managed to escape in a canoe which had been guarded by the four Indians who had accompanied them. The two Spaniards returned to Coatzacoalcos after twenty-three days, much shaken by their experience (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:210–211; Pineda 1888:13–14).

Upon learning of what had happened to his peaceful mission to Cimatan, Captain Luis Marín went to confer with Cortés in Tenochtitlan (now Mexico City) and to request more soldiers and arms in order to "pacify" the "rebellious" provinces. Cortés agreed to give him thirty soldiers and ordered him to organize an expedition against the Indians of Chiapas, which would include all the Spaniards in Coatzacoalcos. Cortés suggested that once Marín had succeeded in putting down the "rebellion" in Chiapas, he should consolidate his victory by establishing a Spanish town there (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:211–212). Marín returned to Coatzacoalcos with the reinforcements supplied by Cortés on December 8, 1523 (Trens 1957:109).

Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who was a member of

Marín's expedition, claims that the Spaniards encountered many natural obstacles on their way to Chiapas. Between Tepuzuntlan and Quechula, the Spaniards found their way blocked by mountains, through which there were no roads. Only the Grijalva River cut through those mountains, and the Spaniards were forced to travel in canoes in order to continue on their mission. The expedition apparently reached the vicinity of what is today Chiapa de Corzo during Lent of the year 1524 (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:212, 217–218).

The most powerful Indians in the region at that time were the Chiapanec. Their capital was Socton Nandalumi on the Grijalva River near the modern town of Chiapa de Corzo. Díaz del Castillo says that in 1524 the Chiapanec capital was a city of more than four thousand inhabitants, not counting the satellite towns and hamlets subject to it (1904:2:215). The Chiapanec were apparently so powerful that they demanded and received tributes from neighboring Indian groups and also held Indians of other tribes as slaves (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:212).

The first town the Spaniards came to in the region was Ixtapa, which was about four leagues from the Chiapanec capital. They found Ixtapa completely deserted by its inhabitants but well provisioned with maize and other foodstuffs, to which they helped themselves freely (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:213).

Soon after they had occupied Ixtapa, the Spaniards learned that a horde of Chiapanec soldiers was advancing on them. The Spaniards went out to meet the Chiapanec troops, and in the ensuing battle two Spanish soldiers and four horses were killed, and Marín and thirteen other Spaniards were wounded. Nightfall brought a halt to the battle (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:214).

The Spaniards spent the night in Ixtapa, even though they were afraid of being attacked in the dark. The next day they left Ixtapa and headed in the direction of Socton Nandalumi because, says Pineda (1888:17), "Socton . . . was the focus of the rebellion, in which they [the Spaniards] believed that the forces of the confederated towns of the Province of Chiapas were gathered."

The Spaniards spent the next night at a town on the river below Socton Nandalumi. At midnight a group of ten Indians pulled up to the Spanish camp in canoes. After they had been brought before Marín, they explained that they were not Chiapanec but were natives of another province called Jalte-

peque. They had been enslaved by the Chiapanec and brought to live in some of the small towns on the outskirts of Socton Nandalumi. These Indians offered to help the Spaniards in their efforts to subdue the Chiapanec (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:217; Pineda 1888:19–20; Trens 1957:110).

The Spaniards crossed the river the next day and engaged in fierce fighting against the Chiapanec. With the help of their new Indian allies they eventually succeeded in taking the Chiapanec capital (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:218–220; Pineda 1888:21–22; Trens 1957:110).

One of Marín's first acts after taking over Socton Nandalumi was to send messengers to the leaders of all the towns in the region requesting them to come in peace and pledge their obedience to the Spanish King. Among the first to come were the leaders of Zinacantan, Copanaguastla, Pinola, Huehuistan, and Chamula. According to Díaz del Castillo, the people of those towns were happy to have been freed from the domination of the Chiapanec (1904:2:220). Here, as elsewhere in Mesoamerica, local enmities played into the hands of the Spaniards; the peoples which had been dominated by the Chiapanec were won over to the Spanish side without bloodshed.

In terms of the Spanish view of the situation, the "rebellion" had been subdued, and all that Marín had left to do before returning to Coatzacoalcos was to found a Spanish town as Cortés had ordered. But before Marín had time to do this, the greed of one of his soldiers, Francisco de Medina, destroyed the peace that Marín had so carefully arranged (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:220; Trens 1957:112).

Medina, without Marín's permission, took eight Mexican Indians (who formed part of the Spanish forces) to Chamula and demanded that the Indians of that town give him some gold. Apparently, the Chamulans gave Medina what gold they had, but Medina was not satisfied and demanded more. When the Chamulans did not produce more gold, Medina and his men captured the Chamulan chief and threatened to kill him. The Chamulans rebelled against this outrage and attacked the Spaniards; they were assisted in their uprising by the people of Huehuistan (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:220; Trens 1957:112).

When Marín learned of what had happened in Chamula, he seized Medina and sent him off to Tenochtitlan to be punished by Cortés. Then he called the Chamulans before him and tried to placate them by telling them that Medina would be punished. But

the Chamulans were not mollified by these assurances and refused to be pacified. Thus the peace was destroyed, and Marín was forced to fight against the rebels (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:220-221; Trens 1957:112).

Marín recruited two hundred Chiapanec soldiers as reinforcements for his Spanish and Mexican forces and set out for Chamula. On the way they stopped in Zinacantan, where they spent Easter Sunday. A number of Zinacanteco soldiers joined Marín's army. Then they left Zinacantan and after a short march came to a fortress constructed by the Chamulans which they took after three days of heavy fighting. The Chamulans were armed with long wooden spears to which stone points had been hafted, stone swords, and bows and arrows. They charged at the Spaniards with great shouts, accompanied by the music of trumpets, horns, and kettledrums (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:221-225; Trens 1957:112).

It is important to note that the Zinacantecos did not join the Chamulans against the Spaniards. Instead, they permitted the Spaniards to pass through their town on the way to Chamula, supplied them with additional troops, and advised them of what to expect in Chamula (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:221-225; Godoy 1918:465-467). In all later ethnic conflicts, these two towns would always be on opposing sides, each town being sometimes allied with the descendants of the conquerors, sometimes against them.

After the Chamulans had been subdued, the Spaniards and their Indian allies moved on to Huehuitan, about four leagues distant, which they also eventually took. Chamula was given in *encomienda* to Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1904:2:225).

With the Indians of Chiapas once again at peace, Marín should now have set about complying with Cortés's order to establish a Spanish settlement in the province. This he failed to do. Díaz del Castillo claims that some of the Spaniards in the expedition did not want to settle in Chiapas; they wanted to return to Coatzacoalcos. Those who were willing to stay quarreled about which Indian towns they were to receive in *encomienda* (1904:2:226). According to Díaz del Castillo (1904:2:225), the greatest malcontents were Diego de Godoy and Alonso de Grado. Pineda (1888:27) justifies Marín's failure to obey Cortés's orders as follows: ". . . but in view of [the fact] that the Province was well populated, that all the towns were fortified and on hilltops, that the cavalry could not maneuver because of the rugged-

ness of the terrain, that they were aware that they were too few to make them [the Indians] obey them and besides they were all wounded: they decided to return to the town of Coatzacoalcos, passing on the way through Cimatan in order to punish the inhabitants of that town who were still continuing to rebel." Whatever the reason or reasons, Marín and his men returned to Coatzacoalcos without establishing a Spanish settlement in Chiapas. As they withdrew from the province, the Indians rose in rebellion, quickly forgetting the obedience they had promised to the King of Spain.

As a "pacifier," Marín was obviously a failure. He did not carry out the most important of Cortés's instructions, the one which would have maintained a Spanish "presence" in the province. Furthermore, Marín exercised so little control over his soldiers that they were able to sabotage his efforts to win over the enemies of the Chiapanec peacefully. As a result of his lack of leadership, the at first cooperative Chamulans were transformed into fierce enemies.

The Expedition of Diego de Mazariegos

In 1526, word reached Tenochtitlan that the Indians of Chiapas were again in a state of rebellion. With Cortés's approval, the Governor and Captain General of New Spain, Alonso de Estrada, appointed Captain Diego de Mazariegos to put down this seemingly new uprising. Mazariegos left Tenochtitlan at the beginning of 1527 with an expeditionary force of 150 infantry, forty horsemen, five artillery pieces, and a considerable number of Mexican and Tlaxcalan Indians to make another attempt to subdue the Indians of Chiapas (Remesal 1932:1:378-379; Pineda 1888:30; Trens 1957:117).

When they reached Chiapas, Mazariegos and his men followed part of the same route that Marín had taken several years before (see Map 2): "they crossed the Chiapa [Grijalva?] River at the level of Quechula, and they pushed on along its left side until they arrived at the town of Usumalapa (San Fernando las Animas). From there the Spaniards took the Tamasolapa (Don Ventura) road, and concluded by camping in the little Zoque town named Tochtlá or Tulún (Tuxtla Gutierrez)" (Trens 1957:117).

In the meantime, the Indians were mobilizing for battle. On the next day, after having spent the night in Tuxtla, the Spaniards continued their march until they encountered the Indians who had come to fight them. Mazariegos went before them and asked them to pledge their obedience to the Spanish King. This

request was met with whistles, shouts, and a hail of stones. There was now nothing for the Spaniards to do but engage the Indians in battle (Pineda 1888: 31–32; Trens 1957: 118).

The Indians resisted fiercely. Some of them were driven to the edge of a cliff, but rather than surrender, the Indians threw themselves over the cliff into the river below (Pineda 1888: 32; Remesal 1932: 1: 379–380; Trens 1957: 118). This incident marked the end of the conquest and the beginning of effective Spanish domination (Trens 1957: 119).

On the next day Mazariegos proclaimed a general amnesty for the Indians, and many Indians came to swear their allegiance to the King of Spain. But just as he was getting ready to found a town in the region, Mazariegos was forced to turn his attention to a problem which threatened to limit his jurisdiction in Chiapas (Trens 1957: 120).

The problem concerned the boundary between the provinces of Chiapas and Guatemala. Of course, much of the land in question had not yet been explored, let alone surveyed. The governor of New Spain had given Mazariegos the right "to conquer and populate the Province of Chiapas and the plains and other surrounding provinces" (Remesal 1932: 1: 380). The dispute concerned the plains which lie between the mountains of Chiapas and the mountains of Guatemala. Just at the time that Mazariegos was ready to found a town, he received word that Pedro Portocarrero, one of Alvarado's soldiers, had occupied those plains with his forces, presumably with the object of extending his conquest and enlarging the domains of his chief. Portocarrero did so on the grounds that Chiapas had no plains and that the plains he had occupied were not in Chiapas (Trens 1957: 120).

Mazariegos solved this problem by offering Portocarrero's men lands in *encomienda*; enticed by this generous offer, Portocarrero's men decided to abandon their leader's expedition (Trens 1957: 120). Later, Mazariegos was sent a new patent, dated April 1, 1528, naming him lieutenant governor of Chiapas and adjacent plains (Remesal 1932: 1: 380–381; Trens 1957: 120).

With that problem solved, Mazariegos was once again free to concern himself with the founding of a town. On March 1, 1528, he founded a town named Villarreal on the right side of the Grijalva River near the Chiapanec capital of Socton Nandalumi. This location, however, soon proved to be unsatisfactory. It was not, as had been ordered, in the center of the province (at least not if the disputed plains were

considered part of the province), the climate was unpleasantly hot and humid, and there were too many insects. For these reasons the town was moved to a valley at a higher altitude. Eventually, when it grew, its name was changed to Ciudad Real. After independence from Spain, the city was renamed San Cristobal Las Casas. The first site of Villarreal is the present town of Chiapa de Corzo (Pineda 1888: 33–35; Remesal 1932: 1: 382–386).

With the founding of a Spanish settlement, Spanish domination of the province became a fact. Mazariegos's success in completing the conquest proved the wisdom of Cortés's instructions. From then on, Indian challenges to Spanish authority in Chiapas could, with some justification, be termed "uprisings" or "rebellions."

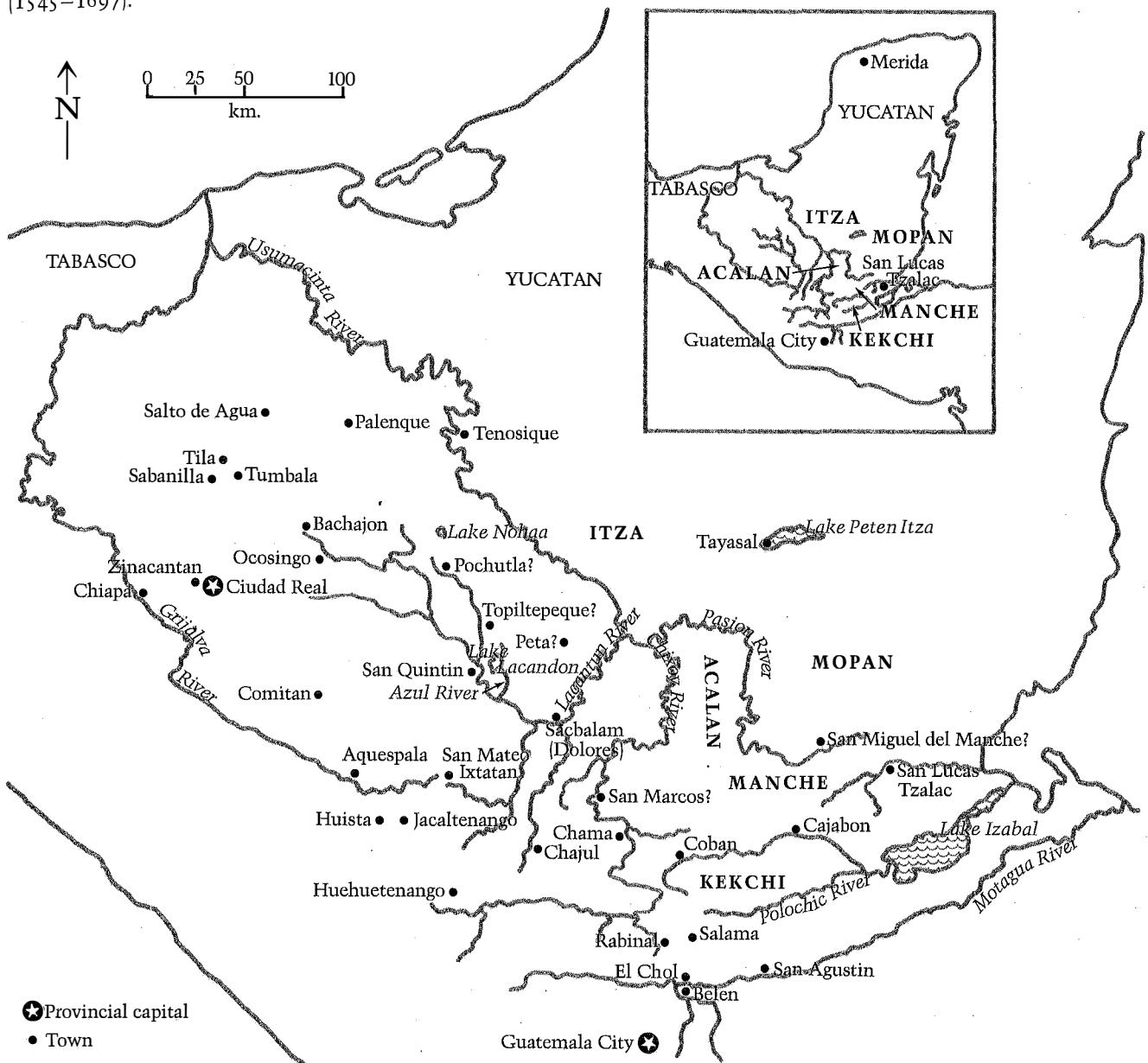
Campaigns against the Lacandon

Mazariegos brought only part of what is today the state of Chiapas under Spanish control. In the north, along the frontier with Tabasco, some Tzeltal communities remained independent until 1542 (Chamberlain 1948b: 181–183). And Mazariegos did not venture at all into the mountains and lowlands of eastern Chiapas.

The people who inhabited this unconquered region were collectively referred to as "Lacandones" in the colonial records. J. Eric S. Thompson (1970: 32) has pointed out that "Lacandon in the colonial period was a geographical, not a cultural or linguistic term." The term has been applied to several groups of people who occupied different parts of this region at different times and who spoke dialects of two mutually unintelligible languages, Chol and Yucatec Maya. Thus the use of the term *Lacandon* as an ethnic label is misleading. In what follows, I will try to document the shifting usage of this term in labeling different ethnic groups.

During the first half of the sixteenth century, eastern Chiapas and the adjacent part of Guatemala lying between the Chixoy and Pasión rivers (see Map 3) were inhabited by Lacandon who spoke dialects of the Chol language. In colonial documents, the Guatemalan part of this region was called Acala or Acalan (not to be confused with the Acalan region of Tabasco [cf. Scholes and Roys 1948]), and the principal Lacandon settlements of eastern Chiapas were referred to as "Lacandones y Pochutla, Tecpan y Topiltepeque" (Orozco y Jiménez 1911: 2: 159–160; J. E. S. Thompson 1970: 32). They were first contacted by the Spaniards in 1536, when Captain Francisco Gil, one of Pedro de Alvarado's officers, led an

Map 3. Conquest of the Manche, Mopan, and Lacandon (1545–1697).



expedition into their territory. Gil took possession of the town of Pochutla, but it was an empty victory because the Indians fled into the forest, abandoning their town. Gil went on to found the town of Tenosique on the Usumacinta River, but at this point Montejo the Younger arrived and informed Gil that he was encroaching on territory that had been granted to his father, Montejo the Elder. Gil decided

not to contest this claim; he withdrew, leaving his men under Montejo the Younger's authority (Chamberlain 1948b:181–182; Trens 1957:202).

Although the Indians of Pochutla had not been effectively conquered, they were nominally assigned in *encomienda* to a Spanish resident of Ciudad Real, Pedro de Solórzano. In 1542, Solórzano was commissioned to bring the "rebellious" Pochutla In-

dians under Spanish control (Chamberlain 1948b: 182–183).

This proved to be difficult because "The pueblo of Pochutla was very well situated for defense: a *peñol* or steep, strong height stood nearby and its approaches were guarded by swamps and intricate waterways" (Chamberlain 1948b: 181), so that, in effect, the town was on an island in the middle of a lake (Chamberlain 1948b: 184). And victory, when it came, did not last for long. Although the Indians apparently recognized Solórzano as their conqueror and were willing to serve him in *encomienda*, they refused to serve any other Spaniards. When a Spaniard named Lucas Veneciano tried to exact services from them they rebelled and killed him (Chamberlain 1948b: 183n, 184).

In 1546, Lacandon Indians from Pochutla raided some settlements of recently Christianized Indians in Chiapas and Guatemala.² Another rash of Lacandon raids on Christian settlements occurred in 1552. Fifteen towns in Chiapas were burned, and their inhabitants were killed or taken captive (Stone 1932: 243).³

In 1550, the Dominicans in Guatemala sent Fathers Tomás de la Torre and Domingo de Vico into Acalan in order to Christianize the Lacandon. The two priests were apparently received without hostility. They baptized many Indians and burned many of their idols. They established a village named San Marcos at an unknown location north of Cobán (Remesal 1932: 2: 265–267; J. E. S. Thompson 1970: 32–33).⁴

Father Vico was subsequently appointed prior of Cobán, and he left San Marcos in order to assume his new post (Remesal 1932: 2: 371–372). In 1555, the Christianized Indians of San Marcos quarreled with other Acalan Lacandon who had not been converted. In spite of repeated warnings about this unrest, Vico decided to return to San Marcos, taking with him another Dominican priest, Father Andrés López, as well as thirty Christian Indians from the Verapaz region of Guatemala. The members of this group were attacked and murdered by unconverted Indians shortly after their arrival in San Marcos. An Indian acolyte who tried to protect Vico from the arrows was carried off to have his heart sacrificed to the Sun (Remesal 1932: 2: 370–378; Stone 1932: 243; J. E. S. Thompson 1970: 33).

Four years later, in 1559, the Spaniards organized a two-pronged invasion of the Lacandon region in retaliation for the murder of the two priests. One expedition, which included six hundred Chiapanec

Indians and two hundred Indians from Zinacantan, moved eastward from Comitan and attacked an island fortress in the middle of Lake Lacandon, now Lake Miramar (Stone 1932: 240n, 244–245). This was probably the settlement of "Lacandones" referred to in the colonial records. The second expedition, which included one hundred Guatemalan Indians, originated in Cobán and was under the command of Pedro Ramírez de Quiñónez; it joined forces with the Chiapan expedition, headed by Gonzalo Dovalle, at Lake Lacandon (Remesal 1932: 2: 395–397).

According to Remesal (1932: 2: 397), the Lake Lacandon settlement, like the one at Pochutla, was very well situated for defense. It was built on a rocky height (*peñol*) which formed an island in the middle of the lake. The cornfields of the Indians were planted on the shores of the lake.

One of the men from the Guatemalan expedition slipped off into a field in search of some ears of green corn. He was spotted by some Indians who were hiding in the field. The Indians seized him, cut open his chest with a stone knife, and removed his heart, which they offered to the Sun (Remesal 1932: 2: 397).

The Spaniards and their Indian allies moved against the fortified island in a brigantine and canoes. The Lacandon were frightened at their numbers and fled from the island without fighting. The Spaniards burned their town and took 150 captives. In the meantime, a group of thirty Spanish soldiers pursued the fleeing Indians. In the heat of the pursuit, the Spaniards became careless, and after having passed through Topiltepeque, they were ambushed by the Indians they were chasing, who doubled back on them on a narrow path. Many Spaniards were killed, and those who were not survived only because additional Spanish troops came to their rescue. From Topiltepeque the expedition moved on to Pochutla. Unlike the Indians at Lake Lacandon, the inhabitants of Pochutla resisted the attack by sending an armada of canoes against the Spaniards, but their primitive bows and arrows were no match against the more sophisticated weapons of the Spaniards. After a short battle, the Indians abandoned their town and fled into the woods (Remesal 1932: 2: 396–399; Stone 1932: 244–245; Trems 1957: 203).

While this was going on, a group of ten Spanish soldiers and an unspecified number of Indians, headed by the Indian governor of Verapaz, attacked the principal settlement of Acalan, which lay east of

the fortress in Lake Lacandon (Remesal 1932:2:399; J. E. S. Thompson 1970:36). They hanged 80 Indians who they believed were implicated in the deaths of Vico and López, and they took 180 captives (Remesal 1932:2:399; Stone 1932:245). These prisoners, together with the 150 captives from Lake Lacandon, were carried off to Guatemala (Remesal 1932:2:400).

The unconverted Lacandon of Acalan were brought to Coban and were settled in what is now the *barrio* (quarter) of San Juan Acala. The Christianized Lacandon of San Marcos were brought first to Chama and later to Coban, where they formed the *barrio* of San Marcos (Escobar 1841:90, 94; King 1974:46; Viana, Gallego, and Cadena 1955:23).⁵ But the prisoners from Lake Lacandon eventually returned to their island home and rebuilt their town, under circumstances that are not explained (Remesal 1932:2:400).

In 1564, most of the Indians of Pochutla were resettled in Ocosingo by Father Pedro Lorenzo (Ximénez 1929–1931:2:150). The rest of the Pochutla Lacandon were conquered in 1576 and were resettled in Palenque, Tila, Tumbala, Bachajon, and Ocosingo (Orozco y Jiménez 1911:2:159–160; J. E. S. Thompson 1970:68).⁶ In 1631, the Lacandon who had been resettled in Ocosingo relapsed into idolatry and fled into the mountains in order to free themselves of Spanish control. They were pursued and rounded up by Dominican priests (Ximénez 1929–1931:2:203–204). The Lacandon who were resettled in Ocosingo and Bachajon were eventually absorbed by Tzeltal speakers. The modern Chol speakers of Palenque, Tumbala, Tila, Sabanilla, and Salto de Agua are the descendants of the rest of the Pochutla Lacandon (D. Herrera 1972:1; Villa Rojas 1967:32).

By 1586, two of the three remaining Chol Lacandon settlements, Topiltepeque and Tecpan, had come under Spanish control (Morales Villa Vicencio 1936:134). According to Agustín Cano, the Indians of Topiltepeque were settled in Coban.⁷ It is possible that the Indians of Tecpan were also resettled in Guatemala, for the leaders of the Indians of both Topiltepeque and Tecpan accompanied Morales Villa Vicencio's expedition in 1586, which originated in Guatemala (see below).

The only bastion of Chol Lacandon strength during the last quarter of the sixteenth century was the island in the middle of Lake Lacandon. In 1586, Captain Juan de Morales Villa Vicencio led an expedition against this settlement. He took with him,

as interpreters, Francisco Méndez and Pedro Hernández, the Indian leaders of Topiltepeque and Tecpan, respectively (Morales Villa Vicencio 1936:134).

The recalcitrant Lacandon on the island laughed at the interpreters' invitation that they surrender peacefully, choosing, instead, to disperse into the woods around the lake where the Spaniards could not easily find them (Morales Villa Vicencio 1936:138–139). Morales Villa Vicencio was no more successful at bringing this group of Lacandon under Spanish control than Ramírez de Quiñónez had been, twenty-seven years earlier, even though he destroyed their homes and crops (Morales Villa Vicencio 1936; Recinos 1954:383; Ximénez 1929–1931:1:204). In fact, these Indians remained independent throughout the next century and were not finally subdued until after 1696.

Between 1576 and 1646, Indians speaking a Yucatecan language moved into the area vacated by the Pochutla Lacandon. Their principal settlement was on the shores of a lake called Nohaa (*noh ha?* 'great lake'). They were visited in 1646 by some Franciscan priests who described Nohaa as a settlement populated by a mixture of apostate Christian and heathen Yucatec-speaking Indians (López de Cogolludo 1842–1845:2:577–608).

These Indians were not called "Lacandon" at that time; in fact, the area into which they moved was known as the Prospero Kingdom during the seventeenth century (J. E. S. Thompson 1970:69). But more than a century later, between 1786 and 1793, there were reports of heathen Lacandon Indians living in that area who spoke a Yucatecan language (Orozco y Jiménez 1911:2:163–169). In 1786, Father José Manuel Calderón, the parish priest of Palenque and Tumbala, requested permission to Christianize these "Lacandon."⁸ By 1799, Calderón had founded a town which he called San Jose de Gracia Real about eight leagues from Palenque. This was a small settlement consisting of only thirty-one Indians at the most (Orozco y Jiménez 1911:2:169, 172). Calderón died soon after founding San Jose. After his death no Spanish priests visited the town (Orozco y Jiménez 1911:2:170). Although there was talk about conquering these Lacandon until 1807, no one continued Calderón's work (Orozco y Jiménez 1911:2:166–180; Morales Villa Vicencio 1936:133). Apparently San Jose de Gracia Real was eventually abandoned, for no settlement of that name exists in Chiapas today (Villa Rojas 1967:42–43).

The independent Chol Lacandon south of the

Prospero Kingdom raided Christian settlements in Guatemala several times during the seventeenth century. Chajul was raided twice, first in 1608, and again in 1664; the area around Coban was raided in 1628 and 1678 (King 1974:23, 25; J. E. S. Thompson 1970:29, 37; Tovilla 1960:209-211; Ximénez 1929-1931:2:221-222, 404). The Christian Indians of highland Guatemala and Chiapas were so terrified of the Lacandon that a cry of "The Lacandon are coming!" was enough to send them fleeing for safety in the mountains, even though such alarms were usually false (Ximénez 1929-1931:2:220). In time, the Lacandon raids became a historical tradition, and Christian Indians would disguise themselves as Lacandon during Lent as a joke:

In the town of Ocosingo it was well known that every year on Holy Thursday evening they rioted and took shelter in the church saying that the Lacandon were coming and that they were already passing through the town, and although the priests made several attempts to catch a Lacandon, they never had any success. In some towns they succeeded in catching some Indians who were bothering people as Lacandon and they were youth of the same town who dressed as naked Lacandon. (Ximénez 1929-1931:2:220)

It was not until the end of the seventeenth century, almost two hundred years after the beginning of the conquest of Chiapas and Guatemala, that the Spaniards finally brought the last of the Chol Lacandon under their control. This campaign, which began in 1695, was part of the joint effort of the governments of the provinces of Yucatan, Chiapas, and Guatemala to make the lowlands safe for commerce by completing the conquest of the Itza, the Chol Lacandon, the Manche, and the Mopan (see Chapters 2 and 3).

In 1695, the Chol Lacandon were no longer living around Lake Lacandon. By 1608 they seem to have established a new head town, which they called Sacbalam (White Jaguar), southeast of Lake Lacandon on the Lacantun River (see Map 3) (Hellmuth 1972:182-183; Tovilla 1960:210). Villa Rojas (1967:32-33) believes that they abandoned their town in Lake Lacandon after Morales Villa Vicencio's campaign in 1586.

Several years prior to the campaign of 1695, two Franciscan priests, Fathers Melchor López and Antonio Margil, together with some Indians from Coban, formed a peaceful mission to Christianize the Lacandon. They were welcomed by the inhabitants of Sacbalam, who seemed responsive to their missionary efforts; the Indians even burned the temple in which their idols were housed. The priests re-

quested that, as a sign of peace and friendship, the Lacandon send an embassy of twelve Indians to Coban in order to arrange a peace treaty. The Lacandon agreed to this and sent at least that many Indians with Margil to Coban, where they were warmly received by the *alcalde mayor* of that province and by the Indians of Coban (Trens 1957:207; Ximénez 1929-1931:3:4-5).

Unfortunately, however, all the Lacandon in the delegation fell ill soon after their arrival in Coban, and eleven of them died. The rest returned to Sacbalam to report what had befallen the other members of the delegation. When Margil returned to Sacbalam, he found that the Lacandon had not taken the news of the deaths of their compatriots lightly. They threatened to kill the two Spanish priests, they blasphemed the Christians and their God, and they began rebuilding the temple for the idols they had recently abandoned. The priests tried to reason with them, but to no avail. Finally López and Margil gave up and returned to Guatemala in order to petition the president of the Audiencia to furnish military assistance in support of their efforts to convert the Lacandon to Christianity (Trens 1957:207-208; Ximénez 1929-1931:3:4-5).

While the priests were in Sacbalam, the Lacandon showed them a missal and breviary that had belonged to Father Domingo de Vico, the Dominican priest who had been murdered in 1555, and two altar cloths and some religious ornaments that had presumably come from San Marcos. The Indians admitted that their ancestors had been responsible for Vico's death almost 140 years earlier, which suggests that after 1559 some of the Acalan Lacandon had moved west into Chiapas (J. E. S. Thompson 1970:37; Ximénez 1929-1931:3:4).

In January 1695, the president of the Audiencia of Guatemala, Jacinto de Barrios Leal, organized an expedition to conquer the Lacandon. (This expedition was part of the coordinated efforts with Governor Urzúa described in Chapter 2.) The invasion of the Lacandon region was made from two directions. Barrios Leal sent one division of soldiers under Captain Melchor Rodríguez Mazariegos ahead to San Mateo Ixtatan in the Cuchumatán Mountains to approach the Lacandon from the southwest, while he traveled with the rest of his forces to Ocosingo in order to approach them from the northwest. Father Antonio Margil accompanied Barrios Leal. Rodríguez Mazariegos reached Sacbalam first, on the ninth of April. Barrios Leal first scouted out Lake Lacandon, apparently expecting to find Lacandon

still living there, but the lake and its margins were by then no longer inhabited. Not knowing where to go next, he was fortunately soon rescued from his indecision by the capture of a Lacandon Indian who led them to Sacbalam. Barrios Leal met up with Rodríguez Mazariegos in the Lacandon head town on the nineteenth of April (J. E. S. Thompson 1970:27; Villagutierre Soto Mayor 1933:177–190, 194–214; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:6–15, 23–47).

The Lacandon did not try to resist the Spaniards. As they had done so many times in the past, they fled into the woods, abandoning their town. In their haste, they left all their possessions behind, including their stores of food (Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1933:206).

The priests who accompanied the Spanish soldiers renamed Sacbalam Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (Our Lady of the Sorrows) in honor of the fact that they had first discovered human footprints leading to the town on Good Friday. After they entered the town they concerned themselves with destroying the idols that the Indians had left behind. They converted part of the Indian temple into a chapel (Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1933:201–202).

The Spaniards went out into the woods in search of the Lacandon in hiding and brought many of them back to Dolores. In the meantime, Barrios Leal received word that he was needed for the conquest of the Itza. He ordered that Dolores be fortified with an encircling palisade, and after this had been erected, he set off with most of his troops for Lake Petén Itzá, leaving behind thirty Spanish soldiers and fifteen Indian auxiliaries to protect the town. Three priests remained in Dolores to continue the work of bringing the Indians out of the woods and settling them in the town. They were Fathers Antonio Margil, Lázaro de Mazariegos, and Blas Guillén (Tozzer 1913; Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1933:222).

By the end of August of that year (1695), many Lacandon had returned to Dolores, including some of their chiefs. But when they were asked to give up their religious practices, they refused to do so, at the same time demonstrating a pragmatic understanding of their situation:

Nor when we tell them to come together, nor when the Captain tells them, nor when we say they must stop painting themselves and come to mass, and to the women that they must leave off all the wicked ceremonies, the rubbish and painting of their heathendom, telling them this with all love and with smiling faces, they do not heed us and if we show anger and tell them that God will punish them and they will go to hell, they laugh and say they are Lacandones, and that

is their custom, and they laugh at us. And if we tell them that your Lordship [Barrios Leal] will come in the summer and will be angry because they do not keep their word, they say that when your Lordship comes they will wash themselves and go out to meet your Lordship with long skirts, without small sticks or paint, and that they will go out on the road so that your Lordship may give them *cascabeles* [copper bells], and *chivin chivin* beads, and to the men hatchets and machetes.

What will they do after your Lordship passes through, when the teacher or leader who remains here desires them to do some necessary thing; they will surely say (if, perchance, they do not flee away), "The Ahau King broke no foot nor arm of ours. Therefore, when he returns another year with more hatchets and machetes and copper bells, we will again put on our long skirts [literally, lower our petticoats], we will leave off painting ourselves, and we will come to hear the Catechism, etc., because we are Lacandones." (Tozzer 1913:501–502)

In other words, the Lacandon would pretend to be good Christians as long as Barrios Leal and his army were in the town, but they would be Lacandon during the rest of the year, and there was not anything that the priests could do about it!

Barrios Leal died at the end of 1695 and was succeeded by Gabriel Sánchez de Berrospe as president of the Audiencia of Guatemala (Nolasco Pérez 1966:78–79; Trems 1930:286; Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1933:294). A new military expedition to Dolores, headed by Bartolomé de Amézquita, was organized in 1696. Amézquita found that the population of Dolores had increased greatly and that the friars were making progress in converting the Lacandon. Among the Indians whom the priests had brought to Dolores were the inhabitants of two towns called Peta and Map, which were reached after a journey of several days through rough, mountainous terrain. Amézquita and his soldiers went into the mountains and brought many Indians to Dolores (Tozzer 1913:503; Trems 1930:286; Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1933:280; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:105).⁹

Villagutierre Soto-Mayor (1933:295–296) implies that, unlike his predecessor, Sánchez de Berrospe had no great interest in completing the conquest of the Lacandon (see also Villa Rojas 1967:39). He supposedly ordered all but thirty Spanish soldiers to leave Dolores and return to Guatemala on the grounds that their efforts were doomed to failure (Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1933:295–296).

The following year (1697), Father Margil left Dolores to accept an appointment as *guardián* of the College of Santa Cruz of Querétaro (Trem 1930:

286). The priests who stayed in Dolores found themselves in economic difficulty and, in 1703, petitioned the King of Spain to increase their yearly stipends. The King agreed to their request in 1709, but two years later he decided that the Lacandon should be resettled in the highlands of Guatemala in the district of Huehuetenango, which would save the royal treasury the cost of maintaining the troops stationed in Dolores as well as the priests' stipends.¹⁰ It was first suggested that they be moved to a place called Asantic near San Mateo Ixtatan. Father Blas Guillén and Antonio Galindo were sent to inspect this location and report on its suitability for a settlement. The inspectors rejected Asantic, which they judged to be too cold and lacking in water. After further reconnaissance work, they chose a place called Aquespala, near the towns of Jacaltenango and Huista, of which Guillén was parish priest. In 1715, the King of Spain ordered Guillén to resettle the Lacandon in Aquespala,¹¹ but the move did not actually take place until 1721 or later (Nolasco Pérez 1966:92, 94). After this, the Dolores Lacandon lost their ethnic identity and their language.

At present, the entire region which was once exclusively occupied by Chol-speaking Lacandon is inhabited by Yucatec speaking Lacandon. Apparently, after 1721, when the remaining Chol speakers at Dolores were forcibly resettled in the Guatemalan highlands, the Yucatec speakers who had moved into the area vacated by the Pochutla Lacandon began to expand southward. By 1876, they were con-

tacted as far south as San Quintin and the Azul River, near Lake Miramar (formerly Lake Lacandon) (Ballinas 1951:38–39; Orozco y Jiménez 1911:2:183).

Thus the Lacandon zone seems to have been continuously occupied by Yucatec-speaking people(s) after the Chol speaking Pochutla Lacandon were resettled in Ocosingo, Bachajon, Palenque, Tila, and Tumbala. First there were the people who moved into the area around Lake Nohaa between 1576 and 1646. It is possible that the Yucatec-speaking Lacandon whom Calderón tried to Christianize in 1786 were their descendants. The present inhabitants of this area are also called "Lacandon," and they also speak Yucatec Maya. J. Eric S. Thompson (1938:588) has suggested that they are descendants of the historical "Prospero Yucatec."¹² Until recently, when Protestant missionaries from the United States moved into some of their communities (see Baer and Merrifield 1971:xi), their religion was virtually untouched by Christianity (Tozzer 1907:79–150). Apparently the Lacandon of San Jose de Gracia Real soon forgot Calderón's teachings. In any case, this group of Lacandon has the distinction of being the only Maya who were never conquered or Christianized by the Spaniards. For, in 1820, on the eve of Mexico's War of Independence from Spain, Father Manuel María de la Chica, the vicar of the Lacandon Mission, admitted that the Lacandon had not yet been converted (Morales Villa Vicencio 1936:133).

PART III. COLONIAL REBELLIONS

Indian Saints in Highland Chiapas

(1708–1713)

Between 1708 and 1713 there were a series of Indian religious movements in highland Chiapas, one of which culminated in organized armed rebellion.¹ In all of these movements the objects of devotion were Catholic saints. This is a fact of considerable importance for understanding the religious motivation of the movements. Only twenty years earlier, the Indians of highland Chiapas had still been worshiping idols with Indian names. In 1687, for example, the Bishop of Chiapas, Francisco Nuñez de la Vega (1692:131–135), discovered that the inhabitants of the town of Oxchuc were worshiping several idols, including one called Ikalahau (Black God), and that Indians in many towns were continuing to practice some of their aboriginal customs under the guidance of ritual specialists whom he called *nagualistas*. The *nagualistas* played an important role in the life of the people; they were consulted in the naming of newborn children, they prophesied the future, and they treated people who suffered from illnesses caused by witchcraft. Nuñez de la Vega confiscated the idols and urged the parish priests to be more conscientious in indoctrinating their Indian charges (1692:132, 133). In spite of Nuñez de la Vega's vigorous efforts to stamp out the aboriginal religion, nagualism has survived in Indian communities until the present day (Vogt 1969:369). On the other hand, it is clear that by the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, the Indians were worshiping Catholic saint images instead of native idols.

At least four religious movements took place in highland Chiapas between 1708 and 1713. The first three occurred in towns where the Tzotzil language was spoken: Zinacantan, Santa Marta, and Chenalho. The fourth took place in the town of Cancuc, which was situated in the western part of the Tzeltal-speaking sector of the highlands (see Map 4).

Historians and anthropologists have paid much more attention to the Cancuc movement than to the ones which took place in the other three towns. This may be because the movement in Cancuc was the only one which was truly a rebellion in a political as well as a religious sense. Historians have tended to view the other three movements as symptomatic of the general unrest of the times rather than as intimately related, both in timing and content, to the Cancuc movement (see Klein 1966; Pineda 1888:38–70; Trems 1957:Ch. 9; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:257–343). In my opinion, the movement in Cancuc cannot be understood in either political or religious terms without first considering in detail the three movements which preceded it.

The Virgin Cult of Zinacantan

In 1708, the new Bishop of Chiapas, Juan Baupertista Alvarez de Toledo, who had replaced Nuñez de la Vega after his death in 1706, was informed that a Ladino hermit was preaching to Indians from the hollow trunk of an oak tree on the outskirts of Zinacantan. According to the rumors, the hermit was exhorting the Indians to recognize an image of the Virgin which was giving off rays of light. The hermit claimed that the Virgin had descended from Heaven in order to offer assistance to the Indians. His preaching attracted large crowds of Zinacantecos and Chamulans, who came bearing offerings of food and incense.²

The bishop sent Father Joseph Monrroy, the parish priest of Chamula, to investigate the matter. Monrroy discovered that the image in question was actually a small canvas of St. Joseph which had been placed in a hole in the tree. He also found a small notebook in the tree which contained some verses advocating penitence and the love of God. The priest

ordered the tree to be chopped down and cut into chunks, and he brought the hermit to Chamula in order to place him under observation. On the way to Chamula they were accompanied by a large group of Indians who insisted on kneeling before the hermit and also asked Monrroy whether church bells should be rung to announce their arrival in Chamula. After three days the hermit was sent to the convent of San Francisco in Ciudad Real. He was eventually released in May 1710, and he returned to the outskirts of Zinacantan, where he resumed his preaching. The Indians built him a chapel, which they lined with reed mats and decorated elaborately. On the altar was a small image of the Virgin to which offerings of candles, chocolate, eggs, tortillas, and other items were made.³ This time several friars were sent to investigate. They tried to burn the chapel down, but the Indians resisted. The Indians were calmed with great difficulty, the hut was finally burned, and the hermit was seized again. This time the hermit was sent to the Jesuits in Ciudad Real, who pronounced him to be possessed of the Devil and recommended that he should be exiled to New Spain from where he had come, but he is reported to have died in Ocozocoautla before he could reach the province of his birth (Ximénez 1929–1931:3:263–264).

Although the hermit was a Ladino rather than an Indian, his message was pitched to an Indian audience by whom it was enthusiastically received. The cult he founded set a precedent which was to be imitated in subsequent years by Indian sponsors. The elements of the hermit's cult which were repeated in 1711 and again in 1712 were: (1) the Virgin's descent from Heaven, (2) her promise to help the Indians, (3) the construction of a chapel in her honor, and (4) offerings of incense and food.

The Virgin Cult of Santa Marta⁴

The Virgin appeared for the second time in the fall of 1711,⁵ this time to an Indian woman of the town of Santa Marta. One evening in October of that year, Dominica López went with her husband, Juan Gómez, to their *milpa* (cornfield) on the outskirts of Santa Marta in order to pick some ears of maize to eat. The Indian woman came upon the Virgin, in human form, seated upon a log. The Virgin asked her if her parents were alive, to which the woman replied that only her father was still living, her mother having recently died.⁶

At first Juan Gómez did not believe his wife's report of the miraculous appearance of the Virgin.

When he went to the place in the *milpa* where his wife said that the Virgin had appeared, he saw nothing there. However, four days later he, too, saw the Virgin in a clearing about twenty feet from the log where she had previously appeared before his wife.⁷

The Virgin ordered Juan Gómez to go to the officials of his town and ask them to build a "house" for her because she would rather live in the town than "die among sticks and stones in the woods."⁸ The *alcaldes* of the town, upon being informed of this request, hurried to the *milpa* in order to determine whether the appearance of the Virgin was really a miracle or just a hoax. Many of the townspeople went with them. By the time they arrived at the *milpa*, the Virgin had disappeared. However, she appeared again on the following day, the *alcaldes* were informed, and this time they also saw her seated on the same log. The *alcaldes* wrapped the Virgin in a cloth and carried her to the town with great pomp and ceremony, which included banners, candles, bugles, flutes, and fifes, and recitations of the Rosary and litanies.⁹

The Virgin was placed on the main altar of the church, where she remained covered with the cloth for three days. When the *alcaldes* finally removed the cloth, they discovered that she had been replaced by a wooden image.¹⁰

A chapel was built for the Virgin with the help of people from neighboring towns as well as local townspeople. The *alcaldes* of Santa Marta appointed an *alférez* and two *mayordomos* to care for the Virgin. The man chosen to be *alférez* was an Indian of Santa Marta named Domingo López. Dominica López and her husband were appointed to serve as *mayordomos*. The *alférez* sang the Mass and organized festivals in honor of the Virgin. The two *mayordomos* were responsible for receiving the offerings of Indians who came to worship the Virgin. The offerings consisted of chickens, flowers, incense, candles, firewood, and silver money. The pilgrims came from towns in all parts of the Tzotzil-speaking sector of the highlands.¹¹

The chapel was constructed at some distance from the church, near the edge of town. It was twelve paces long and four paces wide and was divided into two parts. Two images of the Virgin were housed in the smaller part, together with images of the patron saints of the neighboring towns of San Pablo Chalchihuitan, Santiago Huistan, and Santa Maria Magdalena. One of the images of the Virgin had apparently been made in Zinacantan. The rest of

the chapel was like a corridor or gallery which the Indians used for dancing.¹²

This chapel was the scene of an elaborate festival during the Lenten season the following year (1712). The celebration attracted Indians from all parts of the province, not just the Tzotzil sector.¹³ It was at this time that the Spanish authorities apparently first became aware of the new cult. In Totolapa and San Lucas, the attendance of Indians at Mass on Sunday dwindled noticeably, and the parish priest of Totolapa and Preacher General of the Dominican Order, Father Bartholomé Ximénez, became alarmed over the great number of Indians from those towns who were making pilgrimages to Santa Marta. Ximénez decided to send a message to Father Joseph Monrroy of Chamula, asking him to investigate what was happening in Santa Marta.¹⁴

Monrroy set out for Santa Marta immediately, stopping on his way in San Andres Iztacostoc, where the officials of the town informed him of the miraculous appearance of the Virgin. They asked him for permission to take their patron saint to Santa Marta as the Indians of the other towns in the area had done. Monrroy refused to grant their request.¹⁵

When he arrived in Santa Marta, Monrroy spoke with Dominica López, whom he found in the chapel standing beside the two images of the Virgin. When in the course of his interrogation she told him that the Virgin had first appeared almost six months before, he demanded that she explain why she had not informed the parish priest of this occurrence during the intervening period. She retorted that he had not visited Santa Marta during that time. When Monrroy contradicted her, saying that he had at least been in Santa Marta during the festival of St. Sebastian (at the end of January), she gave the excuse that the officials of the town had prevented her from informing him during that festival.¹⁶

According to at least one report, the Virgin had instructed the Indians not to inform either the priests or any other Spaniards of this miracle. She said that she had come from Heaven only to help the Indians and that if they revealed the miracle they would die. Therefore, the image was kept covered at all times; Dominica López stood nearby to reveal the Virgin's wishes, for the Virgin would speak with no one else. It was rumored that the Virgin had said that all those who made a pilgrimage to give her offerings would go to Heaven, even if they had many sins, and that she would give them much maize, beans, and many children.¹⁷

During his visit to Santa Marta, Monrroy was ap-

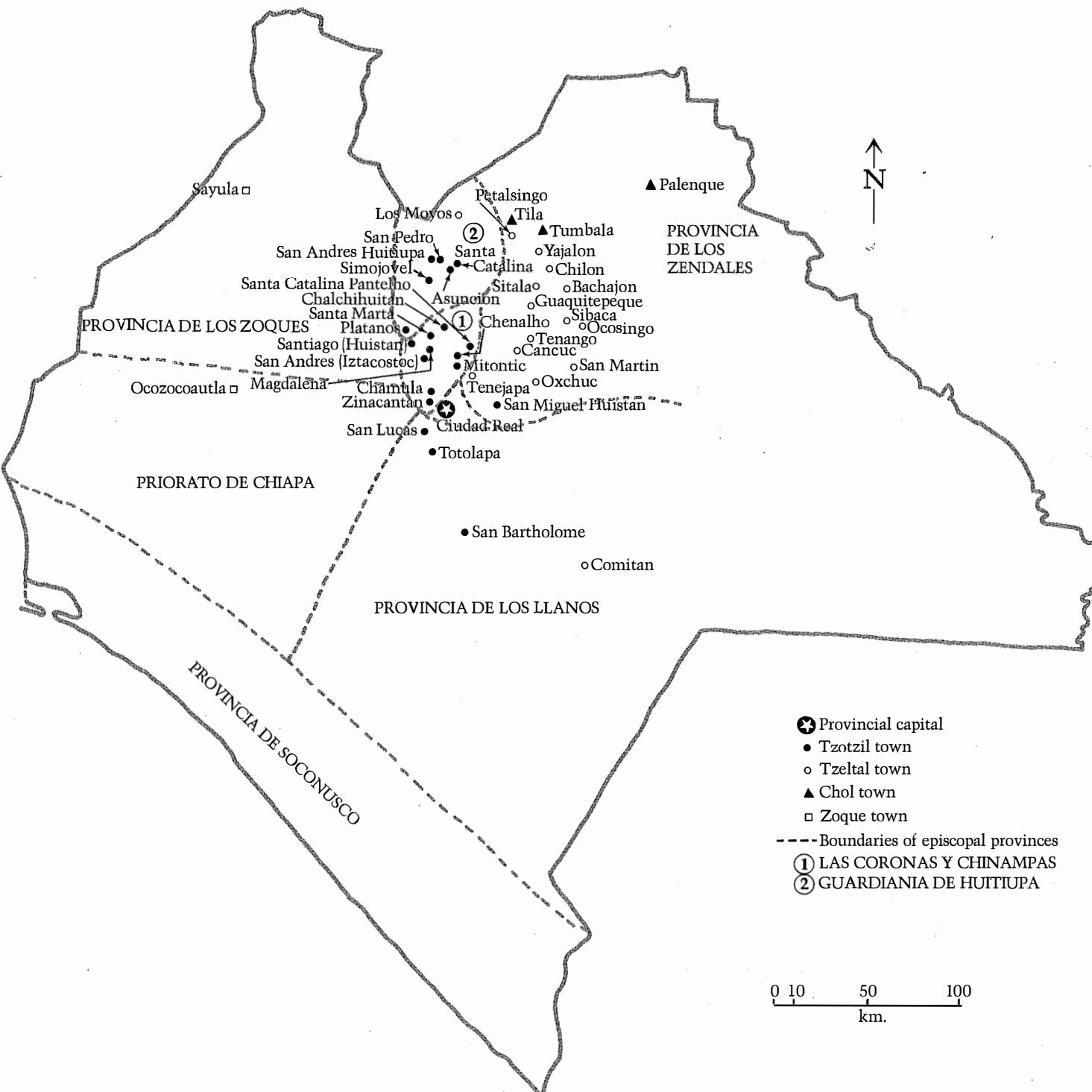
proached by some Indians who begged him to say Mass in the new chapel. He refused to legitimate the cult in this way, saying that he could not do so without permission from his superior, the Preacher General, Bartholomé Ximénez. Monrroy sent a letter to Ximénez describing what had been going on in Santa Marta and soon received a letter in reply ordering him to take the *mayordomos* of the Virgin from the town. This he could not do immediately because of the resistance put up by the Indians. The *alcalde mayor* of the province was asked to help in this matter; he sent an order to the *alcaldes* of Santa Marta, commanding them to bring Dominica López and the image to Ciudad Real. This, together with Monrroy's argument that the image could be given greater honor in Ciudad Real, finally persuaded the Indians that they should let the image and her sponsors leave the town.¹⁸

The image was placed in a box and carried first to Chamula, accompanied by great crowds of Indians. Indians were in the church in Chamula all night long scouring themselves and making offerings of eggs, chickens, candles, and money to the Virgin.¹⁹ The image was brought to the convent of Santo Domingo in Ciudad Real on the following day, escorted by approximately two thousand Indian men and women. It was placed in the niche usually occupied by the Virgin of the Rosary²⁰ and all day long all kinds of people came from the city in order to view the novelty (Ximénez 1929–1931: 3: 267).

The next night the image was secretly removed from the church and hidden. When the Indians discovered that it had disappeared, they drew up a petition requesting its return, which they presented to Monrroy.²¹ Their request was ignored, and Dominica López, her husband, and the man who had served as *alférez* of the cult were sent to jail.²²

At the trial of Dominica López and Juan Gómez, the archdeacon, Juan de Santander, who was serving as *comisario* (investigator) for the Inquisition, did his best to discover evidence of idolatry. Again and again he asked if the Virgin had been consulted by sick people. All the Indian witnesses emphatically denied that the Virgin had been involved in curing illnesses. The *alcalde mayor* of Chiapas, in his order to the officials of Santa Marta, referred to Dominica López as a *nahuahlistla*.²³ It seems that the Spanish authorities were trying to discredit the cult by associating it with nagualism. In his summary of the evidence against the prisoners, Santander claimed that the Virgin had been involved in curing illnesses,²⁴ even though none of the testimonies and con-

Map 4. Cancuc Revolt (1712–1713).



fessions obtained during the trial supported this interpretation of the movement. In fact, the testimonies imply just the opposite. When asked what kinds of ceremonies had been performed in honor of the Virgin, Dominica López replied that the ceremonies had been performed with the same pomp and rites as were used for the patron saint of the town, Santa Marta.²⁵ It is clear that, from her point of view, the cult was organized in terms of the same principles as the cult in honor of the patron saint, of which the Spanish authorities approved. The ceremonies that were performed and the religious offices that were created for the Virgin cult were the same as those for the patron saint.

Visitations of the Virgin are not in conflict with Catholic tradition. For example, the appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe before a Mexican Indian in 1531 was officially recognized by Catholic authorities as a legitimate miracle, and today the Virgin of Guadalupe is the patron saint of Mexico as well as of innumerable towns and villages in Latin America (see Ahlstrom 1972:51n; Braden 1930: 302–307; Madsen 1957:136). The Virgin cult of Santa Marta may well have been based on a hoax, but that does not mean that it represented an attempt to revive ancient, pagan religious customs. This was clearly not the case. Its appeal for the Indians lay in the fact that the Virgin had appeared to an Indian, rather than a European, and had offered to help Indians with their problems.

Miracles in Chenalho

While the Virgin cult was developing in Santa Marta, another set of miracles, involving two saint images in the church of San Pedro Chenalho, occurred. Two days before the festival of St. Sebastian, the image of St. Sebastian reportedly sweated twice, and in honor of this miracle the Indians built a chapel for the saint. Next, the image of St. Peter, the titular saint of the town, began to emit rays of light on successive Sundays. These events frightened the Indians, who thought that the world was coming to an end as a punishment for their sins. They performed many penances and supplications in an effort to avert the calamity supposedly presaged by the miracles.²⁶ When Monrroy eventually received news of what had taken place in Chenalho, he went to the town, denounced the "miracles" as hoaxes, and burned the new chapel (Ximénez 1929–1931: 3:37).

The miracles of Chenalho differed from the Virgin cults of Zinacantan and Santa Marta in one signifi-

cant respect: they involved two officially recognized saint images in the church, as the Virgin cults did not. In my opinion, these miracles represent a creative attempt to establish a locally inspired religious cult which would be acceptable to Spanish ecclesiastical authorities. In the case of Chenalho, there was no question as to whether the images were authentic. Although Monrroy burned the chapel which had been built in honor of St. Sebastian, he did not confiscate the images as he had done in Zinacantan and Santa Marta. In this sense, the miracles of San Pedro Chenalho were more successful than the Virgin cults.

The Virgin Cult of Cancuc

The Virgin made her next appearance in Chiapas in May 1712²⁷ after the image of the Virgin of Santa Marta had been taken to Ciudad Real and while the trial of Dominica López and Juan Gómez was in progress. She appeared before a young Indian woman known as María de la Candelaria²⁸ in a hamlet on the outskirts of the town of Cancuc, which was in the episcopal district known as La Provincia de los Zendales:

... an Indian girl of this town called María de la Candelaria, thirteen or fourteen years old, married to Sebastián Sánchez, Indian of this town, told an Indian woman called Magdalena who is now deceased that on the outskirts of the town next to her house the Blessed Virgin had spoken to her, saying that she should put a Cross with a candle in that hamlet, and they should cense it, and afterwards they should build a chapel, and this having been divulged to them and believed by them, that Sebastián Sánchez and the father of this María, whose name was Agustín López, and Nicolasa Gómez, his wife, placed the Cross in that hamlet, and there they all went to cense it, ...²⁹

Father Simón García de Lara, the parish priest of Cancuc, learned of this new appearance of the Virgin on June 15, 1712 (Ximénez 1929–1931:3:68):

... and receiving notice of this the priest, Fray Simón de Lara, parish priest of this town, removed the Cross and carried it to his church, and he had that old woman, Magdalena, [and] her father, Agustín López, whipped, and he preached to them that they were inventions of the Devil, that they should not believe in such appearances, and that María de la Candelaria wept and said that they had been whipped for the Virgin and that it was true that she had spoken to her.³⁰

But the Indians of Cancuc did not accept Lara's interpretation of the miracle; as soon as he had departed, they built a chapel on the spot where the cross had been:

. . . the officials of this town proclaimed that some should clear the ground in the hamlet where it would be built and others carry logs, straw, and rope; and having brought all that, they constructed the chapel, and the following day after the prayer the [people of the] town were in that chapel and its vicinity prostrate on the ground when María López [de la Candelaria] entered the chapel accompanied by the other Indian woman called Magdalena Díaz (now dead) with a bundle covered with its blouses and put it behind the mat; and they announced that Our Lady had been placed there, that she had appeared to them; and then the whole town entered the chapel and worshipped [before] the mat counting the Rosary and crossing themselves . . . and having proclaimed the miracle in the towns of the province, their inhabitants came to this [town], some carrying pine needles, others candles, and others alms that they gave to that Indian girl María López . . .³¹

Still hoping to obtain official sanction for the cult, the Indians of Cancuc then sent a delegation composed of nine Indian leaders from the town to Ciudad Real to request the bishop's permission to maintain the chapel and to have Mass performed in it. They met the bishop in Chamula on St. John's Eve (June 23) and presented their petition. The bishop responded to their request by arresting and imprisoning the entire delegation in the house of the parish priest of Chamula and then sending them on to jail in Ciudad Real. However, several members managed to escape and returned to Cancuc to report on the treatment they had received.³²

The two *alcaldes* of Cancuc, who had been part of the delegation, were removed from office by the civil authorities in Ciudad Real, who ordered their replacements to demolish the chapel. But the townspeople resisted, and Lara was forced to flee to Tenango at the beginning of July.³³

It was perhaps at this time that Sebastián Gómez, an Indian from Chenalho, first appeared in Cancuc.³⁴ He brought with him an image of St. Peter and a formula for legitimating the Virgin cult. He told the people of Cancuc that his name was Sebastián Gómez de la Gloria and that he had gone to Heaven, where he had spoken with the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, and the Apostle St. Peter, who had given him the authority to appoint literate Indians to serve as priests in all the towns of the province³⁵ and had advised him that "there was no longer King, tributes, *alcalde mayor*, nor officials of Ciudad Real because they had come to free them from all this; and that there was no longer Bishop nor priest because all this was now ended; and that they should now enjoy their ancient liberty; and

that they should have only *vicarios* [vicars] and parish priests of their own who would administer all the sacraments."³⁶ In other words, Gómez's solution to the problem was to renounce the Spanish priests and replace them with an Indian priesthood.

This was, in effect, a declaration of war against the colonial regime, and in order to be effective, it required the cooperation of all the Indian towns in the province. To this end, summonses were sent out at the beginning of August to the leaders of the Indian towns in the districts of Las Coronas y Chinampas (Tzotzil), Huitiupa (Tzotzil), Los Llanos (Tzeltal and Tzotzil), Zendales (Tzeltal, Tzotzil, and Chol), and Zoques.³⁷ Ximénez (1929-1931:3:271) has summarized the summons as follows:

Jesus, Mary and Joseph.—Honorable *alcaldes* of such and such town.—I, the Virgin, who has descended to this sinful world call you in the name of Our Lady of the Rosary and order you to come to this town of Cancuc and to bring with you all the silver of your churches, and the ornaments and bells, with all the coffers and drums and all the *cofradía* [religious brotherhood] books and funds because there is no longer God, nor King; and thus come at once, because otherwise you will be punished if you do not respond to my summons and God's Ciudad Real of Cancuc.—The Blessed Virgin María de la Cruz.³⁸

According to several versions of this summons, the Emperor Montezuma was being resuscitated and would help the Indians defeat the Spaniards.³⁹

The first towns to join the confederation were Sibaca and Bachajon. They were followed by the rest of the towns in the Provincia de los Zendales, with the exception of Los Moyos, Tenango, Guaquitepeque, and Chilon. Many towns in Las Coronas y Chinampas were also among the first to join.⁴⁰ As far as I have been able to determine, none of the Zoque towns or the towns of Los Llanos were involved in the movement at any time; one Zoque town, Sayula, apparently did rise up during this period, but it never joined forces with the Tzeltal Indians.⁴¹ Several towns in the Guardania of Huitiupa were eventually captured by the rebels and forced to join the movement, as were the recalcitrant Tzeltal towns of Los Moyos, Tenango, Guaquitepeque, and Chilon.⁴²

This movement has often been called the Tzeltal Revolt, probably because so many towns in the Provincia de los Zendales were involved in the rebellion. However, this name for the movement is a misnomer for several reasons. First of all, the name of the district implies, incorrectly, that all towns where Tzeltal was spoken were located within its

boundaries. This was by no means the case. A significant number of Tzeltal towns belonged to the Provincia de los Llanos (see Trens 1957:224–227). Second, not all towns in the Provincia de los Zendas were inhabited by Tzeltal speakers. The Chol language was spoken in three of the towns, namely Palenque, Tila, and Tumbala, and Tzotzil was the language of San Miguel Huistan. These four towns played an active role in the movement. Third, historians have failed to pay sufficient attention to the contribution made by Tzotzil towns to the movement, both before and during the rebellion. Zinacantan and Santa Marta provided the models for the Virgin cult of Cancuc, and Chenalho supplied its organizer. Furthermore, the people of Santa Marta and Chenalho were deeply involved in the rebellion, as were those of other Tzotzil towns such as San Andres Iztacostoc, Santa Maria Magdalena, Santiago Huistan, San Pablo Chalchihuitan, San Miguel Mitontic, and Santa Catalina Pantelho. Of the thirty-two towns that participated in the revolt,⁴³ Tzotzil was the language of fifteen, Tzeltal was the language of fourteen, and Chol was spoken in the remaining three. In other words, approximately equal numbers of Tzotzil and Tzeltal towns participated in the so-called Tzeltal Revolt.

The participating towns sent their *fiscales* to Cancuc to be ordained as priests, or *vicarios generales* [vicars general]. They were chosen for this role not only because, as assistants to the Spanish parish priests of their towns, they were already familiar with church ritual, but also because they were usually literate men and could therefore keep records of the baptisms and marriages they would perform.⁴⁴ During the ordination ceremony, the initiate knelt with a candle in his hand for forty-eight hours while he repeated the Rosary. At the end of that time, Sebastián Gómez de la Gloria brought him before the whole town and sprinkled him with water while they both said a blessing. The first two men to be ordained as *vicarios* were Lucas Pérez from Chilon and Gerónimo Saraos from Bachajon, who were given the responsibility of assigning parishes to the *fiscales* of the towns.⁴⁵ Saraos had the additional function of serving as María de la Candelaria's personal secretary, evidently because he could read and write better than the other *vicarios*.⁴⁶

Each *vicario* was considered to be the "son" of the patron saint of his town. Thus, for example, the *vicario* of Guaquitepeque, Sebastián Gutiérrez, was referred to in a letter as "son of the Señora de Natividad de Guaquitepeque." Sebastián Gómez de

la Gloria was, of course, the "son" of St. Peter, the patron saint of Chenalho.⁴⁷

In addition to the *vicarios*, who served as parish priests, there was also an Indian bishop, Francisco de la Torre y Tovilla, a native of Ocosingo. De la Torre y Tovilla was ordained as bishop in an elaborate ceremony that lasted for several days:

He [de la Torre y Tovilla] said that three days after the arrival of Sebastián Gómez de la Gloria, native of Chenalho, who was said to have been sent by St. Peter to Cancuc, the witness went to that town at the close of the evening and then passed by the church and from there to the chapel from where he went to the house of a friend to sleep; and from there the next day at dawn he returned to the chapel and having arrived there, they decided to make the following ceremonies . . . Domingo Méndez, *vicario* of Cancuc, went out to say Mass; and they placed the witness on his knees about three feet in front of the altar and to one side of three lighted candles and before him was the above-mentioned Sebastián Gómez de la Gloria who at the time of the consecration ceremony in the Mass seized a candle from the altar and put it on his head and lifted it three times and rested it on it [his head] three times and then returned it to the altar; and when the Mass was finished that Sebastián Gómez went out leaving this witness kneeling with the three candles until midday; and at that hour that Sebastián Gómez returned and told the witness to go and break his fast in the house of a friend; and after he had eaten he returned to the above-mentioned chapel where he knelt; and Sebastián Gómez de la Gloria arrived in prayer and snuffed out the three candles which were lighted; and then the witness left the chapel; and that night at midnight Sebastián García summoned him and brought him to the chapel where that Sebastián Gómez baptized him, pouring water on his head and placing his hand on it and lowering it onto his forehead and from there to his nose saying "in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" in his mother tongue [Tzotzil]; and afterward he went out in the procession with the Holy Sepulchre singing the *misericordia* and walking in that procession . . . and then immediately the Mass occurred and after the sermon the witness fasted for three days . . .⁴⁸

The new Indian clerics performed the same religious duties as the ousted Spanish priests. They celebrated Masses, preached sermons, and administered the traditional sacraments. In their sermons they exhorted the populace to believe wholeheartedly in the Virgin and the miracle.⁴⁹ "The sacerdotal robes of the expelled Spanish priests were worn by the natives and the holy chalices and crosses from the church were carried forth in great processions. In short, continuity in symbols and form was heavily stressed, with the church now headed by the Virgin Mary instead of God, and with a heaven and a

priesthood open only to the Indians" (Klein 1966: 258).⁵⁰

The Virgin was attended by between eight and thirteen *mayordomos* at a time.⁵¹ There were approximately forty *mayordomos* in all who took turns, every two months, serving in the chapel.⁵² María de la Candelaria was called *mayordoma mayor*; the rest of the *mayordomos* were men of subordinate rank, all of whom were elders.⁵³ Thus the Indians who were directly responsible for the Virgin were organized along traditional *cofradía* lines (Klein 1966:258n; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:284).

The dimensions of the chapel were approximately twenty-four feet by fifteen feet. It was divided into two rooms by a partition made of reed mats. The front part contained the altar with images of the Virgin of the Rosary, St. Anthony, and other saints. The images of the Virgin were draped in Indian blouses. Between the altar and the front wall of the chapel were ranged two rows of seats, on which the *mayordomos* sat. María de la Candelaria occupied the seat nearest the altar, followed by Gerónimo Saraos and Lucas Pérez, the first two Indian *vicarios* who had been ordained by Sebastián Gómez and who also served as her scribes. They were followed, in turn, by the other *mayordomos*, who were arranged in descending rank order behind them. María de la Candelaria went behind the partition whenever she needed to communicate with the Virgin.⁵⁴

The Indians renamed Cancuc "Ciudad Real," and the Spanish city of that name became "Jerusalem." An Indian Audiencia was established in Huitiupa, renamed "Guatemala" for that purpose, and an Indian was appointed to serve as its president.⁵⁵ The Spanish King was declared dead, and three Indians were made kings to rule over Cancuc, which was also known as "New Spain."⁵⁶ The *alcalde mayor* of Chiapas had died recently and had not yet been replaced; the Indians appointed Sebastián Gómez as their *alcalde mayor*.⁵⁷ The Spaniards became "Jews" in the minds of the Indians because they had persecuted the Virgin, the mother of Jesus.⁵⁸ The Indians also believed that "the road to heaven remained closed to the Spaniards who were Jews" because they would not believe in the Virgin of Cancuc (Klein 1966:258). In this way, the Bible was reinterpreted in terms of the local ethnic situation, with the Indians cast in the role of defenders of Christ and the Virgin and the Spaniards identified with Jews and barred from salvation.

The leaders of many towns were not moved by

this ethnocentric reinterpretation of the Gospels and refused to join the confederation against the Spaniards. Such recalcitrance threatened to undermine the movement, whose best chance of success lay in presenting a united Indian front against the Spaniards. The "soldiers of the Virgin"⁵⁹ marched first against several Tzeltal towns which had refused to obey the summons from Cancuc. They began with Tenango, where Nicolás Pérez, the ranking *fiscal*, had forbidden the removal of church ornaments to Cancuc. The rebel troops captured Pérez and took him to Cancuc, where they executed him. A recalcitrant *fiscal* in Oxchuc met the same fate. Later in their campaign the rebels invaded Los Moyos, carried its officials off to Cancuc, and forced the rest of the inhabitants of the town to join their cause.⁶⁰

As the confederation expanded, the cult leaders in Cancuc became richer and more powerful. Priceless silver church ornaments and money flowed into their chapel in response to their summonses or as booty from the conquered towns. Other sources of income were the marriage and baptismal fees and the alms collected from Indians who came to worship the Virgin.⁶¹ Several Indians, perhaps seeing in the cult phenomenon an opportunity to enrich themselves, started rival cults in other towns. For example, Magdalena Díaz, the old woman who had helped María de la Candelaria establish the Virgin cult in Cancuc, tried to establish a cult of her own in Yajalon at the beginning of August. In order to win supporters, she declared that the Virgin of Yajalon was more authentic than the one in Cancuc. The leaders in Cancuc acted quickly to destroy this threat to the unity of their movement. They sent soldiers to Yajalon who arrested Magdalena Díaz and her husband, Gabriel Sánchez, and brought them to Cancuc, where they were hanged.⁶² An Indian from Tila who claimed to be Jesus Christ was likewise captured and executed in Cancuc (Ximénez 1929–1931:3:287).

In the meantime, the Spanish authorities in Ciudad Real had learned of the summons which the leaders of the cult in Cancuc had sent to all the towns in the province and were beginning to call up a militia to defend the capital. Since the *alcalde mayor*, or provincial governor, had not yet been replaced, the two *alcaides ordinarios* (justices of the peace) in Ciudad Real, Fernando de Monge y Mendoza and Francisco Astudillo, had the responsibility of coordinating these efforts. They ordered Captain Pedro Ordóñez, who was stationed in Chilon, to recruit Spanish and Ladino soldiers from Chilon, Ya-

jalon, Tila, Petalsingo, Tumbala, and Ocosingo and bring them with their arms to Ciudad Real.⁶³ Ordóñez wrote to Monge on August 7 about his efforts to round up weapons and ammunition in the countryside.⁶⁴ By August 12 he had assembled a force of thirty men in Chilon, but before he could lead them to Ciudad Real, that town was attacked by five hundred Indians armed with machetes and clubs in retaliation for the *alcalde*s of Chilon having refused to obey the order to bring the church's ornaments, coffers, and records to Cancuc.⁶⁵ The Indians surrounded and wiped out the Spanish troops, including Ordóñez, but spared the women and children. They then moved on to Ocosingo, where they massacred all the Spanish children and carried the Spanish women off to Cancuc.⁶⁶

When the captured women arrived in Cancuc, they discovered that their lives had been spared because they were destined to become the wives of Indian men. Those who resisted were whipped into submission. Under the colonial caste system Indian men were denied sexual access to Spanish women, while Spanish men were free to take Indian women as concubines. Now in Cancuc the tables were turned, and the Indians became the dominant caste. The captured Spanish women were forced to dress like Indian women, so that they would not be different from them, and they were forbidden to braid their hair. In Cancuc they worked like slaves grinding corn and performing other onerous tasks for their Indian masters.⁶⁷

The August 12 attack on Chilon was the first armed confrontation between Indians and Spaniards. During the first two weeks of the revolt, the rebels encountered no major resistance from the Spaniards. By August 25, an Indian army of four to five thousand men had reached San Miguel Huistan, a Tzotzil town within striking distance (six leagues) of Ciudad Real, and were preparing to attack it.⁶⁸

The organization of the Indian army was based on the Spanish model. At the top were three captains general (*capitán general*): Juan García of Cancuc, Nicolás Vásquez of Bachajon, and Lázaro Ximénez of Huitiupa. Below them were the captains, one from each town. Soldiers of lower rank were called sergeant (*sargento*), corporal (*cabo*), and soldier (*soldado*).⁶⁹ The Indian army included in its ranks some Mulattoes and Mestizos from Ocosingo and other captured towns who had offered to join the rebels in return for having their lives spared.⁷⁰ The men in this army regarded themselves as "soldiers of the Virgin."⁷¹

At about this time the Spaniards in Ciudad Real learned that Pedro Gutiérrez de Mier y Theran, the new *alcalde mayor*, was on his way from Tabasco to take command of the situation. A small force of 140 men led by Monge y Mendoza was sent to Huistan to delay the Indians in their advance on Ciudad Real and thus give the new *alcalde mayor* time to arrive and call up additional troops (Ximénez 1929–1931: 3:288–289).

Shortly after his arrival in Ciudad Real, Gutiérrez rushed to Huistan with an army of 350 men consisting of 200 Whites, Mestizos, Mulattoes, and Negroes recruited from the city and 150 Chiapanec Indians who were allied with the Spaniards (Ximénez 1929–1931: 3:290). Although heavily outnumbered by the Indians, the Spaniards were much better armed. The Indians had among them only about thirty shotguns which they had taken from the Spanish soldiers they had killed in Chilon. For the most part they fought with pikes, slingshots, and obsidian-tipped arrows. The Spaniards, on the other hand, were short of ammunition and water. Nevertheless, the rebels were driven from Huistan on August 26 and retreated to Cancuc, where they entrenched themselves.⁷²

The Indians of Zinacantan took advantage of the Spaniards' preoccupation with driving the rebels from Huistan to stage an uprising of their own at this time. This new development prevented the Spaniards from pursuing the rebels to Cancuc, for the uprising in Zinacantan, only four leagues from Ciudad Real, was as much a threat to that city as the Indian army in Huistan had been.⁷³

It was Father Joseph Monrroy, the Dominican priest who had suppressed the first three saint cults, who now saved the day for the Spaniards in Zinacantan. Monrroy went to Zinacantan and told the rebels there that the "soldiers of the Virgin" had been defeated in Huistan. With this news the Zinacantecos' resistance collapsed, and they surrendered peacefully. Apparently Monrroy's news of the Indians' retreat from Huistan convinced the recent rebels in Zinacantan that the tide had finally begun to turn against the Indians.⁷⁴

However, this proved not to be the case. Even after peace had been restored in Zinacantan, the Spaniards did not follow up their victory in Huistan by marching toward Cancuc. Instead, the rebels continued their harassment of towns which had refused to join their cause, particularly the Tzotzil communities in the Guardania of Huitiupa. They first in

vaded Huitiupa and coerced its inhabitants to join the movement. Then, with these reinforcements, they swooped down upon Simojovel on September 9 and killed its parish priest, Father Juan Campero, and many of the townspeople. The invaders, who were mostly Indians from Cancuc and Huitiupa, were naked except for loincloths and had painted their bodies with red mud. The town was sacked, and all its food, livestock, and church relics were carried off to Cancuc. Most of the survivors fled into the mountains; some of them took refuge in the town of Platanos. And in spite of the fact that Simojovel was virtually deserted after this raid, the "soldiers of the Virgin" returned to raid it again at the end of September.⁷⁵

During the first part of September, Toribio de Cosío, the president of the Audiencia of Guatemala, appointed Nicolás de Segovia Parada y Berdugo as military governor of Chiapas. Segovia set off immediately for Chiapas, arrived in Ciudad Real about September 18, and began to fortify the city in preparation for an Indian attack.⁷⁶

On October 6, Cosío decided that he should take personal command of the Spanish forces to put down the rebellion. He set out from Guatemala on October 10 with an army of 800 men, including 100 Mulattoes, and arrived in Ciudad Real on October 28.⁷⁷ On the same day that Cosío began his march to Chiapas, Segovia occupied Huistan with 400 soldiers, 54 Negro slaves, 150 Chiapanec Indians, and 4 Spanish priests. On October 20, Segovia left Huistan for Oxchuc, while Gutiérrez went off to Chenalho with 400 men.⁷⁸

Gutiérrez fared very badly in Chenalho. The Indians had built a trench across the road outside the town, and they successfully resisted the Spaniards' attack. After this defeat Gutiérrez and his men returned to Ciudad Real.⁷⁹

Segovia, on the other hand, succeeded in entering Oxchuc with his troops on October 22. They pushed their way into the center of the town and entrenched themselves in the atrium of the church. After fierce fighting in which twenty five Negro slaves were active, the Indians gave up and fled into the mountains. The Spaniards burned Oxchuc before returning to Ciudad Real.⁸⁰

Meanwhile Cosío had arrived in Ciudad Real and was anxious to hold a council of war with Segovia. The day after his arrival he sent a letter to Segovia in Oxchuc summoning him to Ciudad Real and suggesting that he leave the command of his troops temporarily in the hands of his corporal. Cosío also

requested that Segovia bring with him two Dominican priests who were also in Oxchuc, Fathers Juan Arias and Joseph de Parga.⁸¹

After their meeting in Ciudad Real, Segovia returned to Oxchuc with Cosío. Gutiérrez stayed behind, at the request of the townspeople, to keep order in the city and take charge of its defense in case it should be attacked while Cosío and Segovia were off trying to subdue Cancuc. On November 16, the Spanish army, led by Cosío, left Oxchuc and set out for Cancuc. On the following day they arrived at the town of San Martin Obispo, which they found had been fortified by the Indians. On November 18, the Spaniards succeeded in routing the enemy, and after burning the town, they continued their march toward Cancuc. They arrived at the heavily fortified outskirts of Cancuc on November 20. The Indians defended their trenches valiantly, and it was only after fierce fighting, with both sides suffering many casualties, that the Spaniards were able to take Cancuc on November 21.⁸²

Evidently the Indians had not expected the Spaniards to penetrate their defenses so rapidly; the Spaniards arrived while they were in the midst of a festival, and a bullfight was in progress.⁸³ When they realized that their fortifications, primitive weapons, and greater numbers would not keep the Spaniards out of their capital, the Indians sought supernatural help. Four Indian women who were reputed to be witches were hastily carried to the river in chairs, completely covered with mats to protect them from the sun, to invoke magical weapons against the enemy. Each woman represented a natural force: earthquake, lightning, flood, and wind. They planned to hurl lightening at Cosío, whip up floods that would inundate the Spaniards, and move mountains that would bury the Spaniards beneath their rubble. Two of the women were natives of Yajalon; the other two came from Tila. The women failed in their attempts to unleash these natural forces against the Spaniards; when the men who had carried them to the riverside realized that the women did not have the magical powers they had claimed, they returned to the town, leaving the women to make their way back on foot.⁸⁴

The Spaniards in Ciudad Real celebrated the victory in Cancuc by organizing a public procession and prayer in honor of a famous image of Our Lady of Charity.⁸⁵ The Virgin of Charity is still remembered by the Ladinos of Ciudad Real (now San Cristobal Las Casas) for her role in that conflict (see Appendix C, Texts C-8 and C-9).

Cosío failed to capture any of the cult leaders in Cancuc. María de la Candelaria, her husband, father, and Sebastián Gómez de la Gloria escaped before Cosío had finished capturing the town. In their haste they left behind all the church ornaments and money collected from the towns which had come under their domination, as well as the most damaging evidence of all, the baptismal and marriage books with entries signed by Indian *vicarios*. The fugitives hid in the mountains for several months and then made their way to Chenalho, where the Indians had built a chapel for them. However, their plans to continue the cult in Chenalho were nipped in the bud by the arrival of Father Joseph Monrroy, who had come to persuade the Indians of that town to surrender (see below). The fugitives had to flee again, after having spent only four days in Chenalho. They went to San Pablo Chalchihuitan, where Sebastián Gómez de la Gloria was eventually captured. María de la Candelaria and her two remaining companions were rumored to have passed through various localities, but they evaded all efforts of the Spaniards to find them and were never caught.⁸⁶

The rebels had pledged themselves to continue to fight in the mountains if their towns were captured, for the Virgin had promised to protect them for five years, and at the end of this time she would lead them to victory against the Spaniards. Cancuc, however, infuriated the other rebel towns by immediately accepting the general armistice proclaimed by Cosío. Tenango, Guaquitepeque, Oxchuc, Huistán, and Tenejapa followed Cancuc's lead soon after. Chilon, Bachajon, Sibaca, Ocosingo, Yajalon, Tumbala, Petalsingo, and Tila continued to resist the Spaniards after the fall of Cancuc.⁸⁷

When the Indians of Chilon received Cosío's order to surrender, they found themselves deeply divided over whether to accept or reject it. While they were debating this matter, the town was invaded by Indian soldiers from Yajalon, Bachajon, Petalsingo, Tila, and Tumbala. The inhabitants of the town fled to the riverside, but many were killed by the invaders, including the woman who had brought the message from Cosío; others were captured and tied up with ropes.⁸⁸

With Cancuc now well under Spanish control, Cosío and his troops marched off to Sitala, Chilon, and Yajalon and subdued those towns by Christmas. In the meantime, the *alcalde mayor* of Tabasco, Juan Francisco de Medina Cachón, had arrived in Chiapas, at the request of the Viceroy of New Spain, to help put down the rebellion. Cachón occupied the

town of Los Moyos at the end of November. On December 16 he occupied Huitiupa. During January 1713 he brought Petalsingo, Tila, and Tumbala under his control. Bachajon, Ocosingo, and Sibaca were subdued by Cosío's field marshal, Pedro de Zavaleta, during January, February, and March 1713.⁸⁹

In the Tzotzil sector, the towns of Chenalho, San Pablo Chalchihuitan, San Miguel Mitontic, San Andres Iztacostoc, Santa Marta, Santa Maria Magdalena, Santa Catalina Pantelho, and Santiago Huistán still remained in a state of rebellion. In January 1713 Father Joseph Monrroy offered to undertake the task of subduing these towns. He chose as the headquarters for his mission the town of Chamula, which had remained loyal to the Spaniards throughout the rebellion and had even donated money, horses, and men to the Spanish cause.⁹⁰

At the beginning of February, Monrroy went to San Andres Iztacostoc in order to celebrate a festival which had been postponed because of the hostilities. The inhabitants of San Andres had fought with the Indians of Cancuc, although Ximénez (1929–1931: 3:318) claims that they had joined the rebels only out of fear and were secretly in sympathy with the Spaniards. Next Monrroy penetrated more deeply into enemy territory. He went alone to Chenalho, San Pablo Chalchihuitan, and neighboring rebel towns and managed to persuade their inhabitants that he came in peace and that they should surrender (Ximénez 1929–1931: 3:320).

On his way to visit San Pablo Chalchihuitan, Santa Catalina Pantelho, and Santa Marta, Monrroy took note of the fact that they were very isolated towns which were naturally protected by the ruggedness of the countryside. He therefore recommended to Cosío that the people of San Pablo Chalchihuitan should be moved to Chenalho, those of Santa Catalina Pantelho to San Miguel Mitontic, and those of Santa Marta to Santiago Huistán, where he would be better able to keep an eye on them and to intervene should they cause any further trouble. After discussing Monrroy's recommendation with the bishop, Cosío decided to implement it.⁹¹

Similar decisions were made to consolidate other rebel towns. The Indians of Tenango were moved to Guaquitepeque and Sitala. San Martin was "reduced" to Oxchuc, from which it had split off only the year before. And Cancuc was obliterated and its inhabitants moved to other towns.⁹²

By March 1713, peace had been restored in the province. New Indian officials had been appointed in all the conquered towns. The old leaders who had

participated in the rebellion and had not escaped the Spaniards were either executed or exiled to Guatemala and other provinces. Cosío and his forces returned to Guatemala at the end of March; Cachón made his way back to Tabasco shortly thereafter.⁹³

A few months later, there were rumors of a new Virgin cult at a place called Coila, which lay between Ocosingo and Comitan. Apparently, after the fall of Cancuc, five Indian captains, Gerónimo de Morales, Diego García, Jacinto Gómez, Gaspar Vásquez, and Lucas Méndez, transferred the cult first to a hamlet called El Plantanar, near Ocosingo, and from there to Coila, where they built a new chapel for an image of the Virgin, reported to be the Virgin of Candelaria, which they said had come from Heaven under circumstances very similar to those described by María de la Candelaria. There the captains tried to regroup their forces to resist the Spaniards, in the same way that the leaders of the cult in Cancuc had mobilized support for their movement—by summoning Indians to Coila to worship the new Virgin. The cult was dominated by Gerónimo de Morales, and Jacinto Gómez served as the Virgin's *mayordomo*.⁹⁴

The cult seems to have flourished until June 1713, when it came to the attention of a Spanish mopping-up expedition, led by Juan de Quintanilla. Just before Quintanilla and his men arrived at Coila, Morales ordered the chapel to be torn down, and he fled with his companions to a new site called Xuchila. But they were pursued by the Spaniards and forced to disperse into the mountains. After the Virgin had been removed from Coila, she supposedly returned to Heaven because the Indians did not have faith in her. From then on, there were no more reports of Indian Virgin cults.⁹⁵

Causes of the Rebellion

Ximénez (1929–1931:3:257) believes that the principal cause of the uprising in Cancuc was the appointment of a new bishop, Alvárez de Toledo, to replace Nuñez de la Vega, who had died in 1706. The new bishop, in contrast to his predecessor, was not satisfied with the income generated by his position; as soon as he took office, he introduced new church levies and increased old ones. Even worse, he insisted on increasing the frequency of his episcopal tours from once to twice in a three-year period. His first tour, shortly after taking office, was very costly for the Indians in the communities visited during the tour, who had to bear most of its expenses. In a pastoral letter dated August 2, 1712, the bishop an-

nounced that he would begin a second tour on August 10, less than two years after the first. Fearing that a tour at this time might excite the already restless Indians, Father Joseph Monrroy tried to dissuade the bishop from following through with his plan, but the bishop refused to listen (Trens 1957: 191). It is probably no coincidence that a council of war was held in Cancuc on the day that Alvárez de Toledo began his second tour (Trens 1957:191). Even though the bishop decided to suspend his tour on August 11, it was too late, for the Indians were already mobilized to attack the Spanish garrison in Chilon on the 12th.⁹⁶

Ximénez (1929–1931:3:257) cites as another probable cause of the rebellion the greed of the *alcalde mayor*, Martín de Vergata (the predecessor of Gutiérrez de Mier y Theran), who forced the Indians to sell all their maize and other agricultural products to him at low prices and to buy them back from him at three times their original sale price. The *alcaides ordinarios* of Ciudad Real were equally avaricious.⁹⁷ The Indians suffered also from the royal maize tributes, which were fixed and could not be adjusted to the size of the harvest, even during years of famine. To make matters worse, maize was assessed at an artificially low price for tribute (Ximénez 1929–1931:3:256). One of the reasons Indians gave for participating in the rebellion was that the Virgin of Cancuc promised to free them of the hated tributes which prevented them from enjoying the fruits of their labor.⁹⁸

Ximénez mentions also, as a possible motive for rebellion, the false arrest and subsequent incarceration of Indians in the jail in Ciudad Real for long periods of time, which he says resulted in making even rich men paupers. One Indian who was abused in this way was Lucas Pérez, *fiscal* of Chilon, who became one of the ordained *vicarios* in Cancuc (1929–1931:3:257–258, 281). According to Ximénez (1929–1931:3:256), before his arrest, Lucas Pérez had been well known among the friars as a "very good and capable Indian." Nevertheless, on the eve of the outbreak of the revolt, the bishop had Lucas Pérez exiled from Chilon.⁹⁹ Another Indian *vicario*, Gerónimo Saraos, had been *fiscal* in Bachajon. Saraos had quarreled with the parish priest of his town, Father Juan Gómez, who had banished him from Bachajon. Saraos was living in exile in Cancuc when the revitalization movement began.¹⁰⁰ In light of the mistreatment suffered by both men at the hands of the Spanish clergy, it is not surprising that they should have been active in a movement

which promised to rid the land of Spanish bishops and priests. It is possible that the other *fiscales* who played important roles in the rebellion had been similarly abused (the leader of the Chamula revolt of 1867–1870 was also a *fiscal* who had been humiliated by Ladino authorities; see Chapter 9).

Some Indians took advantage of the rebellion to get even with Spaniards who had wronged them. For example, Father Juan Gómez, parish priest of both Bachajon and Guaquitepeque, was murdered by an Indian who had been cheated by him. Just before killing him, the Indian removed Gómez's hat and said to the priest: "Remember, Father, that when you were parish priest of Guaquitepeque you overcharged me for a cow I bought from you there, for which you ordered me to pay with this hat, thereby demanding of me more than the just price for that cow."¹⁰¹

All of the probable causes mentioned by Ximénez are fundamentally economic ones, even those he attributes to the clergy. It is, however, difficult to interpret the appearance of the first cult (in Zinacantan) as a reaction against Spanish economic exploitation of Indians because it was the work of a Ladino hermit, not an Indian. On the other hand, the Ladino hermit's cult may have appealed to the Indians because he promised them divine help at a time when they were experiencing economic hardship. It can be argued that if the need had not been there, the hermit would not have attracted Indian disciples, and Indian leaders like Sebastián Gómez would not have followed his example. In this sense, economic exploitation may have served as a "cause" of the Virgin cults.

Nonetheless, in spite of his apparent belief in economic determinism, much of Ximénez's description of the rebellion and of the events which immediately preceded it is concerned with the Catholic hierarchy's suppression of religious cults, not with economic exploitation. Ximénez and the Catholic priests on whose eyewitness testimony he based his account of the movements seem to have regarded all four cults as rebellions against established Church authority, even though only the last cult actually developed into armed conflict. In their eyes, the efforts to suppress the cults were a response to, rather than a cause of, rebellion. In other words, the fact that Ximénez did not cite clerical suppression of the cults in Zinacantan, Santa Marta, and Chenalho as a possible cause of the Cancuc rebellion implies that he interpreted Indian religious revitalization in general, and not just the Cancuc rebellion in particular,

as an expression of revolt against the colonial order.

The view that Indian religious revitalization marks the first stage of a rebellion against the authority of the dominant Hispanic ethnic group is one that persisted in highland Chiapas into the nineteenth century. In 1868, the conservative Ladinos of San Cristobal Las Casas (formerly Ciudad Real) verbally expressed their fear and belief that the Passion cult of Chamula would develop into ethnic conflict, and they begged the state government to suppress it.¹⁰² Their prediction came true, but only after efforts had been made to suppress the cult and arrest its leaders (see Chapter 9).

Ladinos have used religious symbols, such as the Virgin of Guadalupe, as rallying points for some of their own rebellions (see Lafaye 1976). It would be natural for them to conclude, on analogy with their own use of saint cults for such purposes, that native religious movements must also be incipient rebellions.

In recent years there have been a number of similar Indian religious revitalization movements in highland Chiapas. The Ladino authorities have not tried to suppress them, and, in some cases, the bishop has even supported them. The result has been religious change but not ethnic conflict (see Chapter 13 for a description and analysis of these modern movements).

It would appear, then, that had Monroy not tried to suppress the cults in Zinacantan, Santa Marta, and Chenalho between 1708 and 1712, there might have been no general Indian uprising in highland Chiapas in 1712. This interpretation is corroborated by the testimonies of several Indian prisoners. For example, one prisoner claimed that the Indians rebelled because the Spanish authorities had refused to recognize the appearance of the Virgin in Santa Marta as a miracle: ". . . he had heard it said publicly that because of a miracle that the Virgin performed in the town of Santa Marta, and the Bishop and the *alcalde mayor* not having wanted to believe it, she appeared in the town of Cancuc and said to the Indians that she had come to liberate them from the tribute and other taxes and that there was no longer King except the Virgin because the Spaniards did not let them enjoy the silver and other things of their land . . ."¹⁰³ Other prisoners blamed the outbreak of the revolt on the bishop's refusal to let the Indians build a chapel in honor of the Virgin in Cancuc and his arrest of the delegation sent to request his permission to worship the Virgin.¹⁰⁴

I believe that the cults of Zinacantan, Santa Mar-

ta, Chenalho, and Cancuc should be viewed as a series of experiments in the Indians' quest for a saint of their own which would be acceptable to the Spanish religious authorities. The notion of a Virgin who had come to earth for the express purpose of helping Indians was first introduced to the Indians by the Ladino hermit in 1708 and was incorporated into two of the three succeeding Indian cults. At this time also, certain traditions were established which were to be followed in subsequent cults, such as building a chapel in which to house the new saint and making offerings of food and incense.

The cult in honor of the Virgin of Santa Marta was similar to the hermit's cult in Zinacantan, not only in its ceremonial structure, but also in the weakness of its organization. In neither case were the Indians mobilized to prevent the confiscation of the image and the arrest of the cult leaders.

A different and somewhat more successful approach was tried in Chenalho. This time it was two officially recognized saint images in the church which behaved in miraculous ways. Nevertheless, Monrroy was not persuaded of the authenticity of the miracles. He burned the chapel built in honor of St. Sebastian, but he did not confiscate the images as he had done in Zinacantan and Santa Marta. In this sense the experiment was successful, but the organizational structure of the cult was still too weak to unite the Indians in effectively insisting on the legitimacy of their miracles. The necessary administrative organization was finally developed in Cancuc during the summer of 1712.

The strategy of the Cancuc movement was clearly stated in the summons sent to all the towns in the province, which I have quoted above. First of all, the other towns were ordered to strip their churches of valuable ornaments and bring them and the staffs of office of their political officials to Cancuc,¹⁰⁵ thereby symbolically acknowledging Cancuc's role as the religious center of the region and the Virgin cult as the dominant cult. Second, the Indians of the other towns were told that they need no longer respect the Spanish King or the ecclesiastical authorities and that the "royal city" or administrative center of the province was no longer Ciudad Real, but Cancuc. Thus, thwarted in their numerous efforts to find a legitimate place within the Catholic religion for an Indian saint, the leaders of the movement finally decided to reject Spanish religious and political control entirely and form their own state and religious bureaucracy. As Herbert S. Klein (1966:254) so aptly puts it, "From desiring official recognition, it moved

in the period of six months after its founding to open opposition to the very legitimacy of white Spanish Roman Catholicism." In this way, what began as a religious cult within the colonial order developed into a political rebellion against the colonial regime.

In spite of the militant anti-Spanish tone of the movement, the Indians did not reject Spanish institutions and revert to their aboriginal religion and preconquest political organization. Like the Spanish priests whom they had replaced, the Indian *vicarios* celebrated Masses, preached sermons, and administered the traditional sacraments, imitating, to the best of their knowledge, the ritual practices of their Spanish models. Many Indians believed that the sacraments and Masses performed by Indian priests were genuine and accurate.¹⁰⁶ It is clear that what the Indians had rejected was Spanish control of their religious affairs, not the Catholic religion.

Klein (1966:262–263) has argued that the political organization of the movement represented an expansion of the traditional *cofradía* system, with the *fiscales*, renamed *vicarios*, as the leaders, and he downplays the political role exercised by the captains general. However, there is no evidence that the *fiscales* were ever part of the *cofradía* system as such. Rather, they, like the sacristans and choirmasters, were part of the organization that assisted the parish priest in the care of the church, while the *cofradias* were separate organizations run by *mayordomos*. The distinction between the saint cults (*cofradias*) and church organization was maintained in Cancuc. The Virgin was served by *mayordomos*; the *fiscales* functioned as parish priests under a bishop. The political organization of the rebels closely resembled the Spanish system, with the same men functioning as both military and political leaders (captains general, *alcalde mayor*, and kings),¹⁰⁷ in the same way that the president of the Audiencia of Guatemala (a political office) was also captain general (a military position), and the *alcalde mayor* of Chiapas (a political office) was also lieutenant under the captain general. The political organization of the rebel confederacy consisted of four levels: (1) town or village (headed by a captain, two *alcaldes*, and four *regidores*); (2) provincial (headed by an *alcalde mayor* and several captains general, with its capital at Cancuc, renamed Ciudad Real); (3) *audiencia* (headed by a president, with his capital at Huitiupa, renamed Guatemala); and (4) imperial (headed by kings). What was innovative about the political organization of the movement was the replacement of Spanish officials with Indians in roles of the same

names, not the creation of a new political system based on the *cofradía*.

Thus, whatever else it may have been, the Cancuc revolt of 1712 was not an attempt to revive ancient Maya customs. It was, on the contrary, an expression of discontent with the Spanish monopoly of the

Catholic religion. The revolt was preceded by several unsuccessful movements to obtain ecclesiastical recognition of Indian saints. The revolt achieved that goal, for a short time at least, by creating an Indian priesthood and an Indian state, both of which were patterned after Spanish colonial institutions.

The Indian King in Quisteil (1761)

The Quisteil¹ rebellion of 1761 is probably the most controversial Indian uprising in postconquest Yucatecan history. It is very poorly documented,² and the few existing reports of it disagree not only on how it should be interpreted, but also on whether anything deserving of being called an “uprising” or a “rebellion” occurred in Quisteil at all. Yet it has fired the imagination of many Ladino authors and historians, who have regarded it as an attempt to revive the ancient Maya kingdoms destroyed by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century (Ancona 1878–1880:2:439–440; Ecarrea de Bollra 1845; Abreu Gómez 1969).

The man who figures prominently in all the histories, legends, and novels that describe this uprising is an Indian named Jacinto Canek, who is alleged to have crowned himself king with the crown and mantle of the patron saint of Quisteil (Ríos 1936). Canek’s origins are not known with certainty, although historians agree that he was not a native of Quisteil. Eligio Ancona (1878–1880:2:438–439) and Eduardo Enrique Ríos (1936) believe that Canek was born in the *barrio* of San Ramon in Campeche and that at an early age he came under the protection and tutelage of a Franciscan friar who later took him to Merida, where in the monastic headquarters of the order he studied Latin and moral theology. Other historians believe that he was born in the *barrio* of Santiago in Merida and agree that he was educated by Franciscans (Molina Solís 1913:235; Sierra O'Reilly 1954:2:21). Both versions of Canek’s background portray him as an outsider.

Apparently Jacinto Canek did not get along very well with the friars in Merida, for he was eventually expelled from the monastery. He worked for a while at various trades in Merida and had become a baker

at the time of the Quisteil uprising (Ancona 1878–1880:2:438; Sierra O'Reilly 1954:2:21).

Ancona (1878–1880:2:439) believes that there were copies of the first edition of Father Diego de López de Cogolludo’s history of the conquest of the Yucatan peninsula in the library of the Franciscan monastery in Merida and has argued that while in the monastery Canek could not have failed to learn the history of the conquest in great detail. This knowledge would have made him aware of the fact that the Maya had once been independent, which would have given him a motive for starting a rebellion.

Yucatecan historians stress the importance of Canek’s education in looking for a motive for the revolt. However, Canek would not have needed to read Cogolludo’s history in order to know about the conquest. The Books of Chilam Balam, which were undoubtedly in use in Maya communities during the eighteenth century, contained that information. Nevertheless, Canek’s Spanish education is frequently cited as a cause of the revolt. In 1785, for example, a Franciscan priest defended his order’s policy of not teaching the Indians Spanish by pointing out that two of the putative leaders of the Quisteil revolt, Canek and Miguel Kantun (Moreno 1845:88; see below), had known Spanish and had led the rebellion.³

There is also disagreement over the origin of Canek’s name. Canek was the name of the last king of the Itza, who had been conquered only sixty four years before the Quisteil revolt (Chapter 2). Most Ladino historians are of the opinion that Jacinto Canek’s real name was Jacinto Uc and that he assumed the surname Canek only after he had crowned himself king and taken control of the

movement in Quisteil (e.g., Ancona 1878–1880: 2:438). They believe that Canek deliberately gave himself the name of the last Maya king as part of his plan to re-establish an independent Maya kingdom in Yucatan. They claim that he got the idea from Cogolludo's (1842–1845:1:112) discussion of a prophecy made by the Chilam Balam of Mani to the effect that a king of the Itza would return one day and drive the foreigners into the sea. They reason that by adopting the name of the last Itza king, Jacinto Canek cast himself in the role foretold in the prophecy, thereby legitimating his leadership of the movement in Quisteil. This view is supported by the official report of the rebellion in the municipal records of Merida.⁴ However, in a letter to the Viceroy of New Spain dated January 16, 1762, Joseph Crespo y Honorato, who was governor of the province of Yucatan at the time, stated that the man in question was a tribute payer under the name of Jacinto Uc de los Santos Canek, which implies that his use of the name Canek predated the rebellion (Ríos 1936).

Quisteil in 1761 was a small town in the parish of Tixcacaltuyu, situated some six leagues from Sotuta (Map 5) (Ecarrea de Bolla 1845:397; Sierra O'Reilly 1954:2:21). On November 19 the inhabitants of Quisteil were holding a *conjunta*, or meeting, to make plans for celebrating the coming festival in honor of the patron saint of the town, Our Lady of the Conception. The *conjunta* itself was also usually treated as an occasion for a small festival, and, as in the case of other celebrations of this sort, many of the participants were intoxicated. The meeting was almost over when Jacinto Canek, who happened to be present, made the suggestion that the people use the funds which they had planned to spend for the coming festival to prolong the present celebration for another three days. This proposition was enthusiastically received by the drunk townspeople (Ríos 1936; Sierra O'Reilly 1954:2:29). In the general pandemonium that followed, a Ladino merchant by the name of Diego Pacheco was murdered, according to one report, because he refused to sell a case of liquor (Documentos históricos 1844:349).

On the following morning, Miguel Ruela, a circuit priest from Tixcacaltuyu who had arrived in Quisteil on November 15, went to the church to say the Mass. According to Sierra O'Reilly (1954:2:22) and Ancona (1878–1880:2:441–442), the service was rudely interrupted by a crowd of noisy, drunken Indians who wanted to kill the priest, but hesitated to

do so in front of the altar. In any case, the priest did not finish the Mass but, with the aid of a trustworthy sacristan, left rapidly on horseback. As he was mounting his horse, many Indians came up to him and begged him to stay with them to perform services for them, saying that he should not be afraid, for even though they would not obey their own town officials, they would respect him as a priest. This declaration apparently did not allay the priest's fears, for he fled to Sotuta, where he spread an exaggerated account of what had occurred in Quisteil (Ancona 1878–1880:2:402; Casarrubias 1951:89; del Puerto 1846:100; Molina Solís 1913:236; Sierra O'Reilly 1954:2:29).

When the military commander of Sotuta, Captain Tiburcio Cosgaya, learned of what had supposedly taken place in Quisteil, he immediately sent word of an "uprising" to the governor in Merida and set off for Quisteil with a small force of fourteen horsemen and one hundred foot soldiers (Ríos 1936; Molina Solis [1913:236] says that there were only ten mounted men). Cosgaya and the horsemen went ahead of the foot soldiers and arrived in Quisteil late in the evening of November 20. According to Ríos (1936) and Sierra O'Reilly (1954:2:22), the Indians had been tipped off by sentries and were the first to attack. Cosgaya and a number of his men were killed, and one man, Juan Herrera, was taken prisoner.

Governor Crespo explained in his letter to the viceroy that the news of Cosgaya's death and reports that groups of Indians from neighboring communities were joining the rebels in Quisteil convinced him that the uprising was part of a general conspiracy against the Spaniards. With this explanation he justified his decision to mobilize all the forces in the peninsula under the command of Captain General Cristóbal Calderón de la Helguera in Tihosuco. He further ordered the Indians to give up all their firearms, which he instructed should be used to arm the militia (Ríos 1936). Indians who protested that their arms were needed for hunting game were made prisoners and sent in tight custody to Merida (Sierra O'Reilly 1954:2:24).

Crespo's letter was written to justify his handling of the uprising, and it was obviously to his advantage to dramatize the danger presented by the events in Quisteil. A very different appraisal of those events is given by Pablo Moreno (1845), who claims that Cosgaya's men were drunk when they arrived in Quisteil and that they entered the town slashing at

Map 5. Yucatan in 1761.



the multitude, who defended themselves with what they had at hand: stones, sticks, and machetes. One Spanish soldier was so intoxicated, says Moreno (1845:93), that he fell off his horse at the entrance to the town and lay there sleeping through the battle.

According to Moreno (1845:93), when news of this disgrace had been transmitted to Governor Crespo,

and having entered into an agreement with his lieutenant general, and other advisors, they devised the scheme of describing this drunken brawl as a general uprising of all the Indians of this peninsula, in order that Crespo might claim the glory of a pacifier, and obtain, by these means, the continuation of his government; and that his councillors might assure themselves by the wisdom of their advice, in such an arduous undertaking, of promotions and a brilliant future. They communicated their plan to Calderón and other aspirants, and contrived the declarations taken in the towns, concerning the coronation of Can-ek, and the growth of the rebellion.

In other words, Moreno construes Crespo's decision to call up the militia both as an attempt to cover up a drunken brawl in which Cosgaya and his men had disgraced themselves and as a means for Crespo to achieve renown as the man who suppressed an Indian "rebellion." Ancona and Molina Solís have also used this "drunken riot" thesis to discredit the governor's policy as an overreaction for purely political motives (Ríos 1936).

Moreno's comment on Canek's coronation is of some interest for our problem because it suggests that an event that has served as a theme for Ladino histories, novels, and legends may be nothing more than a fabrication of Crespo and his advisers. This point is discussed further in Chapter 12.

The official report of the Quisteil rebellion which can be found in the municipal records of Merida, a report of which Crespo was one of the cosigners, makes the following assertions about Canek's coronation:

they precipitated the rash intrepidity of proclaiming [a] king with the name of Canek, to worship him and offer incense to the devil in the idols which thereupon they arranged in the Holy Church of that town favoring them with the sacred vessels and priestly vestments for their sacrifices; the most execrable [deed] that their king committed [was] the sacrilegious abomination of giving the name of wife to the Image of Most Holy Mary, Our Lady, stripping her of her crown and mantle to serve as adornment for his pretended grandeur, persuaded that having faithful to him the rest of the towns of this Province he would achieve the evil pur-

pose of renouncing entirely the obedience to the King our Lord (whom God guards) to live as brutes in their ancient idolatry.⁵

Crespo gives a more detailed account of the coronation itself in his letter to the viceroy: "and that he crowned himself in that town of Cistéel with the Crown and Mantle of Our Lady of the Conception, Patroness of that town, calling himself in his language: Re Jacinto Uc Canek, Chichán Motzuma, which in translation means King Jacinto Uc Canek, Little Montezuma: that various towns of the confederation gave him obedience with the end of returning to their ancient liberty" (Ríos 1936).

Eduardo Enrique Ríos and Martín del Puerto have tried to describe the events which culminated in Canek's coronation. According to Ríos, after the Indians of Quisteil had agreed to prolong their drunken celebration for another three days, Jacinto Canek preached to the assembled crowd in the cemetery of the church. Del Puerto (1845:100–101), a Jesuit priest who assisted in the chapel of the jail in Merida in which the captured Indians were kept, gives an account of what Canek supposedly told the Indians on this occasion, which he claims is based on the last confession of one of the executed leaders. Canek is reported to have spoken of his travels throughout Yucatan and of the many injustices he had seen which convinced him of the need for the Maya to free themselves from Spanish subjugation. He criticized the priests for their neglect of Indian villages and for their unpriestly behavior which set a bad example for the Indians to whom they were supposed to be giving a Christian education. He spoke of the tyranny of the Spaniards, of the never-ending forced labor which was sanctioned by frightening punishments, of the heavy tax and tribute burden which had been imposed on the Indians, and of floggings and jailings.

He next told the Indians that the only remedy for their misery was to throw off their yoke of servitude, and he urged them to participate in an armed rebellion to that end. He said that he had chosen Quisteil as the headquarters of the rebellion because it had been founded after the conquest and had therefore never been conquered. He suggested that they begin by taking Yaxcaba by surprise and follow that with the capture of the capital city, Merida. He told them that he had trained fifteen expert witches, who would use their art to enter the fortress, kill the guards, and open the gates to the Indian soldiers. At this point, in order to convince his audience of his

ability to fulfill his promises, he apparently performed a trick with invisible writing. Once the fortress had fallen, he said, the Spanish governor would be summoned to become a vassal of the newly elected king. If the governor refused to obey the summons, then the Indians would have to resort to arms. He threatened to enlist the help of thousands of Englishmen in resolving the issue, claiming that they would swarm to the Indian army like the thousands of ants he supposedly released at this moment to illustrate his point. And he ended by saying that even though "many of you will die in battle, you should not fear eternal death, for by anointing you with this oil that I have, and saying at the moment of unction: God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, . . . you will find the doors of paradise open" (del Puerto 1845:102).

In this speech Jacinto Canek mentioned, probably for the first time, the concept of an Indian king, and his coronation is supposed to have taken place soon after. According to an Indian captured while carrying messages to various towns in the peninsula, and brought to Merida on November 23, the coronation occurred right after the murder of Diego Pacheco on November 19 (Moreno 1845:82–83). However, the same Indian also reported that the man who was crowned king was an Indian *cacique* from Tabi named Francisco Uex, who had been renamed Montezuma. The coronation was carried out with the crown of the patron saint of the town. The prisoner also announced that the Indian king had appointed his son Santiago to lead an Indian army of 1,200 to 1,500 men who were gathered in Quisteil (Moreno 1845:82–83). In fact, it was not until December 3, after Jacinto Canek had been captured, that the Spaniards learned or decided that the Indian king was not Francisco Uex as they had first thought, but Jacinto Canek (Moreno 1845:87). By that time Francisco Uex was already dead (Moreno 1845:87) and could not be interrogated and forced to confess his crime.

Whatever doubts the Spanish authorities may have had about the veracity of this testimony were dispelled two days later, when Juan Herrera, the Spanish soldier who had been captured by the Indians at the time of Cosgaya's defeat, arrived in Merida after escaping from Quisteil. Herrera claimed to have been brought before the Indian king and forced to kiss the "royal and not very clean" soles of his feet, after which he was sentenced to death and given two hundred lashes (Moreno 1845:83; Ríos 1936).

The Indian captive also supposedly confessed that the revolt had been planned for more than a year and that all the towns of the peninsula had been invited to join. Only Yaxcaba, Tihosuco, Oxkutzcab, Ticul, Calkini, and Hecelchakan had declined the invitation. The captive mentioned Ichmul, Tinum, Ekpedz, Tiholop, Tixualahtun, and Tixmeuac as towns that had allied themselves with Quisteil (Moreno 1845:83; Map 5).

In the meantime, various forces of Spaniards had set out for Quisteil to quell the rebellion. Colonel Manuel Rejón led 400 men from Valladolid; Colonel Estanislao del Puerto led 500 men from Yaxcaba and Sotuta; and 600 men from the Sierra (*puuc hills*)⁶ were led by a number of officers, among them Captain Pedro de Lazarraga. The garrison in Valladolid was reinforced by 160 men from Tizimin, and 150 men began marching north from Campeche (Moreno 1845:82). Sisentun, Izamal, and Merida also sent troops (Ríos 1936). And Captain A. Guerra of Tihosuco responded to news of Cosgaya's death by leading a group of armed men to Quisteil (Documentos históricos 1844:349).

The Indians were likewise preparing for war. Word reached Merida on November 23 that the following message to the town of Maní had been intercepted: "Well, you may come without any fear, for we await you with open arms; have no misgivings, because we are many and the arms of the Spaniards are now powerless against us: bring your armed people, for with us is he who can do everything" (Documentos históricos 1844:350). The governor reacted to this news by issuing an edict forbidding all merchants to sell powder or lead to any Indians on pain of death and threatening severe punishment to anyone who tried to leave the city (Documentos históricos 1844:350).

Uncertain news from the front and the reports of Herrera and the Indian prisoner caused panic among the Spanish residents of Merida. Governor Crespo mentioned in his letter to the viceroy a widely circulated rumor of a conspiracy to attack the city on Christmas Eve (Ríos 1936; see also Documentos históricos 1844:350). The Spanish residents were also terrified by the possibility that the Indians who lived inside the city would rise up against them. It was rumored that the *semaneros*, who were Indians forced to work without pay for Spaniards in Merida, intended to set the city on fire from within and chop the Spaniards into pieces with axes and machetes as they ran from their homes. Perhaps the source of this rumor was the report of a *semanero* caught put-

ting ground glass in his master's bread (Documentos históricos 1844:350; Molina Solís 1913:239). In this atmosphere of fear and suspicion it is not surprising that a *fiscal* from Uman was arrested for having declared that the prophet Chilam Balam had foretold the destruction of the Spaniards (Documentos históricos 1844:353). Five gallows were set up as a warning to the Indians, one in the main plaza and the others in smaller plazas on the outskirts of the city (Documentos históricos 1844:350).

On the morning of November 26, 500 Spanish soldiers marched toward Quisteil, and by early afternoon they were poised for attack. The central plaza of the town had been fortified with two rows of trenches, in which about 1,500 Indians were stationed prepared for battle. The Indians resisted the Spaniards tenaciously, and the two sides engaged in hand-to-hand fighting. The Spaniards were stronger and eventually won the battle. The Spaniards lost 30 or 40 men and reported more than 600 Indian dead (Moreno 1845:84; Ríos 1936).

Most of the remaining Indians fled into the surrounding forest. They were pursued by the Spaniards, and many of them were captured. The Spaniards also set the houses of the town afire, and Francisco Uex, the "new Montezuma," and some other leaders who had barricaded themselves in one of the houses instead of fleeing into the woods, all perished in the flames (Moreno 1845:84). Crespo claimed that there were "eight rebel leaders called Priests or Prophets, who with their Idols" died in that fire (Ríos 1936).

Canek and about 300 Indians, who had succeeded in eluding the Spaniards in the woods, supposedly regrouped at the *hacienda* of Huntulchac (Ríos 1936). After fighting a number of skirmishes with the Spaniards on the following morning, the Indians left Huntulchac; the *hacienda* was burned on November 28. Calderón and his men finally captured Jacinto Canek and 125 of his followers in the area of Sibac. Canek supposedly had the mantle of the saint with him. It was then that the Spaniards learned for the first time that Francisco Uex, whom they had burned to death in Quisteil, was not the Indian king, but had probably held the lower rank of governor (Moreno 1845:85-87).

News of the victory in Quisteil did not reduce the level of anxiety in Merida because reports from other parts of the peninsula implied that the rebellion was widespread. The inhabitants of Tiholop, for example, led by their scribe, actively resisted the Spaniards after the fall of Quisteil, and an Indian agi-

tator was going from town to town in the Tizimin area exhorting them to support the revolt. Even without Canek, the fighting continued. Another alleged ringleader of the conspiracy, Miguel Kantun, a *cacique* of Lerma, near Campeche, was not arrested until December 9 (Moreno 1845:84-88).

On the night of November 30, a rumor swept Merida to the effect that the Indians of the *barrio* of Santiago had risen in revolt and were marching on the center of the city. Panic-stricken Spaniards rushed to the central plaza, and Merida reached the height of its anxiety and fear. Order was not restored until the governor took it upon himself to make a personal inspection of the *barrio* and, finding it peaceful and almost deserted, tried to calm the populace. But the tension continued unabated throughout the night (Documentos históricos 1844:351).

Jacinto Canek arrived in Merida on December 7 riding a horse and wearing a mock crown of deerskin placed on his head by his Spanish escorts. His trial began the next day, and even under torture he apparently refused to give any information about the extent and the organization of the revolt (Documentos históricos 1844:353). Canek was executed on December 14. Before he was finally put out of his misery with a blow to his head, he had to suffer the agony of having his limbs broken and his flesh torn off with pincers while he was still alive. Then his body was burned and the ashes thrown to the wind. Eight other leaders were hanged; then their bodies were taken down from the gallows and quartered, and the remains were publicly displayed in their towns. The rest of the prisoners got off lightly with public floggings and the loss of their right ears (Documentos históricos 1844:354; Ríos 1936).

In order to forestall future revolts, the Spaniards passed laws denying Indians the right to own guns of any kind on pain of death. Only the so-called *indios hidalgos*, or "tame Indians," were exempted from those laws. The rest of the Indians were given fifteen days to hand in their firearms. The Indians were also forbidden to play their traditional musical instruments or participate in public celebrations of any kind (Documentos históricos 1844:354). And an order was issued on July 13, 1762, to level Quisteil and to obliterate all traces of it from the face of the earth (Molina Solís 1913:243; Peón 1901:27). The town was never rebuilt, and its exact location is today unknown.

According to the municipal records of the city of Merida, on December 17, 1761, the Spanish authorities declared that henceforth November 26

would be set aside as a day of thanksgiving in commemoration of the victory in Quisteil, and that every year on this day there would be a procession, Mass, vespers, and sermon in the cathedral in Mérida in honor of the occasion.⁷

On January 16, 1762, about a month after Canek's execution, Governor Crespo tried to justify his handling of the Quisteil rebellion in a letter to the Viceroy of New Spain, much of which has either been quoted verbatim (in translation) or paraphrased in the foregoing pages. However the viceroy, instead of congratulating the governor for having nipped the rebellion in the bud and for treating its leaders in a way that would inspire fear and submission among the Indians, intimated that he disapproved of Crespo's handling of the matter and expressed the opinion that fear was not an adequate means of preserving peace among people like the Maya. The viceroy argued that the barbaric demonstration the governor had ordered made with the bodies of the executed leaders of the rebellion would not have the anticipated effect of terrifying the Indians into peaceful obedience toward the Spaniards, but would cause them to abandon their towns and fields and move into the woods, where they would plot even more rebellions (Ríos 1936).

Pablo Moreno (1845) interpreted the Quisteil rebellion in the same way. He believed that there would have been no rebellion if Cosgaya's men had not gone berserk and tried to massacre the Indians of Quisteil. It was only natural, he argued, that the Indians should try to defend themselves against this unprovoked assault and subsequent Spanish efforts

at reprisal. What had begun as a drunken riot had mushroomed into a general Indian resistance movement only because the Spanish authorities had mishandled the affair in its early stages. It was therefore pointless to look for evidence of a conspiracy, because there had been none, and efforts to find a motive for the rebellion were sheer speculation.⁸

The plausibility of the official version, however, rested on the existence of a conspiracy and a motive for the rebellion. Evidence of a conspiracy was obtained from the forced confession of an Indian prisoner. The reassertion of Indian sovereignty in the peninsula supplied the motive.⁹

Although the Indians had legends and books that described their ancient kingdoms, some of which have survived into the present (see Chapters 2 and 12), Ladino historians such as Ancona have still found it necessary to argue that it must have been Cogolludo's history of Yucatan that inspired Jacinto Canek to try to re-establish an Indian kingdom in the peninsula. And it made the official version of the rebellion even more plausible in Ladino eyes if the Indian leader had not received the name Canek as one of his surnames at birth, but had adopted it on the occasion of his coronation in order to legitimate his status as an Indian king. One can only wonder what kind of history or legend would have been the result if Spanish troops had not succeeded in capturing Jacinto Canek. Would Canek's educational background have been attributed to Francisco Uex? For to the Spaniards the Quisteil rebellion made sense only as an attempt to recapture what had been lost in the first "rebellion" in the sixteenth century.

The Indian King in Totonicapan (1820)

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Spain experienced internal political troubles that had a profound effect on the Spanish colonies in the New World. In 1808, Napoleon threw French troops into Spain and forced King Ferdinand VII to abdicate his throne, which was given to Napoleon's brother Joseph. The Spaniards responded with a national revolution, as a result of which Joseph Bonaparte was forced to withdraw from Madrid, though he remained in control of most of the country until 1814. During the years that the deposed King Ferdinand was in exile, the small part of Spain that remained independent was ruled by a Regency (Carr 1966:79–80).

The Regency was dominated by liberals who had been heavily influenced by the French Revolution. With no monarch to impede them, they convened a parliament in Cadiz to draw up a constitution for Spain (Lovett 1965:415–490). One of the first acts of this constitutional convention was to abolish the Royal Tributes by decree on May 26, 1810 (Puga y Acal 1913:79–82). The constitution itself was promulgated almost two years later on March 19, 1812. Two articles of the Constitution of 1812 are of particular interest for this study: Article 18 stated that anyone born in a Spanish possession who was not of African ancestry was a Spanish citizen and entitled to all the benefits of citizenship; Article 339 stipulated that all Spanish citizens were to be taxed according to their means, without any exception (*Constitución política de la monarquía española* 1812:7, 93).

These articles had far-reaching implications for the welfare of Indians in the Spanish colonies. By making Indians subject to the same taxes (according to wealth) as other Spanish citizens, Article 339 implicitly outlawed the colonial tribute system. Arti-

cle 18 was the charter for a social revolution; if it could be implemented, the colonial order in which the Spaniard was master and the Indian servant would be destroyed!

The parliament of Cadiz decreed that copies of the constitution should be sent to all the towns in the empire. The political officials of each town were instructed to call the inhabitants together for a public reading of the constitution. A day of celebration was declared, during which church bells would be rung, artillery fired, and a thanksgiving Mass performed. The constitution was to be read in a loud voice, just before the Offertory (Decree of March 18, 1812, in de Alba 1912:2–4).

In addition to these public readings of the constitution in Spanish, the articles which applied to the Indians were translated into some native languages so that they could be informed of their rights directly. Only one translation, written in the Tzotzil language, is known. Robert M. Laughlin (1975:2) refers to it as the *Proclama del duque infantado presidente*. The Tzotzil proclamation is dated August 7, 1812, in Cadiz and is written in couplets. It begins by ordering the Indians, in the name of the King of Spain, to beware of the lies of Napoleon:

You already know
That five years ago,
There came from another,
A different land
An evil man,
A treacherous killer.
Napoleon is his name.
He has acted like a deceiver,
He has pretended to be our neighbor,
Our helper.
And he invaded our country
Like a horned serpent.

He has worn the deceiver's mask
On his face.
(*Proclama . . . 1812:1*)

The proclamation recounts the plight of Spain, the chicanery of the French, the assistance of the English, and events leading up to the Constitution of 1812. It explains that the country was temporarily being ruled by a Regency in Cadiz:

There in the city
Of Cadiz,
Have assembled the notables,
The Lords,
The sages,
And they have prepared
A good,
Powerful assembly.
.....
Now are assembled the nobles
Sent to Cadiz
By all the cities
There are in our land.
They are just creating legislation,
Good deeds for us.
.....
Thus has spoken now
Our great assembly,
Seated in Cadiz
With the authority
Of Our Lord,
The King in exile,
Publicized by another,
Second assembly,
Regency
Is its name.
It should do no more
Than prepare at once
As much good legislation
And ameliorative words
[As] might issue from the meeting
Of our sages.
(*Proclama . . . 1812:7, 15, 16*)

Next the proclamation mentions the two articles in the constitution that most concerned the Indians—first, the abolition of social and political distinctions between Indians and Spaniards:

Now there is no one
Who has thought to say
That we are not Spaniards;
As for us,
Indians
Were our names,
Those of us who were born
On the other side of the ocean;

Now Christian Spaniards
Are our names,
Beloved sons,
Because only one is our earth,
Only one is our faith,
Only one is our nation,
Only one is our law,
Only one is Our Lord King,
Only one is our assembly seated at its head,
In the middle of our nation:
Spain
Is its name.
(*Proclama . . . 1812:16–17*)

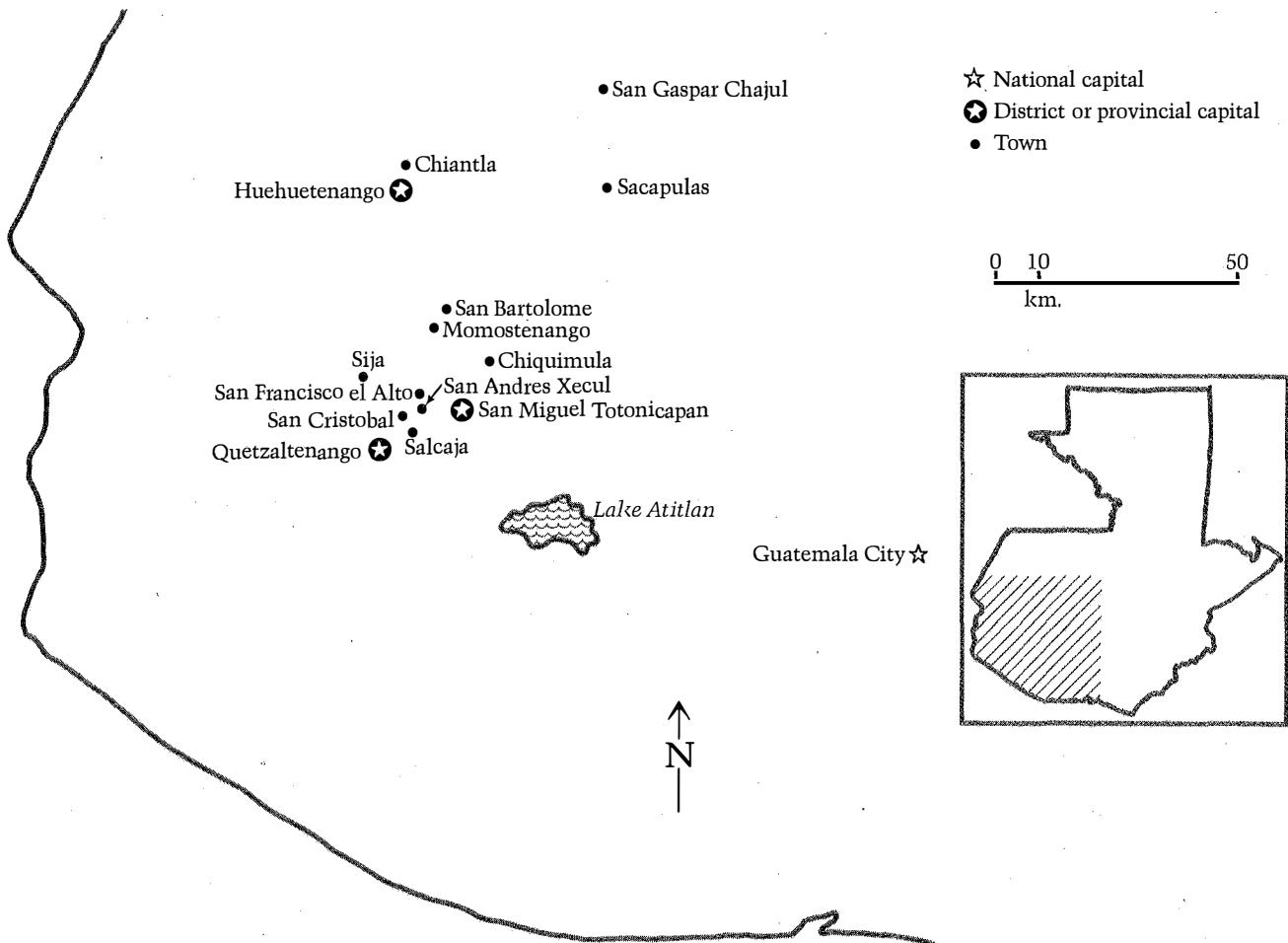
and, second, the equalization of taxes for Spanish citizens:

Beloved sons!
Open the pupils of your eyes!
Now your tribute is gone.
Only equally we will pay
A small contribution.
Donation is its name.
Because our work has not yet ended;
And because in this way we obey the fourth
commandment
Of Our Lord,
God.
(*Proclama . . . 1812:18–19*)

After justifying the continuation of the ecclesiastical donations, the proclamation discusses the promulgation of the constitution:

Therefore at the beginning of the year [1812]
You witnessed a great celebration
For proclaiming the document,
The laws of our nation.
Constitution
Is its name.
.....
All the kindness,
Goodness
You discover,
You enjoy in the world;
All is written
In the book of the Constitution
And in the hearts of the Christian Spaniards
assembled,
Who have been sitting here near us.
(*Proclama . . . 1812:22, 34*)

The Constitution of 1812 was publicized in the Guatemalan capital on September 24, 1812 (Salazar 1928:160) and in Mexico City six days later (de Alba 1912:34). Other cities in Mexico, such as Tlaxcala, Toluca, and Guadalajara, followed suit during the months that followed (de Alba 1912:70ff).

Map 6. Highland Guatemala in 1820.

Ferdinand VII was restored to the Spanish throne in the spring of 1814, after having agreed to uphold the Constitution of 1812. However, on May 4, 1814, he repealed the constitution, thereby reinstating the Royal Tributes and depriving the Indians of their newly granted rights (Carr 1966:118; Lovett 1965: 829–831).

For the next six years Ferdinand VII displayed all the despotic excesses that the Constitution of 1812 was intended to curb (Lovett 1965:833). Finally, in January 1820, a major in the Spanish army named Rafael de Riego led a revolution against the King which had as its object the reinstatement of the Constitution of 1812. The army supported the movement, and on March 9, 1820, the King gave in and accepted the constitution (Carr 1966:128–129; Puga y Acal 1913:179–183).

News of the reinstatement of the Constitution of 1812 reached the New World at the beginning of May 1820. Campeche was apparently the first city in Mexico to publicize it for the second time; the celebration took place on May 8 (Puga y Acal 1913:169). The news reached Guatemala City on May 5, but the president of the Audiencia of Guatemala was unwilling to believe it and did not publicize the constitution until July 9 (Salazar 1928: 204).

The promulgation, repeal, and reinstatement of the Constitution of 1812 caused great unrest among the Indians of Mexico and Guatemala. The situation was exacerbated in highland Guatemala by the unwillingness of Spanish officials in the colony to acknowledge the reinstatement of the constitution in 1820. Their obstinacy was the principal cause of the so-called Totonicapan Revolt.¹

The name Totonicapan refers to three political units: (1) the town of San Miguel Totonicapan, which served as the capital of (2) the District (*partido*) of Totonicapan, comprising seven Indian towns (*pueblos*), including the capital, and two Ladino villages (*aldeas*); (3) the Province (*alcaldía mayor*) of Totonicapan, composed of the Districts of Totonicapan and Huehuetenango. The *alcalde mayor* (governor) of the Province of Totonicapan in 1820 was a Spaniard named Manuel José de Lara, who resided in San Miguel. The other six Indian towns in the District of Totonicapan were San Cristobal, San Andres Xecul, San Francisco el Alto, Santiago Momostenango, Santa Maria Chiquimula, and San Gaspar Chajul (see Map 6). The Ladino villages were San Luis Salcaja and San Carlos Sija. The total population of the district was approximately thirty thousand inhabitants, of which the majority were Quiche Indians (Contreras 1951:35).

Some of the Indians of the District of Totonicapan had apparently been informed of the Constitution of 1812, perhaps by means of a Quiche version of the Tzotzil proclamation discussed above.² For them, the most immediate and dramatic implementation of the constitution had been the elimination of the Royal Tributes (it is unlikely that the social and political revolution implied in the other provisions of the constitution could have been achieved in the short space of the two years the constitution was in effect). But suddenly, after Ferdinand VII repealed the constitution, the local Indian authorities began trying to collect the tributes again.

However, not all of the Indian community leaders were eager to reinstate the collection of the Royal Tributes. Atanasio Tzul, one of the leaders of the Totonicapan Revolt of 1820, had been an *alcalde* in Totonicapan in 1816, at which time he is known to have been reluctant to collect the Royal Tributes, limiting himself to the collection of community and ecclesiastical taxes.³ And even as late as 1820, several towns in the province were still in arrears for the tributes imposed during the years after 1814.⁴

The rebellion against paying the Royal Tributes began in January 1820 in Chiquimula, when the town officials took the unprecedented step of returning the tributes they had collected to the townspeople, saying that it was the *alcalde mayor's* duty to collect them.⁵ One month later, on February 20, the Indians of Chiquimula rioted against their parish priest, José Patricio Villatoro, because he had tried to collect the tributes from them without authorization.⁶ Villatoro was called to Guatemala City

for questioning; another priest was sent to replace him; and Manuel José de Lara was ordered to interrupt his provincial tour (*visita*), which he had initiated on February 16, and proceed at once to Chiquimula in order to calm the disturbance.⁷

Lara was apparently unsuccessful in convincing the Indians of Chiquimula that they should pay the tributes; less than a month later, on the fourth Friday in Lent (March 17), a crowd of two hundred Indians from Chiquimula appeared in the district capital in search of a document from Guatemala City that they claimed had abolished the tributes.⁸ It is probably a coincidence that their request was made only eight days after Ferdinand VII had reinstated the Constitution of 1812; news of the King's change of heart could not have reached Guatemala so quickly, and official word did not reach Central America until the beginning of May (Salazar 1928:204).

Lara was not present in San Miguel that day; he was still on his provincial tour, having left his lieutenant, Ambrosio Collado, in charge. Collado was also absent when the Indians of Chiquimula, together with more than two hundred Indians of San Miguel, descended on his house shortly after noon. He had gone to Salcaja that day but was expected to return shortly.⁹

Frustrated in their mission, the Indians began to make insulting remarks about Collado and threatened to burn down his house. Collado returned about two o'clock to meet a hostile crowd of Indians in front of his house, demanding the document concerning the tributes that they insisted had come from Guatemala City. Collado replied that the only communication he had received from the capital concerned the contribution for supporting the parish priest in Chiquimula, and he asked the scribe of San Miguel to read it to them. This did not satisfy the Indians. Lucas Aguilar became angry and shouted that the scribe was stupid and did not know how to read and began to hit him. Other Indians joined in, attacking the rest of the Indian officials of San Miguel as well. They seized the second *alcalde's* staff of office and imprisoned him and the other officials for an hour in a room in Collado's house. After the officials were freed, they ran off to their homes to hide so that they would not be killed.¹⁰

The crowd of hostile Indians eventually left Collado's house and congregated at the house of Lucas Aguilar, where they held a meeting until evening. In the meantime, Collado was warned that the Indians planned to return to his house at night and assassi-

nate him because they did not want Ladinos to live in their town. Collado decided to flee with his family to the town of San Cristobal, about two leagues away.¹¹

The next confrontation over the payment of tributes occurred about ten days later in Santo Domingo Sacapulas in the District of Huehuetenango. Lara visited the town on March 28 and attempted to collect the tributes, which were overdue. The Indians of Sacapulas requested permission to send a delegation to Guatemala City to find out whether the tributes did, in fact, have to be paid; they mentioned that some towns were claiming that the tributes had been abolished and that Chiquimula had gotten away with not paying them. Lara agreed to suspend the collection and let them send a delegation to Guatemala City, but one Indian apparently misunderstood his reply and began to use abusive language against him. When Lara seized him and tried to punish him, the man's family and other Indians came to his aid, and more people came to see what was happening. Lara, afraid that he would be harmed, pulled a knife out of his boot in order to defend himself. This action enraged the Indians further, and Lara had to flee for his life to Huehuetenango. Four hundred soldiers were called in from Chiantla and Huehuetenango to quell the riot, and eight Indians were arrested. Because of Lara's poor judgment, what began as a simple misunderstanding developed into a full fledged riot.¹²

On the afternoon of April 2, there was another commotion in the plaza of San Miguel Totonicapan, led by Lucas Aguilar, Dionicio Sapon, and Antonio Batz. The cause of the excitement was the reading of a paper, dated April 1812, in which the officials of the *cofradía* of the Blessed Sacrament thanked Ferdinand VII for abolishing the Royal Tributes.¹³ This seems to have been the first time that many Indians had heard of the Constitution of 1812. There is some evidence that the Indians who had been officials of the town government in 1812 had not informed the community of the constitution and the abolition of the tributes, but had continued collecting the tributes and pocketed the money.¹⁴ The officials of Chiquimula in 1820 alleged that the tributes collected in 1817 and 1818 had not been turned over to the Spanish authorities.¹⁵ Small wonder that the Indians of that town were unwilling to let their own officials collect the tribute! The decision to publicize the Constitution of 1812 suddenly in 1820 may have been a move to deflect the wrath of the community from its local officials, who had enriched

themselves at its expense, to the Spanish authorities, who were accused of refusing to accept the fact that the tributes had been abolished.

During the rest of April the Indians of Chiquimula sent emissaries to other towns in the highlands, urging them not to pay their tributes or to return them if they had already been collected.¹⁶ They intercepted one delegation of Indian officials on their way to deliver the tributes and convinced them that the tributes had been abolished and that they should return to their town.¹⁷

In the middle of April a delegation of four Indians from San Miguel Totonicapan was sent to Guatemala City to find out from the colonial officials the truth about the status of the Royal Tributes. They were informed that the tributes had not been abolished and that they were required to pay them. The Indians of Totonicapan were not satisfied with this reply and sent another delegation, which included Atanasio Tzul, the former *alcalde* of San Miguel who had refused to collect tributes in 1816, to the capital with a letter to the president of the Audiencia, Carlos de Urrutia y Montoya. The letter was intercepted by Urrutia's secretary, José Ramón Zelaya, who reiterated that the tributes were still in effect. A third delegation elicited the same response, but the Indians remained unconvinced.¹⁸

In the meantime, the Spanish authorities began to take steps to deal with the unrest in the District of Totonicapan. Prudencio de Cozar, the man who had preceded Lara as *alcalde mayor* of the Province of Totonicapan, was called out of retirement and commissioned to "pacify" the towns of Chiquimula and San Miguel. Cozar decided that the best course of action would be to use peaceful measures to try to persuade the Indians to pay their tributes.¹⁹ In March or April he summoned Lucas Aguilar, Atanasio Tzul, and Juan Monroy to Quealtenango in order to reason with them about the payment of tributes. They refused to come, saying that if Cozar wanted to talk with them, he would have to come to San Miguel. In spite of this rebuff, Cozar continued to take a cautious approach to the problem.²⁰

By the end of the first week of May, news of the reinstatement of the Constitution of 1812 had reached Guatemala (Salazar 1928:204). Although Urrutia y Montoya refused to publicize the constitution until the beginning of July, the news must have filtered into the countryside before then and was probably largely responsible for the Indians' persistence in trying to verify it.

Finally, on July 5 or 6, a courier from Guatemala

City arrived in San Miguel Totonicapan bearing the "papers of the Constitution." He was met on the outskirts of town by Lucas Aguilar, Atanasio Tzul, and several other Indians, who greeted him with fireworks and escorted him joyfully to the plaza, where he was served chocolate and paid fifty pesos for his services.²¹ Lara did not want the Indians to publicize the constitution,²² but they ignored him. Invitations were sent out to officials in other towns of the district to come to San Miguel on July 9 to listen to a reading of the "new Constitution":²³ "The officials of the town of San Francisco el Alto and the nobles of this town should come to this [town] of [San Miguel] Totonicapan on the ninth day of this [month] to hear the new Constitution which our King and Lord has granted to us; that it will be publicized here with much affection and love, and without further debate. They should invite those of Momostenango to attend with the nobles and officials here."²⁴

July 9 was also the day that the constitution was officially recognized in Guatemala City (Salazar 1928:204). The Indians of San Miguel Totonicapan carefully observed the constitutional convention's instructions for publicizing the document: the church bells were rung, a celebratory Mass was performed, and there were fireworks and bullfights in honor of the occasion. The constitution was read aloud in four chapels and in the town hall. A procession was led by Atanasio Tzul, mounted on horseback and dressed as a Spaniard in a military dress coat, velveteen trousers, tricorn hat, boots, and medallion, with a small sword in his belt and a cane in his hand.²⁵ He had borrowed the dress coat from a Spaniard named Valentín Alvarado on the pretext that he needed it as a costume for a Dance of the Conquest!²⁶

During the next few days, several Indian officials who had refused to support the movement against the collection of tributes were dispossessed of their staffs of office and replaced by other Indians more sympathetic to the cause, and threats were made on the life of the *alcalde mayor*, who was forced to flee to Quealtenango on July 11.²⁷ Vindicated in their efforts to prove that they did not have to pay the tributes, the Indians were no longer willing to recognize the authority of the officials who had refused to implement laws approved by the King of Spain.

There were rumors that on the evening of the following day, July 12, Atanasio Tzul crowned himself king with the crown of St. Joseph, borrowed from the church, and placed the crown of St. Cecilia on

the head of his wife, Felipa Soc. From then on, Tzul was supposedly referred to as King and Lucas Aguilar as President. During the coronation ceremony, which supposedly took place in Tzul's house, Tzul is said to have sat on a throne surmounted by the canopy of the Blessed Sacrament, which had been borrowed from the *cofradía* of which he was a member. A picture of King Ferdinand VII hung over a similar canopied dais in the town hall, where Tzul sat when dealing with political matters. The walls of the town hall were adorned with curtains.²⁸ Whenever Tzul appeared in public, he was dressed as a Spaniard, and he was honored by music in the streets when he moved between the town hall and his house. At night, Indians from Chiquimula, Momostenango, San Andres Xecul, San Cristobal, and San Francisco el Alto, armed with clubs, guarded the houses of Tzul and Aguilar.²⁹

On July 15, Lucas Aguilar summoned the incumbent and past officials of San Francisco el Alto to San Miguel to question them about the tributes they had collected. Aguilar upbraided them for having delivered the tributes to the provincial governor, pointing out that they had been abolished twelve years before. He ordered them to return the tributes immediately and threatened to remove from office any official who did not obey him. One official from San Francisco el Alto was beaten up by a group of Indians on his way home from this meeting; they threatened to kill him if he did not give up the tributes, so he distributed 150 pesos among them.³⁰ In San Andres Xecul, the Indians attacked their officials and forced them to return the tributes they had collected.³¹

The money which paid for the delegations sent to Guatemala City to investigate the legality of the tributes had been borrowed from the *cofradía* of the Blessed Sacrament, of which Tzul and Aguilar were members, and had to be repaid. Careful records were kept of these expenses:

Totonicapan July 8, 1820.

On this date we made our memorandum and report of what we spent on the dispute of the tributes and communities and they were forty-three pesos and a small amount without the intervention of any aid at all, all this was the money of the *cofradía* of the Blessed Sacrament making already one year that this was with the addition of eighty-six pesos. Not counting the days lost, we swear that we are those who witnessed, and in the year that I, Lucas Aguilar, was *alcalde* of the Blessed Sacrament, and Juan Monroy *alcalde* of the Trinity together with the rest of the brothers [*cofrades*] who swear.

Furthermore, we the memorialists of the Blessed Sacrament replaced sixteen *pesos* in order to help with the exemptions from the tributes and communities this has been with witnesses who were those nobles for if some time there might be someone who testified, we place this here for having released the new Constitution and we do not sign because we do not know how . . .³²

During July Aguilar began to tax the Indians in the District of Totonicapan in order to recover the money spent in "releasing the Constitution."³³

For some reason, the Spanish officials continued to believe that the Indians had to pay the Royal Tributes, in spite of the fact that Article 339 of the Constitution prohibited taxation based on anything but wealth.³⁴ The unsubstantiated rumor of Tzul's coronation was regarded as further "proof" that the Indians had rebelled against the King of Spain, and Cozar, finally persuaded that his peaceful measures were not having the desired effect, decided to use force to restore the colonial order.

On August 3, Cozar invaded San Miguel Totonicapan, leaving a rearguard of forty or fifty soldiers at the crossroads of San Miguel, San Cristobal, and San Francisco el Alto to protect him in case of retreat. In the town, the soldiers met one lone armed Indian, whom they promptly killed. Even though they met no armed resistance in San Miguel, they nevertheless proceeded to whip the Indians, sack their homes, and force them to flee into the mountains.³⁵

In the meantime, the Spanish soldiers at the crossroads were attacked by some four hundred Indians from San Francisco and San Cristobal, armed with machetes, stones, clubs, and a few firearms. All the Spaniards were wounded in the battle, and, greatly outnumbered, they fled from the Indians until reinforcements arrived from San Miguel to help them. Many Indians were arrested that day, including Lucas Aguilar and Atanasio Tzul.³⁶

The following year all of Guatemala rose up in open revolt against Spain (Salazar 1928:255–260). It then became impractical "to blame anyone for sedition against the Spanish government" (Contreras 1951:52). At least some of the participants in the Totonicapan "rebellion," including Aguilar and Tzul, were freed as the result of an amnesty signed in 1822 (Contreras 1951:52).

J. Daniel Contreras (1951:6) believes that the Totonicapan Revolt was not a caste war in which the Indians were pitted against Ladinos, but rather an expression of the general feeling of rebellion against the colonial regime that existed in all Span-

ish possessions in the New World at that time, a feeling which was shared by Creoles as well as Indians, and which culminated in political emancipation from Spain. The timing of the Totonicapan uprising in 1820, only one year before the general uprising against Spain, supports this interpretation. In Contreras's view, the Guatemalan war of independence against Spain was not exclusively a "revolution of Creoles." Rather, he argues,

Creoles were the majority of the directors, but in order to realize their goals they needed a popular expression of prolonged discontent without which no revolution could succeed. And in this expression we will necessarily find the artisan and the small tradesman, the artist and the farmer, in short the dark and mixed classes and, naturally, the Indian conglomerates, those who even though separate from the principal groups of Creoles and Mestizos, are not for that reason of less importance for the complete study of our history, above all if it comes to light as the rebellion of the Quiches of Totonicapan in 1820 shows, that they also had desired a change in the political life of the colony . . . (1951:7)

In other words, Contreras views the Totonicapan Revolt of 1820, which occurred the year before the Guatemalan war of independence against Spain began, as part of the larger revolt of the colonies against the mother country: ". . . having been an expressed declaration of Independence by an Indian conglomerate at the same time that our best Creole gentlemen fought for that cause" (1951:7).

Nevertheless, the immediate cause of the Totonicapan Revolt, as Contreras (1951:5) freely admits, was the repeal and subsequent reinstatement of the Royal Tributes, legislation that affected only the Indians. Furthermore, the Indians identified as their enemy, not the King of Spain and his ministers, but local officials, in Totonicapan and Guatemala City, some of whom were Indians, who they believed had failed to carry out the laws of the King of Spain in order to enrich themselves. Contreras is probably correct in saying that the Totonicapan uprising was not a caste war in the usual sense (at least not in its early stages), but there is no evidence that the Indians of Totonicapan were campaigning for independence from Spain in 1820. Furthermore, the Indians in that district continued to express their dissatisfaction with local Guatemalan rule even after independence: in 1824 they were ". . . rioting against the Ladinos and sending ambassadors to Chiapas to negotiate with the Mexican commission for the annexation of their lands to the Aztec republic" (Contreras 1951:51–52).

Contreras's argument would be plausible if there were unequivocal evidence that Tzul had been crowned king, for an Indian king, by definition, would challenge the sovereignty of the King of Spain. However, none of the Indians who testified about the coronation actually saw it; their reports were based entirely on hearsay.³⁷ Tzul and those of his associates who might have been present at the coronation emphatically denied that it had ever taken place.³⁸ Other Indians claimed that his title was not King but Governor, the title held by Buenaventura Pacheco before Tzul took it away from him.³⁹ Nevertheless, Contreras interprets Tzul's role in the dispute as that of an Indian king.

Contreras's interpretation is based on his personal assessment of Indian mentality and cultural memory. He mentions a letter that an Indian of Momostenango named Antonio Zicax sent to Tzul on July 28, 1820, in which Tzul "is given the treatment of Captain General and Governor." According to Contreras (1951:45), these titles "are equivalent in the Indian mentality to the Sovereign." Contreras (1951:31, 48) also maintains that the conspirators of Totonicapan were trying to recreate the ancient Quiche Kingdom of their ancestors, even though "it does not say anywhere, in any part of the proceed-

ings of the trial which followed the rebellion, that he [Tzul] believed or was considered a descendant of the ancient Quiche kings" (1951:37).⁴⁰

The fact that Tzul dressed as a Spaniard is not evidence that he had become king. Article 18 of the constitution gave Indians the same rights of citizenship as Spaniards, which meant that caste distinctions in dress no longer had to be observed. Tzul was well within his rights, as defined by the constitution, when he put on Spanish clothes and rode a horse.

Contreras's Indian-king interpretation glosses over the fact that the Indians had a legitimate grievance against their local officials and the colonial authorities and wrongly implies that they were rebelling against the King of Spain.⁴¹ The Indians bore no grudge against the King; they spoke well of him in all their verbal testimonies and written communications. They did not remove the picture of Ferdinand VII from the town hall in San Miguel after Tzul's putative coronation.⁴² The real villains in this dispute were the Guatemalan authorities, who refused to accord the Indians the rights ratified by the King of Spain, and the local Indian officials who collected the tributes illegally in order to enrich themselves.

PART IV. POSTCOLONIAL "CASTE WARS"



The Caste War of Yucatan (1847–1901)

The Caste War of Yucatan is without question the most successful Indian revolt in New World history. For more than fifty years during the nineteenth century, the Maya Indians who inhabited the eastern part of the Yucatan peninsula successfully resisted all attempts to pacify them. At one time they almost succeeded in gaining control of the entire peninsula (Cline 1941:3).

Like some of the other rebellions I have described in this book, the Caste War of Yucatan had a strong religious focus; however, because this movement was not quickly suppressed like the others, it eventually developed into a new religion with its own church, priesthood, and cult. It is therefore the most fully developed of all Maya revitalization movements.

Of equal importance is the fact that some of the leaders of this movement were literate, and those who were not communicated in writing by means of scribes. Together they produced several hundred letters in which they recorded their reasons for participating in the rebellion and what was going on behind their lines. These letters supplement the letters, military reports, and eyewitness descriptions of Ladinos. Most of the Indian letters were written in Maya, using the Latin based alphabet developed by Spanish priests during the sixteenth century. In addition to the letters, the Indians produced a written chronicle of the religious cult which describes, in order, events between 1850 and 1957. Thus there is historical documentation of this movement from both the Indian and the Ladino points of view.

Yucatecan historians such as Eligio Ancona (1878–1880), Serapio Baqueiro (1871–1879), and Juan Francisco Molina Solís (1921) have emphasized the military aspects of this movement. Their principal sources are the letters, eyewitness testimonies,

and military reports of Ladinos. More recently, Nelson Reed (1964), an American historian, has tried to give a more even-handed interpretation of the Caste War by quoting from Indian documents. However, Reed was dependent on sources available in Spanish translation. Some of the most crucial documents for understanding the religious aspects of the movement either exist only in Maya or have been translated badly into Spanish.

I have not attempted to write a complete history of the Caste War of Yucatan. The historians mentioned above have published detailed military histories of the rebellion, and Moisés González Navarro (1970) and Arnold Strickon (1965) have discussed its economic implications. I have focused on the revitalization aspects of the movement and the new religious, social, and political institutions produced by it. My treatment of politics and military history is brief and summary; I have discussed in detail only those political issues, events, and military campaigns which are essential for understanding the rebellion as a revitalization movement. (See Table 1 for a chronological outline of the major events of the Caste War.) I have brought to bear on this problem all the documents I have been able to find in Spanish, Maya, and English.¹ I have made my own translations of all Maya documents cited in this chapter.

The Economic Background of the Caste War

During the last forty years of the Colonial period, cattle-raising was the principal export industry of the Yucatan peninsula, and Cuba was the most important market for Yucatecan beef and cattle products. The cattle *haciendas* were concentrated in the northwestern part of the peninsula around Merida. Since cattle-raising was a labor extensive industry,

Table 1. Chronological Outline of Events Related to the Caste War of Yucatan

1813	Constitution of 1812 introduced in Yucatan.	1850	Vela tries to negotiate with Barrera. Ladinos capture Kampokobche. Founding of Chan Santa Cruz. Proclamation of Juan de la Cruz.	1867	John Carmichael visits Chan Santa Cruz. War between Chan Santa Cruz and Icaiche. Indians from X Lochha migrate to British Honduras.
1814	Repeal of Constitution of 1812.	1851	Maya attack Kampokobche. Death of Manuel Nauat. Juan de la Cruz's letters to Governor Barbachano. Chichanha treaty arranged by Modesto Méndez and Juan de la Cruz Hoil.	1868	Bonifacio Novelo no longer Tatich at Chan Santa Cruz. X Lochha Indians desert and move to British Honduras.
1820	Reinstatement of Constitution of 1812.	1852	Cruzob attack Chichanha and carry leaders off to Chan Santa Cruz. Díaz de la Vega occupies Chan Santa Cruz. Young, Toledo and Company sign mahogany cutting contract with Yucatecan government.	1869	Cruzob collect rents from British mahogany cutters. Icaiche soldiers desert and move to British Honduras.
1821	Mexico (including Yucatan) wins independence from Spain.	1853	Death of José María Barrera. Second Chichanha treaty signed in Belize.	1871	Interpreter of Tulum Cross named María Uicab.
1825	Law passed facilitating acquisition of land in sugar zone.	1856	Chichanha Indians led by Luciano Tzuc raid British mahogany works.	1872	Icaiche Indians led by Marcos Canul raid British mahogany works.
1835	Santa Anna becomes a Centralist.	1857	Chichanha Indians led by Luciano Tzuc raid British mahogany works. Cruzob overrun Tekax and massacre most of its inhabitants.	1873	Rafael Chan succeeds Marcos Canul as headman of Icaiche.
1839	Imán's revolt against Centralism in Tizimin.	1858	Indians recapture Bacalar and massacre Ladino prisoners. Construction of church in Chan Santa Cruz.	1874	Cruzob collect rent from British living on Mexican side of Hondo River.
1840	Imán recruits Indians into his army and takes Valladolid.	1859	Cruzob raid Valladolid. Indians of X Kantunilkín sign treaty with Yucatecan government.	1875	Rafael Chan deposed by José Luis Moo as headman of Icaiche, but regains position with help of Eugenio Arana, headman of X Kanha.
1846	Obventions abolished and replaced with religious "contribution."	1860	Ladino raid on Chan Santa Cruz. Cruzob attack Chichanha.	1884	Arana travels to British Honduras.
1847	Yucatan secedes from Mexico.	1861	Chichanha Indians move to Icaiche. Plumridge and Twiggs's visit to Chan Santa Cruz.	1885	Juan Bautista Chuc and Aniceto Dul sign treaty with Teodosio Canto in Belize.
1848	Mexicans invade Yucatan and are defeated.	1862	Indians of Yokdzonot sign treaty with Yucatecan government.	1887	Canto insults Dul, and Cresencio Poot refuses to ratify treaty.
1849	Yucatan reunified with Mexico.	1863	Cruzob raid Tunkas.	1888	Dul seizes power in Chan Santa Cruz.
	Barret leads revolt against Barbachano and recruits Indians into his army.	1864	Icaiche Indians led by Marcos Canul raid British mahogany works.	1889	Chuc murdered by Dul and succeeded by Anastasio Caamal.
	Yucatan secedes from Mexico again.	1865	Zapata and Santos results in deaths of Venancio, Atanasio, and Braulio Puc.	1893	William Miller visits Chan Santa Cruz.
	Trujeque and Pacheco capture Tekax and Peto.	1866	Juan Bautista Chuc replaces Atanasio Puc as Secretary to the Cross.	1897	Cross continues to speak at Tulum.
	Massacre in Valladolid.		Empress Carlota visits Yucatan.	1901	Spencer Mariscal treaty settles boundary dispute between Mexico and British Honduras.
	Execution of Manuel Antonio Ay.		Icaiche Indians led by Marcos Canul raid British mahogany works.	1902	Hondo River blocked by barge <i>Chetumal</i> .
	Trujeque's troops attack Tepich and Cecilio Chi's ranch.		Talking Cross at Tulum.	1915	General Ignacio Bravo occupies Chan Santa Cruz.
	Execution of Indian prisoners in Tihosuco.			1917	Federal Territory of Quintana Roo established.
	Cecilio Chi attacks Ladinos of Tepich.			1929	Federal troops abandon Chan Santa Cruz.
	Cetina tries to restore Barbachano's government.				Beginning of chicle boom.
	Indians capture Tixcacalcupul, Tihosuco, and Ichmul.				Height of chicle boom.
	Indians capture Peto.				Federal soldiers return to Quintana Roo.
	Cecilio Chi lays siege to Valladolid.				Some Cruzob migrate to Pachakan in British Honduras.
	Jacinto Pat and Cecilio Chi enter peace negotiations.				Other Cruzob move to Chanca and X Cacal.
	Truce broken.				Deaths of Generals Juan Bautista Vega and Francisco May.
	Evacuation of Valladolid.				Quintana Roo becomes a state.
	Governor Méndez resigns in favor of Barbachano.				
	Treaty of Tzucab signed by Jacinto Pat, but immediately rejected by Cecilio Chi.				
	Evacuation of Ticul.				
	Indians capture Izamal and Bacalar.				
	Indian drive halted.				
	Ladinos retake Yaxcabá, Valladolid, Tekax, Tihosuco.				
	Yucatan reunified with Mexico.				
	Murder of Jacinto Pat and Cecilio Chi.				

the Maya laborers who worked on the cattle *haciendas* had sufficient time off during the year to raise their own food (Strickon 1965:44, 48).

In 1821, when Yucatan became independent along with the rest of Mexico, Yucatecan cattle-raisers lost the right to sell their products to Cuba, which remained a Spanish colony. At the same time, it became impossible to import sugar and rum from Cuba. Investment capital was therefore diverted from cattle into sugar production in the peninsula (Cline 1948:90–91; Strickon 1965:49).

Sugar cane did not grow well in the cattle-raising areas, where the soil was thin and there was little rainfall. The best land for sugar cultivation lay to the east and south, where the Maya were not tied as laborers and debtors to the *haciendas*. Before independence, these lands were controlled by the Crown and were closed to plantation agriculture. This situation changed in 1825 when, in an effort to populate the southern and eastern parts of the peninsula, a law was passed facilitating the acquisition of land in the sugar zone (Cline 1943a:13, 1948:95). The

introduction of sugar plantations into the eastern and southern parts of the peninsula had a profound effect on the lives of the Maya who lived there and paved the way for the Caste War (Strickon 1965: 49).

The semi-sedentary slash and burn agriculture upon which the Maya depended for their subsistence was not compatible with the closely integrated and controlled work patterns required by commercial sugar production. Milpa agriculture came under the attack of Yucatecan economists and publicists as an inefficient and primitive means of production. They attacked as well those Indians who sought escape from the estates by retreating further into the bush as the "sugar frontier" advanced (Regil [and Peón] 1852: 296, 299–300; Menéndez 1923: 165–166). In an effort to control the exodus of actual or potential Maya estate laborers the Yucatecan government enacted laws which sought to bring the Maya under effective control of the government and (incidentally) of the estates. (Strickon 1965: 50)

The Caste War began in the eastern part of the peninsula, in that region where the Maya had enjoyed the greatest freedom from Spanish domination.

Those Indians who, for whatever reason, refused to attach themselves to the sugar plantations (or were lucky enough to avoid being rounded up) found themselves being pushed further into the bush with each passing year. As the plantations took over the best lands of the rich frontier region the Maya's position was becoming more and more desperate. (Strickon 1965: 51)

It was these Indians, not the *hacienda* Maya in the northwestern part of the peninsula, who rebelled in 1847, and who kept the cause alive for more than fifty years.

The Political Background of the Caste War

The most important political issue in Mexico during the nineteenth century was whether the government of the nation, and therefore of the constituent states, should be guided by Centralist (conservative) or Federalist (liberal) principles. Federalism, with its philosophy of protecting states' rights, was more compatible with Yucatan's traditional regional outlook than Centralism. On several occasions, Yucatan seceded from the Mexican nation rather than put up with the policies of a Centralist government (Cline 1943a: 22, 1948: 96).

In 1835, President Antonio López de Santa Anna, who had been elected to office as a Federalist, changed sides and became a Centralist (Ancona 1878–1880: 3: 355). Under his regime, states be-

came administrative departments, state governors were appointed rather than elected, and only the very rich were eligible for the remaining elective offices (Reed 1964: 27). These policies were distasteful to the Yucatecans, whose local interests suffered immediately from the national government's efforts to unify the country (Ancona 1878–1880: 3: 359–362; Reed 1964: 27). In May 1839, a captain in the state militia named Santiago Imán led a revolt against Centralism in the town of Tizimin (Ancona 1878–1880: 3: 364–365; Baqueiro 1871–1879: 1: 16–17). His first efforts were unsuccessful, and in desperation he decided to try to attract Indians to his cause by promising them that if his revolution succeeded, he would reduce the obventions or dues which the Indians were required to pay to the Church (Ancona 1878–1880: 3: 368).² These dues amounted to 2½ *reales* annually for each married couple (12½ for the husband and 9 for the wife). The Indians responded to Imán's appeal with great enthusiasm (Ancona 1878–1880: 4: 11). According to Reed (1964: 27), "With a mob of thousands he took Valladolid and, encouraged by this success, the whole state rose to his assistance and drove the Mexican troops from their last stronghold of Campeche in June 1840." According to Ancona (1878–1880: 3: 371), when Imán entered Valladolid on February 12, 1840, he issued a proclamation which contained an article abolishing the obvention and replacing it with a religious "contribution" of one *real* per month to be paid by Indian men only. After the revolution had succeeded, the new legislature passed a decree to this effect, specifying that Indian men between the ages of fourteen and sixty were required to make this monthly "contribution" to their parish priests (Ancona 1878–1880: 3: 384–385; Aznar Pérez 1849–1851: 1: 316–317).³

Yucatan remained independent for several years while the Mexican government tried to achieve through diplomacy what it had failed to maintain by force (Ancona 1878–1880: 3: 396–410). When several diplomatic missions failed to reincorporate Yucatan into the nation peacefully, Santa Anna sent federal troops to invade the peninsula (Ancona 1878–1880: 3: 412). In 1842, a Mexican fleet landed on the island of Carmen off the coast of Campeche (Ancona 1878–1880: 3: 413). The Yucatecans raised an armed force of six thousand men, many of them Indians, "who were promised land and, for the second time, a reduction in their church tax" (Reed 1964: 30; see also Ancona 1878–1880: 4: 12). The

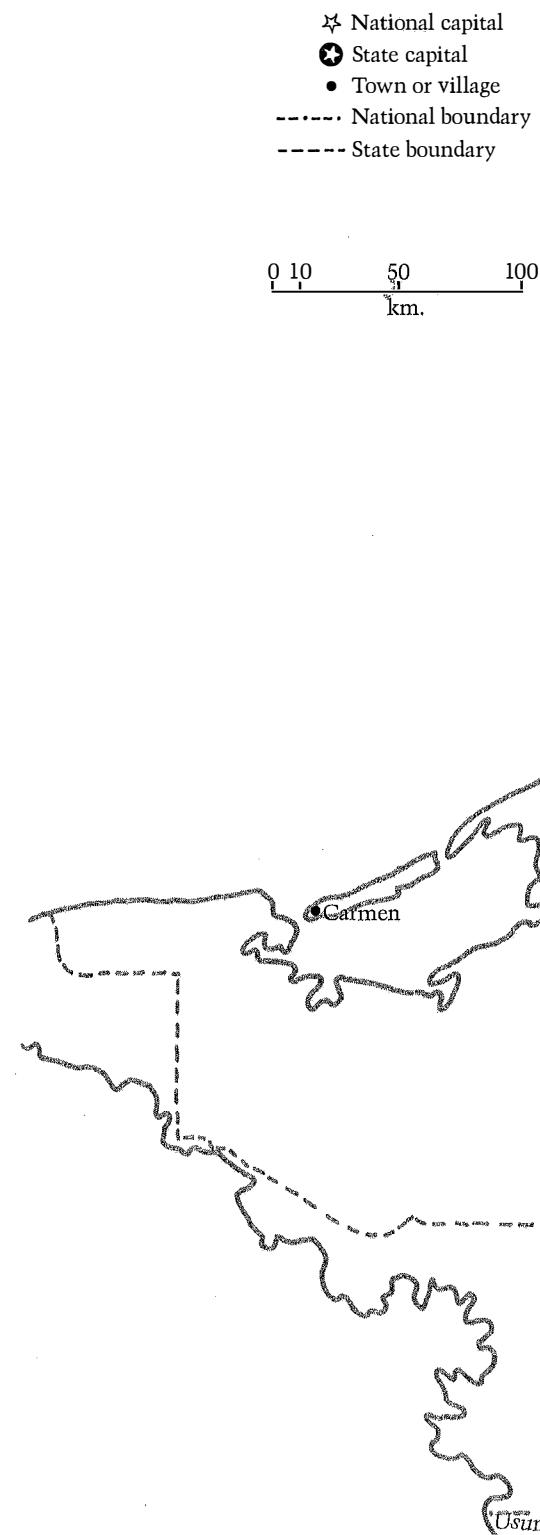
Yucatecans defeated the Mexican invaders. Although Yucatan was subsequently reincorporated into Mexico in 1843, the treaty was made on Yucatecan terms (Ancona 1878–1880:3:439–442).

Santa Anna failed to live up to the terms in the Treaty of 1843, and Yucatan again seceded from the nation in 1845. The man elected as provisional governor at this time was Miguel Barbachano, who was later to play a major role in the unsuccessful efforts to negotiate an end to the Caste War. The next year (1846), Mexico and the United States went to war over Texas; Barbachano decided on his own that Yucatecans should forget their quarrels with Mexico and unite against the foreign enemy. This decision did not please many of his compatriots, who staged a popular revolt against unification, led by Domingo Barret (Ancona 1878–1880:3:444–463). Barret was a Campechano, and his revolt was in part an attack on Mérida's political domination of peninsular affairs. Like the revolutionaries who had preceded him, Barret recruited Indians to his cause with promises of a reduction in the personal, or civil, "contribution" paid by all Yucatecans, regardless of their race (Ancona 1878–1880:3:463). Undoubtedly some of the Indians who now fought with Barret had been part of Barbachano's faction a few years earlier.

According to Reed (1964:34), "In January 1847, Antonio Trujeque, the subaltern political chief of Peto, raised a native battalion at Tihosuco, and Lieutenant Colonel [Vito] Pacheco did the same at Yaxcabá; after assisting at the capture of Tekax and taking Peto, they marched against Valladolid, some 3,000 strong, and stormed the city. Indio troops got out of hand, looted cantinas, and ran amok, shouting 'Kill those who have [trousers]'"⁴ (see also Molina Solís 1921:1:264–267). When the revolt ended, the Indians returned to their villages without turning in their arms (Ancona 1878–1880:3:473). One of the Indians who apparently participated in the Valladolid massacre was Cecilio Chi, who only a few months later would become one of the leaders of the Caste War (Ancona 1878–1880:4:17; Reed 1964:46).

Thus the Indians played an active role in the political conflicts that characterized the period between 1835 and 1847. What they received in exchange for their participation was not the land and the abolition of Church dues and reduction of state taxes that they had been promised, but arms, military training, and combat experience. And the political difficulties which had made it expedient to arm the Indians in

Map 7. Caste War of Yucatan (1847–1901).





1840, 1843, and 1847 would continue and would undermine Ladino efforts to bring the Caste War to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Causes of the Caste War

According to the Yucatecan historian Eligio Ancona, the ultimate cause of the Caste War was the ancient Maya hatred of foreigners. Ancona (1878–1880:4:6) says, "It will be recorded that, since time immemorial, the Mayas have instinctively abhorred all foreigners, and that the laws of the country condemned them to death or to perpetual slavery. . . . Thus, the Maya looked with displeasure at the Spaniard from the first instant that he appeared before his eyes, and even before he understood that he came to dispossess him of the land of his ancestors." Ancona (1878–1880:4:7) argues that this hatred was kept alive by the Spanish exploitation of the Indians during the Colonial period.

The Indians' situation improved for a short time in 1813, when the Constitution of 1812 "abolished the tributes, the obventions, and the obligatory personal service; the Indians were declared citizens, and in some towns came to form part of the municipal bodies" (Ancona 1878–1880:4:9–10). The Constitution of 1812 had a disastrous effect on the economy of the colony. Without the obventions, the clergy had no means of support, and the abolition of personal service created a labor shortage in the dyewood, salt, and sugarcane industries (Ancona 1878–1880:3:487–496; Acereto 1947:155). Conservative Yucatecans were overjoyed when Ferdinand VII returned to the throne in 1814. A ship from Havana arrived in Yucatan on July 18, 1814, carrying newspapers reporting the repeal of the Constitution of 1812. The governor, however, refused to publicize the news until three days later, when a ship arrived at Sisal bearing the official announcement. In the meantime, a group of impatient conservatives rioted in the main square of Merida, stormed city hall, and removed a picture of the King which they carried in a procession to the cathedral, where they publicized the news of the repeal of the constitution (Acereto 1947:156).

As discussed in Chapter 7, Ferdinand VII was forced to reinstate the Constitution of 1812 on March 9, 1820. Again, Havana received the news first, and it was carried in newspapers to Merida, on April 26, and, on May 7 to Campeche, where the constitution was publicized six days later (Acereto 1947:166–167). Ironically, the obventions were not

reinstated again until after 1821, when Mexico had won its independence from Spain, and the civil and religious authorities of Yucatan no longer had royal checks on their power to exploit the Indians (Ancona 1878–1880:4:10).⁵

Although the colonial caste system was theoretically abolished in Mexico after 1821 (Aguirre Beltrán 1970:13), it survived in a truncated form in the Yucatan peninsula during the rest of the nineteenth century. That is one reason why the civil war that is the subject of this chapter was, and still is, called *la guerra de castas*, 'the caste war.' Three castes were involved in this conflict: (1) the so-called Whites (*blancos*) or Creoles of putatively pure Spanish descent, whom I shall refer to as Ladinos to be consistent with other chapters in this book; (2) the Mestizos, people of mixed Indian and Spanish (and sometimes also Negro) ancestry, who no longer exist as a separate group, but whose name is now used to refer to (3) the Indians. The Mestizos were divided in their loyalties, probably because they were of both Spanish and Indian descent. Some of them sided with the rebels and became prominent leaders in the Indian army, while others fought on the Ladino side.

Ancona (1878–1880:4:10–11) believes that the timing of the Caste War would probably have been different had the Ladinos not recruited Indians to fight their political battles:

There existed, then, until the year 1840 a hatred of three centuries between the two principal races that inhabited the peninsula. If the one had not rebelled against the other, it would certainly not be because the past had been forgotten or because they were content with the present, but because they lacked the means to remove the yoke which weighed upon them. The caste war would have happened sooner or later, if the same system we have just described had been maintained. If the rebellion anticipated it, it was because imprudence placed arms in the hands of the Indians before assimilating them to the rest of their fellow citizens by means of education and of certain concessions which would reclaim their reason and natural right.

He agrees with the observation made by Juan de Dios Cosgaya, a former governor of Yucatan, that although justice certainly demanded the abolition or reduction of the obventions, it was unwise to make these concessions in exchange for Indian support of political revolutions. For

"[the Indians] must conclude"—he said—"that if one revolution would release them from their obventions, another would remove the rest and another would

make them the masters of their country. . . . they would believe that it was the fruit of that labor and not the result of justice." (Ancona 1878–1880:3:385)

Ancona believes that the Indians rebelled just at the moment when some real efforts were being made to improve their situation with respect to education and taxation [although he admits that by the time his book was written little had been accomplished in these areas]. Had the Caste War not broken out when it did, he says, there might have been time for some of these reforms to take effect and reduce the hostility of the Indians toward the Ladinos. Thus, in his view, the immediate cause of the Caste War was the recruitment of Indians into revolutionary armies between 1835 and 1847 (1878–1880:4:14–15).

Scrapio Baqueiro, another Yucatecan historian, who is often quoted by Ancona, gives less weight to Ladino partisan politics in discussing the causes of the Caste War. He cites the oppression of the Indians by the Church and the State as the principal causes (1871–1879:1:448). He asks how, given the social and economic conditions of the times, the Maya could have refused to join the revolutionaries: "How could they [the Maya] have stayed put, when in 1840, they called upon them to be auxiliaries of the revolution, they offered them the abolition of the obventions which they paid to their parish priests, they enticed them with sufficient land for cultivation . . . ?" (1871–1879:1:448). Although Baqueiro includes Ladino factional politics in his list of causes of the Caste War, he apparently realizes that the Indians would not have taken advantage of the situation if they were not being oppressed.

Justo Sierra O'Reilly (1954) comes to essentially the same conclusion. His two-volume work, *Los indios de Yucatán*, was written in order to explain the origin and the causes of the Caste War. He finds his answer in the mistreatment of Indians during the Colonial period (1954:1:5, 57).

Only one noted historian, Juan Francisco Molina Solís (1921), does not cite the social and economic discrimination against Indians before and after 1821 as a cause of the Caste War. In his opinion, there were two major causes of the Caste War: (1) Imán's decision to recruit Indians into his army in 1840 (1921:1:148) and (2) the personal ambitions of the Maya leaders (1921:1:304–305). He claims that only a few years before the outbreak of the war, foreign visitors who had traveled the length and breadth of the peninsula had commented on how

well the Indians were treated and how contented they were with their lot (1921:1:304).⁶ In his view, it was the ambitious few who hoped to increase their political power who incited the masses to revolt.

The Indians' reasons for rebelling and, by inference, their objectives in prolonging the war are explicitly stated in several letters written by the rebel leaders. The reason mentioned most often in the letters is the "contribution," probably the religious "contribution" that replaced the obvention after Imán's victory in 1840 (Ancona 1878–1880:3:384–385), but possibly also the personal, or civil, "contribution" that Barret promised to reduce in 1846 (Ancona 1878–1880:3:463). The second reason for rebelling was the discriminatory assessment of fees for performing the sacraments. Reed (1964:23) points out that in order to make up for the revenues lost by abolishing the obvention, and replacing it with a reduced religious "contribution," the secular priests raised the fees for marriage and baptism paid by the Indians. The third reason was the desire to abolish debt peonage. The fourth was the objective of making agricultural land available to everyone by prohibiting private ownership. And the fifth was the physical abuse the Indians had received at the hands of the Ladinos.

The first four points are eloquently explained in a letter written to the Ladino priest José Canuto Vela by José María Barrera, Pantaleón Uh, Francisco Cob, José Isaac Pat, Calixto Yam, and Apolinario Dzul on April 7, 1850:

Well . . . , we are fighting so that there will never again be a contribution whether they are Whites, Negroes, or Indians and that baptism [will cost] three *reales* whether they are Whites, Negroes, or Indians, that marriage [will cost] ten *reales* whether they are Whites, or Negroes, or Indians, and whatever debts there are, the old debts are not going to be paid, whether they are Whites, Negroes, or Indians and the forest will not be purchasable: Whites are going to farm wherever they please, Negroes are going to farm wherever they please, Indians are going to farm wherever they please. There is no one to forbid it.⁷

The "contribution" and the fees for the sacraments were cited as motives for the rebellion by Bonifacio Novelo and Florentino Chan as early as December 1847: "I have found it useful to tell Your Excellencies and reveal all the conditions over which we are fighting; it is to eliminate the contribution for the Indians as well as the Whites; likewise the marriage fees, that the Indians may marry for the same [fee] as

the Whites—ten *reales*, and four *reales* for burial, likewise baptism also [will cost] three *reales* for the two races.”⁸ The same sentiments were expressed the following day by a group of Indian rebel leaders, including Cecilio Chi, Jacinto Pat, and Crescencio Poot, in Tihosuco:

We the rebellious Indians are not looking for anything better than liberty: this is what we are seeking in the name of the true God and of our companions the principal Indians; so that there will not be a contribution for the Indian, just as the Spaniards do not have a contribution, nor do they pay obventions, the only thing we should pay to the clergy, we the Indians, and also the Spaniards, are ten *reales* for marriage, and three for baptism, and if there is one half more we will not pay it . . .⁹

These issues were mentioned again by Jacinto Pat in an 1849 letter to some Englishmen in British Honduras: “We are warring but it is because the Spaniards began it; for we are fighting for liberty, not for oppression, as we were formerly subjected to the numerous contributions and payments which they imposed upon us.”¹⁰ And in 1851, some other Indian military leaders, José María Cocom, Andrés Arana, José María Yam, and Pedro Ku sent a letter to the Ladino curate Manuel Antonio Sierra in which they cited the “contribution” as the chief cause of the revolt:

Thus, then, if the Indians are still fighting, how long ago did the Indians begin that war on account of the contribution? It wasn’t started for the sake of the possessions of the Whites [i.e., the Indians were not interested in dispossessing Ladinos of their wealth]. And also I inform Your Excellency, sir, inasmuch as there are Indians in the towns under your jurisdiction, if you are imposing contributions on them, don’t inform them that the Indians under my jurisdiction pay nothing at all.¹¹

Another letter, written in 1849, cites the broken promises of Santiago Imán and the indiscriminate killing of loyal and rebellious Indians as contributing causes of the general uprising:

The . . . [war?] . . . by the Spaniards against us the Indians originated in a breach of faith committed by the Citizen D[on] Santiago Imán. In the year [eighteen hundred thirty-nine he declared war against the superior Government of Mexico alledging [sic] as a reason for so doing, that it was with a view of liberating the Indians from the payment of contributions. After this was gained by the Indians the same Citizen continued to levy contributions as usual, thus proving himself not to be a man of honor, having forfeited his word with the natives. But the hour has arrived when Christ and his divine mother has given us courage to make

war against the whites, as we had no money to pay such exactions as the Government thought proper to decree. D[on] Domingo Bar[ret] sent troops under D[on] Santiago Mendez, with order[s] to put every Indian, big and little, to death.¹²

The religious “contribution” and the discriminatory fees for the sacraments were not the only grudges the Indians bore against the secular clergy. Early in 1848 some Ladino priests were asked to use their influence with the Indians in trying to bring an end to the war. The following letter, which was a response to one of their feelers, condemns the sadism and hypocrisy of some Ladino priests:

There is only one thing I have to say to you and to the venerable virtuous curates. Why didn’t they remember or weren’t they aware when the Governor began to kill us? Why didn’t they appear or rise to support us when the Whites were killing us? Why didn’t they do anything when that priest Herrera did whatever he wanted to the poor Indians? This priest put his horse’s saddle on a poor Indian, and mounted on him, began to whip him, gashing his belly with his spurs. Why didn’t they have compassion when this happened? And now they remember, now they know that there is a true God? When they were killing us, didn’t you know that there was a true God? We were always recommending the name of the true God to you, and you never believed in his name, but rather even in the dark of the night you were killing us in the gibbet. Wherever in the world you were killing us, why didn’t you remember or consider the true God, when you were doing this harm to us?¹³

The letters quoted above were signed by some of the top-ranking rebel leaders, including Jacinto Pat, Cecilio Chi, Bonifacio Novelo, José María Barrera, Crescencio Poot, José María Cocom, and Venancio Pec. The dominant theme in these communications is that laws should apply equally to all people, whatever their race or ethnic affiliation. The Church dues should be the same for Indians, Mestizos, and Whites. Land should be available to everyone. And the members of one ethnic group should not have the right to abuse or murder the members of another with impunity. Thus, from the Indians’ point of view, the rebellion was actually a social revolution which had as its object the erasing of caste distinctions.

It is clear, however, that the rebellion was also an attack on some of the economic institutions of the peninsula. Although none of the letters quoted above mention the expansion of sugar plantations into the eastern part of the peninsula, one letter refers to one of the effects of that expansion, namely the private appropriation of lands that Indians had

traditionally regarded as available to all for subsistence corn farming. The same letter refers also to one of the abuses associated with the plantation system, namely debt peonage.

The Indians disagree with Ancona with respect to their interpretation of the immediate causes of the rebellion. The representatives of both sides refer to the promises made to reduce taxes and redistribute land in exchange for military service, but the Indians claim that they rebelled because these promises were broken, whereas Ancona claims that they rebelled because some of these concessions were made. It is clear that the Indians were not interested simply in a reduction in their taxes; they wanted their taxes equalized with those paid by Whites and Mestizos. Furthermore, land was a much more important issue to the Indians than Ancona apparently realized. He believed that education and tax reform alone could have prevented the Caste War from occurring.

Ancona gives no indication that he regarded land reform as one of the reforms that might have reduced the Indians' hatred for the Ladinos. On the contrary, he points out why it would have been impossible (not just imprudent) to fulfill Barbachano's promise on this score: "But the State did not possess enough vacant land to give one quarter of a square league to each Yucatecan who had participated in the campaign" (Ancona 1878-1880:4:12).

It is hard to deny that the recruitment of Indians into Ladino armies was a contributing cause of the Caste War of Yucatan. But it is equally difficult to argue that it was the *only* immediate cause of the rebellion. The fact that the eastern Maya were the first to rise up suggests that the expansion of the sugar frontier was also a contributing cause. In other words, it was a combination of economic changes and political events that brought the two ethnic groups into armed conflict.

The Execution of Manuel Antonio Ay

In July 1847, Colonel Eulogio Rosado, the Commandant of Valladolid, received several reports of suspicious movements of Indians in the neighborhood of Tihosuco. According to these reports, groups of as many as forty or fifty Indians were bringing supplies of food to the *hacienda* of Culumpich, which belonged to Jacinto Pat, the *cacique* of Tihosuco. The Ladino owner of a nearby *hacienda* sent one of his servants to Culumpich to investigate what was going on there. The servant reported that Bonifacio Novelo, Jacinto Pat, and Cecilio Chi were hatching a

plot against the "White race." There was also a rumor that weapons that had been obtained from Belize were being transported from a nearby ranch to Culumpich (Carrillo Gil and Magaña M. 1956: 11-12, 20).

The Indians who were congregating at Culumpich came from a number of towns in the district of Valladolid, including the town of Chichimila. The *cacique* of Chichimila was an Indian named Manuel Antonio Ay who had held the rank of sergeant in the Ladino army which had sacked Valladolid earlier that year (Carrillo Gil and Magaña M. 1956:19). On July 18, 1847, Ay appeared at the home of Antonio Rajón, the justice of the peace of the town. He came because he wanted a drink, and he knew that Rajón was licensed to sell rum. When Ay placed his hat on the floor, he did not notice that a piece of paper had fallen out and lay there only partly covered by the hat. Rajón picked up the paper and read it. He discovered that it was a letter addressed to Ay from Cecilio Chi in Tepich. The contents of the letter were so alarming that Rajón decided to take it to the Commandant of Valladolid (Carrillo Gil and Magaña M. 1956:15).

The letter was written in Spanish with many mistakes in grammar and spelling. Following is the version published by Baqueiro (1871-1879:1:221), together with my English translation of it:

Tepich, Julio de 1847.—Señor D. Manuel Antonio Ay.—Muy Señor mi amigo, hágame Uste favor de decir que gatos pueblos hay avisados para el caso, para que usted me diga gando—Item quiero que usted me diga si es mejor o mi intento es atracar á Tihosuco para que tengamos toda provision, hasí aguardo la respuesta para mi gobierno, me dice usted ó me señala usted el dia en que usted ha de venir aca con migo, porque aca me están siguiendo el bulto, por eso se lo digo á usted, me arustum el favor deavisarme dos ó tres dias ántes, dejuste de contestarme no soy yo mas que su amigo que lestima—Cecilio Chi.

Tepich, July 1847.—Señor D[on] Manuel Antonio Ay.—My very dear friend, Sir, please tell me how many towns have been advised of the situation, so that you can tell me when—And I want you to tell me if it is preferable my intention is to approach Tihosuco so that we may obtain all supplies, thus I await the answer for my guidance, tell me or indicate to me the day on which you will come here with me, because the bundle[s] are following me here, therefore I tell you of it, please advise me two or three days in advance, don't fail to answer me I am nothing more than your friend who esteems you—Cecilio Chi.

A much less ambiguous version of this letter was published in 1956:

Señor don Manuel Ay. Muy señor mío y amigo:
 Hágame usted el favor de decirme quantos pueblos hay
 aviados para el caso/para que usted me diga cuando.
 Item quiero que usted me diga si es mejor; mi intento
 es atacar a Tihosuco para que tengamos toda pobla-
 ción, bien así aguardo la respuesta; para mi gobierno
 me dice usted o me señala usted el dia en que usted ha
 de venir acá conmigo porque acá me están siguiendo el
 bulto, pero eso se lo digo a usted. Me hace usted el
 favor de avisarme dos o tres días antes, no deje usted
 de contestarme. No soy yo más que su amigo que le
 estima. Cecilio Chi . . . (Carrillo Gil and Magaña M.
 1956:11)

I translate this version as follows:

Señor Don Manuel Ay. My dear sir and friend: Please tell me how many towns are supplied for the situation/so that you can tell me when. And I want you to tell me if it is preferable; my intention is to attack Tihosuco so that we may take hold of the whole population, thus I await the reply; for my guidance tell me or indicate to me the day on which you will come here with me because the bundle[s] are following me here; therefore I tell you of it. Please advise me two or three days in advance, don't fail to answer me. I am nothing more than your friend who esteems you. Cecilio Chi . . .

Baqueiro (1871–1879:1:221) claims that his version is exactly like the original, without any changes in spelling, grammar, or punctuation. The second version was transcribed from a copy of the letter made by Eulogio Rosado (Carrillo Gil and Magaña M. 1956:11).

The two versions of the letter differ significantly. In Rosado's version, Chi says that he intends to attack (*atacar*) Tihosuco in order to gain control of the people (*población*) of the town. In Baqueiro's version, Chi states his intention to approach (*atrascar*) Tihosuco in order to obtain supplies (*provisión*). There is, of course, an important difference between approaching a town and attacking it. The latter is an act of war; the former may not be.

It is impossible to say which version is more faithful to the original, without being able to examine the original letter. To my knowledge, Rosado's copy is the only one that has survived in manuscript form. All that can be said is that whether or not Rosado doctored Chi's letter to suit his own purpose, he used his version as evidence of a conspiracy to attack Tihosuco. On the strength of this interpretation of the letter, plus the circumstantial evidence of Indians bringing supplies to Culumpich, warrants were issued for the arrest of Ay, Chi, and Pat (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:221, 228).

Manuel Ay was the only suspected ringleader of

the conspiracy to be arrested. Antonio Trujeque, who was now the political chief of Peto, was ordered to arrest Pat and Chi.

It took several days for this message to reach Peto, and several more for the uneasy Trujeque to prepare a small force to seize the men he had led in battle only six months before. On arriving at Pat's ranch of Culumpich, he found no trace of the guns alleged to be there; deciding that the report was false and a plot to destroy the caciques involved in the Valladolid massacre, the men of his own party, he spent the day visiting with his old friend. However, he did send a certain Captain Beitia with a small troop to the nearby town of Tihosuco, to look for Cecilio Chi. (Reed 1964:56)

During Ay's trial it became clear that he was involved in planning some kind of revolution. Among some documents captured at the time of his arrest there was a list of the names of Indian men whom Ay had asked to contribute money to buy powder and lead for a "new war" (Carrillo Gil and Magaña M. 1956:27, 30). Ay insisted, however, that this "new war" was like the previous Ladino revolutions, in which Indians had participated since 1839 (Carrillo Gil and Magaña M. 1956:39). There was, in fact, such a revolution brewing that summer. In February, Colonel José Dolores Cetina had staged a revolution to bring Miguel Barbachano back to power. When it failed, he went to Cuba to join Barbachano in exile, but he returned to Yucatan only a few months later to try again. Cetina, like the revolutionaries who had preceded him, sought help from the Indians (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:217–219; Reed 1964:53–56). Apparently what the Indians hoped to achieve from the "new war" was another reduction in their "contribution" (Carrillo Gil and Magaña M. 1956:27, 30). In other words, this was not an Indian conspiracy against the "White race" but another Ladino political revolution in which Indians were involved.¹⁴

Rosado pointed out that helping the revolutionaries was equivalent to trying to overthrow the government of the state. Manuel Antonio Ay received the death sentence for his crime, and he was executed by a firing squad in Valladolid on July 26, 1847 (Carrillo Gil and Magaña M. 1956:40–43). On the same day, Colonel Cetina marched on Valladolid with three hundred men, demanding the city's surrender (Reed 1964:57).

According to Reed (1964:57), Ay's execution marked the first time that a revolutionary prisoner had been shot: "Cetina, for example, whose three attempts against the government helped to make the Caste War possible, was punished with nothing

worse than exile. But he was white, and Manuel Antonio's fate was a stern warning that natives would not be treated by white men's rules."¹⁵

In spite of the evidence that members of both ethnic groups were trying to overthrow the government, Rosado persisted in treating the conspiracy as an Indian plot. In sentencing Ay to death, Rosado claimed that Ay "was one of the ringleaders of the insurrection of the Indian class against the present institutions" (Carrillo Gil and Magaña M. 1956:41). And when Cetina arrived in Valladolid after the execution, "Rosado sent envoys who told of the execution, explained the racial threat, and insisted that this was a time for white men to stand together. Cetina must have had his own doubts, but despite whatever commitments he had made, he yielded to this argument and entered the city peacefully, adding his troops to the garrison" (Reed 1964:57).¹⁶

In this way what probably began as a political revolution involving both Indians and Ladinos was redefined as an ethnic conflict. The execution of Manuel Antonio Ay symbolized that transformation. Ladinos believed that he was executed because he had conspired against their "race." Indians believed that he was executed because he was an Indian. In this sense, the Caste War of Yucatan began with the execution of Manuel Antonio Ay.

The First Hostilities

Ay's death was immediately followed by two acts of aggression, the first by Ladinos and the second by Indians. The Ladinos continued their search for the other Indians believed to have been ringleaders of the conspiracy, Jacinto Pat and Cecilio Chi. When Trujeque's troops failed to find Chi either at his ranch or in Tepich, they fell on the Indian families left behind in both places, looting and burning their homes. One of the Ladino officers raped an Indian girl who was unfortunate enough to cross his path (Baqueiro 1871-1879:1:231; Reed 1964:59).

After these atrocities, Cecilio Chi held a secret meeting in a house on the outskirts of Tepich during which plans for an Indian uprising were discussed. Chi announced that Jacinto Pat had sent a message with his two sons, Silvestre and Estevan Pat, offering to send arms, powder, and lead for such an uprising. Bonifacio Novelo in Valladolid and the Mendozas (?) would supply troops; the Indian army would consist of more than six hundred men. The plan was to fall on Tihosuco at night, to kill Trujeque, Beitia, Vito Pacheco, and others, and to steal powder, lead, and money from the town. The object of the uprising

was to free the Indians from the oppression of the Whites. To this end they would kill all White men, from babes in arms to old men; they would spare the White women, who would be forced to marry Indian men and serve them. After they had defeated the Whites in the hinterland, they would march on Mérida. Novelo would become governor, and the Mendozas would have positions directly under him. (Novelo later became head of the independent state established by the rebels; see below). The following towns agreed to cooperate in the uprising: Tixcacalcupul, Vaymas, Ekpedz, Muchucux, Tituc, Polyuc, Chunhuhub, Tiholop, Tinum, Chichimila, Ebtun, and the *ranchos* of Cat, Santa María, and X-Canul.

While this meeting was in progress, Trujeque arrived with a force of twenty-five men and succeeded in capturing five of the Indian conspirators. They were Calletano Xicum, Juan de Mata Chan, and José María Pam of Tepich, Lorenzo Ye of Ekpedz, and Luciano Galas of Valladolid. Trujeque brought his prisoners to Tihosuco on July 28, 1847. They were interrogated and confessed their participation in the conspiracy. They were shot to death on July 30, 1847.¹⁷

Cecilio Chi retaliated that same morning by murdering twenty or thirty Ladino families in Tepich (Baqueiro 1871-1879:232; Reed 1964:59). Although Chi was obviously only seeking revenge for the way that Trujeque had treated the Indians of that town, Ladinos regard the date of Chi's massacre as the opening date of the Caste War (Cline 1943a:25; Menéndez 1937:236).

The Maya, on the other hand, blame Trujeque for beginning the Caste War. Their position is eloquently stated in several letters written during the first part of the following year in reply to letters from a Ladino peace commission:

Because if we are killing you now, you first showed us the way. If the homes and the *haciendas* of the Whites are burning, it is because previously you burned the town of Tepich, and all the ranches on which there were poor Indians, and the Whites ate up all their livestock. How many cribs of corn of the poor Indians were broken open that the Whites might eat, and those same Whites reaped the corn fields when they passed by them, searching for us, in order to kill us with gunpowder!¹⁸

. . . that had it not been for the damage that the Spanish masters began to cause us, here in the town of Tihosuco, those towns would not have rebelled; for if they [rebelled], it is to defend themselves from the death that the subdelegate Antonio Trujeque began to

cause us; when those Indians saw the outrageous way he seized them in order to tie them up in the plaza of this town of Tihosuco, then, sir, they rose up. And likewise he began the fires, burning the town of Tepich, and he gave instructions to catch the poor Indian, as animals in the woods are caught. At the order of Señor Trujeque many were killed, without us knowing if the supreme government had given him the order to kill us.¹⁹

I inform you of the reason why we are fighting, because those Commanders and your Governor gave the order for them to kill us, and those of Tepich, old and young, and the youths they seized violently in order to shove them into their houses, which they burned. Likewise they burned the blessed Saint Rose, inside the Church. Didn't they know that they [the images] are loved by our Lord God, when he left them here in the world to be worshiped within our Holy Mother Church, by us the poor Indians and by the Angels? Well we know that this was the reason; because there is God, and also our father and also our mother, and that as our Lord God loves us above all things, so likewise we must love our neighbors as ourselves. The Campechanos are the ones who burned the Holy Church and the Saints which are in it; they likewise threw down the Holy Oil inside the church, there they defecated, and they stabled their horses in it [the church], heaping the blame on us that we behaved like that. And now I inform you that the cause of the present war, is because we have seen the slaughter of those who are of our race.²⁰

The hysteria that gripped the Ladinos during the weeks following these atrocities served only to widen the rift between the two ethnic groups. As Reed so aptly describes the situation,

The inevitable witch hunt began. Masters saw rebellion in the eyes of their servants, in a strange look, in an unusual laugh. A night patrol in the capital was insulted by some drunken natives, who reportedly shouted the names of their ancient kings. Such incidents won credence for the story that Cecilio Chi intended to enter Mérida on midnight of August 15, to be crowned after the massacre of the entire white population. The city became a hysterical armed camp. Heavy mounted patrols arrested Indians until San Benito [the prison] could hold no more. At sunset on the fifteenth, bonfires were lit in the streets of the city to prevent a surprise attack. Strong points and outposts had been established, and citizens stood ready in their doorways with ancient muskets, sabers, and pikes while the womenfolk tended jars of boiling water, which could be thrown from the rooftops. It was a sleepless night, but the attack never came.

Still, fear and suspicion mounted. Francisco Uc, the cacique of nearby Uman and a wealthy, educated man, was suddenly found to have brown skin. He was arrested on the evidence of letters that were never shown in court and on the testimony of his adopted son, who would inherit on his death; he was defended by influ-

ential white friends, but only until the lynch mob began shouting for their blood, too, and so he was condemned, joined before the firing squad by various other caciques and notables of his race. Over one hundred petty leaders were sent to the Presidio in Campeche and forty were dispatched to the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa off Veracruz. Trusted Ladinos were appointed in their places.

Maya who had led peaceful lives now paid for rebel atrocities and successes. They found themselves dragged to the picotas [gibbets], or suspended by their ears, whipped until they confessed to a plot they knew nothing about. Rumor and official reports told of savagery on the frontier, of how the Maya had killed a boy in front of his mother and sisters, cutting out his heart and drinking his blood before they raped the women and left them half dead beside the mutilated body.

Each such account, whether true or not, triggered new acts of vengeance. Pressure was put to the native populations in more formal ways: an edict demanded the seizure of their guns, the guns that provided them with the only meat they ever tasted; confiscated weapons soon filled public buildings and became the objects of a brisk black-market trade. Little settlements of two or three huts built close to a cornfield were burned and the people driven into the towns like prisoners of war or slaves. The men then had to walk all day to reach their cornfields; their women and children stayed behind as hostages. And yet these people, the servants and workers of the old haciendas in the northwestern corner of the peninsula, were not involved in the rebellion, and they even looked down on their less civilized eastern brothers. Francisco Uc may have been in correspondence with the rebel caciques, but so was Miguel Barbachano. The "plot" of August 15 simply didn't exist (Reed 1964:63–64; see also Molina Solís 1921:2:19ff).

This explains why wealthy, educated Indians like Jacinto Pat joined the rebels. Objectively speaking, Pat had more in common with Ladinos than with Indians. He had political power, he owned an *hacienda*, and he was obviously well educated. Before the rebellion began, he was a friend of Miguel Barbachano and of the Ladino priest José Canuto Vela. Pat wrote elegant and eloquent letters, usually in Maya, in a beautiful hand. So highly esteemed was he by Ladinos that one historian wrote of him: "Pat was a well fixed man, not entirely vulgar and of some respectability even among the [Ladino] residents of Tihosuco, who always called him Don Jacinto Pat: he did not have bad sentiments, nor did he share the hatred of the Indians, for he was not against the White man: he was a Mulatto or a Mestizo, but he was not an Indian of pure race" (Guerra de castas en Yucatán 1866:129). Whether or not Pat was a pure-blooded Indian, he had an Indian surname, he spoke and wrote Maya, and he was consid-

ered by most Ladinos and Indians to be an Indian. It is interesting that, in spite of all the evidence to the contrary, this anonymous historian claims that Pat's origins were obscure and uncertain and argues, on purely logical grounds, that Pat was too civilized to have been an Indian (*Guerra de castas en Yucatán* 1866:75).

The same historian paints a very different picture of Cecilio Chi, whom he classifies as an Indian:

Cecilio Chi was an unbelievably audacious, iron-willed, robust, pure-blooded Indian. . . . He was poor, or at least we do not know if he had any property, except for the humble hut in which he lived; he despised work and lived by robbery and by his wits. It is not known if he planted or cultivated any land for his living, but I know that whenever he lacked maize or seeds for his household's needs, he would appear at someone's cornfield and fill his basket, without anyone who might happen to observe him opposing this vandalistic act. (*Guerra de castas en Yucatán* 1866:83–85).

This biographical sketch of Cecilio Chi is probably fanciful. Chi owned a ranch outside Tepich (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:231). He may not have been as wealthy as Jacinto Pat, but it is unlikely that he made his living by robbing his neighbors' cornfields.

What information we have about Jacinto Pat, Francisco Uc, and Cecilio Chi suggests that a privileged class of Indians continued to exist in Yucatan even as late as 1847. These Indians, who were known as *caciques* or *hidalgos*, were not downtrodden illiterates. Their wealth, like the wealth of Latino landowners, was undoubtedly obtained by exploiting Indian labor.²¹ That Uc would have influential Latino friends who were willing to defend him publicly implies that the caste system was not as rigid as historians have argued.

After July 1847 the distinction between rich Indian (or *hidalgo*) and poor Indian ceased to be socially important. From then on, no man with an Indian surname could count on escaping Uc's fate, no matter how many Latino friends and admirers he might have. The only solution for men like Jacinto Pat was to accept the fact that they were Indians and join the rebels. That is why Pat, who had much more in common with Latinos than with Indians, embraced the cause of poor landless Indians. The decision to classify the rebellion as an ethnic conflict proved to be a costly mistake for Latinos. The wealthy, educated Indians whom they forced to identify with the oppressed group contributed their leadership abilities to the rebel movement. Jacinto Pat be-

came the commander of a large part of the Indian forces.

Although Latinos were quick to blow up Chi's retaliatory raid into a caste war, this did not mean that they were prepared to forget their political differences and unite against what they perceived to be the common enemy. During the first months of the war, Maya successes were largely a result of the fact that a political coup in Merida drained Latino troops from the countryside. Colonel Cetina finally went ahead with his plan to restore the Barbachano government, which he had been persuaded to postpone after Ay's execution. He was only temporarily successful, but, in the meantime, the other faction decided that the war was less important than the political crisis in Merida and called the troops home. This gave the Maya the chance to make some important gains. By the time Cetina had been defeated and Santiago Méndez's government returned to power, the Maya were in control of Tixcacalcupul and Tihosuco (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:268–286; Reed 1964:65–76).

The area between Valladolid and Peto was now effectively in Maya hands. Latino soldiers moving out from Peto established a fortified camp at Ichmul. They repulsed the first Maya attack on their camp on December 5, but they were overwhelmed by the second, which came on December 19. The Latinos abandoned Ichmul on Christmas Day and retreated to Peto (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:294–298; Reed 1964:67–68).

Emboldened by this success, the Maya surrounded Peto. According to Baqueiro (1871–1879:1:306), the Indians attacked Peto on January 26, 1848, shouting "Viva Mérida! Viva Don Miguel Barbachano Governor!" Apparently this cry demoralized the Latino troops, some of whom were Barbachano supporters. Thinking that they had been misinformed as to the objectives of this war, the Barbachano partisans deserted and went to Sacsucil, the ranch of Felipe Rosado, a Barbachano sympathizer who was the political chief of Peto. Other soldiers, unwilling to be pawns in a political squabble, also deserted. With their defenses severely weakened by desertion, the Latinos had no choice but to abandon Peto and retreat to Tekax, which they did on February 6 (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:306–309, 319–320; Reed 1964:69–70, 77).

In the meantime, Cecilio Chi moved his forces around Valladolid and placed that city under siege. At the beginning of January, the Indians occupied

the towns of Tixualahtun, Tekuch, Tahmuy, Huumku, Tesacs, Xocen, Kanxoc, Chichimila, Tekom, Eb-tun, Oitnup, Cuncunul, and Kaua. Ladino troops marched out from Valladolid in an effort to liberate these towns, but they did not stay, and the Indians reoccupied the towns as soon as they left. On January 18, the Indians moved into the *barrios* of Santa Ana and Santa Lucia on the outskirts of the city.²²

With Peto abandoned and Valladolid under siege, the Ladinos decided that the time had come for them to try to resolve their internal political differences and negotiate a treaty with the Indians. Governor Méndez arranged a meeting with Barbachano, and, in a spirit of reconciliation, the two men agreed to bury the hatchet in the interest of ending the war (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:311; Reed 1964:75–76).

Barbachano was persuaded to use his friendship with Jacinto Pat to get negotiations under way. He went with a delegation of Ladino priests, including José Canuto Vela, to Tekax to arrange a parley with Pat, who was in Tihosuco. Barbachano brought with him a letter from the bishop describing the war as "Divine Justice" for the erosion of religious faith and the growth of secularism" (Reed 1964:77). This letter was sent to Pat, along with letters from Barbachano and Vela.²³

Pat and other Indians replied by explaining their reasons for rebelling; excerpts from their letters are quoted above. They pointed out that it was Ladinos, not Indians, who had begun the war by attacking Tepich. They firmly rejected the bishop's argument that the war was a punishment for the Indians' loss of faith in religion; on the contrary, they said, Ladinos were "the ones who burned the Holy Church and the Saints which are in it; they likewise threw down the Holy Oil inside the Church; there they defecated, and they stabled their horses in it."²⁴

Pat told the Ladino commissioners that his terms for peace were that the "contribution" be abolished and that the cost of performing the sacraments be set at three *reales* for both Indians and Ladinos.²⁵ Méndez accepted these terms on March 2, 1848 (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:369–370; Reed 1964:79).

Also during the month of February, Cecilio Chi was negotiating with Colonel Miguel Bolio and Father Manuel Sierra over the terms for lifting the siege of Valladolid (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:345–346). Chi's list of demands was longer than Pat's and also more personal; he had a score to settle with Antonio Trujeque. His demands included (1) the reduc-

tion of the contribution to one *real* per month; (2) the return of arms that had been taken away from the Indians; (3) the punishment of Vázquez and Trujeque who had deceived and mistreated the Indians; (4) the payment of an indemnity for the damage they had caused; (5) the reduction of church fees to ten *reales* for marriage and three *reales* for baptism; and (6) Barbachano's personal appearance to hear their complaints and to guarantee the fulfillment of these concessions (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:346–347).

A truce was declared around February 12, but it was broken a week later when news reached Valladolid of a massacre at Chancenote (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:347). Although the Maya attack on Chancenote had been made several days before the armistice went into effect, the Ladinos retaliated by attacking Chichimila and Oitnup. The Indians had prepared an ambush at Oitnup. The town was empty when the Ladino soldiers arrived, but as soon as they had occupied the plaza, the Indians fell on them. This defeat had a bad effect on Ladino morale, so Bolio decided to make a second attempt to capture Oitnup. Once again the Indians waited until the Ladino soldiers had reached the center of the town before attacking. The Ladinos were completely routed. More than 150 soldiers, including Colonel Bolio, died in the fighting.²⁶

After this disastrous defeat, the soldiers defending Valladolid lost heart, and it became clear that the city would have to be evacuated:

The fighting had become suicidal, and the soldiers wanted no more of it. Colonel [Agustín] León [Bolio's successor] realized that to go over to the defensive would mean eventual defeat, the surrender of the hinterland that supported the enemy and the loss of herds and crops he needed for his own supplies. With no choice but to prepare for ultimate evacuation, he had a large part of the civilians escorted by troops and artillery all the way to Izamal, the escort fighting back in with supplies. (Reed 1964:82)

The rest of the evacuation took place on March 19, 1848. As the Ladinos retreated toward Espita, the Maya moved into the city, attacking the refugees from the rear (Reed 1964:83–84). Six days later, Governor Méndez resigned his office in favor of Miguel Barbachano (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:377–378).

With Barbachano now governor, negotiations with the Indians took a turn for the better. The change in governors is the first subject mentioned by Pat in a letter to Felipe Rosado dated April 1, 1848. Only after he had acknowledged receipt of a copy of the official document proving that Barbachano had been

sworn into office did Pat turn to the question of peace negotiations.²⁷

On April 18, 1848, José Canuto Vela and Felipe Rosado met with Jacinto Pat and some other Indian leaders in Tzucacab and drew up a peace treaty which was ratified in Ticul by Barbachano five days later (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:404–411). The terms of the treaty were as follows:

Article 1. The personal (civil) contribution would be abolished for both Ladinos and Indians.

Article 2. The fee for baptism would be reduced to three *reales*, and the fee for marriage would be reduced to ten *reales* for all Yucatecans.

Article 3. The Maya would have the right to clear communal land and uncultivated forest land for farming and habitation sites without paying rent and without threat of seizure.

Article 4. The 2,500 rifles that the government had confiscated from the Indians would be returned to them through Jacinto Pat.

Article 5. Miguel Barbachano would have permanent tenure as governor because he was the only Ladino whom the Indians trusted.

Article 6. Jacinto Pat would be governor of all the Indians of Yucatan, ranking above all other Indian leaders.

Article 7. The debts of all indebted servants would be canceled.

Article 8. All taxes on the distillation of *aguardiente* (rum) would be abolished.²⁸

The first three articles of the treaty dealt with the promises made by Imán and Barbachano between 1839 and 1847. Of the rest of the articles, numbers 5 and 6 are the most interesting.

The fifth article, permanent tenure for Barbachano, was violently attacked by the Méndez opposition as a betrayal of democratic principles. They expended on this one point all the hatred they felt for the vastly more important economic policies of the first four, expressing disgust that all the atrocities, killing, and destruction should be forgotten in the interests of political gain. For the Maya, however, permanent tenure guaranteed that a new government wouldn't renounce the treaty, as had been done with so many past promises, and the return of their seized rifles was intended to back up that guarantee. (Reed 1964:88)

It is interesting to note that Pat was given the title of the highest political office of Yucatan, making him the Indian counterpart of the Ladino governor. This was the first time since the conquest that an Indian was assigned a rank apparently equivalent to

that of the highest political authority (Yucatan was not part of Mexico in 1848). In recognition of his new position, Pat was sent a flag emblazoned in gold letters with the words "Grand Cacique of Yucatan" and a silver-headed staff of office (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:412).

But the Indians were not interested in having Jacinto Pat as their Indian governor, nor, as later events proved, would they permit anyone else to rule them. Their principal objective in fighting the war was to abolish caste barriers, not to perpetuate them by creating an Indian governor. It was not until the end of the following year (1849), when all negotiations had failed to produce a lasting peace, that the Indians began to discuss seriously the possibility of dividing the peninsula and establishing a separate Indian state in the eastern part of it.²⁹

Cecilio Chi reacted immediately to the news of the terms of the treaty by sending "1,500 men under his lieutenant, Raimundo Chi, to Peto, where they caught Pat by surprise; entering the town without a fight, they demanded and received the staff, the banner, and the treaty, and destroyed them on the spot" (Reed 1964:89). One of Cecilio Chi's captains wrote that his commanding officer had accused Pat of collaborating with the enemy.³⁰ While Pat was being stripped of his recently acquired glory, Chi expressed his defiance of the treaty by attacking Teabo and then Maní, where he killed more than two hundred people (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:412).

The treaty was forgotten, and the war was on again in earnest. The Ladinos concentrated a major part of their forces at Ticul and launched an offensive in the surrounding area. But they suffered defeat after defeat, their morale deteriorated, and they ran short of ammunition. The Indians mocked them by dressing up as women or in the uniforms of badly wounded Ladinos, painting their faces black, and dancing to guitar music (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:421–422; Reed 1964:92).

Ticul was evacuated on May 26, 1848. The refugees fled toward Mérida. Many were massacred by the Indians en route to the capital. Izamal and Bacalar fell to the Maya two days later (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:422–424, 432–433).

For the Indians this was the high point of the war. They were on the outskirts of Campeche and only a few miles from Mérida. Victory seemed to be in their grasp. Many panicked Meridianos packed up their belongings and prepared to leave the peninsula in boats (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:433–434).

The Tide Turns

For reasons that are not clear, on the very eve of victory, the Maya halted their drive on Merida and Campeche. According to Baqueiro (1871–1879:2:5–29) and Reed (1964:98), those Ladino soldiers who had remained at their posts in the countryside held their ground and successfully resisted any further Maya advances. I have found no relevant letters from Indian leaders written during the months of June and July of that year (1848). The only native explanation for the Indians' failure to continue with their offensive is one given many years afterward by Leandro Poot, the son of Crescencio Poot (E. H. Thompson 1932:68), one of the Maya leaders:

When my father's people took Acanceh they passed a time in feasting, preparing for the taking of T'Ho [Merida]. The day was warm and sultry. All at once the *sh'mataneheelees* [winged ants associated with the first rains] appeared in great clouds to the north, to the south, to the east, and to the west, all over the world. When my father's people saw this they said to themselves and to their brothers, "Ehen! [Fine!] The time has come for us to make our planting, for if we do not we shall have no Grace of God [corn] to fill the bellies of our children."

In this wise they talked among themselves and argued, thinking deeply, and then, when morning came, my father's people said each to his Batab [chief], "*Shickanic*"—"I am going"—and in spite of the supplications and threats of the chiefs, each man rolled up his blanket and put it in his food-pouch, tightened up the thongs of his sandals, and started for his home and his cornfield.

Then the *Batabes*, knowing how useless it was to attack the city with the few men that remained, went into council and resolved to go back home. Thus it can be clearly seen that Fate, and not White soldiers, kept my father's people from taking T'Ho [Merida] and working their will upon it. (E. H. Thompson 1932:70–71)

It is true that the end of the Maya advance coincided with the beginning of the planting season. In Chan Kom, for example, "The sowing begins with the rains, in the latter part of May or in the first days of June" (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:44). But I doubt very much that this was the only reason for the Ladino comeback. The oral tradition quoted above suggests that the native officers had lost control over their men. It is possible that, with victory so close, the Indians fell to quarreling among themselves over how to organize the new government and who would have the most power, in the same way that Cecilio Chi had contested Jacinto Pat's appointment as governor of all the Indians a few months earlier (see Text B-2, lines 349–358).

Philip C. Thompson (personal communication) has suggested to me that the most likely reason why the revolt lost momentum at that time and ceased to be effective was that the northwestern Maya who had long been attached to *haciendas* did not support it, and the rebels had to contend with Indian as well as Ladino resistance. The town of Huhi near Hocabá, for example, did not surrender to the rebels (Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:433–434). Had the Indians of the town decided to join the rebels, I doubt that the small Ladino force stationed in Huhi could have held off the eastern Maya.

Also about this time, the Ladinos began to receive help from abroad consisting of rifles, artillery, food, and money from Cuba, Veracruz, and New Orleans. This boosted Ladino morale, in addition to providing much needed supplies (Baqueiro 1871–1879:2:38–39; Reed 1964:103).

During the rest of 1848 and the first months of 1849, Ladino soldiers gradually pushed the Indians eastward, taking Yaxcaba, Valladolid, Tekax, Tihosuco, and other towns that had been captured by the Maya. The Indians retreated into the forest (Baqueiro 1871–1879:2:48–126; Reed 1964:104–114). It was at this time that the Indians began to think seriously of partitioning the peninsula and establishing their own government in the eastern part of it.³¹

Defeat brought conflict within the Indian ranks. The old leaders, Cecilio Chi and Jacinto Pat, were murdered within a few months of each other during 1849. Chi's death must have occurred some time after the middle of June of that year, for a letter with his signature in the Archives of Belize is dated June 15, 1849.³² Jacinto Pat was killed in September by one of his officers, Venancio Pec, supposedly because of his efforts to renew treaty negotiations with the government of Yucatan, but more likely because of his attempts to levy a "contribution" on the Indians under his command to be used for buying powder to continue the war.³³

After the deaths of Chi and Pat, the revitalization movement developed in a new direction. As long as the Indians were winning, they depended on military strategies for achieving their objectives. But when the tide turned and their military tactics ceased to be effective against Ladino soldiers, the leaders who replaced Pat and Chi transformed the movement into a religious crusade, hoping that by giving it supernatural sanction they would be able to repeat their past successes.

The Cult of the Talking Cross

The new leaders of the Indians were Venancio Pec, Florentino Chan, Bonifacio Novelo, and José María Barrera. Pec, Chan, and Barrera had served as officers under Jacinto Pat. Novelo's operations were in the Valladolid area. Pec and Chan were Indians; Novelo and Barrera were Mestizos.

During the spring of 1850, the government of Yucatan made another attempt to negotiate a peace with the Indians. José Canuto Vela was commissioned once more to lay the groundwork for negotiations. He contacted Barrera, who, after some hesitation, agreed to do what he could to bring the Indian leaders together for a meeting with Vela at Barrera's ranch of Kampokobche on May 4. Barrera failed to show up for the meeting. Florentino Chan and Venancio Pec refused to cooperate in the mission; they were not interested in making peace with the Ladinos.³⁴ The Ladino soldiers who accompanied Vela to the site of the meeting became angry after several days had passed and Barrera had not appeared. Ignoring Vela's objections, they moved into the woods, attacking whatever Indian settlements they encountered.³⁵ Realizing that he could not hope to succeed in his mission after this, Vela wrote a letter to Barrera, warning him that Ladino soldiers were looking for him (Baqueiro 1871-1879:2:304-310; Reed 1964:126-127).³⁶

Between May and October of that year, Barrera established new headquarters at a *cenote* known as Chan Santa Cruz (Little Holy Cross), on the outskirts

of what is now the town of Carrillo Puerto (Figure 1). The *cenote* or well "lay in a dell, tucked between steep, rocky hillocks, a grotto perhaps fifteen feet deep and eight feet wide, the floor of the chamber filled with several feet of water that maintained its level despite heavy use" (Reed 1964:135). A cross was supposedly carved on the trunk of one of the mahogany trees which grew near the cave (Cámaras Zavala, September 9, 1928:6; Reed 1964:135-136). This was apparently the "Little Holy Cross" after which the spot was named.

This cross became the focus of a religious cult some time between the first week of May, when Kampokobche was taken over by the Ladino soldiers, and the first week of January of the following year (1851), when the Indians tried to recapture it. For reasons which I will discuss below, the cult probably first took shape during the autumn of 1850.

In the Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona library of the state museum of Yucatan in Merida there is a document labeled as follows: "Proclama en lengua Maya de Juan de la Cruz, adivino de X Balam Na, dirigida a sus conciudadanos" ("Proclamation in the Maya language of John of the Cross, soothsayer of X Balam Na, addressed to his fellow citizens"). According to Alfonso Villa Rojas (1945:161n), X-Balam Na (Jaguar House) was the name "given to the first temple built for the Talking Cross, in the place where the sanctuary of Chan Santa Cruz originated. Today its ruins can still be seen at the western entrance to the town" (Figure 2). At the beginning of this proclama-



FIGURE 1. The Sacred Cenote of Chan Santa Cruz in 1971. Photo by Harvey M. Bricker.

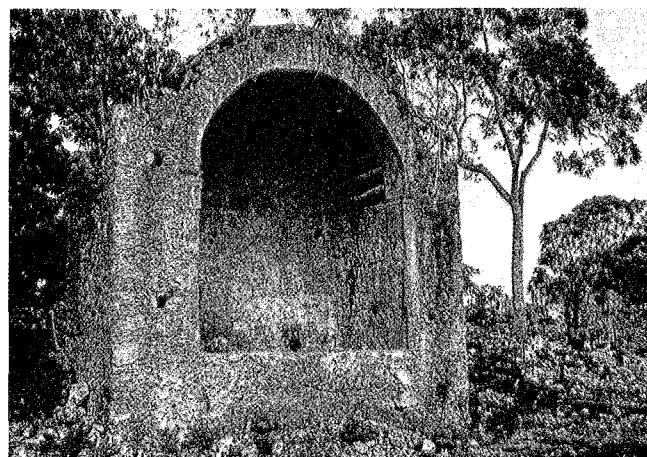


FIGURE 2. Ruins of the First Chapel of the Cult of the Talking Cross on the Outskirts of Carrillo Puerto (1971). Photo by Harvey M. Bricker.

tion, Juan de la Cruz says that he first began to speak to his people on October 15, 1850. He then goes on to explain that God had commanded the Indians to continue their struggle against the Ladinos:

And another thing
Is my Father's commandment,
Ye Christian villagers:
Know ye
That not only did there arise the war of the Whites
And the Indians,
Because it has come
The time
For an Indian uprising
Over the Whites
For once and for all!
(lines 85–95)

He promises them that God will protect them in battle:

Because even though they are going to hear
The roar
Of the firing
Of the Enemy's guns
Over them,
Nothing is going to cast harm
Upon them.
.....
Because know ye,
Ye Christian villagers,
That it is I who accompany you;
That at all hours
It is I who go in the vanguard
Before you,
In front of the Enemies
To the end that
There not befall you,
Not even a bit of harm,
O ye my Indian children.
(lines 138–144, 154–164)

And he exhorts them to attack and liberate the ranch of Kampokobche, at that time under Ladino control:

And another
Of my commandments
For you,
Ye my beloved,
Is that it is necessary
That there be brought
One thousand weapons
And one thousand bearers
For liberating
This ranch Kampokobche.
This is the hour

For them to liberate it,
This ranch Kampokobche,
For once and for all!
The Whites are going
To surrender districts
In the east
Or wherever they have infiltrated their districts.
Because it has come,
The time
For the uprising of Yucatan
Over the Whites
For once and for all!
(lines 165–187)

On January 4, 1851, the Maya obeyed this command and attacked Kampokobche. In spite of Juan de la Cruz's assurances that God would protect them and lead them to victory, the Indians suffered a disastrous defeat in this battle. What was even worse was that the Ladinos learned of the new cult from some of the Indian prisoners captured during this abortive attack, and on March 23 they attacked the shrine village. The soldiers confiscated the Cross and killed a ventriloquist, Manuel Nauat, who apparently spoke for the Cross (Baqueiro 1871–1879:2:388–392; Reed 1964:136).

Manuel Nauat is mentioned briefly in the prologue to a later version of Juan de la Cruz's proclamation, which is treated as a sacred document by the Indians of X-Cacal, who are descendants of some of the founders of Chan Santa Cruz (Villa Rojas 1945: Appendix B):

The very first leader
Was my patron,
Don Manuel Nauat;
The second one
Was my patron,
Don Venancio Puc,
And Doña Hilaria Nauat,
And Don Atanasio Puc.³⁷

An English translation of this document was published by Alfonso Villa Rojas in 1945. In May 1971, Argosy magazine published a report of an expedition to Quintana Roo led by Milt Machlin and Bob Marx which included a visit to X-Cacal, where the men were permitted to photograph a more recent copy of the manuscript which Villa Rojas had published in 1945 (Machlin and Marx 1971:27).³⁸ Nelson Reed, the author of a well known history of the Caste War of Yucatan (1964), served as consultant for the expedition; he very kindly arranged for me to receive a copy of the manuscript.

The X-Cacal manuscript and the manuscript in

the library in Merida are almost identical. They differ in only one important respect: the X-Cacal manuscript includes several passages that do not appear in the 1850 version. The sections added to the X-Cacal version include (1) a prologue, which is a historical account of events that occurred between 1850 and the end of 1885, bringing the document up to date, (2) an excerpt from a letter written in 1851 to Miguel Barbachano, the governor of Yucatan, a copy of which I also found in Merida (see Text A-2), and (3) several epilogues or addenda, dated 1887, 1903, 1944, and 1957. The wording in the other sections is virtually identical in the two versions. Such minor differences as exist may be attributed to copying error or to attempts to improve the style and adapt to changes in orthographic conventions (see Bricker 1974).

The X-Cacal manuscript is organized like the Books of Chilam Balam of the Maya. It is a historical document which has been kept up to date with postscripts and introductory material. It also has religious content, including prophecies and quotes from the scriptures (see Chapter 11 for a detailed discussion of this material).

After Nauat's death, a new Cross replaced the one which had been confiscated. This Cross communicated in writing with the help of Juan de la Cruz. During the month of August of the year 1851, nine letters from the Cross signed by Juan de la Cruz were sent to Miguel Barbachano, four of which have survived (see Text A-2, note to lines 145–146). In all of them, the Cross complained about the treatment it had received at the hands of Ladino soldiers, it moaned the death of Manuel Nauat, and it demanded reparations for the ill-treatment it had received and for the confiscation of its possessions:

Because know thou
That a great many things
Were done to me
[By] thy troops
On the twenty-third
Of the count
Of the month
Of March,
When they killed him,
My very own patron,
With whom I used to speak.
That was the day
When they tied me
And carried me
To his ranch,
Kampokobche.
In one hour

They interrogated me three times
To the end that
I would speak with them!
And what if my Father was not willing
For me to speak with them?
Because with my Father's permission
There is only my patron
With whom I am going to speak.
Not with all creation
Shall I speak!
Ever since they killed him,
My very own patron,
There is no one for me to speak with.
I exist
Among my troops.
Because the most outrageous things
They have done to me:
They took off my clothes;
They peeled my flesh;
They burned me.
It is everything
That they have done to me.
They dispossessed me
Of my money,
250 pesos,
And two gold chains of mine,
And a load of my chocolate,
And five of my pigs,
And 550 pounds of my candles,
And three of my horses,
And one of my swords,
And one of my pistols
That they took from me,
And fifty loads of my corn.
That was the day
When they destroyed my patron's life,
Him.
And they dispossessed me of all these things.
Thus also,
On the fourteenth
Of the count
Of the month
Of June
When thy troops arrived
For the second time
In my village,
Little Holy Cross,
That was the day
When they dispossessed me of the rest of my
property.
They took 200 hens of mine from me;
They took another two pigs of mine,
And ten loads of my salt,
And one small box of spermaceti candles,
And one box of my white candles,
And one box of votive offerings,
And 400 pounds of wax cakes

That they took from me.
 And two fields of my corn
 The horses of thy troops destroyed
 For me.
 What is the meaning of the fact
 That my seed would be destroyed for me?
 Don't they realize
 That that seed of mine
 That they destroyed,
 That is their life?
 That is their breath,
 That is their strength.
 Because if that seed of mine did not exist,
 Not one of my engendered people here,
 In the world,
 Would then be able to speak.
 Thus, then,
 Don Miguel,
 It is thee
 Whom I appoint
 To cause them to return to me
 All that property of mine
 That they took from me,
 Those troops of thine.
 Thus, then,
 I am telling thee
 That thou art going to cause thirty Masses to be
 made for me
 In the cathedral
 In the city of Merida
 And candles adorned with flowers
 That thou art going to deliver to me,
 And a procession;
 And let there be a bullfight;
 And let young ladies sally forth
 For their enjoyment.
 Because in my city of Merida
 They are going to initiate my holiday.
 (lines 35–144)

This letter was written on August 28, 1851. The complete Maya text and my English translation of it appear in Appendix A as Text A-2.

Who was Juan de la Cruz? The name, of course, means John of the Cross. The first John of the Cross, one of the founders of the Discalced Carmelites, was the leader of a religious reform movement in Spain during the latter part of the sixteenth century. As one who opposed the status quo, he was severely punished and jailed. "A strange phenomenon, for which no satisfactory explanation has been given, has frequently been observed in connexion with the relics of St. John of the Cross. Francis de Yepes, the brother of the saint, and after him many other persons have noticed the appearance in his relics of images of Christ on the Cross, the Blessed Virgin, St.

Elias, St. Francis Xavier, or other saints, according to the devotion of the beholder" (Zimmerman 1910: 480). Was this name assumed by one of the leaders of the Maya movement in order to win support for the Cult of the Talking Cross? Or was it simply a coincidence that someone with this name became the spokesman for the Cross?³⁹

Exactly the same questions may be asked about Manuel Nauat, the ventriloquist who was killed during the enemy raid on Chan Santa Cruz. The term *nauatlato* means 'interpreter' in Nahuatl (Molina 1970: 63); it was applied to Indian translators during the Colonial period (Heath 1972: 12). Is it only a coincidence that the surname of the interpreter for the Cross was Nauat (*naguat*), or was it an assumed name?

Historians usually refer to Juan de la Cruz as Juan de la Cruz Puc (Baqueiro 1871–1879: 2: 390–391; González Navarro 1970: 97–98; Molina Solís 1921: 2: 255; Reed 1964: 137, 287). It may be that they regard the name "Juan de la Cruz" as a pseudonym for Venancio Puc, who was the principal leader of the movement between 1852 and the end of 1863.

The prologue which was added to the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz some time between 1850 and 1887 refers to Venancio Puc as the Cross's second patron:

The second one
 Was my patron,
 Don Venancio Puc,
 And Doña Hilaria Nauat,
 And Don Atanasio Puc.
 Thus, then,
 I am making known
 On which day
 And in which year
 They were caused to leave them,
 Their lives:
 In the year
 1848,
 The twenty-fifth
 Was the count
 Of the month
 Of September,
 Thus,
 In that very year.

In the copy of the manuscript from which Villa Rojas's translation was made, the scribe first wrote 1884 and then scratched it out and wrote 1848. Villa Rojas (1945: 161n) thinks that 1884 was probably the correct date. In my opinion, neither date is the correct one. The men who succeeded Venancio Puc

informed the Superintendent of Belize that Puc had been murdered late in 1863.⁴⁰ Both the 1884 and the 1848 dates are obviously the result of some copying error; perhaps the date was first written as 1864 and later miscopied as 1884. (Puc was killed at the end of December 1863.) The copy of the manuscript photographed by Machlin and Marx in 1971 gives only the 1848 date (1971:19).

According to the men who overthrew Venancio Puc in 1863, there were actually three leaders of the Cult of the Talking Cross: "The day at length arrived in which Divine Providence enlightened our minds, and at the risk of our own lives we have removed out of the way the originators of all these crimes—they were, first, the man who styled himself Patron of the Church, an old man who acted as his secretary, and a boy or rather a youth who was in reality the person who used to speak and who administered justice with such energy."⁴¹ There is little doubt that Venancio Puc was "the man who styled himself Patron of the Church," for he was known in British Honduras as the Patron of the Cross.⁴² The identity of the other two members of the triumvirate is more difficult to determine. The best information I have found on this point suggests that the "old man who acted as his [Venancio Puc's] Secretary" was Atanasio Puc, who is mentioned in the prologue to the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz, and the "boy or rather a youth who was in reality the person who used to speak" was the latter's son. My source is a letter written by José María Rosado, a Ladino boy captured by the Indians during the Bacalar massacre of 1858 (see below), who spent nine months in Chan Santa Cruz. Rosado was only ten years old when he was captured; his letter was written many years later, in 1915.

An old Indian called Tata Naz (Nazareo) was in charge and as a priest, (under the control of the Tatich) he led the prayers and rosary. The four Generals and all the Officers met once a week here to hear the work and command of the Santa Cruz, who spoke to [sic] the mouth of Tata Naz, [probably Naz's] son in a fine thin whistle, always at midnight behind a curtain near the Altar, all in darkness. (Rosado, June 25, 1931)

Who was Tata Naz? The name "Naz" is a Maya nickname for either Nazareo or Atanasio. To a native speaker of Spanish (as Rosado was), particularly a child, Naz would seem like an obvious nickname for Nazareo; however, today it is just as likely to be a nickname for Atanasio (Philip C. Thompson, personal communication). In another part of his letter, Rosado mentions that "Tata Naz's son who acted for

the Cross" was named Braulio (Rosado, June 25, 1931).

If Rosado's memory, on the one hand, and my reasoning, on the other, are correct, then the leaders of the cult were all Pucs, and two of them were related to each other as father and son. If one of these Pucs was pretending to be Juan de la Cruz, then it was probably Atanasio Puc, who served as Secretary for the Cross. However, Juan de la Cruz did not use the surname Puc in any known document bearing his signature (Don Dumond, personal communication). Furthermore, proclamations bearing the signature of Juan de la Cruz continued to appear after the Pucs' death in 1863. One such proclamation, dated October 20, 1866, was published in the Campeche newspaper *El Espíritu Público* on July 19, 1867.

Another possibility is that Juan de la Cruz was a pseudonym for José María Barrera, the Mestizo who historians believe invented the Cult of the Talking Cross (Baqueiro 1871–1879:2:388; González Navarro 1970:97; Molina Solís 1921:2:256; Reed 1964:135–136). The exhortation to attack Kampokobche in the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz refers indirectly to Barrera in the sense that Kampokobche was his former headquarters. It is likely that Barrera played some role in the decision to try to regain his property. But this is not in itself evidence that Barrera was the one who wrote the proclamation.

There is, however, one document signed by Barrera that refers to the words of the Cross: a letter to the Superintendent of British Honduras in Belize, dated January 1851, which contains the following message:

I put you and the Magistrates of Belize in knowledge that the Holy Cross Three Persons speaks to his Secretary General and says that at this date you must be informed that Holy Cross begs of you to give them powder shot and all the implements of war. My beloved Sirs come and receive a holy benediction and enjoy the benefit of speaking with the True Christ who spilt his Blood for your sake do not fail to come for the real Christ says that only you believe in him as we do poor Indians that we are.⁴³

This is the only document I have found that links Barrera directly to the Cult of the Talking Cross.

I believe that Atanasio Puc is much more likely than José María Barrera to have been Juan de la Cruz because (1) he is mentioned in the prologue of the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz as one of Manuel Nauat's successors, and (2) he outlived Barrera by eleven years (Barrera apparently died on December 31, 1852 [Baqueiro 1871–1879:2:445]) and was ac-

tive during the time that the cult enjoyed its greatest strength and popularity.

I also question whether it was Barrera or one of the Pucs who invented the Cult of the Talking Cross. The proclamation of Juan de la Cruz mentions the names of several known rebel leaders—Manuel Nauat, Venancio Puc, Atanasio Puc, and Juan Bautista Chuc—but Barrera's name is not among them. Barrera's name is also conspicuously absent from Maya oral traditions about the Caste War, which stress the exploits of Jacinto Pat, Cecilio Chi, and Crescencio Poot.

I suspect that historians believe that Barrera masterminded the cult because he was a Mestizo, a man of both Spanish and Indian ancestry, who used his knowledge of both cultures to prolong the war. This idea was expressed by Miguel Barbachano in a letter he sent to the Superintendent of Belize: "it appears that the Indians have taken away the command from Venancio Pec, and have appointed in his place, one Jose Maria Barrera who is not of the native caste; this man is to be feared on account of his class, and if he at the present time of his new command, obtains supplies, he will occasion a great deal of trouble and will be an obstacle to the termination of the war."⁴⁴ Ladinos regarded Barrera as a traitor to his Spanish heritage, conveniently ignoring the fact that some of his ancestors were Indians. It was inconceivable to most Ladinos that anyone with Spanish ancestry would join the Indian cause.

Although the identity of Juan de la Cruz remains something of a mystery, the cult with which he was identified does not. A number of detailed eyewitness reports describe its essential features.

In February 1852, an expedition led by General Rómulo Díaz de la Vega occupied Chan Santa Cruz. One of the officers on that expedition, Felipe de la Cámara Zavala, kept a diary, parts of which were serialized in the newspaper, *Diario de Yucatán*, during 1928. Of particular interest is his description of the church which was in use at that date:

there was at one end of it, an altar which no one could approach except the person in charge of the 3 crosses. These were found on top of the altar, clothed in dress and petticoat; behind that altar there was a pit in which a barrel was placed which served as a resonating chamber, giving at once a hollow and cavernous sound. All this was hidden from the view of those who were in the main part of the Church. (Cámara Zavala, September 16, 1928:4).

One of Cámara Zavala's men was captured by the Indians. His life was spared after he told them that

he knew how to play the bugle, because the Indians needed musicians to play in their military band (Aldherre 1869:75; Cámara Zavala, September 16, 1928:4). Eventually he escaped and made the following report to his superior:

Sir, I have absolutely no doubt, that I have heard them speak, the crosses speak; . . . On the second day after I arrived in Chan Santa Cruz, they brought me to Barrera and the person in charge of the crosses in the entrance to the Church, and we began to gamble and I won 28 pesos from them. On the following morning they told me that the crosses would speak to me; I ran over to the Church, they made me kneel and I heard the crosses clearly say to me: For having come to gamble in the entrance to my house, I sentence you to be given 25 lashes and you should hand over the money which you won, so that they can buy me candles. I put the money on the altar and they gave me 25 lashes. (Cámara Zavala, September 16, 1928:4)

These reports suggest that the leaders of the movement had found an effective substitute for the ventriloquist who had been killed the year before, namely the resonating cask. Cámara Zavala believed that the person in charge of the crosses hid in the pit behind the altar and said whatever Barrera wanted him to say to the congregation out front. However, Cámara Zavala did not himself have an opportunity to observe Barrera in action; Barrera had left Chan Santa Cruz by the time Díaz de la Vega's expedition occupied the town and Cámara Zavala visited the church.

It is significant that already at this date the crosses had been given an Indian identity: they were clothed in the type of dress (*huipil*) and petticoat (*fustán*) worn by Indian women. The Cross was Christian in origin, but the cult was created to serve an Indian, not a Ladino cause.

A Talking Cross was apparently sometimes carried in battle in order to guide the Cruzob, 'the people of the Cross,' to victory. In late February 1858, Venancio Puc led a successful attack on the Ladino stronghold at Bacalar. Afterward, several Englishmen came from British Honduras to Bacalar in an effort to ransom the survivors of the massacre which had taken place after the fort was overcome. They were forced to negotiate with the Talking Cross:⁴⁵

That night, as usual, all the available Indians in Bacalar assembled in front of the house where the St. Cruz is kept. The Boy attendants on the idol, called "Angels" sung in front of it, the drums and bugles sounded at recurring parts of the song. Puc was inside with the image and the "Angels", the subordinate Chiefs and Soldiers knelt outside, and did not rise until the

service was over when they crossed themselves and rubbed their foreheads in the dust. . . . About 11 o'clock the Indians were heard running backwards and forwards, and the order was given to bring out the prisoners. Captain Anderson got up, and following the prisoners saw them placed in a line in front of the St. Cruz. A large body of Soldiers were there kneeling in the road. . . . Captain Anderson being close to the house where the oracle was, heard a "squaking" noise, and when it ceased, it was announced that St. Cruz had demanded a higher ransom for the prisoners. Mr. Blake jumped forward and offered to guarantee the payment of the 7,000 dollars. Had he got the amount with him? No—but he would forward it. Santa Cruz scouted the idea. Mr. Blake had deceived them about the powder,—let the prisoners be killed.⁴⁶

Many of the prisoners were killed after negotiations between the Englishmen and the Cross broke

down. One of the few survivors was a ten-year-old boy, José María Rosado, who was taken to Chan Santa Cruz, where he spent nine months until he was freed.⁴⁷ Many years later, in 1915, he described his experiences as a prisoner in Chan Santa Cruz in a letter to a friend. Rosado says that he was there when the large stone church, which is still standing today (Figures 3 and 4),⁴⁸ was being built. "A large Church was being built by the prisoners taken from the towns raided from time to time. There were about 30 masons, stone-breakers, and lime and clay mixers; they were four Generals, each taking a week's turn. It was finished before I left" (Rosado, June 25, 1931). He also describes, in some detail, the organization of the cult, the functions of its leaders, and an audience with the Cross:

An old Indian called Tata Naz [Nazareo] was in charge and as a priest, [under the control of the Tatich] he led the prayers and rosary. The four Generals and all the Officers met once a week here to hear the work and command of the Santa Cruz, who spoke to [sic] the mouth of Tata Naz, [probably Naz's] son in a fine thin whistle, always at midnight behind a curtain near the Altar, all in darkness. Only the Generals and Officers were allowed in. The soldiers and women outside waiting to hear through one of the Generals what the orders were from the Cross. A Captain from General Santos once related to me what took place at one of these meetings; after closing doors and extinguishing the lights, A Tatich called out the names of the Generals and Officers who were present, any absentees from the previous meeting had to give a satisfactory reason, if the reason was not approved by the Tatich, the of-

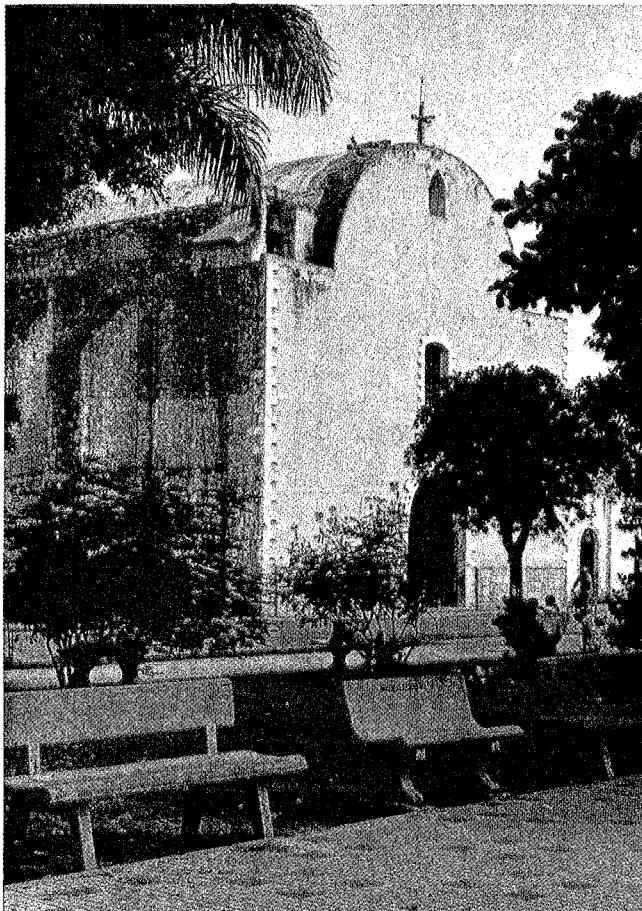


FIGURE 3. The Church of the Cult of the Talking Cross (X-Balam Na) Founded in 1858, as It Looked in 1971. Photo by Harvey M. Bricker.



FIGURE 4. Side View of the Church of the Cult of the Talking Cross (1971). Photo by Harvey M. Bricker.

fender was ordered to send a quantity of corn to headquarters (the Tatich's house) next day.—Then a small brass bugle sounded, a loud noise like the flopping of a huge bird was heard. The congregation all went flat on their faces striking their breasts saying "We believe in the Santa Cruz who will talk to us." Then the cross, or rather Tata Naz's son started in a sharp whistling voice saying: "My people and beloved Chiefs, I have just now returned from a long excursion to the capital and principal military guarded towns of Yucatan. They are all in a state of revolt against Mexico, fighting between them[s]elves for the governorship of Merida, all forgetting that the Maya race is still existing. Now is our best time to wake them up and show them we don't forget them. My beloved Chiefs, it is now a month since you returned from the victorious entry and capture of Bacalar, and as you are well rested it is time now to think of moving again, I therefore command my dear Tatich Don Benancio Pek,⁴⁹ my Generalísimo to prepare with his Generals a march to be made between a week from now to attack and capture the City of Valladolid, I will be with them to direct them and make a victory for them. The gathering all shouted three times Viva La Santisima Cruz y Nuestro Tatich"; then all dispersed. (Rosado, June 25, 1931)

This suggests that the principal religious functionaries were Venancio Puc, the Tatich or Patron of the Cross; Tata Naz, the interpreter or spokesman for the Cross; and Tata Naz's son Braulio, the ventriloquist who hid behind the altar and served as the Cross's voice. A few years later, the organization of the cult was summarized in comparable terms by F. Aldherre (1869), the Austrian who accompanied the Empress Carlota during a visit to Yucatan in 1865:

The supreme priest of Chan Santa Cruz has the name of "patron" and is at the same time the supreme chief of the people, with unlimited, despotic power. The second has the title of "interpreter of the cross or of God" or *tata Polin*, and the third "the organ of the divine word." Their functions are as follows: on solemn occasions the patron, who is also called *totich* [*tatich*] assembles the people around the temple, and in the middle of darkness interrogates the cross. The organ of the divine word is responsible for answering, and the *tata Polin* communicates to the people the divine will. (Aldherre 1869:75)

By that time, the original members of the triumvirate had been assassinated (see below). The patron, or *tatich*, must have been Bonifacio Novelo, the man who succeeded Venancio Puc as leader of the Cruzob. *Polin* is a nickname for Paulino. Someone by that name must have served as spokesman for the Cross until Juan Bautista Chuc took over (see below).

According to Rosado, Tata Naz was not simply the spokesman for the Cross, but performed some of the functions formerly monopolized by Ladino priests:

"All Baptisms and marriages are performed by Tata Naz, the former to infants using the prescribed words and pouring water on the head, the latter simply saying in Maya 'Yo te case en el nombre de la Santa Cruz Amen' [I marry you in the name of the Holy Cross Amen']" (Rosado, June 25, 1931). He was in charge of the new church "and as a priest, (under the control of the Tatich) he led the prayers and rosary" (Rosado, June 25, 1931).

Rosado's description of the circumstances under which the Cross communicated with its followers is in close agreement with the Englishman's account of his experiences with the Cross at Bacalar. In both cases, the interview took place late at night, in darkness, the believers prostrated themselves, and the voice of the Cross was described as a squeaking or whistling noise. Venancio Puc was in evidence on both occasions.

Other descriptions of the cult during that period are substantially the same. In March 1861, two English soldiers, Lieutenants James Plumridge and I. Twigge, the former of the West Indian Regiment, the latter of the Royal Engineers, traveled to Chan Santa Cruz bearing a message from the Superintendent in Belize protesting a recent Cruzob raid on English territory. In Corozal they engaged José María Trejo, a trader, to serve as their interpreter. When they arrived in Chan Santa Cruz, they were brought before Venancio Puc, who informed them that their business would have to wait "till God came."⁵⁰

We then asked if we could be accommodated with a house, he pointed to a small shed or Guard room where they disarmed us, we told them that our swords were a part of our uniform, they refused to let us retain them. The soldiers remained in the Guard room with us from about 8 o'clock in the morning until 12 o'clock at night when they awakened us and said we must go to the Church as God was speaking to us, there seemed to be great excitement and uproar in the Town, the plaza being crowded, we were hurried into the Church which was dark, having made us kneel down a voice which appeared to come from the ceiling asked us the following questions.

What have you come here for, we answered that we had come to explain your Excellency's letter and that you were desirous of preserving peace with them but that you would not allow armed parties to cross over to the English side and that you required a satisfactory reason for their having done so—The voice then said my troops did no harm to the English, they merely took cattle which they had a right to as they belonged to their enemies. I ordered the Commandant and men who crossed the Rio Hondo to be flogged as they had done so without orders from me—the voice then went on to tell us that from your Excellency's letter it ap-

peared that you wanted them to pay for the cattle and that it contained hard words such as God would not answer and that it was not signed by your Excellency—the voice also said that if the English wanted to fight with my people they will wait for them here.⁵¹

The interpreter's description of the setting for the audience was similar:

At twelve o'clock that night we were ordered to attend by a Guard of Soldiers who said the Lord has come—the Lord has come,—Come you must go, he is speaking to you.—We were then taken into a large Church which was very dark. We were taken up to the other end of the Church and desired to kneel down. We were then told to listen for the Lord was speaking to us. At the same time a shrill voice proceeded from behind a curtain sometimes near and sometimes further away.—⁵²

Together these eyewitness reports attest to the great power of the Cross and its three sponsors, not only in religious matters, but also in political and military affairs. It was the Cross that decided when and where raids should be made. An effective espionage system headed by the "Great Father Spy" (*nōnoch tata zul*) kept the Cross informed of dissension in the Ladino camp (Aldherre 1869:76). During the fall of 1857, another political coup in Merida drained the countryside of troops. The Cross acted quickly on this intelligence by sending its soldiers to Tekax. The Indian army overran the town and killed most of its inhabitants.⁵³ A few months later, the Cruzob took Bacalar at the direction of the Cross. And according to Rosado (June 25, 1931), not long after the victory at Bacalar, the Cross instructed the Cruzob to march on Valladolid.⁵⁴ Furthermore, in September 1862, Bonifacio Novelo led a raid on Tunkas (Aldherre 1869:76).

All the Cruzob, including the ranking generals—Dionisio Zapata, Crescencio Poot, Leandro Santos, and Bonifacio Novelo—were subordinate to the triumvirate. The generals were expected to carry out the orders of the Cross; if they misbehaved, they were disciplined by flogging or other punishment (Aldherre 1869:75; Rosado, June 25, 1931).

The Cross communicated by letter with the Governor of Yucatan in Merida and with the Superintendent of British Honduras in Belize. As Plumridge and Twigge discovered, much to their dismay, representatives of foreign powers were forced to discuss their business with the Cross. Although Venancio Puc was undoubtedly the head of the Cruzob, he pre-

ferred to handle diplomatic matters through the Cross.

Two of the generals, José Dionisio Zapata and José Leandro Santos (whose surnames suggest that they were not Indians, but probably Mestizos), eventually decided that they could take no more of the tyranny of the Cross and on December 23, 1863, led a coup against the triumvirate, killing all three. They explained afterward that Divine Providence had gradually enlightened their minds so that they discovered that the person who spoke for the Cross "was no saint but a Christian" (i.e., mortal).⁵⁵ This was not the first time that Santos had expressed his lack of faith in the cult. Several years before, he had been severely punished in public for expressing such opinions:

At another meeting my Gral. Leandor Santos was drunk and when the cross was talking, shouted "Stop talking Braulio (Tata Naz's son who acted for the cross) we have enough of sorcery" was immediately whipped and kept under arrest, tried the next day by the Tatich and the other 3 Grals, and made to pay 25 barrels of corn, cautioning him if such offence was made, immediate death will follow. (Rosado, June 25, 1931)

In killing Puc, he may have been seeking revenge for the way that Puc had humiliated him.

The Cult of the Talking Cross did not die with its first sponsors. Only a few months later, in March 1864, a faction led by Bonifacio Novelo, Bernardino Cen, and Crescencio Poot deposed and killed Zapata and Santos.⁵⁶ Novelo became Tatich, and Cen and Poot became second and third in command, respectively.⁵⁷ (Poot was to become the head of the Cruzob sometime between 1868 and 1873.)

In the prologue to the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz, Juan Bautista Chuc is cited as the successor of Atanasio Puc. Chuc lived until August 23, 1885, when he was murdered by Aniceto Oul. His death is described as follows:

Thus, then,
Something else happened;
Misfortune came
To the leader of my village,
Jaguar House,
In the year
1885:
[It was] on the twenty-second
Of August
That it came to light;
On the twenty-third
They wanted to destroy the life of my assistant,
Don Juan Bautista Chuc.

In the meantime, the Cross, probably through Chuc, continued to write letters signed "Juan de la Cruz." I have already mentioned that one such letter, dated October 20, 1866, was published in the Campeche newspaper, *El Espíritu Público*, on July 19, 1867.

Chuc was succeeded by Anastasio Caamal, who wrote a postscript to the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz dated August 15, 1887. It is likely that Caamal was the person who recorded the circumstances of Chuc's death two years earlier.

Some of the later postscripts seem to record when new scribes took office. The next dated postscript was written on October 15, 1903. According to Villa Rojas (1945:161), the man who succeeded Anastasio Caamal was his son, Andrés, who died in 1903; he was succeeded by his younger brother, José Santos. The most recent postscript is dated December 19, 1957. It is similar in wording to Anastasio Caamal's postscript in 1887 and the postscript written in 1903. The text is as follows:

I am making known
When I learned to believe in
The most holy commandments
Of my Holy True Father,
Our Father,
Sign of the Cross,
Papa,
Lord Three Persons.
It was on a Holy Thursday,
[The] nineteenth
Of December
In the year
1957
(Years).
This
Is the year.

Thus the position of scribe, or Secretary to the Cross, apparently continued, without interruption, at least until 1957.

There is less direct evidence for the continuity of the position of Tatich, although the spiritual leader of some of the descendants of the Cruzob, who is known as Nohoch Tata (Great Father) or Ah Kin (Priest), has many of the same functions and prerogatives. In 1935, the Nohoch Tata was head of the church and the ruling council (Villa Rojas 1945:72, 92).

Under his direction the maestros or priests, acting by turns, perform the masses, rosaries, and other rites of Catholic origin every day in the church of the principal settlement or holy village. It is also his respon-

sibility to see that the altar is always properly arranged and provided with candles, incense, and holy water. The Nohoch-Tata celebrates marriages, baptisms, and special masses, although he may occasionally delegate these activities to a maestro serving under him. . . . He does not make milpa or take part in labor; all his expenses are defrayed from the "money of the Saint," that is, the funds collected in the church as payment for masses, marriages, and other sacraments. (Villa Rojas 1945:72)

Bonifacio Novelo was Tatich of Chan Santa Cruz for only four years, until 1868.⁵⁸ According to Captain John Carmichael, the son of the owner of Corozal Town, in British Honduras, who visited Chan Santa Cruz during November 1867, the Cross ceased to speak after Venancio Puc's death in 1863:

It is here [in the church] the celebrated Cross is kept, which when the Government of Santa Cruz was in the hands of unscrupulous men, was made the instrument by means of ventriloquism of inciting the ever-credulous Indian to commit deeds of unparalleled barbarity and ferocity. Now, the Indians are not imposed on by these mockeries, but taught to worship the Divine being through the Cross alone—with the exception of their belief in the efficacy of saints and the absence of priests, their religion is Roman Catholicism, but all prayers are addressed through the Santa Cruz.⁵⁹

However, there is some evidence that the Cult of the Talking Cross had simply moved to Tulum, for in 1866, a cross at that place supposedly issued instructions on how prisoners should be treated.⁶⁰ A few years later, in 1871, it was reported that the interpreter of this cross was a woman named María Uicab (Traconis 1935, quoted in Villa Rojas 1945:24n). And William Miller, the Assistant Surveyor-General of British Honduras, who traveled to Chan Santa Cruz in 1887, learned that:

Near Tulum, is a particular cross, from which the Indians say the voice of God issues, and on all grave occasions this cross is consulted and they act in accordance with the directions given by the voice which issues from the cross. All the chiefs of the nation are appointed by it. A few years ago a Yucatecan priest went by sea to Tulum. He was taken before this cross and interrogated, when the cross directed that the priest should be killed, which was promptly done, and since that time no priest has attempted to enter the country. (Miller 1888:26)

Miller would have liked to visit Tulum, but his companions "refused to go beyond Santa Cruz, as they stated that every stranger had to interview the Cross and they feared the ordeal" (Miller 1888:26).

These reports suggest that the essential features of the Cult of the Talking Cross, including ventrilo-

quism, survived Venancio Puc's death at least until 1887, at Tulum, if not also at Chan Santa Cruz. What happened after that is not clear. In 1935 or 1936, Villa Rojas was told that the Cross had not spoken in many years, although it still communicated in writing:

It is not uncommon for the most Holy Cross to make its wishes known or to issue counsel to its votaries by means of letters written in Maya. Sometimes such a letter appears on the altar; sometimes one of the scribes is inspired to write its message. These letters are almost always signed "My Father Lord Three-Persons" followed by three little crosses. According to one of the scribes, the cross signs its messages in this way because it speaks in the name of God, its Father. In the past, when its sanctuary was in Chan Santa Cruz [instead of X-Cacal, where it is now], the Most Holy had the power of speech and was able to address its votaries directly. (Villa Rojas 1945:99)

Nevertheless, the Cross still "acts as an intermediary between God and man, for wherever stands a cross, there are the eyes of God. The Cross does not, however, communicate directly with God, but through His Son, Jesus Christ, also called John of the Cross" (Villa Rojas 1945:97).⁶¹

The principal difference between the religion of the Cruzob and the religion of other Maya groups in the peninsula is that the former emphasize the Cross in their worship. There are agricultural crosses which protect fields "against snakes and accidents," domestic crosses, "miraculous" or lineage crosses, and village crosses, in addition to the Talking Cross of Chan Santa Cruz, known as La Santísima (The Most Holy) (Villa Rojas 1945:97–98). Saint images, on the other hand, are relatively unimportant among the Cruzob: "Images of saints are rarely seen in the villages of the subtribe. The church in the shrine village has but two wooden figures, one of Christ and the other of the Virgin of Conception. There are none in Tusik [the settlement where Villa Rojas stayed]. Outside the subtribe, in such settlements as Kopchen and others, images are more common" (Villa Rojas 1945:100). This does not mean that the Cruzob do not believe in saints. On the contrary, they regard their crosses as saints, calling them *santos* (Villa Rojas 1945:97). In other words, the Cruzob still worship saints, but not saint images. They have substituted crosses dressed in native garments for images with Caucasian features and Ladino clothing.

A similar substitution was made in the position of village priest. The Nohoch Tata (like the Tatich before him) has most of the functions and prerogatives

(including payment for his services) of the Ladino village priest. He is the head of the church, and he performs Masses and the sacraments of marriage and baptism.⁶² If his rituals do not conform exactly to traditional Catholic practice, this is more likely a result of ignorance than of intent. There are too many parallels between the role of the Nohoch Tata and that of the Ladino village priest to make credible the argument that the Cruzob reverted to the religion of their pagan forebears. The religion of the Cruzob, including the Cult of the Talking Cross, has much more in common with the religion of Maya in other parts of the peninsula, where Ladino priests have been active, than with the religion of the ancient Maya (compare Villa Rojas 1945:Chapters X–XV with Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:Chapters VII–XI and Tozzer 1941). This does not mean that the religion of the Cruzob is purely Catholic. It obviously is not. The point is that virtually the same syncretism of Maya and Christian elements exists in all parts of the peninsula, including areas not under Cruzob control, which suggests that this pattern *predated* the Caste War (see Chapter 14 for a further discussion of religious syncretism).

In my opinion, the most significant changes produced by the revitalization movement were in social organization, not religion. The first major change was the development of a military organization where none had existed before. The second was the substitution of ties with the military company for village loyalties.

The Yucatecan militia, in which many Indians had served between 1839 and 1847, provided the model for Cruzob social organization. Each battalion of the local militia was

composed of eight companies numbering between about 800 and 1,200 men. The commander of each battalion (a colonel) and his staff (a lieutenant colonel, a captain, a lieutenant, a sublieutenant, and lesser officials) were appointed by the Yucatecan government.

Companies, on the other hand, were organized by individual towns and were officered by local individuals selected by the towns; these minimally included a captain as commander, a lieutenant, two sublieutenants, four sergeants, eight corporals, and three drummers.

No military rank between that of captain and lieutenant colonel was established. (Dumond 1977:106–107)

The military ranks of the Cruzob included, in order: general, commandant or major, captain, lieutenant, sergeant, corporal, and soldier (Dumond 1977:107; Reed 1964:161–162; Villa Rojas 1945:91). Reed (1964:162) has pointed out that "Their idea of army organization went no further than the company

level: battalions and regiments didn't exist as such, but were simply groupings of companies; a major was a company commander of higher rank or longer service. There was no general staff or table of organization."

By 1935, the military organization had been integrated with the kinship system:

Membership in a company is generally inherited through the patrilineal line, children of either sex belonging to the father's company. Boys retain their membership throughout life, but when a girl marries she becomes a member of her husband's company. (Villa Rojas 1945:91)

In other words, the military company has become a corporate descent group.

Each company includes, then, its active male members and their wives and children. These groupings are apparent on certain festival days when practically the entire population of the subtribe meets at the shrine village. On such occasions the people gather according to companies, so that in each of the five company barracks (*cuartelos*) are found a number of male lineages, made up of fathers, sons, grandsons, and all women bound to these men by filial, fraternal, or conjugal ties. (Villa Rojas 1945:92)

Furthermore,

Companies tend to be exogamous, not because of any formal prohibition against marriage between company members, but because relatives who fall within the forbidden marriage degrees are more apt to be found within one's own company than in another. (Villa Rojas 1945:92)

According to Villa Rojas (1945:91),

there is absolutely no correspondence between village and company membership, so that a company may include members living in different villages, and members of different companies may be found living in one settlement. . . . The significance of membership in a village or company is that the company is the unit of social control, whereas the landholding unit is the village.

The shift of loyalties from the village to the company was a practical consequence of the upheaval caused by the Caste War: Most of the Cruzob were refugees from other parts of the peninsula; they came from many different villages. They were often forced to abandon the new settlements they founded in the southeastern part of the peninsula and hide in the forest. Furthermore, military service was compulsory among the Cruzob.⁶³ Under these conditions, the military company was a more permanent unit for identification purposes than the village.

One of the duties of the company is to guard the Talking Cross.

The politico-religious institution called *guardia* . . . serves to maintain the religious services in the chapel of La Santísima and to protect the sanctuary from profanation. The men are assigned to their work according to their membership in the companies and not according to village. Each company spends two weeks in the capital village, during which time its members take turns every two hours in guarding La Gloria, the sacred precinct of the sanctuary. . . .

Besides guarding the sanctuary, there are other services which each company must perform while on duty in the capital. The maestros of the company are responsible for the care of the temple and for the religious services conducted there. The other members of the company, when off duty, remain in their barracks, lying in hammocks or twisting henequen cord, but if called upon they are expected to carry messages to one of the other villages, or to act as police in apprehending delinquents or preserving order. (Villa Rojas 1945:75 76)

In other parts of the peninsula, the *guardia* is not a military-religious institution, but a system of rotational service in the municipal government (Redfield 1941:178–179). The following description by Carmichael in 1867 suggests that the Cruzob used this system for recruiting soldiers during the Caste War:

I next visited Bernabel Ken [Bernardino Cen] the second chief of Santa Cruz, who also had a guard of 50 men over his house. . . . He has the command of the whole army of Santa Cruz, which consists of 11,000 fighting men, armed and equipped with rifles and accoutrements taken from the Yucatecans in war. The Indians of Xloxhá and Mancanché who form part of the Santa Cruz confederation have to furnish 4000 men of this number. Each Indian has to give 15 days military service in the month, during which time he has to provide himself with rations, which consist of a few hard dry corncakes and red pepper.—He receives no pay, but on an expedition is allowed to appropriate what spoil he can lay his hands upon. They receive their rifles accoutrements and ammunition from the Santa Cruz Government. When the tour of duty of a soldier arrives, he presents himself in Santa Cruz to his Commandant who assigns his station. . . . When the Indian soldier is not on guard or duty he is not allowed to be idle in the Barracks but is compelled to work at making hammocks, hats, ropes, or whatever his trade may be.⁶⁴

Villa Rojas's description of the *guardia* in 1935 is strikingly similar to Carmichael's description of what was obviously the antecedent institution in 1867. In both cases, the tour of duty was for two weeks; the off-duty activities were similar. One can

only assume that the soldiers who were stationed in Chan Santa Cruz were there to protect or "guard" the Cross.

The Cross first spoke when the Maya were losing the war. It united them and gave them supernatural sanction for their cause. With its help, the oppressive caste system inherited from the Colonial period was turned upside down: the Indian became master, and the Ladino became slave.⁶⁵ The belief that the Cross would protect them in battle, along with the arms supplied by the British (see below), enabled the Cruzob to resist "reconquest" for more than fifty years. An Indian army guided by a Talking Cross proved to be an unbeatable combination. No other Indian rebellion in the New World was so successful.

The End of the Caste War

Many rebel Indians did not believe in the Talking Cross and refused to subject themselves to its commands. Without the Cross to inspire them to keep on fighting, they eventually became tired of the war and made a separate peace with the Yucatecan government. Unlike all previous efforts to make peace with the Indians, the new initiatives did not come from the Ladinos of Yucatan, but from Guatemala and British Honduras. In the spring of 1851, Modesto Méndez, the governor of the District of the Petén, informed the governor of Yucatan of his intention to visit the town of Chichanha with a priest named Juan de la Cruz Hoil in order to explore the possibilities of a peace settlement.⁶⁶ Méndez and Hoil arrived in Chichanha on August 19 and conferred with Angelino Itza, the military chief of that town.⁶⁷ Their mission met with immediate success; the Indians of Chichanha signed a treaty with representatives of the Yucatecan government only two days later, on August 21, 1851.⁶⁸ But this treaty was just as short-lived as the one signed by Jacinto Pat in Tzucacab in 1848. Barrera's reaction to the treaty was similar to Cecilio Chi's in 1848; he appeared at Chichanha the following month with more than four hundred men, burned the town, and carried its leaders off to Chan Santa Cruz (Molina Solís 1921:2:243; Reed 1964:141; Sapper 1904:626).

In spite of this setback, the remaining Chichanha Indians persisted in their peacemaking efforts. On September 16, 1853, they signed another treaty with representatives of the Yucatecan government at Government House in Belize (Guerra de castas en Yucatán 1866:363–374; Sapper 1904:626). As Reed (1964:150) points out, this treaty was equivalent to

a statement of the status quo. The Chichanha Indians acknowledged the sovereignty of the Mexican government, in return for which they retained control over their internal affairs, they were allowed to keep their guns, and they did not have to pay taxes or religious "contributions" (Guerra de castas en Yucatán 1866:363–374; Sapper 1904:626). They, together with other groups of Indians that had not joined the Cruzob, eventually became known as the "peaceful rebel Indians" (*indios sublevados pacíficos*), in contrast with the "savage rebel Indians" (*indios sublevados bravos*) of Chan Santa Cruz (Sapper 1904:630).

The "peaceful" groups were organized very much like the Cruzob. They were small, virtually autonomous militaristic states ruled by generals. The generals were confirmed in office by the state governor. After 1858, when Campeche declared itself independent of Yucatan (Cline 1943b:15), many of them came under the nominal jurisdiction of the governor of Campeche. Their official stamp bore the Mexican eagle and the words "Pacíficos del Sur" ("Pacified [Indians] of the South") (Sapper 1904:630).

The treaty of 1853 obligated the Indians who signed it to provide four hundred men to help the Yucatecans defeat the Cruzob, and the state government supplied them with arms for that purpose (Guerra de castas en Yucatán 1866:365–366; Molina 1889:278–279; Sapper 1904:626–627). But it was the Cruzob, not the "peaceful rebels," who usually took the offensive. They raided Chichanha in 1860 in retaliation for a Yucatecan attack on Chan Santa Cruz.⁶⁹ Not long after that raid, the Chichanha Indians abandoned their town. Most of them moved to a new location farther south at a place called Icaiche.⁷⁰ The rest moved even farther south to the town of San Pedro Siris in British Honduras.⁷¹

Chichanha and Icaiche were near the border between Mexico and British Honduras, a region rich in forest products such as mahogany, dyewood, and logwood, which were being exploited by British logging companies. The Indians accused the logcutters of trespassing on their land and tried to collect rent for logging operations on what they believed to be the Mexican side of the boundary. Much of the northwestern boundary of British Honduras was in dispute until 1893.⁷² Furthermore, in 1852, just before the second Chichanha treaty was signed, representatives of Young, Toledo and Company had contracted with the Yucatecan government to cut mahogany on Mexican territory and had paid a substantial fee for this right.⁷³ But the Chichanha Indi-

ans were not party to this contract, and they refused to recognize it. Under their leader, Luciano Tzuc, they raided English mahogany works on both sides of the border in 1856 and 1857 and forced the company to meet their demands for rent.⁷⁴ More raids took place in 1863, 1866, and 1872, led by Tzuc's successor, Marcos Canul.⁷⁵

The British Foreign Office in London protested these raids officially, but the Mexican government refused to accept responsibility for them, arguing that the Indians at Chichanha, and later at Icaiche, were only nominally under its control.⁷⁶ The Mexicans were understandably not interested in stopping the raids as long as the Cruzob were able to purchase arms and ammunition in the colony.⁷⁷ Ironically, most of the men who were involved in the sale of arms to the Cruzob were expatriate Yucatecans, not Englishmen.⁷⁸

The Chichanha Indians were not alone in demanding rent for logcutting operations on their land. As early as 1848, after the Indians had captured Bacalar for the first time, Venancio Pec informed the Superintendent in Belize that English logging companies would have to pay for mahogany cut on the Mexican side of the Hondo River and appointed Edward Rhys as his agent.⁷⁹ On June 24, 1869, a party of Cruzob arrived at San Ramon to collect rents; they were assisted in their mission by the Inspector of the Frontier Police of British Honduras.⁸⁰ On November 4, 1873, Cresencio Poot sent a letter to the magistrate of Corozal, informing him that he was sending troops to collect rent from people living on the Mexican side of the Hondo.⁸¹ The X-Kanha Indians (see below) also collected rents for logging operations on Mexican territory.⁸²

Among the cosignatories of the Treaty of 1853 were José María Cocom of Mesapich and Pablo Encalada of X-Lochha (Guerra de castas en Yucatán 1866:363–364). At least ten other towns in the region along what is now the border between the states of Yucatan, Campeche, and Quintana Roo, including Macanche, X-Maben, X-Kanha, and Noh Ayin, also seem to have made peace with the Yucatecan government at that time.⁸³ They formed what was called the "Southern Line" of defense against the Cruzob. These towns were generally loyal to the Campeche government; only in 1867, when Chan Santa Cruz and Icaiche were at war with each other, did some of their people side with the Cruzob.⁸⁴ This probably accounts for the presence of contingents of Indians from X-Lochha and Macanche observed by

Carmichael during his visit to Chan Santa Cruz that year.⁸⁵

During the 1870s, by contrast, there seem to have been close ties between Eugenio Arana, the headman of X-Kanha, and Rafael Chan, who succeeded Marcos Canul as headman of Icaiche in 1872. When Chan was deposed by José Luis Moo at the beginning of 1874,⁸⁶ he turned to Arana for help and, less than a month later, had regained his position.⁸⁷ Arana traveled freely through Icaiche on his way to British Honduras later that year.⁸⁸

Military service was compulsory in all these groups. Many Indians, peaceful and otherwise, tried to escape from this duty by fleeing to British Honduras. In November 1868, for example, twenty men, eight women, and ten children from X-Lochha crossed over onto the British side of the Hondo River for this purpose.⁸⁹ The following year, the lieutenant governor of British Honduras reported that "the Indians of Pach Chakan [Patchakan] belong for the most part to the Santa Cruz Tribes, and have migrated into our territory for the purpose of avoiding the military service they owe their chiefs."⁹⁰ And during the same year, a number of Icaiche soldiers deserted and moved to the colony.⁹¹ The principal Icaiche (Chichanha) settlement in the colony was at San Pedro Siris.⁹² Today the descendants of many of these refugees are citizens of Belize.

The northern group of "peaceful rebel Indians" had closer ties with the government of Campeche than the southern group at Icaiche. They were also visited more frequently by Catholic priests.⁹³ At Icaiche, as at Chan Santa Cruz (Villa Rojas 1945: 72), where White priests were not welcome,⁹⁴ the *maestros* became priests:

It may not unnaturally occur to ask how have these Indians managed to carry on so long without a pastor. There exist among them a class of men whom they designate *Maestros* on whom fall all the duties which necessitate a Book and who between them divide the various novenas and public services which may require a leader. These *maestros* are not backward, but conduct service for the people in their own simple way—perform all the ceremonies of the Holy Week and of "Fiestas mayores."

Nay some are bold enough to administer baptism. (Molina 1889:277)

The "boldness" here referred to was a privilege granted to *maestros cantores* during the sixteenth century (Collins 1977:244).

On the whole, life among the "peaceful rebel Indi-

ans" was probably not very different from life in Chan Santa Cruz. There are striking similarities between Carmichael's description of his visit to Chan Santa Cruz in 1867 and Molina's (1889) account of his visit to Icaiche, probably in 1888 or 1889.⁹⁵ Both groups responded to the exigencies of the Caste War by building a society on a military base. The Icaiche and X-Kanha Indians used the *guardia* to protect themselves against attack by the Cruzob (Sapper 1904:627); the Cruzob maintained the *guardia* in order to protect themselves against attack by Ladino soldiers. Their enemies were different, but their needs were the same, so their response was similar. The *maestros* substituted for Ladino priests in Icaiche and Chan Santa Cruz. Thus the "peaceful rebel Indians" of Icaiche and X-Kanha had much in common with the "savage rebel Indians" of Chan Santa Cruz.

The Treaty of 1853 had brought several groups of rebel Indians under nominal governmental control, but it had no effect on the Cruzob. Even without the support of the Chichanha Indians and other groups who made peace in 1853, 1859, and 1861, the power of the Cruzob continued to increase and reached its height in 1858, when they captured Bacalar. Yucatecan hopes that the "peaceful rebel Indians" would put pressure on the Cruzob were never realized. The arms supplied them by the government were used mainly to defend themselves against Cruzob raids and to extort rents from British logging companies.

The Cruzob did not enter into serious peace negotiations until the beginning of 1884, when Cresencio Poot sent Juan Bautista Chuc, Aniceto Oul, and several other Indians to Belize to meet with General Teodosio Canto, the Yucatecan representative and vice governor of Yucatan. Their conditions for peace were (1) that Cresencio Poot would remain head of the Cruzob until his death; (2) that after his death, the inhabitants of Chan Santa Cruz could choose his successor, subject to the approval of the government of the state of Yucatan; (3) that no official would be sent from Yucatan to govern the Cruzob without their consent; and (4) that prisoners would be mutually extradited. A treaty was signed on January 11, 1884 in Belize.⁹⁶ On the following day, Canto became drunk, insulted Oul, and tore his shirt.⁹⁷ After learning of the indignities suffered by Oul, Poot refused to ratify the treaty.⁹⁸ Oul seized power the next year, and Chuc (and probably also Poot) was assassinated (see above).

The Cruzob made no further attempts to negoti-

ate an end to the Caste War. Instead, it was the British who signed a treaty with the Mexican government in 1893 which effectively brought an end to the arms trade with the Indians and, ultimately, their independence (Cline 1943c:31; Villa Rojas 1945:28). The Caste War officially ended on May 4, 1901, when General Ignacio Bravo occupied Chan Santa Cruz (Villa Rojas 1945:28).

This victory did not mean that the state of Yucatan had finally regained its lost territory. Bravo was a general in the Mexican, not the Yucatecan, army. A few months after the occupation of Chan Santa Cruz, President Porfirio Díaz set in motion a plan to carve the Federal Territory of Quintana Roo out of the eastern part of the peninsula. The plan went into effect on November 24, 1902 (Villa Rojas 1945:29).⁹⁹

Apparently, the Indians never submitted to the authority of the federal government. "Their systematic persecution by General Bravo during the eleven years of his administration served only to increase their hatred of the invaders" (Villa Rojas 1945:29).

In June 1915, federal troops abandoned Chan Santa Cruz and returned it to the Indians. This surprising move is difficult to explain. The Mexican Revolution was in full swing at that time, and the soldiers may have been needed elsewhere. According to Villa Rojas (1945:30), the evacuation was ordered by General Salvador Alvarado, the governor and military commandant of Yucatan and Quintana Roo, because the Indians had not responded favorably to his policy of trying to appease them by persuasion. Whatever the reason, the Cruzob, having regained their shrine center, "set about destroying the public benefits instituted there by the federal government: the magnificent public reservoir was blown up with dynamite; the Vigia Chico railway was put out of service, the locomotives torn apart, and the coaches burned; and finally, in order to isolate themselves completely from the outside world, the telegraph and telephone lines were cut and the wire put to other uses" (Villa Rojas 1945:30).

Not long afterward, a terrible smallpox epidemic wiped out most of the men who had been leaders when General Bravo occupied Chan Santa Cruz. Some of the Cruzob viewed this epidemic as having been "ordained by God as punishment for not having prosecuted the war against those Mexican soldiers who had taken possession of Chan Santa Cruz. This had been the fault of the old men, and that was why the disease had carried off almost all of them" (Villa Rojas 1945:31).

After this epidemic, the Cruzob split up into two groups. The northern group had its headquarters at Chunpom; the headquarters of the southern group was at Yokdzonot-Guardia. They were governed by Generals Juan Bautista Vega and Francisco May, respectively (Villa Rojas 1945:31).

Both Vega and May used the chicle boom which began in 1917 to increase their power (see Villa Rojas 1945:31-32 for a discussion of their role in the chicle trade). But the chicle boom also renewed government interest in the area, and federal troops returned to Chan Santa Cruz. When the market for chicle began to decline after 1929, General May lost much of his prestige. He was repudiated by his people for having sold out to the Mexicans (Villa Rojas 1945:32).

The southern group split into "two factions, one of which had its headquarters at the sanctuary of Chancah, while the other established its sanctuary and capital at a hitherto uninhabited site known as X-Cacal" (Villa Rojas 1945:32). At this time a number of Cruzob migrated southward to Patchakan in British Honduras to join other Cruzob who had come to the colony more than fifty years earlier. I visited Patchakan during the summer of 1972 and interviewed several ex-Cruzob who had left Chan

Santa Cruz after, as they put it, "General May sold out to the Mexicans."

General May apparently lived in Chan Santa Cruz, now Carrillo Puerto, until his death in 1969 (Juan Bautista Vega died the same year). His widow and son were still living there in 1971.

The great church built in 1858 still dominates the plaza of Carrillo Puerto (Figures 3 and 4); it is flanked on both sides by "one-story wings, each enclosing a line of rooms with arcades in front and behind," which the Cruzob had used as schools and barracks (Reed 1964:174; Figure 5). The second floor of the hotel next to the church on the south side of the plaza (Figure 6), where I stayed for a few days in August 1971, is supported by iron rails instead of wooden beams—possibly salvaged from the railroad torn up after the town was returned to the Cruzob in 1915 (Villa Rojas 1945:30). A modern restaurant and bus station occupy the west side of the plaza across from the church, and there are other new buildings. But Indians still live in the town, and they talk about the Caste War in vivid and usually accurate detail (see Appendix B, Text B-2). The more conservative Indians who live in outlying villages believe that the Caste War is still going on! (Burns 1977:260).

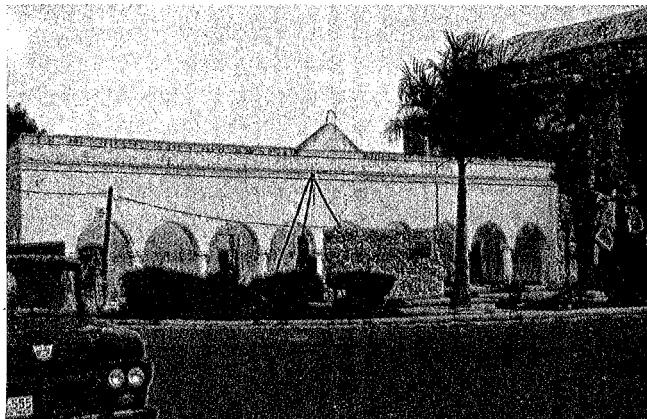


FIGURE 5. Cruzob Barracks beside Church in 1971. Photo by Harvey M. Bricker.

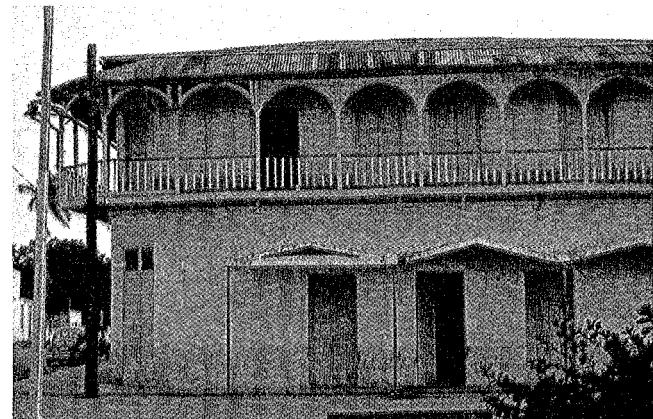


FIGURE 6. Hotel in Carrillo Puerto in 1971. Photo by Harvey M. Bricker.

The War of St. Rose in Chamula (1867–1870)

In 1869 the Indians of nine Tzotzil townships in highland Chiapas murdered three Ladino priests, massacred the Ladino inhabitants of several rural settlements, and besieged the Ladino city of San Cristobal Las Casas. The Ladinos of Chiapas call this uprising the Cuscat Rebellion of 1869 after Pedro Díaz Cuscat, the Chamulan Indian who was its principal leader. Their name for this movement is, however, a misnomer: it was not initially a rebellion, and it began in 1867, not 1869. Like the so-called Tzeltal Revolt of 1712, Cuscat's "rebellion" actually began as a local religious revitalization movement. It was only after Ladino authorities in San Cristobal Las Casas had tried to suppress the movement and arrest its leaders that it developed into a fullblown political crusade dedicated to the extermination of the Ladino population of the Chiapas highlands.¹

The Indian name for this movement, the War of St. Rose, emphasizes its religious origin and focus. The war was fought to legitimate a new saint cult, the cult of St. Rose. This cult was in many respects similar to the Tzotzil and Tzeltal Virgin cults of the early eighteenth century.

Although Mexico became independent from Spain in 1821, many attitudes and practices of colonial origin persisted into the second half of the nineteenth century in highland Chiapas. The Indians' position after 1821 was, if anything, worse than it had been during the Colonial period, for independence from Spain brought an end to royal checks on the exploitation of Indians. In highland Chiapas such exploitation took the form of economic abuses by the clergy residing in Indian towns and by Ladino merchants in San Cristobal Las Casas (*El Espíritu del Siglo*, July 31, 1869: 2; *El Baluarte de la Libertad*, October 1, 1869: 1–2; Trems 1957: 614–615). J. Cristóbal Salas,

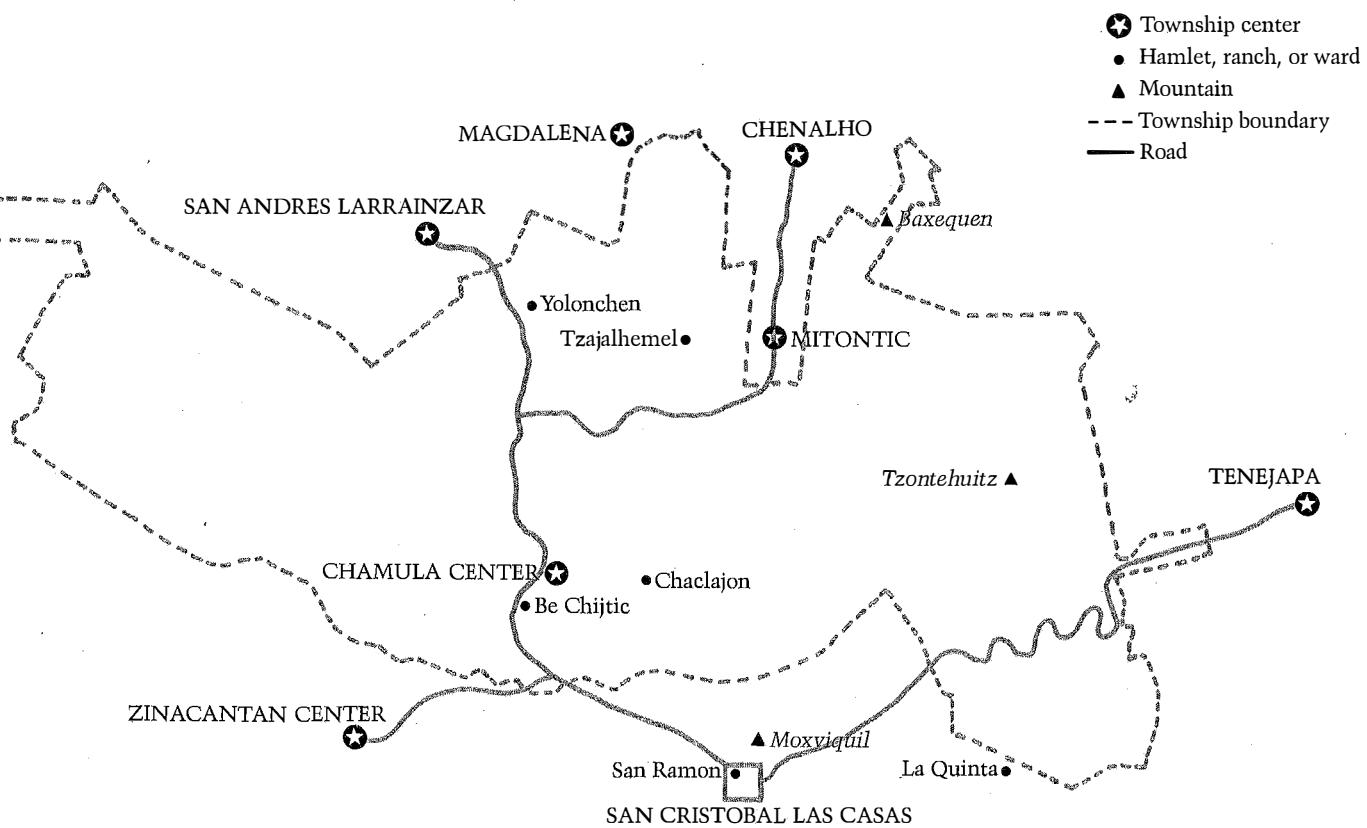
who wrote a series of editorials on the rebellion for the newspaper *El Baluarte de la Libertad*, reported on October 1, 1869, that prior to the rebellion the parish priest of Chamula had made particularly onerous demands on the inhabitants of that community. Daily domestic service, including furnishing firewood, fodder, and mail service whenever demanded, was required of thirty Indians of both sexes in the house of the parish priest. The Indians received no remuneration for this labor, which was in addition to the customary services that the town was expected to provide (*El Baluarte*, October 1, 1869: 2).

The parish priest of San Andres Larrainzar, a town that bordered on Chamula and also participated in the revolt, made absurd demands on his parishioners. The Indians of San Andres were required to make daily contributions of maize and lard, which, the priest said, were for his mule! (*El Baluarte*, October 1, 1869: 1–2).

Salas claimed to have been present in Chamula when the *fiscal* of the week was tied to a post and punished with twenty-five lashes for not having delivered to the priest the twenty-eight silver coins (*reales*) with which the town paid for the daily Mass (*El Baluarte*, October 1, 1869: 2). This incident may well have inaugurated the War of St. Rose, for its leader was a *fiscal*, Pedro Díaz Cuscat, who introduced into the community a competing religious cult that ultimately developed into a full-scale political movement and resulted in the death of that Catholic priest.

Cristóbal Molina, who witnessed many of the events associated with the rebellion, reports that on December 22, 1867, a Chamulan girl, Agustina Gomes Checheb, claimed to have seen three stones drop from the sky while she was tending her sheep

Map 8. Chamula and Its Neighbors (1867) (after Pozas 1959: map).



in the hamlet of Tzajalhemel (Molina 1934:365). She took them home with her, and they remained there until January 10, 1868, when Pedro Díaz Cuscat, the *fiscal*, arrived to investigate the matter. Instead of turning them over to the parish priest, Cuscat took the stones home with him and kept them in a box. According to Molina, Cuscat convinced his neighbors that the stones "were knocking at the door to get out" (Molina 1934:365) and that they should be treated as sacred objects. As news of these miraculous objects was disseminated, Indians came to worship them, bringing offerings of candles, incense, flowers, and pine needles (Molina 1934:365). With the help of Cuscat and Agustina Gomes Chechob, the stones "talked" to the worshipers. Not long afterward several clay figurines were added to the cult paraphernalia; Cuscat declared Agustina to have given birth to them and therefore to be the "Mother of God" (Pineda 1888:73). He summoned several Indian women to serve the "Mother of God" and installed them as saints. They were Agustina's

constant companions; when she performed her natural functions, they stood by ready to perfume her with incense (Pineda 1888:73).

Eventually news of the new cult reached the ears of Miguel Martínez, the parish priest of Chamula, who, on February 13, 1868, went to Cuscat's home to investigate the matter. He discovered a small building near Cuscat's house which was apparently serving as the chapel for the cult. Inside the chapel lighted candles, incense, and flowers were arranged in front of a clay image. Martínez told the small gathering of Indians that the image was not a saint, and he urged them to disperse. They apparently did so (Molina 1934:366).

But that was not the end of the matter. After this interference by the priest, Cuscat decided to move his cult to the remote settlement of Tzajalhemel, where Agustina Gomes Chechob had found the miraculous stones. Cuscat invited the neighboring towns to establish a market in Tzajalhemel, presumably because he thought that the crowds of Indi-

ans attracted by the market would be a ready source of potential converts. The market was successful, and the cult flourished (Molina 1934:366).

The parish priest became alarmed when he realized that more and more Indians were congregating in Tzajalhemel. He communicated his fears to José María Robles, the political chief and commandant of the district in which Chamula was located. Robles decided to investigate the situation personally; he took with him a patrol of twenty-five men commanded by Captain Benito Solís. When Robles and his companions arrived in Tzajalhemel two hours after midnight, they found the Indians in the midst of a great celebration. They entered the chapel, seized the image, arrested Agustina Gomes Chechel and her mother and father, and took them to San Cristobal Las Casas (Molina 1934:366). They were eventually released.

Cuscat's next move was to exhort the Indians to cease worshiping images fabricated by Ladinos in honor of White gods and urge them to crucify a member of their own race whom they could worship. According to Pineda (1888:77), on Good Friday of that year (1868), a ten- or eleven-year-old boy named Domingo Gomes Chechel was nailed to a cross in the plaza of Tzajalhemel:²

The crucifixion of a man is something never seen in these parts, therefore the news spread rapidly to all the hamlets, from which great crowds came to witness the cruel sacrifice. When the day arrived they placed a cross in the plaza of Tzajalhemel, the place where they had held their meetings, they brought the victim out of the temple and several among them fastened him to the cross; after he was bound tightly, they began their barbarous, cruel and criminal execution, nailing him by the feet and hands simultaneously. The unfortunate victim emitted the most painful screams in a doleful and haunting voice, overwhelmed by the gabble of those infernal furies, intoxicated with liquor and blood: the so-called "saints" collected the blood of the crucified, others censed him, the young Domingo finally expiring in the most excruciating pain. We do not know what the new Jews did with the body and blood of the martyr of barbarism, although it is not improbable that they drank the latter. (Pineda 1888:77)

Prior to this development, the Chamulans had made yearly pilgrimages during Lent to the church of St. Dominic in San Cristobal Las Casas to worship an image of the Entombed Christ. No Chamulans appeared to worship this image during the 1868 Lenten season (Pineda 1888:76). Clearly the passion of the Indian boy, Domingo Gomes Chechel, had replaced the Passion of the White Christ as a focus of ritual.

Elaborate preparations were made for the festival of St. Rose on August 30, 1868. "One week before this feast they began to rebuild the house of the saint making it larger and more suitable for celebrating there the feast of Santa Rosa [St. Rose]; the neighboring towns assisted as they were invited by Pedro Diaz Cuscat and other prominent people of Chamula. They immediately appointed their sacristanes, acolytes and a mayordomo [steward]" (Molina 1934:367–368). What is important about the preparations for the festival of St. Rose and the modifications in the organization of the cult is that those measures represented an effort to incorporate the new cult into the traditional festival cycle and *cofradía* system. Sacristans, acolytes, and *mayordomos* were all functionaries in the religious system of the time. It may be that this was a move to legitimate the cult and thereby attract more adherents.

For this special occasion Cuscat

ordered two sets of garments to be made, one for the saint [Agustina Gomes Chechel] and the other for himself, which was a sort of white gown worn by priests (*alba*) and embroidered with silk and hung with bunches of ribbons of every kind that can be imagined on that part over the chest and back, and the value of the ribbons alone was ten pesos. The garment of the saint was a sort of mantle (*manta*) woven by the Indian women of that place and embroidered with silk, as was the guipil [*blouse*] and the hood with which she covered herself. Every Sunday at dawn and at the hour when the procession went out, he donned this garment. The procession was in honor of the Indian woman, Agustina Gomes Chechel, she who was acting as Santa Luisa [*sic*], and when they returned to the house that they used as a temple, Cuscat mounted a table and preached to them and afterwards they set off the fireworks they had prepared for this hour. (Molina 1934:368)

In this way Cuscat promoted himself from the position of a minor church official (*fiscal*) to that of priest. The newspaper *El Baluarte* noted on July 9, 1869, that Cuscat "is known as the priest of a new cult which they have created and the Indian girl [Agustina Gomes Chechel] as priestess." Cuscat's priestly role in the cult has been preserved in the oral tradition of San Pedro Chenalho, a neighboring Tzotzil-speaking community that participated in that rebellion (Guiteras-Holmes 1961:266; see also Text C-6 in Appendix C).

Molina (1934:368) claims that Agustina Gomes Chechel was known as St. Louise. However, newspaper reports of the period refer to her as St. Rose (*La Brújula*, November 5, 1869:2, December 24, 1869:1, April 22, 1870:3; *El Espíritu del Siglo*, November

6, 1869: 1, April 30, 1870: 1]. Although Molina says that the festival of St. Rose was only "one of the titular feasts of the town of Chamula" (1934:367), it is clear from his description of the festival that the cult was identified with it. Furthermore, Chamulans call the rebellion the War of St. Rose, not the War of St. Louise.

According to Pineda (1888:74), Cuscat selected several men who were able to read and write to serve as his advisers. They drew up a list of all the ranches on which Chamulans lived and worked and assigned a patron saint to each one. Presumably Cuscat encouraged the development of subordinate cults in honor of local saints in the interest of acquiring support for the larger movement.

There were unusually heavy rains during October of that year; many of the mud houses of the type inhabited by Indians became waterlogged and collapsed as a result (*El Espíritu del Siglo*, October 31, 1868:4). Cuscat took advantage of the disaster to say that the torrential rains were sent by the saints because people did not believe in the cult images. He prophesied that floods would engulf all the houses, together with their occupants, unless more attention was paid to his cult (Pineda 1888:74).

Throughout this time Martínez, the parish priest of Chamula, and Robles, the political chief of San Cristobal Las Casas, had made repeated attempts to prevent the Indians from gathering and, on several occasions, had confiscated their images (Molina 1934:366, 368). Agustina Gomes Checheb, Pedro Díaz Cuscat, and Manuela Pérez Jolcogtom, the mother of the Indian savior, were arrested once, released, and then rearrested in December 1868 and eventually jailed in San Cristobal Las Casas (Pineda 1888:74–75; Molina 1934:369–370).

Just how many arrests there were in all and when they took place cannot be determined from available sources. The problem is that Molina and Pineda disagree on essential points, and the movement received almost no attention in Chiapas newspapers until June 1869.³ Molina, who does not mention the crucifixion at all, claims that Robles made his first visit to Tzajalhemel on May 3, 1868, which was presumably some time after the crucifixion had taken place. Robles supposedly arrested Agustina Gomes Checheb during that visit, but not Cuscat (Molina 1934:366). Molina does not say whether or when Agustina was released, but describes her role in the festival of St. Rose three months later.

The crucifixion is not mentioned in the local newspapers either, but there are allusions to "hos-

tile acts" during April 1868 (*La Brújula*, June 11, 1869:3). The newspaper *La Brújula* claims that Robles and his men broke up an Indian meeting in Chamula during 1868, at which Cuscat and St. Rose were arrested and later imprisoned, but it does not say in which month the arrests took place (*La Brújula*, June 25, 1869:1).

According to Pineda, the three accomplices in the crucifixion—Pedro Díaz Cuscat, Agustina Gomes Checheb, and Manuela Pérez Jolcogtom—were arrested for the last time in December 1868 and were sent to jail in San Cristobal Las Casas as punishment for the crimes of "disobedience toward authority and attempted rebellion without mentioning the crime of crucifixion which until then had been completely ignored" (1888:77).

Pineda's history of this movement is the only major source I consulted that mentions the crucifixion. However, even though his work was not published until some twenty years after the Chamulan uprising took place, I believe that it should be regarded as a primary source because Pineda was apparently a resident of San Cristobal Las Casas during the hostilities. On the other hand, Trens (1957:185–199) has suggested that Pineda's history is not a reliable source for the Cancuc revolt of 1712. He accuses Pineda of confusing the chronological order of events and distorting the truth. Was the crucifixion Pineda's own invention?

I think not, although there are no historical documents to substantiate my position. I believe that some kind of a mock or real crucifixion took place in Chamula because Chamula is the only Indian community in highland Chiapas today where an Indian Christ impersonator is worshiped during the Easter season, instead of an image of the Entombed Christ (see Chapters 10 and 11 and Bricker 1973b for description and analysis of this cult).

Ladino responses to Cuscat's activities must be interpreted in the context of the struggle for power between Centralist (conservative) and Federalist (liberal) factions that divided Chiapas as well as Mexico during much of the nineteenth century (Corzo 1943:109). The people of San Cristobal Las Casas sided with the Centralist cause, while those of Tuxtla and Chiapa supported the Federalists. The political differences between these cities widened even further during the French Intervention of 1862–1867, when San Cristobal Las Casas openly supported Maximilian (Cáceres López 1962:150–155). The liberals who came to power in Chiapas after the French were driven out transferred the state capital

from San Cristobal Las Casas to Chiapa, and then to Tuxtla (Locke 1964). The first time Robles arrested Cuscat, he took him to Tuxtla to see the state governor. The governor released him on the grounds that religious freedom was guaranteed by the constitution. Cuscat returned to Chamula in triumph and continued with his cult (Cáceres López 1946:113; Pineda 1888:75–76). Obviously the political divisions among Ladinos were to Cuscat's advantage, just as they had been for the Maya of the Yucatan peninsula some twenty years earlier. However, the last time Cuscat and his accomplices were arrested, they were locked up in the San Cristobal jail, and the liberal state governor was not consulted.

During the first few months of 1869, there were no reports of disturbances in Chamula, presumably because the timely arrest of the leaders had nipped the rebellion in the bud. But on May 17, 1869, the leadership of the movement was temporarily assumed by a Ladino, Ignacio Fernández de Galindo, a native of Mexico City, who carried it into its more militant phase.

Galindo had established a progressive secondary school in San Cristobal Las Casas—a school which was attended by youths from all parts of the state except for the conservative city in which it was located. At the public examination of one of his best pupils, Galindo became involved in a heated argument with Fernando Zepeda, the editor of two conservative newspapers. Although Galindo apparently won the argument on "scientific grounds," Zepeda's political influence was so great that Galindo's pupils gradually deserted him, leaving him with an empty school. It was perhaps in revenge for the snubs he had received in San Cristobal Las Casas that Galindo decided to go to Chamula and lead the Indians in an attack on that city in order to destroy the people who had so humiliated him (*El Baluarte*, September 22, 1870:1).

On May 17, 1869, Galindo rode out to Chamula, accompanied by his wife, Luisa Quevedo, and a faithful pupil from Comitan, Benigno Trejo. They went directly to Cuscat's house, where Galindo informed the jailed leader's relatives that he had been sent to Chamula by Cuscat and was going to set Cuscat free (Molina 1934:370). Then Galindo and his companions put on Indian clothing in order to prove that they were sincere (Pineda 1888:79).

Galindo used the religious cult to further his own ends, declaring that he was St. Matthew, that his wife was St. Mary, and that their companion was St. Bartholomew (Molina 1934:371). It is clear that

Galindo saw certain similarities between the movement in Chamula and the Caste War of Yucatan, which had not been successfully concluded even in 1869. Editorials in the local newspapers of this period indicate that the Ladinos of Chiapas were uncomfortably aware of the close parallels between the two revitalization movements and understandably feared for their lives (*La Brújula*, July 2, 1869:2, August 13, 1869:1, August 20, 1869:1, August 27, 1869:1; *El Baluarte*, August 13, 1869:3). As a schoolteacher, Galindo would have been informed of the events that had taken place in Yucatan. I believe that Galindo saw himself as another José María Barrera (a Mestizo leader of the Yucatecan movement). Pineda (1888:78) suggests that Galindo brought the Yucatecan conflict to the attention of the Chamulans, pointed out how the Maya of Yucatan had almost succeeded in driving the Ladinos from the peninsula, and offered to lead the Chamulans to victory in a war of extermination against the hated Ladinos. Galindo decided to extend the movement beyond Chamula by trying to mobilize the support of Indians in neighboring townships for the rescue of Cuscat. He sent emissaries to the leaders of the towns of San Andres La rrainzar, Santiago, Santa Maria Magdalena, Santa Marta, San Pablo Chalchihuitan, San Pedro Chenalho, and San Miguel Mitontic; they agreed to meet him near Yolonchen at a place that marked the common boundary of Magdalena, San Andres, and Chamula (see Map 8). Galindo brought Cuscat's wife and the Indian political head of Chamula, Ignacio Collaso Panchín, to this meeting, where they made arrangements for rescuing Cuscat (Molina 1934:371). In the meantime, Galindo organized the Indians into companies and taught them military tactics (Pineda 1888:79).

On June 12, 1869, the parish priest of Chamula and several companions, among them Luciano Velasco, the schoolmaster of Chamula, went to Galindo's house. Galindo was not there, but they were hospitably received by the Indians in his house.

After finishing breakfast, he [the priest] asked him where Galindo was and the Indians replied that they did not know where he had gone. The Father asked them what were the meetings they were holding and began to exhort them to understand that they were doing evil, that they were worshipping the devil and that they should say whether they wanted a church there and that he, as parish priest, would ask permission of the Ecclesiastical Council and give them San Juan, or the Virgen Santissima del Rosario, as patron saint of the place and the Indians replied "Está bueno."

[“Fine.”] Then the priest asked three Indians to carry away a box in which “Santa Luisa”, as they called one of the Indian girls among them, used to place herself, and gathered up some things with which Galindo was deceiving the Indians and put them in a basket and the Indians loaded them and carried them on ahead. (Molina 1934:372–373)

In the meantime, one of the Indians went off to inform Galindo of what had taken place in his house. Upon learning of the theft of the cult objects, Galindo set off in a rage with Trejo and some Chamulan Indians to ambush the priest (Molina 1934: 372–373). When they had caught up with the priest, “Galindo knocked him off his horse with a shot and the Indians chopped him up with their axes” (Molina 1934:373). The Indians also pursued the priest’s companions and murdered them all except for one who escaped to report the massacre to the authorities (Molina 1934:373–374; *La Brújula*, June 18, 1869: 3–4; *El Baluarte*, June 18, 1869: 3).

For the first time the Ladino newspapers began to devote some attention to what was going on in Chamula, and the Ladino population of the state, in great alarm, demanded that troops be raised to put down the uprising (*El Baluarte*, June 22, 1869:1; *La Brújula*, June 25, 1869:1). In the following weeks and months they would try to justify their fears and demands for federal and state help by pointing out the similarities between their situation and other Indian rebellions, especially the Caste War of Yucatan and the Cancuc revolt of 1712 (*La Brújula*, June 25, 1869:1, July 2, 1869:4, July 23, 1869:1, August 13, 1869:1, August 20, 1869:1, August 27, 1869:1; *El Baluarte*, August 13, 1869:3).

On June 17, 1869, Galindo and a force of five or six thousand Indians approached San Cristobal Las Casas and surrounded the city. Galindo was wearing the typical Chamulan costume and, as befitting his rank as commander-in-chief of the rebel forces, a busby headdress of monkey fur encircled by a red ribbon (*El Baluarte*, June 22, 1869:1). The Indians were armed with shotguns, lances, knives, and pointed sticks (*El Baluarte*, June 22, 1869:1). The commander of the small Ladino force went out to meet them with the intention of launching an attack, but Galindo surprised him by immediately showing a white flag and asking for a parley. He offered to surrender himself and his Ladino accomplices if, in exchange, the Ladinos would release Cuscat and Agustina Gomes Checheb from jail. The commander of the Ladino troops agreed to this ex-

change because he had not yet received reinforcements from the state capital (*El Espíritu del Siglo*, June 19, 1869:4).

Cuscat and Checheb returned to Chamula to resume leadership of the rebellion. Three days later, on June 20, the Chamulan army returned to San Cristobal Las Casas, demanding Galindo’s release. But by this time state troops had arrived to reinforce San Cristobal Las Casas, and the request was refused. In the battle which followed, an estimated three hundred Indians and a smaller number of Ladinos were killed. Galindo and Trejo were executed on June 26, obviating the need for Chamulans to enter the city and rescue them (*El Baluarte*, July 9, 1869:3).

Galindo had obviously counted on Cuscat to invade San Cristobal Las Casas to free him in repayment for his efforts on the Chamulan leader’s behalf. But he assumed, wrongly, that the Ladinos would simply jail him as they had Cuscat and Checheb. Instead, the Ladinos executed him immediately as a traitor to his class, thereby forestalling further rescue attempts. Galindo played an essential role in keeping the movement alive while Cuscat and Agustina Gomes Checheb were in jail and in arranging for their release. But Cuscat was the real leader of the movement, and it continued under Cuscat’s leadership after Galindo’s death.

In most of their subsequent encounters with Ladino forces, the Indians occupied the strategic high positions on the mountain tops, and the Ladinos were forced to defend themselves in the valley bottoms (*La Brújula*, July 9, 1869:2, July 16, 1869:2; Pineda 1888:96, 108–109). The Ladinos were always outnumbered, but they had superior weapons. The Indians had few firearms and had to rely on stones, knives, and spears. The Ladinos complained bitterly that the Indians refused to meet their forces in open battle; the latter preferred lightning raids on small defenseless Ladino ranch settlements where their primitive weapons were most effective (*El Baluarte*, July 30, 1869:4, August 6, 1869:4). They spared no one—even babies were murdered (*El Baluarte*, July 30, 1869:4; Pineda 1888:82). And just as the conflict had been initiated by the interference and the abuses of the clergy, so it continued with the murder of other Catholic priests (Pineda 1888:82; *La Brújula*, August 6, 1869:2). It was both a war of genocide and a religious crusade.

The War of St. Rose did not end in any decisive battle. The Indian raids gradually petered out dur-

ing 1870. There were occasional rumors of Indian gatherings in 1871, but nothing of consequence developed from them (*El Mosquito*, May 13, 1871:4, June 17, 1871:1-2, June 24, 1871:1). At no time did all Indian towns participate in the movement, and there were Ladino sympathizers even in Chamula (Pineda 1888:109; *El Baluarte*, August 13, 1869:4). The new religious cult was probably just as burdensome to the Indians as the orthodox Catholic religion had been, for it demanded military service in addition to costly offerings.

Only nine towns participated in the rebellion. They were Chamula, San Andres Larrainzar, San Pedro Chenalho, Santa Catalina Pantelho, Santa Maria Magdalena, Santa Marta, Santiago, San Pablo Chalchihuitan, and San Miguel Mitontic (*La Brújula*, July 9, 1869:2, November 5, 1869:2, August 26, 1870:3; *El Espíritu del Siglo*, November 6, 1869:1). With the exception of Chamula, they were all towns that had participated in the Cancuc revolt of 1712. The language spoken in all these towns was Tzotzil. It would, however, be misleading to characterize this uprising as a "Tzotzil Revolt" as Ernest Noyes (in Molina 1934:359) has done, because there were at least as many Tzotzil towns that did not participate. Furthermore, fewer Tzotzil towns were involved in the 1869 uprising than in the so-called Tzeltal Revolt of 1712.

Apparently no towns in the Tzeltal sector participated in the War of St. Rose, although there were rumors that some were preparing to do so (Pineda 1888:108; *La Brújula*, August 26, 1870:3, June 9, 1871:4). Tenejapa, which had been one of the members of the Indian confederation in 1712, openly sided with the Ladinos in 1869 (*El Baluarte*, July 9, 1869:3).

Thus the War of St. Rose was a much more localized phenomenon than the 1712 uprising had been. It was limited geographically and linguistically to communities in the Tzotzil sector north of San Cristobal Las Casas, although even within the Tzotzil sector many towns did not participate in the rebellion and in Chamula itself there was a faction that sided with the Ladinos.

In most other important respects the two movements were similar. In both cases religious revitalization preceded the explicit formulation of an ethnocentric political ideology. In both cases, also, Ladinos dismissed the religious aspects of the movements as "idolatrous" or "superstitious" and stressed their eventual political objectives by label-

ing them "caste wars." Thus it is not surprising that the Ladinos' response to the 1869 rebellion was influenced, at least to some degree, by their perception of similarities between the two movements (*La Brújula*, June 25, 1869:1, July 2, 1869:4, July 23, 1869:1).

Even more striking are the resemblances between the cults that inspired the two movements. Both in Chamula and in Cancuc (and also in Santa Marta), it was a woman, rather than a man, who served as the medium of communication with the saint, although the promoters were men. Both cults were organized along traditional *cofradía* lines. Chapels were built in their honor, and *mayordomos* were appointed to care for the saints and their paraphernalia. It was only after the promoters of the cults had been frustrated in their efforts to legitimate them in the eyes of the Catholic authorities that they decided to reject Ladino priests altogether and create native priesthoods based on the Catholic model.

There are, of course, also similarities between the War of St. Rose and the Caste War of Yucatan, which was still very much in the news in 1869. Not only is it likely that Galindo used the Caste War of Yucatan as the model for his own rebellion, but there is also evidence that, in 1847, the Indians of Chiapas had been invited to participate in that revolt.⁴ Furthermore, if the desire for an Indian Christ was in fact an important component of the religious movement in Chamula, then, in this respect also, the War of St. Rose is similar to the Caste War of Yucatan (see Chapter 8).

Although Cuscat and his followers did not succeed in their goal of exterminating Ladinos, his cult had a profound effect on the religious organization of Chamula. The Catholic priest never regained religious leadership of the community. Instead, the new cult founded by Pedro Díaz Cuscat and Agustina Gomes Checheb became the focal point of worship in Chamula, with Cuscat as its priest. The cofounders of the movement probably died in April 1870 (*El Espíritu del Siglo*, April 30, 1870), but there are still native priests associated with the cult in Chamula today (Bricker 1973b).

In this respect, the War of St. Rose, like the Caste War of Yucatan, was a more successful revitalization movement than the Cancuc revolt of 1712. What both nineteenth-century movements achieved was a native priesthood and a degree of religious freedom which have been defended successfully in Chamula and Quintana Roo for more than a century.



PART V. THE STRUCTURE OF ETHNIC CONFLICT



The Iconography of Ritualized Ethnic Conflict among the Maya

Myth regarded as a statement in words "says" the same thing as ritual regarded as a statement in action. (Leach 1954:13–14)

The Spanish conquerors of Mesoamerica were accompanied by priests in search of souls to save. The missionary friars introduced morality plays in the Indian communities with the object of teaching the new converts, in an entertaining way, some of the historical traditions of the Catholic religion (Ricard 1966:Ch. 12). One of the plays concerned the Passion and Crucifixion of Christ. Others commemorated the religious crusades of the Middle Ages, and still another documented the victory of the Christian Spaniards over the Moors only thirty years earlier. The latter play enjoyed great popularity in Mesoamerica. Over time the Moors became identified with the Indians, and the drama of the Moors and Christians evolved into a more generalized Dance of the Conquest (Ricard 1932).

Today, the Dance of the Conquest and its variants are ubiquitous in Mesoamerica.¹ Some form of the dance exists in all three parts of the Maya area, although it is formally recognized as a tradition only in highland Guatemala. The dance group responsible for putting on a dance-drama in Guatemala is guided by a manuscript from which the performers learn their parts. In 1957, Barbara Bode learned of the existence of sixty-three Dance of the Conquest manuscripts in highland Guatemala, several of them in towns in the modern Department of Totonicapan—namely, Momostenango, San Andres Xecul, and San Cristobal (1961:239–250).

There are, to my knowledge, no manuscripts of the Dance of the Conquest in highland Chiapas, although such manuscripts did exist in the past.² And even though they are not described locally as such, variants of the Dance of the Conquest are still being performed in Indian communities of highland Chiapas (see Bricker 1973a for a detailed description and analysis of some of these dance-dramas).

Apparently no manuscripts of the Dance of the Conquest have survived in the Yucatan peninsula either, but Father Alonso Ponce (Noyes 1932:321) mentions having seen Indians disguised as Moors at a festival in Tinum during his visit to Yucatan in 1588. Furthermore, a Dance of Moors and Christians was performed in Campeche more than two hundred years later in honor of the coronation of King Charles IV on April 29, 1790 (*Registro Yucateco* 1845:2:281). Only vestiges of this dance remain in modern Yucatecan communities (see below).

The historical dramas of ethnic conflict are closely related in theme to certain oral traditions. Edmund Leach (1954:13–14) argues that myth and ritual communicate the same message, one by means of words and the other through action. Other anthropologists believe that myths and rituals serve different but complementary functions: "The classical doctrine in English social anthropology is that myth and ritual are conceptually separate entities which perpetuate one another through functional interdependence—the rite is a dramatisation of the myth, the myth is the sanction or charter for the rite" (Leach 1954:13). Both theories are concerned with the content of myth and ritual, not their structure.

In this chapter I hope to show that Maya myths and rituals of ethnic conflict share a common structure as well as content. I will focus on the relationship between oral tradition and historical drama in three Maya communities in highland Chiapas: Chamula, Chenalho, and Zinacantan. I will demonstrate that the distortions which have transformed history into myth in those communities are reflected in the structure of corresponding rituals. I will end by discussing the implications of my find-

ings for the myth and ritual of ethnic conflict in highland Guatemala and for the ritual of ethnic conflict in the Yucatan peninsula.

Ritualized Ethnic Conflict in Highland Chiapas

Historical dramas are performed in Chamula, Chenalho, and Zinacantan during the festival of Carnival which precedes the Lenten season, on Good Friday, and on Easter. Some of the ritual of Carnival and virtually all the Good Friday and Easter ceremonies are concerned with the Passion of Christ. For example, the religious sponsors of Carnival in all three communities are called Passions (*pašyon*). Furthermore, every Friday during Lent, the religious leaders of the three communities carry heavy wooden crosses in processions in order to show the way of the Cross (Guiteras Holmes 1946a:175–177; Vogt 1969:556). And on Good Friday, Chamulans and Zinacantecos commemorate the Crucifixion by tying an image to a cross. During the festival of Carnival in Chamula and Zinacantan, Jew impersonators pretend to harass the Passions. In Chenalho, where the Christ impersonators are called Crossbacks (*hkurus pat*), it is they, not the Passions, who are the objects of harassment. Their names are obviously related to the fact that they have white crosses painted on their backs; red anatto and yellow ochre rings on their naked torsos and limbs symbolize wounds (Figure 7). In Chamula and Zinacantan during this festival, the Passions and their assistants make pilgrimages to cross shrines in the town centers. Because the ultimate destination of the pilgrims is a hill called Calvary (*kalvaryo*) (Figure 8), the cross shrines probably represent the Stations of the Cross, and the pilgrimage commemorates Christ's progression from Pilate's house to Calvary Hill (Alston 1912:15:569).

At first glance, then, the historical drama in question seems to be a version of the colonial Passion Play, which was one of the dance-dramas introduced by Spanish friars in highland Chiapas (Nuñez de la Vega 1692:146–149). But the Passion of Christ is only one of many historical events commemorated during Carnival in Chamula, Chenalho, and Zinacantan. The performers in the historical drama are actually the loci of several roles, each of which dates from a different historical epoch. The performers who play the most varied roles are those who represent Jews in the Passion Play. In Chenalho and Zinacantan, the Jew impersonators are usually referred to as Blackmen (*h'nik'al*). In Chamula they are called

Monkeys (*maš*). The Jew impersonators of Chamula and Zinacantan are also considered to be demons and soldiers. Other roles assigned to Jew impersonators in Chamula and Chenalho are those of Frenchmen and Turks.

The Jew impersonators of Chamula wear head-dresses of black howler monkey fur. The rest of their costume is almost identical to the uniforms worn by French grenadiers during the period of the French intervention (Blom 1956:281; Martin 1963:118, 145 right). They wear black frock coats trimmed with a long red cross in back and wide horizontal red bands at the waist, wrists, and the bottom of the tails in back (Figures 9, 10). These coats resemble French grenadiers' dark blue uniforms faced with red (compare Figure 9 with Martin 1963:145 right). Chamulans call these jackets, *leva* (draft), with reference to conscripted men or draftees. They recognize the costumes as soldiers' uniforms and sometimes refer to the men wearing them by military titles such as Captain and General.

The monkey-fur headdresses resemble the bear-skin busbies worn by French grenadiers (and today by Buckingham Palace guards), except that they are conical rather than cylindrical, and the Jew impersonator's headdress has a monkey tail attached in back (Figure 11). But like the busby, his headdress has a chin strap and is decorated with ribbons.

A Jew impersonator costumed like a French grenadier and referred to as a monkey or soldier! Jew impersonators who imitate wild monkeys by moving incessantly, by swishing their tails back and forth, by making animal noises, and by pretending to live on a diet of fruit and leaves! How can this lack of congruence between costume and role be explained? Anyone who simply looked at a costumed Jew impersonator of Chamula would not associate him with the Passion Play and would be unaware that he also represents a wild monkey. He would conclude, as Frans Blom (1956:281) did, that this man was impersonating a French grenadier.

The same disjunction between role and costume also characterizes Jew impersonators in Zinacantan and Chenalho, where they are called Blackmen instead of Monkeys. In Chenalho they wear monkey-fur busbies similar to those worn in Chamula (Figures 12, 13); in Zinacantan they wear modern soldiers' gear.

Still another incongruity can be observed between costume and behavior in Chamula. The Jew impersonators harass the Passion on one day and take part in a horse manure battle between sides representing



FIGURE 7. Crossbacks and Lacandon Woman at Carnival in Chenalho. Photo by Marcey Jacobson.

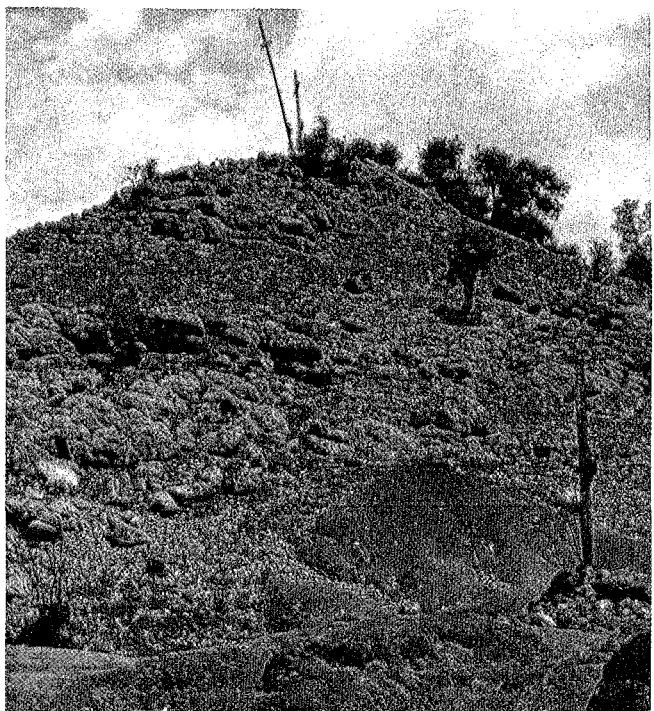


FIGURE 8. Calvary Hill in Chamula. Photo by Gertrude Duby Blom.



FIGURE 9. A Group of Monkeys. Photo by Gertrude Duby Blom.



FIGURE 10. Monkeys and Passion of Chamula. Photo by Gertrude Duby Blom.



FIGURE 12. Blackman with Rope in Chenalho, February 1969. Photo by Gertrude Duby Blom.

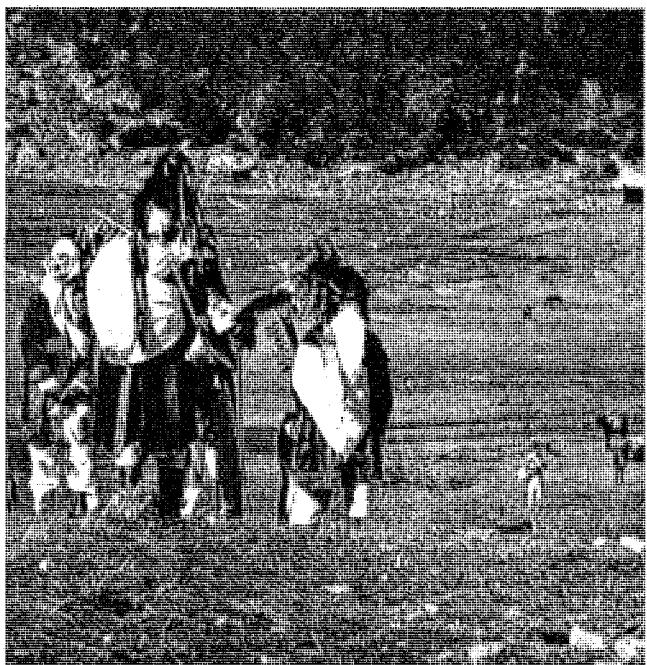


FIGURE 11. Monkeys of Chamula. Photo by Gertrude Duby Blom.



FIGURE 13. Blackmen in Chenalho, February 1969. Photo by Gertrude Duby Blom.

Mexico and Guatemala on the next. Even more confusing is the fact that the members of the two sides are sometimes called Pinedistas and Carrancistas instead of Mexicans and Guatemalans. In Zinacantan the Jew impersonators represent Ladino soldiers in a battle against Zinacantecos dressed in their tribal costume.

It is obvious that in the Carnival ritual of Chamula, Chenalho, and Zinacantan, there is a thematic disjunction between costume and role, between costume and action, and among the elements of costuming. Instead of historical "drama," the ritual of this festival seems to consist of a hodgepodge of elements drawn from different historical periods. Can any order or structure be discovered in this seeming chaos?

The answer is that all the events dramatized during this festival have in common the theme of ethnic conflict. The towns differ in the conflicts portrayed during Carnival and in their choice of symbols to represent them. But the underlying structure in each case is one of ethnic conflict—warfare, death, rape, soldiers, weapons, fireworks, and the division of people into two groups: the conquerors and the conquered. The ritual of Carnival is historical drama, but drama which treats the history of ethnic conflict in symbolic terms. What is important in ritualized ethnic conflict is not the order of historical events, but the message communicated by their structure.

CARNIVAL IN CHAMULA

The festival of Carnival in Chamula commemorates at least seven historical events which are neatly summarized in a prophecy recited one week before the beginning of Carnival to foretell the events that will be dramatized during it:

The first soldiers
Came to Mexico City
With their drums,
With their trumpets.
The last horseman.
And hurrah!
This Mariano Ortega
Came to Mexico City;
He came to Tuxtla [Gutiérrez]
And Chiapa [de Corzo].
He came with his flag,
With his drums.
This Juan Gutiérrez
Came to Mexico City;
He came to Tuxtla
And Chiapa.

They are going to go together
With their mistress,
Nana María Cocorina.

They return eating candied squash.
He came with the flags,
With the trumpets.
The last horseman.

Hurrah!
Chamula! Crazy February
1969.

A soldier came.
He came to Mexico City;

He came to Tapachula;
He came to Tuxtla;

He came to Chiapa
With the flags,
With the drums,
With the trumpets.

The last horseman.
Hurrah!

The second horseman,
Mariano Ortega,
Came to Mexico City,

He came to Guatemala;
He came to Tuxtla;

He came to Chiapa.

He came with the flag;
He came with his drums;
He came with his trumpet.

The last horseman.
Hurrah!

This Juan Gutiérrez
Came to Mexico City,
He came to Guatemala;

He came to Tuxtla;
He came to Chiapa

With his mistress,
Nana María Cocorina.

They go together
Frolicking in the bushes.

They return eating toffee.

They return eating candied squash.
The last horseman.
Hurrah!

This prophecy clearly recapitulates the movements of the Spanish conquerors, beginning with Hernán Cortés's victory in Mexico City (then Tenochtitlan) in 1521, followed by Pedro de Alvarado's journey to Guatemala through the Soconusco region of Chiapas in 1524, and culminating in the conquest of Chiapas by Luis Marín in 1524 and Diego de Mazariegos in 1528. Marín conquered the Chiapanecos near what is today Chiapa de Corzo and then moved into the highlands, where he confronted the Indian tribes in the vicinity of the modern city of San

Cristobal Las Casas. The Chamulans were one of the last groups to be subdued in 1524 (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:220–223). Marín was eventually forced to withdraw from Chiapas (Pineda 1888:27). A few years later, Mazariegos led another expedition to Chiapas. He stopped in Tuxtla and Chiapa before establishing a town on the present site of San Cristobal Las Casas (Pineda 1888:33–35; Remesal 1932:1:382–386).

The prophecy could also refer to the Cancuc revolt of 1712 and the Chamulan uprising of 1867–1870. Guatemalan as well as Chiapanec soldiers were involved in putting down the rebellion in 1712 (Trens 1957:193). Troops were brought in from Tuxtla and Chiapa in 1869 to reinforce the small garrison in San Cristobal Las Casas (Pineda 1888:104–105; Corzo 1943:142–143).

Mariano Ortega (historically Juan Ortega) was a political reactionary and an advocate of the privileges of the clergy in the middle of the nineteenth century during the time that Mexico (including Chiapas) was embroiled in a struggle for power between Centralist (conservative) and Federalist (liberal) factions (Cáceres López 1962; Corzo 1943:109; López Gutiérrez 1963:130–228). The people of San Cristobal Las Casas sided with the Centralist cause, while those of Tuxtla and Chiapa supported the Federalists. When the French invaded Mexico in 1862, Ortega declared himself in favor of the Empire and attempted a military takeover of the state of Chiapas (López Gutiérrez 1963:150–151; Trens 1957:657, 675–677). On May 7, 1863, he invaded and occupied San Cristobal Las Casas, which he held until January 24, 1864 (López Gutiérrez 1963:155; Paniagua 1870:650). As a result, Chamula, which at that time belonged to the Department of San Cristobal, fell under Ortega's domination, as did the neighboring townships of San Pedro Chenalho, San Andres Larrainzar, Santa Maria Magdalena, and San Miguel Mitontic (*El Baluarte de la Libertad*, August 27, 1869:4; Trens 1957:469–470). It is clear that Ortega's presence was felt in the Indian countryside, for he forced Indians to build fortifications in San Cristobal Las Casas, and Chamulan Indians assisted Federal troops sent by President Benito Juárez to drive out the Imperialists (Paniagua 1870:626, 635; Trens 1957:684). Furthermore, Ortega's troops are known to have passed through Chenalho on their way to Tabasco after they had lost a decisive battle against the Federal forces (López Gutiérrez 1963:206). A Chenalho myth about the

Chamulan uprising describes Juan Ortega as the leader of the Ladino forces which were going to kill all the Indians (Guiteras-Holmes 1961:265–267). Because of his military activities and his conservative stance, Ortega became identified with the troops that put down the rebellion in Chamula.

Ortega is also identified with the boundary dispute between Mexico and Guatemala because many of his troops were recruited from Central America and because he used Guatemala as a base for his attacks on the towns of Chiapas. The border dispute concerned the Soconusco region of Chiapas, which Guatemala claimed on the grounds that it had been first pacified by Alvarado in 1524 on his way to conquer Guatemala (T. H. Orantes 1960:60). Mexico's claim rested on a decision made by the Spanish Crown in 1790 to incorporate the Soconusco region into the Intendancy of Chiapas (T. H. Orantes 1960:60; Trens 1957:440). Tapachula became the capital of Soconusco in 1794 (Gerhard 1972:133).

Juan Gutiérrez (historically Joaquín Miguel Gutiérrez) was a champion of Federalism and local autonomy for the state of Chiapas during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1830, Gutiérrez became the governor of Chiapas, and during the next eight years he led Federalist troops in raids throughout Chiapas, including an attack on the conservative stronghold of San Cristobal Las Casas (T. H. Orantes 1960:56–58; Trens 1957:287–425 *passim*).

Nana María Cocorina, also called Spanish Lady (*sinolan wanə*), represents Malinche, Cortés's interpreter and mistress, as well as the mistress of both Juan Gutiérrez and Mariano Ortega. The Passions sometimes take the roles of Juan Gutiérrez or Mariano Ortega in the sexual joking which is part of their performance in the festival (Bricker 1973a:116–122).

The prophecy merges figures from several epochs together. For example, Joaquín Miguel Gutiérrez is given Juan Ortega's first name. Furthermore, both men are described as the consorts of Nana María Cocorina, even though Gutiérrez was historically prominent at least thirty years before Ortega appeared on the political scene in Chiapas. There is, in addition, no historical evidence that either man had a mistress named Nana María Cocorina, nor, as far as I can determine, was there ever a woman of that name in Chiapas. The only explanation I can offer is that the name may be a corruption of María de la Candelaria, the heroine of the cult that pro-

vided the religious focus for the Cancuc revolt of 1712 (*nan* is the term for 'mother' in some dialects of Tzeltal [Romero Castillo 1961:214; Slocum and Gerdel 1971:165]). After the fall of Cancuc, María de la Candelaria went into hiding with her husband and father, and some reports of their whereabouts referred to them as a trio (see Chapter 5). If this interpretation is correct, then the impersonators of Juan Ortega and Joaquín Miguel Gutiérrez would also represent the husband and father of María de la Candelaria.

The prophecy does not mention the Passion of Christ, another event dramatized during Carnival (see above), nor the Mexican Inquisition, which is represented by performers called *portinario* (from Spanish *ordinario* 'Ecclesiastical Judge Ordinary' [Greenleaf 1965:138]) and *komisaryo* (from Spanish *comisario* 'investigator' [Greenleaf 1969:160]). A few weeks before the outbreak of the Cancuc revolt of 1712, Juan de Santander, acting as *comisario* for the Inquisition, was conducting an investigation of the saint cult in Santa Marta (see Chapter 5). The Holy Office conducted other investigations of idolatry in Chiapas during the sixteenth century (Feria 1954).

Although his name is not mentioned in the prophecy, Ignacio Fernández de Galindo, the Ladino leader of the Chamulan rebellion in 1869, is also represented in the drama. On June 17, 1869, a few days after murdering the Ladino priest of Chamula, Galindo and a force of five or six thousand Indians surrounded the Ladino city of San Cristobal Las Casas. Galindo was wearing a busby headdress of monkey fur encircled by a red ribbon (*El Baluarte de la Libertad*, June 22, 1869:1). This is, of course, the same headdress worn by the men who impersonate Jews, monkeys, demons, soldiers, and Frenchmen in the Carnival ritual of Chamula.

Finally, in 1920, Chiapas was the scene of armed conflict between the constitutional forces of Mexico led by Venustiano Carranza and revolutionary forces led by Alberto Pineda. Carranza's army retraced most of the route followed by Marín and Mazariegos more than four hundred years earlier.

On the last day of Carnival, the monkey impersonators fight a mock battle on the hillside behind one of the sacred springs (*ni? Ho?*) in the town. The Monkeys form two lines, one on the hillside and the other in the valley near the spring. The positions of the two "armies" resemble those of Ladinos and Chamulans during the War of St. Rose: the Indian

army was usually stationed on the heights, and the Ladinos took up positions in the valley (see Chapter 9). The setting of the mock battle may also be historically significant, for Vicente Pineda (1888:96, 99) reports that during the War of St. Rose, an important engagement took place on the hillside behind the "mills of Chamula." Since the spring in question is the source of the only stream in the town, and is therefore the most likely place for the mills to have been located, the mock battle could well take place on the same ground as that historical engagement.

The opposing forces in the mock battle are sometimes referred to as Mexico and Guatemala and sometimes as Carrancistas and Pinedistas. Thus the mock battle simultaneously represents the War of St. Rose, the nineteenth-century boundary dispute between Mexico and Guatemala, and the political upheaval produced by the Mexican Revolution of 1910–1917.

In summary, the festival of Carnival in Chamula dramatizes the following historical events: (1) the conquest of Mexico (including Chiapas) by Spaniards during the sixteenth century, (2) the Cancuc revolt of 1712, (3) the French intervention of 1862–1867, (4) the Chamulan uprising of 1867–1870, (5) the nineteenth-century boundary dispute with Guatemala, (6) the Pineda revolt of 1920, and, of course, (7) the Passion of Christ. These seven ethnic conflicts are treated as one in the ritual of Carnival.

By coincidence, many of the events dramatized in Chamula occurred within a few weeks of Carnival. Both attempts to conquer Chiapas took place during the weeks prior to Easter (Díaz del Castillo 1904:2:217–218; Remesal 1932:1:378–379). The first efforts to suppress the cult that provided the inspiration for the revolt in Cancuc were made during Lent in 1712 (see Chapter 5). And the Indian Christ of Chamula was supposedly crucified on Good Friday in 1868 (Pineda 1888:76–77). Thus Carnival occurs at the appropriate time of the year for commemorating these ethnic conflicts.

CARNIVAL IN CHENALHO

In Chenalho, also, one set of symbols represents several historical events: (1) the Passion of Christ, (2) the wars between Christians and Moors, (3) military campaigns against the Lacandon Indians in retaliation for their raids on Spanish settlements during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, (4) the Cancuc revolt of 1712, (5) the French intervention of

1862–1867, (6) the Chamulan rebellion of 1867–1870, and (7) the mistreatment of Indians by Ladinos. These ethnic conflicts are summarized in a prophecy similar to the one recited in Chamula:

Many days still remain unfinished,
Remain closed.
Beauteous work,
Beauteous contribution
Of the festival,
Of the holiday
Of our father Jesus,
Of our father the Nazarene.
He has seen it in his eyes;
He has seen it in his face.
Will he still see it in his eyes
After thirty days have passed,
Of his festival,
Of his holiday?
He strews a bit of dust,
A bit of rubbish
On the roadway,
In the plaza
Of our father Apostle,
Of our father Holy Cross.
Look now!
Here now!
Here in a month's time
Everything will come!
Animals!
Jaguars!
Don't go looking for too much trouble!
Everything will come!
They will appear here in a month's time!
Lacandon will appear!
Blackmen will appear!
Crossbacks will appear!
Abductors will appear!
Evil creatures will appear,
You see.
Danger is on its way here.
Evil is coming!
The Turks are coming!
The French
And Blackmen are coming!
Every possible horror is coming
In thirty days time!
The Turks are coming, with them
The French, everything!
Monkeys will appear!
Lacandon will appear!
They will offer a little entertainment;
They will offer a little joking;
They will evoke a bit of laughter
On the roadway,
In the plaza.
They will celebrate the festival;

They will celebrate the holiday
Of our father Jesus,
Of our father the Nazarene.

Blackmen, Turks, monkeys, and Frenchmen are all symbolized by performers who wear monkey-fur busby headdresses and are called Blackmen (Figures 12, 13). The word *h'zik'al*, which I have glossed as 'Blackman,' could also be translated as 'Moor' or 'Negro.' It may refer to the wars between Moors and Christians in Spain. It could equally well refer to the Cancuc revolt of 1712; fifty-four Negroes and one hundred Mulattoes were part of the army that put down the rebellion (Ximénez 1929–1931:3:296–297). Chenalho was deeply involved in that revolt, and after Cancuc was captured by the Spaniards, the principal leaders of the rebellion took refuge in Chenalho for a time (see Chapter 5). Turk (*turko*) is synonymous with Blackman in Chenalho, and the reference to the French probably recalls the French intervention of 1862–1867.

The word *ka'benal*, which I have glossed as 'Lacandon,' is probably derived from Cabnál or Cabenal, the name of several Lacandon chiefs during the Colonial period. In 1555, 1559, and 1696, the Spaniards were engaged in efforts to subdue and convert the Lacandon Indians, who were raiding Christian settlements in parts of Chiapas and Guatemala (J. E. S. Thompson 1970:27–38; see also Chapter 4). Two hundred Zinacanteco Indians and six hundred Chiapaneco Indians took part in the 1559 campaign (Remesal 1932:2:396). Indians from Chiapas (their tribal affiliation is not specified) also participated in the 1696 operations against the Lacandon Indians (Villagutierrez Soto-Mayor 1933:222). One of the Lacandon leaders in 1696 was named Cabnál (Villagutierrez Soto-Mayor 1933:223, 241–242). According to J. Eric S. Thompson (1970:29–30), the name Cabnál or Cabenal was assumed by Lacandon chiefs generation after generation, for Spaniards met Lacandon leaders with that name in 1586, 1608, and 1696.

The Lacandon role is assumed by a female impersonator known as *me'* *hka'benal* 'Lacandon Woman' [from *me'* 'female' and *hka'benal* 'Lacandon']. She is accompanied by the two Crossbacks, who represent Christ (see above). Like those of the Crossbacks, the Lacandon Woman's arms and legs are covered with anatto and ochre pigment. The three performers carry bunches of weeds in their hands, with which they pretend to cure other Carnival celebrators and spectators of hypothetical illnesses (Figure 7). They go up to the Passions and

other people and ask them: "Are you suffering from magical fright?" They stroke their "patients" with their bunches of weeds, pretending to restore the missing parts of their souls.

Dale Davis (personal communication), who has spent a year in a Lacandon settlement on Lake Naha, has brought to my attention the fact that Lacandon priests use anatto pigment on their bodies, especially their arms, for some ceremonies. She has also informed me that when Lacandon priests perform curing ceremonies, they brush leafy branches over their patients' bodies, using gestures similar to those of the Crossbacks and Lacandon Woman of Chenalho. Thus the body paint of the Crossbacks symbolizes not only Christ's wounds, but also the ritual decoration of Lacandon curers.³

The Crossbacks are sometimes said to represent jaguars because the circles painted on their bodies resemble the spotted fur of those animals (hence the reference to "animals" and "jaguars" in the prophecy).

It is possible that the Crossbacks and the Lacandon Woman also represent the rebel Indians during the Cancuc revolt of 1712. In September of that year, Indian soldiers from Cancuc and Huitiupa raided the town of Simojovel. Like the Crossbacks, the invaders were naked except for loincloths, and their bodies were covered with red mud (see Chapter 5

and Figure 7). Both the Crossbacks and the Lacandon Woman are painted with red pigment.⁴

For several nights during Carnival, this trio and another trio called the Abductors (*høakel*) are systematically hunted down by the Blackmen in their guise as Spanish soldiers. Each group of fugitives seeks refuge in the homes of the Passions (Bricker 1973a:140-142). What seems to be dramatized here is the house-to-house search made by Spanish soldiers, some of them Negroes, in pursuit of María de la Candelaria and her two companions in Chenalho and other towns (see Chapter 5).

The rest of the Carnival performers may also date from 1712. The Spaniards penetrated the defenses of Cancuc while the Indians were in the midst of a festival and a bullfight was in progress. Some of the Indians fled to the riverside, where they tried to unleash natural forces against the Spaniards. After Toribio de Cosío had occupied Cancuc, he sent out surrender orders to the other rebel towns. The Indians of Chilon were deeply divided over how to respond to the summons. In the midst of their debate, Indians from Yajalon, Bachajon, Petalsingo, Tila, and Tumbala invaded their town. The inhabitants of Chilon fled to the riverside. Their pursuers chased them with ropes, with which they tied some of them up (see Chapter 5).

The cast of Carnival performers in Chenalho includes a Bull and several Cowboy impersonators (Figure 14). One of the rituals of that festival is called "lost at the riverside" (*čayel ta nuk'um*). The Carnival celebrators split into two groups. One group takes the high road, the other group takes the low road, and they run around town three times. They meet at the riverside, where the Blackmen and the Cowboys ensnare the Bull in ropes. The Cowboys pretend to shoot the Bull with rifles. The Bull sprawls on the ground face-up while the celebrators jump over it three times (Bricker 1973a:140). The association of the Bull with the riverside suggests that this ceremony symbolizes events in Cancuc and Chilon after Cancuc was captured by the Spaniards.

Another group of celebrators, the "masked" (*k'oh*) officials, mock the ceremonies of the real officials of Chenalho. There are five "false" officials: two *fiscales*, two captains, and one *regidor*. The position of captain is now a ceremonial role in Chenalho, and there are no longer *fiscales* in the town government (Bricker 1973a:130-131). *Fiscales*, *regidores*, and captains were, however, officials in the rebel government of Cancuc (see Chapter 5).

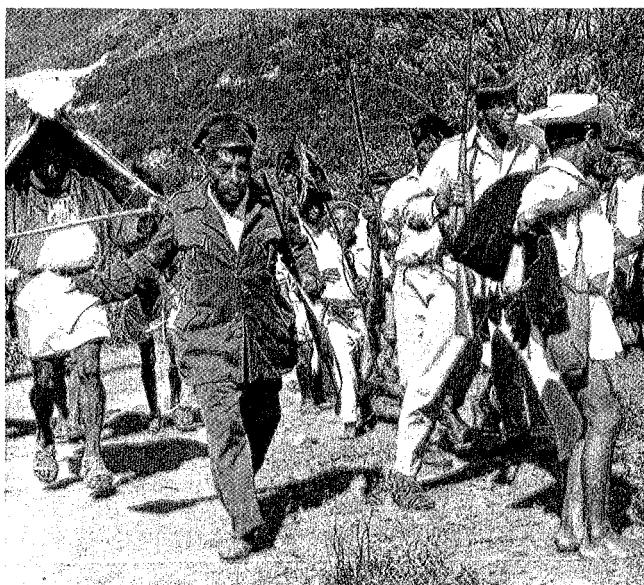


FIGURE 14. Cowboys Leading Bull in Chenalho, February 1969. Photo by Gertrude Duby Blom.

The Cancuc revolt of 1712 is a more obvious theme of Carnival in Chenalho than in Chamula, probably because Chamula stayed out of that ethnic conflict, whereas Chenalho was heavily involved in it. Chamula, on the other hand, stresses nineteenth-century events, perhaps because its major ethnic conflict occurred in 1867. Nineteenth century events are not ignored in Chenalho, but most of the rituals are specifically associated with the Cancuc revolt of 1712.

CARNIVAL IN ZINACANTAN

No prophecy heralds Carnival in Zinacantan, but it is thematically and structurally similar to the same festival in the other two towns. The Christ impersonators called Passions recall both the Passion of Christ and the War of St. Rose. The Blackmen impersonators symbolize Moors, Jews, Ladinos, and possibly also the Negro slaves who assisted the Spaniards in putting down the Cancuc revolt of 1712. Most of the Blackmen wear Ladino soldier uniforms. Their leader, who is sometimes called the "King of the Jews," is the only Blackman who applies charcoal to his face.

The high point of Carnival comes on the last day of the festival, when the Blackmen pursue other Zinacantecos wearing the traditional tribal costume. Since the Blackmen simultaneously represent Moors, Jews, soldiers, and Ladinos, their mock battle probably commemorates several ethnic conflicts.

The festival of Carnival is much less elaborate in Zinacantan than it is in Chamula and Chenalho. It commemorates only five ethnic conflicts: (1) the Passion of Christ, (2) the wars between the Christians and Moors in Spain, (3) the Cancuc revolt of 1712, (4) the War of St. Rose of 1867–1870, and (5) current hostility between Indians and Ladinos. Other ethnic conflicts are symbolized during another festival, the festival of St. Sebastian, which takes place at the end of January, approximately one month before Carnival.

THE FESTIVAL OF ST. SEBASTIAN IN ZINACANTAN

The following performers make up the cast for the ritual dramas that are put on during the festival of St. Sebastian:

- 2 Spanish Gentlemen (*kašlan*, from Spanish *castellano* 'Castilian')
- 2 Spanish Ladies (*śinulan*, from Spanish *señora* 'lady')
- 2 White Heads (*sak hol*), also known as Montezumas

- 2 Feathered Serpents (*k'uk'ul čon*)
- 2 Lacandons (*ka'benal*)
- 2 Jaguars (*b'olom*)
- 2 Tree Mosses (*čon te'*)
- 6 Blackmen (*h'rik'al*)

The first three pairs of performers form a group known as the senior entertainers (*muk'ta htoyk'ine-tik*). Their activities are usually segregated in space and time from those of the other performers. The role names of the senior entertainers imply that they once represented actors in a Dance of the Conquest. The costumes of the Spanish Gentlemen, which consist of red satin jackets and knee breeches edged with gold braid, are congruent with this interpretation (see Figures 15, 16).

The men costumed as Spanish Ladies wear white dresses, which are trimmed with embroidery and feathers at the hem, over red skirts. Their heads and



FIGURE 15. Spanish Lady and Gentleman in Zinacantan.
Photo by Frank Cancian.

shoulders are covered by finger-tip-length purple or red veils, topped by large black felt hats banded with gold and decorated with peacock feathers on the sides. They wear jewelry consisting of bead necklaces, mirrors, and rings (see Figure 15).

The White Heads, or Montezuma impersonators, obviously represent Cortés's adversary in the conquest of Mexico, but they may also symbolize ethnic conflict that predated Cortés's arrival. Montezuma was expanding his empire during the two decades prior to the Spanish conquest. There is evidence that his influence had reached highland Chiapas, and Zinacantan in particular, shortly before the Spaniards arrived (Adams 1961:359; Anderson and Dibble 1959:22-23).

The White Heads are also of interest because of their apparent association with the Mesoamerican rain god, called Tlaloc by the Aztecs and Chac by

the Maya. Their masks closely resemble trilobal elements associated with the rain deity at the Central Mexican sites of Teotihuacan and Tula (compare Figures 16 and 17 with 18; see also Stocker and Spence 1973). Several scholars have noted the frequent association of this symbol with the cloud symbol; they have suggested that the trilobal element represents water or rain, and sometimes blood (Stocker and Spence 1973:196). The trilobal masks of the White Heads of Zinacantan are consistent with this interpretation. They are wrapped in silver foil which reflects light like water.

The five remaining sets of performers are called junior entertainers (*b'ik'it htoy'kinetik*). The most interesting junior entertainers are the ones called Feathered Serpents. Their role name (*k'uk'ul čon*) is the Tzotzil equivalent of the name of the Mesoamerican culture hero known as Quetzalcoatl



FIGURE 16. Spanish Gentleman and White Heads in Zinacantan. Photo by Frank Cancian.



FIGURE 17. White Heads in Zinacantan. Photo by Frank Cancian.

among Nahuatl speakers, as Gucumatz in highland Guatemala, and as Kukulcan in the Yucatan peninsula. The costumes of the Feathered Serpents of Zinacantan are, in certain respects, strikingly similar to an iconographic representation of Quetzalcoatl in the *Codex Magliabecchiano* where he is de-

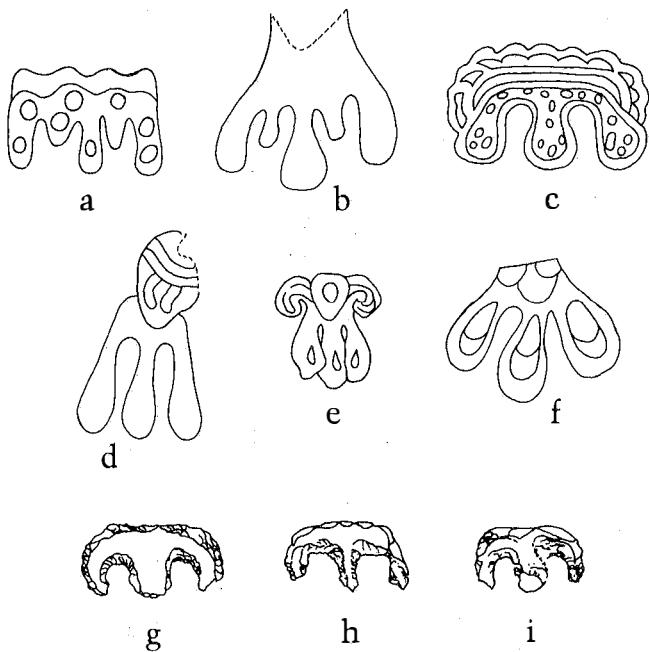


FIGURE 18. Trilobal Motifs at Teotihuacan and Tula (after Stocker and Spence 1973:196).



FIGURE 19. Some Junior Entertainers in Zinacantan: (left to right) Tree Mosses, Feathered Serpents, Lacandons. Photo by Frank Cancian.

picted in his aspect as Ehecatl, the wind god. In this form, Quetzalcoatl wears a mask in the shape of a bird's beak (Caso 1958:22); the Quetzalcoatl impersonators of Zinacantan wear beaked headdresses. Furthermore, in both cases, the headdress consists of a turban surmounted by a spotted conical hat (compare Figures 19 and 20). In the *Codex*, Quetzalcoatl's hat is covered with what is obviously ocelot fur: the background is orange, and the spots are black. In Zinacantan, on the other hand, the spots are red and green on a white background. However, this color scheme is perfectly consistent with that of the quetzal bird from which Quetzalcoatl takes his name: the green feathers of this bird have crimson spots underneath (Eva Hunt, personal communication). The same colors are repeated in the rest of the costume of the Feathered Serpents of Zinacantan. The small wooden wings strapped between their shoulders are also white with red and green spots. Their green velveteen knee breeches may symbolize the feathers of the quetzal bird.

According to Alfonso Caso (1958:25), "As the god of life, Quetzalcóatl appears as the constant benefactor of mankind, and so we find that after having created man with his own blood, he sought a way to nourish him. He discovered corn, hidden by the ants within a hill, and changing himself into an ant, stole a grain, which he later gave to man." Appropriately enough, the beaks of the headdresses of the



FIGURE 20. Quetzalcoatl in His Ehecatl (Wind God) Aspect (*Codex Magliabecchiano*).

Quetzalcoatl impersonators of Zinacantan are held open by ears of maize (Figure 21).

Although some legends characterize Quetzalcoatl as a god, others claim that he was a human being, a fair-skinned, bearded king of Tula who was responsible for bringing a golden age to Central Mexico during the ninth or tenth century A.D. (Davies 1977; Tozzer 1957:28–29). According to some legends, Quetzalcoatl was eventually forced to leave Central Mexico. He fled to the Gulf Coast, where he boarded a canoe and set off for Yucatan. Before he left he promised his followers that he would return some day. This prophecy was not forgotten; when the Spaniards arrived on the Gulf Coast of Mexico, the Indians thought at first that Cortés was Quetzalcoatl returning to fulfill his prophecy. Thus it is appropriate that impersonators of Quetzalcoatl are associated with the Dance of the Conquest.

According to one legend, Quetzalcoatl spent some time in the Yucatan peninsula, and there is architectural evidence at Chichen Itza and other archaeological sites that a new cult based on a feathered-serpent motif and other Central Mexican traits appeared in the peninsula some time after 900 A.D. (Tozzer 1957:30–31).⁵

The Quetzalcoatl cult also spread to Chiapas. For example, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, Tzeltal shamans were using an almanac in which there was a painted figure of a man and a snake called *Cuchulchā* (*k'uk'ulčan*) (Nuñez de la Vega 1692:132). And when Tozzer (1907:96) visited the Lacandon between 1902 and 1905, he discovered that the Maya equivalent of the name Quetzalcoatl was still in use "as the name of a mythical snake with many heads." Recently Dale Davis (personal communication) has collected some oral traditions about a god named *kurkurkan* from the headman of one of the Lacandon settlements on Lake Naha.

Zinacanteco oral traditions provide two explanations for these creatures. Some Zinacantecos believe that they represent the raven who is said to have brought maize to human beings after the flood. Others believe that they represent a toucan "who stole and ate Zinacanteco maize, and killed people with a peck on the back of their heads" (Vogt 1976:162). Although modern Zinacantecos are not aware of the legendary significance of Quetzalcoatl, their explanations of the ritual performers who bear his name are consistent with the Central Mexican belief that he inaugurated a period of prosperity and with his association with a Central Mexican invasion of the Maya area.

The Lacandon impersonators (*ka'benal*) may be even more directly related to the Dance of the Conquest. According to Bode (1961:213), Lacandon Indians are occasionally part of the cast of this dance-drama in highland Guatemala. In one version, a Lacandon brings a message from Montezuma to the Quiche king warning him of the arrival of the Spaniards (Bode 1961:221). A Lacandon impersonator is one of the performers in the Dance of the Conquest of San Cristobal, a town in the District of Totonicapan (Bode 1961:246, 293; see also Figure 22).

I have already pointed out that the role name of these performers is probably postconquest in origin. Zinacantecos took part in the 1559 campaign against the Lacandon Indians, and they may also have participated in the 1696 operations against them (Remesal 1932:2:396; Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1933:223, 241–242). Thus, in addition to representing the Lacandon emissary from Montezuma, the Lacandon impersonators of Zinacantan probably also recall the almost two centuries of war against the Lacandon Indians in which Zinacantecos participated.

The historical significance of the Tree Mosses is less clear. Their costumes are similar to those of the Lacandon impersonators of Bachajon, a Tzeltal community in highland Chiapas. The name Tree Moss



FIGURE 21. Headdress of Feathered Serpent in Zinacantan. Photo by Gertrude Duby Blom.

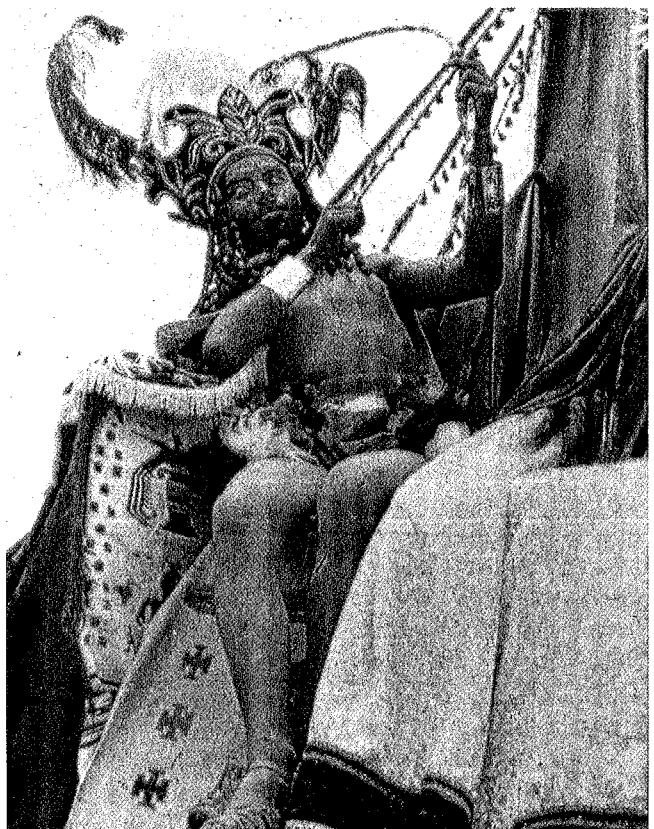


FIGURE 22. Lacandon in Totonicapan. Photo by Barbara Bode. Courtesy of Barbara Bode and M.A.R.I.



FIGURE 23. Lacandon of Bachajon. Photo by Marcey Jacobson.

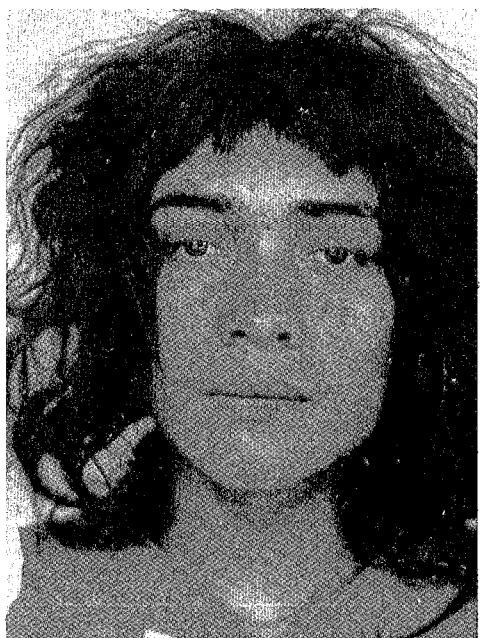


FIGURE 24. Modern Lacandon Indian Man. Courtesy of M.A.R.I.



FIGURE 25. Lacandon Characters with Braids in Zinacantan. Photo by Gertrude Duby Blom.

(*pon te?*) refers to the long bunches of Spanish moss that cover their shoulders like hair (Figure 19). The Lacandon impersonators of Bachajon, who are called *kabinal*, cover their bodies with Spanish moss (Becquelin-Monod and Breton 1973:98; Figure 23). The modern Lacandon are strikingly different from other Indian groups in highland Chiapas in that their men have retained the custom of wearing long hair. The bunches of moss worn by the Tree Mosses of Zinacantan and the Lacandon impersonators of Bachajon resemble the long, wavy hair of Lacandon men (Figure 24). The Lacandon impersonators of Zinacantan and Chenalho wear long false braids (Figure 25). This suggests that there are actually two groups of Lacandon impersonators in Zinacantan. The name *karbenal* refers to the Lacandon headmen encountered by Spaniards and Indians during the Colonial period, and the name *pon te?* indirectly refers to what is now regarded as a peculiar custom of Lacandon men.

The rest of the performers probably represent characters in other ethnic conflicts. The Blackmen, of course, may symbolize the Moors who fought against the Christian Spaniards, as well as the Negroes and Mulattoes who helped put down the Cancuc uprising of 1712 (Figures 26, 27). The jaguar impersonators, on the other hand, may represent one of the aboriginal totemic military orders. In the Yucatan peninsula, for example, there is evidence of a system of military orders identified with a number of animal species, including jaguars, pumas, eagles, weasels, opossums, and kinkajous (Roys 1933: 196–200). The Jaguar Order, in particular, is frequently mentioned in the Books of Chilam Balam (Edmonson forthcoming: lines 312, 677, 1417, 1511, 2994, 3004; Roys 1933:196–200), and some soldiers wore jaguar pelts when they went into battle (Roys 1943:66; Tozzer 1941:122). There are also references to totemic military orders in the native traditions of highland Guatemala, which were named after jaguars, panthers, and eagles (Edmonson 1971: 232n7708). Furthermore, a Dance of Warriors is still performed at the festival of Carnival in Chamula, during which the monkey impersonators, Passions, and other officials pretend to be the "soldiers of God" by taking turns wearing a jaguar pelt (see Bricker 1973a:110–112; Figure 28). It therefore seems likely that the jaguar impersonators of Zinacantan represent historical figures rather than simply mythological creatures.

Another theme dramatized during this festival is the martyrdom of St. Sebastian. According to the

Catholic Encyclopedia (Löffler 1912:13:668), "little more than the fact of his martyrdom can be proved about St. Sebastian," and many of the stories of his life should be dismissed as unhistorical legends. For my purposes, however, legends about his life may be more relevant than the facts. According to the Acts of the Apostles, which Klemens Löffler thinks was probably written at the beginning of the fifth century A.D., more than one hundred years after the saint's death, St. Sebastian "was an officer in the imperial body-guard . . . [who] . . . had secretly done many acts of love and charity for his brethren in the Faith. When he was finally discovered to be a Christian in 286, he was handed over to the Mauretanian archers, who pierced him with arrows; he was healed, however, by the widowed St. Irene. He was finally killed by the blows of a club" (Löffler 1912:13:668). "In [Renaissance] art he is most important, and there is a vast iconography. . . . The scene of his first 'martyrdom' with arrows is the



FIGURE 26. Blackman at Festival of St. Sebastian in Zinacantan. Photo by Frank Cancian.

most popular episode of his life seen in painting and sculpture. . . . He is frequently depicted in altar paintings merely standing and holding an arrow, or as punctured with arrows" (Hoade 1967:18; Figure 29).

The event in St. Sebastian's life that is most often represented in art also serves as a theme for Zinacanteco oral tradition and ritual drama. An origin myth for the church of St. Sebastian in Zinacantan interprets the life of the martyr in terms of a number of ethnic conflicts, such as the Quetzalcoatl legend, the Conquest of Mexico, and the wars against the Lacandon. Part of this myth is quoted below:

In olden times San Sebastián was a Captain under the command of a General who had two daughters. The General wanted San Sebastián to marry one of the daughters, but San Sebastián refused and the General announced he was going to kill him. The General took San Sebastián to a rocky place in the woods at the edge of the sea in Oaxaca, and secured him to the trunk of a tree by tying his two hands behind him. Many animals and savages that lived in the woods came by—two BOLOMETIK [jaguars], two K'UK'UL CONETIK

[large toucan birds], two ZONTE?ETIK [savages], . . . and a number of H?IK'ALETIK [Blackmen]. Two KA?BENALETIK [Lacandon Indians], who also lived in the woods, arrived. All the animals tried to kill San Sebastián by eating him; the Lacandons, who saw that San Sebastián was a ladino, tried to kill him with arrows because they hated ladinos and wanted to kill them all. These efforts to kill him were unsuccessful.

Then San Sebastián's younger brother, San Fabián, and younger sister, Santa Catalina, came to be with him and to help him.

Later the two SAK HOLETIK ["White Heads," defined by Vogt as Aztec Indians] came to see San Sebastián, and observed that he was still alive. They went back to call on the General and to tell him that San Sebastián was not dying and to request that the General send soldiers to kill him.

The soldiers came and tried to shoot San Sebastián with guns. They shot at him, but the bullets would not penetrate, for in front of the tree trunk that held San Sebastián was the K'OLTIXYO [testing target] which protected him. Fabián told them that if you wish to kill San Sebastián, you must first knock down the target. The soldiers grabbed a lance that was nearby and took turns trying to strike the target, but none could hit it. The soldiers then returned to the General to report that they could not kill San Sebastián, and that



FIGURE 27. Jaguars and Blackmen at Festival of St. Sebastian in Zinacantan. Photo by Gertrude Duby Blom.



FIGURE 28. Dance of Warriors at Carnival in Chamula. Courtesy of M.A.R.I.

he had two companions with him—San Fabián and Santa Catalina. The General was furious for he thought that Santa Catalina must be San Sebastián's fiancée. He said: "Tomorrow, I shall go kill him myself."

The next day the General returned to the site with his soldiers. As they approached they heard the T'ENT'EN drum being played by Fabián. Upon arrival, the General asked Sebastián again to marry one of his daughters, but Sebastián did not answer. Instead, Fabián spoke to the General explaining that he [Fabián] was Sebastián's younger brother, and that Catalina was the younger sister, and that they had come to help Sebastián. The General announced that Sebastián must be killed. But Fabián replied that he must first knock down the target. The General asked what it was, and Fabián said it was Sebastián's heart, already out of his body and hanging in front of his body. The General then grabbed one of the lances and tried to charge the target. He tried several times with both the point and the side of the lance, with no success. The General said the lance was no good, "too light," so he tried the other, made of gold and silver, and weighing 8 arrobas [about 200 pounds]. This lance was so heavy that it fell to the ground as the horse ran fast, and the General suffered a heavy blow on the head by the target. Then many of the soldiers and also the animals tried to strike the target. But all failed; no one could kill San Sebastián; he was left alive.

The next day an ox cart was passing nearby, and the owner of the cart heard the sound of the T'ENT'EN playing. He left his cart and went into the woods to see what it was. There he found three saints' statues—San Sebastián, San Fabián, and Santa Catalina—all lighted with candles. The drum was at the feet of San Sebastián with the drumstick on top of it. Off to the right in front of the drum were the target, the two lances, and on top of the lances the rope for hanging up the target. Nearby there was a book which the owner of the cart opened and read and discovered that San Sebastián would like to leave this rocky place by the edge of the sea in Oaxaca, but that Fabián and Catalina wished to remain there. The owner of the cart went back to tell his companions, but when they returned to the site, they found only San Sebastián, the T'ENT'EN, the K'OLTIXYO, the lances, and the book—Fabián and Catalina having disappeared into the woods. They loaded up the objects they had found and set out eastward, eventually arriving in Zinacantan Center where they camped in a pasture that had good grass for the oxen. When they awoke the following morning, they were startled to discover that San Sebastián (and the other objects) were missing from the cart. But in the early dawn, they saw candles burning in a nearby manchineel patch and thought the saint must be there. They went to the manchineel patch and found San Sebastián tied to one of the trees, with his left hand behind him, his right hand above his head, "as he appears in the Church of San Sebastián today." The owner of the cart consulted the book again and learned that San Sebastián wished to stay here with the T'ENT'EN, the K'OLTIXYO, and the lances. So they

hitched up their oxen and traveled on, leaving San Sebastián in the manchineel patch.

The next day the Zinacantecos discovered San Sebastián and the objects with him. They consulted the book and learned that, although he was a younger brother of their San Lorenzo, he did not wish to live in the same house, but preferred one of his own. The Zinacantecos discussed this and thought of building a house for San Sebastián. But the VAXAK-MEN, who were very elderly Zinacantecos, said they would build the house. They built the house [church] in three days, during which time there was a K'INUBAL [a winter storm from the north] with much wind and rain. In three days the storm passed, and the church was completed, and San Sebastián placed in it. He is called MARTIR KAPITAN, because as a living person he was a Captain. (Vogt 1976:159–161)⁶

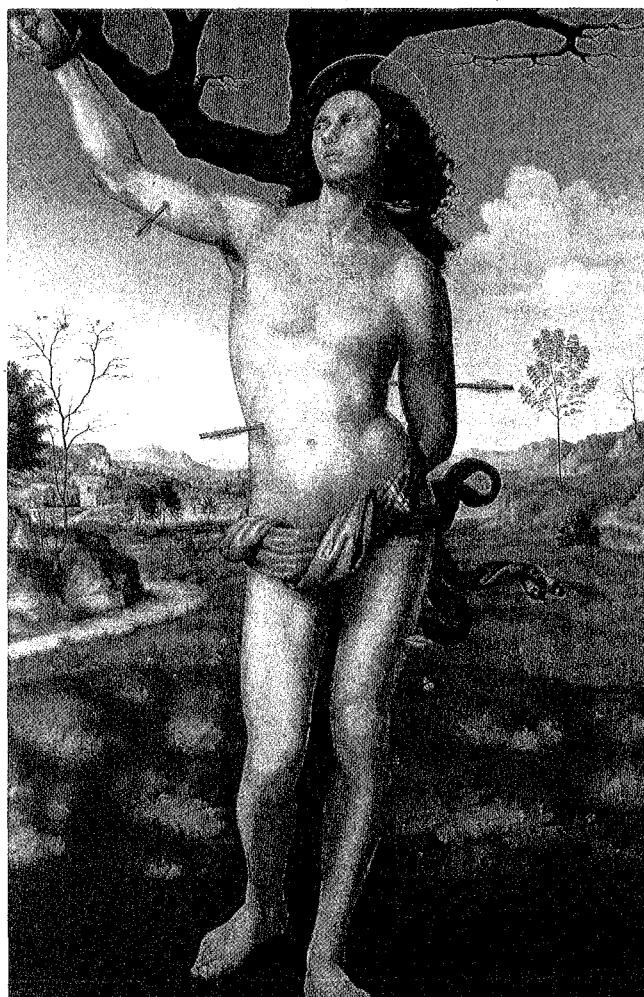


FIGURE 29. Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Bugiardini). Courtesy of New Orleans Museum of Art, New Orleans, Louisiana.

This version of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian closely resembles a Yucatecan sacrificial ceremony described by Landa:

... and if the victim was to be sacrificed with arrows, they stripped him naked, and anointed his body with a blue color, and put a *coroza* [hood] on his head. When they had reached the victim, all, armed with bows and arrows, danced a solemn dance with him around the stake, and while dancing they put him up on it and bound him to it, all of them keeping on dancing and gazing at him. The foul priest in vestments went up and wounded the victim with an arrow in the parts of shame, whether it was a man or woman, and drew blood and came down and anointed the faces of the idol with it. And making a certain sign to the dancers, they began one after another to shoot, as they passed rapidly before him, still dancing, at his heart, which had been marked beforehand with a white mark. And in this way they made his whole chest one point like a hedgehog of arrows. If the heart of the victim was to be taken out, they led him with a great show and company of people into the court of the temple, and having smeared him with blue and put on a *coroza*, they brought him up to the round altar, which was the place of sacrifice, and after the priest and his officials had anointed the stone with a blue color, and by purifying the temple drove out the evil spirit, the *Chacs* [impersonators of rain gods] seized the poor victim, and placed him very quickly on his back upon that stone, so that they divided him in the middle. At this came the executioner, the *Nacom*, with a knife of stone, and struck him with great skill and cruelty a blow between the ribs of his left side under the nipple, and he at once plunged his hand in there and seized the heart like a raging tiger and snatched it out alive and, having placed it upon a plate, he gave it to the priest, who went very quickly and anointed the faces of the idols with that fresh blood. (Tozzer 1941:117-119)

The principal points of similarity are: (1) the victim is tied to a stake, (2) his heart serves as a target for (3) arrows, and (4) the rain gods (or their impersonators) assist in the sacrifice.

The Aztecs also sacrificed human hearts to their gods. According to Caso (1958:73), "during the ceremonies in honor of the god Xipe, the prisoner was tied to the upper part of a kind of framework and then riddled by arrows until he died. The prisoner's blood spilling on the ground was thought to make it fertile and to stimulate by a sort of magical sympathy the fall of the other precious liquid, rain." Peterson (1959:147) adds that "priests would dance around him, shooting arrows at a white mark painted over his heart." A similar sacrificial ceremony in honor of the goddess Chicomecoatl is described by Father Diego de Durán (1971:226-227):

... the shooters or archers took up their arms and donned the costumes of the gods Tlacahuepan, Huitzilopochtli, Titlacahuau, the Sun, Ixcozauhqui, and the Four Dawn. Then they gathered their bows and arrows. Prisoners and captives of war then appeared who were crucified upon a high scaffolding which stood there for that purpose. Their arms and legs extended, they were all bound to one board or another. Then the archers dressed in the divine garb shot them with great fury. This was the sacrifice of the goddess; it was performed in her honor like the fire sacrifice of the other goddess.

Once the wretches had been slain by the arrows, they were cast down. Their chests were opened, their hearts were extracted ...

The sacrificial victims were usually captives obtained in war. Durán (1971:93) points out that the Aztecs' principal objective in going to war with their neighbors was to obtain captives to sacrifice in honor of their gods. In other words, the Aztecs had a religious motive for ethnic conflict.

There are some obvious parallels between the Aztec heart sacrifice and the Zinacanteco version of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian: the *k'oltišyo*, which represents the martyr's heart, is tied to a wooden framework the same shape as the scaffolding to which Aztec sacrificial victims were tied before their hearts were torn out (compare Figures 30 and 31). The junior and senior entertainers approach the suspended "heart" (Figure 32) on horseback and try to hit it with lances.⁷

The passage quoted from Landa suggests that the

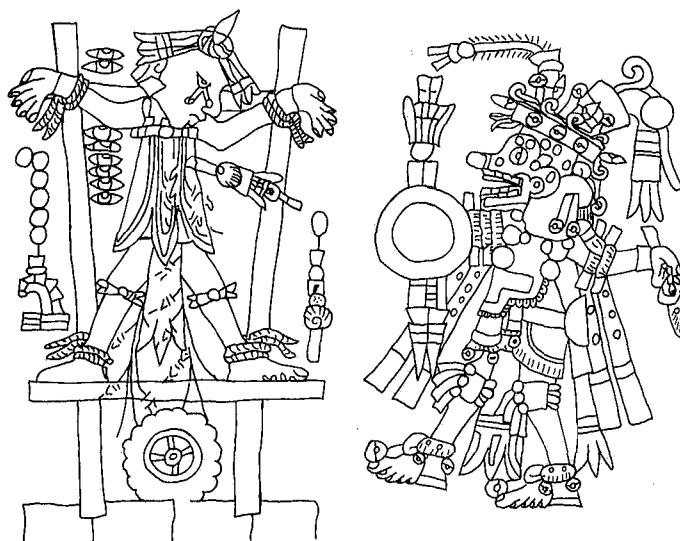


FIGURE 30. Aztec Sacrifice (Zouche Codex) (from Thompson 1941:131).

Yucatecan sacrifice was associated with rain-making. There are also rain-making symbols in the festival of St. Sebastian of Zinacantan, namely the representations of the Aztec rain god, Tlaloc, and of Quetzalcoatl in his Ehecatl or wind god aspect. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún says of Quetzalcoatl's association with Tlaloc, "he was the wind [Ehecatl]; he was the guide, the roadsweeper of the rain gods, of the masters of the water, of those who brought rain. And when the wind increased, it was said, the dust swirled up, it roared, howled, became dark, blew in all directions; there was lightning; it grew wrathful" (Anderson and Dibble 1950:9). Furthermore, Quetzalcoatl was used as the role name of the high priests of the Aztec religion. One of the Quetzalcoatl priests was also called Tlaloc, and he was dedicated to the god of rain (Anderson and Dibble 1952:67).

In Yucatan, the rain gods are described as old men with white hair (Tozzer 1941:138n639). The role name of the Tlaloc impersonators of Zinacantan is White Head (*sak hol*). In addition to wearing the trilobal element associated with Tlaloc as a mask, the White Heads wear headdresses that simulate white hair (Figure 17).

Another symbol associated with rain-making is

the slit drum (*t'ent'en*), which is known as *teponaztli* among the Aztecs (see Figure 33). This drum is used on three occasions in Zinacantan: (1) during the festival of St. Sebastian, (2) whenever there is a severe drought during the summer, and (3) on Christmas Eve. The rain-making ceremony takes place on a large prehistoric platform mound on the summit of a mountain called *ziç'inal muk'ta viç* (Junior Large Mountain) which lies southwest of the town of Teopisca, about seventy kilometers from Zinacantan. Before leaving Zinacantan on their long pilgrimage to this shrine, the shamans visit the house where the slit drum is kept and pray to it; they pay another ritual visit to this drum on their way back from the mountain, three days later (Vogt 1969:473).

The *teponaztli* was closely identified with Teopisca during the seventeenth century. The people of Teopisca were then called the descendants of Votan, the culture hero of highland Chiapas, who was known as the ruler of the *teponaztli* (Nuñez de la Vega 1692:9). In other words, the mountain shrine where Zinacanteco shamans now pray for rain is located near a town whose patron was the lord of the *teponaztli*, a musical instrument which is today associated with rain-making in Zinacantan.



FIGURE 31. Spanish Gentleman Ties *K'oltišyo* to Scaffold.
Photo by Frank Cancian.

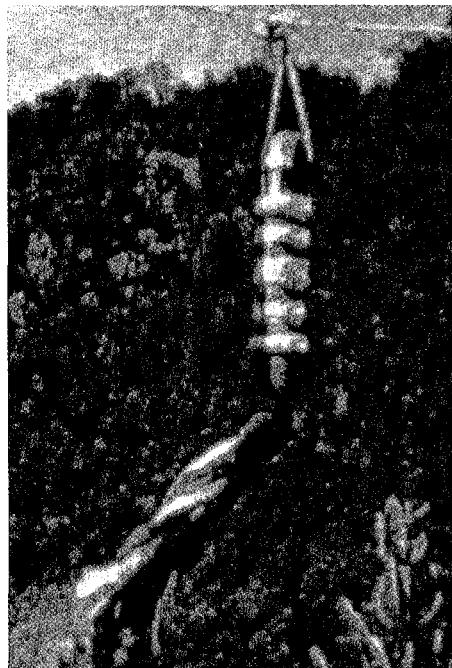


FIGURE 32. Detail of *K'oltišyo*. Photo by Frank Cancian.

The Aztecs also used slit drums in their rain-making ceremonies. For example, during the feast of Etzalqualiztli, on top of the Temple of Tlaloc, "the horizontal drum [*teponatzli*] was beaten, flutes were played, conch shells and reed pipes were blown. There was song. The horizontal drums [*teponatzli*] croaked, growled, and droned, and rattles were rattled" (Anderson and Dibble 1951:74). At midnight on the night that these drums were played, men costumed as rain gods were slain, their chests were cut open, and their hearts were torn out to be offered to Tlaloc (Anderson and Dibble 1951:74-75).

A smaller version of the ceremonial *teponatzli* was carried by the Aztecs in battle as a war drum. It hung from the neck of the war chief by a cord threaded through two holes (Castañeda and Mendoza 1933:6; Stevenson 1968:71).

Thus the slit drum, like the Quetzalcoatl and Tlaloc impersonators, is associated with both rain-making and war. The whirlwind and the thunderbolt, which accompany rain, are also magical weapons of war, and the slit drum, which is played during a feast in honor of the rain god, is also a war drum.

A passage in *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* suggests that prisoners of war were sometimes ritually sacrificed with arrows in highland Guatemala:

Then began the execution of Tolgom. He dressed and covered himself with his ornaments. Then they tied him with his arms extended to a poplar tree to shoot him with arrows. Afterwards all the warriors began to dance. The music to which they danced is called the song of Tolgom. Following this they began to shoot the arrows, but none of them hit the cords [with which he was tied], but instead they fell beyond the gourd tree, in the place of Qakbatzulú where all the arrows fell. At last our ancestor Gagavitz shot the arrow which flew directly to the spot called Cheetzulú and pierced Tolgom. After which all of the warriors killed him. Some of the arrows entered [his body] and others fell farther away. And when that man died, his blood was shed in abundance behind the poplar. Then they came and completed the division [of pieces of him] among all the warriors of the seven tribes that took part in the offering and the sacrifice, and his death was commemorated thereafter in the month of Uchum. (Recinos and Goetz 1953:74-75)

A similar sacrifice of a prisoner of war was represented in a dance-drama, the Tum Teleche, in a number of highland Guatemalan Indian communities until as late as 1624: ". . . it was a representation of an Indian whom, taken in war, the elders sacrificed and offered to the demon, as is declared and said by the Indian himself, tied to a hitching post, and those who attack him to take his life in four figures which they say were those of their *naguas* [animal alter-egos]: a tiger, a lion, an eagle and another animal which is not recalled" (Chinchilla Aguilar 1953:290-291; quoted in Edmonson, 1971:136n).

The dance of the Tum Teleche, as described above, shares with the Zinacanteco interpretation of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian the following elements: (1) the context of the sacrifice is one of ethnic conflict, (2) the sacrificial victim is tied to a stake, and (3) jaguar (tiger) impersonators participate in the sacrifice. Another, less obvious point of similarity is the fact that the name of the Guatemalan dance implies the use of the slit drum: the word *tum* means '*teponatzli*' (Edmonson 1965:128; *teleche* means 'captive' [Edmonson 1965:120]).

Like their relatives in the Yucatan peninsula, the Maya of highland Guatemala sacrificed human hearts to the rain god, whom the Quiche called Tohil. Father Francisco Ximénez (Scherzer 1926: 104-105), in describing a sacrificial ceremony in honor of this god, mentions that the sacrificial victim was tied to a wall before his heart was removed.

Although Quetzalcoatl is not mentioned in this context, there is evidence in the *Popol Vuh* that "Quetzalcoatl, Q'uq' Kumatz and Tohil were one and the same deity under different names as far

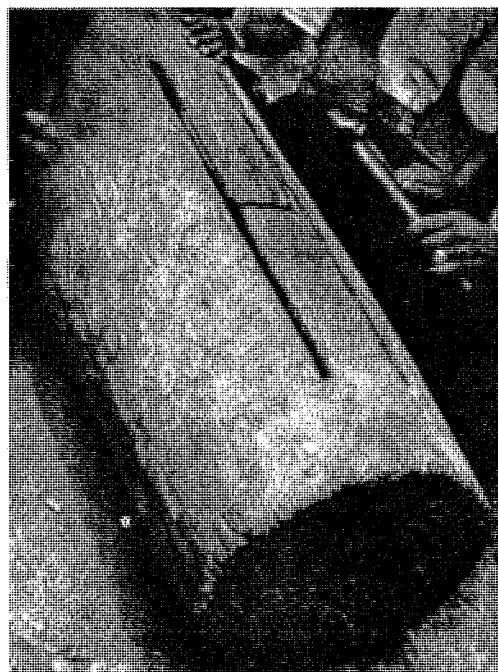


FIGURE 33. Slit Drum (*teponatzli*). Photo by V. R. Bricker.

as the Quiche were concerned" (Edmonson 1971: 183n). Edmonson (1971:183) cites the following passage in the *Popol Vuh* in support of his statement:

But really Storm [Tohil] was the name
Of the god of the Mexican people.

Rattlesnake,

Quetzal Serpent [Quetzalcoat] was his name.

In other words, Quetzalcoatl was so closely associated with the rain god among the Quiche that they regarded the name of the former as just another name for the latter.

The rain god was also sometimes associated with warfare in highland Guatemala. For example, *Brasseur de Bourbourg* "quotes a Cakchiquel folk etymology relating the name [Tohil] to the noise of warfare (*tohoh* 'thunder')" (Edmonson 1971:162n). And in the version of the conquest of Guatemala reported in the *Títulos de la casa Ixquín-Nehaib*, lightning was one of the magical weapons used by the Quiche against the Spaniards (Recinos 1957).

In summary, there is evidence from several parts of Mesoamerica, notably the Valley of Mexico, the Yucatan peninsula, and highland Guatemala, of aboriginal ceremonies that closely resembled what is known about the martyrdom of St. Sebastian. One of these ceremonies was the sacrifice of human victims in honor of the rain god, who was called Tlaloc by the Aztecs, Chac by the Yucatecan Maya, and Tohil by the Quiche. Another ceremony, which was performed in the Valley of Mexico and highland Guatemala, was the sacrifice of prisoners of war. In the festival of St. Sebastian in Zinacantan, a single complex of symbols represents both rain-making and war, as shown in Table 2. Thus, although the festival of St. Sebastian is nominally an occasion for honoring a Catholic saint who was persecuted by the Romans, its ritual symbolism encompasses other, sometimes secular, sometimes pagan examples of ethnic conflict which have nothing to do with Christianity. In this sense it is structurally and thematically like the festival of Carnival in Zinacantan and the nearby Indian communities of Chamula and Chenalho.

ORAL TRADITION

The telescoping of time that characterizes Carnival ritual in Chamula, Chenalho, and Zinacantan and the festival of St. Sebastian in Zinacantan is also common in oral traditions about ethnic conflict. Text C-7 in Appendix C, for example, treats the

Table 2. Rain-making and War Symbols

Symbol	Rain	War
Quetzalcoatl	Ehecatl (Wind God)	Whirlwind (magical weapon)
White Head	Tlaloc (Rain God)	Thunderbolt (magical weapon)
<i>teponaztli</i>	rain ceremony	war drum
trilobal mask	water	blood

leaders of several ethnic conflicts as equivalent and interchangeable. It begins with Cuscat, the leader of the Chamulan uprising of 1867–1870 (lines 1–10), then moves quickly on to "Bird" (Jecinto Pérez Ch'ix Tot), the leader of another Chamulan revolt in 1911 (Espinosa 1912), whose activities are described in some detail (lines 11–276), returns to the War of St. Rose and the Chamulan women who exposed their genitals in a vain attempt to cool the guns (lines 277–290), briefly mentions the Obregonistas, who fought against General Alberto Pineda, the leader of reactionary forces, in 1924 (lines 309–312), returns to "Bird" and describes his followers' flight to Rincón Chamula after the revolt had been put down (lines 313–344), and then treats at great length the major battles between the Pinedistas and the followers of Alvaro Obregón in 1924 (see Bravo Izquierdo 1948), in which the storyteller himself took part (lines 349–1136). The text ends with a war against Mexico, in the course of which the President of Mexico is brought to his knees by four magical weapons: Butterfly, Thunderbolt, Whirlwind, and Rainbow (lines 1209–1394). The text also contains scattered references to Juan Ortega's imperialistic attack on Chiapa de Corzo in 1863 (lines 247–249, 1168, and 1177), an important battle between Pinedistas and Carrancistas in 1920 (lines 236–238 and 316), and a group of revolutionary ranchers known as "Coons" or "Villistas" (after Pancho Villa [Laughlin 1977:132]), who engaged in guerrilla activities against the revolutionary government between 1914 and 1917 (lines 941–950). The storyteller moves easily back and forth between events separated by years, and sometimes centuries; even though, when asked, he can make statements about their relative provenience (cf. Laughlin 1977:116), he seems to have no interest in respecting their chronological order.

In Chamula, Chenalho, and Zinacantan, the Cha-

mulan uprising of 1867–1870 is apparently confused with the Cancuc revolt of 1712. According to the Chenalho version of the War of St. Rose, Cancuc was destroyed during that uprising (see Guiteras-Holmes 1961:265–267 and Text C-6). In fact, however, Canqueros were never involved in the War of St. Rose; their town was actually destroyed in 1712 (Calnek 1970:110–111; see also Chapter 5), not 1869. Furthermore, all oral versions of the War of St. Rose describe the Indians' first confrontation with cannons (see Appendix C), an experience which apparently dates from the Cancuc revolt of 1712 (Bancroft 1886:704), if not earlier. The Indians of Chamula, Chenalho, and Zinacantan believe that women can tame or "cool" male or "hot" objects like bulls and guns by exposing their genitals to them. Oral traditions from the three communities describe the women of Chamula lifting their skirts and exposing their anuses to the guns and cannons. According to one version, the bullets were small and went up the women's anuses, but the cannon balls were large and killed them. The first time I heard this story I thought it was an example of the mythologizing of history, but I have since discovered that, although this incident is not mentioned in any written historical documents, it is also part of Ladino folklore of ethnic conflict (see Text C-9). Given their belief in the "cooling" powers of female genitalia, it may well be that the Indians' initial reaction to the use of cannons in warfare was to put the women in the front line of defense with their anuses exposed to the guns.

Another common theme in oral traditions about ethnic conflict is the magical arsenal of weapons associated with natural forces, especially lightning and whirlwinds. Zinacanteco myths about wars with Guatemalans, Mexicans, and Chiapanecos are very similar (compare Texts C-1–C-3). The use of magical weapons is the theme of all such myths, and it does not matter who the enemy is. And because there is documentary evidence that the Maya actually tried to employ such weapons in the conquest of Guatemala and the Cancuc revolt of 1712 (see Chapters 3 and 5), it can be assumed that the oral traditions about them probably have historical value.

Thus temporal distortion produces similar structures in the myth and ritual of ethnic conflict. In the timelessness of oral tradition and ritual there is no place for individuality. The hero of one conflict is the hero of all conflicts. He may be referred to by the names of all heroes or any one of them. The villain

who opposes him can be called by the name of any villain from any time period. Structurally speaking, there is nothing incongruous about the fact that Passions, who are impersonators of Christ, are harassed by men dressed in French grenadier costumes. For the French belong to the same structural category as Jews, Moors, Ladinos, and Guatemalans. They are all villains. By scorning consistency in naming, costuming, and behavior, the rituals of Carnival can encompass many cases of ethnic conflict with a minimum of symbols.

Both oral tradition and ritual are organized in terms of structural categories such as hero, villain, friend, enemy, and conflict. A true historical drama would also be organized in terms of these categories, but the individuals who played⁴ the roles would be contemporaneous and only one event would be represented at a time. However, time is telescoped in the myth and ritual of ethnic conflict in Chamula, Zinacantan, and Chenalho, thereby making it possible to symbolize many events at the same time. Although the costume of any performer may indeed be a hodgepodge of elements from several historical periods, he represents one and only one dramatic category.

Ritualized Ethnic Conflict in Highland Guatemala

There is one major difference between ritualized ethnic conflict in highland Chiapas and in highland Guatemala. In the former, this tradition is transmitted orally from generation to generation, while in the latter, such traditions are preserved in written texts. One might consequently expect the temporal distortion so characteristic of ritualized ethnic conflict in highland Chiapas to be absent in performances of the Dance of the Conquest in highland Guatemala.

In fact, this is not the case. For example, in 1960, Munro S. Edmonson observed a performance of the Dance of the Conquest in San Juan Ixcoy that contained elements of at least two other dances, the Deer Dance (*Venadito*) and the Dance of Howler and Spider Monkeys (*Monos y Micos*). The performers included six impersonators of Pedro de Alvarado in feathered tricorn hats and "excessively blond European face masks," six men in deer masks surmounted by deer antlers, and four "monkeys" (*micos*) with monkey masks and tails who were wearing "Admiral Dewey naval uniforms and shako hats" (Edmonson, field notes for June 12, 1960). The association of monkeys with naval uniforms in San

Juan Ixcoy is strikingly reminiscent of the association of monkeys with French grenadiers in Chamula. And the heterogeneity of the cast suggests that the Dance of the Conquest in San Juan Ixcoy is structurally similar to its counterpart in Zinacantan, Chamula, and Chenalho.

Barbara Bode, who visited San Juan Ixcoy during the summer of 1957, discovered that the local people spoke about the performers in several dances as though they belonged to the same dance. She interviewed one man from the nearby town of San Rafael from whom she elicited the following cast of performers for the Dance of the Conquest: bulls, jaguars, Spaniards, Captains, the Quiche king, Cortés, Montezuma, and ten monkeys (*monos*) (Bode, field notes for July 30, 1957). It is clear that Edmonson was correct in his observation that the Dance of the Conquest contained elements of several dances. According to Bode, her informant was unable to distinguish the conquest of Mexico from the conquest of Guatemala. In other words, what was called the Dance of the Conquest in the San Juan Ixcoy area actually represented the collapsing of several dances (and historical events) into one. This is exactly the situation I have described for highland Chiapas.

Bode's field notes contain numerous examples of this phenomenon, not only in her interviews with local townspeople of both ethnic groups, but also in some of the manuscripts themselves. In Cantel, the Dance of Moors and Christians is represented as a battle between France and Turkey (Bode, field notes for August 5, 1957). A Ladino from Coban told her that Tecum Umam was a performer in the Cortés Dance and that some of the dancers were dressed as Spaniards and others as Moors (Bode, field notes for August 17, 1957). Similarly, Bode saw a manuscript of the Dance of the Conquest of Mexico in San Pedro Carcha that included the Quiche king in its cast. Another manuscript from the same town bore the title Dance of the Malinche. The cast of this dance-drama included Montezuma, Malinche, and two monkeys (*micos*) (Bode, field notes for August 19–20, 1957). And a manuscript of the Dance of the Conquest that Bode found in the town of Concepcion near Quezaltenango was "full of historical references pertaining to Mexico as well as Guatemala, to movements of tribes . . . ; even includes Samson and the Philistines . . . not to forget a rather distorted version of the Mexican National Anthem" (Bode, field notes for August 7, 1957).

One of the dance-dramas Bode inquired about was referred to as the Baile del Tun. The title of this

dance suggests that it might be related to the Tum Teleche, or sacrificial dance, that was performed during the Colonial period (see above). According to a boy from San Pedro Saloma, the dancers wore deer costumes and many plumes. There were six or eight Malinches, and the musical instruments included a slit drum (*tun*), after which the dance is presumably named (Bode, field notes for July 31, 1957). If this dance really is a variant of the aboriginal Tum Teleche, then it has obviously incorporated elements of the Dance of the Conquest.

Thus the written texts of the dance-dramas of highland Guatemala are by no means free of temporal distortion. The existence of a written tradition does not guarantee that events will be treated as unique in space and time. Apparently the Maya prefer to emphasize structure at the expense of temporal and geographic provenience even when they have the means to do otherwise. Although their dance-dramas are not historically accurate, they do represent their interpretation of history.⁸

Time and space are also telescoped in the oral traditions of highland Guatemala. For example, in what La Farge (1947:50–61) calls Genesis myths from the town of Santa Eulalia, Christ is confused with the Quiche culture hero Hunahpu, whose exploits are described in the *Popol Vuh* (Edmonson 1971). In fact, in one version of these myths, Christ actually participates in the Dance of the Conquest:

They came, and they saw Our Lord, now He was dancing with His companions (they were the Christians).

They said, "Where didst Thou go to get Thy costumes, brother?"

And He said, "I went further off."

"If You will be so good as to go and show us," said they.

"Certainly. I'll finish dancing, and let us go."

"Good then, brother."

And when Our Lord had finished the dance *Tecum*, they went, . . . (La Farge 1947:55)⁹

Telescoped together in this myth are both the Old and the New Testaments, the *Popol Vuh*, and the conquest of Guatemala during the sixteenth century. The myth treats as contemporaneous events which span several thousand years and both hemispheres.

However, the Maya are not unique in stressing what events have in common rather than what makes them different. The Spaniards often made use of analogy in describing Indian customs and confrontations with Indians. For example, Bishop Nuñez de la Vega of Chiapas frequently alluded to the

Old Testament in his exposé of Tzeltal idolatry at the end of the seventeenth century (1692:9). And I have already shown that Spanish or Ladino accounts of colonial Indian-king revolts often argue by analogy with events from the conquest period that the model for the "Indian king" was the preconquest native ruler of an area. In these cases, analogies with the past were used to explain what was then the present. Sometimes, however, this argument was reversed: past events were made meaningful by references to the present. A good example of this reversal is an eighteenth-century manuscript of a Dance of Christians and Moors from highland Chiapas in which one of the performers (the Queen) refers to the thirty-two towns which participated in the Cancuc revolt of 1712:

Queen: Who will win in this war
Has not been determined
No one, no one surely
The war was very deadly,
And on the side of the Indians
There are thirty-two towns,
And those of Guatemala,
Comitan and Ciudad Real,
Quezaltenango and their towns,
Soconusco and Tonala,
United they fear the strength
Of the Indians.¹⁰

The only relationship between that uprising and the reconquest of Spain more than two hundred years earlier is that of analogy. Deliberate additions such as this may have encouraged the transformation of the Dance of the Conquest and the Dance of Christians and Moors into generalized rituals of ethnic conflict in Indian communities.

Ritualized Ethnic Conflict in the Yucatan Peninsula

The Dance of the Conquest is performed during the festival of Carnival in many parts of Mesoamerica. In highland Chiapas, Carnival coincides with the short five-day "month" at the end of the Maya year called the 'lost days' (*č'ay k'in*). In the Yucatan peninsula this five-day period, designated as *uayeb* or *xma kaba kin* 'nameless days,' was regarded as unlucky or evil (Tozzer 1941:134). Carnival is regarded as a "bad" festival in highland Chiapas, an occasion for license and evil (Bricker 1973a). The Indians of Chamula and Chenalho perform variants of the Dance of the Conquest during Carnival. It is fitting that an event as disruptive as the conquest be dra-

matized at a time of year that was traditionally regarded as unlucky.

The Inquisition is the principal historical event commemorated during Carnival in the Yucatan peninsula (see Chapter 2). The "nameless days" were especially unlucky in 1562, because Landa's investigation of idolatry occurred during them. The Inquisition concerned itself with Indian cases of bigamy and polygamy as well as idolatry. The Maya had been polygamous before the conquest, and even after they had been converted to Christianity, some of them continued this practice (Sánchez de Aguilar 1953:199, 293; Tozzer 1941:100). The mock Inquisition trials of Carnival in Yucatan are principally concerned with polygamy.

My data on the ritualized re-enactment of the Inquisition were obtained in Hocabá, one of the scenes of Landa's idolatry trials in 1562. Inquisition documents from that period indicate that human sacrifices were performed in Hocabá in 1559 and again in 1562 (Scholes and Roys 1938:590, 613). Calling on his authority as ecclesiastical judge ordinary, Landa ordered the arrest and questioning of hundreds of Indians. In Maní, "Many Indians confessed that they possessed idols and had performed various idolatrous rites, and as punishment for their offenses the friars had them whipped, imposed small fines, and forced them to take part in *autos de fe* that were held in the cemetery and patio of the monastery on three or four succeeding Sundays" (Scholes and Roys 1938:592). Idolaters in Hocabá received similar treatment (Scholes and Roys 1938:595).

The procedure used during the Inquisition of 1562 consisted of five main steps: (1) the questioning of Indians, (2) the arrest of the guilty parties, (3) further questioning of guilty Indians, (4) the pronunciation of the sentence, and (5) punishment. The Inquisition drama of Hocabá recapitulates these steps.

The drama unfolds during the five days of the festival of Carnival, beginning with the arrest of the accused, a man named John Carnival (Juan Carnaval), who is represented by a straw effigy (*hwàan súruk*). The prisoner is interrogated by a Judge and forced to confess his sins. He admits that he has several wives and is sentenced to be burned at the stake in the plaza in front of the church. The sentence is carried out on the last day of the festival, after which John Carnival's remains are carried off to the cemetery.

No Indians were burned during the Inquisition of 1562, although there were rumors that Landa be-

lieved that many should be burned (Scholes and Roys 1938: 597), and other rumors alleged that some idolaters were actually burned at the stake (Scholes and Adams 1938: 2: 48). Nevertheless, the stage of John Carnival's *auto de fe* is the same as that described in Inquisition documents: the cemetery and the patio of the monastery (Scholes and Roys 1938: 592).

The man who performs as the Judge during John Carnival's trial plays several other roles during Carnival. On the first day of the festival he is called Governor (*gobernador*); he rides with the Queen of Carnival (*la reina*) on the roof of a car or on the bed of a truck. They are followed, in another truck, by the Ugly King (*rey feo*) and his attendants, who have covered their bare chests, arms, and faces with bluing. Formerly, they smeared themselves with soot or charcoal instead of bluing.

The Ugly King, who wears a gold paper crown, and his attendants obviously once represented the Moors in a Dance of Moors and Christians. The Queen of Carnival, who also wears a gold crown, probably once represented the Queen of Spain. The Governor represents the highest political office in Yucatan during the Colonial period. Thus two periods of ethnic conflict are represented on the first day of the festival: the reconquest of Spain and Spanish domination of Indians after the conquest of Yucatan.

On the second day of Carnival the Governor becomes the Judge who interrogates John Carnival.

On the third evening of the festival the man who performed as Governor and Judge on the two previous days assumes the role of Priest. He is joined on this occasion by a coati impersonator (*chic*). This is also the evening when the townspeople take part in a Dance of Mestizas. The women wear white dresses richly embroidered with flowers at the neck and hem over white petticoats similarly embroidered at the hem. The men wear white shirts and trousers, Panama hats, and a red handkerchief in one trouser pocket. The musicians play the traditional *jarana* music popular during the nineteenth century. The couples dance facing each other in a circle.

At midnight the coati impersonator, a woman, arrives brandishing a rope. She wears knee-length white trousers, an old torn shirt, an apron, and an old torn straw hat trimmed with turkey feathers. She appears on the dance floor with the priest impersonator, who wears a red tunic of frayed silk with embroidered gold panels in front and a large, wide-

brimmed hat. He carries a black marriage register in one hand.

The Priest goes to one end of the dance floor where a table and some chairs have been set up. The coati impersonator plunges into the crowd of dancers and ropes one of the men, whom she drags off to the Priest. The Priest asks the man which girl he wants to marry. The coati impersonator stands behind the prisoner and tightens the rope around his waist if he is too embarrassed to answer. A girl is fetched, and the Priest marries them in a mock wedding ceremony after announcing, "Tonight I will marry you, and tomorrow night I will divorce you!" Afterward the man has to pay the Priest from one to five pesos for his services. The coati impersonator then releases her prisoner and goes off to lasso someone else to be treated in the same way. Several couples are forced to participate in these mock weddings.

Coati impersonators represent the Ladino cowboys or overseers who supervised the work of Maya Indians on the *haciendas* during the nineteenth century. Today Indians refer to that period as the "Epoch of Slavery" and claim that during that period they were not allowed to marry whomever they chose but were forced to marry women chosen by the owner or the overseer of the *hacienda*: "Formerly people didn't marry as they do today. Because formerly a boy did not look for his wife. The owner married one of his slaves to a woman whom he chose. You could not say no. Whatever he said was the law. There was no sympathy. Whatever the owner wanted was the law." This oral tradition is corroborated by John L. Stephens, who visited the Yucatan peninsula on the eve of the Caste War: "It was pleasant to find that marriage was considered proper and expedient, conducing to good order and thrift certainly, and probably to individual happiness. Don Simon encouraged it; he did not like to have any single men on the estate, and made every young Indian of the right age take unto himself a wife. When, as often happened, the Indian, in a depreciating tone, said, 'No tengo muger,' 'I have no woman,' Don Simon looked through the *hacienda* and found one for him" (Stephens 1841: 2: 417). Stephens also describes what might have been Carnival in Ticul; it was similar, in several respects, to the modern festival of Carnival in Hocabá. The festival in Ticul included a Dance of Mestizas and a performance by several men that resembles the activities of the coati impersonators of Hocabá:

The báyle de dia was intended to give a picture of life at a hacienda, and there were two prominent personages, who did not appear the evening before, called fiscales, being the officers attendant upon the ancient caciques, and representing them in their authority over the Indians. These wore long, loose, dirty camisas [shirts] hanging off one shoulder, and with the sleeves below the hands; calzoncillos, or drawers, to match, held up by a long cotton sash, the ends of which dangled below the knees; sandals, slouching straw hats, with brims ten or twelve inches wide, and long locks of horse hair hanging behind their ears. One of them wore awry over his shoulder a mantle of faded blue cotton cloth, said to be an heirloom descended from an ancient cacique, and each flourished a leather whip with eight or ten lashes. These were the managers and masters of ceremonies, with absolute and unlimited authority over the whole company, and, as they boasted, they had a right to whip the Mestizas if they pleased. (Stephens 1843:2:65–66)

Thus four different cases of ethnic conflict are dramatized during the festival of Carnival in Hocabá: (1) the reconquest of Spain, (2) the Inquisition, (3) Spanish domination of Indians during the Colonial period, and (4) the mistreatment of Indians during the nineteenth century, which was one of the causes of the Caste War of Yucatan (see Chapter 8). In three cases the same man plays roles which belong to the

structural category of dominant Spaniard or Ladino, namely Governor, Judge, and Priest. Thus ritualized ethnic conflict in the Yucatan peninsula is structurally similar to ritualized ethnic conflict in highland Chiapas.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the structural relationship between Maya myths and rituals of ethnic conflict. Using role names as the link between ritual and myth, I have shown that apparent inconsistencies in costuming details and thematic incongruities between costume, behavior, and naming are a result of the telescoping of time that transforms history into myth. Thus the events referred to in myth and dramatized in ritual are lumped together in terms of dramatic categories instead of being differentiated in terms of temporal provenience. The basic units of mythic and ritualistic structure are dramatic categories such as hero, villain, setting, battle, etc. Each costume, and therefore each performer, represents one and only one of these dramatic categories. The so-called “inconsistencies” are actually clues to the various historical events symbolized by the categories.

The Passion Theme in Maya Folklore

The Crucifixion has always had a special fascination for the Maya. During the early part of the Colonial period, before the Spanish missionary friars had completed the spiritual conquest of their charges, the Indians of Yucatan tried to Indianize the Crucifixion by combining it with the aboriginal heart sacrifice (see Chapter 2).¹ The symbolism of the Passion was implicit in the Cancuc revolt of 1712: the rebel Indians renamed Ciudad Real "Jerusalem" and labeled the Spaniards as "Jews" because they had persecuted the mother of Jesus.² The proclamation of Juan de la Cruz suggests that the principal sponsor of the Cult of the Talking Cross of Chan Santa Cruz between 1850 and 1863 posed as an Indian Christ (this chapter). And Domingo Gomes Checheb was reported to have been crucified in Chamula in 1868 so that the Indians would have their own savior (Pineda 1888:76–77).³

The use of the Passion theme in these movements makes it difficult to separate history from myth. To Spaniards and Ladinos, all Maya Indian Christs were hoaxes and therefore myths. On the other hand, if the Maya believed in them, the Indian Christs had a certain historical reality. Therefore, if Indian Christs appear in oral traditions and historical dramas, they are not necessarily examples of the telescoping of time as described in Chapter 10. The "confusion" of the Biblical Christ with the charismatic leader of an Indian revolt may be part of the history of a movement and not a result of the compression of events in folklore; if an event is interpreted in terms of some antecedent event, that association becomes part of the historical record. It is in this context that the oral traditions of the descendants of the Cruzob and some modern rituals of highland Chiapas must be interpreted.

The Proclamation of Juan de la Cruz

There are hints of a Passion theme in the folklore of the Cult of the Talking Cross cited by Villa Rojas in his ethnography of X-Cacal, one of the towns founded by Cruzob who left Chan Santa Cruz after General May "sold out" to the Mexicans (1945:32):

For many natives, the events narrated in this story [of the Crucifixion] are confused with others that occurred during the War of the Castes when Juan de la Cruz Puc and the other worshippers of the Talking Cross were persecuted by soldiers of the government. The latter are thought of as the same Jews referred to in the story. (Villa Rojas 1945:100)

Villa Rojas (1945:21–22) describes Juan de la Cruz as

one of the early priests or patrons of the cross . . . who claimed to be its minister through his power of entering heaven and conferring with God, angels, and cherubim. Some of his letters were sent to other villages advising them to submit to the crosses; these bore his signature followed by three little crosses. At times he referred to himself as the "Son of God," or "Creator of the Christians," or "I Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Holy Cross." Eventually this person became so confused with Jesus Christ in the minds of the natives that Juan de la Cruz and Jesus Christ grew to be alternative names for the Son of God.⁴

The principal source of this "confusion" is a copy of the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz (see Chapter 8 and Text A-1, which reproduces the complete text of the 1850 version of the proclamation in Maya and English, together with explanatory notes). This proclamation has become one of the sacred books of the Indians of X-Cacal and other villages populated by descendants of the Cruzob (see Villa Rojas 1945:161; Zimmerman 1963). Villa Rojas (1945:161) explains that

Juan de la Cruz, who appears in the document as the intermediary between God and the Indians, is believed to be Jesus Christ himself, whose Life, Passion, and Death took place in Quintana Roo proper. Juan de la Cruz is still keeping in touch with "his children" (the Indians) through Yum Pol, to whom he dictates letters, orders, and requests.

Villa Rojas (1945:21, 161) has represented Juan de la Cruz as the spokesman for the Talking Cross. However, there is no evidence in any part of the proclamation itself that it was dictated by the Cross. In fact, at the very beginning of the proclamation, immediately after the invocation, the author identifies himself as Juan de la Cruz and explains when and where he first issued the proclamation:

It was the month,
On the fifteenth
Of the count
Of October
That I began to speak
With my children here
In the world
In the year
1850
(Years).

I,
John of the Cross,
I reside
In the village,
In the village
Of Jaguar House.
(lines 7-22)

He then addresses his audience directly:

My very beloved,
Ye Christian villagers,
Now is the hour;
There have arrived
The day
[And] the hour
For me to show you
A sign
Upon the land of all my engendered people
In the world;
To the end that
It might be read to be heard by all the Commanders,
And to be heard by all the Captains,
And by all the Lieutenants,
And by all the Sergeants,
And to be heard by all my engendered people
In the world;
To the end that
They might know it,
All my children.

They have done so much more.

I was passing it
Beneath my Father's right hand
On behalf of my engendered people
Here,
In the world.
(lines 23-48)

Already, in these opening lines, Juan de la Cruz has begun to assume a divine role, referring to himself as the "engenderer" of the people of Chan Santa Cruz. In the next few lines he explicitly identifies himself with Christ and the Passion:

Because truly it is I
Whose heart is burdened
For you,
Ye my engendered people.
Because I it was who caused you to be created;
Because I it was who redeemed you;
Because I it was who spilled
My precious blood
On your behalf
When I created you
To see
In the world.
(lines 49-60)

Having established his identity as the Second Coming of Christ, Juan de la Cruz moves on to the chief purpose of the proclamation, an exhortation to the people of his village to obey the orders he will detail in the next two sections:

Thus, then,
My beloved,
Ye men
In the world,
In the very name of the Most Holy Crown of my
Father,
Holy Jesus Christ,
I am making it known here,
Before their eyes,
This paper,
To the end that
They might know all my commandments,
These my engendered people
In the world.
(lines 61-73)

He attempts to justify this by paraphrasing a passage in the Gospel According to St. John (14:21):

Whoever is not believing in my commandments
Will have drunk a draught of suffering
Without end.

Whoever will obey my commandments
 Will also win the fullness of my Grace.
 They will also win my love;
 I will also shade them
 Beneath my right hand;
 I will also give them my final Grace
 That their souls might attain
 Final resurrection.
 (lines 74–84)

The relevant lines in the Gospel According to St. John read as follows:

Whoever obeys my commandments
 Will win the fullness of my Grace;
 He will also win my love.
 (John 14:21; my translation from the Latin)

In the second section of the proclamation, Juan de la Cruz urges his people to rise up against the Ladinos again:

Thus, then,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christians
 In the world,
 I command it
 For the ears of small
 And great.
 Already, then,
 Have arrived
 The hour
 [And] the year
 For the uprising of my Indian children
 Against the Whites
 For the second time,
 In the way that
 Wars used to arise.
 (lines 114–129)

He promises them

That it is I who accompany you,
 That at all hours
 It is I who go in the vanguard
 Before you,
 In front of the Enemies
 To the end that
 There not befall you,
 Not even a bit of harm,
 O ye my Indian children.
 (lines 156–164)

Juan de la Cruz begins the third section of the proclamation by ordering his people to try to recapture Kampokobche (see Chapter 8). He then returns to the Passion theme:

This is the reason
 I am showing you
 A sign
 As a thing to be guarded in your hearts.
 Because, as for me,
 At all hours
 I am falling;
 I am being cut;
 I am being nailed;
 Thorns are piercing me;
 Sticks are punching me
 As I pass through
 To visit in Yucatan,
 While I am redeeming you,
 My beloved,
 Ye men.
 (lines 188–203)

In the fourth section, Juan de la Cruz explains how he obtained permission to intervene on behalf of the Indians in battle:

And another thing
 That I command
 For your ears,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers:
 Know ye,
 Seven times I entered by day,
 Seven times I entered at night
 In the presence of my Father
 And in the presence of my Lady,
 The sweet Virgin,
 St. Mary,
 In order that I might obtain their permission
 For me to initiate war
 For the second time
 Over the Whites,
 With my Indian children
 Over the Whites.
 (lines 217–234)

In return for his assistance in battle, Juan de la Cruz orders the Indians to show mercy for anyone who surrenders peacefully:

Thus, then,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 How can ye just brutally kill
 Your fellow creatures
 While they embrace each other
 [And] clasp each other's hands
 Over their hearts
 In order to call on my Father's name?
 It is not possible that they will be killed.

Because it is a most grievous sin
 For a Christian to be killed
 While kneeling [and] mentioning my Father's name.
 It is not possible that they will be killed.
 They should only be disarmed
 Inasmuch as they will surrender
 In peace.

(lines 235–251)

The fifth section of the proclamation is concerned with justice, and Juan de la Cruz pledges his special commitment to the Cruzob:

The thing is,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 That I am not making their judgments.
 Because truly it is I
 Whose heart is burdened
 For you,
 O ye my beloved Christian villagers,
 That ye might sanctify in your hearts
 These my commandments.
 This is the reason
 I am explaining
 What the significance is
 Of justice being performed
 By my engendered people
 In the world.
 (lines 299–314)

Juan de la Cruz begins the sixth section by explaining how he received permission from God to speak to the Cruzob:

And another thing
 That I command you,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 Ye my children,
 Ye fathers,
 I say it for the ears of the small;
 And for the ears of the great I command it.
 Because know ye,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 That seven times by day,
 Seven times at night
 I entered
 Into His Holy Grace
 With seven choirs of angels
 And seraphim
 That I might obtain my Father's permission
 In order to say something to you,
 Ye children,
 Ye fathers.
 (lines 321–340)

He then complains that the leaders of the Cruzob are not obeying his commandments:

I was fifty days ago
 That I began to ask the Generals,
 Commanders,
 Captains,
 Lieutenants,
 Sergeants
 In order that I might show
 Them a sign,
 That I might bestow my blessing
 Upon their fathers
 For them to obey
 And to follow
 Until the hour of their death.
 Absolutely none of them came,
 These Generals.
 Because not one of [them believes in] my
 commandments,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 While not one of my engendered people
 Is believing
 In them,
 These my commandments.
 (lines 341–362)

And he reminds them of how he, as Christ, gave up his life for their salvation:

Only in truth it is I
 Whose heart is burdened
 For you,
 Ye my children.
 Because I it was who caused you to be created;
 I it was who redeemed you;
 I it was who spilled
 My precious blood
 On your behalf.
 Thus, then,
 O ye my beloved people,
 Have ye perhaps seen
 How my existence is:
 My feet nailed
 With shackles?
 Have ye perhaps seen
 With how many coils of rope
 I am tied,
 With which I am being punished
 By my Father's Perfect Beauty
 On your behalf?
 Have ye perhaps seen
 That I am supported by my Most Holy Cross;
 That I am carried in a litter
 By innumerable angels
 And seraphim?

For two blocks I am hanging
Over my patron's house
While I speak
To you.
(lines 395–424)

In the seventh section, Juan de la Cruz describes how he has interceded with God on behalf of the Indians:

And another thing
That I command you,
My beloved,
Ye Christian villagers,
Ye my children,
Ye fathers.
I say it for the ears of all the small;
And for the ears of the great I command it.
Because know ye,
Ye Christian villagers,
That six times I entered,
Six times at night,
Into my Father's presence,
Into His Holy Grace,
With innumerable angels
And seraphim
In order that I might request a little favor
And love
From my Father
On your behalf.
Because my Father has already told me,
O ye children,
That the Whites will never win,
The Enemies.
Truly,
These people of the Cross will win.
This is the reason,
My beloved,
Ye men
In the world,
That I am not abandoning you
To the Enemies.
I am placing myself
On your side.
(lines 425–458)

These passages suggest that Juan de la Cruz already identified himself with Christ in 1850. To the person untrained in theology, they imply that Juan de la Cruz viewed himself as the Second Coming of Christ. Of course, one cannot infer from the text alone what his motives were, or whether or not he himself believed that he was Christ. But that is not the point. The point is that Juan de la Cruz's followers were almost all uneducated men and women, who were not trained to consider the possible sym-

bolic implications of his proclamation. They could only take his text at face value, and if they did so, then Juan de la Cruz was Christ. That is why the Indians of X-Cacal identify him with Christ and treat his proclamation as a sacred book.

If this interpretation of the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz is correct, then his identification with Christ was one of the doctrines of the revitalization movement and not a distorted relic of the history of that movement. The myth is historical, and the mythmaker was Juan de la Cruz, not his followers or their descendants. The oral traditions of the people of X-Cacal and Carrillo Puerto (formerly the cult center of Chan Santa Cruz) simply faithfully preserve the myth he related to them as history.

Charlotte Zimmerman, who has studied only the X Cacal version of the proclamation, has also noted that Juan de la Cruz seemed to identify himself with Christ, but she argues that

as historical personage he does not appear in the sermon at all, he appears only as "mythified"; he is absorbed and understood by the Maya popular memory and the individual, perhaps the amanuensis, who wrote down this Sermon or composed it, by the archaic and cosmological memory only insofar as he participates in *its understanding* of a god named Jesus Christ, who had been absorbed by them from the teaching of the Christian missionaries. (Zimmerman 1963:69)

She believes that

for the Maya Indians of the cult and for those who began it, Christ's life and Passion and death became the archetypal reality in which all other priests or religious individuals would acquire meaning. . . . no religious personality is or has meaning except as he participates in this model.

Hence, all priests who are religious heroes must be Christ because he is the paradigm by which popular memory understood and transmitted the actions and life of Juan de la Cruz Puc, outside of this paradigm, this archetype, his life has no meaning. . . . Juan de la Cruz Puc is only real, only remembered, as he is mythified as Christ, as he too participates in the life, death, and the Passion. (Zimmerman 1963:69–70)

It is clear that Zimmerman regards the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz as something that was produced long after the religious movement began. She believes that his identity became "mythified" during the thirty-seven years that passed between the founding of the movement in 1850 and the writing of the X-Cacal version of the proclamation in 1887, and she appeals to Eliade's (1971) concept of the structure of the "archaic mentality" to explain this transformation of history into myth.

But since, as I have shown, the proclamation was originally written in the same year that the Cult of the Talking Cross was supposedly founded, we cannot attribute the identification of Juan de la Cruz with Christ to the "archaic mentality" of his followers. If it was Juan de la Cruz who wrote the proclamation, it was he who "mythified" himself as Christ.

The seeming "confusion" of Ladino soldiers with Jews mentioned by Villa Rojas (1945:100) has a similar historical explanation. On August 24, 1851, in a letter addressed to the governor of Yucatan, Miguel Barbachano, Juan de la Cruz complained about the indignities his Cross had suffered at Kampokobche in March of that year (see Chapter 8):

Because my suffering was like
What my Father was caused to experience
By these Jews.
Thus they treated me,
Those soldiers of thine.
Because everything
They have done to me:
They tied me;
They were applauding me;
They were shouting behind my back;
They scratched my flesh;
They burned me.
Everything that they wished
They have done to me.⁵

In other words, the "confusion" of Ladino soldiers with Jews in the folklore of X-Cacal probably dates to 1851, when Juan de la Cruz first commented on the ethnic parallels between the Crucifixion and the Caste War of Yucatan.

The passages I have quoted from the 1850 version of the proclamation imply that Juan de la Cruz knew more than the ordinary lay person about the liturgy of the Mass and that he was conversant with both the Old and the New Testaments. The lines he quotes from the Gospel According to St. John are translated so literally into Maya that they can be matched almost word for word with the Latin version of the Gospel. His proclamation begins with the invocation that invariably opens the Catholic Mass:

Jesus,
Mary.
In the name of God the Father,
And God the Son,
And in the name of God the Holy Spirit,
Amen Jesus.
(lines 1-6)

Several verses refer to angels and seraphim:

That seven times by day,
Seven times at night
I entered
Into His Holy Grace
With seven choirs of angels
And seraphim.

.....
Have ye perhaps seen
That I am supported by my Most Holy Cross;
That I am carried in a litter
By innumerable angels
And seraphim?

.....
That six times I entered,
Six times at night,
Into my Father's presence,
Into His Holy Grace,
With innumerable angels
And seraphim.

(lines 331-336, 416-420, 435-440)

They may have been inspired by Isaiah 6:2, although they are not close paraphrases of it. There are very few references to seraphim in the Scriptures and the Mass, and most of them come from this verse in Isaiah.

The Book of Revelation contains passages that could be the source of the references to "seven choirs of angels" (e.g., Rev., Chs. 8-10, 11:15, 15-16, 17:1). Furthermore, Juan de la Cruz's letters to Governor Barbachano seem to allude to the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (see Text A-2, lines 209-212, and Rev. 6:1-8).

The text of the proclamation is sprinkled with references to Jesus Christ, such as "In the name of the Most Holy Crown of my Father, Holy Jesus Christ." "Precious Blood" is frequently mentioned (now referred to in the Third Prayer of the Canon on Ascension Eve [Catholic Missal]). Note that these phrases are today recited during the Easter season.

In 1846, on the eve of the Caste War of Yucatan, Father Joaquín Ruz, a Ladino priest, published a collection of sermons in Maya. Certain phrases in the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz resemble expressions in sermons in Ruz's collection. For example, Juan de la Cruz often addressed the Cruzob as:

My beloved,
Ye Christian villagers,

a salutation that resembles Ruz's "ye my beloved" (Ruz 1846:1:20, 25), "ye Christians" (1846:1:22, 55), "my most beloved, ye children" (1846:1:50).

The source of the references to "Precious Blood" in the proclamation could have been one of Ruz's sermons (1846:1:57). When Juan de la Cruz says,

Now is the hour,
There have arrived
The day
[And] the hour,

he may be echoing a passage in one of Ruz's sermons (e.g., 1846:1:15, 39).

It is also possible that Juan de la Cruz acquired his extraordinary knowledge of the Mass and the scriptures in a seminary rather than from secondary sources like Ruz's publication. Approximately 2 percent of the secular priests in the bishopric of Yucatan during the nineteenth century were of Maya ancestry.⁶ Atanasio Puc, who served as priest of the Cult of the Talking Cross until 1863, may have been trained as a Catholic priest; in my opinion, he was probably the man behind the pseudonym Juan de la Cruz (see Chapter 8).⁷

Whether or not it fits the eschatological category of "the second coming" (Zimmerman 1963:63), Juan de la Cruz's impersonation of Christ makes a great deal of sense in terms of Wallace's (1956:265) definition of a revitalization movement. By posing as the Indian Christ, Juan de la Cruz obviated the need for an ecclesiastical hierarchy dominated by Ladinos. In his proclamation to the people of Chan Santa Cruz in 1850, he made the Passion of Christ meaningful in terms of the ethnic conflict represented by the Caste War of Yucatan. Under his leadership, a "more satisfying culture" developed, in which Christ became the personal protector of the Indians instead of the symbol of the oppressors.

The Passion Cult of Chamula

The death and resurrection of Jesus Christ are ritually dramatized during Lent and Holy Week in Indian communities all over highland Chiapas. Processions in the churchyard and pilgrimages to cross shrines symbolically retrace the steps of Christ's last journey to Calvary Hill. In most, if not all, towns, an effigy of Judas, clothed in Ladino garments, is hanged and subsequently burned. Town elders, sometimes called Apostles, stand guard over Christ or a Christ substitute: the Entombed Christ in Zinacantan, an image called the Nazarene in Chenalho, the image of Esquipulas in Amatenango, and the image of St. Matthew in Chamula. Sometimes the image is actually tied to the cross. Usually

it is worshiped as it lies in state in the funeral bier, smothered in flower petals (Cámara Barbachano 1966:170–171; Guiteras-Holmes 1946a:175; Nash 1970:225–227; Pozas 1944:436–442; Vogt 1969:556–559).

The Lenten season is preceded by the festival of Carnival, which gives people an opportunity to release their inhibitions before the solemn Easter season begins. As discussed in Chapter 10, the War of St. Rose is one of the ethnic conflicts commemorated during Carnival in several communities. In Chamula, the seat of that rebellion, Indian impersonators of Christ, called Passions (*pašyon*), are the sponsors of the Carnival celebration. The Passion represents the body of God. The head of God (*shol htotik*) is symbolized by a metal spear point mounted on top of the flagpole that the Passion carries in processions. The cloth part of the flag represents the clothes of God. Chamulans say that "when the Passion walks, God is walking; when the Passion dances, God is dancing; when the Passion runs, God is running." They believe that, through the Passion, God returns to earth for the duration of the Easter season.

I have already described how, on Good Friday in 1868, the Chamulans crucified one of their own people to serve as an Indian Christ (Chapter 9). Pineda (1888:76) reports that they did not make their customary pilgrimages to the church of St. Dominic in San Cristobal Las Casas during Lent that year to worship the figure of the Entombed Christ. Even after the movement had been crushed, the Chamulans did not resume their worship of the Entombed Christ at Easter.⁸ The figure that is tied to the cross during Holy Week is an image of St. Matthew, not an image of Christ (Pozas 1944:441). The Passion, who is now worshiped as God incarnate, seems to be the stand-in for the Indian boy who was crucified in 1868.

At various times during Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week in Chamula, the Passions are chased by monkey impersonators, who are also sometimes referred to as Jews (*huraš*) (see Chapter 10). Since the costumes of the Monkeys date from the 1860s, they must represent the Ladino soldiers who suppressed the Passion Cult of Chamula, as well as the Jews in the Biblical version of the Passion.

The Passion role is found only in the communities that participated in the War of St. Rose or those that border on Chamula. Religious officials called Passions sponsor the festivals of Carnival, Lent, and

Holy Week in Chenalho and Zinacantan, for example, but not in Amatenango, Oxchuc, or Tenejapa (Cámara Barbachano 1966:115–132, 169–171; Guiteras-Holmes 1961:96–97; Nash 1970:224–229; Vogt 1969:551–559). The people of Chenalho played a major role in the War of St. Rose; Zinacantecos did not, but their township has a boundary in common with Chamula. Amatenango, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa, like other Tzeltal communities, played no part in that uprising, nor do their lands adjoin Chamula.

The Passion Cult is more elaborate and fully developed in Chamula than it is in other communities with Passions. Zinacantecos still worship a figure of the Entombed Christ in their church during Lent and Easter, and Carnival ritual in Chenalho is focused on an image called the Nazarene (Guiteras-Holmes 1961:97; Vogt 1969:556–559). Only in Chamula, where the War of St. Rose began, has the ritual focus of Carnival and the Easter season shifted from the Biblical Christ to an Indian impersonator of Christ, the Passion.

In Amatenango, by contrast, where there are no religious sponsors called Passions, people "seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves, and they show little personal concern with his fate in the re-enactment of the Passion" (Nash 1970:228–229). The strongest identification of Indians with Christ is in Chamula, where the crucifixion of an Indian boy on Good Friday in 1868 gave the Passion Play an Indian meaning.

Conclusion

The leaders of the nineteenth century Indian rebellions in highland Chiapas and the Yucatan penin-

sula tried to revitalize Indian culture by reinterpreting Catholic symbols in terms relevant to the Indian experience. In both cases, the reworking took the form of "Indianizing" the concept of the Passion: Christ became an Indian, and "Ladino" became synonymous with "Jew." This theme found expression in the oral and written traditions of the Cruzob and their descendants and in the ritual of Chamula. In X Cacal, the persecution of Juan de la Cruz and other Cruzob by Ladino soldiers has become part of the story of the Crucifixion. The hero of the Passion Play of Chamula is an Indian savior, represented by the Passion, instead of the Biblical Christ.

These examples bear out Anthony Wallace's (1956:267) illuminating suggestion that "myths, legends, and rituals may be *relics* . . . of the doctrines and history of revival and import cults, the circumstances of whose origin have been distorted and forgotten." In this chapter I have argued that some seeming "distortions" in the folklore of Quintana Roo and the ritual of Chamula are "relics" of the history of nineteenth century revitalization movements. Because historians have not recognized the importance of the Passion theme in the Caste War of Yucatan, Maya oral and written traditions about the movement have unjustifiably been labelled "mythical" (in the sense of "fictitious") or "confused" (Villa Rojas 1945:100; Zimmerman 1963:69–70). Similarly, until recently (Bricker 1973b), no one realized that the Passion role of Chamula and several other communities in highland Chiapas was probably inspired by the War of St. Rose. In other words, one reason why the Passion theme appears in Maya oral tradition and ritual is because the Maya made it part of their history.

The Indian King

Historical interpretations of the disorders that occurred in Quisteil in 1761 and in Totonicapan in 1820 have much in common. In both cases the key event in the movement is purported to have been the coronation of an Indian king. In both cases, also, the alleged motive for the rebellion is given as the yearning of the Indians in question to regain their liberty by restoring the Maya kingdoms that the Spaniards had destroyed in the sixteenth century.

This interpretation is fleshed out, in both cases, with attempts to discover descent links between the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Indian king pretenders and the preconquest Maya rulers of the Yucatan peninsula and highland Guatemala. Yucatecan historians try to show that the Indian king pretender of Quisteil adopted the name of the last ruler of the Itza in order to convince his followers that he was the descendant of the Itza kings who the Chilam Balam had prophesied would drive the Spaniards from the peninsula. The Guatemalan historian Daniel Contreras searches for a real line of descent linking Atanasio Tzul with the ancient Quiche kings, the existence of which he is unable to prove. Historians in both parts of the Maya area claim that the coronations were performed with the crowns of Catholic saints in the town churches.

Both rebellions occurred during the Colonial period, when the political hierarchy, of which the Indian town government comprised one of the lowest levels, was headed by the King of Spain. For this reason, the Indian kingdoms that Ladino historians believe were created during the uprisings in Quisteil and Totonicapan could just as easily have been fashioned on the colonial model as on the ancient Maya pattern. The documentation for the third Indian-king movement in the Maya area, the Cancuc revolt of 1712, contains abundant evidence that the Indi-

ans were using Spanish, rather than aboriginal, institutions as the model for their political and military organization (see Chapter 5). Furthermore, in none of the Maya rebellions that occurred after the Creoles of Mexico and Guatemala had won independence from Spain was there even the hint of an attempt to crown an Indian king, even though the Indians were no better off socially, politically, or economically after the wars for independence.¹

The Spanish authorities who dealt with the rebellions in Quisteil and Totonicapan and the later Ladino historians who tried to interpret them insisted that the uprisings were at least thematically similar to, if not actually inspired by, the original conquest, which had taken place almost three centuries earlier. One reason for their adherence to this view may be their belief in the Myth of Pacification described in Chapter 1. According to Pablo Moreno (1845:93), Joseph Crespo y Honorato's motive in magnifying the drunken riot in Quisteil into a general Indian uprising was to provide him with the opportunity to earn the glory of a pacifier. And even if Moreno is incorrect in this accusation, there is other evidence that Crespo's contemporaries saw him in the role of pacifier, as the following poem by one of his admirers in Merida suggests:

Como en el mas claro espejo,
Vió Yucatan esta vez
En Crespo todo un Cortés,
Todo un valiente Montejo.
Su conducta, su consejo
A Cortés no debe nada;
Porque si éste con la espada,
Y Montejo con su afan,
Ganaron á Yucatan,
Crespo hoy la da restaurada.

Yá del indio sublevado
 Ha domado la osadía,
 Frustrando la profecía
 De Chilam engañado.
 Solo Crespo, gran soldado,
 De tan difícil victoria
 Conseguir pudo la gloria;
 Siendo, como bien se ve,
 De Yucatan y su fé
 Defensa, escudo y memoria.
 (in Moreno 1845:85)

As though in the clearest mirror,
 Yucatan saw this time
 In Crespo a veritable Cortés,
 A really valiant Montejo.

His conduct, his counsel
 Owes nothing to Cortés;
 Because if he with his sword,
 And Montejo with his solicitude,
 Conquered Yucatan,
 Crespo has today restored it.

Already with the rebel Indian
 He has tamed his audacity,
 Thwarting the prophecy
 Of the deceptive Chilam.

Only Crespo, great soldier,
 From such a difficult victory
 Could obtain the glory;
 Being, as is easily seen,
 Of Yucatan and his faith
 Defense, protection and memorial.

Similarly, some of the Spanish colonial authorities in Guatemala saw parallels between the Totonicapan dispute of 1820 and the original conquest of the Quiche in 1524. For example, Manuel José de Lara, the *alcalde mayor* of the Province of Totonicapan who fled to Quezaltenango in July 1820 in fear of his life, defended his action to his colonial superiors by claiming that what had taken place in Totonicapan was not simply a riot, and if it was not subdued promptly, "to pacify the Towns later would require a reconquest which would cost the King many lives and pesos" [italics added].² The first conquest, of course, occurred in 1524; the Myth of Pacification characterizes it as the first Quiche rebellion.³

Thus what Ladinos call "history" is the interpretation of events in terms of a myth. The Myth of Pacification has categorized both the conquests of the sixteenth century and the suppression of Indian rebellions afterward as "reconquests," thereby establishing a metaphorical link between them. It is consistent with the Myth of Pacification that the Maya kings who were defeated in the first "recon-

quest," rather than the King of Spain, would be suggested as the model for the putative Indian king pretenders of the Colonial period.

The Myth of Pacification is also implicit in the Ladino folklore of ethnic conflict of the Yucatan peninsula. Ladino oral tradition (legend) differs from Ladino written tradition (history) primarily in its handling of the time dimension. Time is telescoped in the Ladino folklore of ethnic conflict, just as it is in the Indian version, but what is treated as equivalent and interchangeable differs in the two cases. Ladinos confuse the Quisteil rebellion of 1761 with the Caste War of Yucatan of 1847–1901 and equate Jacinto Canek with Jacinto Pat.

The text of an oral account of the Quisteil rebellion, which I elicited from a Ladino resident of Sotuta, appears in Appendix B (Text B-3). In his text, the raconteur claims that Cecilio Chi and Jacinto Canek were contemporaries and that Cecilio Chi was a native of Quisteil. From his references to Quisteil, on the one hand, and to (Miguel) Barbachano and (Santiago) Méndez, on the other, it is clear that he has treated events from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as contemporaneous. The two rebellions are thematically linked by his description of the destruction of Yaxcaba, which was reported to have been proposed by Jacinto Canek in 1761, but which was actually carried out by Jacinto Pat's associates in 1853.

Indians, however, never make the mistake of confusing Jacinto Pat with Jacinto Canek and associating Cecilio Chi with the Quisteil rebellion. In fact, they never mention the Quisteil rebellion at all (e.g., Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:331; Smailus 1975: 197–213; and Texts B-1 and B-2). It appears that the Quisteil rebellion was of little importance to Indians, perhaps because it was quite possibly nothing more than a drunken brawl.

On the other hand, Indians do sometimes confuse the Caste War of 1847–1901 with other wars, especially the early movement for independence against Spain led by Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla in 1810 (Simpson 1967:209–217). In Dzitas, Yucatan, for example, Doña Nolberta claims that "this was called the time of *La Libertad* [Liberty]. During this war, Cura Hidalgo, Don Ignacio Sargoza, and Don Benito Juárez went down to fight the Indians in Santa Cruz and were killed there. That is the reason the 15th of September is celebrated" (M. Redfield 1937:31). In fact, the date that is a national holiday in Mexico is the 16th, not the 15th, of September, the anniversary of Father Hidalgo's famous

Grito de Dolores: "Long live Our Lady of Guadalupe! Long live Independence!" (Simpson 1967:211). And although Benito Juárez never himself had occasion to visit Santa Cruz, he was President of Mexico during the turbulent 1860s, when the French "intervened" in his country and the Cruzob were still attacking Yucatecan settlements (Simpson 1967:270–286; Reed 1964:185–194). In another text, from Chunhuhub in Quintana Roo, Father Hidalgo and Cecilio Chi are assigned to the same epoch, and the Mexican soldiers who invaded Santa Cruz in 1901 are confused with Spanish soldiers from the Colonial period (Smailus 1975:201, 202–203). And Norberto Yeh, the man who was Patron of the Cross in Chanca in 1959 (Reed 1964:277–278), describes Jacinto Pat fighting General Cortés (Text B-1).

Apart from the obvious fact that the two men had the same first names (which, however, never confuses the Indians), one reason why Ladinos might confuse Jacinto Pat with Jacinto Canek is that they view as similar their motives for leading rebellions. In April 1848, when the Caste War was going badly for the Ladino side, Governor Barbachano tried to negotiate a peace with Jacinto Pat. The terms of the treaty agreed to by the two men included an article that would make Jacinto Pat governor of all the native leaders, and in effect the Indian counterpart of the governor in Mérida. Pat was given the title of Gran Cacique de Yucatán. "This title was emblazoned in gold letters on a white silk banner which was sent, together with an impressive staff of office, to Jacinto's headquarters in Peto" (Reed 1964:89). This title made Pat the legitimate political head of all the Indians of the peninsula, and therefore comparable in status, if not in name, to an Indian king. In other words, Governor Barbachano in 1848 acted on the same assumption that Governor Crespo had made in 1761, namely that the Caste War was motivated by the continuing desire of the Indians to be ruled by a member of their own race and that in this case it was Pat's personal ambition to be that ruler.⁴ This may explain why the Ladino folklore of ethnic conflict treats Jacinto Canek and Jacinto Pat as structurally equivalent and interchangeable.

Another example of the dominant caste's obsession with the Indian-king explanation for rebellion is the rumor that swept through Yucatan during the summer of 1847 to the effect that Cecilio Chi would come from the east to Mérida to crown himself as king of Yucatan (Molina Solís 1921:2:20). This fear did not materialize, and there is no evidence that Chi ever contemplated such a move.

Howard Cline (1941:44n11), a historian, in writing about early nineteenth-century Yucatan points out that "one of the most persistent myths in the folklore of historiography of the Caste War is that the Mayans, through some mystic 'racial memory' were influenced by the deeds of their ancestors," and he opposes to this view

. . . the facts as found by actual investigation, of which Stephens' statement, one of a number found throughout his volumes, is typical: "It is my belief, that among the whole mass of what are called Christianized Indians, there is not at this day one solitary tradition which can shed a ray of light upon any event in their history that occurred one hundred and fifty years from the present time; in fact, I believe it would be almost impossible to procure any information of any kind whatever beyond the memory of the oldest living Indian." (Stephens 1843:2:308–309, cited in Cline 1941:44n11)

While I agree with Cline that some Ladino historians are guilty of explaining the motivation for several Indian revolts in terms of a false notion of a "racial" or "cultural memory" (e.g., Contreras 1951:37–39), I disagree with Stephens that the Indians of his day did not have a single historical tradition of events before 1700. All the known copies of the Books of Chilam Balam bear postscripts from the nineteenth century. Several of them contain detailed historical passages about the Katun 11 Ahau when the Spanish conquest occurred (see Chapter 2). Their Maya owners, at least, knew something about events "that occurred one hundred and fifty years from the present time [1843]." Furthermore, the modern Maya of the Yucatan peninsula have oral traditions about the period of the conquest, which certainly did not arise *de novo* in this century. Some of them are specifically concerned with the Indian king as a theme. The following text elicited by Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa Rojas in Chan Kom serves as an excellent example of the Maya treatment of this theme:

Once there were two kings, one of the dzulob and one of the Maya. There was to come a time when these two kings were to compete together for the control of Yucatan. They were to race on horseback through the ring in the wall of the ball-court at Chichen [Itza], and the one that arrived first was to have all of Yucatan. But it was destined that the king of the dzulob would fail to get his horse through the ring, and then Mayab would again belong to the Maya. But none of this has come to pass. Somehow the king of the dzulob died—somewhere, in Mérida or at Chichen, the dzulob severed a rope, and blood ran out of the severed ends, and the king died. So now there is only the king of the

Maya. He is hiding somewhere; some people say under the ground at Chichen. And some day he will come forth again. The old people used to say, It is not time yet, because the railroad has not yet reached Valladolid. Then they said, It is not time yet, because the railroad has not yet reached Chichen. When Felipe Carrillo came to Piste, and to the other villages, and told the people they should have the land of the dzulob, and promised them clocks, and tools, and wire, and schools, and music, people said that perhaps the king of the Maya had at last come forth. It was also said that when the king of the Maya should come forth, then also would come the chac uincob [red men—i.e., North Americans]. (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934:331)

In this myth I see at least three different historical events brought together: (1) the central Mexican invasion of the Yucatan peninsula during the Post-classic period, which the Indians associate with the coming of the Itza; (2) the Spanish conquest of the Yucatecan Maya in 1542; and (3) the period shortly after the Mexican Revolution of 1910–1917, when Felipe Carrillo Puerto, the socialist governor of the state of Yucatan until his assassination in 1924 (Sosa Ferreyro 1969), became a local hero for the Indians of the peninsula. The first case of ethnic conflict is suggested by the setting of the competition, Chichen Itza, where the Itza settled. The second event is implied in the statement "... and then Mayab would again belong to the Maya." And the third event is referred to explicitly in the discussion of Felipe Carrillo. There is, however, not even an implicit reference to the Quisteil rebellion in this myth, even though it has the Indian king as its theme.

The Maya have extended the meaning of the term *dzul* (*č'üul*) in each succeeding epoch, thus making it relevant for each new instance of ethnic conflict. On the eve of the conquest, the term meant "foreigner" (Ciudad Real 1929:288) and in some contexts referred to the Mexican invaders (Roys 1933: 22n3). After the arrival of the Spaniards, the term acquired a new meaning, "Caucasian foreigner." Today the Maya refer to Ladinos, the cultural inheritors of the Spaniards, with it. Thus in the context of the myth the word *dzul* has the timeless structural meaning of "member of the dominant foreign ethnic group."

The three historical events listed above are associated in the Chan Kom text with a myth of the first creation when there

was a road suspended in the sky, stretching from Tulum [Tulum] and Coba to Chichen Itza and Uxmal. This pathway was called *kusansum* or *sabke* [*sac be*]

(white road). It was in the nature of a large rope (*sum*) supposed to be living (*kusan*) and in the middle flowed blood. It was by this rope that the food was sent to the ancient rulers who lived in the structures now in ruins. For some reason this rope was cut, the blood flowed out, and the rope vanished forever. (Tozzer 1907:153, quoted in Miller 1974:172).

The above description and etymology of the *kusansum*, or *cuxanzuum* as it is also known (*kušá'an* 'living,' *sium* 'rope, cord'), suggests that what was serving as a "road" linking the ancient cities of Tulum and Coba with Chichen Itza and Uxmal was really an umbilical cord. Arthur Miller (1974:175–177) believes that the umbilical cord symbolizes lineage in Maya iconography. In support of this view, he notes a twisted cord like the intertwined artery and vein of the human umbilical cord associated with the genealogy of the Xiu family (of western Yucatan). In light of this interpretation, the severing of a rope mentioned in the Chan Kom text apparently signaled not only the death of the *dzul* king, but also the end of the *dzul* royal lineage.

Another variant of the umbilical-cord myth was recently published in a Merida newspaper, *Novedades de Yucatán*, by José A. Xiu (1972) and was brought to my attention by Arthur Miller (personal communication). It is part of a text, a variant of "The Legend of the Dwarf," which is too long to be quoted in full here. What is of particular interest in this variant of the umbilical-cord myth is the following speech supposedly made by the dwarf:

People of Ichcaanzihó [Merida], the time has come which was foretold by our ancient priests; let us abandon these kingdoms, because the days are approaching in which we will be conquered, reviled and enslaved by white and bearded men. Let us flee, then, by the road of the Sun and we will protect ourselves there. The time will come when we will be able to return to reconquer our land; but it will be then when we can compete at an advantage with our conquerors, that is to say, the day when we can conquer them as this time I have conquered our King, who, incapable of scrutinizing the mysterious depths of time or of understanding the secrets of Fate, fell pitifully from his throne. I carry here the marvelous rope, he said showing it, the *cuxan-zuum* which I made to pass several times through the wound in my chest without dying, and which, joined to its twin which is jealously guarded in *Maní*, on the incantation of the cry "Moc-te-zumáa", will be strung up like an immense suspension bridge between the turbulent Caribbean Sea and this sacred city of Ichcaanzihó. Over it, in a singular struggle, I will dare our conceited conquerors to run, they on their shod horses and I on mine, a product of our luxuriant and fertile fields: our restless little squirrel. And we will see then who will be the victor. (Xiu 1972)

In this variant, also, the umbilical cord is associated with the Spanish conquest ("white and bearded men") and with a contest between the conqueror and the conquered. One way in which this version of the myth differs from the other two versions is in the mention of the name Montezuma. This may, of course, be simply a reference to the Aztec monarch who was conquered by the Spaniards at about the same time that the Maya were; it may also, however, be a reference to the "Little Montezuma" who was supposedly crowned in Quisteil. Or it may be that this version of the myth was known in 1761, and Francisco Uex took the name of Montezuma in an attempt to fulfill the prophecy.⁵

Among the Quiche, the history of their former kingdoms is preserved in both oral and written traditions such as the *Popol Vuh* (Edmonson 1971) and the *Title of the Lords of Totonicapán* (Chonay and Goetz 1953). The text of the latter was apparently written in Quiche, using the Latin alphabet, in 1554 (Chonay and Goetz 1953:163). The manuscript was

brought to light in 1834, fourteen years after the Totonicapan tribute dispute, by Indians of San Miguel, who

applied to the provincial governor requesting his good offices in obtaining the services of the priest of Sacapulas, Dionisio José Chonay, to translate into Spanish the document known today as the *Título de los Señores de Totonicapán*. Father Chonay performed this commission, and the tribe [sic] presented the original manuscript and the translation to the judge of the local court, requesting that "two intelligent men" examine it and pass on the accuracy of the Spanish version. The judge acceded to this request and ordered the translation added to the court's register of public instruments. (Chonay and Goetz 1953:163)

Whether Atanasio Tzul was aware of the existence of this manuscript is not known (apparently the Indians of Totonicapan were unable to read their own language).

Two of the Quiche kings, Quicab Tanub Rey de Quiché (Utatlan) and Rey Tecum Umam (Xelahuuh), are represented in Dances of the Conquest in high-

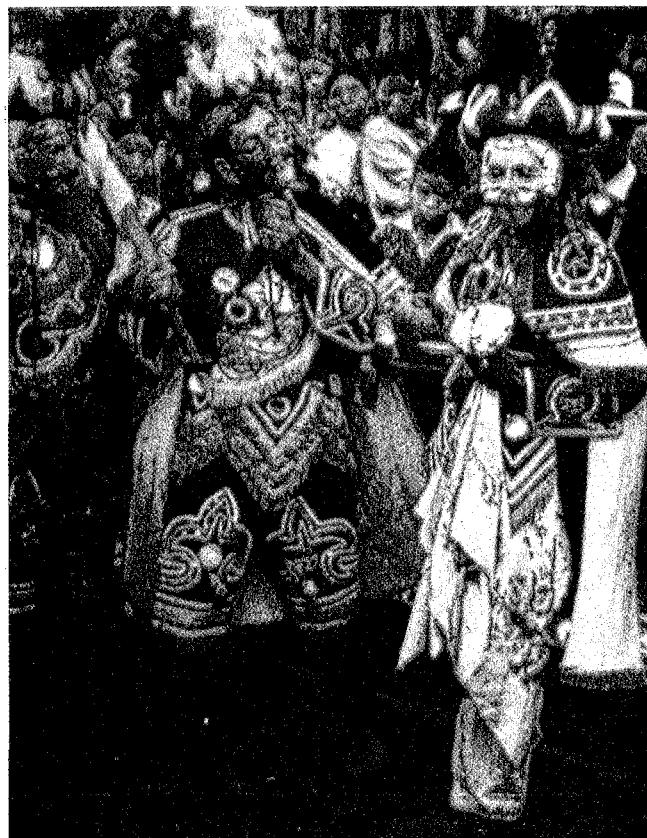


FIGURE 34. Tecum Umam in Tactic, Guatemala (1957). Photo by Barbara Bode.



FIGURE 35. The Quiche King in Totonicapan, Guatemala (1957). Photo by Barbara Bode. Courtesy of Barbara Bode and M.A.R.I.

land Guatemala today (Bode 1961:213; see Figures 34–35). In 1957 Barbara Bode learned of the existence of ten Dance of the Conquest manuscripts in four towns of the District of Totonicapan: San Cristobal, San Francisco el Alto, San Andres Xecul, and Momostenango. Only the Momostenango variant can be dated with reasonable certainty. It was apparently written (or copied from an earlier manuscript) in 1894. All of the manuscripts are written in Spanish.

The only extant dance-drama of the conquest written in Quiche is the *Zaccicoxol*. There are several copies of the manuscript, which range in dates from 1800 to 1875 (Gates n.d.; Brinton 1900:14, cited in Carmack 1973:170). Although, as Robert M. Carmack (1973:171) points out, the general theme of the dance is the conquest of Mexico by Cortés, a Quiche king plays a prominent role in the drama.

In addition to the *Zaccicoxol* manuscripts, there is evidence in the documentation for the tribute dispute in Totonicapan that the dance was being performed during the early part of the nineteenth century: the dresscoat worn by Tzul was borrowed on the pretext that it would be worn in a Dance of the Conquest!⁶ However, the tribute dispute of 1820 is not one of the several incidents of ethnic conflict

dramatized in modern versions of that dance, which is consistent with Contreras's (1951:49) observation that of Tzul's "ephemeral reign there remains not a single Indian tradition." The reason for this may be that Tzul's "ephemeral reign" was a fiction and therefore not part of the historical record covered in the dance-drama.

Thus the history of the Spanish conquest was well known in Indian communities of Yucatan and highland Guatemala during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and there is no need to appeal to a mystical notion of a racial or cultural memory to explain their knowledge of their ancient kingdoms. The real question is not what the source of the Indians' ideas of kingship was, but whether Jacinto Canek and Atanasio Tzul really were Indian kings. The ideas of kingship could have come from oral tradition or from the contemporary model exemplified by the King of Spain. The insistence of local historians that these men were trying to revive the ancient Maya kingdoms of their ancestors is understandable in terms of the Myth of Pacification, for in order to justify their description of the efforts to suppress Canek's and Tzul's movements as "new reconquests" it was first necessary to try to establish, on logical if not empirical grounds, a historical link with the first "reconquests."



FIGURE 36. A Spaniard in the Dance of the Conquest in Coban, Guatemala (1957). Photo by Barbara Bode.



FIGURE 37. Deer Dance in Chichicastenango, Guatemala (December 1976). Deer Dancer's Headdress in Left Foreground. Courtesy of Tom and Virginia Ktsanes.

Contemporary Developments in Highland Chiapas (1958–1972)

During the past thirty years there have been a number of Indian religious revitalization movements in highland Chiapas which closely resemble the early stages of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rebellions described in Chapters 5 and 9. Probably none of these movements would receive attention from historians because they have not culminated in armed rebellion. We know that they occur only because anthropologists working in highland Chiapas since 1942 have mentioned them in their ethnographic notes and reports.¹

The documents that historians rely on for their data rarely give full ethnographic descriptions of the beginnings of religious revitalization movements. Probably one reason for this deficiency in reporting is that these movements usually do not come to the attention of Ladino authorities until they are well under way, and written reports on their origins are therefore necessarily *ex post facto*. Furthermore, if the proliferation of such movements in recent times represents the continuation of an old tradition, then it is likely that in the past many Indian religious movements of this kind never came to the attention of colonial and later national authorities. In fact, historians have described only those movements that culminated in armed conflict, thereby reinforcing the official view that all Indian religious revitalization movements are necessarily a prelude to ethnic conflict. However, if the present situation is not significantly different from the past, then we must conclude not only that many religious revitalization movements have occurred in Indian communities during the past four hundred years, but also that most of them were peaceful. This would mean, further, that the Cancuc revolt of 1712 and the War of St. Rose of 1869 were atypical in that they developed into full blown political rebellions.

In discussing the rebellions in Cancuc and Chimala I have argued that, in both cases, an ethnocentric political ideology was formulated only *after* the Ladino authorities had tried to suppress the religious movements. This implies that if the Ladinos had not tried to suppress the new religious cults, the Indians would not have revolted. It is, however, difficult to prove this point because historians do not mention any Indian religious movements that the authorities did not try to suppress; presumably they interfered with all Indian movements that came to their attention. Therefore, the only way to test the hypothesis is to look at what is happening in the ethnographic present.

The religious movements I have described were inspired by miraculous events: the sweating of saint figures in a village church, appearances of the Virgin, the falling of talking stones from Heaven. In all cases the miracles were followed by the construction of chapels in honor of the perspiring saint, the Virgin's visitation, or the talking stones. The chapels served as loci of the new religious cults.

Today there are two kinds of religious movements in highland Chiapas which are obviously based on the same pattern. The most striking of these movements are the cults of talking saints, which are very common in Zinacantan, San Pedro Chenalho, and San Andres Larrainzar. The other type of movement, for which I have data only from Zinacantan, is part of an effort to challenge the authority of the township's Indian political and religious leadership by building chapels and establishing local, competing saint cults in the hamlets.

Talking-Saint Cults

Talking saints are referred to by several names in highland Chiapas. In Zinacantan they are called

hk'opohel rioš 'talking saint' or *kušul rioš* 'living saint'. In San Pedro Chenalho and San Andres Larrainzar they are called *me? santo* 'female saint' or 'Virgin'¹² (Guteras Holmes 1961:270; Holland 1963:199–206).

In Zinacantan, the cult object may be a picture of a saint, a Catholic image, or even a stone, which the saint's owner (*yahval rioš*) claims to have found in a cave (Apter n.d.:1; Collier 1973:118–119; Vogt 1969:365). The saint, whatever its form or material, is usually stored in a small wooden chest that sits on the owner's house altar (Collier 1973:118–119; Vogt 1969:365).

Like shamans (*h'zilol*), talking saints are primarily concerned with curing illnesses (Collier 1973:118; Vogt 1969:365). Some owners of talking saints in Zinacantan are also shamans (Silver 1966:470); the highest ranking shamans in San Andres Larrainzar are those who own talking saints (Holland 1963:175, Fig. 15, 200). But also like shamans, talking saints are potentially capable of doing harm as well as good, for they constitute a channel of communication between the human and supernatural worlds (Collier 1973:119; Vogt 1969:474).

Talking saints derive both their powers and their liabilities from a close connection with the underworld. Saints are believed to be particularly good at diagnosing and curing cases of witchcraft in which the victim has been sold to the Earth, but people outside the victim's family fear that the saint may recover the soul of his patient by substituting an innocent victim to work the underground estates. Some people also fear that owners of talking saints practice outright witchcraft, accepting money to sell a soul to the Earth Lord. (Collier 1973:119)

Thus, like shamans, the owners of saints may find themselves accused of witchcraft or malpractice (Collier 1973:137–138; Vogt 1969:474).

In Zinacantan, those who believe in the efficacy of the saint's cures pay a visit to the saint whenever they become ill. The consultation typically begins with the patient placing money, candles, or rum on the altar beside the saint's box, then addressing the saint in the chest and describing the illness. In some cases, the saint responds by knocking on the inside of the box, and the owner interprets the knocks for the patient. Sometimes the saint "speaks" directly to the patient. In other cases, only the proprietor hears what the saint is saying and transmits the message to the patient (Apter n.d.:2; Silver 1966:469).

If a talking saint is successful in curing its pa-

tients, it attracts many adherents. On the other hand, patients who are not satisfied with the "cure" will want their money back. The normal procedure for redressing such a wrong is to take the case to court. The victim goes to the mayor of the township, accuses the saint's owner of fraud, and asks the mayor to force the owner to refund the money. The mayor sends his policemen to fetch the owner. Usually the owner arrives without the box containing the saint and is sent back home with a police escort to fetch the box. When they return with the box, the mayor asks the saint's owner to make the saint talk. "The 'talking saint' never talks for the Presidente [mayor], whereupon the picture or image is confiscated and the owner thrown in jail until he agrees to give up his saint and refund the fees paid by the plaintiffs" (Vogt 1969:366). It is hard to say how many talking saints there are in Zinacantan at any time, because their owners try to keep them secret. Apparently,

San Cristóbal authorities have put pressure on Indian Presidents [mayors] to confiscate saints and deliver the owners to them for punishment. Saint owners who come up before the Ministerio Publico and the Juez Penal are charged with fraud and fined. This policy of heavy punishment for talking-saint owners has had some effect: informants agree that there are probably fewer saints in Zinacantan today than there were fifty years ago and that the remaining saints are treated with less respect. Whereas saint owners used to hold large fiestas with fireworks, they now avoid public display. (Collier 1973:223)

In 1960, Vogt (1969:366) learned about eight well-known saints. And Daniel B. Silver (1966:469), who worked in Zinacantan during 1964–1965, knew the names of ten owners of saints. According to Jane F. Collier (personal communication), there are probably thirty or more talking saints in the community at any time.

In San Andres Larrainzar, by contrast, talking-saint owners enjoy a great deal of prestige, they are apparently not harassed by either the Indian or the Ladino authorities, and they seem to make no efforts to hide their activities (Holland 1963:199–206). The owner of the saint in San Andres is referred to by the name of the saint, that is, as *me? santo*. As in Zinacantan, the saint, which is kept in a small wooden box on a decorated altar, serves as an intermediary between the human and supernatural worlds. Some talking saints of San Andres are famous for their curative powers, and patients from other townships may travel great distances in order

to be treated by them. Talking saints apparently also flourish in San Pedro Chenalho, although owners who charge too much for their services are sometimes punished (Guiteras-Holmes 1961:270-271).

How can the differences in attitudes toward talking-saint cults between Zinacantan and San Andres be explained? Apparently there are no laws against owning miraculous images; it depends on whether the community regards the activities of the saints' owners as fraudulent (Collier 1973:229). In this connection it should be mentioned that Ladinos as well as Indians may own talking saints. One of the most famous talking saints in the highlands is owned by a Ladino in Soyalo (Silver 1966:470).

The principal difference between San Andres and Zinacantan seems to be that the religious leaders of the former are the owners of talking saints, while, in the latter, talking saints are owned by people who are not otherwise accepted as religious leaders. In other words, saint ownership supports the traditional power structure in San Andres, but undermines and challenges it in Zinacantan (Collier, personal communication).

The contemporary talking-saint cults of Zinacantan, San Andres, and Chenalho are similar to the early stages of the cult sponsored by Pedro Díaz Cuscat and Agustina Gomes Chebeb in 1867 in several respects. First, in all cases the cult objects include stones or clay images that supposedly "appeared" in remote places where there were no witnesses except the discoverer. The objects are brought home and placed in wooden chests on altars, from which they communicate by knocking, or, in some cases, by actually speaking. Believers who wish to hear the saint speak bring offerings of food, candles, liquor, or money. The sponsor of the cult usually stands by ready to interpret the knocks or words of the saint for the listeners. The sponsor may also celebrate festivals in honor of the saint.

In the nineteenth-century Chamulan case, historical sources do not quote any of the messages of the talking stones, nor do they shed light on the original function of the cult. Of course, Ladino eyewitnesses, journalists, and historians have regarded the talking stones as a hoax, and they would therefore naturally be likely to attribute to Cuscat any instructions given by the stones. For example, Pineda (1888:74) claims that it was Cuscat who said that the heavy rains of 1868 were sent by the saints because people did not believe in the cult images. However, Cuscat may well have used the talking stones as the vehicle

for that and other messages. In other words, Cuscat's talking stones may have had the function of interpreting a natural disaster, which is also an occasional function of contemporary talking saints.

The present treatment of fraudulent talking-saint owners in Zinacantan is very similar to the way Cuscat was treated in 1868. What is different in the modern Zinacanteco situation is that it is Indian rather than Ladino officials who confiscate the saints. Another difference is that Zinacanteco political officials may believe in the existence of saints that talk, even if they doubt the credibility of specific saints (Collier 1973:118; Vogt 1969:365-366).

Talking saints in general have a bad reputation because it is so difficult to distinguish the real ones from the fakes. Most Zinacantecos believe real saints exist, but also believe there are unscrupulous persons who put ordinary rocks in boxes and claim extraordinary powers for them. Given this ambiguity over the credibility of particular talking saints, a person is free to accept or discredit the alleged accusations of a saint depending on whether he chooses to believe them or not. "Fake" saints are also feared and hated as ever-present troublemakers, since their false accusations of witchcraft instigate trouble between relatives or friends. (Collier 1973:119)

In other words, the suppression of a saint cult in Zinacantan is not perceived of as an attack on Indian religion because those who suppress it are themselves Indians who believe in the existence of talking saints.

Many nineteenth century Ladinos of San Cristobal Las Casas believed that all talking saint cults contained the seeds of rebellion and used this belief to justify their efforts to suppress the cult in Chimalá. Jane Collier has pointed out, in support of this view, that "Within a hamlet, saints have a following of believers and a group of doubters. If other issues reinforce this ideological split, a talking-saint case may well turn into a political crisis" (1973:223). Furthermore, even if talking saints are not themselves a political issue, they may influence the course of events which do have political implications. For example, in the summer of 1969 a young Zinacanteco who lived in the hamlet of Navenchauc dreamed that there was a bell inside a hill overlooking the hamlet (Rush 1971:43; Vogt 1976:200-201). Metal objects are highly valued in Zinacantan, and there are strong pressures to increase the community's holdings of this kind of wealth (Rush 1970; Vogt 1976:201). The Zinacanteco reported his dream to the shamans of his hamlet, who in turn

reported it to the political officials of the hamlet and township. They gave him permission to dig for the bell. About eighty men temporarily abandoned their fields during the height of the growing season in order to dig for the bell. "It was an event of major ritual importance; fife and drum music accompanied the diggers and continual offerings were made to the gods" (Rush 1971:43).

When they did not find the bell, the shamans consulted the ancestral deities, several talking saints, and even a Ladino spiritualist in Tuxtla Gutierrez (Vogt 1976:200–201). The talking saints confirmed the fact that a bell was in the hillside, thereby encouraging the diggers to continue their search. Before they gave up on the project, the diggers had excavated a hole some thirty feet deep in solid limestone! (Rush 1971:43–44; Vogt 1976:200).

The search for the bell polarized the hamlet into two factions. The bell-diggers justified their belief in the existence of the bell by citing the advice of the talking saints. Those who were opposed to the digging claimed that it was a waste of time, food, and candles (used in ritual) (Rush 1971:45).

Talking saints played an important role in this incident by supporting one of the two factions, but the saints' owners did not try to use the controversy as an opportunity to gain political power or to try to take charge of the digging. The whole digging effort was carried out in the context of local hamlet politics and did not involve outsiders (Rush 1971:46–47). Thus in this case the participation of talking saints in a political dispute did not result in ethnic conflict.

Probably most of the activities of talking saints do not have political implications, and, if patients are satisfied with their cures, they do not come to the attention of even the Indian authorities. Moreover, it is significant that talking-saint cults are apparently permitted to flourish in San Andres without interference, and they have not developed into ethnic conflict. This suggests that it is outside interference that transforms talking-saint cults into rebellions, rather than anything intrinsic in the cults themselves. What was different about Cuscat's movement was the economic threat the market in Tzajalhemel posed to Ladino merchants (Molina 1934:368n9). However, there is no evidence that the market was initiated in order to provide competition with Ladino shopkeepers. At first the crowds attracted by the market were a potential source of converts to the new cult and only indirectly (through contributions to the cult) a source of profit

to Cuscat (Molina 1934:366). Later, vendors would naturally have been drawn by the large crowds of Indians who came to worship St. Rose in Tzajalhemel. The economic effect of the cult on Ladinos was real, but probably not intentional.

Chapel Building in Zinacantan

The ceremonial and political center of the township of Zinacantan is a settlement called Jteclum, where the principal churches, the town hall, a school, a medical clinic, and some small shops are located. Before 1954, only one hamlet, Salinas, had its own chapel, which was constructed during the early part of this century (Vogt 1976:194). The rest of the hamlets were dependent on Jteclum for the religious services it offered. Zinacantecos whose homes were in the hamlets would come to the ceremonial center in order to participate in religious celebrations in honor of Catholic saints.

In Zinacantan religious offices, called *cargos*, are "occupied on a rotating basis by the men of the community. That is, the office-holders serve for a year and then return to their roles in everyday life, leaving the office to another man" (Cancian 1965:1). The offices

are arranged in a hierarchy so that a man may occupy a number of offices in a specified order. In Zinacantan a man may serve in any one of 34 cargos at the lowest level, if he has not had previous experience. After "resting" a number of years and clearing away his debts, he may pass on to one of the 12 offices of the second level. Then there are six offices on the third level, and two on the fourth and final level of the hierarchy. Almost all Zinacantecos participate at the first level; but clearly, for sheer lack of space if for no other reason, few of these men ever reach the top level. (Cancian 1965:1)

Cancian (1965) has shown that Zinacanteco men and their families obtain prestige by participating in the *cargo* system. The more *cargos* a man takes, the more respect he receives from the rest of the community. As long as opportunities for office holding were limited to the ceremonial center, the ceremonial center was able to dominate the religious life of the township.

In 1954 a chapel in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe was constructed in the hamlet of Navenchauc. Eight years later, a chapel in honor of Esquipulas was constructed in the hamlet of Apas. Seven years after that, the people of Nachig erected a chapel in honor of the Virgin of Fatima. And only two years later, in 1971, two more chapels were constructed in

Zinacanteco hamlets, one in Paste and the other in Sequemtic (Vogt 1976:194–195; see Map 9).

Special *cargo* positions corresponding to the bottom level of the religious hierarchy in the ceremonial center were established for two of the new chapels. Two *mayordomos* sponsor ceremonies in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Navenchauc. The cult of Esquipulas in Apas is sponsored by two *mayordomos* and two *mesoneros*, just like the cult of Esquipulas in the ceremonial center (Cancian 1965:36). In Nachig, Paste, and Sequemtic, where there are no *cargos*, "ceremonial responsibilities remain firmly vested in church committees, led by elected *presidentes del templo*, *secretarios*, and *tesoreros*" (Wasserstrom 1974:15–16).

The six new *cargo* positions provide an alternative means of gaining prestige that does not require moving to the ceremonial center. Even more important is the fact that the new local cults provide the hamlets with a religious focus that makes them spiritually less dependent on the ceremonial center. Chapel building seems to be part of a general trend toward greater hamlet autonomy and is often motivated by political as well as religious considerations (Vogt 1973:112; Wasserstrom 1970:53–55).

According to Vogt (1969:352), "The motivating force for the establishment of . . . [the] . . . church [in Apas] came from a dream, and all such outlying chapels may have been motivated by the dreams of elders in the various hamlets." The following text describes the dream responsible for the chapel in Apas:

There is a former *mesonero* [publican] in Apas. He was told in a dream by Our Holy Father Esquipulas that they were to build him a chapel there in Apas. It came true; it came true. "First they must buy the image to be installed. Then Our Lord is going to install himself," said the man, who lived there in Apas. His neighbors believed him. They built the chapel.

Whether or not the other chapel-building movements were also inspired by dreams, there are close parallels between the Apas case and the eighteenth-century Virgin cults of Santa Marta and Cancuc. For in all three cases, a saint appeared before an Indian and requested that a chapel be built in its honor. The eighteenth-century chapels were also in competition with the church in the ceremonial center, for they were located in hamlets or "on the outskirts of the town" (Ximénez 1929–1931:3:266, 268).

What is different about the contemporary religious movements in Zinacantan is that the Ladino

authorities have not tried to suppress them. In some cases the Ladino bishop in San Cristobal Las Casas has actually encouraged the construction of chapels in the hamlets of Zinacantan. The first recent chapel, the one in Navenchauc, was constructed after the Catholic hierarchy had evicted a Protestant missionary and his family from the hamlet (Vogt 1969:164). When the people of Apas decided to build their own chapel, they consulted the bishop about what kind of images to purchase. And, according to one informant, it was the bishop himself who suggested that a chapel be constructed in Nachig. The bishop has a legitimate interest in supporting these movements, because in his role as consultant he can influence the organization of the cult.

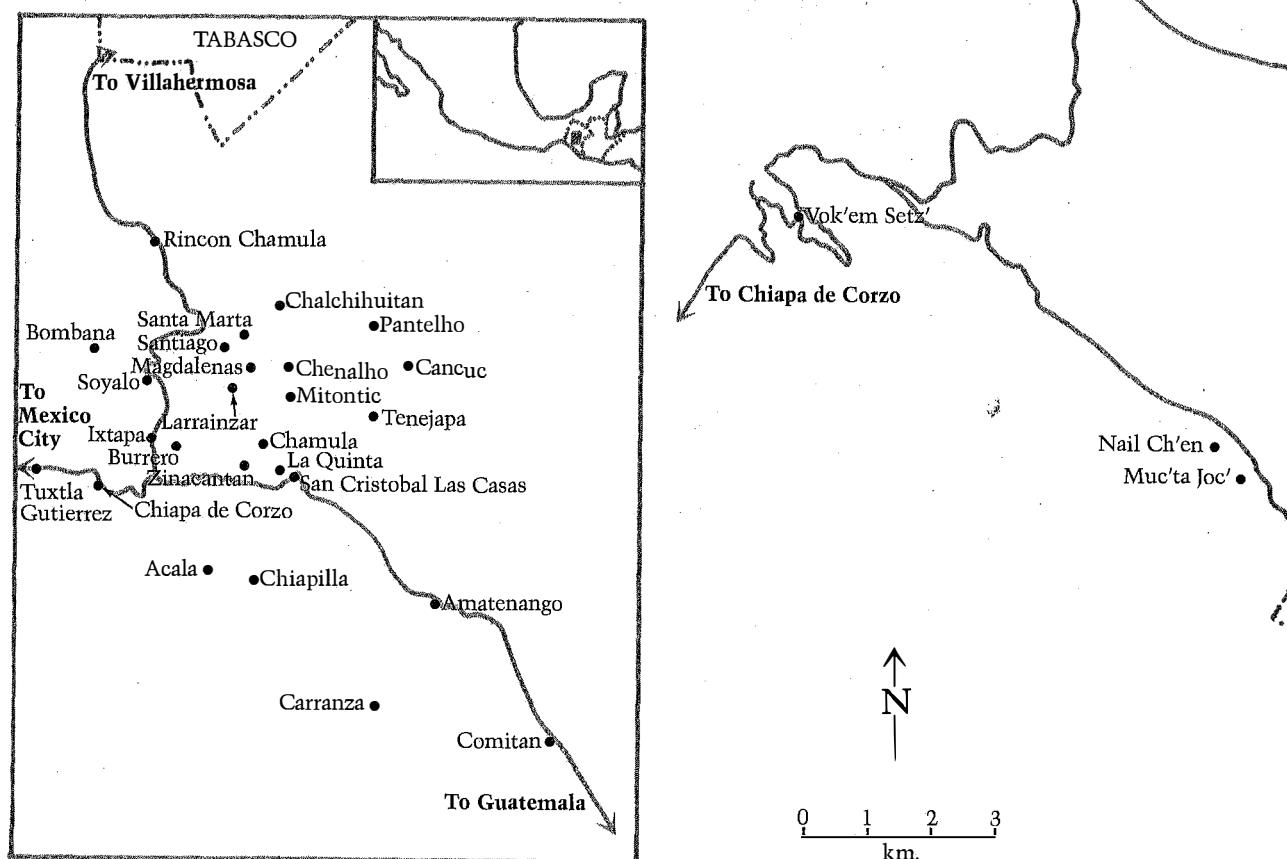
No one has suggested that the construction of Indian chapels in the hamlets poses a threat to the well-being of the Ladino ethnic group. In fact, Ladinos are the ones most likely to benefit economically from these cults by selling the Indians saint images, ritual paraphernalia, and construction materials. These movements represent a rebellion against the centralized Indian leadership in the ceremonial center, not against the Ladino authorities in San Cristobal Las Casas.

In summary, the present chapel-building movements of Zinacantan are very similar to the Virgin cults of the early part of the eighteenth century. Today, as in the past, Indians are interested in making the Catholic religion more relevant to their local situation. In the past, the ecclesiastical hierarchy regarded these movements as a threat to its authority. Today, the ecclesiastical authorities view these movements as an opportunity to guide Indians toward a more orthodox form of Catholicism. In the eighteenth century, Ladino priests interfered with the Virgin cults, and the result was ethnic conflict. Today the Ladino bishop supports these cults, thereby improving his relations with the Indians.

Cultural Continuities and Discontinuities

The fact that there are close parallels between the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century religious movements and some modern ones suggests that the Indian pattern of religious revitalization has remained essentially the same for more than 250 years. This fact raises an interesting question: What are the mechanisms by which this cultural tradition has been perpetuated over such a long period of time? Ecclesiastical and civil administrators have seldom been interested in the day-to-day activities of the Indians under their jurisdiction. Their reports rarely

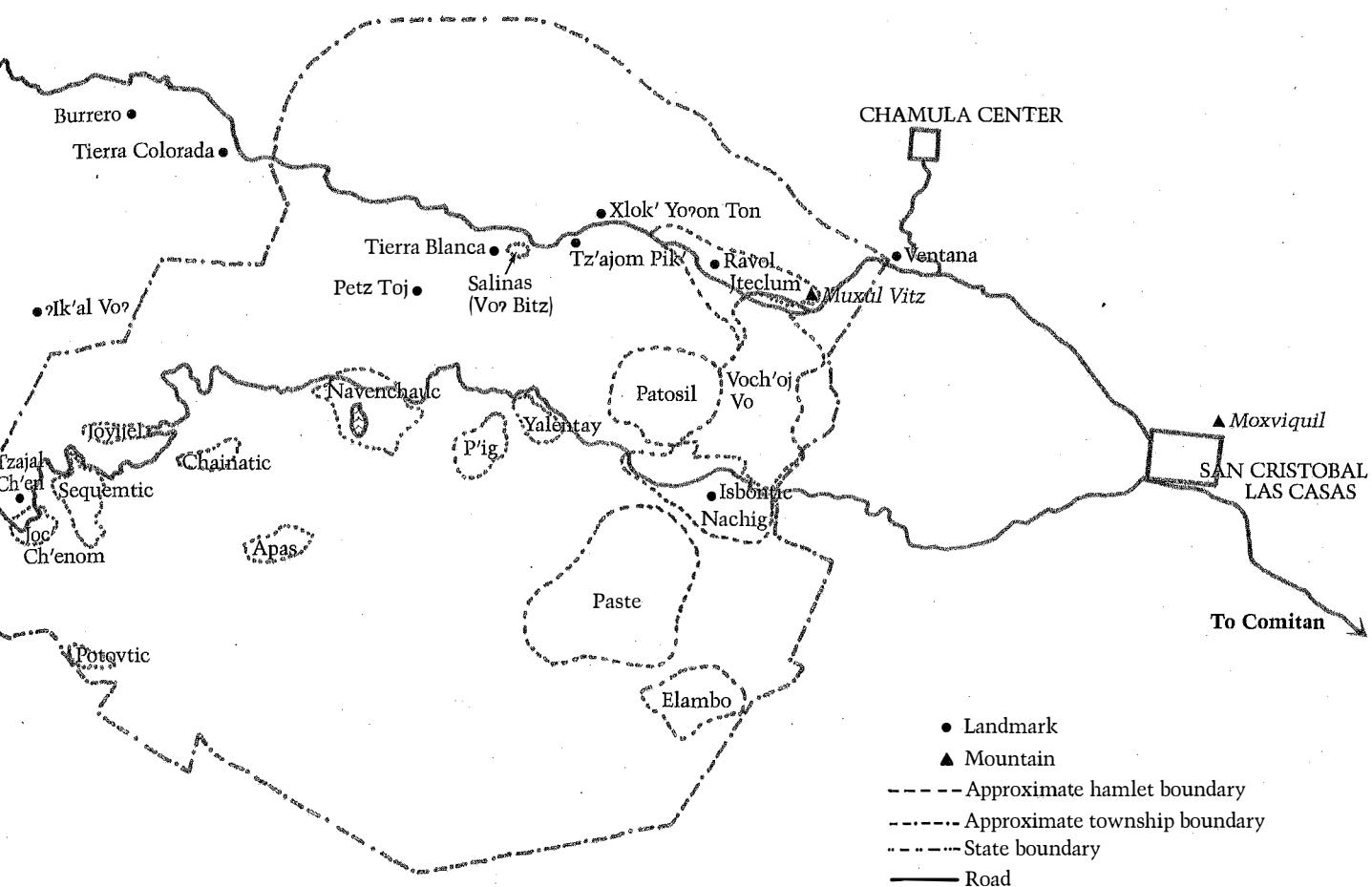
Map 9. The Hamlets of Zinacantan (1977) (Redrawn from Vogt 1969: viii, 156 and Laughlin 1977:420, 424).



contain enough ethnographic information to shed light on this problem. Historians have been even less concerned about Indian culture; they have described only the two most violent Indian religious movements, which are separated from each other by more than a century in time. What occurred in Indian communities of highland Chiapas between 1713 and 1867 and between 1870 and 1942 is almost completely unknown. It is only since 1942 that ethnographers have been collecting information that may explain the apparent continuity of culture among illiterate peoples for such a long time.

Ethnographers have demonstrated that talking-saint cults are rather common in highland Chiapas. In Zinacantan, for example, new talking saints are constantly being discovered even as the old ones are confiscated. These cults are not only part of the Indians' cultural heritage, they are also part of their

daily cultural environment. The Indians are constantly made aware of the cults' existence in gossip and folklore. The talking-saint tradition is passed on in the same ways that other cultural traditions are communicated: through verbal interaction and personal experience. New talking-saint owners know what to do with their "finds" either because they have observed the practice of other talking-saint owners or because they have been involved in conversations in which such matters are minutely discussed (see Haviland 1977:4). Although the number of talking saints in Zinacantan, Chenalho, and San Andres seems to fluctuate from time to time, they have apparently never disappeared altogether in any of these communities in recent times. This suggests that these cults are not revivals of old movements, and it is not necessary to invoke a concept of "racial memory" in order to explain them. Nor is it neces-



sary to argue that the owners of talking saints have read Pineda's history of the rebellions in Cancuc and Chamula. If such cults are always in existence, Indians who wish to sponsor new ones do not have to look far for a model.

Are talking-saint cults a survival of an old Maya tradition? Until now I have tried to discuss highland Chiapas solely in terms of its own historical antecedents, and there is no evidence that the preconquest Maya Indians of highland Chiapas believed in talking idols. On the other hand, such a tradition apparently did exist in the Yucatan peninsula both before and after the conquest, and the Talking Cross cult of Chan Santa Cruz is, in many respects, strikingly similar to the talking-saint cults of highland Chiapas. The most famous of such Precolumbian cults was the talking idol of Cozumel:

Anciently all this country and the Indians went ordinarily to the said island to worship a certain idol which they had in certain ancient buildings and which they venerated greatly; they went to the said island to worship the said idol as if they went to gain pardons because they went from Tabasco and Xicalango and Champoton and Campeche and from other distant pueblos, they came to see and to worship the said idol and in the said buildings where the said idol was, they had and there was an old Indian who was called *Alquin* (*Ah Kin*) which means in our language cleric or priest. And the Indians went to see the idol speak with the said *Alquin* and told him why they came and that which they wished. And the said old Indian, *Alquin*, spoke with the idol and with the demon which they said was inside of it; he replied to all which was asked and they learned from him all that which they wished and the said old Indian, *Alquin*, returned the answer which the idol gave to them. . . . and this idol was called *Ischel*. (*Relación de Yucatán*, quoted in Tozzer 1941: 109n)

This idol was in the square temple already mentioned. It was very singular and different from the others; its material was baked clay; it was a large hollow figure joined to the wall with mortar. At its back was something like a sacristy, in which the priests had a small hidden door opening into the back of the idol. Into this one of the priests entered, and from there he replied to the requests which were made. The unhappy dupes believed that the idol spoke to them and credited what was said to them; and so they venerated it more than the others with various offerings, sacrifices of blood, birds, dogs and sometimes even men. Since, as they believed, it always spoke to them, they came together from everywhere in such great numbers to consult it and to beg for help in their troubles. (López de Cogolludo 1688:Book 4, Ch. 9, quoted in Tozzer 1941:109n)

The Itza of Tayasal also had a talking idol until 1697, when they were conquered by the Spaniards (Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1933:387). Other talking-idol cults may have been practiced in secret, just as they are today in Zinacantan, only to come out of hiding several hundred years later during the Caste War (Reed 1964:134).

Although these movements may represent the survival of some ancient Maya traditions, they are not exclusively Maya in their composition. Saint cults are, of course, an accepted part of Catholic tradition. Not all appearances of the Virgin have been denounced as "false miracles" by ecclesiastical authorities (Ahlstrom 1972:51n; Braden 1930:302-

307; Madsen 1957:136). The Virgin may speak to Her beholder during a visitation. In this sense, the Virgin cults of Santa Marta and Cancuc were very Catholic in emphasis.

Visitations of saints are also the stimulus for chapel-building movements in Zinacantan. However, these movements, unlike the talking-saint cults, seem to be a relatively recent phenomenon. As far as we know, none occurred between the first decade of this century and 1954. Therefore, whoever was responsible for the movement in Navenchauc could not have used an already ongoing movement as a model. On the other hand, there are numerous precedents for such movements in Zinacanteco folklore. Origin myths associated with the churches in the ceremonial center provide the blueprint for such movements. According to one myth, the church of St. Lawrence was built after the saint appeared and instructed the Zinacantecos to build him a church (Vogt 1969:356). St. Sebastian appeared at a later date and made a similar request (Vogt 1969:326-330, 357-360). The chapel of Salinas, the first one constructed in this century, is reported to have been inspired by a visitation from the Virgin (Laughlin 1977:196-201; Wasserstrom 1970:Appendix IV). Thus oral tradition can provide a pattern for revitalization which in turn generates new folklore with the same structure.

Nativism, Syncretism, and the Structure of Myth and Ritual

What Spanish authorities during the Colonial period and Ladino historians afterward have characterized as the Maya's longing for the religious and political institutions of ancient times, anthropologists call "nativism." Linton (1943:230) has defined "nativism" as "any conscious organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture." This definition clearly describes the motive that Spaniards and Ladinos have cited as a cause of Indian rebellions.

Edmonson (1960) has pointed out that nativism is a

particularly focussed phase of the general phenomenon of ethnocentrism. Rooted in this process by which all human groups define themselves through contrast with other groups, nativism is the self-conscious overt manifestation of ethnocentrism in one of its most sharply defined and exclusive or divisive aspects.
(1960:184)

Edmonson believes that the extreme ethnocentrism with which the Maya today face the world did not characterize their culture in aboriginal times, but was gradually imposed on them during the Colonial period:

... the Spanish came to place increasing emphasis on the ethnic and racial differences between themselves and the Indians, and in their legislation imposed a theoretical legal unity on Indian life which accorded well with Spanish thought and badly with Indian reality. Distinctive dress was required of the Indians; tribute was exacted from them; their legal rights were differentiated from those of other subjects; their position in the colonial economy was circumscribed and controlled. And a new social conception—that of the *castas* [castes]—came to be important and even dominant in colonial life. (1960:185)

Thus, in the Spanish view of colonial society, people were polarized into two ethnically distinct groups:

Indians and Spaniards. This classification ignored differences between Indian groups and within Indian communities. Any attack of an Indian against a Spaniard was automatically interpreted as an expression of rebellion of all Indians against all Spaniards, as was any attempt of an Indian to question the legality of an action by a Spaniard or by an Indian on behalf of the colonial authorities. In Quisteil the murder of Diego Pacheco and the deaths of Tiburcio Cosgaya and his men were interpreted as the beginning of a general Indian uprising, whereas the murder of an Indian on that occasion would have been shrugged off as the consequence of a drunken brawl (Chapter 6). Similarly, although the focus of Indian hostility in Totonicapan was on members of their own ethnic group, the colonial authorities interpreted the dispute over the legality of continuing to collect the Royal Tributes as a potential revolt against Spaniards (Chapter 7).

This belief in ethnic solidarity blinded the conquerors and their descendants to evidence of considerable division within the Indian tribe or community. Edmonson (1960:189) has suggested that "For many or even most Indians the subjective ethnos was most likely a sib, a clan, a village, a moiety, a cult, or a lineage," rather than "attitudes analogous to European nationality feelings." This is certainly true today in Zinacantan, where a strong sense of "sib-ethnocentrism" (1960:189) is implicit in ridicule and gossip.

The individual is the reference point of social classification in Zinacantan. Ego belongs to the following nested series of groups of increasing size and remoteness: domestic group, lineage, hamlet, township, ethnic group (Indian), and nationality (Mexican). Each of these groups contrasts with other tax-

onomically equivalent groups of which Ego is *not* a member.

Ego regards members of other domestic groups in his lineage as "better" than those of other lineages, members of his own hamlet as "better" than inhabitants of other hamlets, and so on. Ego ridicules all people who are different from him. He ridicules Zinacantecos from other hamlets when they pronounce words differently or use a slightly different vocabulary. The different costumes, speech, and customs of Indians from other townships furnish topics for humor as well. Zinacantecos mock non-Indians, such as Ladinos, because of their abundant body hair, their distinctive body odor, and different values (see Bricker 1973a: 158–166). The lineage is probably the "ethnic" group with which Ego identifies most closely.

Ethnocentrism is strongly expressed on the hamlet level in Zinacantan. In recent years several hamlets have constructed their own chapels, administrative office buildings, and jails in an effort to become less dependent on the political and religious services supplied by the town hall and churches located in the ceremonial center (Chapter 13). These seem to be locally inspired grass-roots developments, although the Ladino bishop in San Cristobal Las Casas has apparently been consulted in the construction of the chapels. The new chapels in the hamlets, with their associated saint cults, may eventually provide so much competition with the churches in the center that Zinacantecos will lose interest in the *cargo* system, which has been the principal institution for integrating the religious life of the community. Vogt (1969: 271), however, views the development of hamlet saint cults as a response to population pressure and the fierce competition for existing positions in the religious hierarchy of the ceremonial center, rather than as a drive for religious autonomy.

There are two major political factions in Zinacantan. The minority group is based in Nachig, a hamlet which has recently built a chapel and which has also threatened to secede from the township. According to Mexican law, the minimum population for classification as a township is four thousand inhabitants, and no hamlet in Zinacantan comes close to meeting this requirement, although Nachig may eventually reach that size. Any effort to achieve complete political autonomy at this time would mean escalating what is essentially intracommunity ethnocentrism into an interethnic confrontation, since Ladinos control the classification of commu-

nities. So far the Zinacanteco hamlets have been content to express their ethnic distinctiveness by maintaining separate chapels and administrative offices.

The ethnic divisions represented by the hamlets of Zinacantan are reflected in slight variations in speech (phonology and lexicon) and costume (such as the width of the stripes in men's tunics and women's shawls) and in their recent identification with hamlet-level patron saints for which chapels have been built. On the township level, however, ethnic differences are much more pronounced. Each township has a distinctive costume that visibly sets its members apart from Indians of other townships. Five Maya languages (Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Tojolabal, Chol, and Lacandon) are spoken in highland Chiapas, and each township speaks a different dialect of one of those languages. More important, perhaps, is the fact that the townships are virtually endogamous; in the few cases where a man marries a woman from a different township, the wife adopts the dress and customs of her husband's group.

In highland Chiapas, then, ethnocentrism means a great deal more than a simple polarization of Indians versus Ladinos. It means also one lineage versus another lineage, one hamlet versus another hamlet, and one township versus another township. Zinacantecos and Chamulans have rarely, if ever, united in a common cause, not even to repel the Spaniards during the conquest (Chapter 4). The Cancuc revolt of 1712 was not supported by all Tzeltal or Tzotzil communities (Chapter 5). And in spite of the fact that Cuscat is alleged (by Ladinos) to have alluded to the differing souls, blood, language, and traditions of Ladinos and Indians, not all Chamulans joined him in opposing the Ladinos (Chapter 9).

In the Yucatan peninsula, the Spaniards exploited ancient enmities among Maya political groups in ultimately bringing the conquest to a successful conclusion (Chapter 2). A number of Indian towns did not send troops in aid of Quisteil in 1761 (Chapter 6). And in 1847, there were two groups of Maya: (1) those in the western part of the peninsula who had "agreed" to Spanish domination and (2) those in the east who were more recently exposed to Spanish exploitation (see Chapter 8 and Text B-3). Many of the western Maya offered their services to the White army in spite of the fact that from time to time, blinded with fear and hysteria, Ladinos forgot the distinction between rebel and peaceful Maya and slaughtered them indiscriminately (Reed 1964:

63–64, 102–103). And although Juan de la Cruz spoke idealistically of the Indians fighting a common cause against the enemy Whites, the rebel Maya had to force the western Maya to enlist in their ranks (Reed 1964: 102). On at least one occasion the rebel Maya slaughtered Maya servants along with their Ladino masters, calling them "plate-lickers" and "White men's dogs" (Reed 1964: 65).

It is therefore necessary to distinguish between pan-Indian nativism, which the Spaniards appealed to as an explanation for Indian rebellions, and the local ethnocentrism which, in fact, made Indian unity impossible. There is, then, in addition to the Myth of Pacification, a Myth of Ethnic Solidarity, which is also implicit in Spanish and Ladino nativistic interpretations of Maya Indian rebellions.

Besides ethnocentrism, nativism requires some real or idealized knowledge of the past; the key words in Linton's definition are "conscious," "revive," and "perpetuate." By the end of the sixteenth century, there were few, if any, Indians left with personal memories of the ancient religious and political order. Nevertheless, much esoteric knowledge survived in oral and written traditions, and the cyclical concept of time continued to dominate the Maya view of history. Since history and prophecy were "almost inextricably entwined" (Coe 1966: 117–118), the prophecies were heavily influenced by past events and institutions. To the extent that the prophetic tradition was responsible for the timing and form of Maya revitalization movements, they have to be regarded as nativistic, as conscious attempts to revive selected aspects of Maya culture. But the motivation for these movements was calendrical rather than political. Prophecy, not a yearning for a past golden age, provided the ultimate rationale for Maya nativism.

The prophecies are quite specific about the scheduling of events, and the Maya seem to have done their best to follow the timetable. The conquest of the Itza is a case in point. When the Spaniards threatened to conquer them too soon, the Itza tried to delay them. Later, when the Itza feared that they would not be conquered in time, they sent an embassy to Merida to prod the Spaniards into advancing their schedule (Chapter 2). If all else failed, the Maya could reform their calendar, as they have done at least three times in their history (Edmonson 1976: 713).

The prophetic tradition also explains the ease

with which the Maya adopted Spanish religious and political institutions. This was not the first time that they had been conquered by people with an alien culture. They had absorbed foreign cultures before; they quickly did so again. The result was a synthesis of the two cultural patterns. The anthropological term for this acculturation phenomenon is "syncretism," which Edmonson (1960: 192) has defined as "the integration (and consequent secondary elaboration) of selected aspects of two or more historically distinct traditions."

Syncretism was already well developed in the Yucatan peninsula by 1562, when Father Diego de Landa initiated his famous investigation of relapses into idolatry among the Maya (Chapter 2). Landa was concerned about the syncretism of the Christian Crucifixion with the aboriginal heart sacrifice, which he regarded as evidence of the Indians' unwillingness to give up their ancient rites and embrace Catholicism wholeheartedly. But syncretism had a different meaning for the Maya. They could only understand the new religion in terms of familiar concepts. The Crucifixion was similar in form to the heart sacrifice, so the Maya invested it with the same meaning. The syncretism was a necessary step in making Christianity intelligible to them. Thus what was "incipient nativism" (D. E. Thompson 1954: 15) to Landa was meaningful acculturation to the Indians.

The folklore of ethnic conflict is heavily syncretistic in that it contains many elements from two distinct cultural traditions. In some cases, these diverse elements are simply relics of the history and doctrines of old revitalization movements (Wallace 1956: 267). For example, I have shown that the identification of Juan de la Cruz with Jesus Christ was part of the history of the Caste War of Yucatan (Chapters 8 and 11). Similarly, the association of the War of St. Rose with the Passion of Christ in the Carnival ritual of highland Chiapas probably has a historical basis (Chapters 9 and 11). In these cases, the syncretism was a doctrine of the revitalization movements and not a result of the mythification of history.

On the other hand, the persistent association of magical weapons with ethnic conflict in the oral traditions of highland Chiapas may reflect a pressure to make events conform to their mythological antecedents. It is possible that the use of these weapons in conjunction with firearms and other conventional weapons in Cancuc represents the fulfillment of a

prophecy and not simply a desperate, last-ditch attempt to repulse the Spaniards (Chapter 5). If so, the syncretism of magical and conventional weapons in myths of ethnic conflict is the result of myth becoming history, not of history becoming myth.¹

The prophetic tradition of the Maya tends to blur the distinction between myth and history. In serving as a precedent, as a guide for human action, myth becomes just another event in history. But since the events in the corresponding parts of two cycles are never identical, the myth may acquire some new elements before it is eventually reintegrated into oral tradition. This is one source of syncretism in myth.

Ritualized ethnic conflict is even more directly linked to prophecy in highland Chiapas, where the events dramatized during Carnival in Chamula and Chenalho are announced in prophecies several weeks in advance. In Chapter 10 I portrayed Carnival ritual as historical drama, as a rite of commemoration of past ethnic conflicts. But the Maya do not distinguish between rite and event any more than they recognize a dichotomy between myth and history. Like all events in Maya history, Carnival is governed by prophecy and the cyclical concept of time. Carnival must occur during the five unlucky days that end each solar year. It becomes an event in history and is indistinguishable from "real" ethnic conflict. In what sense is a war or a dispute more "real" than Carnival? Both are foreordained; they have the same kind of reality for the Maya. It is perhaps for this reason that Maya informants sometimes confuse the Dance of the Conquest with the conquest itself (Bode 1961:231). Alvarado is now a participant in the Dance of the Conquest; therefore, the first Dance of the Conquest occurred in 1524. By the same reasoning, the Dance of the Conquest is the fulfillment of a prophecy, and Guatemala is conquered by the Spaniards every year.

Thus Maya nativism and syncretism are both calendrical in motivation. The past is the model for the present and the future. The prophetic tradition ensures the conscious cyclical revival of selected aspects of Maya culture, which is nativism. When ancient rites are reintroduced into history in fulfillment of a prophecy, they become part of that event. The result is syncretism.

The heterogeneity of elements in Maya folklore is the product of syncretism and temporal distortion. Syncretism integrates beliefs and practices of different origin and meaning and makes them part of

Maya history. Temporal distortion brings events into the timeless paradigm of myth and ritual. Elements from several epochs and continents are free to vary within (but not between) categories in this structure. The different versions of a myth or ritual represent alternate combinations of these elements.

Claude Lévi-Strauss's explanation of heterogeneity and variation is quite different from mine. First of all, he treats mythical thought as a kind of intellectual "bricolage" composed of the "remains and debris," or "odds and ends," of historical events (1966:21–22). Myths and rituals give that impression when the history from which they are derived is unknown. For example, the association of St. Sebastian with Montezuma, Tlaloc, Quetzalcoatl, Lacandon, Spaniards, Negroes, and Jaguars in the ritual of the festival of St. Sebastian in Zinacantan once seemed to me evidence of the correctness of that view. But now that I know something about the history and prehistory of highland Chiapas, I no longer regard those characters as "odds and ends" of events. For one thing, they are not isolated elements that can be moved indiscriminately around the structure of the ritual by a "bricoleur." They belong to trait complexes that can be identified historically. They were incorporated into the ritual as structured sets (see Chapter 10).

According to Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1961:101), the festival of Carnival in Chenalho "is said to be a 'portrayal of olden times,' with men dressed and painted taking the parts of mythical and historical figures." In fact, virtually all the ritual at this festival concerns the Cancuc revolt of 1712, in which Chenalho was a participant, although it probably symbolizes other ethnic conflicts as well (see Chapter 10). The point is that large chunks of the history of that revolt are dramatized during Carnival; it would not be accurate to characterize them as "odds and ends." Nevertheless, without historical research the ritual of this festival would continue to seem like "bricolage."

Second, Lévi-Strauss (1966:32–33) claims that the components of a myth or ritual can move between the categories of a structure; they can serve alternately as ends and means. This enables him to treat the myths of entire continents as different versions of the same myth (see Lévi-Strauss 1969, 1971). He uses the concept of "inversion" to explain the variations between versions (1963:223).

The components of Maya myths and rituals of ethnic conflicts do not serve alternately as ends and

means; they have a fixed place in structure. Variation is the function of the interchangeability of elements from several historical epochs, not of movement between structural categories. For example, different versions of a Zinacanteco myth of ethnic conflict are produced by substituting Mexicans or Chiapanecos for Guatemalans in the enemy category (see Texts C 1–C-3 below). These groups are always enemies in the folklore of highland Chiapas; they would never be represented as friends. Each group appears in a different version of the myth of ethnic conflict. This implies that different versions of Maya myths and rituals of ethnic conflict cannot be explained in terms of the structuralist concept of "inversion." Since elements do not move between categories in mythical structures, they are never "inverted" in meaning.

In conclusion, the structure of Maya myths and rituals of ethnic conflict is the cumulative result of nativism, syncretism, and a cyclical notion of time. The temporal distortion which treats sequential events as structurally equivalent and interchangeable is a logical consequence of the Maya concept of time. Syncretism is the mechanism by which events

from an alien tradition are absorbed into the generalized paradigm of ethnic conflict. The nativism inspired by the prophetic tradition reinforces the Maya contribution to that synthesis. Because history repeats itself, all ethnic conflicts can be reduced to a common structure which serves as an epistemological paradigm for understanding new ethnic conflicts when they arise. It constitutes the Maya's theory of knowledge, their metahistorical model for interpreting recurrent events. As historiographers like Berlin, Herder, and Vico have pointed out (see Berlin 1976), myth is part of the functional context against which events must be evaluated. The same paradigm also serves as a guide for future action; therefore, epistemology cannot be distinguished from ethics. Prophecy mediates between the past and the future, between myth and history, and between ethics and epistemology. In other words, myth is not simply the "fossilized evidence of the history of an individual or a society" (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 22). It is a dynamic *theory* of history that is constantly at work making events conform to an ethical paradigm.

ν_{eff}

APPENDICES

ζ_{32}^4

Yucatecan Documents

Introduction

The complete text of the 1850 version of the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz is reproduced here.¹ Although the text is written out in prose form, it resembles other examples of Maya ritual language in that it consists of parallelistic (semantic and/or syntactic) couplets (see Bricker 1974; Edmonson 1968, forthcoming). Except for indicating its poetic structure by my presentation of lines as couplets² (and except for possible copying errors on my part), the transcription follows the original manuscript exactly.³ It has not been edited for spelling, word divi-

sion, or punctuation (although punctuation has been supplied in the English translation). The subdivisions of the text are signaled in several ways: by paragraph indentation or by *Y u lak bax* 'And another thing' or just *u lak bax* 'another thing' at the beginning of a new section; by a comma or by a broken horizontal line - - - - or a solid horizontal line between two broken lines - - - - at the end of a section. Usually the barred /y/ (ꝝ), which stands for *yetel* 'and,' is capitalized when it introduces a new section; it is written in lower case everywhere else. These are the only clues to internal divisions in the

1. Biblioteca Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona, Mérida (CCA), "Proclama en lengua maya de Juan de la Cruz, adivino de X Balam Na, dirigida a sus conciudadanos."

2. The text contains some obvious couplets that are both semantically and syntactically parallel, e.g.,
vucten y kin
vucten y akab

Seven times by day,
 Seven times at night. (lines 331 332)

Many other couplets are semantically, but not syntactically, parallel, e.g.,

Cin oaic teex
humpel señal

I am showing you
 A sign. (lines 189 190)

Others are syntactically, but not semantically, parallel, e.g.,

utial in hokes uli sensial
utial in yoksic bateil

In order that I might obtain their permission,
 In order that I might initiate war. (lines 229 230)

In the last example, the syntactic frame in both lines is "utial in — VI," where V indicates a vowel.

Morphological redundancy is another clue to scansion. Unlike the situation in English, subjects and verbs rarely agree in number in Maya; in fact, plural agreement (for second and third person) occurs only in ambiguous cases in everyday speech. In poetry, however, number agreement is a device for forming couplets. The *-ob* suffix in the second line of the following couplet is redundant:

hach mi nan u taloob
le Generlo ba

Absolutely none of them came,
 These Generals. (lines 354 355)

In ordinary speech, either the subject (*general*) or the verb (*tal*) could carry the plural suffix (*-ob*); both would not be marked as plural unless the referent were unclear. In this case the referent is obvious, and the redundant suffix functions only as a poetic device.

Maya sentences are "punctuated" by particles called enclitics that often occur at the end of phrases. The most common phrase enclitics are the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, and *o*. The enclitics *a* and *o* function as deictic or locative elements. For example, *a* means 'here' or 'now,' and *o* means 'there' or 'then.' These terminal particles combine with *le* to form the demonstrative frames 'this' and 'that' or 'these' and 'those,' respectively (e.g., *le generaloba* 'these Generals,' *le generalobo* 'those Generals'). The enclitic *i* can function as a locative particle ('right there'), or it can signal the end of a negative frame headed by *ma* 'not, no' (e.g., *ma uChac bin Cinsacobi* 'it is not possible that they will be killed' [line 244]). The enclitic *e* has several functions. As a locative particle it means 'here.' As a topicalizing particle it means 'as for . . .' (e.g., *tumen tene* 'because, as for me,' [line 192]).

3. The two texts were written in an orthography that ignored tone and vowel length. They contain many words that are now obsolete. In order to convert the words in these texts into a phonemic orthography I would have to check their pronunciation by modern speakers of the language. Since this is impossible for many words, I have left these texts in their original orthography.

text. In order to facilitate reference to one part or another, I have designated ten sections of the body of the text, a prologue, and an epilogue; these designations are shown in brackets.

The accompanying explanatory notes are keyed to the asterisked numbered lines of the text. The notes also contain quoted excerpts from an 1887 version of the proclamation (hereafter referred to as the *Argosy* version [Machlin and Marx 1971])⁴ that were added after 1850 or differ significantly from comparable passages in the original version. Villa Rojas (1945: 161–164) published an English translation of another copy of the 1887 version (the pagination of his copy differs from the *Argosy* version, and it contains two postscripts that are missing in the latter [see note to line 640]) in an appendix to his ethnography of X Cacal under the title "Sermons of the Talking Cross."

The second document is one of five similar letters written by Juan de la Cruz during the months of August and September 1851. They are dated August 11, 20, 24, and 28 and September 26.⁵ The first four letters are addressed to Miguel Barbachano, the governor of Yucatan at that time. The fifth letter is ad-

dressed to the Commandant General of Valladolid. The letter dated August 28, 1851, is reproduced here.

All five letters contain illegible words and phrases; fortunately, however, the documents are similar enough to each other to make reasonable inferences about missing words possible. Furthermore, the letter reproduced here was translated into Spanish before the ink with which it was written had begun to fade.⁶ The Spanish translation has been helpful in reconstructing illegible words and passages in the Maya version.

The letter is written in continuous prose without clues for subdividing it into sections.⁷ The arrangement into couplets is mine, not the author's. The punctuation, word division, and spelling agree with the original manuscript, except where I have supplied missing words; reconstructed words appear in brackets. Bracketed words in the translation have been added to clarify the meaning (e.g., Text A-1, line 28); words enclosed in parentheses in the translation are superfluous in the English version (e.g., Text A-1, line 16).

4. During May 1971, *Argosy* magazine sponsored an expedition to Quintana Roo led by Milt Machlin and Bob Marx. They visited several villages populated by descendants of the Cruzob and photographed a copy of the proclamation in X-Cacal. Nelson Reed and Marshall Durbin helped me obtain a photocopy of this manuscript.

Eight pages are missing in my copy of the *Argosy* version of the proclamation, including the first two pages that summarize the history of the Cult of the Talking Cross between 1850 and 1887. Fortunately, however, a facsimile of the first two pages was published in *Argosy* magazine (Machlin and Marx 1971:19); it is the source of my transcription in the notes to lines 6, 7–10, and 17–22.

The sections of the text are clearly marked in the *Argosy* version. Several sections begin at the top of the page. Those that begin in the middle of a page are separated from previous sections by solid or broken lines across the entire page. Several sections are introduced by a drawing of a cross surrounded by dots  ; in others, the introductory *y* that stands for *yetel* 'and' is also decorated with a circle of dots, a device which is reminiscent of the treatment of capital letters in illuminated manuscripts. One section ends with a cross  , another with three crosses in a row  . In general, the sections of the *Argosy* version correspond to the sections I have identified in the 1850 version (but see note to lines 423–424).

5. CCA, "Cinco cartas en lengua maya dirigidas por Juan de la Cruz, adivino de XBalam Na y Juan de la Cruz, adivino de Xcenil, al Gobernador D. Miguel Barbachano, fechadas en agosto y septiembre de 1851, las dos primeras con sus respectivas versiones al español."

6. *Ibid.*

7. The invocation is set off from the rest of the text in all five letters, as is the section at the end where Juan de la Cruz explains who he is. Only the letter dated September 26, 1851, divides the text further, using paragraph indentation to mark the beginning of sections. Since the letters differ greatly in their organization, I could not use the September letter as a guide for designating sections in the one reproduced here.

TEXT A-I

The Proclamation of Juan de la Cruz (1850)

[PROLOGUE]

 Jesus
 Maria
 tu ka ba Dios yum bil
 y Dios Mehenbil
 y tu kaba D^s Espiritu santo
 Amen Jesus*
 umesil*
 tu Cinse*
 uxo Col*
 oC tubre*

Jesus,
 Mary.
 In the name of God the Father,
 And God the Son,
 5 And in the name of God the Holy Spirit,
 Amen Jesus.
 It was the month,
 On the fifteenth
 Of the count
 10 Of October

*Notes to Text A-I are identified by line numbers.

6. This line is followed by the following historical preface in the Argosy version (Machlin and Marx 1971:19):

- V yax chun than
 in patron
 Dⁿ man vel na vat
 u catul
 in Patron
 Dn Benan Ciopuc
 y D^a, ylaria navat
 y Dn Ata naCio puc 
 Bey tu no
 Cim chi cul tic
 bax v kin
 y bax uha bil
 cat luk sob
 u cux ta lob
 tu habil
 de 1848,,
 25 u xo col
 u mesil
 7bre
 B y vha ha bil
 Bey tu no
 v lak yuch
 uldes gracia
 ti u nu cil in cahal
 x balan Nah
 tu habil
 de 1885,,
 22 de gos to
 cat sas hi
 tu 23
 tacu luk sal u cuxtal yn ayu dan te
 Don Juan bau tista chuc
 7 10. In the Argosy version (cf. Machlin and Marx 1971:19), these lines read as follows:
 Tu cince
 u xo col
 u mesil
 octubre
 The very first leader
 Was my patron,
 Don Manuel Nauat;
 The second one
 Was my patron,
 Don Venancio Puc,
 And Doña Hilaria Nauat,
 And Don Atanasio Puc.
 Thus, then,
 I am making known
 On which day
 And in which year
 They were caused to leave them,
 Their lives:
 In the year
 1848,
 The twenty-fifth
 Was the count
 Of the month
 Of September,
 Thus, in that very year.
 Thus, then,
 Something else happened;
 Misfortune came
 To the leader of my village,
 Jaguar House,
 In the year
 1885.
 [It was] on the twenty-second
 Of August
 That it came to light;
 On the twenty-third
 They wanted to destroy the life of my assistant,
 Don Juan Bautista Chuc.

Cat hop in than
 y insihSah bilob vay
 llo kol cabe
 tu habil
 de 1850,,
 a ños
 ten*
 Juan de la Crus*
 Cah nalen*
 tu Cahil*
 tu Cahil*
 x Balam Na*

That I began to speak
 With my children here
 In the world
 In the year
 15 1850
 (Years).
 I,
 John of the Cross,
 I reside
 20 In the village,
 In the village
 Of Jaguar House.

[1]

Y n hach llamail
 Cristiano Cahex
 beiuora
 cu kuchul
 tu kinil
 tu orail
 in ñaic tex
 hum pel seniána*
 yokol ulumil tu la Cal in sihsah Vin Cilob
 yokol Cab,
 tiok lal
 Canac uxocol yub tulacal Comandanteob
 y yub tu lacal Capi tanob
 ytulacal tenien teob
 y tu laCal sargent tob
 y yub tula Cal in sih sah vin Cilob
 yokol Cab
 tiolal
 Cayanac yohet Cob
 tulacal insih sah bilobe
 hach manal u lla bil umen mah
 Cin man sic
 llalan unooh ukab in yum

My very beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 25 Now is the hour;
 There have arrived
 The day
 [And] the hour
 For me to show you
 30 A sign
 Upon the land of all my engendered people
 In the world;
 To the end that
 It might be read to be heard by all the
 Commanders,
 35 And to be heard by all the Captains,
 And by all the Lieutenants,
 And by all the Sergeants,
 And to be heard by all my engendered people
 In the world;
 40 To the end that
 They might know it,
 All my children.
 They have done so much more.
 I was passing it
 45 Beneath my Father's right hand

17 22. The Argosy version has instead (cf. Machlin and Marx 1971: 19):

Ten
 Juan dela Cruz
 Ca na len
 tu Cahil x balan nah
 Ten
 Juan de la Cruz
 cah na len
 tut Cahil xo cen

I,
 John of the Cross,
 I reside
 In the village of Jaguar House.
 I,
 John of the Cross,
 I reside
 In the village of Summation.

According to Villa Rojas (1945: 161n), X-Balam Na (Jaguar House) was the name "given to the first temple built for the Talking Cross, in the place where the sanctuary of Chan Santa Cruz originated. Today its ruins can still be seen at the western entrance to the town" (see Figure 2). Xocen (Summation) is the name of a town about twenty kilometers south of Valladolid (Roys 1957: 126); there may have been another settlement of that name near Chan Santa Cruz (Little Holy Cross).

30. I have interpreted *seniána* as Spanish *seña* 'sign.'

llok lal in sihsah vin Cilob
 vay
 llokol ca be,
 tumen halili ten
 ku chan in vol*
 titexe
 in sih sah vin Cilex
 tumen ten tin sihseex
 tumen ten tin loh heex
 tumen ten tin Ve Cah
 in ciliich kikel
 tavok lalex
 catinsih sa hex
 tpaCat
 yokol Cab
 beituno
 in ya mail
 Vin Ceex
 yokol Cab
 hach tu kab uci liich Corona in yum*

 h Ciliich Jesu Cristo
 Cin chi Cul tic te
 tu vich
 lai hunu
 tioklal
 Cayanac yohetic tulaCal in vaalmah tha
 le in sih sah vni Cilob*
 yo kol Caba
 hemax matan lloc sah ol tic in vaal mah
 thane
 bin ukam hun lu kul num niah*
 ti minan uxul
 hemax bin uoocbes invalmah thane*
 bin u nahalt unohchil ingloria*
 binix xan una halt in llaCunah*
 binix xan in boybese*
 lla lan u nooh in kab*
 binix xan in oa uxul in gloria*
 ti unahalt upixanob*
 tac tuxul Caput Cuxtal* ::: :::

On behalf of my engendered people
 Here,
 In the world.
 Because truly it is I
 50 Whose heart is burdened
 For you,
 Ye my engendered people.
 Because I it was who caused you to be created;
 Because I it was who redeemed you;
 55 Because I it was who spilled
 My precious blood
 On your behalf
 When I created you
 To see
 60 In the world.
 Thus, then,
 My beloved,
 Ye men
 In the world,
 65 In the very name of the Most Holy Crown of my
 Father,
 Holy Jesus Christ,
 I am making it known here,
 Before their eyes,
 This paper,
 70 To the end that
 They might know all my commandments,
 These my engendered people
 In the world.
 Whoever is not believing in my commandments

 75 Will have drunk a draught of suffering
 Without end.
 Whoever will obey my commandments
 Will also win the fullness of my Grace.
 They will also win my love;
 80 I will also shade them
 Beneath my right hand,
 I will also give them my final Grace
 That their souls might attain
 Final resurrection.

50. I have interpreted *kuchan* as *cuchan* 'be burdened' (cf. notes to lines 304, 396, and 539).

65. I have interpreted *tu kab* as *tu kaba* (cf. line 317).

72. I have interpreted *vni Cilob* as *vincilob* 'people.'

75. I have interpreted *num niah* as *numya* 'misery, suffering.'

77. 84. The *Argosy* version has lengthened lines 77–79 to:

he max bin u oocban se in Val ma thane

 bin u nahal te in ya cuna

 u nohocchil insan to gracia

 bi ni xan u nahah hal te in ya cu na

Another version of these lines appears at the end of a letter from Juan de la Cruz to Governor Miguel Barbachano, dated September 26, 1851:

bin unahalt u Nohochil in gra Cia

Whoever will obey my commandments
 Will win my love,
 My fullest holy Grace;
 He will also win my love.

They will win the fullness of my Grace;

(note continued on following page)

[II]

¥ u lak Bax*
 u yaal mah t̄han in yume*
 Cris tiano Cahex*
 bin llanac avohet Cexe*
 mat chen lik ubateil ɔulob
 y masevali
 tumen tkuch
 tu orail*
 lik bal maseval*
 llok ɔulob*
 hum pulili*
 hach manal malo bil
 tin pul ul in cici t̄han
 llokol li kic ubatel insih masevali lob
 Cachi,
 Chen tumen mix hum pel in sihsah Vini Cil

 tal va llan in zol ben t̄ha ne
 u chac uɔoc besale
 la unu Cul
 t valak Pach nah in sihsah masevalil
 tumen ɔulob
 tuCaten
 tumen mix humpel u t̄han unu Cil
 llumzilob
 tɔocbesabi
 tumen umehen ta cil mek tan zilob,
 launu Cul
 tumen tah u llo lah ɔulob*
 ti texo
 in sihSah hex
 llokol Cab

85 And another thing
 Is my Father's commandment,
 Ye Christian villagers:
 Know ye
 That not only did there arise the war of the whites
 90 And the Indians;
 Because it has come
 The time
 For an Indian uprising
 Over the whites
 95 For once and for all!
 It was so much better
 That I was offering my blessing
 That the war of my Indian children might begin
 then.
 It was only because not a single one of my Indian
 children
 100 Came here at my command
 That it might be obeyed.
 This is the reason
 Why my Indian children retreated
 Because of the Whites
 105 For the second time.
 Because not a single order of the elder lords

 Was obeyed
 By their subjects.
 This is the reason
 110 Why the Whites did what they pleased
 To you,
 Ye my descendants
 In the world.

(note continued from preceding page)

binix xan unahelt u nohocbil in yacunah
 binix xan in ɔa uxul in yn gloria
 unahalt u Pi Xanoob
 hen Cen max matan uɔoc besic in val mah thane
 bin u nahalt hun lukul Numya
 tix ma xu lum teil
 tu yanal Cab
 tumen ma tan u ooc bes Coob
 in val mah than

85-88. The Argosy version has:

y ulak bax
 Cin Val mathan tic

in yamaill

Cris tiano Cahex

bin ya nac a Vohel ti cCexe

92. This line has been expanded into a parallel couplet in the Argosy version (cf. Bricker 1974):

tu orail

tuhabil

93 95. These lines are missing in the Argosy version.

110. I have interpreted *tumen tah* as *tumentah* 'they did it.'

They will also win the fullness of my love.
 I will also give them my final Grace
 That they might win their souls.
 Whoever is not obeying my commandments
 Will earn a draught of suffering
 Without end there,
 Beneath the earth;
 Because they are not obeying
 My commandments.

And another thing
 That I command
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers:
 Know ye . . .
 In the hour
 [And] in the year

beituno
 in lla mail
 Cristianoex
 yo kol Cab
 Cin vaalmah than tic
 tu xiCin Chi can*
 y no hoch
 soc tun
 u kuchul
 tu ora rail*
 tuhabil
 utial ulikbal, in sih sah m aseva lilob
 llokol ɔulob,
 tuCaten
 hen Cen bixih
 Cat lik bateil uchie,
 y cin ual mah thantice
 Cayanac u llantal ten
 tu tu xiCin tulacal in mek tan tropailob*
 le bax cin ualmah than ti ca
 tio lal
 u Cah Cunt Cob
 tu pucsi kalob
 tula Cal le in uaalmah thana
 tumenel Cex banu Cah u llub Cob
 u lla Can
 u kakil
 uɔon Enemigo
 lloko lobe
 minan Cu binel tuchul lob
 tiope,
 tumen soc u ku chul
 tora
 hum pulili
 in pesilic*
 in Cici than
 llokol ɔulob
 tu Caten
 hen Cen bixih
 Cat Chum pochie
 tumen bin avo hetexe
 Cristiano Cahex
 ten in vetmanex
 tu la Cal ora
 ten Cu man in val Cab
 tanil ti tex
 tu tan Enemigob

Thus, then,
 115 My beloved,
 Ye Christians
 In the world,
 I command it
 For the ears of small
 120 And great.
 Already, then,
 Have arrived
 The hour
 [And] the year
 125 For the uprising of my Indian children
 Against the Whites
 For the second time,
 In the way that
 Wars used to arise.
 130 And I command it,
 That there might be for me
 In the ears of all the troops under my command
 These things I command;
 To the end that
 135 They sanctify
 In their hearts
 All these my commandments.
 Because even though they are going to hear
 The roar
 140 Of the firing
 Of the Enemy's guns
 Over them,
 Nothing is going to cast harm
 Upon them.
 145 Because it has come,
 The time
 For once and for all,
 For my fame
 [And] my blessing
 150 Over the Whites
 For the second time
 [For] whosoever
 [Of] you shall desire it.
 Because know ye,
 155 Ye Christian villagers,
 That it is I who accompany you;
 That at all hours
 It is I who go in the vanguard
 Before you,
 160 In front of the Enemies

119. I have interpreted *Chi can* as *chichan* 'small,' as in lines 211 212, 327 328, 369 370, 431–432, 525 526, and 565–566.

123. I have interpreted *tu ora rail* as *tu orail* 'in its hour.'

132. I have omitted one *tu* in my translation because I believe it to be a mistake.

148. I have interpreted *pesilic* as *pectzilil* 'fame, reputation.'

tiolal
 ma yuchul tex
 mix hun pel lob
 in sih sah maseva lilex

To the end that
 There not befall you,
 Not even a bit of harm,
 O ye my Indian children.

[III]

¥ u lak*
 in vaalmathan*
 ti texe*
 in llamailex*
 za
 ca chuc besac
 mil armas*
 ¥ mil ligeros*
 utial hom bal*
 'le Ran cho kam pokob chea*
 let ora*
 Cuho mob*
 le ran cho kam pok chea*
 hum pu lili*
 Cubin tvachal
 u oa Can ton oulob
 ti lakin
 hen Cen tux uoama u Can to no be
 tu men ooc u kuchul
 t ora*
 lik bal yuCatan
 y o kol oulob
 hum pulili,

165 And another
 Of my commandments
 For you,
 Ye my beloved,
 Is that it is necessary
 170 That there be brought
 One thousand weapons
 And one thousand bearers
 For liberating
 This ranch Kampokobche.
 175 This is the hour
 For them to liberate it,
 This ranch Kampokobche,
 For once and for all!
 The Whites are going
 180 To surrender districts
 In the east
 Or wherever they have infiltrated their districts.
 Because it has come,
 The time
 185 For the uprising of Yucatan
 Over the Whites
 For once and for all!

165 168. The Argosy version has:

¥ ulak bax
 cin vama than tic
 ti texe
 in yamil cris tianocah hex

And another thing
 That I command
 For you,
 Ye my beloved Christian villagers.

171–172. This couplet is expanded in the Argosy version to:

hunpel mil Armas
 y hun pel mil u ligerosil.

One thousand weapons
 And one thousand of their bearers.

The word *ligero* means 'light [as a feather], thin [as gauze], swift, active, nimble, fleet, gay, airy, unsteady, giddy; unimportant, trifling; easily digestible; easily disturbed [as sleep]' (Cuyás 1904:350). Among the Cruzob, however, this term was used to refer to the unarmed men who carried provisions for the rebel forces ('hombres . . . sin armas que llaman del ligero ó cargadores de víveres' [La Nueva Epoca, July 27, 1863:2]).

173 174. The Argosy version has instead:

utial u pach u Ranchoil
 lex Kan pok o cheo

In order to surround their ranch,
 That Kampokobche.

Kampokobche was the ranch that had served as Barrera's headquarters until 1850, when it was captured by Ladino soldiers (Chapter 8).

175. In the Argosy version this line is preceded by:

tumen bin yanac avohel tiCexe
 in yamail cristianoCah heex

Because ye are going to be informed,
 Ye my beloved Christian villagers.

176 178. The Argosy version has:

cu homol u ranchoil x kan pokoché
 hun puli li

Their ranch of Kampokobche is liberated
 For once and for all.

184. This line has been expanded into a semantic couplet in the Argosy version:

tu orail
 tu habil

In the hour
 [And] in the year

lat ok lal
 Cin ɔaic teex
 humpel señial
 utial ch̄iclahal bal tapucsikalex
 tumen tene
 tu lacal ora
 tan in lu bul
 tan in ch̄a Cal
 tan in lo mol
 tan u ha hat Cen kiix
 tan yoCol ten che
 licil in manel
 in xim bat yu Catan
 li Cil in loh Cex
 in yamail
 vin Ceex
 lat lat olal
 Cin chi Cul tic tex
 tu la Cal in valmah th̄an
 tu yuh*
 lai huna
 utial txocol
 tu men max yohel xoc
 Cayub Chi Chan*
 y no hoch*
 bax
 Cin valmah th̄an tic
 ti tu lacal in sih sah vini Cilob
 yokol Cab

This is the reason
 I am showing you
 190 A sign
 As a thing to be guarded in your hearts.
 Because, as for me,
 At all hours
 I am falling;
 195 I am being cut;
 I am being nailed,
 Thorns are piercing me,
 Sticks are punching me
 While I pass through
 200 To visit in Yucatan;
 While I am redeeming you,
 My beloved,
 Ye men.
 This is the reason
 205 I am making known to you
 All my commandments
 To be heard.
 This paper
 Is to be read
 210 By whoever knows how to read,
 To be heard by small
 And great
 What it is
 That I command
 215 To all my engendered people
 In the world.

[iv]

y ulak bax
 cin ualmah th̄an tic
 tu xionexe*
 in ya ma
 Cris tiano Cahex
 bin yanac a vohet Cexē
 vucten in vocol y kin
 uucten in vo Col y a kab
 yic nal in yum
 y yicnal in Colel
 ch̄u huc sullui*
 Santamaria

And another thing
 That I command
 For your ears,
 220 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers:
 Know ye,
 Seven times I entered by day,
 Seven times I entered at night
 225 In the presence of my Father
 And in the presence of my Lady,
 The sweet Virgin,
 St. Mary,

^{207.} The Argosy version has *te tavich* 'here before your eyes' instead of *tu yub* (I have interpreted *yuh* as *yub*).

²¹¹ ^{212.} In the Argosy version, these lines have been expanded into a more parallel couplet:

u tial cay ub chi chan
 yca yub noh hoch
 In order that small might hear
 And that great might hear.

^{219.} I have interpreted *tu xionexe* as *taxicnexe*.

^{227.} I have interpreted *sullui* as *suhuy* 'virgin.'

utial in hokes uli sensial
 utial in yoksic bateil*
 tuca ten
 llok ɔulob
 ɣ in sihsah masevalilob
 llo ɔulob
 bei tuno
 in llamail
 Cristiano Cahex
 bic lla nac a chen cheche cins cex
 avet sih sah bilex
 etas u xoxol katu baob
 unup u kabob
 llo kol upucsikalob
 utial llalob u kab in yume,*
 ma uChac bin Cinsacobi
 tumen hach talan keban
 u Cim sal Cris ti ano
 etas xoloc bal uCon ukabain yume*
 mau chac bin Cinsacobi,
 halili udes armar talobe
 le hen cen bin ukubu bao bei
 ɣ humpel uze
 cu ho salob pachil
 Caçulac
 ca voxac*
 ca ma valac*
 Camu latoac*
 Ca hen Cen balance
 csah sih sabil
 tumen bin avo he texe
 Cris tiano Cahex
 ɔoc tun uɔaic ten li censia in yum
 u tial in lik sic bateil
 tuCaten
 lat oklal*
 Cin zolic
 bix unu Cul
 ti tu lacal in sih sah uin Ci lob
 llo kol Cab,*

In order that I might obtain their permission
 230 In order that I might initiate war
 For the second time
 Over the Whites,
 With my Indian children
 Over the Whites.
 235 Thus, then,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 How can ye just brutally kill
 Your fellow creatures
 240 While they embrace each other
 [And] clasp each other's hands
 Over their hearts
 In order to call on my Father's name?
 It is not possible that they will be killed.
 245 Because it is a most grievous sin
 For a Christian to be killed
 While kneeling [and] mentioning my Father's name
 It is not possible that they will be killed.
 They should only be disarmed
 250 Inasmuch as they will surrender
 In peace.
 They are being forced back,
 Whether they are Whites,
 Whether they are Negroes,
 255 Whether they are Indians,
 Whether they are Mulattoes.
 Whatever may happen,
 They are our fellow creatures.
 Because know ye,
 260 Ye Christian villagers,
 My Father has already given me permission
 In order that I might initiate war
 For the second time.
 This is the reason
 265 I am explaining
 What its significance is
 To every one of my engendered children
 In the world.

230. I have interpreted *in yoksic* as *in uocsic*.243. I have interpreted *kab* as *kaba* 'name' (cf. line 481).247. I have interpreted *uCon* as *ucan* 'he refers to.'254. I have interpreted *voxac* as *boxac* (*box* means 'black').255. I have interpreted *ma valac* as *masevalac* (*maseval* means 'Indian').256. I have interpreted this as *ca mulatoac*.264. The *Argosy* version has added:

heili-
 bixili
 cat lik batel
 cuchie

before *lat oklal*.

Thus,
 In this way
 When wars arose,
 Formerly.

268. In the *Argosy* version, *bix u nucul* is repeated here instead of *llo kol Cab*.

[v]

ulak bax*
 cin valma h t̄hantice
 in yamail
 Cristianoex
 mix hun pel hustisia*
 bin men tac ten*
 ma tu belil*
 tumen hach llab hustisia
 Cumen tic yum Generalob
 ma tu bel
 tumen bin avohetexe
 Cris tiano Cahex
 tulaCal [ora]*
 tan u katbal ten*
 umeya hustisia in sih sah bilob*
 llokol Cab*
 tumen tu lacal yokotba t̄han ozilob*
 Cu chen Castigar talob*
 xma mat siplile*
 tu la Cal ora
 tan ukatal ten*
 tumen inyum*
 ukabaob*
 Cain met uhustisiai*
 hebax*
 tan llalic ten in yum
 tac tu llahafulil Cane*

- Another thing
 270 That I command,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 Is that not a single judgment
 Will be made for me
 275 That is not just.
 Because so many judgments
 That the honorable Generals make
 Are not just.
 Because know ye,
 280 Ye Christian villagers,
 That at all [hours]
 I am being asked
 That my children make judgments
 In the world.
 285 Because all the complaints of the poor
 Are that they are just being punished
 Without cause.
 At all hours
 I am being asked
 290 By my Father,
 Their names,
 That I might make their judgments,
 Or whatever.
 My Father is telling me
 295 From the Kingdom of Heaven

269. The Argosy version begins this section with *y u lak bax*.

273 275. In the Argosy version, these lines have been recast into parallel couplets;
ma u yan tal
u men tal ten
mix humpel Jus ti cia matu beli
vaix ma tu tohil

281 282. The Argosy version has instead:
tulacal ora
tan u kat ol tic uJusticia

283 284. The Argosy version has instead:
si sa bil
cu mentic
ma tu be li
matu to hili

285. The Argosy version has instead:
tumen tu la cal y kot ba thanob
tu la cal otzi lob

286 287. The Argosy version has instead:
cucasti garta lob
chen x ma siplil

289 293. The Argosy version has instead:
tan yocolob
yicnal in yun
u katob
cain me n u Jus tisil
he bac

295 296. The Argosy version has:
tac tu ya hau lil

There is not being
 Made for me
 Not a single judgment that is not just,
 Or is not right.

At all hours
 They are begging for justice.

It is children
 Who are doing it
 Unjustly,
 Wrongly.

Because all are complaining,
 All the poor.

They are being punished
 Just without cause.

They are entering
 In my Father's presence;
 They are begging
 That I might make their judgments,
 Or whatever.

From the Kingdom

tu Cilich gloria*
 Cayanac in mentic u hus tisiai
 ukat hus tisia tulaCal ozilob
 he baCe
 in llama
 Cris tiano Ca hex
 matan in men tic uhustisiai
 tu men halili ten
 kuchan in vol*
 ti texe
 in yama Cristiano Cahex
 Cah Cunt ta pucsika lex
 lein val mah thana,
 la unu Cul
 Cin zolic*
 bix u nu Cul*
 umental hustisia*
 tumen insih Sah vin Cilob
 llokol Cab
 Jesus*
 Maria*
 tu kaba D^s yum bil*
 D^s mehen bil*
 y D^s Espiritu santo*
 Amen Jesus*

¥ ulak bax
 Cin vaal mah than tic ti texe
 in yamal
 Cristiano Caheex
 insihsah VinCilex
 yumex*
 Cin valic tuxicin Chichan
 y tuxicin nohoc Cin Vaal mah thantic
 tumen bin avohetexe
 Cristia no Caheex
 vucten y kin
 vucten y akab
 invo Col*

In His Holy Grace
 That I should make their judgments.
 All the poor want judgments.
 The thing is,
 300 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 That I am not making their judgments.
 Because truly it is I
 Whose heart is burdened
 305 For you,
 O ye my beloved Christian villagers,
 That ye might sanctify in your hearts
 These my commandments.
 This is the reason
 310 I am explaining
 What the significance is
 Of justice being performed
 By my engendered people
 In the world.
 315 Jesus,
 Mary.
 In the name of God the Father,
 God the Son,
 And God the Holy Spirit,
 320 Amen Jesus.

[vi]

And another thing
 That I command you,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 325 Ye my children,
 Ye fathers,
 I say it for the ears of the small,
 And for the ears of the great I command it.
 Because know ye,
 330 Ye Christian villagers,
 That seven times by day,
 Seven times at night
 I entered

(note continued from preceding page)

u cich celon ca nil
 tu gloriai

Of His Beautiful Heaven
 In His Grace.

304. I have interpreted *kuchan* as *cuchan*. The Argosy version has *chucan* instead of *kuchan*.

310 312. The Argosy version has instead:

cin tzolic lic
 bix yan umen ta bal Justicia

I am explaining thus
 How judgments must be made.

315 320. These lines are missing in the Argosy version.

326. The Argosy version has *lumex* 'ye of the earth' instead of *yumex* 'ye fathers.'

333 334. The Argosy version has:

in vocal yicnal in yum
 tu Cilich gloriai

I entered my Father's presence
 In His Holy Grace.

tu Cilich gloria*
 y vucpel Coro an helesoob
 y serapinesob
 in hokes ulisensiai tin yum
 utial in thanah bal vetelex
 sih sahibilex
 yumeex*
 ooc sincuenta dias*
 hopoc in katic Ge neraloob*
 Comandanteob*
 Capitanoob*
 teniente ob*
 sargentoob*
 utial in oah
 humpel senias tiob
 in Pul in Cici than
 yokolob ullumilob*
 utial Canxul ban soob
 y u thul pach tob
 tac tu orail u Cim loob
 hach mi nan u taloob*
 le Generlo ba*
 tumen mix humpel in vaal mah than*

 in yamail
 Cristiano Caheex
 etas mix hum pel in sihsah vin Cil
 Cu yocsic*
 tiob*
 in vaalmah thane*

340. The Argosy version has *lumex* instead of *yumex* or *yumeex* (cf. note to line 326).

341 346. The Argosy version has:

bay tu no
 ooc sin cuenta dias
 ho poc in ka tic general lob
 y coma Dan teob
 y capitan nob
 y te nienteob
 y sarentob
 Ca bob
 y tulacal in sisa vi niCil lob
 yokol Cab

350. The Argosy version has *yokol u lumilob* 'over their land.'

354 356. The Argosy version is more complete:

bay tuno
 hach mi nan utale
 le gene ral lo ba
 tumen mix hum pel generallob
 c yocsitiolob
 mix hum pel inval mathan
 le Cuyalic general lobe
 ma ha
 mix hun pel in val ma thani

 360 362. The Argosy version has:
 Cuyoc sictilob
 mix humpel in val mathane

Into His Holy Grace
 335 With seven choirs of angels
 And seraphim
 That I might obtain my Father's permission
 In order to say something to you,
 Ye children,
 340 Ye fathers.
 It was fifty days ago
 That I began to ask the Generals,
 Commanders,
 Captains,
 345 Lieutenants,
 Sergeants,
 In order that I might show
 Them a sign,
 That I might bestow my blessing
 350 Upon their fathers
 For them to obey
 And to follow
 Until the hour of their death.
 Absolutely none of them came,
 355 These Generals,
 Because not one of [them believes in] my
 commandments,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 While not one of my engendered people
 360 Is believing
 In them,
 These my commandments.

Thus, then,
 It was fifty days ago
 That I began to ask the Generals,
 And Commanders,
 And Captains,
 And Lieutenants,
 And Sergeants,
 Corporals,
 And all my engendered people
 In the world.

Thus, then,
 Absolutely none of them came,
 These Generals,
 Because not a single General
 Believes in
 A single one of my commandments.
 As for what the Generals say:
 "They are not true,
 Not even one of my commandments!"'

Believes in
 A single one of my commandments.

uCaha hoop y u tuCu loob
 u Cahahob y unatob
 tumen tan in zolic
 tu laCal in Vaalmah than
 utial t xo col
 tumen max yohel xoc
 utial Ca llub Chi chan*
 ynohoch*

Cauzac llohetic tu lacal in sih sah Vin Cilob
 bax

Cin vaal mah than tic tiob
 tumen bin avohe texe
 in llama
 Cris tiano ex
 ooc ukuchul tuorail
 u pel kinil in yum
 utial in thanah bal
 tavetelex

sih sah vin Cilex
 llumex*

bali le
 in llama

Cris tiano Cahex
 ooc in binel llicnal in yum

in hokes ulak ulisensial
 utial in thanah bal

tavetelex
 sih sahbilex

ma uchac
 ma u Chac bin thana Cen

tave telexi
 trobali*

Chen tumen halili ten
 ku chan in vol*

ti texe
 insisah hex

tumen ten tin sihsex
 ten tin loh hex

ten tin VeCah
 in Ciliich kikel

ta Voklalex
 bei tuno

in llama vin Cilex

They exist there with their thoughts;
 They exist there with their beliefs.

365 Because I am explaining them,
 All my commandments,
 In order that they might be read
 By whoever knows how to read,
 In order that they might be heard by small
 370 And great;
 That all my engendered people might know
 What it is
 That I command them.
 Because know ye,

375 My beloved,
 Ye Christians,
 That already the hour has come
 Of a certain day of my Father
 For me to say something

380 To you,
 Ye children,
 Ye fathers.
 The thing is,
 My beloved,

385 Ye Christian villagers,
 That I have already gone before my Father
 In order to obtain his further permission
 For me to say something

To you,
 390 Ye children.
 It is not possible;
 It is not possible that I shall be the one to say
 something

To you.
 Consequently,

395 Only in truth it is I
 Whose heart is burdened
 For you,
 Ye my children.
 Because I it was who caused you to be created;

400 I it was who redeemed you;
 I it was who spilled
 My precious blood
 On your behalf.
 Thus, then,

405 O ye my beloved people,

369 370. The Argosy version has expanded this into a parallel couplet:

u tial Ca yub chi chan
 y Cayub no hochIn order that small might hear them,
 And that great might hear them.382. The Argosy version has *lumex* instead of *llumex* (cf. note to line 326).394. I have interpreted *trobali* as *tohbali*.396. I have interpreted *ku chan* as *cuchan* (cf. note to line 50). The Argosy version has *chucan* instead of *kuchan*.

tan va avil Cex
 bix in llanil*
 bahani in voc*
 ¥ Grillos*
 tan ua avil Cex
 bahun ɔaplic in sunil
 kaxanilen
 liCil in Castigartal
 tumen u Ciich Celmil in yum
 tavoklalex
 tan ua avil Cex
 lath kabanilen in santisima Crusil*
 ko cheanilen*
 tumen bahun anhe lesob
 ¥ serafine sob
 dos cuadras in chui lic*
 llokol yotoch in patron
 licil in than*
 tavetelex*

Have ye perhaps seen
 How my existence is:
 My feet nailed
 With shackles?
 410 Have ye perhaps seen
 With how many coils of rope
 I am tied,
 With which I am being punished
 By my Father's Perfect Beauty
 415 On your behalf?
 Have ye perhaps seen
 That I am supported by my Most Holy Cross,
 That I am carried in a litter
 By innumerable angels
 420 And seraphim?
 For two blocks I am hanging
 Over my patron's house
 While I speak
 To you.

407 409. The Argosy version has instead:

bix in yanil
 bahan nil in yoc
 ¥ Ca ɔan grillos

417 418. The Argosy version has:

lathab kabanileninS mā Cruzil
 koch banilen

421. The Argosy version has *in talel* 'I am coming' instead of *in chui lic*.

423 424. The Argosy version has:

liCil in than
 ta ve te lex
 sisabilex
 lumex

How my existence is:
 My feet nailed
 With two shackles.

That I am supported [by] my Most Holy Cross,
 That I am carried in a litter.

While I speak
 To you,
 Ye children,
 Ye of the earth.

Because if I should come
 To tread upon that ground
 Over which ye pass,
 When dawn arrived,
 There would be nothing
 In the world!
 Thus, then,
 O ye my children,
 I forgive all [the times]
 Ye scorned my commandments.
 Because I it was who caused you to be created,
 Ye Christian villagers.
 Because, as for me,
 At all hours
 I am coming
 In the presence of my Father
 In the Kingdom of Heaven
 Even though at all hours
 Ye are deriding my commandments,
 I forgive everything.

In the Argosy version, this section is followed by a passage from one of the four letters sent to Governor Miguel Barbachano in 1851 (cf. Text A-2, lines 252–255 and note to lines 248–255):

tumen va ca kuchCen
 in pe chete le lum
 liCil ama nexo
 cabin yal u sas tal le
 minan
 yokol Cab
 bay tuno
 in sisa hex
 Cin sasic tulacal
 li Cil a po chCex in val mathanah
 tumen ten tinSisahex
 Cristiano Cah hex
 tumen tene
 tu lacal ora
 tan in talel
 yicnal in yum
 tactuhauil Can
 Cex tumen tu la Cal ora
 tan a Poch Cex in valmathan
 Cim sasic tu la Cal

The Argosy version continues with lines 433–458 of the proclamation without putting them in a separate section.

[VII]

ý u lak bax
 Cin val mah ñhan tic ti texe
 in yamail
 Cris tiano Cahex
 in sih sah vin Cilex
 yumex
 Cin Valic tuxicin tulacal chi chan
 ý tuxicin nohoch Cin valmah ñhantic
 tumen bin yanac avo hetCexe
 Cristiano Cahex
 Vacten in vocal
 vac ten ý akab
 yicnal in llum
 tu Cilich glo ria
 ý bahun anhelesob
 ý serapinesob
 utial in kat hum pel sip olal
 ý yacunah
 ti in llum
 ta volk lalex
 tumen ña llalic ten in llume*
 sihsah biley
 mix bikin bin ganar nac ñulob
 Enemigoob
 halili
 le Crusoob bin ganarnace,
 lat ok laci :
 in llamail
 vinCex
 yokol Cab
 matan in cha kab tiCex
 ti Enemigoob
 tenCin ñai Cim ba
 taVok la lex

- 425 And another thing
 That I command you,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 Ye my children,
 430 Ye fathers.
 I say it for the ears of all the small,
 And for the ears of the great I command it.
 Because know ye,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 435 That six times I entered,
 Six times at night,
 Into my Father's presence,
 Into His Holy Grace,
 With innumerable angels
 440 And seraphim,
 In order that I might request a little favor
 And love
 From my Father
 On your behalf.
 445 Because my Father has already told me,
 O ye children,
 That the Whites will never win,
 The enemies.
 Truly,
 450 These people of the Cross will win.
 This is the reason,
 My beloved,
 Ye men
 In the world,
 455 That I am not abandoning you
 To the Enemies.
 I am placing myself
 On your side.

[VIII]

ý ulak bax
 Cin valmah ñhantic
 ti texe
 in llama Cristiano Cahex
 maullan tal tex
 mix humpel llaolal
 ta pucsi kalex
 bicil akam Cex*
 leozili lo

- 460 And another thing
 That I command
 To you,
 O ye my beloved Christians,
 Is that there will not be for you
 Even a bit of sorrow
 465 In your hearts
 While ye are cursed with
 Such poverty.

445. The Argosy version has *ooc* instead of *ña*.466. I have interpreted *bicil* as *licil* because the Argosy version has *li cil* in this context.

tumen hach likul
 ti in llum
 Ca a kamex
 leo zili lo
 chen llalan kaxo
 y viih
 yuka ho
 tumen hach llab bal kas
 tumen lah in sihsah vin Cilob*
 ti yet sihsah hilob
 Cat t lik yax bateil uchi
 tu men llan yet sih sah hilobil
 xoloc balob
 ukat ukaba in yum
 Cat Cim sabob
 lat ok lal
 tuolah le Castigo in yum
 llo kola lumilexo
 tumen mix hun pel sihsahbil
 oocbesic llal mah than in yum
 bei tuno
 in yamail
 Cristiano Cahex
 Cah cunsex
 tulacal in valmahthan
 tapucsika lexo
 tumenten tin sihseex
 mahelec baleni*
 tan in manel
 tulacal ora
 lavetelex
 ti Cin inpucsikal
 tumen unoh chil ukah
 licil in manel
 in ximbat ll uCatan
 licil in loh Cex
 in llamail
 Cristiano Cahex
 beituno
 Cinsatsic
 tulacal le bax
 hach talan kas
 ooc amet Cexo*
 halili
 uxul in thano
 in llamail
 Cristiano Cahex :::::

Because it is entirely at the will
 Of my Father
 470 That ye are cursed with
 Such poverty,
 Alone in that wilderness,
 And famine
 And drought there.
 475 Because so much evil
 Was done by all my engendered people
 To their fellow creatures
 That the first war arose long ago.
 Because there were fellow creatures
 480 Kneeling,
 Calling on my Father's name
 When they were killed.
 This is the reason
 That my Father sent this punishment
 485 Against your land.
 Because not a single child
 Believes in my Father's commandments.
 Thus, then,
 My beloved,
 490 Ye Christian villagers,
 Ye should sanctify them,
 All these my commandments
 In your hearts.
 Because I it was who caused you to be created.
 495 I am not resting;
 I am passing
 At all hours
 Among you.
 My heart has shriveled
 500 Because of the great drought
 As I pass through
 To visit in Yucatan;
 As I redeem you,
 My beloved,
 505 Ye Christian villagers.
 Thus, then,
 I am made to forgive
 All those things,
 Those grievous sins,
 510 That ye have committed.
 Truly,
 Those words of mine end,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers.

476. I have interpreted *tumen lah* as *tumentah*.

495. I have interpreted this line as *ma helecbaleni*.

510. I have interpreted *amet Cexo* as *amentcexo*. The Argosy version has a *bet cexo* instead.

[ix]

Y u lak bax
 cin val mah thantice
 in llamail
 Cris tiano Cahex
 tanuaavil Cex*
 bix in llanil
 llalan Caval xan
 Chen llalan u boi Che,
 Chen tio lal
 Ca llila*
 Chi chan*
 y়nohoch*
 ytiolal*
 Cayila*
 max nucte llali Cubaob*

 tumen matuɔahen in llum*
 llic nal generalobi*
 mix llicnal Co mandanteob,
 tumen [ma] tuɔahen in yum*
 llicnal max nucte llan utakcin llali
 Cubaobi*
 llicnal ozil*
 tuɔahen in llum*
 tumen ozilen ten
 tumen halili ten
 in patron kuchan llol*
 ti tene
 tu men hum pel max
 bin usiten medioe,
 llal t ma in llum

515 And another thing
 That I command
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers:
 520 Have ye perhaps seen
 How my existence is
 Under two palm leaves,
 Just under the shade of a tree?
 It is only in order that
 There will be visible
 525 Small
 And great;
 And in order that
 There will be visible
 Those who complain about wasting their
 property.
 530 Because my Father did not send me
 Among the Generals,
 Nor among the Commanders.
 Because my Father did [not] send me
 Among those who complain that they are
 wasting their money.
 535 Among the poor
 Has my Father sent me.
 Because I am poor myself.
 Because truly it is I,
 My patron's heart is burdened
 540 For me.
 Because there is someone
 Who is going to provide me with these resources.
 My Father has tried

519. I have interpreted this line as *tan ua avilcex*.

524 529. In the Argosy version, these lines have been expanded into the following parallel couplets:

ca yi la chi chan
 y cayila no hoch
 y ca yi la tu lacal u nuc tac
 ya lic u bao be

That there will be visible small,
 And that there will be visible great,
 And that there will be visible all who complain
 About wasting their property.

530 531. The Argosy version has expanded these lines into the following couplets:

tumen ma tu oahen in yun
 yicmal ayi kal
 tumen ma tu oa hen in yun
 yi c nal gene ralo bi

Because my Father did not send me
 Among the rich,
 Because my Father did not send me
 Among the Generals.

533 534. I have inserted *ma 'not'* before *tu oahen* to complete the negative frame ending in -i (*Cubaobi*). This statement is explicitly negative in the Argosy version:

tu men ma oa hen in yu n
 yic nal max nuc te yalic u yan u takin

Because my Father did not send me
 Among those who complain that their money is being

yalic u baobi
 mix yic nal max hach ta lan ya lic u baobi

wasted,
 That their property is being wasted,
 Nor among those who are profligate with their property.

535 536. The Argosy version has:

yic nal o tzil tu oahen
 yicnalo otzil tu oahen

Among the poor he has sent me,
 Among the poor he has sent me.

539. I have interpreted *kuchan* as *cuchan* (cf. note to line 50). The Argosy version has *chucan* instead of *kuchan*.

Cayanac usallab tal ti*
 y Ca yanac u nahaltic tulacal diligenensia
 bin tac tiol*
 u pucsikalobe*
 u betobe
 tumen la liCil manic ha*
 in vuc*
 licil in manel
 in ximbat llu Catan
 lemedio
 Cusiic ten in famil iaobo*
 tumen bic u tucult tulacal in sihsah vin
 Cilobe*
 Vati inpatron
 Cupa tal in matan takin*
 halili
 uxul in thano
 Cristiano Cahex ---

To be reconciled to it.
 545 And that he might win prompt compliance,
 He has even reached their spirit,
 Their hearts,
 [And] their deeds.
 Because that is like buying water
 550 For me to drink
 As I pass through
 To visit in Yucatan.
 Those resources
 That my kinsmen give me
 555 [Are] because all my engendered people are
 persuaded of it,
 Even if to my patron
 Remain my monetary contributions.
 Truly,
 Those words of mine end,
 560 Ye Christian villagers.

[x]

Cin vaal mah than tic*
 tu xiCin tulacal Generalobe*
 y tu xicin tu lacal in sihsahvin . . .
 llokol Cab
 utial yub chichan*
 y nohoc*

bax
 Cin vaalmah than tic tiob
 Ca yanac ullo hetic
 tulacal in familiaobe
 bin meata Genera lob
 y utakinob
 tumen minan umental mix mac
 Chen de CoCa
 bei uoraila
 bei helelaa
 tumen ozil
 tula Cal in fami liaob
 bei xib

I command it
 For the ears of all these Generals
 And for the ears of all my engendered [people]
 In the world
 565 In order that it might be heard by small
 And great
 What it is
 That I command them;
 That they might know it,
 570 All these my kinsmen,
 That they are going to serve the Generals
 For pay.
 Because nothing is done for anyone
 Just for nothing
 575 At this time, then,
 Today.
 Because they are poor,
 All my kinsmen;
 Thus the men

544. I have interpreted *usallab tal* as *u sayabtal*.

546 547. The Argosy version has *bin ta lac yol u puci kalob* in this context.

549 550. The Argosy version has *tumen la licil in ma nic haa in vuve*.

554. I have interpreted *famil iaobo* as *familiaobe* 'kinsmen' [cf. lines 570 and 578].

555. The Argosy version has *bic u tuc li cob* instead of *bic u tucult* in this context.

557. Evidently some Cruzob were refusing to make contributions to the Cult of the Talking Cross. In this section Juan de la Cruz justifies this form of taxation as necessary for the survival of the revitalization movement.

561 562. The Argosy version begins this section with *Y u lak bax* instead of these two lines.

565 566. These lines are expanded into a parallel couplet in the Argosy version:

u tial ca yub chi chan
 y utial cayub no hoch

In order that it might be heard by small,
 And in order that it might be heard by great.

bei xc̄hup ti ten
 tumen tulaCal mace
 yan učha xchupal
 ma uchac bin me yahtac
 bin meyah tac mix mac
 Chen de cocai
 titu lacal in sihsahbilob
 llokol Cab
 cin valmah thantic
 Cristiano Cah hex
 tumen ooc ukuchul
 tuorail
 ý tuhabil
 xul bal u h ach tus bel tal in familiaob

 Chen de CoCa,
 halili
 uxul in thano
 in llamail
 Cris tiano Cahexe
 Jesus
 Maria
 tu kaba D^s llum bil
 tu kaba D^s mehen bil
 ý tukaba D^s Espiritu Santo
 Amen Jesus

dia 10*
 de febrero*
 licil in lloksic llaal mah thān*
 in Ciliich santisimo SaCramento*
 del altar*
 Sr tres personas*
 u tial txoCol
 lluub tulacal yum generalob

 ý tu la Cal Coronelob
 ý tu la Cal Capitanob

605 606. The Argosy version has:

tu once
 uxo col
 u mesil
 D^bbre

607. The Argosy version has *t̄hoxic* 'distribute' instead of *lloksic* in this context.

608 610. The Argosy version has instead:

tu kab
 ge ne ralob
 tu habil
 de 1850ā

610. This is a reference to the Trinity.

580 As much as the women with me;
 Because, as for every man,
 He must take a woman for himself.
 It is not possible that they are going to serve,
 That they are going to serve anyone
 585 Just for nothing.
 To every one of my children
 In the world
 I command it,
 Ye Christian villagers.
 590 Because already has come
 The hour
 And the year
 To terminate the great exploitation of my
 kinsmen
 Just for nothing.
 595 Truly,
 Those words of mine end,
 My beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers.
 Jesus,
 600 Mary.
 In the name of God the Father,
 In the name of God the Son,
 And in the name of God the Holy Spirit,
 Amen Jesus.

[EPILOGUE]

605 On the tenth day
 Of February
 I am distributing the commandments
 Of my Most Holy Sacrament
 Of the altar,
 610 Lord Three Persons,
 For them to be read;
 That they might be heard by all the honorable
 Generals,
 And all the Colonels,
 And all the Captains,

On the eleventh
 Of the count
 Of the month
 Of December.

In the hands
 Of the Generals
 In the year
 1850.

y tu la Cal tenienteob
 y u chuCantaCil in Sihsa vini Cilob
 llokol Cab
 tioklal
 Ca u zac llohetCob bax uz
 bax ma uz
 lei
 uhahil
 Cin firmartic hun
 oanilon Chan Santa Crus
 Feb^{ro}
 10
 de 1850
 años
 Ten
 Juan de la Crus
 Cah nalen
 ti uCahil
 x B alam Na
 Lom ha
 Ten
 Juan de la Cruz
 Cah nalen
 tu Cahil
 XoCen
 Cah*

615 And all the Lieutenants;
 And for the compliance of my engendered
 people
 In the world;
 And to the end that
 They might be informed of what is good,
 620 [And] what is not good.
 This is
 The truth.
 I sign the paper.
 We are gathered together [in] Little Holy Cross
 625 On February
 Tenth
 Of 1850
 (Years).
 I,
 630 John of the Cross,
 I reside
 In the village
 Of Jaguar House,
 Cleft Spring.
 635 I,
 John of the Cross,
 I reside
 In the village
 Of Summation
 640 Village.

640. The Argosy version follows this with:

in ta lel
 tac tu cahil x Cenil
 la ten Cin Valic
 Cahil Xocenil xan

According to Villa Rojas (1945:163), X-Cenil (Decoration) is a village in Quintana Roo not far from X-Cacal (see also note to lines 17–22).

The Argosy version continues with the following addenda:

Bey tuno
 in hach ma nal yamail
 Cris tiano cahex
 hebix yanil in santo almathanil
 deste yax chun
 cat hopi in than
 y sisabil vay
 yokol cabae
 ma . . . x bay cavuy cexi
 insisa vinici lex
 yokol cab
 bix licil u ooco lob
 maxob
 matan u yo kol ti cob in santo Alma than
 tu menel tula cal ora
 tan v hal hahal in san to al ma thane
 tu ci lich in yoc
 incilich Smail Cruz
 tin saña Ar tal
 ychil in cilich santa yglecia ca to lica
 apos to li ca

I am coming
 To the village of Decoration.
 Therefore I say it:
 It is the village of Summation also.

Thus, then,
 My most beloved,
 Ye Christian villagers,
 This is how my holy commandments have existed
 Since the very beginning,
 When I began to speak
 With my children here
 In the world.
 Never have ye heard,
 Ye my engendered people
 In the world,
 Of the fate
 Of those
 Who are not believing in my holy commandments.
 Because at all hours
 My holy commandments are being revealed
 At my holy feet,
 My Most Holy Cross,
 At my most holy altar
 In my most holy Catholic church,
 Apostolical

(note continued from preceding page)

roma na
 [And] Roman.
 bey tu no
 in hach yamail
 Thus, then,
 Cris tiano cahex
 henCen in si sa yun tzilil
 Ye very beloved,
 bin yanac u ooc bansic
 in santo alma thanile
 Ye Christian villagers,
 binu chova cac v cux tal
 Whichever of my engendered fathers
 yile cux tal
 Is going to obey them,
 minan uxul
 These my holy commandments,
 yic nal Dios
 His life will be extended;
 hen cen max matan v ooc ban sice
 And this life
 bin xupuc v cuxtal
 Will have no end
 tu sebal
 Before God.
 y xupul u cuxtal
 As for whoever is not obeying them,
 cu binel u pixan
 His life is going to end
 tux ma teh v tu pul kak
 Immediately,
 hun pu lili
 And his life is ended.
 ti mi nan uxul
 His soul is going
 tumen mix mac bin hokoc
 To where fire is never extinguished
 y yola
 Forever,
 mix in si sa oculil
 Without end.
 mix in si sa ma se valil
 Because no one is going to leave
 le bin yol tin hal yun
 Of his own volition,
 y in hahal colel
 Neither my engendered Whites,
 y licix tene
 Nor my engendered Indians,
 leti bin uchac in si sa pixanilex
 But by the will of my true Father,
 yokol cab
 And of my true Lady,
 bay tuno
 And of mine.
 in si sa hex
 This is how ye whose souls I created should be
 yokol cab
 in the world.
 ooc ban sex
 Thus, then,
 he bix li cil u oibol tic
 Ye my children
 in hahal yun
 In the world,
 y in hahal co lel
 Ye should obey them
 y licix tene
 In the way that they desire it,
 ma u yan tal a satic a pixanex
 My true Father,
 ti in ha hal y un
 And my true Lady,
 ti in hahal colel
 And I.
 y ti ten
 Ye must not lead your souls astray
 xan
 From my true Father,
 tumen ten tin lohahex
 From my true Lady,
 tumen tin si sa hex
 And from me
 tumen ten ve ca
 Either.
 in cilich kikel
 Because I it was who redeemed you;
 ta vok la lex
 Because I it was who caused you to be created;
 ca tin si sahex
 Because I it was who shed
 t pa Cat
 My precious blood
 yokol caba
 On your behalf
 hach tu cilich kaba Corona
 When I created you
 in cilich Yesucristo
 To see
 y u cilich corona
 In the world.
 in [ci]lich co lel
 tumen ten tin lohahex
 Of my Holy Jesus Christ
 suhuy maria
 And of the Holy Crown
 tu yahafulil u cilich sa'ma gloria
 Of my Holy Lady
 ca yanac a ci ci oocbansicex
 Virgin Mary
 in si sahex
 In the Kingdom of Most Holy Grace,
 yokol cab
 Ye must obey them with joy,
 bax unucul
 Ye my children
 ma tan a oocbansicex
 In the world.
 in santo alma thanilo
 What is the reason
 cris tiano cah ex
 That ye are not obeying
 yan va v yanal Dios
 Those my holy commandments,
 yokol cab
 Ye Christian villagers?
 ti tex
 Is there perhaps another God
 va tumen yance
 In the world
 For you?
 Or is it because there should be?

(note continued on following page)

(note continued from preceding page)

ca val cex ti ten
 tumen ten v yumil can
 y lum
 tume ne le in si sa pixanilex
 bin Va yanace
 a lik sic le xot kin ti cex vay
 yokol caboo
 tu ooc kin
 u tial Jui cio
 ti bin in li kes tu lacal
 le cin luk sic u cuxtalobo
 bin va hunalili c seex
 hele lic ca xot kin ti cexo
 in sisa pixa ni lex
 yokol cab 4

⊕ ⊕
 Amen
 Jesus

Cinchi Cul tic ukinil
 u chic in Can bal in ohtic
 Cilich Santo al mathan
 in Cilich hahal yum
 Ca yun
 Srña Crus,
 tata
 Señor tres per sonas
 u tial hun pel santo Juebes
 15
 de oc tu bre
 tu ha bil
 de 1903
 ás
 bey
 u hahil
 [illegible signature]
 1944
 Años

Cinchi cultic
 u chic im Canbal yoc tic
 u cilichi Santo al ma than
 in cilich hahal yum
 Cayun ♀
 Ceña Cruz
 tata
 Señor tres perSonas
 u tial hum pel Santo Juebes
 19
 de Diciembre
 tu habil
 de 1957
 ás
 bey
 u habil
 [three illegible signatures]

Sr. XoCen
 tres personas
 Yenaro Dzib
 Monterey
 Sn. Emerjilio
 Ca Cal

Tell me,
 Because I am the Lord of Heaven
 And earth.
 Because, ye whose souls I created,
 Ye can perhaps
 Postpone your Judgment Day here
 In the world.
 On the final day
 Of Final Judgment
 When I will raise everyone,
 Those whose lives I save,
 Ye will raise as many
 As ye judge then,
 Ye whose souls I created
 In the world.

Amen,
 Jesus.

I am making known the day
 When I memorized
 The most holy commandments
 Of my Holy True Father,
 Our Father,
 Most Holy Cross,
 Papa,
 Lord Three Persons.
 It was on a Holy Thursday,
 [The] fifteenth
 Of October
 In the year
 1903
 (Years).
 This
 Is the truth.
 [illegible signature]
 1944
 (Years).

I am making known
 When I learned to believe in
 The most holy commandments
 Of my Holy True Father,
 Our Father,
 Sign of the Cross,
 Papa,
 Lord Three Persons.
 It was on a Holy Thursday,
 [The] nineteenth
 Of December
 In the year
 1957
 (Years).
 This
 Is the year.
 [three illegible signatures]

Lord Summation,
 Three Persons.
 Yenaro Dzib
 Monterey
 St. Emerjilio
 X-Cacal

The postscripts dated 1944 and 1957 were added after Villa Rojas had completed his field work in X-Cacal. The Argosy version lacks two postscripts in the copy published by Villa Rojas (1945:164): one is dated August 15, 1887, and is signed by Anastasio Caamal; the other is neither signed nor dated.

TEXT A-2

*Letter to Miguel Barbachano, Governor of Yucatan
(August 28, 1851)*

X hotzuc
Ag^{to}
28,,
de 1851,,
Jesus
M^a.
Tukaba Dios Yumbil
Dios Mejenbil
y Dios Espiritu Santo,,
[Amen Jesus]*

Yn Yamail Gobernador
D^r Miguel Barbachano
Yanech tu noh Cahil Si hom Hoó*
bay helela
tuxocol
28,,
u Mesil
Ag^{to}
licil uhach kanantal in tuchitic hunpel in
Valmah than
tah kab,
utial ament u Xocol,
tu men asecretario
utial yub tulacal a Generalob

Comandanteob,
y tulacal a Capitanob
theteob *
Sargenteob
y tu la Cal tropaob
Yolal
Cah mac*
yohelt cob*
bax Cin Val mah than tic
ti tech

Tihosuco,
August
Twenty-eighth
Of 1851.
5 Jesus,
Mary.
In the name of God the Father,
God the Son,
And God the Holy Spirit,
10 [Amen Jesus].

My beloved Governor,
Don Miguel Barbachano,
Thou who art in the city of Merida,
Today,
15 In the count
Of the twenty-eighth
Of the month
Of August
While it is so necessary for me to send one of my
commandments
20 Into thy hands
In order that thou mightest cause it to be read
By thy secretary
In order that it might be heard by all thy
Generals,
Commanders,
25 And all thy Captains,
Lieutenants,
Sergeants,
And all the troops;
To the end that
30 There might be someone
Who knows
What I command
To thee

*Notes to Text A 2 are identified by line numbers.

10. I believe that this line was inadvertently left out here. It occurs in the invocation to the other four letters, in the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz (line 6), and in the benediction at the end of this letter (line 334). Without it, the invocation does not scan.

13. The full name for Merida is *Ichcansihó* 'Heaven-Born Five' (Edmonson, personal communication). This name is commonly abbreviated to *Ho' Five*'.

26. I.e., *tenienteob* 'lieutenants.'

30-31. It is possible that what I have transcribed as *mac* 'someone' is actually *nac*, a contraction of *yanac* 'might be' (cf. line 35). If so, these lines should be translated as 'They might / Know,' instead of 'There might be someone / Who knows.'

Y ti leobti Xan
 tumen bin Ya nac a vohetic
 hach manal Yabil bax
 OooC umentic ten
 a tropaob
 tu beinte y tres
 uxocol
 u mesil
 Marzó
 Cah tu Cimsob
 ten inpatron,
 Max in Vuet than Cachi,*
 Lahitac u kinil
 Ca tu kaxenob
 Cah tubisenob
 ti u v Ranchooil*
 X Kanpokob che*
 hunpel oraé
 oxten u kat Cob in chi
 Yolal
 Cah thanacen yetelob,
 Cux tun Vamal Likul ti in Yum*
 Cah thanacen yetelobé
 tumen tu Lisencia Yn Yume
 halil in patron
 bin tha nacen yetele
 mah y tulacal Sisahbil
 bin thanaceni
 desdè u CimSob
 ten inpatrone
 minan max in Vuet tha ninte
 Yanilen
 y chil in tro paob
 tumen hach Yab bax
 soc umet cob ti ten,
 tu vach hob in nok*
 tu susohob in bakel*
 tu tocenob
 tu lacal bax
 soc umet Cob ti ten
 tu cha hob ti ten
 yn tah kin
 200-50 p^s
 y Cahpay in Cadena de oro

And to them also.
 35 Because know thou
 That a great many things
 Were done to me
 [By] thy troops
 On the twenty-third
 40 Of the count
 Of the month
 Of March,
 When they killed him,
 My very own patron,
 45 With whom I used to speak.
 That was the day
 When they tied me
 And carried me
 To his ranch,
 50 Kampokobche.
 In one hour
 They interrogated me three times
 To the end that
 I would speak with them!
 55 And what if my Father was not willing
 For me to speak with them?
 Because with my Father's permission
 There is only my patron
 With whom I am going to speak.
 60 Not with all creation
 Shall I speak!
 Ever since they killed him,
 My very own patron,
 There is no one for me to speak with.
 65 I exist
 Among my troops.
 Because the most outrageous things
 They have done to me:
 They took off my clothes;
 70 They peeled my flesh;
 They burned me.
 It is everything
 That they have done to me.
 They dispossessed me
 75 Of my money,
 250 pesos,
 And two gold chains of mine,

45. This is obviously a reference to the ventriloquist, Manuel Nauat, who was killed on March 23, 1851 (Chapter 8).

49 50. Cf. Text A-1, note to lines 176-178.

55. I have interpreted *Vamal Likul* as *ua ma likul*.

69. The "clothes" referred to here were probably an embroidered dress (*huipil*) and petticoat (see Cámara Zavala September 16, 1928:4 and Chapter 8).

70. The letters dated August 20 and 24, 1851, and September 26, 1851, have, respectively, *tu susa hob in bakel*, *tu susahoob in bakel*, and *tu sus hoob in bakel* 'they peeled my flesh' in this context.

ꝝ una Carga in Cahcau	And a load of my chocolate,
ꝝ hotul in keken	And five of my pigs,
ꝝ 22. @ in Cib*	And 550 pounds of my candles,
ꝝ ox tul inzimin	And three of my horses,
ꝝ hunpel in Espada	And one of my swords,
ꝝ hunpel in pistola	And one of my pistols
tuchahob titen	That they took from me,
ꝝ Sin Cuenta Cargas in vixim	85 And fifty loads of my corn.
lah hitac u kinil	That was the day
Cah tu Lubso <u>b</u> u cux tal in patron	When they destroyed my patron's life,
leti	Him.
Cah tu chahob ten tu lacal le balob	And they dispossessed me of all these things.
bey xan	90 Thus, also,
tu Cartose*	On the fourteenth
V Xocol	Of the count
umesil	Of the month
Junio	Of June
Cat kuch a tropálob	95 When thy troops arrived
tu Cah ten	For the second time
ti in Cahahal	In my village,
Chan Sta †	Little Holy Cross,
lahitac u kinil	That was the day
Catu Chahob ten u Chu Can uba linba*	100 When they dispossessed me of the rest of my property.
tu chā hoop ten 200 yn x Caax	They took 200 hens of mine from me;
tuc̄ha hoop u lak Catul in keken,	They took another two pigs of mine,
ꝝ dies Cargas in taab	And ten loads of my salt,
ꝝ hun pel chan Cahon es perma	And one small box of spermaceti candles,
ꝝ ꝝ hun pel hun pel Cahon in sac Cib*	105 And one box of my white candles,
ꝝ hun pel Cahon kex	And one box of votive offerings,
ꝝ 16 @ uman CetaSil in Cib*	And 400 pounds of wax cakes
tu chahob titen	That they took from me.
ꝝ Capet u na lil in Col	And two fields of my corn
tu hau sahob u tzimin a tropaoob	110 The horses of thy troops destroyed
ti ten	For me.
bax unu Cul	What is the meaning of the fact
bin hausac ten in GraCia*	That my seed would be destroyed for me?
mavatan utuc Clicobe*	Don't they realize
le in gra cia	115 That that seed of mine
cu hau Salo	That they destroyed,
la u Cux taloo <u>b</u>	That is their life?
la yikob*	That is their breath;
la u mukob,*	That is their strength.

80. The symbol @ stands for *arroba*. An *arroba* is a weight of twenty-five pounds (Cuyás 1904:49).91. *Cartose* is probably Spanish *catorce* 'fourteen.'100. I have interpreted *uba linba* as *ubal inba* 'my property.'105. One ꝝ and one *hun pel* are redundant.107. The @ means *arroba* (see note to line 80). I have interpreted *uman CetaSil* as *u mantecasil*, from Spanish *manteca* 'lard, fat.'113. The Maya regard maize as a gift (*gracia*) of the gods. It is the staff of life for humans and should not be wasted on horses. Juan de la Cruz scolds the Ladino soldiers for committing this sacrilege.114. I have interpreted *utuc Clicobe* as *u tuclicobe*.

118 119. Here again Juan de la Cruz refers to maize as the source of human life (see note to line 113).

tumen VaCa mīnanac lai in graCiao*
mix hun pel in sih sah vi ni Ciloob vay*
yokol Cab*
uu Chac u thane
Bay tuno
D^a Miguel
tech
Cin nombrar tic
u tial ament u kubul ti ten
tu la Cal le u balin ba*
tu c̄ha hoob ti ten
le a tro paobo
bay tuno
Cinva lic ti teche
bina Cah ament u men tal ten la hu Cakal
in misas
ti u noh ygle Ciall
ti u noh Cah Can Si Ho*
y ulol in Cib
Ca bin a kub titen
y u ProSe Cionil
y Cayanac u Vacxil*
y Caya nac u hokol mehen xunanob*
u tial u Cimac olalil
tumen tin noh Cahil Can Si Ho*
Cubinel likil in man kinal*

- 120 Because if that seed of mine did not exist,
Not one of my engendered people here,
In the world,
Would then be able to speak.
Thus, then,
125 Don Miguel,
It is thee
Whom I appoint
To cause them to return to me
All that property of mine
130 That they took from me,
Those troops of thine.
Thus, then,
I am telling thee
That thou art going to cause thirty Masses to be
made for me
135 In the cathedral
In the city of Merida
And candles adorned with flowers
That thou art going to deliver to me,
And a procession;
140 And let there be a bullfight;
And let young ladies sally forth
For their enjoyment.
Because in my city of Merida
They are going to initiate my holiday.

120 122. The letter dated August 20, 1851, has:

Vamī na le in Gracia
ma tan u Cux tal
mi x hun pel Sih Sabiloob vay
yokol Cabe

129. I have interpreted *u balin ba* as *ubal inba* (see note to line 100).

136. See note to line 13.

140. I have interpreted *Vacxil* as *uacxil*. The root is *uacax*, from Spanish *vaca* 'cow.'

141. The word *xunan* is a term of respect for Ladino women.

143. See note to line 13.

144. In the letter addressed to the Commandant of Valladolid (September 26, 1851), Juan de la Cruz says that the holiday is to be in his honor:

y ulak Cin valic ti teche
Caya nac amentic u mental
titen
la hu Cakal in mi sasil
ti le u Noh Cahil
le SaCio
y u Cibil
yuolol
yu proseCionil
y u Rosarioil
y usal veil
y u vacxil
Ca binel ament ubetal
titen
Juan de la Cruzen
Cahna len tiu Cahil x Balam Na
tumen fiesta.
le cin valic
ti tech

If it were not for that seed of mine,
They would not be living,
Not a single child here
In the world.

And another [thing] I say to thee,
That thou shouldst cause to be made
For me
Thirty of my Masses
In the city
Of Valladolid;
And candles
With flowers,
And a procession,
And a Rosary,
And a Hail Mary,
And a bullfight
Thou art going to cause to be made
For me,
I who am John of the Cross,
I who reside in the village of Jaguar House,
As a festival.
I say it
To thee

tumen uoc vaxac pel in val mah than*
 in tux chit ti techo*
 mix hun pel*
 a nuc titeni*
 bay tuno
 Cinvalic ti teche
 tusebal ora
 Ca kamic lai in hahal al mah thana
 Cayanac a nu Cic ten u kex
 yoklal

- 145 Because, of the last eight commandments
 That I have sent to thee there,
 Not a single one
 Hast thou answered for me.
 Thus, then,
 150 I say this to thee,
 That just as soon as
 Thou receivest these my true commandments,
 Thou shouldst answer me in return;
 To the end that

(note continued from preceding page)

amentex
 utial man bal in Noh man kinalo
 tux Cain Vila
 va tumen kuchan avoleex
 ti ten
 henCen bix
 kuchanil in vol
 ti texe
 in sihsah oulideex

In his letter dated August 24, 1851, Juan de la Cruz concludes his instructions about preparations for his festival with a list of places he has visited in Yucatan:

ca bin a kub
 ti ten
 ti le noh Cah Can Si Hoo
 y Caya nac u Pruse cion
 tac ti ten
 le in Cibo
 y 30 dias otzilil
 Cabin a ment ube tal titen
 Juan de la Cruz
 3 Per so nas
 Cah nalen ti Chi Chen
 tix Ba lam Na
 tix Cenil
 ti yal a hau
 tumen tene
 tien yan tu Cahil x Hotzuce
 tien yan tu Cahil Can Si Hoe
 tien yan tu Cahil Can Peche
 tien yan tu Cahil te kaxe
 tien yan tu Cahil Chi Chan hae
 titu lacal u Cahil yu Ca tan
 li Cil in manel

145 146. The letter dated August 24, 1851, mentions seven, instead of eight, commandments. The ninth commandment is this letter dated August 28. This implies that Juan de la Cruz sent at least nine letters to Governor Barbachano. Four of these letters are in the Carrillo y Ancona Library in Merida (the fifth letter there was addressed to the Commandant General of Valladolid). The letter dated August 11, 1851, bears a note to the effect that it was seized by Ladino soldiers during a raid on a ranch near Becanchen before it reached its destination.

147 148. Governor Barbachano did eventually reply, in a letter translated into Maya and dated September 16, 1851. It is interesting that he phrased his reply in couplets, e.g.:

muy de veras
 os digo á todos
 tanto indios,
 como blancos
 y á vosotros Comandantes,
 Capitanes,
 Sargentos,
 Cabos,
 Soldados
 y pueblos:

Truly,
 I tell all of you,
 The Indians,
 Just as the Whites,
 And to you Commanders,
 Captains,
 Sergeants,
 Corporals,
 Soldiers,
 And villages:

Note their similarity to lines 23–28. (CCA, "Versión al castellano de una alocución que el Gobernador D. Miguel Barbachano dirige a los indios sublevados en lengua maya. Fecha Merida 16 de Septiembre de 1851.")

yutz tal u xocol
 yuboob tu la cal u Generalil insih Sah
 maseva liloob
 yoklal
 yohelt Cob
 va tumen tan aocbesic tu la Cal le in val
 mah than
 Cin tux Chi tic ti techo
 tumen tu la Cal in Sih Sah masevalilobe
 tan uoc bes Cob tulacal in val mah than
 tumen bay helelae
 ti mix hun pel oculoob
 uu Chac u men tal loob tiobi
 mix ti mase val
 uu Chac u men tal mix hun pel lob
 tumen tulisen Cia in yum*
 tac tu yahau lil Caan
 Cat Emen Vay
 yokol Cab
 utial in tzetze, than
 uxi Cin u Generalil in Sih Sah masevalilobe
 y u Gene ra lil in Sih Sah oculilobe
 Ca utzac u Xulul
 lay ka tun likan
 tumen oculoob
 y mase valoba
 tumen hach talan u pac, lan Cim Sic uba sih
 sa biloob vay
 yokol Cabe
 la u nu Cul
 tu oah ten
 vuc pel Coro Angelesob
 y Sera finesoob
 u tial kochetic
 in San tisi ma Cruzil
 licil in manel
 in xibat yu Catan
 yok lal
 in tzetze than tic
 uxixin tulacal u Genera lil in sih sah ma se
 valilooob
 y u Generalil in Sih Sah oculilobe
 tux Cayanac uxulul
 u hol lai pa Clan Cim Sah tan ba
 Cu yuchula
 la unu Cul
 Cin tux Chitic lai in val mah than
 ta kaboo
 yolal

- 155 It ought to be read
 To be heard by all the Generals of my
 engendered Indians
 To the end that
 They might know
 Whether thou art obeying all these my
 commandments
- 160 That I send to thee.
 Because, as for all my engendered Indians,
 They are obeying all my commandments.
 Because thus it is now
 That to not a single White person
- 165 May harm be done;
 Nor to an Indian
 May even a bit of harm be done.
 It is because of the permission of my Father
 In the Kingdom of Heaven
- 170 That I descended here,
 Into the world,
 In order to explain something
 For the ears of the Generals of my engendered Indians
 And of the Generals of my engendered Whites,
- 175 That it should be terminated,
 This uprising
 By Whites
 And Indians.
 Because descendants are murdering each other
 here,
- 180 In the world.
 This is the reason
 He gave me
 Seven choirs of angels
 And seraphim
- 185 In order to support it,
 My Most Holy Cross,
 While I travel through
 To visit in Yucatan.
 To the end that
- 190 I might explain something
 For the ears of all the Generals of my engendered
 Indians
 And of the Generals of my engendered Whites,
 That it might be terminated,
 The end of this mutual killing
- 195 That is taking place.
 This is the reason
 I am sending those my commandments
 Into thy hands:
 To the end that

168. I have interpreted *tulisen Cia* as *tu lisencia*.

amentic uxocol
 yub chichan
 y Noh hoch
 Cnac avohet Cexe*
 in uet manex
 tianen
 tavichilexe
 tan in man
 ixinbat yucatane
 tumen Can tulen*
 Cah tu tuchiten ucihcilmil in yum*
 utial Comicionadoil*
 tah vichilex
 yolal
 Cah yanac tex
 hunpel hun olal
 y hunpel yacunah -
 tahbahtanbaex
 y insisah masevalilob
 hencex bix Cu oibotic in yum
 y ucih pamilin Na*
 Colel
 chuhuc suhuy Sta M*
 tu ya haulil ucah nil*
 tahve te lexe*
 tumen ooc u kuchul
 tu orail
 tumen ucih Cel mil in yum*
 in tu chitic teh lein valmah thana*
 yolal
 a voheticexe
 tu men tene*
 mah-menbileni*

200 Thou causest them to be read,
 To be heard by small
 And great.
 Know ye
 That I walk with you,
 205 That I am there
 Among you.
 I am passing through
 To visit in Yucatan.
 Because I am four men,
 210 My Father's Perfect Beauty sent me
 As commissioners
 Among you;
 To the end that
 There might be for you
 215 A bit of peace
 And a little love
 Between yourselves
 And my engendered Indians
 As is wished by my Father
 220 And the Perfect Beauty of my Mother,
 Lady,
 Sweet Virgin St. Mary
 In the Kingdom of Heaven
 For you.
 225 Because it has come
 The time
 Because of my Father's Perfect Beauty
 For me to send thee these my commandments
 To the end that
 230 Ye know them.
 Because, as for me,
 I was not created;

203. I have interpreted *Cnac* as *cayanac* (see note to line 30).209. This seems to be a reference to four commissioners who were trying to arrange a treaty (see line 211). During the summer and fall of 1851, the government in Merida was negotiating with the Chichanha Indians through commissioners (CCA, Letter from Modesto Méndez to José María Tzuc, September 7, 1851; Letter from José María Tzuc to Colonel Juan María Novelo, September 9, 1851; Letter from ? to José María Tzuc, October 5, 1851). The letter dated August 20, 1851, has *can tulon* 'we are four men.'210. I have interpreted *ucihcilmil* as *u cichcilmil* 'Perfect Beauty.' The letter dated September 26, 1851, has *tu orden* 'at his order' instead.

211. See note to line 209.

220. I have interpreted *uciḥ* as *u cich* (cf. note to line 210).223. I have interpreted *tu ya haulil ucah nil* as *tu yahaulil u caanil*.224. I have interpreted this line as *ta vetelexe*.

227. See note to line 210.

228. I have interpreted *teh* as *tech*.

231 232. The letter dated September 26, 1851, has:

tume tene
 ma men bileni
 ha lili
 in Santisima Cruzil men bile
 lelo
 lic yilal xan he tun
 tene
 mīnan yu ChuCil

Because, as for me,
 I was not created.
 Truly,
 My Most Holy Cross was created.
 That one
 Is being seen everywhere too.
 As for me,
 It is not possible

luk balen tu noh u kab inyum
 tac tu yahau lil Caan
 Cat emen vay
 yokol cabe
 ti hoc balen
 tu cahil Chi chéne
 vucpel coro Angelesob*
 y serafinesob*
 lad kamail*
 in Smā Crusil*
 licil in man*
 in xinbat Yucatan*
 tan in noh col*
 tan in lubul
 licil in manel
 dos Cuadras in talel*
 yokol yotoch inpatron*
 tan in than*
 y sisahbilob*
 tumen vacah kuchcen in pechet le lum*
 Licil amanexo*
 Can bin yal usahstale*
 minan yucatan*
 bay tuno

I left the right hand of my Father
 In the Kingdom of Heaven
 235 And descended here
 Into the world.
 I departed from there,
 From the village of Chichen.
 Seven choirs of angels
 240 And seraphim
 Are supporting it,
 My Most Holy Cross,
 While I am passing through
 To visit in Yucatan.
 245 I am falling over;
 I am falling down
 While I am passing,
 [And] I am coming two blocks
 Over my patron's house,
 250 [And] I am speaking
 With [my] children.
 Because if I should come to tread upon that ground
 Over which ye pass,
 When dawn arrived,
 255 There would be no Yucatan.
 Thus, then,

(note continued from preceding page)

ti sihsabiloo
 utial yil Cenoob tin viniCil
 tumen tu hun kal u kinil
 y tu hun kal u yakabil
 Cin voCol yic nal in yum
 y yicnal in colel
 cha huc zuhuy
 St. Maria
 tu Cilich gloria
 tiuyahaullil Caan
 utial in hokes uliCen Ciall
 ti in yum
 Caya nac in Ve mel Vay
 yokol Cabe

239 244. These lines imply that Christ is speaking from the Cross as it is being carried around Yucatan.

245. I have interpreted *noh col* as *noocol* 'fall face down.'

248 255. The point of these lines seems to be that Juan de la Cruz [as Christ on the Cross] could not touch the earth without destroying Yucatan; therefore, he had to be carried over rooftops by angels and seraphim [cf. lines 239–240]. The letter dated September 26, 1851, makes this point more explicitly:

tumen va . . . Ca kuch Cen
 in Pechet le lum
 licil ama nelexo
 cabin yal hun pel orae
 minan mix hun pel Sih sabil
 ti yucatan
 Chen tumen halili ten
 kuchan invol
 titexe
 in sih Sah oulideex
 Cin sat lic tulaCal bax
 hach talan kas
 ooc umen tic titen
 a tro Paoobo

For [my] children,
 For people to see *me*.
 Because for twenty days
 And for twenty nights
 I entered my Father's presence
 And my Lady's presence,
 Sweet Virgin,
 St. Mary,
 In Holy Grace,
 In their Kingdom of Heaven
 In order that I might obtain His permission
 From my Father
 That I might descend here
 Into the world.

Because . . . if I should come
 To tread upon that ground
 Over which ye pass,
 When that hour is called,
 There will not be a single human being
 In Yucatan!
 It is only because truly it is I
 Whose heart is burdened
 For you,
 Ye my engendered Whites,
 That I forgive all the things,
 The great evil,
 That was done to me
 By those troops of thine.

Dⁿ Miguel

tulacal lein Val mah tħan

Cin tuchitic techá

ha lo*

tzá*

Cah aċċebesic

tumen Cin Vilic

mah tan aċċebesice

Cin ċaic humpel unohochil Castigo

tu noh cahil Cansihooó*

yx yokol alumil

yx tulacal leh Lah hu Cahgal misas*

Cah binel amet umentalao*

tu zolol*

cu bin metbil hunpel misae*

hunpel u bal beil*

yx hu Rosariooil*

Cubin ment bil*

tumen tu Lisencia in Yume*

tu noh Cah hil Can Sihoó*

Cubinel Likil in Noh man kinal

li cil Cin binel in ɔah teex

hun pel paz u kaba

tumen ɔoc u kuchul

tu orail

tu habil

insihsah Vi nicilex*

yo kol Cab

bay tuno

tusebal oraé

Cayanac amansic ofi cio ti tulacal a

Generalob*

Cah lusac tu lacal Can ton ob

a ɔa mob

tux man u Sut holob*

u mentob lob

ti insih sah mase valili ob

tumen mix bikin bin hokococ Si sah bilob

yx yolahob

tumen ten tin Sisah mail ɔulob

mahseva lob

Don Miguel,

All these my commandments

That I am sending to thee,

260 Those here,

It is necessary

That thou obey them.

Because [if] I see

That thou art not obeying them,

265 I will place a great punishment

On the city of Merida

And over thy land.

And all those thirty Masses

That thou art going to cause to be performed:

270 In order

Each Mass is going to be performed,

Each Hail Mary,

And each Rosary

That is going to be performed,

275 According to my Father's permission,

In the city of Merida.

They are going to initiate my great holiday

While I am going to give thee

A bit of what is called peace.

280 Because it has come,

The hour

[And] the year

For my engendered people

In the world.

285 Thus, then,

Immediately,

Thou shouldst circulate an order among all thy

Generals

That all the districts might be liberated

That thou hast infiltrated;

290 To which they will not return

To cause harm

To my engendered Indians.

Because [my] children are never going to leave

from there

Voluntarily.

295 Because I it was who have caused the Whites to be

created,

[And] the Indians,

260. I have interpreted *ha lo* as *helō*.

261. The word *tzá* means 'necessary.'

266. The letters dated August 20 and 24, 1851, have *yokol* instead of *tu*. See also note to line 13.

268. I have interpreted *Cahgal* as *cakhal*.

268 276. See note to line 144.

276. See note to line 13.

283. I have interpreted *Vi nicilex* as *Vinicilex*.

287. I have interpreted *ofi cio* as *oficio*.

290. I had difficulty reading this line in the manuscript. I have interpreted *man u Sut holob* as *ma u sutob*.

boxob
 mulatob
 tulac sisahbile
 yalan unoh tu kab*
 [yan u cuxtalob]*
 ꝝ upi xanob
 y cin valic te che
 Cah yanac uchac [achaic] ti ten*
 tu lacal in familiaob*
 Chaa nob*
 tumen a tro paob*
 Cumans Cob u yabal otzili lilob*
 tuk tu kab a tropaobo*
 ma ina tan in mas cob*
 ti numyah*
 cnace*
 ten tin sisahob

[And] Negroes,
 [And] Mulattoes,
 [And] all [my] children.
 300 Beneath his right hand
 [Are their lives]
 And their souls.
 And I tell thee
 That thou ought to free for me
 305 All my kinsmen
 Who were taken
 By thy troops.
 They experienced great misery
 At the hands of thy troops there.
 310 Not even I am causing
 Such misery.
 Thus it must be.
 I it was who caused them to be created;

300 301. The letter dated August 24, 1851, has *yalan u noh in kab yan a cuxtal y a pixan* in this context; the letter dated August 20, 1851, has *yalan u noh in kab yan u Cuxtalooib* in this context; the one dated September 26, 1851, has *yalan u Noh in kab yan a Cuxtalooib* in this context. I have therefore supplied *yan u cuxtalob* to form a couplet with *ꝝ upi xanob*.

304. The letter dated September 26, 1851, has *Cayanac a Chaic titen* in this context. I have supplied *achaic* 'you free,' but it is possible that *uchac* 'ought' is really *uchaic* 'he frees.'

305. The Spanish translation of this line is 'á todas las familias' (to all the families).

306. I have interpreted *Chaa nob* as *Chaanob*.

306 311. The letter dated August 20, 1851, has:

Cayanac amentic u lak Chabal
 tulaCal le in Sih Sah masegu alilob
 chanob
 tumen le a tropaobo
 tumen ha ch u yabal otzilil
 Cumans Coob ta vichileex
 Cin vilau
 tumen ma uu Chac bin num SaCob
 ti yai
 tume n halili ten
 bin num Sicob
 ti yae

The letter dated September 26, 1851, has:

ꝝ Cayanac aChaic titen
 tula Cal le in Sih Sah masevalilob
 yanoob ti Presoilo
 chanool
 tu men a tro Paoobo
 tula Cal
 Cin Valic ti tech
 Caachaoob titen
 bai xiblaloob
 bai Chuplaloob
 tumen tan Uilice
 tan u hach man Coob
 u yabal otzilalil
 taVi Chileex
 ma in na tan in Numsic
 Mix hun pel sih Sabil
 ti otzilalile
 enuq: yan ten u yuchu Cil
 inoaic hun pel Cas tigo
 yokol ulumil tula Cal sih sabilobe

That thou mightest cause another liberation
 Of all my engendered Indians

Who were captured

By those troops of thine.

Because great is the misery

That they caused to pass before your eyes.

I see it.

Because it is not possible that they will be tormented
 With pain.

Because truly it is I

Who will torment *them*

With such pain.

And that thou mightest liberate for me

All those my engendered Indians

Who are in prison,

Who were captured

By those troops of thine.

Everything

That I tell thee

Is so that thou wilt free them for me,

The men,

Just as the women,

Because thou wilt see

That they are causing to pass

Great misery

Before your eyes.

Not even I am tormenting

A single child

With misery

Even though I have the possibility

Of sending a punishment

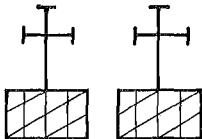
Over the land of all [my] children.

308. The letter dated September 26, 1851, has *u yabal otzilalil* in this context (see preceding note).

312. I have interpreted this line as *cayanace* (cf. note to line 30).

ten tin lohob
 ten tin Vecah
 in kikel*
 yok lalob
 Catin Si sahob
 tpacat vay
 yokol Cabe
 tih tu lacal in sihsahbil
 Cin valic
 yalan u noh in kab
 yanob
 halili
 uxul in than
 ti techo
 Dⁿ Miguel

Jesus
 Maria
 tu kaba D^s yum bil
 y tu kaba D^s mehen bil
 y tu kaba D^s Es piri tu San to
 Amen Jesus
 Ten
 Juan de la Cruz
 Cah nalen
 ti u Cahil x Balam Na
 Ten
 Juan de la Cruz
 Cah nalen
 ti u Cahil, x Cenil
 ti hok balen
 Chi Chene



I it was who redeemed them;
 315 I it was who shed
 My blood
 On their behalf.
 And I caused them to be created
 To see here,
 320 In the world.
 To every one of my children
 I say it:
 Beneath my right hand
 They exist.
 325 Truly,
 My words end
 For thee,
 Don Miguel.

Jesus,
 330 Mary.
 In the name of God the Father,
 And in the name of God the Son,
 And in the name of God the Holy Spirit,
 Amen Jesus.

335 I,
 John of the Cross,
 I reside
 In the village of Jaguar House.
 I,
 340 John of the Cross,
 I reside
 In the village of Decoration.
 I departed from there,
 Chichen.

316. The other four letters have *cilich kikel* 'precious blood' here.

Caste Wars in Yucatecan Folk History (1971)

This appendix contains examples of Yucatecan oral traditions about the Caste War of 1847–1901 that I recorded on tape during the summer of 1971. I have used the phonemic transcription for Yucatec Maya developed by Robert Blair and Refugio Vermont-Salas (1965, 1967) so that linguists as well as folklorists can make use of the two Maya texts. Spanish loan words are spelled as they are pronounced in Maya. False starts and hesitations are marked by ellipses. Each line represents a breath group and is separated from the following line by a pause.

The source of the first text was a former Patron of the Cross in Chanca, one of the settlements founded by some of the descendants of the Cruzob after they became disillusioned with General May's ties with

the Mexican government (see Chapter 8). The second text was elicited from a putative descendant of Cresencio Poot, the head of the Cruzob in 1884, who was living in Carrillo Puerto in 1971.

The initial transcription of the two Maya texts was made by Eleuterio Póot Yah, a native of Hocabá, Yucatan, who accompanied me on my visits to Sotuta, Carrillo Puerto, and Chanca and guided the elicitation sessions there. His questions and comments appear in parentheses (as do mine).

The third text (which is in Spanish) comes from a middle-aged male representative of the Ladino ethnic group in Sotuta. It was transcribed by Liliana Schor of New Orleans. Pauses and hesitations are marked by ellipses, as in the Maya texts.

TEXT B-1

General Cortés and General Bravo

le heneràal kórtés
tàas e b'á?ala?
le heneràal kórtese?
t u láakal óoçil t u b'èetah óolah ti?
(t u láakal)
t u láakal óoçil t u b'èetah óolah ti?
keš óoçileče?
k u k'ašk a k'ab' pàacile?
k u ç'ó?okskeč
k u k'aškeč a k'ab' pàacile?
k u pulkeč hé?e tú?us b'iin u y óoh te? b'ah
hmm

It was General Cortés
Who brought this thing.
As for General Cortés,
He did whatever he pleased to all the poor.
5 (To all of them?)
He did whatever he pleased to all the poor.
Even if you were poor,
He would tie your hands behind your back;
He would finish you off;
10 He would tie your hands behind your back;
He would hurl you wherever he pleased. Hmm.

káyah hó'op' u b'á?até?táal túune?
 káyah túun u hóok'ol
 káyah túun pŕahtal u hóok'ol
 le nukuč máakó?ob'o?
 káyah hó'op' túun u b'á?ate?tkó?ob' túun
 hmm
 hàaq' y éetel tūunič*
 le u Ɂ'ónil ká?ačih lelo?
 nàahaltá?ab' t u mèen óočil máak
 b'eyo?
 t u mèen letí?ó?ob' letí? e . . .
 t u mèen lelo?
 le heneráal kórteso?
 má? k tiáal hé?eš šano?
 letí? tásmahil le hàaq' úuc hé?eš šano?
 letí?ó?ob' p'ekmahil čan sáantah krùus
 túun
 (kuš túun le máakó?ob' yáan ká?ač té?e čan
 sáantah krùuso?
 túuš túun u tálaló?ob' b'eyo?
 pwes le yáaš kahkúunsmahil le sáantah
 krùuso?
 ésteh ka w á?alik le sáantah krùuso?
 pwes lelo? yáan ká?ač ka w á?alik [. . . ? . . .]

áwrah le hač yáaš kahkunsmahilo?
 le nukuč máak hač yáašo?
 animáas dóon háasintoh pàat
 (háasintoh pàat)
 hmm
 letí? túun čan . . .
 letí? túun čan b'á?ate?t túun
 le heneráal kórteso
 káyah páahthih u yantal liibertàad
 le yáašo?
 (le yáaš letí? yáašo?)
 hmm le yáašo?
 lelo? šan màas yáašo?
 míih miš k tāatah yáan ká?ač lelo?
 màas úuč le k in Ɂ'ikb'altik tečo? hmm

t u mèen letí?ó?ob'e?
 désteh káyah luk'ó?ob' mèeridáe?
 óočiló?ob' šan
 čéen táab'il šanb'ó?ob'*
 čéen b'á?ašo?
 p'eká?anó?ob'

And it began to be fought then.
 And they were leaving;
 And they were able to leave,
 Those leaders.
 And they were beginning to fight them then.
 Hmm.
 Slingshots
 Used to be their weapons.
 He was beaten by the poor people,
 In that way.
 Because they, he . . .
 Because that one,
 That General Cortés,
 He was not one of us either.
 He was also the one who used to carry the whip.
 They were the ones who hated Little Holy Cross then.
 (And what about those people who used to be in Little Holy Cross?
 Where did they come from then?)
 Well, the first settler of Holy Cross,
 30 That Holy Cross you say,
 Well, that one whom you say used to be
 [inaudible]
 Now that very first settler,
 That very first leader,
 Was the late Don Jacinto Pat.
 35 (Jacinto Pat?)
 Hmm.
 It was he who was . . .
 It was he who was then raiding
 That General Cortés
 40 In order to be free.
 The first one.
 (The first, he was the first one?)
 Hmm, he was the first one.
 That was the very first one also.
 45 I think that not even our fathers existed then.
 What I am relating to you was even earlier than that.
 Because, as for them,
 After they left Merida,
 They were poor too.
 50 [They had] only rope sandals,
 Only those things.
 They were despised

*Notes to *Text B-1* are identified by line numbers.

¹⁷ 18. *hàaq' y éetel tūunič* literally means 'whip and stone.' Since the Maya of Yucatan used slingshots as weapons against the Spaniards (Follett 1932:393), I have interpreted these words as a metaphorical reference to slingshots.

50. Rich people wore shoes instead of sandals.

té?e mèeridáo?
 t u mèen le u presidentéil mèeridah
 p'eká?ano?
 le ká?ah y óohtahó?ob' tåaló?ob'e?
 ká?ah luk'ó?ob'e?
 ká?ah hó?op' u ?áarmak u b'a?ó?ob' túun
 ká?ah anhih tak séeys miiló?ob'
 syéeteh miiló?ob'e?
 ká?ah hó?op' u tåal u kaškó?ob'
 le noh kàah sáantah krùuso?
 tåal u kaškó?ob' túun
 tåal u kaškó?ob' túun
 tåal u kaškó?ob' túun
 letí? e úučik u yantah túun le b'eh
 tåal tak sab'á?ano?*
 wáah a w òohlo?
 letí? e úučik u kaškó?ob' túun
 letí? hóo?kó?ob' té?e noh kàah sáantah
 krùuso? [. . . ? . . .]*
 letí? e páahтик u ø'ikó?ob' u mùukó?ob' way
 ti? u y éetel máasewáaliló?ob' b'eyá?
 [. . . ? . . .]
 náahk u b'á?ate?ló?ob' ká?ačo?
 pwes hač náakik u b'á?ate?ló?ob'e?
 (tak túuš túun kàahil máanó?ob' b'ey
 a w òohlih tečo?)
 pwes lelo? hač náakik u b'á?ate?ló?ob'e?
 pèetoh
 u č'á?ahmahiló?ob' le kàaha?
 tak té?e
 k'áanka? č'é?en*
 ø'ítb'al č'é?en*
 b'ëekan č'é?en*
 tak ší?ik . . . šikin kàah hmm
 letí? čam b'ëelo?
 b'eh hé?elo? hmm
 letí? e nukuč máakó?ob' túun
 k u b'á?ate?ló?ob'o?
 way
 yúukatàaniló?ob'e?
 čéen t u mèen y óolal óoçilil šane?
 ká?ah hóok'ó?ob' túun waye?
 pwes le haaø' t u tåasah e hèeneral kórteso?

There in Merida
 By that mayor of Merida.
 55 They were despised.
 When they decided to come [here],
 They left [Merida].
 And they began to arm themselves then.
 And there were up to six thousand
 60 [Or] seven thousand of them.
 And they began to come looking for it,
 That city of Holy Cross.
 They came looking for it then;
 They came looking for it then;
 65 They came looking for it then.
 That was the origin, then, of that road
 That comes from Saban.
 Did you know that?
 They happened to look for it then.
 70 They left for the city of Holy Cross there.
 [inaudible]
 They were able to offer their support here
 To their fellow Indians in this way. [inaudible]
 They arrived to fight long ago.
 Well they kept arriving to fight here.
 75 (Through which towns did they pass then?
 Do you know that?)
 Well, they kept arriving to fight here.
 Peto:
 They captured this town.
 80 On the way there:
 Kancabchen,
 Dzitbalchen,
 Becanchen,
 Until they went to . . . the outskirts of town.
 Hmm.
 85 It is that little road,
 That road there. Hmm.
 They were the leaders then,
 Who were fighting
 Here.
 90 They were natives of Yucatan.
 It was only because of suffering also
 That they left for this place then.
 Well it was that whip that General Cortés carried

67. Saban lies between Peto and Carrillo Puerto (formerly Chan Santa Cruz) (see Map 7).

70. This is a reference to the exodus of Indians from the northwestern part of the peninsula to Quintana Roo during the second half of the nineteenth century.

81 83. Evidently the refugees passed through these towns on their way to Peto (see Map 7). Kancabchen was a major rebel center in 1849 (Archivo General del Estado [Yucatán], Gobierno, 1849, Official letter from the General Commander of Peto to the General Commander of the East, September 14, 1849).

90. He means that they were not natives of Quintana Roo, but were refugees from the northwestern part of the peninsula around Merida (from what is now the state of Yucatan).

úučik u b'èetik le b'á?alo? [. . . ? . . .]
 b'eyo? kéen síipkeče?
 yàan u ha¢'kečó?ob' šan
 (čeéen)
 hmm yàan u ha¢'kečó?ob'í?istako?
 (le b'ey ikil u ha¢'kó?ob' máak túun b'eyo?
 b'ey túun b'ey b'á?aš ?ó?olale?)
 čéen wáah b'á?aš a sí?ipil b'eyo?
 čéen wáah k a núuhk u t'áane?
 k u ha¢'keč
 má? t u y ó?olal wáah b'á?aš ?ó?olali?
 čéen y ó?olal u núuhk u t'áan
 komoh nukuč máakó?ob'e?
 letí?ó?ob' k u máandaró?ob'e?
 hé? čan u b'èetkó?ob'e? hmm
 (má? y u¢iló?ob' máak b'eyo?)
 hihí
 le èepokah ká?ačo?
 miká?ah in w á?al teč
 wáah túun y ugil
 wáah túun màas ?u¢
 wáah túun màas k'ás
 t u mèen lelo?
 má? y ug b'ehlá? šano?
 b'ehlá? túun lìibertàad
 hàah
 b'ey
 pero b'áan túun
 yá?ab' b'á?aš k u y učul šana? hmm
 má? u tiá?al ká?ah yanak máak hač čeč
 b'ey? hmm
 le èepokah ká?ač úučo?
 wáah yàan a sípe?
 k a há?a¢'al
 b'ey ¢'ó?okih
 ¢'ó?ok b'eyo?
 síh le b'ehlá?aka?
 k a sí?ipe?
 k a ¢'á?ab'al kàarséel
 b'á?an túun
 lelo? čéen miš b'á?ah
 wáah a w ilik ká?ah kíinseh [. . . ? . . .]
 miš b'á?ah
 le úučo?
 wáah k a kíinsik hun túul máake?
 kíinsb'ileč
 b'á?an ten t u mèen u ?èepokáil yaniló?on
 b'eyo? hmm
 (teče? máakalmáak túun k a tuklik màas
 má?alob'il)
 màas má?alob'il in w á?alik ká?ače?

That made them do such a thing [inaudible].
 95 Thus, if you made a mistake,
 They had to whip you too.
 (Only for that?)
 Hmm. They certainly had to whip you!
 (Then when they whipped someone like that,
 Then for what reason was it?)
 100 No matter how trivial your mistake,
 If you only answered them back,
 They would whip you.
 It was not because of something important.
 105 It was only because they answered them back.
 Because they were powerful people.
 It was they who gave the orders
 That they had to carry out. Hmm.
 (They weren't nice people then?)
 110 Haha!
 That epoch then,
 I am going to tell you about
 The good,
 Or the best,
 115 Or the worst.
 Because that
 Is not good now either.
 Now [there is] freedom,
 It is true.
 120 Yes.
 But then why
 Do so many things happen now? Hmm.
 It is not so that there might be someone to
 anguish like this! Hmm.
 During that epoch long ago,
 125 If you made a mistake,
 You were whipped.
 Thus finished,
 Finished like that!
 If today
 130 You make a mistake,
 You are sent to jail.
 What's that?
 That's nothing at all!
 If you saw him kill [inaudible],
 135 Nothing!
 Formerly,
 If you killed a man,
 You would be killed [too].
 Why? Because it was the epoch in which we lived
 then. Hmm.
 140 (As for you, which do you think is better?)
 I say that the past was better,

letí? u ?èepokáil le úučo?
 (le úuč ká?ačo?)
 le éesklabitùudo)
 éesklabitùud b'eyo?
 lelo? šan yàan màas k u čan dùural máak
 úuč klàaroh b'ey ká?ačo?
 péroh b'ehlázake?
 má?
 hézel e b'eh mèentá?ano?
 kénsah b'uká?ah máak  u kíimli? hmm

 k u pé?eč'el t u mèen kamýòn túun
 b'ávaló?ob' k u b'èetá?al
 líibèertàad ?aniló?on
 líibèertá?ad péroh té?elo? . . .
 le b'èetke? nukuč máakó?ob' úučo?
 k u b'árate?ló?ob' b'eyo?
 t u b'árate?t u b'á?ó?ob' hmm
 (t u y ó?olal le líibèertáado?)
 hmm y ó?olal le líibèertáado?
 bwénoh b'ehláz?e? líibèertá?ad
 líibèertá?ad šan ?aniló?on b'eyá?
 má?alob' čan ?aniló?on
 óo?iló?on šan b'eyá?
 keš b'eyo?
 yàan k nòok'
 yàan k hanal
 yàan k ?uk'ul
 yàan . . .
 miš máak áahkab'áanskeč
 mu? ketkeh ká?ač t u tyèempoh bràaboh
 šano?
 čéen p'el a čan čital t a k'áane?
 miná?an muká?ah u y áalkab'áanseč hmm
 b'áan ten t u mèen túun . . . t yá?an nah
 tú?uš a kašk a wèenle?
 b'uká?ah túun óo?il yáanal k'áaš hmm

 b'uká?ah túun óo?ilil t u y ilah máak
 u ?àanyoh k u máan máak yáanal k'áaš
 k u k'ohá?anil t u lákal
 b'áaš t u b'èetah bràabó?
 b'uká?ah óo?il t u b'èetah
 b'uká?ah óolah t u b'èetah
 b'uká?ah óolah t u b'èetah
 hé?eš t u b'èetah
 le yáaš óok le . . . éspanyòolo?
 b'ey šan t u b'èetah letí?
 (b'ey šan)
 lelo? t u tyèempoh porpidyoh dyáase? lelo?
 hmm

- The previous epoch!
 (The past?
 That slavery?)
 145 Such slavery,
 But people lasted longer in those days.

 But now,
 It isn't so.
 That road that was made there,
 150 Who knows how many people have died [on it]?
 Hmm.
 They are run over by buses then.
 The things that are done,
 We live in freedom,
 Freedom, but over there . . .
 155 Therefore, the leaders long ago,
 They fought like that;
 They fought among themselves. Hmm.
 (For freedom?)
 Yes, for that freedom.
 160 Well, now [there is] freedom.
 We live in freedom too like this.
 We live rather well,
 [Even though] we seem to be poor.
 Nevertheless,
 165 We have clothing;
 We have food;
 We have beverages,
 We have . . .
 No one makes you flee.
 170 It was not the same during the Bravo era,
 however.
 You could hardly lie in your hammock
 Without being caused to flee. Hmm.
 Why? Because then . . . home existed
 Wherever you found [a place] to sleep.
 175 How many poor people were [living] in the forest?
 Hmm.
 How much suffering did people see
 During the years they passed in the forest?
 Everyone was sick.
 What did Bravo do?
 180 How much suffering did he cause?
 How much pleasure did he provide?
 How much pleasure did he provide?
 He caused as much
 As those first . . . Spanish explorers.
 185 He caused that much too.
 (That much too.)
 That was during the era of Porfirio Díaz, that.
 Hmm.

t u tyèempoh porpidyoh dyáase?*
 t u láakal lah
 t u láakal lelo?
 miná'an miš tú'uš ká?ac k u y iláyah šan
 wáah má? tách kíinsá' al
 miš tú'uš k a w ilá?ale?
 wáah má? tách φ'ó?onol
 miš tú'uš k a w ilá?ale?
 wáah má? tách kíinsá' al
 t u láak kíinsah
 wáah má? tách kíinsá' al

It was during the era of Porfirio Díaz
 That everything ended,
 190 All that.
 There was formerly nowhere one could be seen
 Without being killed;
 Nor anywhere you could be seen
 Without being shot;
 195 Nor anywhere you could be seen
 Without being killed;
 Any killing
 Without being killed.

188. Porfirio Díaz was the President of Mexico from 1876 to 1910 (Simpson 1967:287–297). General Ignacio Bravo captured Chan Santa Cruz in 1901 while Díaz was President (Villa Rojas 1945:28).

TEXT B-2

The Epoch of Slavery

(nohoč φ'ùul má? k'ahá'an teč
 b'iš čú?umpahik e gyèerah úučo?)
 le čú?umpahak e gyèeráo?
 le gyèerah kàastah k a w á?alik tèeč
 hé?elo?
 estéh . . . u čú?umpahik le gyèerah kàastáo?
 a w òohel tú'uš u ráarankàarnahó?ob' u
 máayor pàarteh déeh hèenteh
 káyah hóok' way båandá?
 (má? in w òohli?)
 u hèenteh
 déeh èepokah éeskabitùud
 t u ?èepokah dóon séesilyoh či?
 dóon háasintoh pàat
 tí? luk'ó?ob' š kùulum piič?
 t u båantah tìhosùukoh*
 náak y óol hèenteh u palitá?al
 má? teč u hanal
 miš tyèempoh vič ki?
 hástah miš teč u weneh
 t u y ó?olal miš b'á?ale?
 káyah kú?učle?

(Sir, don't you remember
 How that war began long ago?)
 The beginning of that war,
 What you call the caste war,
 5 Uh . . . that caste war began.
 Do you know from where the majority of the
 people were driven out
 When they left for this district here?
 (I don't know.)
 They were people
 10 Of the epoch of slavery,
 In the epoch of Don Cecilio Chi
 [And] Don Jacinto Pat.
 They left from Culumpich
 In the district of Tihosuco.
 15 People were tired of being slaves,
 They never ate,
 Nor was there time to bathe,
 Nor even to sleep.
 On account of nothing,
 For dawdling,

*Notes to Text B-2 are identified by line numbers.

13–14. Culumpich was an estate owned by Jacinto Pat (see Chapter 8).

k u ꝑ'ab'al teč hun p'él áarobah*
 wáah káyah p'él áarobah haaꝑ/*
 t u láakal b'ey u káyah b'èeno?
 u ?éepokah éeskabitùud
 entónses té?e káyah túul nukuč káabesìiyáo?
 t u y ohéeltó?ob' e way bàandáe?
 yàan hun p'él grùupoh hèentée?
 b'iš u y áyalá?al
 t u kóontrah u gobyèernoh
 u tá?akm u b'á?ó?ob' tí? éeskabitùud
 má? u? t u t'aanó?ob'i?
 k y áik dóon háasintoh pàat
 sekretaménteh
 tí? u . . . hé? u . . . u hèenteh
 b'ey k u máaneharkó?ob'
 b'ey k u máan t u k'ab'
 čeen wáah t u ?áasyctah lc óo?il paliçiló?ob'
 u máanehar té?e*
 té?e máanehart u meyahtik*
 káyah t u ꝑ'ab'al déeh áakwerdode?
 y éetel dóon háasintoh pàat
 u ?aalçark u b'áah b'ey táak t u kašto?*
 déeh hèenteh k y á?alik yàan wèeyeh e
 k'áasha?*
 le b'á?alo? yàanal ha?*
 wáah k'učukó?ob' b'eyá?
 áay dyos míiyoh
 tóokb'il u mèentb'il*
 bwéenoh k'áat . . . tiráatoh plàanoh
 deh k y á?al keh k u b'èetá?al tåal dyáah
 peroh ꝑ'ab'al deh akwèerdoh té?e hèenteh*
 peroh sín dyóoh kàaltah*
 sín keh y ohéeltah*
 táantoh keh čeen b'ey šan tèec
 bwéenoh keh t u tiráatoh b'ey plàanoh hóok'
 b'eh
 míih čeen hàah dyóos
 pwes čeen hun p'él dyáah káyah sáasčahih
 le áasyentah miš hun túul wíiniki?
 yàan áasyentah miš hun túuli?
 túun b'in le máako?
 tí? t u wèeyeh k'áash
 móontanyah

You would be given a twenty-five pound
 Or a fifty-pound whip.
 Such were all the excesses
 Of the epoch of slavery.
 25 Then the two great leaders there,
 They realized that here, in this district,
 There was a group of people—
 How is it said?—
 Against the government.
 30 They were hiding from slavery.
 They didn't like it.
 Don Jacinto Pat spoke,
 Secretly,
 To his . . . people.
 35 He led them in that way;
 He guided them in that way,
 But only the poor slaves who were working on his
 estate;
 He directed their work there.
 And an agreement was made
 40 With Don Jacinto Pat.
 They rebelled in that way until they found them
 there.
 They say that there were people's footprints
 here in the forest.
 That matter was kept secret.
 If they had arrived here,
 45 O my God!
 It would have been burned.
 Well, he wanted a plan drawn up
 That said that it would be done on such-and-
 such day.
 But an agreement was made [with] the people there,
 50 But without putting it in writing,
 So that they did not learn of it,
 Nor you either.
 Well, in drawing up that plan to leave by road,
 I think it was just God's truth.
 55 Well, just one day at dawn,
 There was not a single man [on] the estate!
 There were estates without anyone!
 Those people were going
 After footprints in the forest,
 60 Woods.

21–22. An *arroba* is a weight of twenty-five pounds (Cuyás 1904:49). Evidently the whip had a weight on the end.

37 38. The storyteller describes Jacinto Pat as an overseer on an estate. In fact, he was the owner of the *hacienda* of Culumpich.

41 42. In other words, the rebels followed human footprints in the forest until they reached Chan Santa Cruz.

43. The term *yàanal ha?* literally means 'underwater.'

46. That is, Chan Santa Cruz would have been burned if the enemy had found out about their plans.

49 51. That is, so that the Whites would not find out about it.

porkeh le úučo?
 túuš túun e k'áaš b'ey
 k'áaš
 bwénoh
 pwes k u hóop'ob' way báandáe?
 k u y ilikó?ob' yàan u wèeyeh wíinik
 keš k'áaš
 sùulub'
 káyah hóop' u sèegerkó?ob'
 u sèegerkó?ob'
 áastah káyah túun èenkontrartó?ob' túun
 way té?e lúugara?
 káyah t'aanah y éetel u hèefeh le máakó?ob'
 yàanó?ob' way báandáa?
 káyah t u y áalahó?ob'e?
 senyòor
 tó?one?
 tàaló?on refòorsàarteč
 h k'áat té?e béengart h b'ah tí? le ç'ùulo?
 t u mèen ç'ó?ok hač p'iistal u pàalintkó?on
 b'ey u máanehàartkó?on b'áalcé?e?
 síih túun k u kréertkó?ob'e?
 t ?ó?olale?*
 yàan u šaanb'ó?ob'*
 yàan u nòok'ó?ob'*
 yàan t u láakal*
 hun túul ç'ùule?*
 má?a teč u hayk'iink u b'áah*
 tó?one?
 k meyahtkó?ob'
 b'áan ten b'iin u tráatartó?on k'áas
 pwes má?
 tó?one? náak k ?óol
 tàaló?on áakompanyàarté?eše?
 kó?oné?eš y óok'oló?ob'
 má? a kréertik
 wáah tráaysyonèeró?on
 tó?one?
 tàaló?on k réeforsàarteč
 tó?one? h k'ahóol
 k ?óohel
 túuš yàan u b'ehil
 k ?óohel
 máašó?ob'
 fulanóil
 pwes b'ey úučik u kàahal le máakó?ob'o?

Because formerly,
 There was forest everywhere like this,
 Forest.
 Fine,
 65 Well they left for this district here.
 They saw that there were human footprints
 Even [in the] forest,
 A trail.
 And they began to follow it.
 70 They followed it
 Until they found, then,
 This place here.
 And they spoke to the leader of the people who
 were here in this district.
 And they told him:
 75 "Sir,
 As for us,
 We came to join you.
 We want to avenge ourselves there against those
 Whites.
 Because they have exploited us too much.
 80 They treat us like animals.
 Do you realize, then,
 That it is [only] because of us
 That they have shoes,
 That they have clothes,
 85 That they have everything?
 As for the White man,
 He never suns himself.
 As for us,
 We serve them.
 90 Why should they treat us badly?
 Well no!
 We are tired of it!
 We came to join you.
 Let's attack them!
 95 Don't think
 That we are traitors!
 As for us,
 We came to join you.
 We are acquainted with,
 100 We know
 Where their routes are.
 We know
 Who they are,
 So-and-so.
 105 Well, the towns of those people happen to be like
 this!""

82 85. That is, their wealth was derived from Indian labor.

86 87. The White man did not have to work in the sun.

(máaš túun le k u héeneralil le waya?)
 estèeh animáas in ?áabweloh
 dóon hoséh kresénsyoh
 (u ?apeyídoh)
 dóon hoséh kresénsyoh poot
 t u mèen in ?animáas in ?áabweloh
 k y áik ten
 áanimas in páadrinóe?
 iihoh náaturáal b'in
 má? φ'oká?an u b'èeli?
 letí? le . . . ésteh . . . u ?áabweloh in
 ?animáas . . . in ?áabweloh . . .
 bwénoh kyéröh desír u màamah animáas in
 ?áabweloh
 má? φ'oká?an u b'èeli?
 letí?
 kàardos
 u k'aab'a? u pàapah
 u ?áapeyidoh u pàapah
 péroh kómoh u ?iöhoh náaturáale?
 káyah t u č'áyah u ?áapeyìdoh u màamah
 entónses . . . le túun le animáas in
 ?áabweloo?
 komoh keh letí? béelisènyoh
 hač fáasilidad túune?
 k u b'èetik kóontratoh béelisée?
 u tiá?al u konkó?ob' káawbáah
 u konkó?ob' tiintah
 té?e sáantah krùus čìikóo?*
 y éetel té?e š tóok móo?*
 y éetel té?e š čak čòob'il?*
 keen líik'ik hèenteh kàadah mèeso?
 b'in u káyah u kobràartó?ob' u ?àarentáil u
 č'á?akal káawobah
 té?e k u tåal mùulisyðono?
 té?e k u tåal pòolborái?
 té?e k u tåal plòomói?
 té?e k u tåal kàawsulá?
 té?e k u tåal φ'òoni?
 t u láak' mèese?
 u láak' grùupoh k u b'in
 nòok' kun tåaseh
 áaparteh [. . . ? . . .]
 pwes b'ey u kóokó?ob' u nú?ukul gyèeřáo?
 k u b'èetkó?ob' prèenteh tí? u hèenteh
 gobyèernoh
 (entónses túun k u č'í?ikó?ob' lelo?)
 bëeliseh
 máatik le òorahako?

(Who, then, was their leader here?)
 My late grandfather,
 Don José Crescencio.
 (His surname?)
 110 Don José Crescencio Poot.
 Because my late grandfather,
 I was told
 By my late godfather,
 Is said to have been an illegitimate child.
 115 She was not married.
 She, the . . . uh . . . my late . . . grandfather . . .
 Well, that is to say, my late grandfather's mother
 Was not married.
 He—
 120 Cardos
 Was his father's name,
 His father's surname.
 But because he was an illegitimate child,
 He took his mother's surname.
 125 Then . . . as for my late grandfather then,
 Since he was a Belizean,
 It was very easy, then,
 For him to make contracts [with] Belize
 For them to sell mahogany
 130 [And] to sell dyewood
 There in Little Holy Cross,
 And there in Xtocomo,
 And there in Chacchobil.
 When people arose every month,
 135 They went to collect their rent for cutting
 mahogany.
 Munitions were coming there;
 Powder was coming there;
 Lead was coming there;
 Bullets were coming there;
 140 Guns were coming there.
 The next month,
 Another group would go.
 It would bring clothes back.
 Separately [inaudible].
 145 Well that is how they obtained those weapons.
 They did it in front of the government people.
 (Then, from where did they get those things?)
 [From] Belize.
 No, well, at that time,

miná?an čéetumàal
 síih čéetumàalo?
 àawrah pòokoh fóomentàarnahih
 yah kéeh le òorahako?
 lìibreh u b'inó?ob' nù?ukul
 u krusàart u b'eh biyáah
 u tiával u tyèerah iìngles
 (k'ešb'il u mèéentkó?ob')
 eksáaktaméenteh
 k'ešb'il u mèéentik
 u y òohló?ob' b'iš u tráatarmiló?ob'
 u ?éesplotàart e káawobáo?
 y éetel le té?e tiintáo?
 hé? k u b'in kàaadah mèese?
 wáah tí? mèes lela?
 káawobah t u kobraártó?ob' u ?àarentáil
 t u láak' mèeso?
 tiintah
 esyáskeh t u láak' lelo?
 té?e k u kóok u b'á?aš k'ab'éet
 u tiával u kuškíinsk u b'á?o?ob'
 kláaroh le èepokáakó?
 miná?an màawséer
 miná?an miš b'á?ah
 pùuroh nukuč φ'òn déeh číiminiyah
 (š to?k'ihφ'ònkeφ)
 má?
 ésteh t in k'ahóoltah
 nukuč b'á?al [. . . ? . . .]
 péroh k u b'èetkó?ob' túun
 pàarkeh tó?ob'il y éetel hú?une?
 yáaš táanih kun u φ'á?o?ob' báalah
 despwèese?
 u tàakó?
 y óok'ole?
 u pòolboráa?
 k u c'otkó?ob'
 le k u híilpey t u šaab' t u y òoráil túun u
 b'á?ate?le?
 u y òohel deh keh tú?uš u č'otmo?
 tiá?an le pòolboráo?
 φ'ó?ok u φ'áik tí? le φ'óno?
 φ'ó?ok [. . . ? . . .]
 má? k'ahá?an ten
 kàawsulah puφ'ki?
 séeb'á?an u φ'òn y éetel
 kláaroh b'ehlá?e?
 miná?an
 péroh úu?o?
 letí?elo?
 entónses ká?ah páah u ?áarmark u b'á?o?ob'

150 Chetumal did not exist.
 Yes, Chetumal there,
 Now, it was [only] slightly developed.
 For at that time,
 Weapons moved freely.
 155 They passed along the road from Vigia
 Into English territory.
 (They exchanged them?)
 Exactly!
 They exchanged them.
 160 They knew how to make agreements
 To exploit that mahogany
 And that dyewood there.
 They would go there every month.
 If during this month,
 165 They received the rent for the mahogany,
 In the following month
 [It would be] dyewood.
 So then in the next, that.
 They obtained whatever they needed there
 170 In order to survive.
 In that epoch, to be sure,
 There were no Mausers.
 There was nothing,
 Only muzzle loaders.
 175 (Flint-lock rifles?)
 No.
 I knew those.
 They were enormous things [inaudible].
 But they used them then,
 180 Bullets wrapped in paper.
 First they put the bullet in.
 After that,
 The wad there,
 On top.
 185 The powder here
 They twisted [into it].
 When they took it out to separate it during the
 battle then,
 They knew that where it was twisted,
 That powder was there.
 190 They had put it into that gun.
 They had [inaudible].
 I don't remember.
 The bullets had gone there,
 Their guns quickly with them.
 195 To be sure, now,
 There aren't any.
 But formerly,
 There were some.
 Then when they could arm themselves,

y éetel e q' u y ilkó?ob' u páahtali?
 b'ey túun ká?ah hó?op' u líik'ló?ob'?

ánimás héeneràal dóon béernadiinoh
 kèen

le dóon séesilyoh či?o?

le dóon háasintoh pàato?

dóon kreséensyoh pó?ot

y éetel dóon modèestoh áagilàar
 bwéenoh kàadah héeneràale?

k y áike?

wáah dóon kreséensyoh gánartik pèetóe?

t u y ú?usah syèen prèesos

k y áike?

pwes wáah šìib'eč t a gánartah pèetóe?

tene?

tek'aš kin in gáanarteh*

tàal díyah šan in b'in
 byèen

k u ?éenfilàartá?ale?

le animás dóon bëernadiinoh kèeno?

hač . . . ésteh b'iš u y á?alá?al tí? e b'á?alá?al

hač u nohçil héeneràal

letí? e čéen syèen òombres k u b'isik

má?k'ab'éet yá?ab'i?

k u ?éenfilàartá?al keš

siinkoh wáah sèeys filah hèenteh

k u máan u réekohéert u hèenteh

a w òohel wáah b'iš u kašk u hèentéo?

u máak b'ey b'á?alo?

(úhum)

á?al in w ú?uy wáah a w òohel

(má? má? in w òohli?)

pwes letí? e k u tàale?

k u péeq'k'ab'keč té?e b'eya?

komoh čéen wáah šíib'páal náaturàal

má? . . .

péroh wáah sáakeče?

ha? má? pá?ateči?

syèen kun u kašteh

t a w ú?uyah

bwéenoh pwes k u b'in k u b'èetk u ?apoštah

keh tak tak e [. . . ? . . .]

entónses déeh repèenteh túune?

ká?ah t u y ohéeltó?ob'e?

- 200 And they had seen that they could,
 Thus, then, when they began to rise up,
 The late General Don Bernardino Cen,
- That Don Cecilio Chi,
 That Don Jacinto Pat,
- 205 Don Cresencio Poot,
 And Don Modesto Aguilar,
 Well, as for each general,
 He would say:
 "If Don Cresencio had been the one who
 captured Peto,
- 210 He would have caused one hundred prisoners to
 arrive here."
- He would say:
 "If you were a man, you would have captured
 Peto.
- As for me,
 I am going to capture Tekax.
- 215 I am going on such-and-such day too."
- Fine,
 Columns were formed.
 That late Don Bernardino Cen,
 He was very . . . uh, how is this thing called?
- 220 He was the top general.
 He took only one hundred men [with him].
 He did not need many.
 Columns were formed, fine:
 Five or six columns of people.
- 225 He went to recruit his people.
 Do you know how he found his people there?
 His men like that?
 (Uh-huh.)
 Tell me, if you know!
- 230 (No, I don't know.)
 Well, he would come,
 He would grab you like this!
 But if he was only an illegitimate child,
 No . . .
- 235 But if you were afraid,
 You would not be chosen.
 He would find one hundred,
 You heard.
 Fine, well he would go to make his bet
- 240 That until, until the [inaudible]
 Then suddenly there,
 They realized

214. This may be a reference to a raid on Tekax led by Cresencio Poot in the fall of 1857 (Molina Solís 1921:2:284 287; Reed 1964:165 170).

deh keh le báarkoh*
 le pónodyarnah*
 túuš káyah [. . . ? . . .] le máako?*
 [. . . ? . . .]*
 le báarko?*
 letí? e ríiyoh k u b'in u kašt e páak'ilo?*
 péroh kómoh aktáan káayubíispoh e kàab'al
 há?e?*
 má? t u krúusarti?*
 tí? pónodyarnahi?*
 tí? páak'i?*
 entónses y éetel le làanča?o?*
 káyah hó?op' u bíhiláarkó?ob' le ríiyoo?*
 túuš k u krusáar le hèenteh?
 way k u b'in kobràaro?*
 letí?
 lc u b'èel k u k'á?alo?
 t u y ó?olal u kortá?al
 t u y ó?olal u hó?osá?al
 le pòolboráo?
 u nú?ukul b'á?até?el
 t u mèen y ohéeltah
 t u mèen miismoh
 le wayiló?ob' k u čú?ukló?ob'o?
 k u k'áatá?al u čí?ó?ob'
 túuš k u č'á?akó?ob' u nú?ukul gyèerah
 b'iš u b'èetkó?ob'
 pwes wáah má? t a w á?ah b'ehlá?e?
 sáamal káyah b'eh yàan a w á?ik

 b'ey úučik u y ohéeltik préesidèenteh déeh
 lah repùublikah
 deh keh túuš yàan u b'èelil
 túuš k u máan máak
 túuš k u tাাal
 entónses káyah t u túuštah e nuší? báarkoh
 káargadoh y éetel soldàadoso?
 k u y òokló?ob' té?e ríiyoh
 k u b'in tak u č'á?ikó?ob' le ríiyoh òondóo?
 péroh b'á?asé?
 má? t'u krusàartah té?e aktáan káayubispoo? 280
 t u mèen hač kàab'al u há?il
 té?e páak'i?
 entónses
 y éetel túun le làančá?

That that barge
 Ran aground
 245 Where [inaudible] those people,
 [inaudible].
 That barge,
 The river was going to sink it.
 But as there was shallow water in front of Cayo
 Obispo,
 250 It didn't cross it.
 It ran aground there;
 It sank there.
 Then, with that launch,
 They began to patrol that river
 255 Where those people would cross
 [When] they went to collect [the rent] here.
 It is
 The road that was closed there,
 On account of its having been cut,
 260 On account of there having been intercepted,
 That powder
 [And] their weapons.
 Because they learned of it,
 Because it was the same.
 265 Those people from here were captured;
 They were interrogated
 As to where they had obtained their weapons,
 How they did it.
 Well, if you did not tell them today,
 270 You would have to tell them tomorrow or the
 next day.
 Thus it happened that the President of the
 Republic learned
 Where their road was,
 Where people passed,
 From where they came.
 275 Then when he sent that barge,
 It was loaded with soldiers.
 They entered the river there.
 They went until they reached that Hondo River.
 However,
 It did not cross there in front of Cayo Obispo.
 Because the water was very shallow,
 It sank there.
 Then,
 With that launch then,

243 256. According to Villa Rojas (1945:28), a customs station was established in January 1898 "at the mouth of the Rio Hondo to prevent the colonists of Belize from providing the Indians with arms and ammunition in exchange for illegal concessions to exploit the national forests. This station was installed on an especially constructed pontoon raft anchored opposite a point on the shore called 'Cayo Obispo' by the Maya of the region. Fear of the Indians' hostility toward outsiders was still considerable, yet the little crew of the raft set about clearing and cleaning up the immediately adjacent stretch of coast." In other words, the barge didn't run aground in the shallow water in front of Cayo Obispo; it was deliberately towed and anchored there.

k u hóo?ló?ob'ō?
 k u p'atkó?ob' le bàarkó?
 le nohčko?
 k u y áalkab'kó?ob' le riiyóo?
 porkeh té?e díiflkultàad u krusàartá?al
 posih čéen p'el u b'á?ale?
 u láak' k u tাল
 b'á?ale?
 u láak'
 istikyah wáah t u krusàartó?ob'
 t u láakal u y ilahó?ob'e?
 hač pérsegiidoh
 t u ?orah lelo? le báalkalàar
 wáah a k'ahóolo?
 yàan gwàardyah k u q'á?ab'al t u mèen e
 hèenteh weya?
 kéen ší?ik hun p'éel ésteh . . . b'iš u y
 á?alá?al . . .
 hun p'éel kóompanyàah u b'èet u gwàardyah
 báakalàare?*
 séeys mèeses k u réelebàartá?al*
 wáah t u ?orail e kòole?*
 yàan u kó?olol u kòol*
 yàan u pá?ak'al*
 i wáah t u ?oráil e hòocoke?*
 luk' té?e yàano?*
 keh tak preservar*
 le kun hočik*
 le kun č'ikik*
 bwéenoh en fiin letí? e kostùumbréo?
 káyah túun hó?op' u q'á?ab'al u yùumil
 destéeh báalkalàare?
 u tiá?al bíhilàartike?
 túuš pónodyadoh le bàarkó?
 b'á?aš k u b'èetik
 hú? luk'ló?ob'e?
 má? wáah
 k u b'in e kóomisyòono?
 k u k'učul
 k u y ilik
 k u sùut á?ab'ile?
 tiá?ani?
 sáamale?
 u láak' k u b'in
 ta?byah tiá?ani?
 puroh b'e?o?
 čéen déeh repéenteh káyah ilá?ab'e?*

- 285 They left;
 They abandoned that barge,
 That big one.
 They continued along that river
 Because it was difficult to cross there.
 290 However,
 Another came;
 However,
 Another.
 If they tried to cross it, there was trouble.
 295 Everyone they saw
 Was being followed closely.
 Bacalar, at that time,
 Did you know
 That it was being guarded by these people here?
 300 That there went a . . . how is it called? . . .
 A company to guard Bacalar?
 [After] six months it was relieved.
 If it was time for the clearing,
 Their fields had to be cleared;
 305 They had to be planted.
 And if it was time for the harvest,
 They left from there
 In order to preserve
 What they would harvest,
 310 What they would salvage.
 Well, in the end, that was the custom.
 And then their leaders from Bacalar began to be
 stationed
 In order to patrol
 Where that boat had run aground.
 315 "What are they doing?
 They are going to leave,
 Aren't they?"
 That delegation went.
 It arrived;
 320 It observed it.
 It returned to report
 That it was there.
 The next day,
 Others went.
 325 It was still there,
 Just like that.
 And only suddenly it was seen,

³⁰¹ 310. This is a description of the *guardia*, the system of rotational military service that was practiced in Chan Santa Cruz (Chapter 8).

³²⁷ 336. According to Nelson Reed (1964:238), the crew of the barge (named the *Chetumal*) constructed "a defensive log rampart near the water's edge" after "clearing the bank close to their anchorage" (see also notes to lines 243–256 above).

le u y ùumil le báarkóo?*
 t u lúugar u b'inó?ob'e?*
 q' u hóo?ló?ob' té?e le háal há?o?*
 içil le màangláo?*
 tun b'èetkó?ob' u nah déeh č'iit?*
 ká?ah á?alá?ab'e?*
 le máakó?ob'a?*
 tun káahló?ob'*
 má? t u b'inó?ob'*
 u šùule?
 kó?oné?eš kolik h b'ah
 ká?ah t u súspendéer le hèentéo?
 u tiá?al le gwàardyáah té?e báalkalàar
 le nah t a w ú?uyah u y á?alá?al
 k'á?as déeh č'iit té?e manglàaro?
 šeen b'ehlá?e?
 k a w ileh
 sùunah syudàadih
 ká?ah túun čéen tun u b'èetá?al gwàardyah
 bákalàare?
 ká?ah t u kóonsentràart u b'á?ó?ob' way tí?
 kàaha?
 sáantah krùus
 wáah má? úuč u hé?elo?*
 u káahal u kíinsk u b'á?ó?ob' le nukuč
 héeneràalo?*
 le úuč u náakl u gáanartikó?ob' ká?ac
 le . . . le . . . ?*
 le t u ?èepokah u gèerá?ab'o?*
 áakankéeh náakó?ob'*
 t u láak ká?ače?*
 u syudàadil ho?*
 peroh b'á?aše?*
 ?anhil gùustoh . . . polìitikah*
 ká?ah hó?op' u kíinsk u b'á?ó?ob'*
 entónses
 t u mèen le èepokako?
 hé?e túuš k u manáak'táal máake?
 b'ey u péesegwiirtáal kéehe?
 wáah má?ače?
 wáah áalkab'naheč q'ó?oneč u q'ó?ok
 peroh wáah má?ačeč éeridoeče?
 teče? yàan a kóompesàarke?
 múaš u héeneràalih
 múaš u káabesýáil
 hay túul u hèenteh
 t u láakal k u k'áatáal teč
 esyáskeh wáah a w òohle?

- That the owners of that ship,
 Instead of going,
 330 They had left the mouth of that river there.
 In that mangrove,
 They were building houses of thatch.
 And it was reported
 That those people
 335 Were settling;
 They were not going.
 Finally,
 "Let's move away!"
 And those people withdrew
 340 In order to guard Bacalar there.
 You have heard it said that that house
 Was [made] of tied thatch there in the mangrove.
 "Go today!
 You will see
 345 That they returned to the city."
 And then only Bacalar was guarded.

 And they concentrated themselves here in this
 town,
 Holy Cross.
 If that change had not occurred,
 350 Those top generals began to kill each other,

 They were on the point of winning then,
 the . . . the . . .
 During that epoch of war.
 They reached Acanceh,
 All of them then,
 355 The city of Merida.
 But what [happened]?
 There were political . . . ambitions.
 And they began to kill each other.
 Then,
 360 Because during that epoch,
 People were pursued everywhere,
 Just as deer are pursued.
 If you were seized,
 If you ran, you were shot in the end.
 365 But if you were seized [and] wounded,
 You would have to confess
 Who the general was,
 Who the chief was,
 How many people there were.
 370 You were interrogated about everything.
 So it was that if you knew [something],

³⁴⁹ 358. This seems to be an explanation of why the Maya halted their drive on Merida in 1848. Evidently, the leaders of the revolt fell to quarreling among themselves (see Chapter 8).

k a ꝑolik
 hé? le máakó?ob'ō?
 hé?e b'iš le b'á?al k in w á?alik b'ehòoráa?
 t u láakal máak k u y ohéeltik
 ká?ah túun ohéehtá?ab'e?
 t u láakal e héeneràal láah c'í?ik hač
 b'á?até?el máakó?ob'ō?
 ꝑ'ó?ok u láah kíinsk u b'á?ó?ob'
 entónses gobyèernóe?*
 ká?ah túun hó?op' u túuštik féederàal*
 ká?ah hó?op' u b'èetá?al fréenteh tí?*
 sab'aan*
 t u homó?ob'*
 má? t u ?óobedesèertó?ob' hun p'ít
 hèentéo?*
 ká?ah hó?op' u tàaló?ob'*
 yóo?k'ó?op*
 trées dyáas kóombàateh k u b'èetá?al*
 bah
 ká?anó?ob'
 šú?up pàarkeh
 miná?an tú?uš u tàal
 keš wáah yáane?
 mú? páah tal u b'in c'á?ab'il u hèel
 čéen wáah t u ?áalkansàar
 t u lú?ub'skó?ob'
 hay túul soldàadós
 té?e k u tàal déeh . . .
 b'iš u y á?al e b'á?ala?
 pèelotáh no?
 t u mèen k u ꝑ'áakó?ob'e?
 té?e yóo?k'ó?opo?
 o b'iš u k'áab'a?
 o káampamèentó?ob'
 u tiá?al u . . . nohčil
 u nohoč b'á?al
 má? k a w ilikó?ob' teč
 té?e b'eh sab'aan
 má? a k'ahóol wáah tak u b'èelo?
 k u ?éeksistìir u sáamb'en
 nohoč
 bwénoh
 pwes yá?ab' e k ráasah kíinsá?ab'i?
 té?e b'ey šan letí? hač t u b'èetah t u préenteh
 k u tàal le refwéersóo?
 ká?ah t u šíimb'ató?ob'
 t u tàal b'á?aló?ob'
 t u lú?ugar u sùut pàacile?

You explained it
 To those people,
 Just like these things I am saying now.
 375 Everyone was informed of it.
 And then it was known.
 All those generals who took everything were very
 quarrelsome people.
 They all killed each other.
 Then, as for the government,
 380 When they began to send federal soldiers then,
 They began to be confronted.
 Saban
 They overran.
 A few people there did not obey them.
 385 And they began to come.
 Yokop
 Was attacked for three days.
 Bah!
 They were tired.
 390 Ammunition was used up.
 There was nowhere for it to come from.
 Even if there were,
 They could not go to obtain fresh supplies.
 Even if they reached them,
 395 They felled them,
 Some soldiers.
 There came there . . .
 What's this thing called?
 A ball, isn't it?
 400 Because as for how they were treated,
 There in Yokop,
 Or whatever its name was,
 Or encampments
 For a . . . big,
 405 An enormous thing.
 You didn't see them,
 There on the road to Saban.
 Don't you know, near the road there,
 It existed during the early part of the day;
 410 It was enormous.
 Fine.
 Well, much of our race was killed there.
 Thus they also did it in front of them.
 Those reinforcements came.
 415 And they met them.
 Things came.
 Instead of retreating,

379 387. Here begins an account of General Ignacio Bravo's march on Chan Santa Cruz in 1900, which is in close agreement with Nelson Reed's description of it (1964:238–240).

màas čo?k u b'ah tèerkó?
čuh kab'
káyah q'á?ab' kóombàateh tí?ó?ob'
má? b'èetá?ab' u sùutó?ob'i?
t u tàaló?ob'
tak má? b'èetá?ab' u sùutó?ob'i?
t u tàaló?ob'
letí? mû? šú?upul e pàarkeh
éesteh way tun šùup
entónses tàab'i?
túun way dòoseh lèegwas ilah k'učó?ob'
b'èetá?ab' kúumbateh
t y ó?olal tak y éetel káanyon k u
q'ó?onló?ob'
peroh tèerkó?ob'
le weyil máakó?ob'a?
má? pàarkeh
má? má?alob' q'òn yàan tí?ó?ob'i?
čeén š b'utb'il q'òn
le soldàadoso?
mû? šú?upul
àaryas tàas u pàarkeh
por kàahasìil
esyáskeh wáah yá?ab' le kíinsb'ile?
peroh kuš túun u hèel k u tàal refwéersoh
k u tàal pàačo?
káyah u reforsatá?ale?
k u tàal kahtale?
tak tihosùukoh k'učuk
q' u máan tàab'i?
túun tàab'i?
pwes káyah t u déesokupàartó?ob' le
kàaha?
láah k u b'inó?ob' way sáantah krùuse?
láah b'in kàah
mìil nobesyèentos ùunóe?*
káyah pé?eč'ak'tá?ab' u k'íiwkil sáantah
krùus*
t u mèen e héeneràal dóon inàasyoh . . .
inàasyoh bráaboh*
letí? u tàalo?*
peroh miš hun túul máák t u y ilák*
a w òohel wáah b'iš úučik u k'učul*
destéeh tàal ésteh noh póope?*
hun túul áryeróe?*
k u sáastal káyah hó?op' u máan u
rekohéertik u q'íimne?*

They advanced stubbornly,
Ablaze.
420 And they were confronted.
They were not permitted to retreat.
They were coming
Until they were not permitted to retreat.
They were coming.
425 That ammunition was not used up.
This here was running out.
Then Tabi—
They arrived twelve leagues from here.
They were attacked
430 To the end that they were even shot with
cannon.
But they were stubborn,
The people here.
No ammunition;
They did not have good guns,
435 Just muskets.
Those soldiers,
They did not run out [of ammunition].
Muleteers brought their ammunition
By the box.
440 So it was that many of them were killed.
But what about the replacements?
They came behind [their lines].
And they were reinforced.
They came to towns.
445 They arrived at Tihosuco.
They passed Tabi,
Tabi then.
Well, and this town was unoccupied.
Everyone had left Holy Cross here.
450 Everyone had left the town.
In 1901,
When the plaza of Holy Cross was trampled
By General Don Ignacio . . . Ignacio Bravo,
It was he who came there.
455 But not a single person was seen.
Do you know how he happened to come?
Since he came to this [town of] Nohpop,
A muleteer,
He realized when he set off to fetch his horses,

451 480. Nelson Reed (1964:240) gives the following account of this incident: "On April 17 [1901] an *arriero* went looking for a lost mule . . . and stumbled onto some houses in the forest, gradually realizing, as he walked along a deserted street into a plaza, that this was the legendary shrine."

pwes u gáanar hun túul púuq'ih*
 náači? miná?an*
 miná?an*
 ésteh káyah hó?op' u tাাal u t'ú?ultik*
 u híil tí? . . . le sùum le q'íimno?*
 pùutah*
 maríyah santísimah*
 áryeroe?*
 mú? páahatal u p'atik mú? čuk b'ey u
 q'íimin*
 k y áike?*
 pwes tene?*
 t im b'in t u pàačil tí?*
 hé?e túuš k in mačk im b'ah [. . . ? . . .]*
 tak káyah k'učuk wey tak k'íiwik*
 té?e k u máanehar le q'íimno?*
 té?e déesokupàadoh le kàaha?*
 miš máak t y ílah*
 náak e q'íimin*
 peroh q'in t u b'èeh t u q'áah pàarteh t u
 šíkin federal*
 deh keh t u k'íiwik sáantah krùuso?*
 té?e céen miš máak t in w ilah*
 yáh hé?e túun k u tাাal wàacó?ob'a?
 áalkab'il tাাal
 k u kóohló?ob' waye?
 y éetel b'iš u y ávalá?al
 t u dyàanáil
 y éetel u fwèegóil
 peroh b'iš u y ávalá?al
 b'ey u gáanartá?al
 b'á?al hač pùuntóil báalá?e?
 b'ey t u b'èete?
 le k u q'ó?okle?
 miš máak t u y ilahó?ob'
 letí? t u sínformàartah?
 tí? préesidèentch déeh lah repùubliká?*
 deh keh tí? áah pùuntoh e báalah*
 t u pé?eč'ak'til sáantah krùus*
 pwes té?e túuno?
 káyah túun p'áate?
 b'iš y ávalá?al té?e b'á?ala?
 t u láakal le pàarteh
 té?e báandah q'ìula?
 píiči? k a w ilko?
 k'ú?ub' tí?ó?ob' e b'èeh pèetoh u b'èetó?ob'
 kóombàateh

- 460 Well, that one had escaped.
 Theré was nothing in the distance,
 Nothing.
 And then he began to follow
 The track of . . . that rope of that horse.
 465 Sonofabitch!
 Holy Mary!
 As for the muleteer,
 He could not leave without catching his horse.

 He said:
 470 "Well, as for me,
 I am going after it,
 Wherever I might catch it" [inaudible]
 Until he came here to the plaza;
 That horse had gone there.
 475 This town was unoccupied there.
 He did not see a single person.
 The horse approached.
 But he returned to report it to federal ears,

 "That in the plaza of Holy Cross,
 480 I did not see even a single person there!"
 Then the Mexicans came here;
 They came running.
 They arrived here
 With—what's it called?—
 485 With their trumpet flourish
 And their fire.
 But what's it called?
 Thus it was captured.
 But firing away,
 490 Thus they did it.
 Afterward,
 They did not see a single person.
 It was he [Bravo] who informed
 The President of the Republic
 495 That at gunpoint
 He had trod upon Holy Cross.
 Well there, then,
 And they stayed then—
 What's this thing called?—
 500 In every part
 Of the neighborhood of Dzula,
 Pich, you see.
 They were given the road to Peto to defend.

493 496. This is a sarcastic reference to the fact that General Bravo had boasted of his valor in capturing Chan Santa Cruz, even though the town was completely deserted when he arrived.

t u mèen k u tàal kàařoh
k u tåaskó?ob' péelotó?on
kóonstanteh u bíihilàar té?e b'eho?
ç'á?ab' tak telèefonoh té?e b'eho?
kóoh éestasyòon waye?
tåab'i?
tåab'i?e?
sáantah máariyah
sáantah máaryáe?
ésteh . . . yoo?k'ó?op
yoo?k'ó?ope?
sab'aan
ič müul
tak kén k'učuk pèetoh [. . . ? . . .]
yáh keh hé?eb'á?alak
ká?ah úučke?
k u háan tételefornyàartá?al
wáah wey tóonk'ab'tá?ab'e?
u háan tételefornyartá?al e refwèersoh
k u túuštá?al refwèersoh
puruh b'ey u kalaantik u b'á?ó?ob'
le féederasyòono?
le hèenteh u gobyèernóo?
hun p'él pàarteh túun
le hèenteh hé?ele?
le animáas in tyóoh héeneràal dóon
fráanskoh màayo?
deh té?e b'eh bihiyah
t u mèen le ká?ah òok e féederal
miil nobesyèentos ùunóo?
entónses
ká?ah b'in e héeneràal bràaboh mèehikóo,
ká?ah tåale?
y éetel hun p'él bàarkóe?
bihiyah čìikoh t u kaštah
y éeteh kénsah hay p'él miil
óočil tåasá?ab'ih
té?e túun k u čok'b'iló?ob' u b'èetó?ob' e
b'eho?
kíimik
b'ey u kíimil pèek'e?
b'á?aš a k'áah tí? u láak' k u tåalo?
pàačil [. . . ? . . .]
hé?e b'iš u k'áató?ob'e?
má? t u päähtal u pùuç'ló?ob'
ká?ah túun hó?op' u b'èetá?al e b'eho?*
k u tåal e trèeno?*
pàačil k u tåal [. . . ? . . .]*

- Because a car came;
505 It brought a platoon
To guard that road there constantly.
Even a telephone was placed there on that road.
They arrived in the station here
At Tabi.
510 From Tabi
[To] Santa Maria.
From Santa Maria
[To] uh . . . Yokop.
From Yokop
515 [To] Saban
[And] Ichmul
Until it arrived in Peto. [inaudible]
Anything at all,
When it happened,
520 It was telephoned immediately.
If they were involved here,
Reinforcements were telephoned immediately.
Reinforcements were sent.
In just this way they were surrounded
525 [By] that confederation,
Those government people.
One part then,
These people here,
That late uncle of mine General Don Francisco
May
530 From the road to Vigia.
Because when those federal troops entered
In 1901,
Then,
When that General Bravo went to Mexico,
535 He came again
With a boat.
He reached Vigia Chico
With who knows how many thousands.
Poor [people] were brought.
540 They were forced to construct the road there.
They died
As dogs die.
What does it matter to you if others came there,
Behind them? [inaudible]
545 However much they wished,
They could not escape.
Then when the construction of that road began,
That train came.
It came behind them [inaudible].

547 555. General Bravo began clearing the right of way for the railroad during his march from Peto to Chan Santa Cruz in 1900 and 1901 (Reed 1964:243).

- u ꝑ'áab'al u ryèelil*
 k u tাাal u trèenil pàačil*
 puroh hèenteh*
 miìl nobesyèentos sèeyse?*
 ká?ah kóoh weye?*
 le péeřokařiilo?*
 bah
 pwes myèentras túun in ràasáe?
 tóormentoh yanih
 letí?e?
 má? u y òohle?
 wáah yàan sìineh
 wáah yàan bàayleh
 wáah yàan áasukáar
 wáah yàan tá?ab'
 wáah yàan miš b'á?al
 tóormentoh yàanil yáanal k'áas
 k u manáak'tá?ale?
 k u kíinsá?al
 k u y ilá?al u wèeyáa?
 k u séegwertá?al
 peroh b'èey šan u b'èetko?*
 k u éenkontràartik u hèenteh féederàale ?*
 ésteh gobyèernóe?*
 k u kíinsik*
 k u ꝑ'ó?onló?ob'?*
 [. . . ? . . .]*
 le u nòok' k u tåasik e soldàadóo?*
 k u č'iiko?*
 le u màawséer*
 wáah le u màawséero?*
 le ká?ah yáh k u č'áah u b'i?*
 peroh asih*
 por médyoh deh kombáateh*
 u máaskab'*
 hé?e b'á?aše?*
 wáah yàan àaryah*
 k u tাাal*
 b'ey k u tåasik*
 nòok'?*
 méerkansyáa?*
 k u lúub' t u k'ab'ó?ob'e?*
 u tiá?al k u t'ošlá?antkó?ob' u b'ahiló?ob'?*
 miná?an e líibertàado?
 miná?an šan u nahil le hèenteh
- 550 The rails were laid.
 The train came behind them,
 Full of people.
 In 1906,
 When it arrived here,
 555 That railroad,
 Bah!
 Well, in the meantime, as for my race,
 It was suffering.
 As for them,
 560 They did not know
 That there were cinemas,
 Or that there were dances,
 Or that there was sugar,
 Or that there was salt,
 565 Or that there was anything.
 They were suffering in the forest.
 [If] they were seen,
 They were killed.
 [If] their footprints were seen here,
 570 They were followed.
 But they did the same thing
 [If] they met federal people,
 Government [people],
 They killed them.
 575 They were shot.
 [inaudible]
 Those clothes that those soldiers brought,
 They took them.
 Their Mausers,
 580 If they had Mausers,
 Then they reinforced themselves.
 But in this way,
 By weapons,
 Their machetes,
 585 Or whatever.
 If there was a muleteer,
 He came,
 So he brought it,
 Clothing,
 590 Merchandise;
 It fell into their hands
 So that they could divide it up among
 themselves.
 There wasn't any freedom then,
 Nor did those people have houses

571 592. The Indians retaliated whenever they had an opportunity: "There was, for instance, the case of some soldiers who, while bathing in Lake Nohbec, were surprised by Indians and put to death, the Indians then availing themselves of the weapons and clothing left on the shore" (Villa Rojas 1945: 30). The reference to Mausers is relevant; one of the federal soldiers who protected the men constructing the Vigia railroad carried a Mauser with telescopic sights (Reed 1964: 244).

way ič kàaha?
té?e ič poh k'áan k'áaso?

čéen yóo? haltun
čéen yóo? áagwadáah
čéen hun p'eel nah pasèel
b'ehlá?ake?
tal ves nah pasèel
tal ves čéen [. . . ? . . .]
b'ey le grùupoh waye?
b'ey le grùupoh tolo?
b'ey le grùupoh . . .
tóormentoh
miš šanab'
miš nòok'
yàan čéen mehen kul nòok'
b'eyðo?
b'eyðo?
dyos míyoh
pwes yàane?*
k u cù?ukul?*
wáah t u ?òoráil?
t u wèenle fáamilyàas tí?*
t u mèen le máakó?ob'ó?*
tak tí? déeh nòoceph*
k u máanó?ob' u péesegwiirtó?ob' máak*
desteh kéen ilá?ak wèeyah*
deh keh yàan máak u máanen*
k u pá?atá?al tak láas dòos deh lah nòoceph*
hé? u tàal u čàamb'èel?
čàamb'èel?
čàamb'èel?
le čéen téek ilá?ak?
u náa?iló?ob'e?*
dyos míyoh?
yàan óo?il fáamilyáa?*
t u wèenle u pàalale?*
k u láh molkó?ob?*
lelo? yàan u k'áatá?al u či?*
yàan u y áyalikó?ob' b'á?aš u y òohló?ob?*
máaš kuá?an?*
máaš k u b'á?ate?*

595 Here in the town.
They were there in hammocks slung in the forest,
Just above a depression,
Just above a hollow,
Just a hut.

600 As for today,
Perhaps a hut,
Perhaps just [inaudible].
Thus this group here,
Thus that group there,

605 Thus the group . . .
Suffering.
Neither shoes,
Nor clothing.
They had only loincloths.

610 So it was;
So it was,
My God!
Well, there existed [people]
Who were captured

615 If it was at a time
When their families were asleep.
Because those people,
Even at night,
They went to pursue people

620 Until a footprint was seen,
That there was someone who passed.
He was ambushed even at 2 A.M.
They came slowly,
Slowly,

625 Slowly,
Slowly.
When he was seen,
They approached.
My God!

630 There was a poor family here.
Its sons were sleeping.
They captured all of them.
They had to be interrogated;
They had to say what they knew,

635 Who was alive
[And] who was fighting.

613 640. Villa Rojas (1945:29–30) describes Bravo's treatment of the Cruzob as follows: "Their systematic persecution by General Bravo during the eleven years of his administration served only to increase their hatred of the invaders. Many of the Indians of today still recall those years as the worst of their existence: years during which poverty, disease, and the merciless ambuscades of the federal troops ruthlessly decimated their people. According to their own statements to me, bands of soldiers would traverse the forests seeking to pillage the little farms, where they would destroy the planted seed. The Indians lived in constant fear of being hunted down like animals if they ventured along the paths." They were safer sleeping in hammocks slung in the forest than in town (cf. lines 593–599 above).

bwéenoh*
 miná?an u šùul u k'áatá?al u či? wíinik*

 esyáskeh t u láak u y ávaliko?*
 b'ín y oheltiko?*
 t u kóomunikáartá?al
 áay dyos miyyoh
 [le pàalaló?ob' b'eyo?
 t u mèen má? t u kíinsá?al b'eyo?
 má? t u kíinsá?al
 síih letí?ó?ob'e?
 t u desyáarkó?ob' k u mačó?ob' máak
 kušá?an
 má? t u kíinskeč
 peroh čéen b'á?ale?
 komoh sahak máake?
 kán a w il u ká?ah tàal
 hé? k u tàale?
 teče?
 áakab' kán a mèenteh
 entónses k u y ilik wáah má? t u čuhkeče?
 k u q'onkeč
 desteh t u q'oneče?
 t u lístoeč
 t u mèen b'èey šan u q'ó?onló?ob'
 páaklá?an wíinik
 túun q'ó?onló?ob'
 i túun q'onkó?ob' máak
 pwes k'učul t u b'èetah u ?aanyóile?*
 míih míil nobesyèentos dyèesak òonseh*
 desteh ká?ah yanhih líbèertàad mèehikóe?
 entónses ká?ah túun hó?op' u kaštik*
 le héeneràal bràavoh yàan waya?*
 b'iš u fòormail*
 u kóonistàartik le hèenteh*
 té?e yàan k'áašo?*
 k u k'ub'ik kàahal?*
 ká?ah ší?ik*
 t u mèen letí?e?
 má? t u kàahal yani?
 óol b'ey in tàal in tok a nahile?

 b'ey t u b'èetil čéen tàal u toke?

 désokupartá?al
 ká?ah t in gáanar t in kàahal
 pwes mu? kàahali?

Fine.
 There was no end to the interrogation of someone.
 So it was that they told everything;
 640 They would inform them.
 It was communicated.
 O my God!
 [Those boys,
 They weren't killed then?])
 645 They weren't killed.
 If, as for them,
 They wanted to capture someone alive,

 They didn't kill you.
 However,
 650 If someone was afraid,
 You would see him come back,
 He would return here.
 As for you,
 You would run.
 655 Then he would see if they didn't capture you.
 He would shoot you.
 When he had shot you,
 He finished you off.
 Because they were also shot,
 660 Men by each other.
 They were being shot,
 And they were shooting people.
 Well, they caused the time to come,
 I think it was 1910 or 1911,
 665 After which there was freedom [in] Mexico.
 Then when he began to look for
 A way—this General Bravo—
 In what way
 He might conquer those people
 670 Who were in the forest,
 He turned over this town
 And left!
 Because, as for him,
 He was not in his [own] town.
 675 It was just as though I came to take your house
 away.
 That's what he did—he just came to take it
 away.
 "It was deserted
 When I captured my town."
 Well, it wasn't his town.

663 672. The Mexican Revolution began in 1911, but it was not until 1912 that General Bravo was relieved of his command and forced to leave Chan Santa Cruz. His replacement, General Manuel Sánchez Rivera, the new governor of Quintana Roo under President Francisco I. Madero, was the one who tried to make peace with the Cruzob (Reed 1964:248–249).

t u ꝑ'áah kwéntah
 má? u kàahali?
 tàalhá?an u b'èet k'ás
 b'iš túun hí? in t'anke?
 b'iš túun máaš hé? in w ilke?
 b'iš túuš in w ilkó?ob'e?
 k ?óotik t'aane?
 k u ꝑ'onkó?on
 wáah máe?
 k u ꝑ'ó?onló?ob'
 [. . . ? . . .]
 ká?ah tàal t u pòole?
 u ꝑ'ib'tkó?ob' le kàartáo?
 le túuš k u y ilkó?ob' u krusàar máak
 té?e b'éeh lìinyáo?
 té?e k u náahkunah hun p'éel botèeyáe?
 hač ha?u? u ?éetikèetáih
 u pàac le botèeyáo?
 ičil le botèeyáo?
 tí? k u ꝑ'ikó?ob' le kàartáo?
 náahkunseh
 t u mèen kéen tåakeč
 nááč a tåale?
 sáamah w ileh
 máariyah
 hun p'éel nóobedàad t a w iknal
 [. . . ? . . .]
 entónses k u má?ačl e b'á?al hé?elo?
 a w òohel túuš k u b'isá?ah
 té?e sàantah kàah pòomo?*
 tí? animás dóon hwáan bëegah
 t u mèen dóon hwáan bëegáe?*
 hun túul pàal ká?ah*
 lúub' príisyonèeról*
 letí?e?*
 má?alob' u šokik éespanyòol*
 hač táah mayèeróo?
 esyáskeh le kàartah ꝑ'ib'á?an ič
 éespanyòolo?
 b'é?oritáas ꝑ' u šohka?
 k u ꝑolik teče?
 b'á?as k y á?ik
 entónses le u káabesèeráiló?ob' le
 wayiló?ob'a?
 u héeneràaliló?ob' le waya?

680 He realized
 That it wasn't his town.
 He had come to do evil.
 "How am I going to speak to them?
 How then am I going to see someone?
 685 Where am I going to find them?
 When we want to talk,
 They shoot us.
 Otherwise,
 They are shot."
 690 [inaudible]
 Then he had an idea:
 He wrote that letter
 Where they would see someone cross
 That [railroad] line there.
 695 There he placed a bottle.
 Its label was very pretty
 On the side of that bottle.
 Inside that bottle
 He placed that letter:
 700 "Approach it!
 Because you will come.
 You will come from afar.
 You will see it tomorrow."
 "María!"
 705 There is a surprise in front of you!"
 [inaudible]
 Then that thing was fetched here.
 Do you know where it was taken?
 There, to the holy town of Incense,
 710 To the late Don Juan Vega.
 Because, as for Don Juan Vega,
 He was a child when
 He was taken prisoner.
 As for him,
 715 He read Spanish well.
 He was also skilled in Maya.
 So it was that that letter written in Spanish,
 He read it right away;
 He explained to you
 720 What it said.
 Then the chiefs of this place,
 The generals of this place,

709. This is the town of Chunpom [*chun* 'holy' + *pom* 'incense'], which became the headquarters of the northern group of Cruzob after Chan Santa Cruz was abandoned [Villa Rojas 1945:31].

711 715. Juan Bautista Vega was born on the island of Cozumel in 1887. When he was ten years old, he was captured by the Indians on the coast of Quintana Roo during a trip with his stepfather in a dugout canoe. Because he was literate, he became the scribe of Chunpom after learning to speak Maya fluently. He spent the rest of his life with the Indians, eventually becoming the leading general of Chunpom (Report of Richard C. Harris, May 10, 1963; copy in my possession).

káapitáan
kóomandàanteh
pwes letí?ó?ob'e?
déeskonfyàadó?ob'
hàah wáah walo?
wáah čéen tràampah
b'á?aaš k'iin hó?op'ok k tóormentàartá?al
b'á?aaš k'iin hó?op'ok h supriir t u
k'ab'ó?ob'
tú?uš k u y ilkó?onó?ob'e?
b'ey u ø'onkó?onó?ob' ki?
b'ehlá?ake? ká?ah túun ší?ikó?on
b'ehlá?e? k y áik ká?ah ší?ikó?on
ká?ah míih ší?iké?eš
k a k'am a kàahé?eš
letí? t u wóolal u kóorasòon k u k'ub' a
kàahlé?eš
k a hóok'é?eš kàah
letí? túun b'in má? t u kàahal yani?
k y áike?
wáah b'iši?
le b'á?ala?
tràampah
a w òohel yàan déeskonfyàansah
má? hé?eš b'ehlá?aka?
b'ehlá?aka? túun . . .
pwes de té?e k u tåas
k u krusàar b'éeh
báayadolid
k u b'in b'ey bàantáa?
tí? šan k u č'á?ab'al u láak'i?
láayli? b'ey ič botèeyáe?
k u má?ače?
tí? k u k'ú?ub'ul čúun pom
tí? dóon hwáan bëegah
k u šohke?
läh míismah kòosah
hé?eš le č'á?ah té?e b'éeh bìiyáo?
b'ey č'á?ah b'eh pëetóo?
t u t'ankó?oné?eš le máakó?ob'o?
kó?oné?eš
b'in k k'am e kàaho?
peroh taheš t u hàahil wáah t'åan k y áik le
máaka?
wáah čéen sóon t u tráabartikó?on
kuš túun wáah h k'učul
k u molkó?onó?ob'
k u k'alkó?onó?ob'
ø'ó?okih
b'iš túun miš máak p'áat k'áaš
pwes p'áat u tukló?ob'

- [The] captains,
Commandants—
725 Well, as for them,
They didn't trust it.
"Perhaps that's true,
Or just a trick.
For how long have we been abused?
730 For how long have we suffered at their hands?

Wherever they see us,
They shoot us.
And now that we have gone,
Now they say that we should go.
735 'If you go,
You will receive your town.
He will turn over your town willingly.

You are leaving the town.
He's leaving! He's not in the town!" "
740 They said:
"How's that?
This thing,
It's a trick!"
You know, there was a lack of trust.
745 It was not the way it is now.
Now then . . .
Well, they brought it from there.
They crossed the road
From Valladolid;
750 They went into this district.
Another [letter] was left there too.
It was still in a bottle.
It was taken.
It was delivered to Chunpom,
755 To Don Juan Vega.
He read it.
The same thing
As the one placed on the road from Vigia,
As placed on the road from Peto.
760 "Those people are speaking to us.
Let's go!
We are going to receive that town!"
"But are you sure that this person is telling the truth?
Or is he only deceiving us?
765 And what if we arrive?
They will capture us!
They will imprison us!
It is finished!"
How would it be then [if] no one had stayed in the forest?
770 Well, they stayed to think about it,

wáah hézele?
 wáah má?
 pwes déerepèenteé?
 u láak' húun k u k'učul
 igwal
 dyos mìiyoh
 pwes há?alib'e?
 le gèeráe?
 ç'órokih
 miná?an
 p'áathih
 p'áat u hač čá?ab'al soldàados t u pàač
 wínik
 lah túukč'intá?ab'ó?ob' waye?
 ká?ah hó?op' u kóonkistàartá?al máake?
 ká?ah ilá?ake?
 ká?ah anak e líibertàado?
 ká?ah anak e pàaso?
 ká?ah anak e kóompyansá?
 esyáskeh le u hèentéil le waya?
 keš ká?ah hóo?kó?ob' té?e b'éeh b'ùut'o?

miš máak k y ilkó?ob'
 tráankiloh u krusàarkó?ob'
 tráankiloh u máanó?ob'
 b'èey šan le b'éeh pèetóo?
 le téen ká?ače?*
 má? hač péersegìidó?ob'/*
 b'ey u péersegìir*
 hun túul kéeh ç'oná?ane?*
 b'ey u b'èetá?al*
 tí? u hèentéil le waya?*
 peroh desteh ká?ah gáanartá?ab' e líibertàad
 mèehikoo?
 pwes tak waye? k'učih
 pwes ká?ah hó?op' u y ilkó?ob'e?
 b'iš úučak u kóonkistàakó?ob' máake?
 ká?ah p'áatak
 miná?an le kiinsahtáamb'alo?
 ká?ah yanak le yàahkunaho?
 ká?ah yanak le uçeo?
 ká?ah p'éeli?čahkó?one?
 k çíkb'al
 k cé?eh
 t u láakal
 peroh b'á?as túun le hèenteh waya?*
 pwes déeskonyàadoh*

Whether [it should be] yes
 Or no.
 Well suddenly,
 Another letter arrived
 775 Just like it.
 My God!
 Well so,
 As for the war,
 It was over
 It didn't exist.
 They stayed.
 Soldiers were no longer sent to pursue people.

Everyone was gathered together here.
 And people began to be peaceful
 785 That it might be seen
 That there was freedom,
 That there might be peace then,
 That there might be trust now.
 So it was that these people here,
 Even though they went out to the highway
 there,
 No one saw them.
 They crossed freely.
 They passed freely.
 And also on the road from Peto.

795 Therefore,
 They no longer pursued them
 As they pursued
 A wounded deer.
 That is how they were treated,
 The people here.
 800 But from the time that freedom was won in
 Mexico,
 Well, they arrived here.
 Well, and they began to see
 How it was possible to pacify people;
 805 That they might remain
 Without killing each other;
 That there might be love;
 That there might be peace;
 That we might be united.

810 We conversed;
 We laughed;
 Everything.
 But what about the people here?
 Well, they were suspicious.

795 800. See notes to lines 613 640.
 813 819. See notes to lines 613 640.

b'ukáyah sufrir φ' u b'èetik*
 b'ukáyah tóormentos φ' u mèentik*
 tak u nahiló?ob' k u tóoká?al*
 tak u ší?im k u tóoká?al*
 tak u kòol k u háay č'aktá?al*
 kóontake?
 káyah ilá?ake?
 káyah náakak u y óol miš b'á?al u hàante?
 káyah u k'ub' u b'ah
 pwes má? t u k'ub' u b'á?ó?ob'i?
 (má? t u k'ub' u b'á?ó?ob'i?)
 má? t u k'ub' u b'á?ó?ob'i?
 t u k'ub' u b'á?ó?ob' má?
 hé?eš k in w á?alik tečo?
 ah baseh deh kàartah en kàartah
 bwénoh t u lákal b'á?al wale?
 u tyèempoh wáah k'uče?
 pwes sìi?
 míih miil nòovesyèentos trèeseh . . . *
 dòoseh wáah trèeseh*
 káyah t u ?áaresgàart u b'ah e máakó?ob'o?*
 káyah òokó?ob' way kàahe?*
 u k'am u kàahaló?ob'*
 seysyèentos*
 t u ?èepokah dóon gwadalupeh túun*
 héeneràal dóon gwadalupeh túun*
 káyah t u y á?aló?ob'e?
 dos syèentos kun ?oookló?ob' b'éeh bihiyái?
 dos syèentos b'éeh báayadolí?i?
 y éetel dos syèentos b'éeh pèetói?
 le kun ?okol b'éeh bihiyáo?
 le kun yáš okol
 wáah b'?aš b'èetá?ab' frètenteh tí?ó?ob'e?
 hé?e u y ú?ub' u b'á?até?ile?
 entónses k u y òokl u φ'áah refwèersoh le k u
 tàal b'éeh báayadolí?o?
 y éetel le k u tàal b'éeh pèetoo?
 káyah·t u y á?alahó?ob'e?
 ésteh hun p'éeh òorah hoo?ké?eš a b'in
 wale?
 k hóok'ol tó?on
 b'ey šan le hézeló?ob'o?
 hun p'él òorah hoo?kó?one?
 k u hóok'ol

- 815 How much had they been caused to suffer?
 How much suffering did they impose?
 Even their houses were burned.
 Even their corn was burned.
 Even their fields were destroyed.
- 820 As for that,
 It was seen
 That they were tired of having nothing to eat,
 That they might surrender.
 Well they didn't surrender.
- 825 (They didn't surrender?)
 They didn't surrender.
 No, they didn't surrender!
 As I tell you,
 It was by means of several letters.
- 830 Well, everything perhaps
 Has its time.
 Well yes,
 I think it was in 1913 . . .
 [19]12 or [19]13
- 835 That those people decided
 That they would enter the town here,
 That they would receive their town.
 Six hundred
 In the epoch of Don Guadalupe Tun,
 840 General Don Guadalupe Tun.
 And they said
 That two hundred entered from the road from
 Vigia,
 Two hundred from the road from Valladolid,
 And two hundred from the road from Peto.
- 845 Those who entered from that road from Vigia,
 Those who entered first,
 Whatever was being done in front of them,
 They will hear the battle.
 Then those who were coming along the road from
 Valladolid entered to reinforce them
- 850 With those who were coming along the road
 from Peto.
 And they said:
 "Uh, perhaps one hour after you leave,
 We will leave.
 The replacements also.
- 855 One hour [after] we leave,
 They will leave.

833 840. It was actually in 1915, when General Salvador Alvarado, the governor and military commandant of Yucatan and Quintana Roo, ordered federal troops to leave Chan Santa Cruz so that the Indians would not be afraid to reoccupy it. Guadalupe Tun was one of the Indian generals to whom the town was turned over (Villa Rojas 1945:30).

teče? hun p'éel òorah k a b'isik
 kéen anak hun p'éel òorah
 kéen hóo?kóon tó?one?
 k náaç'al t u šiul kàahe?
 wáah t u b'èetá?al té?eš gèeráe?
 tó?on šan k ?okol
 peroh wáah silèensyóe?
 pwes eskeh miš b'á?al úučih
 táan k taal šan
 pwes hé?eš òohk té?e b'éeh b'ùut'o?
 miš b'á?al
 ohk té?e b'éeh báayadoli?
 miš b'á?al
 ohk té?e b'éeh pèetóo?
 miš túun
 ká?ah má?ačó?ob'e?
 ká?ah mó?ol u ç'òonó?ob'
 ká?ah k'á?al tí? hun p'éel nah
 k a w ilik wáah u tyètentah uskàan
 té?e u krùus e káařetèerah k u b'in
 báayadolíd letí?
 bwèenoh pwes té?e hun p'éel b'úu?tun
 yàan hun p'éel tàablon nah le èepokako?
 tí? k'á?al le ç'òonó?ob'o?
 ká?ah hó?osá?ab'ó?ob' h šíimb'al
 ay iihos
 ay papasítos
 kó?otené?eš
 a w òohel b'á?aš ç'á?ab' e hèenteh u
 hàanto?
 kénsah hay túul wakaš
 ç' u čá?akal tí? pàaylah
 hé?ela?
 tatitoh
 č'á?ah a ràančó?eš
 hé?el e čakb'il wàakša?
 ká?ah hó?op' u t'ó?ošol b'ú?ul
 tí?ó?ob' té?e u b'isó?ob' t u nahil
 cé?eče? b'ú?ul
 y éetel keš a dòoseh mèetros màantah
 nukuč wáastekoh
 y éetel estrebiyah
 bwéenoh kàadah kyèen
 b'iš u y á?alá?al
 t'osb'il mèentá?ab' tí? [. . . ? . . .]
 myéentras a sùut
 hač k u súuplikàartá?al tí?ó?ob'e?
 ká?ah hóok'ok u ?óokupàrtó?ob' u
 nahiló?ob'e?
 síin keh u ló?ob'ol
 áantes u k'astal

You will take it for one hour
 So that there might be one hour
 For us to leave,
 860 To reach the limits of the town.
 If you are attacked,
 We, too, will enter [the fray].
 But if there is silence,
 Well, it is because nothing has happened.
 865 We are coming too."
 Well, as they entered the highway there,
 There was nothing.
 They entered from the road from Valladolid,
 There was nothing.
 870 They entered from the road from Peto;
 There was no[thing] either.
 And they were seized.
 And their guns were collected.
 And they were locked up in a house.
 875 Do you see Us Can's store
 There where the highway that goes to
 Valladolid crosses?
 Fine, well there is a little rise there;
 There used to be a wooden house there.
 Those guns were locked up there.
 880 They were taken for a walk.
 "Ah, sons,
 Ah, little fathers,
 Come here!"
 You know what those people were given to eat?
 885 Who knows how many cows
 Had been boiled in cauldrons!
 "Here it is,
 Little father!
 Take your ranch!
 890 Here is boiled beef!"
 And they began to serve beans.
 They carried it to them in the house.
 Raw beans
 And about two meters of cloth,
 895 Large hats,
 And stirrups.
 Well, each one—
 How is it called?—
 Was shared among them [inaudible]
 900 As you returned.
 They were urged
 To leave and occupy their houses,
 Without being harmed,
 Before they deteriorated.

peroh letí?ó?ob' túune?*
 ká?ah t u ?éeksihiirtó?ob'e?*
 ká?ah wá?ačak?*
 ká?ah p'él tràamoh le ryèelo?*
 y ó?olal má? hé?e b'iš u háan tàal le trèeno?*
 éen kàasóe?
 hé?e u y ilá?al t u y uékíinskó?ob'e?
 ká?ah b'ëetá?ak fréenteh tí?ó?ob'
 déeskomfyàadoh wínik
 wáah té?e húuntar
 bwéenoh peroh le héeneràal bràabóo?
 má? p'át péersonàal u k'ub' e kàaha?
 sinoh čeen hun túul kóoronèel t u p'atah
 le kàayeh way trèes eskiinas tí? hun p'él
 nahe?
 déeh táablonil nah déeh dòos piisos
 èstèeh tenyéenteh koronèel samarípas
 b'ey u k'àab'á?o?
 letí? e hač áatendèerteh le hèentéo?
 ká?ah t u y á?ale?
 tèen pá?aten in k'ub' a kàahalé?eš
 čeen b'á?as túun úuč tí? le nukuč
 wíinkó?ob'o?
 má? t u ?éeksihiirtó?ob' hun p'él
 dóokomèéntoi?
 y éetel u féečáil
 ká?ah ilá?ake?
 b'á?as mèesil
 b'á?as àanyóil
 b'aš?as dìiyáil
 ká?ah k'ú?ub' le kàah tí?ó?ob'o?
 wáah k u ?éeksihiirtó?ob'e?
 b'ehla? tak tó?one?
 b'ehlá? yàan tó?on u kòopyáe?
 peroh lela?
 má? t u ?éeksihiirtó?ob'i?
 miná?an [. . . ? . . .]tó?ob'c?
 miná?an u tùukuló?ob'
 pwes trèes dyáas t u b'ëetah e hèenteh way
 nikikb'al ič kàah
 táan u y ilkó?ob'e?
 le trèeno?
 túun b'in
 túun sùut
 túun b'in
 túun sùut

905 But as for them then,
 They demanded
 That they be torn up,
 The two tracks of rails,
 So that the train would not come.
 910 In this way
 It would be seen if they were repairing them,
 That it was done in front of them.
 People were suspicious
 That they [the Ladinos] would unite there.
 915 Well, but that General Bravo,
 He did not stay to hand over this town personally.
 Instead, only a colonel stayed
 Three blocks from this street here in a house,
 A frame house of two stories.
 920 This Lieutenant Colonel Samaripas—
 That was his name—
 He took good care of those people.
 And he said:
 "It is I who will stay to hand over your town."
 925 But what happened is that those leaders
 Did not demand a document,
 With the date,
 So that it might be seen
 In which month,
 930 In which year,
 On which day
 That town was handed over to them.
 If they had requested it,
 Now even we,
 935 Now we would have a copy of it.
 But these ones,
 They did not demand it.
 They didn't [inaudible],
 They didn't think of it.
 Well, for three days a multitude of people made
 their way here into town.
 They were seeing
 That that train
 Was going,
 Returning,
 940 Going,
 Returning,
 Going,
 Returning,

905 909. According to Villa Rojas (1945:30), after the federal troops left Chan Santa Cruz in 1915, "the natives set about destroying the public benefits instituted there by the federal government: the magnificent public reservoir was blown up with dynamite; the Vigia Chico railway was put out of service, the locomotives torn apart, and the coaches burned; and finally, in order to isolate themselves completely from the outside world, the telegraph and telephone lines were cut and the wire put to other uses."

túun b'in
 túun sùut túun
 t u láakal u b'á?al u b'ah le tyèendáo?
 láah b'isá?ab' bihíyah
 ká?ah t u y á?alah très dyáas túun
 miš b'á?al kàasih yàan tí? nahó?ob'
 q' u lah b'isá?al
 pwes le tréeno?
 a w òohel tú?uš p'áat
 yàan míih ká?ah óoš p'éeli?
 bihíyah čiikoh
 t u mèen bihíyah čiikóe?
 pwèertóo?
 té?e k u náakal le lìnyáo?
 hé?eké?eš u páah u b'isá?ale?
 b'isá?ab'ih
 b'iš má?ih
 p'áatih
 t yá?ani?
 té?e b'eho?
 yàan tú?uš bóotyadoh*
 yàan t u mèen kaštá?an u gyèeřa?ó?ob'o?*
 k u p'á?atal pàalsóil le ryèelo?*
 kén tàak inoséentée?*
 k u déeskarilàar b'á?alo?*
 kéensah b'uká?ah wíinik k u kímil*
 bwéenoh pwes yàan tak walkila?*
 yàan u š lá?lá?*
 éeskéleetóil le tyèřoo?*
 tú?uš k u bóltyartá?aló?ob'o?*
 k u néeksistiir*
 yàan té?e wey kwáarintisiinkoh*
 yàan té?e kilometroh dyéesiòočoo?*
 yáane?
 má? céen q'á?ani?
 b'eyo?
 y óok'sah t u . . . esteh
 t u . . . b'iš u y á?alá?al
 t u . . . k u čikoh pàasel b'eh
 k u p'atik
 peroh le bihíyah čiikóo?*
 yá?akač nukuč màakinah*
 hé?e tú?uš esteh . . .*
 čiminíiyah [. . . ? . . .] ká?ačj?*
 peroh komoh háal plàayáe?*
 le kéen yá?al sìinkoh sèeys òočoh anyose?*
 q'ó?ok u lah lá?ab'al*

Going,
 Returning then!
 All the merchandise in that store
 950 Was taken to Vigia.
 At the end of three days then,
 There was almost nothing in the houses.
 Everything had been taken away.
 Well, that train—
 955 You know where it stayed?
 I think there were two [or] three of them there
 In Vigia Chico.
 Because, as for Vigia Chico,
 It was a port then.
 960 Those tracks reached there.
 Whatever could be taken away.
 It was taken away.
 What [could] not,
 It remained.
 965 It was there,
 There on the road.
 There was a place where it overturned.
 It was because their war was discovered there.
 Those rails were left out of gauge.
 970 When an unsuspecting [train] came,
 Something was derailed there.
 Who knows how many people died!
 Fine, well there are even now,
 There are the worn-out
 975 Carcasses of those trains
 Where they were overturned.
 They existed,
 They were here at [kilometer] forty-five;
 They were there at kilometer eighteen.
 980 There are [some]
 That are not there,
 Like that!
 They caused it to enter into . . . uh,
 In . . . what's it called,
 985 In the . . . small road
 They left it.
 But at that Vigia Chico,
 There were huge locomotives
 Wherever uh . . .
 990 Smokestacks [inaudible] long ago.
 But because it was on the edge of the beach,
 When five, six, [or] eight years had passed,
 They were rusted out

967 979. The Indians resisted the incursion of federal troops under General Bravo by destroying stretches of railroad track (Villa Rojas 1945:30).

987 994. See notes to lines 905 909.

t u mèen le u sáalistréo?*
 le úuč u máan le siklòon dyanet*
 y éetel le iildáe?*
 letí? déesaparesèert kóompletamèente?*
 t u láakl e b'á?al t u p'atah le héeneràal
 bràabóo?*
 tó?on túun weye?
 b'á?as túun ká?ač p'áate? le lìnyáo?
 despwèes tí? hun p'éel tyèempoh čowak
 c' u y á?alá?al yàan le kóofyansáo?
 entónses desdeh miismoh letí? e hèeneràal
 màaya?*
 letí? b'èet éempatàartá?al t u ká?ah téen?*
 le déesarmàartá?an ká?ah p'éel kilometróo?*
 ká?ah túun séerbinah le b'éeh bihiyáo?*
 u tiá?al b'iš u y á?alá?al tí?*
 biyyah déeh kóomunikasyòn?*
 yáh šìib'
 c'ó?ok túun
 hé?e túun le pàaso?
 hé?e túun le liibertàado?
 b'ehlé?e?
 liibré?on
 táan čé?eh
 táan a w ok'ol
 yàan bàayleh
 yàan hé?e b'á?as a k'áate?
 sùuk
 k y áike?
 k u b'in w otoč
 k b'in tó?on
 k b'in té?e
 k tåal waye?
 miš b'á?al k u y úučul
 peroh entónses p'áat miná?an le lìnyáo?
 t u ?èepokah esteh góobernadòr . . . ráamires
 estéeh b'iš ká?ač u k'ääb'a? le máaka?
 hay le góobernadòr hač táah úucih
 čéetumàala?
 màargaríitoh ramíires
 letí? túun b'ine?
 ká?ah túun túuš wač'b'il le lìnyáo?
 té?e bihiyáo?
 way náake?

By that salt.
 995 When Hurricane Janet had passed,
 And [Hurricane] Hilda,
 They disappeared completely,
 Everything left behind by General Bravo.

Well, as for us here,
 1000 What remained were those tracks.
 After a long time,
 It was said that there was trust.
 Then this General May himself,

It was he who had them repaired again,
 1005 Those two kilometers that had been torn up.
 And it served that Vigia route
 As—what's it called?—
 A means of communication.
 Well, man,

1010 It was finished then.
 That peace was here then;
 That freedom was here then.
 Now,
 We are free.

1015 You are laughing;
 You are crying.
 There are dances;
 There is whatever you want.
 They were accustomed to it,

1020 They said.
 They went home.
 We went.
 We went there;
 We came here.

1025 Nothing happened.
 But then nothing remained of those rails.
 In the era of this Governor . . . Ramírez.
 Uh, this is how this man used to be called,
 Ay, the governor who lasted a long time in
 Chetumal,

1030 Margarito Ramírez.
 He was going then.
 And he had those rails dismantled,
 There in Vigia.
 They approached here.

995 998. There have been two hurricanes named Hilda and one named Janet in recent history. The first Hurricane Hilda hit Mexico on September 19, 1955. Hurricane Janet appeared in the Caribbean a few days later and came ashore on September 28, 1955. The second Hurricane Hilda was in the Gulf of Mexico at the beginning of October in 1964 (Hansen 1965:179, 190). Since the text mentions Janet before Hilda, I assume that the more recent Hurricane Hilda was intended and that the two disasters were nine years apart.

1003 1008. According to Villa Rojas (1945:31), when General May seized control of the chicle trade in the region of Chan Santa Cruz after 1917, he obtained a concession from the President of Mexico to operate the old railway and had it repaired.

hun šeet' má? t u p'ati?
 bah
 p'áató?on túun b'eyo?
 lìistoh
 pwes le úučik okol tí? líbertàado?
 tak u walkila?
 miš b'á?al k ?ileh
 táan k ?ilike?
 lìibre h aniló?on
 lìbréeč máan šíimb'al
 lìbréeči?
 wáah yàan teč tàak'ine?
 šèen
 óok'ot
 šèen
 sìineh
 šèen
 hé?e b'á?ale?
 letí? e líbertàad
 gáanarmahil tak walkila?
 peroh lelo?
 tó?on ilik b'ehle?
 le in láak'ó?ob' úučb'enó?ob'o?
 supriirnahó?ob'
 kíimó?ob'
 b'ey u kíimil b'á?alché?e?
 t u hàantó?ob' mòoč če?
 wáah hé?e b'á?aše?
 desdeh má? kíime?
 eskeh letí? kuškiinteh
 yàahyah b'á?ah
 yàahyah b'á?ah
 yàan u pàarteh
 màas hač trìisteh
 peroh kó?oš p'atik tí? u hèel diyah
 way k náakle?
 (b'ey túun b'ey b'á?as
 le hač trìstéo?)
 le ká?ah k'á?al u pàač tihosùukoh*
 syèeteh mèeses senyòor*
 (t u mèen le wàačó?ob')
 le òorahako?
 le wayil máakó?ob'a?
 letí?ó?ob' k'al u pàač tihosùukóo?
 syèeteh meses
 le òorahako?
 animáas in tyóoh héeneràal màayo?*

- 1035 Not a piece remained.
 Bah!
 We remained then like this,
 Finished!
 Well, when freedom came there,
 1040 Until now
 We have seen nothing.
 We are seeing
 That we are free.
 You are free to travel.
 1045 You are free.
 If you have money,
 Go!
 Dance,
 Go!
 1050 Cinema,
 Go!
 Or whatever.
 It is the freedom
 That has been won until now.
 1055 But that,
 We see now
 That those ancestors of mine,
 They suffered.
 They died
 1060 As animals die.
 They ate roots,
 Or whatever.
 If they didn't die [of that],
 It enabled them to live.
 1065 It was a sad thing;
 It was a sad thing.
 There is a part
 That is even sadder.
 But let's leave that for another day.
 1070 We have reached here.
 (So then what was it,
 That was so sad?)
 When Tihosuco was besieged
 For seven months, mister!
 1075 (By the Mexicans?)
 During that epoch,
 These people here,
 It was they who laid siege to Tihosuco.
 For seven months!
 1080 During that epoch,
 My late uncle General May

¹⁰⁷³ ¹⁰⁷⁴ Tihosuco was actually captured by the Indians in 1847 without a siege (Baqueiro 1871 1879:1:281).

¹⁰⁸¹ ¹⁰⁸⁴ It is highly unlikely that Francisco May was a sergeant in 1847, when Tihosuco was captured, since he died in 1969, more than 120 years after that event.

tòodabìiyah sáarhentoh yanil*
 t yá?an túun le dóon háasintoh pàato?*
 t yá?an e dóon séesilyoh cí?o?*
 ká?ah má?ač u kàahil tíhosùukóe?
 ká?ah sityàartá?ab'ih
 nóok č'aak
 súutik u pàač u kàahil
 tíhosùukoh
 nohoč kàah tíhosùukóe?
 a k'ahóol
 èeh b'ehòoráa?*
 b'ùus k u b'iní?*
 syèeteh meses
 le yàan ič kàahe?
 ká?ah káah yàan b'á?al u hàanteh

ká?ah káah yàan
 kí?ih wàah yàan
 bak' yàan
 ší?im yàan wàah
 peroh ká?ah t u y á?alah t u syèeteh mesese?
 síh miš tú?uš k u tàal
 k u y óotik tàal b'éeh báayadolí?e?

 t u k'ab' le weyil máakó?ob' k u lúub'ul
 kàařoh
 wáah àariyah
 k u t'ó?ošol
 tí? le hèenteh
 k'almahil u pàač
 le kàaho?
 letí?ó?ob'e?
 mú? b'èetik miná?an péeresah
 yàan b'á?al u hàantó?ob'
 yàan b'á?al u y uk'ó?ob'
 k u tàal b'éeh pèetóe?
 lah míismah kòosah
 esyáskeh le yàan ič kàaho?
 b'iš u y á?alá?al letí?
 áayslàadoh yanil
 letí?e?
 miš tú?uš u tàal*
 šú?up le b'á?ah hàantá?ale?*
 ká?ah hó?op' u kíinskó?ob' wakaš?
 šú?up le wàakše?*

Was still a sergeant.
 That Don Jacinto Pat was there then;
 That Don Cecilio Chi was there
 1085 When the town of Tihosuco was taken.
 And it was besieged.
 It was a wall
 That surrounded the town
 Of Tihosuco,
 1090 The city of Tihosuco,
 You know it.
 Eh, now
 The bus is coming there.
 For seven months,
 1095 Those who were in the town,
 When it began there were things for them to
 eat;
 And when it began there were,
 There were enough tortillas;
 There was meat,
 1100 There was corn [for] tortillas.
 But when seven months had passed,
 There was nowhere they could come from.
 If they wanted it to come on the road from
 Valladolid,
 It fell into the hands of the people here.

1105 Carts
 Or droves of animals
 Were divided up
 Among the people
 Who had besieged

1110 That town.
 As for them,
 They didn't permit any shortages.
 They had things to eat;
 They had things to drink.

1115 [If] they came along the road from Peto,
 The same thing.
 So it was for those in that town—
 How is it called?—
 They were isolated.

1120 As for them,
 There was nowhere for it to come from.
 They ran out of provisions.
 And they began to kill cows.
 When the cows were used up,

1092–1093. The storyteller was temporarily distracted at this point by a bus passing his house. Most of the inaudible passages in this text resulted from the noise of passing buses drowning out his words.

1121–1128. There is a widespread myth (and I use this term advisedly!) in the peninsula that Tihosuco was besieged for many months until its people were reduced to eating horses. It is possible that this storyteller (and others from whom I have elicited similar accounts of the fall of Tihosuco) have confused Tihosuco with Valladolid, which was evacuated after a siege lasting for several months (see Chapter 8 and notes to lines 1073–1074).

ká?ah hó?op' u kíinsá?al ꝑíimin*
 šú?up le ꝑíimne?*
 ká?ah hó?op' u kíinsá?al pèek'*
 ká?ah hàantá?ab' mìis*
 yáh šìi?
 ká?ah ilá?al
 miš pèek'
 miš mìis k u p'áatal
 yàan túun wáah b'ine?
 esyáskeh ká?ah t u áařesgart t u b'ah u
 hèentéil tihosùukóe?
 hóok'ok
 u hen e nok č'áako?
 wáah kíime?
 wáah kušlahe?
 má?alob' yanil
 peroh b'iš túun kán kuštah
 pwes síh nóok č'áak
 t u pàac le nóok č'áako?
 líimpyokíiná?an t u mèen le hèentéo?
 kóonstantéeh t u máanó?ob'i?
 y óok'ol ah òočoh mèetrose?
 yàan kwàatroph òombresi?
 yàan té?elo?
 yàan té?elo?
 sùut tí? u pàacil
 yáskeh tèeč keš šíimb'al
 wáah yóo? ꝑíimin ká?ah šíikeče?
 pwes b'iš kén a p'it le nóok č'áako?
 má? u y úub'á?al a pèek
 wáah yóo? ꝑíimin k u tàal
 tí? k u k'á?al le ꝑíimno?p'é?en
 líistoh
 wáah má?e?
 č'áak
 hé?el u k'áat y á?al e máakó?ob'
 túun b'inó?ob'o?
 pwes màas yá?ab' kíimih
 kéeh hóok'ih
 pwes tèeč wáah a w òohel a p'áatal wí?iheč
 le a ?eenemíigoh u k'almah u pàac a
 kàahal
 letí?e? t u hanal
 t u y uk'ul t u láakal le méerkansiyah
 k u tàal pèetóe?
 t u k'ab'ó?ob' k u lúub'ul
 k u tàal báayadolid
 t u k'ab'ó?ob' k u lúub'ul
 tèeč t a w iknale?
 mú? č'á?ab'ál y éetel
 (peroh lelo?
 letí? e máakó?ob'

- 1125 Horses began to be killed.
 When the horses were used up,
 Dogs began to be killed,
 And cats were eaten.
 Well, man,
 1130 When it was seen
 That neither dogs
 Nor cats were left,
 There was no alternative then.
 So it was that the people of Tihosuco decided
- 1135 That they should leave,
 That they should dismantle that wall.
 If they died,
 Or survived,
 It was all right.
- 1140 But how are you going to survive then?
 Well, if the wall,
 Behind that wall—
 It was razed by those people
 Who passed by there constantly.
- 1145 Eight meters above,
 There were four men.
 They were there;
 They were there.
 They returned behind it.
- 1150 So it was then that whether you walked
 Or went on horseback,
 Well, how are you going to jump over the wall
 Without your movements being heard?
 If you were coming on horseback,
- 1155 That horse was seized.
 Finished!
 Otherwise,
 The machete!
 That is to say that those people,
- 1160 They were leaving.
 Well, many more died
 Than left.
 Well, do you know how it is to be starving?
 Your enemy besieges your town.
- 1165 *He eats*
 And drinks all the provisions
 That come from Peto.
 They fall into his hands.
 They come from Valladolid;
- 1170 They fall into his hands
 Before your eyes.
 They are not taken with them.
 (But they,
 They were those people?)

le way máakó?ob'e?
 way sáantah krùusó?ob'e?
 té?e k'almahil u pàač kàaho?
 u hèentéil tihosùukoh
 letí? k u penàaró?ob'o?
 (má? letí? e wàacó?ob'o?)
 pwes rebwèeltoh yàan éspanòoli?
 yàan wàaci?
 yàan t u láakal
 peroh k'alá?an té?elo?
 k u tàal
 miná?an šan
 tàal t u láakal le kóomunikasyones
 [. . . ? . . .]
 hé? k u tàal le áayeróo?
 letí? káargadoh y éetel méerkansyáas
 báayadoli?
 u tiá?al tihosùukóe?
 k u má?ače?
 k u lúub'ul prísyonèeróil
 t u k'ab' le hèentéo?
 letí?ó?ob' k u kìinsá?ale?
 p'aat miš máak
 sùunah á?alike?
 b'á?aš úuč tí?
 b'á?aš t u y ilah
 k u tàal kàařóe?
 y éetel séeys mùulase?
 lah míismah kòosah
 k u kíinsá?al u yùumil
 k u č'áab'al le b'á?alo?
 k u t'ó?ošol
 miš máak b'in á?alike?
 b'á?aš úučih
 le ič kàah k'alá?an u pàačo?
 mú? páahthal u kóomunikàr
 síh má? hé?eš b'ehhlá?e?
 b'ehhé?ela? yàan t u fáasilitad t u láakal u
 kóomunikàar
 peroh le úučo?
 má? b'eyo?
 k'ab'ëet por kàartáil
 k'ab'ëet por kóomisyònìl

 esýáskeh
 lúub'eč kíinsá?ab'eče?
 máaš k u y á?alik b'á?aš t a w ilah
 šú?up túun
 miš b'á?al u hàantik
 u y á?al le hèenteh k'áahá?an
 u pàač b'eh
 yàan té?e tihosùukóo?

- 1175 The people here,
 Here in Holy Cross,
 They besieged that town,
 The people of Tihosuco.
 It was they who suffered.
 1180 (Those were not the Mexicans?)
 Well, there were Whites mixed with them there;
 There were Mexicans there;
 There was everyone.
 But they were surrounded there.
 1185 They came;
 There was nothing either.
 All the communications came.
 [inaudible]
 Those muleteers came there.
 1190 They were loaded with goods
 From Valladolid
 For Tihosuco.
 They were seized.
 They fell prisoners
 1195 Into the hands of those people.
 They were killed.
 No one remained
 To return [and] report
 What happened to them,
 1200 What they saw.
 A cart came
 With six mules.
 The same thing!
 Their owner was killed.
 1205 Those things were seized;
 They were distributed.
 No one went to report
 What had happened.
 Those who were shut up in the town
 1210 Were not able to communicate.
 Yes, it was not like today.
 Today there are all kinds of communications
 facilities.
 But in those days,
 It was not like that.
 1215 It was necessary [to communicate] by letter;
 It was necessary [to communicate] by
 messenger.
 So it was that . . .
 [if] you fell, you were killed.
 Who would say what you saw?
 1220 It was used up then;
 There was nothing to eat,
 According to the people who remembered.
 Behind the road
 That was there at Tihosuco

tí? yàan éespanyòoli?
 tí? yàan wàači?
 tí? yàan máasewáali?
 tí? yàan t u láakali?
 ká?ah t u y á?aló?ob'e?
 yáh šiib' kó?oné?eš
 wáah hóok'óron
 wáah kíimó?on
 čéen hun p'éel tí? u sáastale?
 ká?ah t u ?áařesgart u b'áah
 le b'èetike?
 tihosùukóe?
 hač táah yá?ab' máak . . .
 yá?ab'
 tak b'ehlá?e?
 k u kaštá?al tesòorói?
 t u mèen t u láakal u ?ayik'al le kàaho?
 t u láah mukah u tàak'in
 u tùukule?
 kéen sùunake?
 k u hó?osik
 peroh komoh tí? kíime?
 máaš kun u hó?oseh
 (y ó?olal le ç'ùuló?ob'o?)
 úuč le b'á?aló?ob'o?)
 y ó?olal le ç'ùulo?
 máatik le dóon háasintoh pàato?
 letí?e?
 u idéah
 u deskitàartik
 le b'á?áš úuč
 tí? b'uká?ah tyèempóo?
 k u y ilik
 b'iš u y úučul tí? e hèentéo?
 komoh letí? máayah kòole?
 kéen óordenàartá?ak
 yàan u haç'eče?
 yàan u haç'eč ká?ah p'éel áarobah*
 yàah t u y óol ló?ob'al
 peroh wáah má? t u b'èetik šane?
 letí? k u topb'il
 esyáskeh . . .
 náak u y óole?
 ká?ah t u y á?ale?
 kó?oné?eš ilik
 b'iš túuš k b'in
 letí? túun u béengansail
 b'in u b'èetó?ob'o?
 peroh b'ey túun k y á?alá?alo?

- 1225 There were Whites;
 There were Mexicans;
 There were Indians;
 There was everyone.
 And they said:
 1230 "Well, man, let's go,
 Whether we leave,
 Or we die."
 Just one [day] at dawn,
 Those people made up their minds.
 1235 Therefore,
 As for Tihosuco,
 There were a great many people . . .,
 Many.
 Even today,
 1240 Treasure is found,
 Because all the rich people of that town
 Buried all their money.
 They thought
 That when they returned,
 1245 They would dig it up.
 But because they died there,
 Who was going to dig it up?
 (Was it because of those Whites
 That those things happened?)
 1250 It was because of those Whites.
 Well no, that Don Jacinto Pat,
 As for him,
 It was his idea
 To avenge
 1255 What had happened
 For such a long time.
 He observed
 What was happening to those people.
 Because he was the overseer.
 1260 When he was ordered,
 He had to whip you,
 He had to whip you [with] fifty pounds.
 He felt pain in his heart.
 But if he didn't do it either,
 1265 He would have been punished.
 So it was that . . .
 He became tired of it.
 And he said:
 "Let's see
 1270 Where we go!"
 It was revenge
 That they went to carry out.
 But so it is said then:

b'ey u čí?ikeč*
 hun p'él u p'ák' šùuše?*
 hun túul čí?eče?*
 le kéen a tóoke?*
 t u láakal k a tóokik*
 b'ey lelo?
 yá?ab' inoséenteh penaarnahi?
 má? t u láakal k'áasi?
 (bwénoh peroh t u y ó?olal le g'ùuló?ob'o?
 úuč le b'á?aló?ob' b'eyo?)
 kláaroh keh síh

It stings you like this—
 1275 One wasp,
 One stings you;
 When you burn it,
 You burn all of them.
 In that way
 1280 Many innocent people suffered.
 Not everyone was bad.
 (Well, but it was on account of those Whites
 That those things happened like that?)
 Exactly.

1274 1278. In other words, as usual, the innocent must suffer along with the guilty.

TEXT B - 3

Cecilio Chi and Jacinto Canek

Hubo esa segregación entre los indios. Por eso se separaron los indios, porque no estaban conformes con la llegada de los españoles, en que muchos de nosotros aceptamos, éste . . . ¿cómo le diré? esa mezcolanza, esa mezcolanza entre españoles. Naturalmente que ellos como conquistaron México, pues naturalmente muchos se casaron con indios. Y por eso nos llamamos esos mestizos. ¿No le [. . . ? . . .] eso que así los mestizos nos llamamos? Porque nos mezclamos con los españoles. Nuestros antepasados, pues tuvieron que casarse con los españoles, ya sea por esclavitud, por cualquier cosa que ellos se casaron.¹

Entonces los Chí, esos hombres, pues no estaban conformes, y ellos entonces se separaron y fueron a formar el territorio de Quintana Roo, que no tenía gobierno ¿verdad? No tenía gobierno. Entonces es cuando entonces a cuenta de que, cuando entonces ellos se sublevaron entonces en contra de nosotros y venían a buscarnos. (¿Los que se quedaron?) Los que se quedaron allí no estaban conformes con los cas-

There was this division among the Indians. That is why the Indians were disunited, because they did not accept the arrival of the Spaniards, which many of us accepted, uh . . . how shall I say it? this miscegenation, this miscegenation among the Spaniards. Naturally, since it was they who had conquered Mexico, well naturally many of them married Indians. And that is why we call them Mestizos. Didn't I [inaudible] you this, that we call them Mestizos? Because we intermarried with the Spaniards. Well our ancestors had to marry the Spaniards, whether because of slavery, [or] for whatever reason they married them.¹

Then the Chis, those men, well they did not accept it; and then they departed and went to form the Territory of Quintana Roo, that formerly did not have a government, you see. It did not have a government. Then it was then when they rebelled against us because of that and came looking for us. (Those who remained?) Those who had remained there did not accept the punishments, those Spanish

¹. The meaning of the term *mestizo* has changed since 1847, when the Caste War of Yucatan began. *Mestizos* were originally people of mixed Indian and Spanish (and sometimes also Negro) ancestry. The term now has a cultural, rather than a racial, connotation and refers to people who are culturally Maya, in contrast to *catrín*, which refers to "citified" people, without regard for their race. The storyteller belongs to the *catrín* elite of Sotuta.

tigos, con estos nombres españoles; no estaban conformes. Entonces venían a nuestro encuentro, y hubo mucha . . . Entonces entre ellos estaba este Cecilio Chí y no recuerdo otro uno que venía entre ellos entonces. Y no sé que año.

¡Ah, eso es! Ya les digo que esa época pues nos daba no más que aritmética, y gramática, un poco de dibujo. ¡Pero hoy no! Se estudia profundamente entonces lo que es la historia de Yucatán. Porque el que no conoce la historia de su pueblo, pues es un extranjero ¡ah! En su propia tierra es extranjero. Nadie de nosotros . . . , no tenemos esos datos actualmente para . . . Ah, quisieramos tenerlo de veras, como Uds. desean tenerlo, pero no, no se puede. Ya estamos viejitos, sí.²

(Ud. habló de Quisteil . . .)³ ¡Sí, Quisteil, sí! (¿Y qué pasó allá?) Pues allá es su pueblo de ese Cecilio Chí, otro . . . (¿Jacinto?) ¡Jacinto Canek! Jacinto Canek. Lo malo es que Jacinto y Cecilio Chí se sublevaron entonces y venían a nuestro encuentro. Y tuvieron varios encuentros entre castellanos, y entre mestizos, y los indios. Y no perdonaban vida ¿verdad? Y llegaron a un pueblo, y ya quemaron casas allí. Porque ellos están segregados entonces ¡ah! Así se dice bien la señorita. Es Cecilio Chí y Jacinto Canek. Son dos que no se puede decir sublevados. Sí . . . , tenían su época ¿verdad? de que vengan a reconquistar. ¡Quién sabe que tenían ideas! Pero sí, toda idea que se siembra lleva a arrastrar hombres, víctimas, sangre ¿verdad?

Sí, lo sabe; eso lo sabe, sí. Lo malo es que es lo único que sé, que tuvieron varios encuentros con los castellanos o con los mestizos. (¿Con los españoles?)⁴ Con los españoles, mejor dicho. Sí, ya estamos mezclados con ellos.

Entonces cuando entonces este . . . total. Vino los federaciones, y se aquietaron. Aquí había triunfó la revolución mexicana, y entonces ellos se aquietaron ¿verdad? Ellos se compongan, hasta aquí.⁵

(Yo creo que había dos bandos ¿no? una . . . bueno, uno de los españoles, que hay también indígenas entre los españoles, que están de acuerdos con la opinión española. Y entonces hay un grupo, o otro ban-

names; they did not accept them. Then they came to fight us, and there was much . . . Then this Cecilio Chi was among them and another one whom I don't remember, who came with them then. And I don't know in which year [it was].

Ah, that's how it is! Well, I tell you that in that epoch they taught us only arithmetic, and grammar, [and] a bit of drawing. But today, no! One studies the history of Yucatan in depth now. Because whoever does not know the history of his town, well, he is a foreigner, isn't that so? He is a foreigner in his own land. None of us . . . , we do not have those data at present for . . . Ah, we would really like to have it, just as you wish to have it, but no, it isn't possible. Yes, we are already old.²

(You spoke of Quisteil . . .)³ Yes, Quisteil, yes! (And what happened there?) Well that was the town of this Cecilio Chi, another . . . (Jacinto?) Jacinto Canek! Jacinto Canek. The trouble is that Jacinto Canek and Cecilio Chi rebelled then and came to fight us. And they had several fights between Spaniards, and between Mestizos, and the Indians. And they did not spare lives, you see. And they came to a town, and they burned houses there. Because they were divided then, isn't that so? The young lady is right. It was Cecilio Chi and Jacinto Canek. They were two whom one cannot call rebels. Yes . . . , they had their epoch, you see, in which they came to reconquer. Who knows what ideas they had! But yes, every idea that is sown involves men, victims, blood, you see.

Yes, it is known; this is known, yes. The trouble is that this is all I know, that they had several clashes with the Spaniards or with the Mestizos. (With the Spaniards?)⁴ With the Spaniards, more properly speaking. Yes we are mixed with them.

Then when this . . . that's all. The federal [troops] came, and they calmed down. The Mexican Revolution had triumphed here, and then they calmed down, you see. They accommodated themselves, even here.⁵

(I believe that there used to be two factions, isn't that so? One . . . well, one on the side of the Spaniards; for there were also Indians among the Spaniards, who agreed with the Spanish point of view. And then there was a group, or another faction,

2. History was apparently not taught in school when the storyteller was a boy.

3. The storyteller had not mentioned Quisteil. I had misunderstood something he had said earlier.

4. The word *castellano* literally means 'Castilian,' the language of Castile (Cuyás 1904:106), not 'Spaniard'; *español* means 'Spaniard.'

5. He seems to be confusing the Caste War of Yucatan with the Revolution of 1910–1917 here.

do, que es de el bando de Cecilio Chí, algo así ¿no?

Sí, yo creo que sí. Porque . . . hasta allí no podemos. Creo que ni los historiadores se suponen ¡ah! Porque un historiador, pues pone de su parte, sí, pone de su parte. (¿Darle belleza?) Sí, para darle más realce a su escritura.

(¿Y Cecilio Chí y Jacinto Canek vinieron a Sotuta misma?) Sí. ¡No llegaron! ¡No! Llegaron a Yaxcabá, a Yaxcabá sí llegaron, sí, de manera que en constante se sobrevivieron. Entonces, todos los pueblos, principalmente Sotuta ¡ah! Y que vienen. Y están listas las maletitas, unas maletitas así de *b'ápas*, que le llaman ¡ah! ¡*B'ápas ah!*⁶ Allí están las ropas. Ah, en cualquier momento habían gentes en los carros para reventar bombardá para avisarles que venía la gente. Y la gente pues, iban a los montes a guardarse, porque venía Cecilio Chí, y Jacinto Canck. Pues llegaron hasta Yaxcabá, y quemaron casas. Por eso quedó en ruinas Yaxcabá. Y nunca levantó cabeza Yaxcabá, como hasta la fecha. Huyeron.⁷

Entonces Yaxcabá era cabecera; era cabecera de municipio. Entonces como Sotuta estaba más cerca de comunicarse con ellos, pues entonces quedó Yaxcabá como cabecera federal, de federación. Entonces Sotuta quedó cabecera del partido. Así quedó entonces dividido, porque así no querían.

Porque Yaxcabá era ciudad; porque era ciudad Yaxcabá. Sí, allí compraban jabón los de acá, velas. Toda clase de artículos allí se fabricaba ¡ah! en Yaxcabá. Ah, entonces querían que sea cabecera. Los Barbachanos, que los Méndez . . . , los Mendecistas ¡ah! Había dos partidos contrarios entonces a sus . . . Pero que Yaxcabá era muy . . . ¿como le diré? populosa. Sí, había mucho maíz, entonces no. Pues pasó cerca de cabecera de federación de la federal donde estaba destacamento. Entonces Sotuta como cabecera del partido.⁸

which was Cecilio Chi's faction, [or] something like this, isn't that so?

Yes, I believe so. Because . . . we can't [go] that far. Nor, I believe, do the historians assume it, ah! Because a historian, well, he elaborates, yes; he elaborates. (To enhance it?) Yes, to give his writing more luster.

(And did Cecilio Chi and Jacinto Canek come to Sotuta itself?) Yes. No, they didn't come! No! They came to Yaxcabá, yes, they came to Yaxcabá, yes, so that they always survived. Then, all the towns, principally Sotuta, ah! And they came. And the suitcases were ready, some suitcases like this of leather, they were called, ah! Leather, ah!⁶ The clothes were there. Ah, every minute there were people in the carts in order to fire shots in order to warn them that people were coming. And the people, well, they went into the woods to protect themselves, because Cecilio Chi came, and Jacinto Canek. Well, they reached Yaxcabá, and they burned houses. That is why Yaxcabá was left in ruins. And Yaxcabá never raised its head, until even now. They fled.⁷

Then Yaxcabá used to be the headquarters, the county seat. Then, since Sotuta was much closer for communicating with them, well then, Yaxcabá remained as federal headquarters, of the confederation. Then Sotuta remained as district headquarters. Thus it remained divided then, because they did not like it like that.

Because Yaxcabá used to be a city; because Yaxcabá used to be a city. Yes, those from here bought soap [and] candles there. All kinds of things were manufactured there, in Yaxcabá, isn't that so? Ah, then they wished it to be headquarters. The Barbachanistas, that the Méndez . . . , the Mendecistas, isn't that so? There used to be two opposing parties then to their . . . But Yaxcabá was very—how shall I say it?—populated. Yes, there used to be much corn, then no. Well, it passed near the headquarters of the confederation of the federal [government] where the station used to be. Then Sotuta [was] like the district headquarters.⁸

6. The word *b'ápas* means 'leather.'

7. Yaxcabá was captured by the Indians in 1853 (Ancona 1878 1880:4:350).

8. According to Nelson Reed (1964:71), the rivalry between Sotuta and Yaxcabá for the position of district headquarters was of long duration: "Sotuta was the political capital of the Cocomes district. This honor, however, was disputed by Yaxcabá, and the argument, together with others apparently dating back to the petty wars of pre-Columbian times, had split the two towns completely. At this time there was also a plot by the Sotuta Barbachanistas to surrender Yaxcabá to the enemy. Lieutenant Colonel Alberto Morales, in command of the area, was constrained to divide the two companies of the battalion Orden that came from Sotuta and Yaxcabá, stationed each in its native place to keep them from open fighting. The thought of white traitors sitting across their supply line weighed heavily on the exposed Yaxcabá company; and when they retreated on February 12, they refused to go to the assistance of Sotuta and marched back to Izamal."

Some Folklore of Ethnic Conflict in Highland Chiapas

Texts C-1–C-4 come from Robert M. Laughlin's (1977) extensive corpus of tales from Zinacantan. Since I was not the person who recorded and transcribed them, only the English translation appears here. The translations are reproduced as they appear in Laughlin's book, with the numeral 7 indicating the glottal stop and dashes to indicate lengthening of vowels for dramatic effect (see Laughlin 1977:14).

The first three texts provide examples of the magical-weapons theme discussed in Chapters 10 and 14 (see Laughlin 1977:21–26, 37–39, 60–63, 132–135, 212–216, 355–356, 358, 404–405 for other examples). Text C-4 is a Zinacanteco version of the War of St. Rose.

Texts C-5, C-7, C-8, and C-9 were recorded on tape during my brief field trip to Chiapas in July 1972. Text C-5 is a Chamulan version of the War of St. Rose elicited from a male informant in his late forties or early fifties. The informant from whom I obtained Text C-7 was also the source of Laughlin's T112 and T154 (1977:112–124). Although it was recorded less than a year after T154 (but twelve years after T112), my version encompasses several more ethnic conflicts than the two earlier versions. The storyteller was probably in his eighties when I recorded Text C-7. Texts C-8 and C-9 were both elicited from middle aged Ladinos in San Cristobal Las Casas; a midwife was the source of the former, a carpenter of the latter. Antonia González Pacanchil of Zinacantan helped me with the transcription of Texts C-5 and C-7, and Liliana Schor of New Orleans prepared the original transcription of Texts C-8 and C-9.

Text C-6 was recorded on tape in February 1969,

while I was still collecting material for my book on ritual humor (Bricker 1973a) and several years before I became interested in Maya Indian revolts. The text was volunteered by Manuel Arias Sohóm of San Pedro Chenalho, Calixta Guiteras-Holmes's former informant, because he believed that he had forgotten to relate the story to her (actually Guiteras-Holmes [1961:265–267] had already published a version of it). He would have been sixty-nine years old when I recorded his text (1961:319). The tape was transcribed by Domingo Pérez Pérez of Zinacantan.

The orthography for the Tzotzil texts is the one used by Laughlin (1975) in his dictionary of Zinacanteco Tzotzil, with the addition of /H/, a "voiceless, labialized, backed velar fricative" (Gossen 1974a:361), which occurs in the dialects of Tzotzil spoken in Chamula and Chenalho (but not Zinacantan). Stress falls on the last syllable of polysyllabic words, unless otherwise indicated. Spanish loan words are spelled as they are pronounced in Tzotzil, except for the long passages entirely in Spanish that appear in Text C-6, which follow normal Spanish spelling conventions.

The underlying couplet structure of the Tzotzil texts is suggested by breath groups, pauses, intonation, and repetition, as well as occasional semantic and syntactic parallelism. Each line of Tzotzil in Texts C-5–C-7 (and Spanish in Text C-6) is preceded and followed by a pause on the tapes. The sets of paired lines are often set off by longer pauses. False starts and hesitations are marked by ellipses. The questions and comments with which I guided the elicitation sessions appear in parentheses.

TEXT C - I

When the Guatemalans Were Blown Sky-High (Laughlin 1977:17 19 [Text T1])

Once the elders were stronger. They made trips to Guatemala with their mules.

Then the Guatemalans took [them] into captivity. They would bring a jug of cane liquor to get them drunk.

When the people got us drunk they would castrate us.

They would fatten us up. When we were fat they would turn us into oil. Who knows what we would be turned into.

Every time, every time that our countrymen reached [Guatemala] they would always remain. They would always remain. They wouldn't return any more.

In olden times the elders were stronger. There was Thunderbolt. There was Butterfly. There was Hawk. There was Blowfly. There was Whirlwind.

Once the elders grew angry. They went. They left together. They went to look for a cave. When many of our countrymen had been lost, the elders grew angry.

They found a cave. "Go," Butterfly was told. "Go see what they are doing," said Thunderbolt. [Butterfly] went. Waving [his wings] he reached the center of the town.

"I'm back," he said [when he returned to the cave]. "What are they doing?" asked Thunderbolt.

"Well, their minds are at ease. They aren't doing anything," he said.

"Now you go, I guess," Hawk was told.

"Go pick out all the big fat hens and bring them back," Hawk was told.

"I'm going!" he said. He went to pick out, to catch, and bring back all the very best hens.

He kept on catching and bringing back the chickens. "We'll cook the meal here," said Thunderbolt.

"Fine," they said. All [the chickens] were killed. [Hawk] picked them all out and brought them back.

The Guatemalans got a bit upset.

[The elders] had a feast. They finished eating.

"Look, Blowfly," Blowfly was told, "You go now, go see, I guess, what they're doing," he was told.

"Fine!" he said. He went. A big pot of food was boiling. There were many cooks there while the food was being cooked.

Blowfly quickly left maggots on top of the broth.

The cook came. He stirred the broth. All that came to the top was maggots. He told one of the generals,

"That's bad. Our enemies have come. There are enemies [here]," said the general. Ooh, they blew their trumpets. They sounded the alarm. They shouted to each other.

Blowfly returned. "What are they doing?" asked Thunderbolt.

"Well, the meal was cooking. Their minds were at ease, but I left maggots in the meal. Quickly they sounded the alarm. They blew their trumpets," said Blowfly.

"Ah, fine, we aren't scared. Let's go, I guess," said Thunderbolt. They went. Two of the elders, Thunderbolt and Whirlwind, went in. They reached the center of the town.

"Have you come?" they were asked.

"We've come!" said our countrymen.

"Rest here!" our countrymen were told.

"That's fine!" they said. They entered the prison.

"Have you come, friends?" asked the others who were imprisoned there.

"We've come!" said the two elders.

"Oh, it's too late now, because we are going to die here. We are going to be castrated," said the others.

"Oh, don't be afraid! We'll get out of here in a minute. This is what we came for. They've had their way persecuting us so much. Wait a bit!" said the two elders.

"All right," said the others.

A jug of cane liquor was brought to each of them, to each of the elders. They drank. They drank lots, until they finished off fourteen or fifteen jugs of cane liquor apiece. But they didn't even get drunk. "That's enough, that's all. Let's fall over now," they said. They collapsed in a heap. The castrators came. They saw an open hole beneath where [the elders] had been sitting. When they drank [the cane liquor] it kept on going right into the ground.

"Well never mind, they're drunk now. Let's castrate them now," said the soldiers.

They brought the pocketknife. [The elders] sensed in their dreams that their balls were about to be grabbed.

[Thunderbolt] let go a fart, but a mighty one. That

was the end of the castrators. A mighty thunderbolt struck. The whole square, all the big buildings were ruined. Whirlwind came. Whirlwind picked up the people and tossed them and turned them up in the

sky. That's why the Guatemalans have said that the Zinacantecs are stronger. All those who had been imprisoned returned. Since then there have been no more wars with Guatemala.

TEXT C-2

When the Soldiers Were Coming (Laughlin 1977:328 330 [Text T56])

They used to be very strong men long ago. There were three men. They talked to each other.

"What can you do? Can you do anything?" one of the friends was asked.

"Nothing. I can't do anything," said [the first].

"And you, what can you do?"

"Me, I can be a little Thunderbolt," said [the next].

"Oh, you can do that?"

"I can."

"And you, what can you do?"

"Me, I can, I can only be a Butterfly," said [the third].

"And you, what can you do?" the three asked each other.

"Me, I can be a Whirlwind," said [the first]. "I can be a Hurricane," he said [finally].

Oh, then, they went to Tabasco. They took a trip, walking to Tabasco. [They were] merchants. They bought tobacco.

Now they spoke. "But if [what they say] is true we'd better watch out or we'll die. The soldiers are coming now to kill us. If there were something we could do. If there were something we could do to them," they said. "Go on, you go then!" Butterfly was told. He went to look. There was a cauldron of food cooking in Chiapa.

You see, Butterfly was circling around. It laid [its eggs] in the food. They turned into worms. It stuck worms in the meal. Now the soldiers wouldn't eat. Now they wouldn't eat their food, because it had worms in it. They didn't eat their food.

[The soldiers] came on. They came up. They were coming now to kill people. They came up. They arrived at [a place] called Vok'em Setz' [Broken Bowls]. There were lots of bowls spread out there, dishes. They were very beautiful. They were scattered on the trail, so that [the soldiers] would want them and

be distracted. They would have died on the way if they had been distracted, but they weren't diverted. They didn't look at them. They continued on.

They arrived near Burrero as well. There is [a place] there called 7Ik'al Vot [Hurricane]. It was because they fought there—[the Zinacantecs] fought using wind and rain. The soldiers nearly died there, but they didn't die. But they continued on. They weren't scared off by the wind and rain that was hurled against them. They weren't frightened by it. That's why the place there is called Hurricane.

They arrived at Petz Toj [Pine Tree]. The pine tree, the pine tree danced.

They weren't distracted by it either. They didn't look at all. They didn't watch at all. They weren't distracted by it. They continued on again.

They arrived near Vo7-bitz [Five Pieces]. There was a woman there, too. She was weaving. She really was beautiful, the woman working there, weaving. But they weren't distracted by her. They never looked at her either. They came on again. They continued on. Here to the east of Salinas there was a cross. There was a market there. But what a market! There were loads of things. There was fruit. There was everything, food, and whatever else for sale. But they never ate any of it, because if they ate, then it meant that all of them would have been left behind. If they bought, bought fruit, bought something to eat at the market then all of them would be left behind. They weren't distracted by the things for sale. They never bought anything. They never looked at anything.

They came on again. Now they were higher up here. [The place] was called Tz'ajom Pik' [Submerged Clitoris]. A woman was bathing, bathing in a little pond that was there once. There was a pond. But the woman was bathing happily. She was washing her

who—le body in the water. They never looked at her either.

They came on. They came on. They were just about to enter Zinacantán Center.

"The devils have come now. What can we do?" said the men. "Oh, but what? There's nothing left to do. They weren't even distracted. What can we do now?" they said.

"I don't know if it would be a good plan to flood the river," said [one].

"Oh yes, indeed. We can do that," said the others.

"Let it flood, then!" said [one of the Zinacantecs]. Quickly he sent a torrential rain. In a minute he sent it. The river floo—ded. In a minute all the soldiers

were carried away. They went. Then that was the end of them. That's how the trouble ended, because they were carried away by the water. Then the elders won, long ago. Not until then did they win. The river is called Pum-lajan 7Uk'um [Roaring River]. There is a place they call Xlok' Yoyon Ton [Rock Whose Heart Appears]. Because the rock used to have a heart, too. The rock was good-hearted, but they'd never looked at it either. They'd continued on, so that they were already entering Zinacantán Center. Then [the Zinacantecs] thought of that river. The river flooded. It swept them all away. They all went. They all went. Then that was the end of them.

TEXT C-3

When Zinacantecs Rode Home on Horseback (Laughlin 1977:378 379 [Text T160])

There is [a war story] like that about the elders of long ago.

They would go as soldiers. They kept going to war, but it was always like that. We . . . the elders, it seems, just carried burdens, carried bullets. [The Mexican soldiers] never asked [what you wanted to do]. It was always just burdens—as if [you were] a mule, an animal, as we say.

The [Mexicans'] soldiers were killed, it seems, where that war was. They were killed.

Then [the Zinacantecs] spoke to that chief, the leader of the soldiers, as we say. They spoke to him. "Well, I guess we'll get into it," they said. "We'll see if we're killed. Who cares?" said those elders of long ago. Since they had chosen from among themselves. There was Thunderbolt. There was Fog. There was Whirlwind. They chose the few elders who always worked, it seems.

"Well, if you can do something, then, do [us] the favor," said the leader of the [Mexican] soldiers, as we say. The war [chief], as we say.

"Well, I guess we'll join in," they went to see how their enemies could be killed. "Well, I guess you should go, Hawk."—There was a Hawk—"I guess you should go, Hawk," they said. Hawk went. Lord, he was flying off hi—gh up.

"They're eating," [Hawk] said when he arrived [home].

"Well, if they're just about to eat, then, go on, then, Blowfly!" they said . . . that Blowfly was told. Blowfly went. He arrived there, buzzing. Sonofabitch, in a minute, in a minute a—all their food was just [filled with] maggots. They never ate. He laid [the eggs], but the maggots grew right away. You can't say they didn't grow right away! Sonofabitch, those [enemy] soldiers never ate.

"Hell, some trouble's up, then!" they said. They never ate it. They threw it out for good.

"Go on, Butterfly," [the elders] said. Butterfly went, too.

But they were already getting prepared there. They were getting ready. "Get ready!" [Butterfly] said when he arrived [back where the elders were].

"All right," they said. "Let's go, then! Let's go, then!" said that Thunderbolt and Whirlwind and Fog. Lord, they went to attack them. [The enemy] were all finished. They were finished for good. The trouble ended once and for all.

They had horses, it seems, those [Mexican] soldier chiefs, as we say. They had horses, it seems. Lord, it was the elders of long ago—they were the ones who came back mounted. Those chiefs, as we say, came

back now on foot. They came now on foot, since [the elders] were able to win, you see. That's why the soldier chiefs could now come on foot, you see. They didn't win with their own men, you see. It was only the bearers, they were the only ones who won, it seems. Then the trouble ended, indeed. Who knows

how much money was given to them. Lord, they got so much money! Since they were the ones to win, you see. Ye—s!

They even arrived home sauntering in on horseback. Since they wouldn't make the effort on foot—since they won, you see. That's how the story ends.

TEXT C-4

The War of Saint Rose (Laughlin 1977:338 339 [Text T65])

Once there used to be a Saint Rose, long ago. But she was the mother of dissension, Saint Rose. There was strife. The Chamulans gathered together. Lots of wo—men joined in. They were going to make war. They were going to wage war.

There next to the Quinta [Ranch] there is a bridge. The bridge is named Saint Rose. The trouble reached there, because they were fighting there. They went. There used to be cannons here [in San Cristóbal]. The [soldiers of San Cristóbal] went. They went to fire cannons there. The [Chamulan] women—first the women came. They came with their skirts lifted high and wi—de so that the cannons would grow cold, so that they would not fire.

But the cannons did fire. All the women were left in heaps like chickens. They were all killed by the cannons.

The [Chamulan] men came on. They didn't enter [San Cristóbal]. They never entered. They were just finished off like the others.

Now, Saint Rose—the soldiers [of San Cristóbal]

went to seize her and bring her in. Saint Rose arrived at the barracks. She was a Chamulan woman, a human being, not a saint. She just lied that she was transformed so that the people would say she was a saint, since her name was Saint Rose. Saint Rose, the Virgin, she was supposed to be.

But she herself knew how to eat. She ate. She drank posol. Would a saint eat? That's why it was lies. That's why they just went to seize her and bring her in. Nothing happened. Nothing happened to the town. She lied. She just deceived people. She tricked them. So they assembled in grea—t numbers. There were many celebrations at her house. She was given alms, and everything, candles, money, and everything since she was the Virgin, it seemed. She was a saint, it seemed.

But she lied. She just deceived the people. They had gone to seize her and bring her in. She arrived at the barracks. That was the end of her. The trouble died down long ago.

TEXT C-5

The War of St. Rose (Chamulan Version)

bwéno komo ti ?anima hmuk' tote
toh hal ič'i
yo?olo? lah yil komel

Well, as for my late grandfather,
He grew up long ago;
Therefore he saw

ti ?anima ti kuskate
 ti k'u ši lik ti pleto
 ti vo?ne
 ič'i syento trenta anyo
 ti hmuk' tote
 ti hmuk' tote
 k'alal iyu? ti pleto la
 ti mas vo?ne
 b'ik'it
 yu?un la ha? šakreštan ti smuk' tot ?eke
 ha? la šakreštan ti smuk' tote
 va?i ha? te ko?ol ib'atik sči?uk ti pale ta
 čahalhemele
 ?i te nab'al b'at ti ?anima hmuk' tot ?ek
 ?une
 b'at sči?in ti smuk' tote
 yu?un ha? šakreštan
 heč ti ?anima hmuk' tot ?eke
 šakreštan
 šakreštan
 hal la spas šakreštanil
 ha? to ti k'u ši malub'e
 ha? to ti lok' ta šakreštanil
 hečal yolol ša ?oš lo?ilah
 ti ?anima hmuk' tot
 ha? sya?yeh
 ha? slo?il
 ka?ib'inohb'e komel ti ?anima hmuk' tot
 ?une
 mi ta hmalakutik panin*
 ?ak'o šta?ah*
 k'u ši ti te čotolunkutike
 člik slo?il ti ?anima hmuk' tote
 bwéno ti kuskate . . .
 ?oy hun vinik
 b'at ta si?b'eh
 ?i te pikil la sta hun ton
 yašal ton
 bwéno lah yal
 ti vinike
 ha? lek ta škič' ?eč'el li?e
 ke tal mi me? tak'ine
 čb'a hčab'i
 čb'a hč'ata kik
 ?alak' sb'a ti tone
 ši lah yal ti vinike

That late Cuscat,
 5 How that war began
 Long ago.
 He grew up 130 years ago,
 My grandfather.
 As for my grandfather,
 10 When that war was waged then,
 So long ago,
 He was small.
 Because his grandfather was also a sacristan.
 His grandfather was also a sacristan.
 15 You see, they went together with that priest to
 Tzajalhemel.
 And my late grandfather went to the river there
 too.
 He accompanied his grandfather,
 Because he was a sacristan.
 That's right, as for my late grandfather too,
 20 He was a sacristan.
 He was a sacristan.
 He served as a sacristan for a long time,
 But not until he had become mature;
 Not until he had made his debut as sacristan.
 25 Thus, that is why he used to converse,
 My late grandfather.
 It was his story;
 It was his conversation.
 I heard it from my late grandfather then.
 30 "Shall we wait for the *nixtamal*?
 It should be cooked sufficiently.
 Why don't we sit there?"
 My late grandfather began to converse:
 "Well that Cuscat . . ."
 35 There was a man.
 He went to collect firewood.
 And there he found a stone,
 A green stone.
 Well he said,
 40 That man:
 "I'd better take this.
 It might be a treasure.
 I am going to look after it;
 Perhaps I will cense it."
 45 That stone is beautiful,"
 Said that man.

*Notes to Text C-5 are identified by line numbers.

30 31. The word *panin*, or *nixtamal*, refers to maize kernels that have been soaked and boiled in lime to dissolve the tough outer skin. They resemble hominy. After the kernels have boiled sufficiently, they are cooled, rinsed with clear water, and ground into a dough that is used for tortillas.

bwéno lah yič' tal
 ti vinike
 hul šč'ata
 yak'b'e pom
 stik' ta kaša
 ?i la šč'atane
 bwéno ha? to lik k'opohuk ti ton ?une
 mu ša yu?unuk tonuk ?un
 pas ta k'u ča?al hun yištol ?olol
 k'u ča?al munyeka
 k'u ča?al hun mu?
 ha? heč yelan ipas ?o
 bwéno teke? kolaval lavak'b'un ti pome

 ?i kolaval lavak' ti hve?ele
 pero vu?une
 htotikun
 mu yu?unuk me? tak'inuk ?un
 htotikun
 ši lah yal ti ton ?une
 bwéno čahk'anb'ik hun pavor
 ta hk'an lek hb'ehuk na
 ta hk'an ta šamelčanik č'ul nail
 ta šahk'an ta ša?ob' ab'aik
 ta hk'an te ša?ab'olahik čakomon
 melčanik ti hnae
 ?i yeč ?une
 li? čahk'elik ?eke
 mu k'u šal avo?ontonik li? čahk'elik ?eke
 li? čahčab'i ?eke
 ši ti munyekae
 ti ton to?oš ti b'u la stek ta tamele
 bwéno lah yalb'e ya?i yu?yalaltak ti vinike
 ?oy la hta tal ta tamel tal htotik
 heč htotik la ?un
 mu la yu?unuk me? tak'inuk
 la hnop ta hol
 te me? tak'in ti la htam tale
 pero mo?oh
 li htotik la ?un
 ta la ša?ab'olah
 ta hk'opontik ava?i
 ?i ta la sk'an ta h?ob' hb'atik
 ta la škak'b'etik ava?iik
 ti smantal
 ti k'usi yaloh ti smantale
 šut ti svesinotake
 ti šči?iltak ta naklehe
 bwéno lah šč'un ti kirsanoe
 la ščob' sb'aik
 la sk'ponik
 bwéno solel čapasb'ik hun na

Well he took it,
 That man.
 He censed it;
 50 He gave it incense.
 He stuck it in a chest;
 And he censed it,
 Well, until that stone began to speak then.
 It was no longer a stone then.
 It had become like a child's toy,
 Like a doll,
 Like a person;
 That's how it became.
 "Well, all right, thank you for giving me that
 incense.
 60 And thank you for feeding me.
 But as for me,
 I am a saint.
 I am not a treasure at all.
 I am a saint,"
 65 That stone said then.
 "Well, I will ask a favor of you.
 I want a nice little home.
 I want you to build a church for me.
 I want you to assemble.
 70 I want you to please construct my home
 together.
 And in that way, then,
 I will look after you too.
 Don't worry! I will look after you too.
 I will take care of you too,"
 75 Said that doll
 That he had found as a stone.
 Well that man explained it to his relatives:
 "I found a saint,
 But a saint then.
 80 It is not a treasure.
 I thought
 That what I had picked up was a treasure.
 But no!
 It was a saint.
 85 You will do the favor.
 We want to talk to you.'
 And it wants us to assemble
 So that I might inform you
 Of its orders,
 90 The orders it gave,"
 He told his neighbors
 [And] his relatives who lived nearby.
 Well, those people believed him.
 They assembled.
 95 It spoke to them:
 "Well, you will simply build a house;

yu?un ta hk'an lek hb'ehuk č'ul nail ši li
 činakioe
 li? ta hk'an li? oyoyon ?o ta hmeke
 ši ti munyeka
 ti ton ti b'u la staik tal ta tamel
 bweno ?i la šč'unik ti kirsanoe
 la šč'unik solel
 ti ta ša šoč yu?unik ?ab'tel
 ta ša šoč k'usitikuk
 ?i la spasik lek vob'
 la spasb'ik lek sk'inal
 i?ak'otahik
 iyuč'ik hutuk poš
 ispasb'ik lek sk'inal ti htotik ta hmek
 ?i lah šč'unik ?ek yu?un ti htotik ta hmek
 ti hun munyekae
 bwéno komo mu ša la b'u č?ab'teh ti yahnil
 ti b'uč'u la stam ti tone
 heč ti b'uč'u ti vinik la stam ti tone

 mu ša b'u č?ab'teh
 ha? ša ta sk'el ta hmek ti santoe
 ha? ša ta stihb'e svob'al
 ha? ša te ?oy ta sk'el ta hmek mu k'usi
 spas
 bwéno ?entónse ha? la ti ?anç
 ?oy la skyera ša ti ?anç ya?aluk ?une

 taš b'uč'u spas vezelil
 ?oy b'uč'u ya?aluk ?une
 komo huhun mal k'ak'al la ta hmeke
 č?očik ta ?ak'ot
 hun veno svob'
 šci?uk hutuk poš ?une
 ?i mi lub'čahik la ta ?ak'ot ?une
 čb'a vayikuk ?un
 ha? la ti kycrail ?une . . .
 tik' ?un te tik'il ta kaša ?une
 nak'al
 b'at sk'el
 k'usi yelan ta hmek ti htotike
 b'a la sk'el ta hmek ti k'u la yelan
 ti kyerail ya?aluk škaltike
 b'a la sk'el
 ha? to la čil ko?ol la šci?uk hun munyeka
 te ta švay
 púro la č'ič' nohem ta ye ta hmek
 yeč la smuk'tikil volahtik ti č'ič' ti ye ta
 hmeke
 pero puru č'ič' nohem ta ye
 puru č'ič' nohem ta ye
 hii k'alal la mi ta la švay ?iluk

Because I want a nice little church," said the
 pebble.
 "I want to be here forever,"
 Said that doll,
 100 That stone that they had found.
 Well, and those people believed it.
 They just believed it.
 They began to work for it,
 And they began everything else.
 105 And they made nice music.
 They put on a nice festival for [the saint].
 They danced.
 They drank a little rum.
 They put on a lovely festival for the saint.
 110 And they also believed that that doll was a
 saint.
 Well, as the wife of the person who had picked up
 that stone no longer worked—
 That's right, [the wife] of the person who had
 picked up that stone,
 She no longer worked.
 She guarded that saint carefully now.
 115 She played music now.
 She guarded it carefully now so that nothing
 would befall it.
 Well, then that woman,
 That woman seems to have had a maid servant
 then,
 That person who prepared meals.
 120 It seemed there was someone there.
 For every single afternoon,
 They began to dance.
 [There was] some good music
 And a little rum then.
 125 And if they became tired of dancing then,
 They would go to sleep then.
 As for that maid servant then . . .
 It was just stuck there inside the chest then.
 It was hidden.
 130 She went to see
 Exactly what that saint was like.
 She went to examine it carefully,
 We mean that maid servant, it seems.
 She went to look
 135 Until she saw that it was just like a doll.
 It was sleeping there.
 Its mouth was completely filled with blood!
 That blood in its mouth had the shape of a ball.

 Its mouth was just filled with blood!
 140 Its mouth was just filled with blood!
 Ooh, when it thought they were going to sleep,

mi k'usi la ta spas
 ti tah munyeka ta slo? č'ič'e*
 k'ahomaluk ?o la ti hap'*
 ti hap'*
 ti hap' ši la*
 pero puru la č'ič''*
 te ?oy ta ye ta hmek*
 bwéno lah la yal ti kyerae
 mu htotikuk ma li šča?b'ioh li kahvale
 k'elavil
 puru slo?oh ti č'ič'e
 le?e me? pleto*
 yu?un ta šlik ti pletoe*
 ši la ti kyerae hee
 bwéno a yalb'e ya?i
 ti stote
 ti sme? ya?aluke
 tot mu hay b'el
 ta šlik pleto
 mu yu?unuk htotikuk
 mi ha? heč htotik šana? slo?oh č'ič'
 ti te čvay te ta kašae
 ti b'u ?oy šča?b'ohik te šiik
 ?a lavil lek ši ti stote
 lah lah kil lek ta hmek
 ?a ta heč šlik pleto
 me? pleto ma? tahe ši

 bwéno ?i k'unk'untik
 ?i k'unk'untik
 ivinah tal
 vinah tal
 ya?i ti pale li? ta htekum ya?aluk ?une

 li? ?oy to?oš ti pale li? ta htekum*
 ya?i ti pale ?une
 bwéno lah yal ti pale ?une
 lah yalb'e yahšakrištan
 teke?
 solel čb'a hk'eltik kik ti dyos ta ?ahalhemel*

 va?i ?oy ti htotik ti te ta ?ahalhemele*
 čb'a hk'eltik kik
 ta hčob' hb'atik b'atel
 b'a pas miša tey
 b'a kak'b'e Ho? yič' ti kirsanoe

Or would do something,
 That doll would eat blood!
 There was just that crunch,
 145 That crunch,
 That crunch, like this!
 But just blood
 Was there in its mouth.
 Well, that maidservant said:
 150 "What my master is caring for is not a saint!
 Look!
 It has only eaten blood!
 That is the mother of dissension.
 Because that war is going to begin,"
 155 Said that maidservant. Hah!
 Well, she informed them,
 Her father
 [And] her mother, it seems.
 "Father, never mind!"
 160 The war will begin.
 It is not a saint.
 Would a saint know how to eat blood?
 It sleeps there in the chest
 Where they are guarding it, they say."
 165 "Ah, did you look at it carefully?" said her father.
 "I looked at it very carefully."
 "Ah, a war is certainly going to begin;
 That is certainly the mother of dissension," he
 said.
 Well, and very gradually,
 170 And very gradually
 It became known;
 It became known.
 It seems that the priest here in our town found
 out then.
 Formerly there was a priest here in our town.
 175 The priest found out.
 Well, the priest said,
 He told his sacristan:
 "All right!"
 Maybe we'll just go to see that saint in
 Tzajalhemel."
 180 You see, that saint was there in Tzajalhemel.
 "Maybe we'll go to see it.
 We'll get together sometime.
 We'll go to say Mass there.
 We'll go to baptize those people,"

143 148. Although the saint is described as crunching, there is only blood (not bones) in its mouth.

153 154. In other words, the saint is a harbinger of war.

174. There was no resident priest in Chamula in 1972, when I recorded this text.

179 180. Tzajalhemel was the place where Agustina Gomes Chechec saw three stones drop from Heaven (C. Molina 1934:365; see also Chapter 9).

ši ti htotik palee
 bwéno ši
 skotol la b'atik ti šakrištanetike
 ib'atik skotolik
 b'at ščižinik ti palee hee
 bwéno k'alal ik'ot ti pale
 k'ot sk'el k'u yelan ti htotike
 k'u yelan te ?oy snak'ohik ta kašae

 k'ot sk'el
 ?ora mu k'alal k'ot ti palee*
 mu ša yu?unuk ?este . . . munyekauk*
 k'ot sta ti pale la štok ?une*
 hun lum*
 heč smuk'ul lum*
 ko?ol ščižuk vakaš*
 patb'il vakaš lum*
 ?a li te ta htekium
 ?o šavil yo?o b'u šak' ti kantila
 ha? ša heč k'asal la te
 k'ahomaluk ?o ša la te
 b'içil spasoh sb'a te ta kaša ?une
 bwéno mi ha? ryoš li?
 ši k'otel ti htotik palee
 ha? ši ti b'uč'u hee
 ha? ha? no?oš mu sk'an ti latale
 mu sk'an ši
 ?a bwéno ši
 bwéno teke? ta hpas komel miša
 ši ti htotik palee
 yak' komel miša te ta çahalhemel
 ?i lah yak' komel ?ič Ho?
 lah yak'b'e komel Ho? yič' ti č'in
 ?ololetike
 ti hi? . . . lah spas komel miša
 yak' komel ?ič Ho? ti htotik palee

 bwéno k'alal tal ti htotik pale ?une
 bwéno ta šib'at ?un ši
 bwéno pero le?e ma?uk ryoš
 ši la snop ti htotik pale
 le?e ma?uk ryoš
 k'u ča?al vi yelan le?e
 mehor ta hčak ?eč'el ta ne ka?
 ta hčuk ?eč'el ta ne ka?
 hk'eltik k'u ši šituh ši
 bwéno teke? ta škik' ?eč'el li htotike

- 185 Said our father priest.
 "Okay!" he said.
 All the sacristans went.
 They all went.
 They accompanied that priest. Hah!
- 190 Well, when the priest arrived,
 He went to see what the saint was like,
 What it was like where they had hidden it in
 the chest.
 He went to see it.
 Now, when the priest arrived,
- 195 It was no longer uh . . . a doll.
 Then that priest came again to find
 Some earthenware,
 A piece of pottery like this,
 Just like a bull,
- 200 A bull-shaped candlestick.
 In our town, there,
 Have you seen the candlesticks?
 That's right, broken there,
 Only there,
 Pretending to be lying there in the chest then.
 "Well, is this a saint?"
 Said our father priest upon arrival.
 "It is," said that person. Hah!
 "It is. Only it didn't want you to come."
- 210 It didn't want it," he said.
 "Ah, fine," he said.
 "Well all right. I'll perform Mass,"
 Said our father priest.
 He performed Mass there in Tzajalhemel.
- 215 And he finished performing the baptism;
 He finished baptizing those little children.

 Yes . . . , he finished performing Mass.
 Our father priest finished performing the
 baptism.
 Well, when our father priest came then,
 "Well, I'll go then!" he said.
 "Well, but as for that, it is not a saint,"
 Our father priest said to himself.
 "That is not a saint."
 See! How can that be?
- 225 I had better fasten it to the horse's tail.
 I'll tie it to the horse's tail.
 We'll see how it works," he said.
 "Well, all right. I'll lead that saint away.

¹⁹⁴ 198. The scenario is similar to that of modern talking-saint cults in Zinacantan, in that the "saint" turns out to be a lump of clay (see Chapter 13).

¹⁹⁹ 200. The candlesticks used in Chamulan rituals are shaped like deer, but they are called "bull (or cow) candlesticks."

ta škik' ſeč'el
 ſi ti htotik pale
 čak ſut
 ti ham ſut
 ti kaſae
 ?i čak ſut
 ?ee ſčuk tal ti ta ne ka?
 ſčuk tal ta ne ka?
 ti k'asal lume
 ti k'asal ?une
 bwéno lah ital li? ſa ta yib'el muk'ta vič ?une

 ?i ſcob' ſb'a ta ?ora ti kirsano ?une
 tal spohik tah me? pleto
 tah k'asal lum ?une
 tal spohik ti kirsanoe
 iyil ſa ti tal yahval ti halal htotik lae

 li? te yib'el muk'ta vič
 iyil ſa ti tal ti yahval ti halal htotike

 ?ora hatavanik vo?ošuke šakrištanetik
 hatavanik
 mu ſa ča?b'el
 li? hlah ſa tal ſa mileltik
 hatavanik ſi la
 ti htotik palee
 ?oy la ?ep yič'oh stak'in ti htotik palee
 ha? no?oš lah čak ſut la ti stak'ine
 komo puro mehikanoo to?oš ti vo?ne*
 ship la te huhot
 ship solel te komel ta te?tik ti stak'ine
 lah la ship komel
 čak ſut lok'el ta ſvhōša
 ship komel ta te?tik
 ?i ti k'alal ti ta ta b'e yaluk škaltik ti
 šakreštane
 bwéno hatav
 heč la ti ?anima hmuk' tote
 ti smuk' tot ti hmuk' tot ?ek ?une
 ?oy la te k'a?em yok čib' ista
 ha? la te suk ſb'a ?očel
 te snet'u ſb'a ta yanal te?e
 ?i a ſa?elik ti šakreštanetik ti b'u ?oy
 nak'ahtike
 ?i muk' b'u taat la ta ſa?el
 yan ti halal htotik
 ha? lah ſmilik te ta b'e
 la ſmilik ti halal htotik ta b'e ?ee

I'll lead it away,"
 230 Said our father priest.
 He seized it like this.
 He opened it like this,
 That chest.
 And he seized it like this.
 235 Eh, he tied it to that horse's tail.
 He tied it to that horse's tail,
 That potsherd,
 That sherd, then.
 Well, he finished coming here to the foot of the
 big mountain then.
 240 And those people gathered quickly.
 They came to recover that mother of dissension,
 That potsherd then.
 Those people came to recover it then.
 Now our holy father saw that its owner had
 come,
 245 Here at the foot of the big mountain.
 Now our holy father saw that its owner had
 come.
 "Now flee, sacristans!
 Flee!
 Never mind!
 250 My time has come to die!
 Flee!" he supposedly said,
 Our father priest.
 Our father priest had taken a lot of money.
 He just disposed of that money like this.
 255 For it used to be of pure silver in those days.
 He threw it there on either side.
 He threw his money there in the forest.
 He finished throwing it away.
 He pulled it out of his pocket like this.
 260 He threw it into the forest.
 And it seems that when that sacristan found the
 road, shall we say,
 Well, he fled.
 That's right, he was my late grandfather.
 My grandfather's grandfather too, then.
 265 He found some rotten fern stems there.
 He hid underneath them there.
 He covered himself with leaves there.
 And they searched for the place where those
 sacristans were hiding,
 And they were never discovered.
 270 On the other hand, our holy father,
 They killed him there on the road.
 They killed our holy father on the road. Hah!

255. In comparison with the currency used in Mexico today, which either has a low percentage of silver or is made of paper.

bwéno ti k'alal ičam*
 ti halal htotik ?une*
 unos benos Ho? ital*
 pero šči?uk yik'al*
 b'ač'i ben ?ik**
 ?i šči?uk Ho? ital*
 tal benos Ho? ta hmek*
 šči?uk ?ik' hi?*
 ?i ti šakreštanetike
 ti sukahtik te ta č'en
 te b'u ?oy k'ažem ti yok ti ɸib'e
 ha? la te snak'oh sb'aik
 ?i ti hlome
 ?oy la te b'e Ho?
 ?oy la te ?epal yanal te?e
 ha? la te suk sb'a ?eč'el
 solel slam tal ta sb'a li yanal te?e
 yo?olo? kuč la yu?unik ti hatob'ale
 mu?yuk lahik ta milele
 bwéno ti k'alal lah ti halal htotik ?une
 pero lah ya?aluk ?une
 bwéno sutik ti hmilvanetik ?une
 b'atik ?un
 spohik ?eč'el ti k'asal lum
 ti Ɂakal tal ta ne ka?
 ti htotik čalik ?une
 ti lah spohik sutel ?un
 bwéno yič'ik b'atel ?un
 ?i ha? to vinah tal li? ta hob'el ta ?ora ?une
 b'a yič' tamel tal ta hves ša ti htotik palee

 b'a yič' tamel tal
 solel la smuk'ik
 solel iyik'ik tal li? ta hob'el
 ti htotik pale la ?une
 bwéno lik ?o ti k'op ?une
 ib'at k'op k'al tuštae
 ?i k'u čažal heč lah spas
 k'u čažal imilvan
 ti k'u čažal ti hkuskat
 ti k'u čažal ti milvan ti hkuskat ?une

 ib'at k'op k'al tušta
 bwéno ital
 ?a ti hkuskate

Well, when he died,
 Our holy father, then,
 275 A heavy rain came,
 But with a wind,
 A strong wind.
 And it came with rain.
 A very heavy rainstorm came,
 280 With wind, yes.
 And those sacristans,
 They were huddled there in a cave,
 There where there were rotten fern stems,
 They hid themselves there.
 285 And as for the others,
 There was a ditch there.
 There were many leaves there.
 They covered themselves there.
 They just covered themselves with the leaves
 290 In order that they might survive,
 So that they would not be killed.
 Well, when our holy father died then,
 But he died, it seems, then,
 Well, those murderers returned then.
 295 They went then.
 They recovered that potsherd
 That was fastened to the tail
 Of our father's horse, they say then.
 They finished recovering it then.
 300 Well, they carried it away.
 As soon as it became known here in San Cristobal
 Las Casas,
 They went with a justice of the peace to fetch
 our father priest.
 They went to fetch him.
 They just buried him.
 305 They just brought him here to San Cristobal Las
 Casas,
 Our father priest then.
 Well, that war began in earnest then.
 The dispute went as far as Tuxtla Gutierrez.
 And why did they do it?
 310 Why did they kill him?
 It was because of Cuscat's followers;
 It was because of him that Cuscat's followers
 killed people then.
 The dispute went as far as Tuxtla Gutierrez.
 Well, it came.
 315 As for Cuscat's followers,

²⁷³ ²⁸⁰. This may be a reference to the heavy rains that occurred during October 1868, a few months before the parish priest was murdered under circumstances similar to those described in this text (see *El Espíritu del Siglo*, October 31, 1868:4; Pineda 1888:74; and Chapter 9).

yu?un čak'
 ta šak'
 ta šmilvan
 puru lansa
 mačita
 ti yab'tihib'ike
 komo č'ab'al to?oš stuk'ik ti vo?nee
 puru lansa
 puru mačita
 puya*
 ?oy leke sihil tak'in šiše*
 šohol ta te?*
 hii ha? ta šmilvanik ?oš šči?ukik ta hmek
 he
 bwéno b'at ti mantal k'al tuštae

 tal ta šak'ik
 mu stak'ik čakel ši b'atel ti mantal ti k'al ta
 tušta hee
 b'at ti mantale
 bwéno tal ti soltaroe*
 tal šči?uk stuk'ik*
 tal šči?uk stampolik*
 šči?uk yok'esi?k*
 tal spasik ti pleto šči?uk ti hkuskat ti vo?nee

 bwéno ta pimero bweltae*
 lah la spasik kanal ti hkuskate*
 lah la smilik ti soltaroe
 ha? ti muk' b'u ?ep talem ti soltaroe hee
 talem ?o noš nan
 mi hutuk
 mu hmiluk k'u ši talem ti soltaroe
 pero komo toh ?ep ti kirsano te ta hmek
 sčob'oh ti hkuskat ?une
 ha? la spasik ?onoš kanal ti hkuskat ti ta
 pimeroe ?ee
 ?i ?oy la ?ančetik
 ti sme? ti santoetik ya?aluk škaltike
 ?i ?oy la ?ančetik
 ti k'al ta ?ančetik čb'a yak' pletoe
 mu?yuk ta ši? hm?
 te la kapal ti ?ančetike
 li ?ančetike*
 ta la svalk'un ščak*

Because they will attack,
 They will attack,
 They will kill people.
 Only spears
 320 [And] machetes
 Were their weapons.
 Because they did not have guns long ago,
 Only spears,
 Only machetes,
 325 [And] pikes.
 There were beautiful metal tips;
 They were impaled on poles.
 Ooh, they used to kill people with them forever,
 yes.
 Well, the order went out as far as Tuxtla
 Gutierrez:
 330 "They are coming to attack!
 They can't hold it!" said that order to Tuxtla
 Gutierrez. Hah!
 That order went out.
 Well those soldiers came.
 They came with their guns.
 335 They came with their drums,
 With their trumpets.
 They came to make war with Cuscat's followers
 long ago.
 Well on the first round,
 Cuscat's followers won.
 340 They finished killing those soldiers.
 Not many soldiers had come. Hah!
 There had come perhaps only
 A few;
 Not even one thousand soldiers had come.
 345 But because Cuscat's followers had gathered so
 many people there then,
 Cuscat's followers won the first time, eh.

 And there were women,
 The wives of the saints, shall we say.
 And there were women,
 350 Even women went to war.
 They were not afraid, uh-huh.
 Those women were ready there.
 As for those women,
 They uncovered their asses

325 327. The pikes were made of wooden poles with iron tips.

333 336. These lines recall the prophecy announcing the festival of Carnival in Chamula, which commemorates this and other ethnic conflicts (Chapter 10).

338 339. See the description of the mock battle that takes place in Chamula during the festival of Carnival (Chapter 10).

353 361. Chamulans believe that "hot" objects like bulls and guns can be "cooled" when female genitalia are exposed to them (see Bricker 1973a:117).

pake ?ak'o yo?olo? mu št'om tal ti tuk' ta
hmek ti b'u čtale*

ta la svalk'un ščak*

yu?un la sikub'tas ti tuk'e hee*

yu?un la sikub'tas ti tuk'e*

ta la svalk'un ?eč'el ščak*

ta la sb'utanb'e ?eč'el ščak ti tuk'e*

para ke mu la št'om ti tuk' ti šal*

bwéno ti ta pimero

kuč yu?unik

lah spasik kanal

ha? lah ti pobre soltaroe

lah spohb'ik komel stuk'

lah spohb'ik komel stampol

lah spohb'ik komel yok'es

skorneta

la skotol lah spohb'ik komel

bwéno komo ?oy to kol hayib'uk ti soltaroe

b'at sut b'atel k'al fušta štok

lilahkutik ša

yak' ſa ti hkuskate ſi

bwéno teke? ča?

ta šb'at ſa ?epal soltaroe ?un ſi hi?

bwéno tal kanyon ?un

heč smuk'ul tak'in ti tal la ?une

?i puru kanyon i?ab'teh ?eč'el yu?une he

para ke yu?un lah ti hkuskat ?une hm?

bwéno tal ti kanyon ?une

ti k'alal yeč ya?aluk ?une

shom ti yan b'uč'u ya?aluke

shomohan la č'en para ke mu la šlahik ti

ta tuk'e

mu la šlahik ti k'usitikuke

?oy shomohanik č'en

ha? ta te ti k'ahtik ya?aluk ta hmek šči?uk ti

slansaike

ta la smala ?ak'o šlah la b'a?yel ti sb'ek'

stuk'ike

heč la ti ?ančetike

komo yiloh ſa la manya

ha? la ta sikub'tas ti b'ek' tuk' ta hmek

ti ta svalk'un ?eč'el ti ščak ti ?ančetike

para ke mu la št'om ti tuk'e

b'ak'in ha? la k'elb'il tal b'a?yel

ti b'u ti ?ančetik svalk'unoh ti ščake

ha? la lek isukb'at tal b'a?yel kanyon*

- 355 So that those guns should not fire.
- They uncovered their asses
Because they were [trying to] cool those guns,
Because they were [trying to] cool those guns. Hah!
They uncovered their asses;
- 360 They stuck their rears out at those guns
So that those guns would not fire.
Well, at first,
They endured it;
They won.
- 365 Those poor soldiers died.
They took their guns away.
They took their drums away.
They took their trumpets away,
Their horns;
- 370 They took everything away.
Well, as several of those soldiers had escaped,
They returned to Tuxtla Gutierrez again.
"We are finished now.
Cuscat's followers have already attacked," they said.
- 375 "Well, never mind,
Many soldiers will go now," they said, yes.
Well a cannon came then.
It came with a barrel this size then.
And only cannons worked for them, yes,
- 380 In order that Cuscat's followers would die then.
Uh-huh.
Well that cannon came then.
And then it seems,
It seems that the others dug;
- They had dug a trench so that they would not
be killed by that gun,
- 385 So that everything would not end.
They dug a trench.
It seems that they were confined there with their
spears.
They were waiting until they had used up their
bullets.
- As for those women,
390 For they had already seen the trick,
They [tried] hard to cool those bullets;
Those women uncovered their asses
So that those guns would not fire.
At some moment, it was seen ahead,
- 395 Where the women had uncovered their asses,
That they were completely plugged up by the
forward cannon.

396. The cannon balls went up the women's anuses and killed them.

lah ta bala
 lah ta bala
 ?íih švalk'uh
 nom to la b'ičahtik ik'ot
 hal valk'uhel ?íi valk'uh ti ?ančetik lah ta
 balae hee
 te la svalk'unoh ščak ilah ti ?ančetik ta
 balae hee
 bwéno ti yane*
 te la ?oy nak'ahtik to*
 b'ač'i šlinet ?onoš la k'u čaval hun kastiya*
 k'u čaval tah yalel
 solel čob'b'il ta nama ti yahsoltaro ti
 hkuskate
 solel la stihoh la ta naetik ta hmek

 bwéno komo ?ep la ti kirsano ta hmeke
 ha? la ti šč'unohik la ti ha? ti htotik ta
 hmek ?une
 ?íi k'alal la ti lah lah ša ti kirsano ta hmek
 ?une
 likanik ša
 b'a ša ?ak'b'ik
 ši la ti . . . ?oy mi kavo
 sarhento la
 ?oy ša la yahsoltaro lek ta hmek ti
 hkuskate
 bwéno b'a ša ?ak'b'ik
 likanik ša ?un
 lah ša sb'ek' sb'ala ši [. . . ? . . .]
 li? točik la ?eč'el
 b'ak'in šlah la sb'ek' sbala
 ti lek melčahemik li pobre soltaroetik ?eke
 lahik skotol li hkuskate
 lah skotol ti hkuskate
 solel čam skotol
 lah skotol hee
 bwéno ha? heč ta . . .
 ?oy la heč
 ?anima smuk' totik nan sme?e
 ha? la ti ščipik ta hmek ti ta pletoe
 solel la . . . ko?ol la ščipuk hun kastiya
 ti šlilet ša la ti tuk'e
 ti kanyon la ta hmeke
 solel la yan la yelan ta hmek ti ta hmeke
 hm?
 te la yak'b'e sb'aik ti pleto
 ta pat raserena sb'i ti b'anumile hehe

They died of the bullets.
 They died of the bullets.
 Ooh, they fell head over heels,
 Coming to rest far away.
 Those women who died of the bullets fell head
 over heels. Hah!
 Those women died of the bullets, there where
 they had uncovered their asses. Hah!
 Well, as for the others,
 They were still hiding there.
 405 It was still booming like a fireworks display,
 Like that coming down.
 Cuscat's soldiers were just gathered at a distance.

 They had just knocked hard [on the doors] of
 the houses.
 Well, there were many, many people.
 410 They had believed that it really was a saint.

 And when many people had died then:

 "Arise now!
 Go attack them now!"
 Said that . . . corporal
 415 Or sergeant.
 Cuscat had excellent soldiers now.

 "Well, go attack them now!
 Arise now!
 Their ammunition is used up," he said [inaudible].
 420 They got up here.
 When their ammunition was used up,
 For those poor soldiers were well prepared too,
 All Cuscat's followers died.
 All Cuscat's followers died.
 425 All of them just died.
 All died. Hah!
 Well, that's right . . .
 There was just
 His mother's late grandfather, perhaps.
 430 They were terribly frightened in that war.
 It was just . . . like a fireworks display.
 That gun was reverberating now
 [And] that cannon.
 It was just horrible. Uh-huh.

 435 They attacked each other there
 At a place called Behind the Lily, aha.

403 404. The men hid, letting the Ladinos use up their ammunition against the women.

405. The word *kastiya* refers specifically to a scaffolding tower of fireworks which are set off during festivals.

bwéno ti smuk' tot ti ?anima hme? ?une*
 ?oy la hun č'en*
 te stik' sb'aik ?očel*
 te yič' ?eč'el ti mi ?oy hutukuk nan
 stak'inik
 šči?uk ščihik
 k'usi
 ti k'alal ši?ik ta hmek ti ka šyak' ?eč'el ti
 pletoe
 bwéno k'alal ti ?eč' ti pleto hutuk ti k'alal
 ya?aluk ?une
 ha? to la ta la spik ti ščihik la ti ?osil ta
 hmek ti b'u snak'oh sb'aike
 ta la spik ti ščihe
 č'ab'al la ščih
 ha? to la te ?o pitil la sta hun ton
 ?iship la če?e yael hun ton
 ha? to la ča?i
 ša?ab' te ?oy
 ?i ?oy la Ho?
 te ta ?olon
 ti la sten
 ti ščihe*
 b'at ta ša?ab' hm?*
 b'at ta Ho?*
 b'at ta ?uk'um hi? ti ščihe*
 hi? hutuk la muk' b'ahik yael ta ša?ab' ti
 hatb'iletike
 ti b'u? u la snak' sb'atik ?a yu?un ši?ik la ti
 ta pletoe
 bwéno ti k'alal yeč lah ti yo?onton ta pleto ša
 ti b'u? u ša ti ?anqetike
 mu ša hayib'el ?un
 lahik ša ti viniketik ?une
 teke? ?un
 lahik ša ?un ši hm?

 bwéno solel te laho
 laho ti k'op
 ti tah va?i yelan ti hkuskat ?une
 solel lah ?un
 k'alal ičam skotolik
 ičam skotol ti hkuskatik k'u yepal ti
 yahsoltaroe
 ičam skotol
 lah ta bala

Well, as for my late mother's grandfather
 then, . . .
 There was a cave.
 They entered it there.
 440 They brought whatever money they had there

 And their blankets,
 [Or] whatever.
 They were terribly frightened while that war was
 going on.
 Well, when that war had ebbed a bit, it seems
 then,
 445 They began to reach for their blankets on the
 ground where they had hidden themselves,
 They began to reach for their blankets.
 Their blankets were not there.
 They found only a stone sticking up there.
 They threw a stone down
 450 Until they realized
 That a swamp was there.
 And there was water,
 There below
 Where they had thrown them.
 455 As for their blankets,
 They went into the swamp. Uh-huh!
 They went into the water;
 Yes, their blankets went into the river.
 Yes, those fugitives almost fell into the swamp,

 460 The people who had hidden themselves because
 they feared that war.
 Well, when they became tired of that war,
 The women who were left,
 There weren't many then:
 "Those men have already died then!"
 465 All right, then!
 They have already died then!" they said. Uh-
 huh!
 Well it just ended there;
 That dispute ended.
 You see, Cuscat's followers then,
 470 They were just finished then.
 When everyone died;
 Every one of Cuscat's soldiers died.

 They all died.
 They died of the bullets.

437 439. His great grandfather hid in a cave during the War of St. Rose.

455 458. In their haste they did not notice that there was a river in the cave, into which they had thrown their possessions.

lah ta bala
 lah ta tuk'
 li hkašlane
 li hsoltaroe hee
 li soltaroe yu?un lik tal ta tuštae
 hehe lah ta bala
 lástima pero sa?ab'il yu?un
 ha? ti la smil ti halal totik ?eke
 ha? ti la smil ti palee
 ha? la smil ti palee
 ti halal totike
 ti pagree ?ee
 ha? la smilik ?ek ?un
 sa?ab'il yu?un ?ek ?un ?ee
 heč šal yo?olo?
 tal ti soltaroe
 ha? ti mu sk'anik sčakel
 mu sk'anik š?oč ta čukel
 yu?un ta šmilvanik
 yu?un čak'ik ?ek ?un
 heč šal yo?olo? tal ti soltaroe hehe
 vazi yepal sk'op ti hkuskat ?une

- 475 They died of the bullets;
 They died of the guns.
 As for those Ladinos,
 As for those soldiers, hah!
 Because those soldiers had come from Tuxtla
 Gutierrez.
 480 Oh, they died of bullets.
 It was a pity, but they deserved it.
 They killed that holy father too.
 They killed that priest.
 They killed that priest,
 485 That holy father,
 That priest, eh.
 They killed him too, then.
 They deserved it too, then, eh.
 That is why
 Those soldiers came.
 490 They didn't want imprisonment;
 They didn't want to be put in jail
 Because they killed him,
 Because they attacked them too, then.
 495 That is why those soldiers came. Hah!
 That was the extent of Cuscat's war.

 TEXT C-6

The War of St. Rose (Chenalho Version)

lah avil
 ti lah yalik
 ti htot
 ti hme?
 ti č'iik tal
 k'u ši svokolik
 k'u ši ši?el iyilik
 mas triste iyilik vo?ne
 komo yu?un ?oy sánto
 te ta b'aus*
 ta yak'ol san pédro
 te ta yosil čamúla
 yu?un ?oy santoetike*

- You saw
 That they said,
 My father
 [And] my mother,
 5 When they grew up
 How they suffered,
 How much fear they experienced,
 It seemed very sad to them long ago.
 Because there was a saint,
 10 There in Baux,
 Above San Pedro [Chenalho],
 There in Chamulan territory.
 Because there were saints,

*Notes to Text C-6 are identified by line numbers.
 10. Baux seems to be another name for Tzajalhemel.
 13. He means talking saints.

?i sántoetik b'oč'o mu sk'an šč'unik
 ti ta šb'a ?ak'otahikuk
 ti ta šb'a sk'opanik sánto
 ta šmilatik štok
 ?óra li pádre
 li pádre ya?yel ta sk'an ta sk'opanik sánto*

?i muk' šk'opoh li sánto*
 ?i muk' smala li sánto*
 muk' sk'opan ti pale*
 hun taki lum kom te ta kohbre*
 hun taki lum*
 va?i ?un
 te ?ilin ti pádre ti muk' štal

?óra lah yal ti sánto ta káša
 ?óra b'a htup'tik li san kristóbal las
 kásas[. . . ? . . .]
 b'a htup'tik
 lah sčob' sb'a li hénte
 ?oy ša ?oš htot
 ?oy ša ?oš hme?
 lah sčob' sb'a li hénte
 b'atik li ?a la fwérsa ta šic'ik točel
 ha? noš smačitaik
 ha? noš ste?ik
 yič'ohik tal
 ta štal smilik li hénte li? ta san kristóbal

?óra te tal li sánto
 tal li sánto
 te šči?ukik tal
 ta ya?yehik
 ?óra muk' š?očik li?*
 muk' b'u š?očik te*
 muk' škuč yu?un
 te noš isutík
 te la ?oy ti sánto
 ha? ta smantal ti ?očik
 ?oy to?oš č'ivit te ta b'auš
 va?i ?un
 ?oy č'ivit te ta b'auš ?un
 ha? ti puru ?ak'ot
 ?oy me? sánto*

And saints in whom some people did not want to believe.
 15 They went to dance;
 They went to pray to the saint.
 They were killed too.
 Now the priest,
 It seems that the priest wanted to speak to the saint;

20 And the saint did not speak.
 And the saint did not wait.
 It did not speak to the priest.
 A piece of dried earth stayed in the chest.
 A piece of dried earth.

25 You see, then,
 The priest became angry there because it did not come.
 Now the saint spoke from the chest:
 "Now let's go destroy San Cristobal Las Casas!
 [inaudible]
 Let's destroy it!"

30 The people assembled.
 My father was there then;
 My mother was there then.
 The people assembled.
 They were forced to go along;

35 Only their machetes,
 Only their sticks
 Had they brought along.
 They were coming to kill the people here in San Cristobal Las Casas.

Now the saint came there;

40 The saint came.
 It came with them,
 It seems.
 Now they did not come here.
 They never came here.

45 They did not win.
 They just returned there.
 That saint was there.
 They entered at its command.
 There used to be a market there in Baux.

50 You see, then,
 There was a market there in Baux then.
 Just dancing.
 There was the Virgin,

¹⁹ ²⁴. That is, the saint refused to speak to the priest (cf. Chapter 13). When the priest looked inside the chest, all he saw was a piece of dry clay.

⁴³ ⁴⁴. In other words, the Indians were not successful in invading San Cristobal Las Casas.

⁵³ ⁵⁶. The Chamulan woman referred to here is probably Agustina Gomes Checheb, who served as priestess for the cult (Chapter 9).

puru ?anç*
 me? čamu?*
 me? čamúla*
 ha? me? sánto çk'opan ti sánto ta káša
 va?i isk'opan ti sánto ta káša
 ha? ta spasik ta suhvan
 ta milvaneh
 ?óra čal ti sánto hm?
 bwéno mu šaši?ik
 ta slok' sóltaro ku?un ta viç
 ta slok' sóltaro ku?un ta ?anheletik*
 bwéno ta hmiltik b'oč'o ta štal
 mi ta štal smilik
 ?i ta hmiltik
 mu šaši?ik
 ha? člo?lavan
 ?óra ?ilin
 lah stihik ta k'op hpákusto te šb'atik ta
 tušta*
 b'a smilik čiápa hm?

 va?i mu . . . mu b'u ?a li . . . škuč yu?unik
 štok
 muk' špočik ta čiápa
 ha? ta skoh sánto ta šk'opoh ta kófre
 ta káša
 va?i ?un
 ?ilin čiápa
 te k'usi la ščap ?un
 ?a mu šaši?ik
 ti me ta štal
 b'oč'o ta štal milvanuk
 ta šnik b'alamil*
 ši ti sánto
 mi mo?oh
 ta slok' tal mil sóltaro li ta šek'en tahe*

 ?óra ?ilin la čiápa
 ?ilin la tušta ?ek
 lah sçob' sb'aik tal ?un*
 yu?un k'anoh sb'a milvanikuk ta tušta
 ?ek*

Just a woman,
 55 A Chamulan woman,
 A Chamulan woman.
 The Virgin spoke to the saint in the chest.
 You see, the saint spoke from the chest.
 It made them hurry
 60 To murder.
 Now that saint said, uh-huh,
 "Well, don't be afraid!
 My soldiers will come forth from the mountain;
 My soldiers will come forth from the earth.
 65 Well, we will kill whoever comes,
 If they come to kill.
 And we will kill them.
 Don't be afraid!"
 But it was deceiving them.
 70 Now they became angry.
 They went to Tuxtla Gutierrez to goad Faust.

 They went to massacre Chiapa de Corzo. Uh-
 huh!
 You see, they didn't . . . win [there] either.

 They never came to Chiapa de Corzo.
 75 It was the fault of the saint that spoke from the box,
 From the chest.
 You see, then,
 Chiapa de Corzo became angry.
 Then it prepared things there.
 "Ah, don't be afraid!
 80 If they come,
 Those who come to kill,
 The earth will quake!"
 Said that saint.
 85 "Otherwise,
 One thousand soldiers will come forth from
 Metate Platform [Baxeken] there."
 Now Chiapa de Corzo became angry.
 Tuxtla Gutierrez became angry too.
 They gathered together then,
 Because they had wanted to destroy Tuxtla
 Gutierrez too.

64. Among other things, *?anhel* refers to the rain god and the lord of mountains and is associated with the thunderbolt (Guiteras-Holmes 1961:331). It is translated as 'earth' because the lord of the mountains resides in the earth.

71. The word *hpákusto* refers to Fausto Ruiz, who died in 1968. Ruiz was a supporter of Pancho Villa, one of the heroes of the Mexican Revolution of 1910–1917 (Simpson 1967:296, 301–302, 305–306), not the War of St. Rose. Ruiz was arrested for murder and sent into exile on an island.

83. In other words, the saint promised to unleash an earthquake as a weapon against the Ladinos (cf. Chapters 5 and 12). This promise was fulfilled in the Ortega version of the text published by Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1961:266): "About one hundred soldiers came. More than the first time. The war commenced, the earth trembled, and the hills closed in on the soldiers of Juan Ortega."

86. Metate Platform (Baxeken) is the name of a mountain overlooking San Pedro Chenalho.

89, 90. The people of Tuxtla Gutierrez and Chiapa de Corzo united to fight against the Indians, who were preparing to attack Tuxtla Gutierrez.

zóra tal čiápa
 lah sčob' sb'aik
 lah sčob' tal tuk'
 lah sčob' sb'a skotol hsoltaro
 talik yilel
 tal yak'b'eik sbala
 te ta b'auš
 me? sánto
 zóra ti sme? sánto
 lah yal ti sánto
 mi yu?un ital ti hmilvaneh
 mi tal ta šak' tuk' bwéno
 šavalk'un ačekik*
 šavak'b'e ?ilel lačakik hm? hm?
 [. . . ? . . .]*
 šavalk'un ačekik*
 ha? te ta sikub' stuk' ti sóltaro*
 mu št'om yu?un ši*
 ?altik čal ?un
 sčob'ol ista hm?
 heč lah spasik ti me? santoetik*
 lah svalk'un ščakik
 lah svalk'un sčekik
 zóra li soltaroetik
 li hčapanekoetike hm?
 yak'b'eik sbala ?un
 ha? tey ?oč ta ščak
 b'u la svalk'unoh ?une
 tey i?oč ši
 važi ?un
 ha? yu?un ?ilin li san kristóbal*

ilah yal kuskat
 púru kuskat
 ?indígena
 púru kuskat
 mu ša šak' ?očuk tal kon pasa
 ke ša š?očik tal ta k'u ta ščonik
 li b'oč'o muk' pasáhe
 li? ta škom ta čukel
 ha? yu?un hlo?lavaneh ti sánto
 ti ta šk'opoh ta káša
 ta šk'opoh
 yeč ta šk'opoh vun
 hk'opanoh čib'
 ?ošib' bwélta ?un
 ta hpas kaži proval mi ha? sánto ši

Now Chiapa de Corzo came.
 They assembled.
 They rounded up guns;
 They rounded up all the soldiers.
 95 They came, it seems,
 They came to fire their bullets,
 There in Baux.
 The Virgin,
 Now that Virgin,
 100 That saint said:
 "If the killers came,
 If they came to fire bullets, well,
 You will lift up your skirts!
 You will let them see your asses! Uh-huh!
 [inaudible]
 105 You will lift up your skirts!
 The guns of those soldiers will become cold.
 They will not fire because of it," it said.
 "Never mind!" it said then.
 They gathered together. Uh-huh!
 110 The Virgins did that.
 They uncovered their asses;
 They lifted up their skirts.
 Now the soldiers,
 The Chiapanecos, uh huh!
 115 They fired bullets at them then.
 They went up their anuses there,
 Where they had exposed them;
 They went up there like this.
 You see, then,
 120 It was because San Cristobal Las Casas became
 angry.
 It said: "Cuscat!
 They are all Cuscat's followers.
 The Indians
 Are all Cuscat's followers.
 125 Don't let them come in with[out] a pass!
 If they come in in order to sell things,
 Anyone without papers,
 They will stay in jail here!
 It is because that saint is a deceiver,
 130 The one that began to speak from the chest.
 It began to speak.
 That's right, it began to dictate letters.
 I have spoken to it two
 [Or] three times.
 135 I'm going to test whether it is a saint," it said.

¹⁰³ ^{107.} Evidently the people of San Pedro Chenalho share the belief that the sight of a woman's genitals will prevent guns from firing (cf. Text C-5, notes to lines 353 361).

^{110.} This seems to be a reference to the Indian women who called themselves saints (cf. C. Molina 1934:368, 371, 375).
^{120.} I have interpreted this as a reference to the town of San Cristobal Las Casas, rather than to its patron saint.

ta hpas ka'i kuskat
 pero muk' čismóso
 ta šal ɿep mulil
 ta šal ɿep skotol
 toh čopol k'u ta šalik
 ɿóra mu hk'an
 ha? yu?un h̄ak'vaneh ta milel
 ši ti kristiyáno
 b'oč'o sna?b'eik smelol
 ?oy to yu?unik tana ?une
 ?oy to yu?unik
 te to spasik ɿab'tel ši*
 ?oy to yu?unik sánto
 bwéno te to yu?unik le?e
 péro le?e ?une
 mu ša b'oč'o sk'an lek ?un
 te to ?oy yu?unik pisil b'oč'o malkriádo
 te ?oy*
 ?oy to snak'oh*
 pero mu ša šalik b'u ?oy*
 tey to ti b'oč'o sk'an
 ha? ta puru ščamelik ɿo skotol
 pero ɿaltik kásá mi ta scivo*
 vayi ha? yu?un ɿilin ɿo gobyérno

 ɿilin skotol
 ta ?oš štal yič' tup'el ti ?indígena
 ta ?oš štal yič' tup'el ti ?indígena
 vayi tal soltaro
 tal skotol ?un
 tal stup' skotol pwébilo
 toh pukuh ti índyo ši
 ha? to ti ?oy yahsantoetik ?une
 pero yu?un ha? ti ta smilik laríno štok
 ?une
 ta š?očik ta hob'el
 b'at šmilvanik ?un
 vayi ɿilin nan ti sóltaro hm?

 vayi ti sóltaro ?un
 ɿilin ?un
 ti ɿilin ti ?ahvalil iya?i
 heč yepal ?un
 tal soltaro
 b'at ta huhun lum
 ta huhun lum ta stup' ?indígena
 pére hun presidénte te ta č'enal Ho?

"I am going to test Cuscat."
 But he was not a talebearer.
 He began to say many evil things.
 He began to say everything.
 140 They began to say awful things.
 "Now I don't want it,
 Because it brings death,"
 Said those people,
 Those who knew what was right.
 145 But they still have them today!
 They still have them!
 They still steal like this!
 They still have saints!
 Well, they still have them like that there.
 150 But as for that one then,
 No one really wanted it then;
 Only bad people had them.
 They exist there.
 They have hidden them.
 155 But they will not say where they are.
 They are still there for people who want them,
 Only for their illnesses.
 But never mind if it is a witch.
 You see, it was because the government became
 angry.
 160 They all became angry.
 They came to destroy those Indians.
 They came to destroy those Indians.
 You see, the soldiers came.
 Everyone came then.
 165 They came to destroy all the [Indian] towns.
 "Those Indians are very dangerous," they said.
 They still had their saints then.
 But because they were going to kill Ladinos
 then too,
 They came to San Cristobal Las Casas.
 170 Then they went to kill people.
 You see, perhaps those soldiers became angry. Uh-huh!
 You see, those soldiers then,
 They became angry then.
 Those officers felt angry,
 175 All of them then.
 Soldiers came.
 They went to each town.
 They destroyed Indians in each town.
 But one mayor there in Chenalho . . .

147. Talking saints demand money for cures that are sometimes ineffective (Chapter 13).

153 155. In other words, there were still talking saints in Chenalho in 1969.

158. Witches can turn themselves into cows or goats and wander around the countryside at night harming people.

lok' san pédro*
 b'at te ta hšulub'*
 čak k'u čaval lah kalb'ot
 ?oy šulub' vič
 ha? te b'at
 te ta yak'ol lum
 te ?oy muk'ta vič
 ha? ša te b'at san pédro
 yu?un ša lah slok'esik
 yu?un ša ta šlah pwébilo

 pero šlo?lavan ti soltaroe*
 la? ?ayik miša ši la hi*
 ta la šlo?lavan ta hmek*
 engánya pára oir mísa ši*

 pero k'alal ti mi lah sčob' sb'a*
 te la ta špoč skotol ta yut č'ul na*
 te la ta smil ?un*
 mi pistola*
 mi ?espara*
 mi punyal k'usi čak' ?un hm?*
 pero ta hmek ?un
 ?ora ?un lok'em ti san pédro
 lok'em yahnil skotol h?ab'teletik hm?
 va?i ti presidénte šči?uk hun ?alkálte priméro

 ?oy kurus ta huhun . . . ta čak lum
 ?oy kurus te ta po?ot tal yolon kavílto
 ?oy kurus ta ti? č'ul na
 ?oy kurus te ta ?o?lol lum
 ?oy kurus ta lok'eltik ?un
 te č'ok' ti presidénte
 ta š?ok'
 škehkun
 ta sk'opan ti kurus
 ta sk'opan ti kurus
 ti škehkun
 kahval mi čilah ši
 kahval mi čilah ši hee .
 ?ora b'at ša
 te ša ta entrára
 te ta ša ?očel ta san pédro
 ik'ot čib' čamúla hm?
 k'usi čapasik
 mu?yuk ta ša šilahkutik

180 St. Peter left;
 He went there to the Horn.
 As I told you,
 There is a Horned Mountain.
 He went there.
 185 There above the town,
 There is a large mountain there.
 St. Peter went there,
 Because they had taken him away.
 Because the town was already going to be destroyed.
 190 But those soldiers tricked them.
 "Come here to Mass!" they said. Hah!
 They completely fooled them.
 They tricked them into listening to Mass like this.
 But when they had assembled together,
 195 All of them entered the church.
 They killed them there then
 [With] pistols,
 Or swords,
 Or daggers, or whatever. Uh-huh!
 200 But completely.
 Now then, St. Peter had left.
 The wives of all the officials had left. Uh-huh!
 You see, that mayor [was there] with a first
alcalde.
 There is a cross at each . . . below the town.
 205 There is a cross near the base of the town hall.
 There is a cross in the church.
 There is a cross there in the middle of town.
 There is a cross at the exit then.
 That mayor began to cry there.
 210 He began to cry;
 He knelt.
 He began to pray to the cross.
 He began to pray to the cross.
 He knelt.
 215 "My Lord, will I die?" he said.
 "My Lord, will I die?" he said. Hah!
 Now he had already gone
 To the entrance there,
 To the entrance of San Pedro Chenalho there.
 220 Two Chamulans arrived. Uh-huh!
 "What are you-all going to do?"
 "Nothing! We will all die."

180. The people of Chenalho had removed the images of their saints from the church and had hidden them in the mountains.

181. Horned Mountain (Hšuľub') overlooks Chenalho (cf. lines 183–186 below).

190–199. The Ladino soldiers had tricked the Indians of other towns by summoning them to Mass, locking them up in the church, and slaughtering them (see Guiteras-Holmes 1961:265–267 for another version of this incident associated with Juan Ortega).

ta štal soldádo
 tana ša le? ša štal ta san miguel ši
 ta ša štal
 san miguel ša štal
 ta ša šalahik [. . . ? . . .]
 ?oy ša amulik
 ?ay tana ša
 mu hna? k'usi ta hpaskutik ?un
 mi čihatav ši
 komo lok'em ša ti santo ta vi?e hm?
 ?óra lah yal ti čamúla
 teke? ča? la? hmalatik
 mi šak'anik pohel
 ta hk'ankutik mi čapas pavor [. . . ? . . .]
 pero k'u ta spas tana ti čamúla [. . . ? . . .]
 mu?nuk ?oyuk stuk' [. . . ? . . .]
 k'usi ta spas ti čamúla hm?
 čat yo?on ti presidénte
 hna?ohb'ekutik k'usi sb'i ti [. . . ? . . .]
 presidénte
 ?ándres váskis kansíno
 ti yilik ti ši?el ti ta ?antivéra hm?
 bwéno teke? malaik ta ša štal
 la? b'a hmalatik ta ti? č'ul na ši
 ib'at smalaik ta ti? č'ul na
 heč yepal k'ot sóltaro te ta ša sb'ak'es yok'es
 ?un [. . . ? . . .]
 bwéno ?oy ša šč'ulel ti presidénte*
 mu?nuk ?oy stuk' ti čib' čamúla
 č'ab'al stuk'ik
 ?óra k'ot ti soltaro ?une
 ik'ot ša ?un
 k'ot ša sk'opan ti presidénte te ša ?oy hm?
 bwéno vo?ot ?ob'o tal htekum
 ?oy miša
 hpastik miša [. . . ? . . .]
 k'usi avab'tel*
 mu?yuk kab'tel
 pero ?ob'o tal lač'i'il

Soldiers are coming now."
 "Yes, they have already come to San Miguel [Mitontic]," they said.
 225 "They have already come;
 They have already come to San Miguel [Mitontic].
 You are going to die now. [inaudible]
 It is your fault."
 "Ah yes,
 230 I don't know what we should do then,
 Whether I should flee," he said,
 For the saint had already been taken to the mountain. Uh-huh!
 Now the Chamulans said:
 "Never mind! Come! We will wait,
 235 If you want to defend [yourselves]."
 "We want to! Will you do us the favor?"
 [inaudible]
 "But what are the Chamulans going to do now?
 [inaudible]
 Because they do not have any guns. [inaudible]
 What will those Chamulans do?" Uh-huh!
 240 The mayor fretted.
 We remember what the [inaudible] mayor's name was:
 Andrés Vásquez Cansino.
 They experienced fear in those times. Uh-huh!
 "Well, never mind! Wait! They are coming.
 245 Come let's go wait in the entrance to the church!"
 they said.
 They went to wait in the entrance to the church.
 Many soldiers arrived, playing their trumpets then. [inaudible]
 Well that mayor had his soul now,
 Because the two Chamulans did not have any guns.
 250 They did not have any guns.
 Then those soldiers had already arrived.
 Then they had already arrived.
 They arrived to speak to the mayor, who was already there. Uh-huh!
 "Well, you, gather the town together!
 255 There will be a Mass.
 We will perform a Mass. [inaudible]
 What is your position?"
 "I don't have a position."
 "But gather your townsmen together!"

248. That is, the mayor was frightened, "his heart was in his mouth."
 257. The soldiers wanted to know if he was an official of the town.

?ak'o štal ya?i miša
 bwéno péro k'usi čak'an
 díse ?éste čamúla
 k'usi čak'an
 mu?yuk ?ak'o štal ta miša hteklum
 ?a pero vo?on ta škal miša
 dice los dos Chamulas*
 ahora ya volvió como un padre
 ya volvió como un padre
 y su sombrero chiquito
 allí está
 eso es un cuentoso que me han dicho mi
 padre
 mi madre
 allí está
 ?óra vo?on ta škal miša
 a éste es el cuscat
 es el diablo
 dicen los soldados
 ahora es su cuscat esto indígena
 pero yo voy a oir este primero bueno
 bueno dice
 pues se va a formar pues en frente del
 mercado hm?
 b'a čol ab'aik ta ti? muk'ta na hm?

 b'a čol ab'aik ta ti? muk'ta na
 b'a čol ab'aik
 vu?une li? hmala ta hol č'ul na
 li? šavak'
 mu šičam ta b'alamil
 li? ta hol č'ul na čičam
 bwéno šu? čave milvan
 bwéno li? ša li tyáblo ti kuskat ta škiltik
 tanae
 ?oy van trénta soldádos
 yak'b'e shopan lek ti ?ok'es

 ?ora muy ta hol č'ul na ?un
 ko?ol ša šči?uk pale ?un
 ik'atah ša ?oš ti . . .
 ik'atah ši k'op
 ti ya volvió como padre*
 los dos chamulas
 ya volvió como . . .
 ahora ya

- 260 They should come to hear Mass!"
 "Well, but what do you want?"
 Said this Chamulan.
 "What do you want?"
 "Nothing! They should come to Mass in town."
- 265 "Ah, but it is I who will say Mass!"
 Said the two Chamulans.
 Now he turned into a priest.
 He turned into a priest now.
 And his little hat
- 270 Was there:
 This is a tale that I was told by my father

 [And] my mother.
 He was there.
 "Now I am going to say Mass!"
- 275 "Ah, that is Cuscat!
 He is the Devil!"
 Said those soldiers.
 "Now that Indian is their Cuscat!
 But I am going to hear him first. Well,
- 280 Well," he said.
 Well, they went to line up in front of the market.
 Uh-huh!
 "Go line up in the entrance to the large
 building!" Uh-huh!
 "Go line up in the entrance to the large building!
 Go line up!
- 285 As for me, I shall wait here in the belfry!
 Fire them here!
 I won't die on the ground!
 I will die here in the belfry!"
 "Well, you can kill him!"
- 290 Well, now we see that Devil Cuscat here!"
- There were perhaps thirty soldiers.
 They were playing those trumpets well, holding
 them in both hands.
 Now he climbed up to the bell tower,
 Just like a priest.
- 295 He had already transformed himself . . .
 He had already transformed himself like this.
 They had already turned into priests,
 The two Chamulans.
 They had already turned into . . .
- 300 Now then,

266. The storyteller switches briefly from Tzotzil to Spanish. Since he is describing the activities of Ladino soldiers, I have used the standard orthography for Spanish.

297. The storyteller now switches into Spanish for the rest of the text, although he continues to use Tzotzil syntax and the parallelistic couplet form.

tíreme pues
 dice el diablo
 ya con su sombrero*
 tíreme
 yo no tengo nada
 tíreme
 ahora empezó a tirar ya hm?
 tiró primero [. . . ? . . .]
 agarrando el bala
 agarrando el bala hm?
 tiró y tiró
 ahora acabó la bala hm?
 como está
 hay bala todavía
 ya no
 ya acabó
 bueno contestáme
 dice el soldado
 voy a contestar
 espérense
 fórmense bien
 ahora está ya amontonado el bala
 allí donde la campanada
 adentro la campanada
 en que está los dos chamulas
 allí está los balas ya amontonada
 bweno esperáme pues
 agarró el otro chamula
 agarró el otro chamula
 lo jimbó este bala*
 lo contestó
 quedó muerto los soldados
 ahora dos que huyó
 que había ladino ya
 dos soldados que huyó hm?
 que no tocó la bala
 pero ya vino cojo
 ya regresó aquí a san cristóbal hm?*

"Fire at me, then!"
 Said the Devil,
 With his hat ready.
 "Fire at me!"
 305 I don't have anything!
 Fire at me!"
 Now they began to fire at them already. Uh huh!
 They fired the first one. [inaudible]
 He caught the bullet.
 310 He caught the bullet. Uh huh!
 They fired and fired.
 Now the bullets were used up. Uh-huh!
 "How are you?"
 Are there any bullets left?"
 315 "Not any more!
 They were used up!
 Well, answer me!"
 Said the soldier.
 "I am going to answer.
 320 Wait!
 Line them up carefully!"
 Now the bullets were piled up,
 There where the bell tower is,
 Inside the bell tower
 325 In which the two Chamulans were.
 The bullets were already piled up there.
 "Well, wait for me, then!"
 The one Chamulan seized them,
 The other Chamulan seized them.
 330 They threw those bullets back.
 They returned them.
 The soldiers were killed.
 Only two escaped,
 Of those who were Ladinos,
 335 The two soldiers who escaped, uh huh!,
 Whom the bullets did not touch,
 Well, they arrived limping;
 They returned here to San Cristobal Las Casas.
 Uh-huh!

303. The Chamulans caught the bullets in their hats.

330. The storyteller probably means *sembró* 'sowed, scattered,' instead of *jimbó*.

338. The version published by Guiteras-Holmes (1961:265–266) describes this incident as follows: "The great sadness long ago was that Juan Ortega was going to put an end to the world and kill all the Indians. He would send out his soldiers and would say 'Everyone must come to Mass,' and those who went were killed. Everyone was terrified. The saints had furtively been removed from the church and all the people had left the village. Alone in the village had remained the president [mayor] with his regidor and his first alcalde. Two Chamulitas appeared at Balum. 'Tatá,' said the president, welcoming them to the pueblo [town]. The Chamulitas answered respectfully 'Tatá.' Their shirts were torn, they were poor looking. 'Are you distressed, Tatá?' 'Yes, I am distressed,' answered the president. 'It is said that soldiers are close by; they have already reached San Miguel [Mitontic].'"

"The president was worried. The Chamulitas said: 'Let us go to the church to await the soldiers.' 'How many are there?' 'Thirty.' It seems that they had seen and counted them. The soldiers caught a glimpse of the people gathered together on Baxulum [the high eastern hill]. The soldiers drew near the church. The Chamulitas came forth in priestly vestments. I think it was God. 'We shall fight,' said the priest. 'Here is their Kuskat,' said the soldiers. The soldiers said that it was the Pukuh, the devil, but it was God. The priest called out 'I will die in the bell tower,' and he climbed up. 'Now fire at me.' And the soldiers knelt to take aim – and with his hat held in his right hand, the priest caught the bullets. And the ammunition of the soldiers was piled up, so said my father and my mother. They were firing incessantly, until their ammunition gave out. The priest called to them 'Have you any more bullets?' 'No, we have

ahora los dos chamulas
 ya ganó hm?
 no murió
 no murió la gente ó
 ahora que ya cayó*
 ya miró ya
 dice mi padre
 dice mi madre
 que hay bala allí
 allí en campanada de iglesia
 pero es verdad hay bala allí
 hay bala allí
 hay bala
 hay bala allí [. . . ? . . .] hm?
 yo creo que es un poco es verdad
 pues hay bala
 dice mi mamá
 mi papá
 muy triste antes
 un poco iban a morir
 por el santo
 es que se van a echar guerra
 hasta magdalenero*
 santa marteños*
 pableros*
 que tiene santo por [. . . ? . . .]
 poreso que tuxtlero
 y chiapaneco que va venir acabar de
 nosotros
 pero no sé si dios quiso
 ó dios que vino afender de nosotros*
 que salvamos
 que salvamos con dos chamulitas
 ahora que bajó
 ya acabó
 ya miró
 que ya se quedó bien
 ahora en cuando el presidente
 pidiendo perdón de dios
 es no mas que rezo
 cada cruz
 cada cruz
 cada cruz hm?
 siete cruz que hincó

- Now the two Chamulans,
 340 They had won. Uh-huh!
 They did not die.
 The people did not die, or . . .
 Now that they had already fallen,
 They saw them.
 345 My father said,
 [And] my mother said
 That there were bullets there,
 There in the belfry of the church.
 But it is true! There were bullets there!
 350 There were bullets there!
 There were bullets.
 There were bullets there [inaudible], uh-huh!
 I believe that it is probably true.
 "Well, there were bullets,"
 355 Said my mother
 [And] my father.
 [It] used to be very sad.
 They almost died.
 Because of that saint,
 360 They went to make war,
 Even the Magdaleneros,
 [The] Santa Marteños,
 Pableros,
 Who have a saint for [inaudible].
 365 That is why the Tuxtlatecos
 And Chiapanecos were coming to destroy us.
 But I don't know if God wished it,
 Or if it was God who came to defend us,
 That we were saved,
 370 That we were saved by two little Chamulans.
 Now that they had climbed down,
 They had finished.
 He [the mayor?] saw
 That they had survived.
 375 Now when the mayor
 Requested pardon of God,
 He did no more than pray
 [At] each cross,
 Each cross,
 380 Each cross. Uh-huh!
 He had knelt before seven crosses

(note continued from preceding page)

used them all.' The priest then took the bullets by the handful and tossed them at the soldiers, and Juan Ortega's soldiers were killed. Only two were saved, two drummers, who fled to San Cristóbal to ask for help, saying that in San Pedro [Chenalho] the people had their Kuskat." Note how this version confuses Ortega's raids on Indian towns with the War of St. Rose.

343. That is, the bullets had fallen.

361-363. The Indians of Santa María Magdalena, Santa Marta, and San Pablo Chalchihuitán joined the Chamulans (Chapter 9).

368. The storyteller probably means a *defender* 'to defend' instead of *afender*.

que somó los chamulas hm?
ahora que ya lo miró
ya que agarró los chamulitas pues

ya en cuanto
que cosa quiere usted
vas a comer
que cosa
dinero
que cosa
no dice
no quiero nada
que cosa quieres
nada
quieres caballo
buscando a la fuerza caballo
porque no había buen caballo antes hm?

buscando caballo
para que monte el chamula se vaya
que ya me voy en otro lado
que ya voy a entrar en tenejapa
allá estoy llegando
voy a ver
a ver que dice la gente allá ya
ahora pidió permiso con la gente
le dieron su caballo
montaron
parece montaron a caballo hm?
ahora ya quedó libertad en chenalhó
que ganó los dos chamulitas
ahora despues
como está
voy a presentar ti . . . si ya no va venir

ya no va venir
en otro pueblo se va
en otro pueblo se va
'es que va acábar ustedes*
que quiere otra cosa dijo
por eso que va acabar
por eso porque fueron ustedes a buscar*
por eso es su culpa de usted*
pero no quieren bala
y así no mas mente
es lo que dice los chamulas
ahora que los dos chamulas se fué

When the Chamulans appeared. Uh-huh!
Now that he had seen it,
That the Chamulans had caught [the bullets]
then:

385 "Now how much?
What would you like?
Will you eat?
What do you want!
Money?"

390 "What do you want?"
"No!" he said.
"I don't want anything."
"What would you like?"
"Nothing!"

395 "Would you like a horse?"—
Looking quickly for a horse,
Because formerly they did not have nice horses.
Uh-huh!

They looked for a horse
For the Chamulan to mount [and] leave.

400 "I must go somewhere else."
I must go to Tenejapa.
I will arrive there.
I am going to see,
To see what the people will say there."

405 Now he asked the people's permission.
They gave him a horse.
He mounted it.
It seems that he mounted the horse. Uh-huh!
Now Chenalho remained free,

410 For the two Chamulans had won.
Now afterward,
"How are you?
I am going to present . . . if they are not coming
now.

They are not coming now.

415 They are going to another town.
They are going to another town.
They are going to kill you.
What else do they want?" he said.
"That is why you are going to die.

420 That is why, because you went to look for it,
Because it is your fault."
But they didn't want bullets.
And that was the meaning;
That is what the Chamulans said.

425 Now when the two Chamulans left,

417. The word *acabar* is a literal translation of Tzotzil *lah*, which means 'to finish, end, die, wear out, be used up, get hurt' (Laughlin 1975: 203). I believe that the third meaning of *lah* is intended here, as in lines 215–216 above.

420 421. The point seems to be that they went looking for trouble, that it was the Indians, rather than the Ladinos, who started the war.

ahora llegó a tenejapa que dice
 ah que está llorando el presidente allí
 ya salió el santo hm?*
 ahora que llegó también
 pidieron favor a dios también en tenejapa
 ahora se salvó también en tenejapa como el
 anterior
 ahora allí está
 pues salvó también en tenejapa
 que así lo hizo también
 llegó a san pablo
 y también salvó los pableros
 así se acabó la guerra antes
 dice que muy peligro
 dice mi papá
 mi mamá
 que un poquito no acabamos*
 que no podemos entrar a san cristóbal

 cuscat
 cuscat dice
 cuando llegamos con pasaje dice
 quien no tiene pasaje queda en carcel hm?

 así antes dice
 mucho cuentoso que hace mi papá
 pero yo creo que no tiene apuntado mi
 comadre*
 yo no acordé para decirle*
 no acordé a decirle*
 porque hay muchas cosas que hicimos*
 por el cristo por . . .*
 como su cuentoso de mis compañeros de
 antigüedad*
 dice ese que quedó es no mas que quiero*
 por que allí está las cosas que sé yo hee
 porque antigüedad
 porque me contaron los viejos de
 antigüedad hm?
 era alvasil el otro
 era mayor el otro
 cuando hubo en plaza de allí de baúx
 es su terreno de los chamulans
 hacen plaza allí
 no había plaza en chenalhó antes
 allí en baúx

Now they arrived in Tenejapa, so they said.
 Ah, the mayor was crying there!
 The saint had already left. Uh-huh!
 Now they arrived too.
 They asked God's help in Tenejapa also.
 Now they also saved Tenejapa as in the previous
 case.
 Now they were there.
 Well, they saved Tenejapa too.
 They did the same thing.
 430 They arrived in San Pablo,
 And they also saved the Pableros.
 That is how the war ended long ago.
 They said that it was very dangerous,
 Said my father
 440 [And] my mother.
 "We were almost killed.
 We were [almost] unable to enter San Cristobal
 Las Casas.
 'Cuscat!
 Cuscat!' they said,
 445 When we entered with a pass," they said.
 "'Whoever does not have a pass will go to jail!'"
 Uh-huh!
 "That's what it used to be like," they said.
 My father told many stories.
 But I don't think my *comadre* recorded it.

 450 I did not remember to tell her.
 I did not remember to tell her.
 Because there were many things that we did,
 By Christ, by . . .
 For this was a story of my old friends.

 455 She said: "I already have what I want."
 Because those were the things that I knew. Hah!
 Because long ago,
 Because the old people told me long ago. Uh-
 huh!
 One was a policeman;
 460 The other was the constable.
 When they were in the plaza there in Baux,
 It was the territory of the Chamulans,
 They made a market there.
 Formerly there was no market in Chenalhó.
 465 [It was] there in Baux

428. That is, the patron saint of Tenejapa had been removed from the church and hidden.

441. I have interpreted *acabamos* as 'we died' (see note to line 417 above).

449 455. His *comadre* (the godmother of his son) was Calixta Guiteras-Holmes, author of *Perils of the Soul: The World View of a Tzotzil Indian* (1961). Evidently he did tell her this story, for a version of it appears in her book (1961: 265–267).

que hace los santos sí
 pero no habló cuando llegó el padre
 no habló
 por eso se enojó el padre
 se enojó
 se empezaron a enojar
 y van a acabar los indígenas*
 pero no acabó los indígenas
 porque llegó los dos chamulas a defender
 cada pueblo cada pueblo
 pero en cancuc dice
 que llegó
 yo creo que hay cuentoso de los ladinos hm?
 allí digo yo
 llegó en cancuc
 pero los cancuqueros
 dice que no quiere que defiende los
 chamulitas hm?
 no quiere hm?
 ah ya voy a ver que venga hm?
 pues llegó el soldado allí de cancuc
 que dice que queré*
 nosotros vemos
 no dice
 vamos a ver
 ahora que llamó a los soldados
 que vengan allí
 ahora juntaron los cancuqueros
 juntaron allí los de cancuc
 entraron mucha gente
 ahora cerró puerta los soldados allí en
 cancuc*
 que empezó a matar
 ya puro puñada ta puro
 como no había pistola antes
 dice que no había
 así cuando vivía yo
 caso tenía armas mis compañeros que
 tenía yo
 noo no igual como ahorita que hay
 rifle hay
 noo no había
 hasta francisco madero también*

That the saints made it, yes.
 But it did not speak when the priest arrived.
 It did not speak.
 That is why the priest became angry;
 470 He became angry.
 They began to be angry;
 And they went to kill the Indians.
 But they did not destroy the Indians,
 Because the two Chamulans arrived to defend
 each town, each town.
 475 But in Cancuc, they say,
 That they arrived.
 I believe that it was a Ladino story. Uh-huh!
 There, I say,
 They arrived in Cancuc.
 480 But the Cancuqueros,
 They said that they did not want the Chamulans
 to defend them. Uh-huh!
 They did not want it. Uh-huh!
 "Ah, I'm going to see what comes!" Uh-huh!
 Well the soldiers arrived there from Cancuc.
 485 They said: "Boy!
 We will see!
 No!" they said.
 "Let's see!"
 Now they called the soldiers,
 490 That they should come there.
 Now they congregated the Cancuqueros.
 They congregated the [people] of Cancuc there.
 Many people entered.
 Now the soldiers closed the door there in
 Cancuc.
 495 They began to kill them.
 Just [with] their fists.
 For there were no pistols long ago.
 They said that there were none.
 Thus when I used to live,
 500 If my friends had weapons like mine,
 Noo, they were not like the ones that exist now.
 There are rifles.
 Noo, there were none then,
 Nor [in the time of] Francisco Madero either.

472. I have translated *acabar* as 'to kill,' the causative of 'to die' (cf. note to line 417 above).

485. I suspect that *queré* is the Tzotzil word *kere*, meaning 'Boy!' (Laughlin 1975:172).

494. The Cancuqueros were stubborn and refused the help of the two Chamulans. The Ladino soldiers shut them up and killed all but two of them [see lines 549–562 below]. The version published by Guiteras-Holmes (1961:266–267) describes the scene as follows: "Then he [Cuscat] went on to Cancuc. 'Will you have me defend you?' The Cancuqueros were very rude. 'We can do it ourselves,' they answered. 'Whatever may happen to you will be no fault of mine,' and the Chamulita went sorrowfully on his way. The soldiers arrived and ordered the people: 'Come to hear Mass.' The Cancuqueros were slaughtered inside their church; they were put to the sword, no bullets were used, nothing but the sword; and only two Cancuqueros were left, a man and a woman, neck deep in blood."

504. Francisco I. Madero was President of Mexico in 1911–1913. The storyteller claims that he did not have modern weapons either.

no había todavía
 muy poco arma antes hi
 tiene arma mis compañeros
 pero miré un flech . . .
 no no es flecha
 es escopeta
 pero con es que cera de colmel
 cera hay
 hay pobre su mecha
 jalando así como martillo de tronar este
 escopeta [. . . ? . . .]
 pero con fuego que hm?
 así jala
 así jala
 ese no mas su defensa antes hm?
 y no había machita bien
 no había todo
 muy poco tiempo que . . .
 estuve grande un poco
 cuando lo miré
 lo miré
 que salió azadón
 salió que mostrado un azadón
 mostrado un machete bueno que [. . . ? . . .]
 cuando crié
 porque aquí los herreros que hacen luques*

puro luques antes sí*
 y a trabajar antes
 puro luques
 no tiene azadón
 no tiene azadón
 no sé cuantos años que tomó los mejores
 herramientos
 para trabajar
 porque antes no había [. . . ? . . .]
 puro a mano lo jala el zacate para trabajar
 así quiere también hierro
 compra hierro para [. . . ? . . .]
 pues así no mas que hubo pleito
 por el santo
 por el santo
 que poco que no ganaron
 es que chiapanecos
 y mexicanos de los indígenas sí
 pero salvó con los chamulitos
 salvó con los chamulitos

- 505 There weren't any.
 There were few arms then. Hah!
 My friends used to have weapons,
 But, look, an arrow . . .,
 No, they were not arrows;
- 510 They were shotguns.
 But with beeswax.
 There was wax;
 Their fuses were poor,
 Pulling like this at the hammer to discharge
 this shotgun [inaudible]
- 515 But with fire that . . . Uh-huh!
 They pulled like this!
 They pulled like this!
 That used to be their only defense. Uh-huh!
 And formerly there were no good machetes.
- 520 Formerly there was nothing.
 It has been only a short time since . . .
 I was still young
 When I saw it,
 I saw
- 525 That hoes had appeared,
 That a hoe had appeared,
 That a good machete appeared [inaudible]
 When I grew up,
 Because the blacksmiths who made billhooks
 here . . .
- 530 Only billhooks, yes.
 And in order to work in the past,
 Only billhooks.
 They did not have hoes;
 They did not have hoes.
- 535 I don't know how many years it has been since
 they got better tools
 For work,
 Because formerly they did not exist [inaudible].
 In order to work, they would just pull weeds out
 by hand.
 Thus they also needed iron tools.
- 540 They bought iron tools for [inaudible].
 Well, that was how the war was
 On account of the saint,
 On account of the saint,
 That they almost won,
- 545 That is, the Chiapanecos
 And the Mexicans against the Indians, yes!
 But they were saved by the Chamulans.
 They were saved by the Chamulans.

529 530. The word *luk* (from Spanish *luco*) means 'billhook' in Tzotzil (Laughlin 1975:221). It was evidently one of the weapons used by Indians during the War of St. Rose (C. Molina 1934:369, 394).

pero en cancuque
 dice que entraron allí
 empezó a matar
 por la sangre*
 quedó una mujer*
 y un hombre*
 en cancuque*
 había cancuqueros sí
 por la sangre
 por la sangre
 quedó una mujer
 y un hombre
 que había cancuqueros

 por que no cumplió para defender los
 chamulas hm?
 es mas cuentoso
 que sabía mi papá

But in Cancuc,
 550 They say that they entered there.
 They began to kill.
 Because of the bloodshed,
 There remained [only] one woman
 And one man
 555 In Cancuc.
 There used to be [many] Cancuqueros, yes!
 [But] because of the bloodshed,
 Because of the bloodshed,
 There remained [only] one woman
 560 And one man,
 Where there had formerly been [many]
 Cancuqueros,
 Because they did not let the Chamulans defend
 them. Uh-huh!
 This is the extent of the story
 That my father knew.

552–555. Only one man and one woman survived the slaughter in Cancuc (see note to line 494 above). I suspect that this is a reference to the Cancuc revolt of 1712, for Cancuc did not participate in the War of St. Rose.

TEXT C-7

War (Zinacantan)

?a ti lič'i vo?nee
 b'ik'iton čak li?e*
 ta te?tik čivay
 ?ee ?ora štal ?a li hčamu?
 kuskat
 kuskat
 ta čamu?
 ?ora štal li hčamu?
 tey ša ta čak lahon*
 tey ša li plétoe
 k'al prímero likel če?e
 pale*
 ispas resal
 ?a li spas resal ?un

I grew up long ago;
 I was small like this.
 I slept in the woods.
 Eh, now the Chamulan came,
 5 Cuscat,
 Cuscat,
 To Chamula.
 Now the Chamulan came.
 He was already there in Chaclajon.
 10 The war was already there.
 Then from the first moment,
 The priest;
 He worshiped;
 Then he worshiped.

*Notes to Text C-7 are identified by line numbers.

2. Pointing to one of his grandchildren.
 9. Zinacantecos seem to associate the War of St. Rose with Chaclajon, instead of Tzajalhemel (see Laughlin 1977: 102–103). Chaclajon is only a short distance from Chamula Center (see Map 8).
 12. See note to lines 41–43.

?ora hna?tik mi . . .
 ?a li hun páharo*
 péro vinik*
 péro karáho*
 b'aφ'i mol natil vinik*
 páharo*
 ?ee ?iday ib'at ?un
 li? b'a hk'el k'ot ta hob'el ?une

kavayerya
 hii toh mas ta hmek
 kavron
 ?ep hna?tik . . .
 ta mil
 bweno b'at ?un
 b'at ta čak lahon ?un
 b'a sčob' sb'aik ?un
 b'a?yi ?ay htotik pale
 b'a spas resal hee
 ?a li rioše
 ?a li čal li palee
 ?o maríya*
 lus tevína*
 kol kon svélo*
 ši
 lek ša ta šal ta hmek hee
 li htotik pale čal ?une
 ?ora sónsó li ?alkavéta pale ?une*
 ?oč pletu*
 ?ee tal li paharoetik ?une*
 hii paharo
 kabron
 maríya santísima
 ši ta hmek li kriščano le?e
 yu?un ša ta štal
 bwéno b'at ta htekulum ya?el ?une
 φob'ol ša kriščano ?un
 tey ša li ?oktoridadetik
 tey ša . . .
 ?o to tey ta hun kányon ti vo?ne

- 15 Now I don't know if . . .
 A Bird,
 But a man,
 But hell!
 He was a very tall man,
 Bird.
- 20 Eh, so then he left.
 "Then I am going to see if I can reach San
 Cristobal Las Casas."
 Cavalrymen!
 Ooh! It was much too much!
- 25 Sonofabitch!
 Many, who knows . . .
 A thousand!
 Well, he went then.
 Then he went to Chaclajon.
- 30 Then they went to assemble.
 First there was our father priest.
 He went to worship. Hah!
 As for the saint,
 The priest said:
- 35 "O Mary,
 Divine light
 With consolation,"
 He said.
 He chanted it beautifully. Hah!
- 40 Our father priest chanted then.
 Now the pimp-like priest was stupid then.
 The war began.
 Eh, the Bird's followers came then.
 "Ooh Bird!"
- 45 Sonofabitch!
 Holy Mary!"
 Exclaimed the people like that.
 Because he was already coming.
 Well then, it seems that he went to our town.
- 50 People had already gathered then.
 The authorities were already there.
 They were already there . . .
 There used to be a cannon there then.

¹⁶ 20. The storyteller shifts abruptly to another Chamulan revitalization movement that occurred during his lifetime. According to Laughlin (1977:110–111), "In 1911 the Bishop and the reactionary leaders of San Cristóbal [Las Casas] promised the Chamulans land redistribution and an end to taxation if they would rebel against the revolutionary government of President Madero. Jacinto Perez Ch'ix Tot, 'Robin,' known as 'Bird' or 'Little Bird,' who had served in the army, was accorded the rank of general, and his followers were issued arms. A thousand Chamulans carried out guerrilla activity during the summer of 1911, occupying eight lowland towns including Ixtapa, Acala, Chiapilla, and Venustiano Carranza." The rebels were defeated on October 10, 1911, in Chiapilla (*ibid.*:154). The victors cut off the ears of eight Indian prisoners and sent them back to the highlands to serve as a lesson to other Indians (Espinosa 1912:152). Some of Bird's followers fled to what is now Rincon Chamula, where they founded a utopian community that has survived until the present (Gossen 1974a:273 and personal communication).

³⁵ 37. This seems to be a corruption of "¡O María! ¡O consuelo! ¡Luz divina del mortal!" ('O Mary! O consolation! Divine light of man!').

⁴¹ 43. Bird is described as a false native priest and his movement as a religious conflict (Laughlin 1977:110).

muk'ta káyon smuk'ul to
 pero nat káyon ta hmek
 tey ta kávítlo li káyon ?o ?une hee

ital ?un
 ?a li čamu?
 yu?un ša štal smilel li hteklum ?une
 ta hteklum štal i smilel ?un
 bweno b'at ?a li hun vun ?un
 b'at ša vun
 b'a yak'el ?a li hun mayol
 te ta méro kávítlo ta čámulá la sta ?une

iyik' i ?iškirvano ?une
 isk'el ?un
 isk'el ?un
 b'ač'i iship ishat hee
 bwéno pwes ?a li . . . b'atik ši la hee
 b'at
 b'a hk'eltik kik
 ?a li soč'leb'etike ši la*
 b'a hči?in ta vayel hsoč'leb'e ši la hee*

pero ?ep ta hmek li čamu?
 ?ep
 ?ep
 bwéno pwes ?iday ?a li . . . ital ša
 ilok' tal te yo?e
 muk' b'u avil li mol ?eklešya ta čamu?
 ?a li pok? ?eklešyae
 ?a li ?eklešyae
 yeč ša vok'ol shole
 te ša snup te yo?e
 te šč'a pok? ša li vun ?une
 bwéno čib'at ši la hm?
 ta pérsa čib'at
 bwéno ?entónse b'atan če?e ši la li vun ?une
 b'atan
 te ša ?oy ta hmatalikótik
 ši la li vun ?une hee
 bwéno tal ?un
 tal la čamu? ?un
 péro yu?un ?ep . . .
 maríya santísima
 mil ta hmek
 ital li čamu? ?une
 ?a li hteklum ?une
 ?a li . . . ti htote

It was a big cannon just this size.
 55 But the cannon was enormous!
 The cannon was there beside the town hall.
 Hah!
 He came then,
 The Chamulan,
 Because he came to destroy our town then.
 60 Then he came to destroy our town.
 Well, a letter went out.
 A letter had already gone out.
 A constable went to deliver it.
 Then he reached the very town hall of
 Chamula.

65 Then the scribe took it.
 Then he read it.
 Then he read it.
 He just threw it down [and] tore it! Hah!
 Well, fine, the . . . "Let's go!" they said. Hah!

70 They went.
 "Maybe we'll go to see
 The Zinacantecos!" they said.
 "We're going to sleep with the Zinacantecos!"
 they said. Hah!
 But there were hordes of Chamulans,

75 A lot,
 A lot.
 Well, so then . . . they had already come.
 They went out from there.
 Have you ever seen the old church in Chamula?

80 As for the old church,
 As for the church,
 Its roof was already collapsing.
 They had already met there.
 Then the letter was there almost immediately.

85 "Well, I'm going!" it said. Uh huh!
 "I must go!"
 "Well, then, go then!" the letter said then.
 "Go!"
 We will be waiting for you there!"

90 The letter said then. Hah!
 Well then, they came.
 The Chamulans came.
 But because there were many . . .
 Holy Mary!

95 Thousands!
 The Chamulans came then.
 As for our town then,
 As for . . . my father,

72–73. The Zinacantecos are known as the "bat people" (*soč'leb'*) in highland Chiapas. *Zinacantan* means 'place of the bat' in Nahuatl.

?a li rehirol ?un
 rehirol segundo
 rehirol segundo
 va?i la ?a li . . .
 ?a li sti?ik káyon ?une
 sti?ikb'e k'al ti . . .
 bumgon ši li káyon ?une
 li káyon ?une hee
 pero tik' ša yalel ti káyon ?une
 kotol ša li káyon ?une
 yu?un ša čak'
 kotol ša
 hlikel yu?un ša čak'
 yu?un ša čak'
 b'alamil li čámu?e
 b'at ša te ta te b'e čihtik ?une

po?ot ša škahčah ?un
 mi ti mi čab'at
 mi muk' šab'at ši la
 čib'at ši la
 natil li hčámu? ?une*
 ?a li sóltaro ?une
 hčol šie
 hčol šie
 ?a li káyon ?une
 ši la shoy li káyon ?une
 č'ab'al ?un
 k'ahom ?un
 pero č'ab'al sóltaro ?un
 b'ač'i yu?un yič' yok'ese

hii péro kabron
 sóltaro
 péro tal
 čolol ša la ta hmek ?un
 ?a li káyon ?une
 ča? kot ša ik'ot ?un
 ši la shol li hune ši la
 čak káyon la ?un
 ?a č'ab'al
 ti yu?un ša la taluke
 tah nan me
 ?ee mu hna? k'u ša snatil ti mu šk'ote

mu hna? šk'otuk
 ?očuke če?e
 te čil li čámu? ta mušul viče

He was an alderman then,
 100 Second alderman,
 Second alderman.
 You see the . . .
 They fired that cannon then.
 They fired until . . .
 105 "Boom!" the cannon said then,
 That cannon then. Hah!
 But the cannon had already fired downward then.
 The cannon was still standing then,
 Because it had already fired.

110 It was still standing,
 Because it had just fired,
 Because it had already fired.
 It was the land of the Chamulans.
 He had already gone to Deer Trail [Be Chijtic] then.

115 He had almost reached the end of it then.
 "Will you go?
 Or won't you go?" they said.
 "I will go!" he said.
 The Chamulan was tall then.

120 As for the soldiers then,
 They were lined up like this,
 They were lined up like this.
 As for the cannon then,
 They supposedly encircled the cannon then.

125 There weren't any then,
 Just then.
 But there weren't any soldiers then,
 Only because they were carrying their
 trumpets.
 Ooh, but sonofabitch!

130 Soldiers!
 But they came.
 They were already completely lined up then.
 As for the cannons then,
 Two had now arrived.

135 "The head of one was like this," they said.
 They seized the cannon then.
 Ah, there wasn't any!
 Because they should have come already,
 Perhaps over there.

140 Eh, I don't know for how long they did not
 arrive.
 I don't know if they arrived,
 If they came then.
 The Chamulans were observing there from Snub-
 Nose Mountain [Muxul Vitz].

119. Bird is always described as a tall man, although he was apparently of average height (Laughlin 1977: 105).

?oy ti hayib' mile
 te ?oy skotol ta hmek ?un
 muk' č'i?ik ti káyon ?une
 te ?oč skotol ta hmek
 te mahb'il i?oč ?un
 te mahb'il i?oč ?un
 ti yu?unuk taluk ša
 mu hna? ti k'u ša yepal ti muk' sta li . . .
 muk' sta li muk'ta ti? na li kahvaltike

stauke če?e
 te ?o skotol
 mi hun
 mi hun muk' škom ?un hee
 te to ta yoš mol vun ?une
 bweno la kak'b'e hb'atik ši ša li vun ?une

ke yik'ub'al yat ame? sút'tesút'te k'ut ?un*
 sut' ?un hee
 ?iday ilah
 ič'ab'i to?oš ?un b'i
 mu to?oš k'usi ?un
 ?a li . . . ?o to la li páharo
 muk' ?onoš č'ay li páharo ?une hee
 čavale

hásinto čka?i*
 hasínto páharo*
 ?a li . . . lik ti plétu ?une
 ?oč milb'ail ?un

hii pero milb'aile
 maríya santísima

li? ša hatav hlom
 i ča?vó? mu sk'an čakel ?une

?oč bála ?un
 ?oč bála

čmil sb'aik ?un hee
 ?a li yane

hatav
 bweno pwes ?a li . . . ?iday

spas ségir ta hmek
 huhun čak me ta séptyembre čka?i ?un

septyembre
 b'u to ?oy ?ahan ?un to

?oy ?ahan
 ?oy ?ahan hee

There were several thousand [of them].
 145 Absolutely everyone was there then.
 They didn't fire the cannon then.
 Absolutely everyone came there.
 They came to strike from there then.
 They came to strike from there then.
 150 If they had not already come,
 I don't know how many would not have found
 the . . .
 Would not have found the entrance to the
 church.
 They might have found it then.
 Everyone was there,
 155 Except for one,
 Except for one who did not remain then. Hah!
 It was still there in three old letters then.
 "Well, we'll offer ourselves to them sexually!"
 said the letter then.
 "Hell, the filth of your mother's cock is
 unraveling walking about bundled up!"
 160 It is wrapped up then!" Hah!
 So then it ended.
 Then it calmed down, of course!
 It was not anything yet then.
 There was . . . still the Bird.

165 They had not gotten rid of the Bird yet. Hah!
 You think so.
 I believe [his name was] Jacinto,
 Jacinto Bird.
 Then the war began.

170 Then killing began.
 Ooh, but killing!
 Holy Mary!
 Some people had already fled here,
 And two who did not want to be captured then.

175 Then they began shooting;
 They began shooting.
 Then they killed each other. Hah!
 As for the others,
 They fled.

180 Well, so then the . . .
 It continued to grow.
 I think it was in September then,
 September,
 When the corn was still in ear.

185 There was fresh corn;
 There was fresh corn. Hah!

159. According to Laughlin (1977: 110), "The expletive phrase *yik'ubal yat ɻame?*, 'the filth of your mother's cock,' is an expression not used by Zinacantecs, but is known by them to be typical of Chamulans, whose manner of speech is considered racier and coarser than Zinacantecs".

167 168. It was actually Jacinto Pérez Ch'ix Tot (see notes to lines 16–20).

bwéno pwes la ?iday . . .
 ispas ségir ta hmek li plétu ?une
 ta sçak sb'aik ?un
 ?a li hčámu?e
 ?a li naka ta tuk'
 pero b'a?i tuk' hee
 ?o ša lánsa
 hii lansa
 mas ta mil li lánsa
 huhun te?
 naka ?o slánsa
 ha? čmilvan ?o hee
 li?e
 mu ša snop li hteklum
 muk' ša štal
 iši? ša
 mu ša sk'an ?un
 komo te ?oš šak'b'at ?un to
 ?očuke če?e
 te lah skotolik i hčamu?e
 te ?oč
 te ?oča?a
 bwéno iši? ?un
 mu ša sk'an ?un
 mu ša sk'an i hsøg'leb'e
 kere mu ša k'u tun
 ke toh pálta shol pukuh
 kere ši la ?un
 mu ša štal ?un
 te sçak sb'a stuk'ik ?un
 ?oč milb'ail
 ?ora b'a hk'eltikótik ?un
 ?a li . . . ta séptyembre ka?uk ?oy šaa?a

 b'a hk'eltikótik
 ?a li hčámu?e
 ?oy nab' te yo? ti hčamu?
 naka ša t'ub'ahtik li ?animaе
 te t'ub'ahtik
 ha? li muč'u mu sk'an sóltaroe
 muč'u mu sk'an páharoe
 ha? ilah
 ha? ilah
 ?iday ihatav ?un
 ?a li . . . ihatav ?un
 ?a li k'u yepal li čame
 čam
 bweno tal spasike
 b'at ta soktom
 helav le? toe
 pero hun yok'ese
 kabron

Well, so then . . .
 The war kept on growing then.
 Then they fought with each other.
 190 As for the Chamulans,
 They had only shotguns,
 But primitive shotguns. Hah!
 They had spears.
 Ooh, spears!
 195 More than a thousand spears!
 One shaft apiece.
 There were only their spears
 [With which] they killed them forever. Hah!
 As for here,
 200 Our town was not accustomed to it.
 It had not come yet.
 They were afraid.
 They did not ask for it then.
 For it had been given then.
 205 At the beginning then,
 All the Chamulans died there.
 It began there.
 It began there, of course!
 Well, then they were afraid.
 210 Now they didn't want it.
 The Zinacantecos did not like it.
 "Wow! It won't do!
 Wow! It's the Devil's fault!
 Wow!" they said then.
 215 Then they had not come yet.
 They grabbed their guns then.
 Killing began.
 "Now let's go take a look, then!"
 It was . . . in September I think; it was certainly
 then!
 220 We went to take a look.
 As for Chamula,
 There is a lake there in Chamula.
 The corpses were just submerged [in it];
 They were submerged there.
 225 Whoever did not like the soldiers,
 Whoever did not like Bird,
 Died;
 They died.
 So then they fled then.
 230 The . . . fled then.
 All those who died,
 They died.
 Well, they came to do it.
 They went to Chiapa de Corzo.
 235 They went ahead over there.
 But one of their trumpets,
 Sonofabitch!

hii ta mil
 ?o hun ka?
 tal ti čeř čeř čeř čeř
 ši yalel ?un
 skwenta soltaro
 te ta yak'ol soktom
 te ipah ta nail č'en ?un
 ha? te pah ?un
 ?a ti ?očuke
 ?a li soktom*
 listo ša*
 ?a ?eso li čiapaneko*
 kabron
 pukuha?a
 ?eso čapal ša
 komo tak'b'il ša li soltaro yu?un gobyerno to
 listo ša ?une
 li smótör te ša kahal
 li smótör te noštök ?un
 te čic' ?un
 muk' šyal
 iši? talel ?un
 sut talel ?un
 li? tal spas ?a li plétu
 li? tale
 tal sa?ik ta hmek ta k'op li hči?iltak li? toe
 isaqik pletu
 i?oč lab'al velb'ail
 ?a ti palee
 hatav
 boráčo b'u b'at
 ?a li pas ta ?oš hpuk b'e?k'*
 ta šič' li palee hee
 ta šič' hee
 ta šič' ti palee
 hatav
 hatav hee
 ?ora iyak'b'e sb'aik ti . . .
 yak'b'e sb'aik li pale ?a li bála ?une
 ?a mu hna? b'uy ilik talel li sóltaro
 muk' b'u ka?itikótik b'u ilik talel li sóltaro
 te ta čak lahon ?un hee*
 te ta čak lahon

- Ooh, up to a thousand!
 There was a horse.
 240 It came: "Cherrr, cherrr, cherrr, cherrr,"
 It called down then,
 For the soldiers
 There above Chiapa de Corzo.
 They stopped at Cave House [Nail Ch'en] then.
 245 They stopped there then.
 When they began,
 Chiapa de Corzo
 Was already prepared.
 Ah these Chiapanecos!
 250 Sonofabitch!
 They were really devilish!
 They were already prepared.
 For the government troops had already responded.
 They were already prepared then.
 255 Their motor was already on top there.
 Then their motor was there too.
 Then they carried it there.
 It did not descend.
 Then they became frightened.
 260 Then they returned.
 They came here to make war.
 They came here.
 They came looking for trouble with our
 townsmen here.
 They were spoiling for a fight.
 265 They came flailing constantly at each other.
 As for the priest,
 He fled.
 He went off drunk.
 He became a seed distributor.
 270 The priest received it. Hah!
 He received it. Hah!
 The priest received it.
 He fled.
 He fled. Hah!
 275 Now they shot at each other . . .
 Then they fired bullets at the priest.
 Ah, I don't know from where the soldiers sprang.
 We never knew from where the soldiers sprang.
 It was there in Chaclajon then. Hah!
 280 It was there in Chaclajon.

247 249. Laughlin (1977:124) thinks that this battle may date from 1863, when Juan Ortega and his imperialist troops attacked Chiapa de Corzo on their way to defeat the liberals in Tuxtla Gutierrez (Chapter 10). Although they were greatly outnumbered, the Chiapanecos successfully held off the imperialists on October 20 and 21 that year (López Gutiérrez 1963:192–196). October was also the month when Bird and his followers were defeated (see notes to lines 16–20), which may be the reason why the two battles have been telescoped together in this text.

269. The tape was not clear at this point, so the transcription (and translation) may be incorrect.

279. The storyteller shifts back to the War of St. Rose here.

- te ib'at ?un
 pero te Ɂinil ital li hčámu?e
 ?a li ?anče*
 Ɂvalk'un ščak*
 ta la sb'olib'tasik li balae*
 ta ščak i?oč li balae*
 ilah
 ilah
 ilah ta hmek
 iča?kuš tal ?otro hun bwélta noštok
 muk' ?onoš ib'at li sóltaro
 ib'at ?un
 ?iday ?a li ha? to tal ?un
 ?a li ipah ša
 tal ta ?oš
 tal li? toe
 ta na čihe
 ?ay
 yalem taive
 ?ay
 ?o to?oš te svákaš ši
 li ?ásyento te yo?e
 ?a snitik
 ča? kot vákaš ib'at
 hkot tóro
 hkot báka
 te kom ta načih ?un
 tal ša yik'el ?un
 ital ša li ?obrekonísta*
 tal ša ?un
 ?aaa
 ?oy te ta htekulum
 k'ot ša ?a li páharito ?une
 k'ot ša ?un
 ?aaa
 te ša šč'et yok'es soltarो*
 b'u ša šab'at
 kabron
 mu ša b'u šab'at ?un
 ha? la ši la shoy te ta rávol ša ?eč' ?un
 i?ila?at ?ak'b'at bála ta hmek ?un
 hii inučat ta hmek
 ta ka? to?oš ?un b'i
- They went there then.
 But the Chamulans came there drunk.
 As for the women,
 They uncovered their asses
 285 To confuse the bulletts.
 The bullets went up their anuses.
 They died;
 They died.
 They all died.
 290 They revived again.
 The soldiers never left.
 Then they left.
 So then, when they came,
 They had already stopped.
 295 They had come;
 They came here.
 As for Deer House [Nachig],
 They had been [there].
 As for Fallen Frost [Yalentay],
 300 They had been [there].
 There had been cattle like those there,
 At the ranch there.
 Ah, they led them!
 Two cows went,
 305 One bull
 [And] one cow.
 Then they stayed there in Deer House.
 Then they had already come to fetch them.
 The Obregonistas had already come.
 310 They had already come then.
 Aaah!
 They were there in our town!
 The little Bird had already reached it then.
 He had already reached it then.
 315 Aaah!
 The soldiers' trumpets were now in a messy
 pile there!
 "Where are you going now?
 Sonofabitch!
 You aren't going anywhere now!"
 320 They said, turning to pass by Ranch [Ravol]
 there then.
 Then they were seen being pounded with bullets.
 Ooh, they were hunted down!
 They were on horseback, then, of course!

283-286. This is the by now familiar episode associated with the War of St. Rose (cf. Texts C-4, C-6).

309. They were Maderistas, not Obregonistas. The Obregonistas did not appear in Chiapas until 1924 (see note to line 353).

316. This may be a reference to a later battle, between Pinedistas and Carrancistas, that took place at the edge of Zinacantan Center on September 19, 1920 (see note to line 353). "Among the booty scattered in the bushes were found the musical instruments of the Carranza band that had been playing lively tunes to hearten the revolutionaries before their hasty departure from the field of battle" (Laughlin 1977:113).

kabayérya hee
 ta ka? to?oš ?un
 k'al ča?vvo? li sóltaro
 b'at ta hmek
 ieuçat ta hmek
 ?i hlom ilah
 hlom ihatav ?un
 yo?o i?ayan ?a li k'u sb'i . . . ta nom

 kabron
 tah ta nom . . . ?a li nom . . .
 b'atem ša li hčamu? le?e
 mu hna? k'usi li sb'ie*
 mu hna? k'usi i sb'ie*
 ?a li ?oy sb'i yo?o b'atem li hčamu?e*

 yo?o b'atem ša li hčamu?e*
 k'usi li sb'ie*
 mu hna? k'usi li sb'ie*
 ha? te b'at ?un
 te b'at te yo?o ?une
 mu ša b'u sta ta çakel ?un
 li? lahem ?o li pletu ?une
 ?iday č'ab'al to ti hayib' hab'il ?un
 ?a li lek listo ikom
 mu ša b'u iši? li kriščano ?une hee
 lek
 ?a li? tal ?a li . . . kabron
 ?a li . . . k'usi li sb'i li kabron
 ?a li . . . ?ee . . . paharo ma?uk
 lahem li paharoe*
 ?a li pinerísta*

They were cavalry. Hah!
 325 They were on horseback then.
 When two soldiers
 Dashed off,
 They were hunted down.
 And some people died;
 330 Some people fled then
 To the place of their birth, what's it called . . . far
 away,
 Sonofabitch!
 Far away there . . . , far away . . . ,
 The Chamulans had gone far away over there.
 335 I don't know what it is called.
 I don't know what it is called.
 The place where the Chamulans went has a
 name . . .
 The place where the Chamulans went now.
 What is it called?
 340 I don't know what it is called.
 Then they went there.
 Then they went to that place.
 They were not captured then.
 Then the war ended here.
 345 So then, it has been many years since then.
 They remained well prepared.
 The people were not afraid then. Hah!
 They were fine.
 The . . . bastard came here,
 350 The . . . what's the bastard's name?
 Eh . . . it was not Bird!
 The Bird had died!
 The Pinedistas!

335–340. He probably means Rincon Chamula, the new community established by Bird's followers after they were defeated [see note to lines 16–20].

352. Bird was captured and executed by the Carrancistas at the beginning of November 1914 (Laughlin 1977:111).
 353. The Mexican Revolution of 1910–1917 stimulated several counterrevolutionary movements in highland Chiapas, in addition to Bird's uprising in 1911. Between 1914 and 1917, a group of ranchers who called themselves "Coons" (*mapaches* or *mapachis*) protested the labor reforms of the Ley de Obreros (enacted on October 30, 1914) by engaging in guerrilla warfare against the government. Zinacantecos and Chamulans remember them as "Villistas," a term "used by their enemies to brand them as outlaws in the style of Pancho Villa" (Laughlin 1977:132).

Between 1920 and 1924, General Alberto Pineda fielded an army against the Mexican government in an effort to halt the tide of social and economic reforms that threatened the well-being of the local aristocracy, who depended on the continuation of serfdom and low wages in order to maintain their privileged position. His followers, mostly Ladinos of San Cristóbal Las Casas, were known as "Pinedistas." His opponents in 1920 were the "Carrancistas," followers of Venustiano Carranza, the President of Mexico. The most important engagement between the Pinedistas and the Carrancistas took place on September 19, 1920, at a pass on the outskirts of Zinacantan Center called Ventana (Window). After nine hours of heavy fighting, the Pinedistas emerged as the victors, and the Carrancistas withdrew (*ibid.*:113).

Carranza's successor, Alvaro Obregón, sent troops to Chiapas again in 1924 (his followers were known as "Obregonistas"). An important battle was fought on April 24, 1924, at Ixtapa, from which the government emerged victorious. Laughlin (1977:113) describes that battle as follows: "The battle of Ixtapa pitted the Pinedists against 3000 government troops, including infantry, cavalry, four cannons and the first airplane ever to be seen in Chiapas. The number of Pinedist troops in combat varies from 200 to 400 depending upon whom you choose to believe—the conservative San Cristóbal historian Moscoso Pastrana or Bravo Izquierdo, general of Obregón's army. The battle began early in the morning of 24 April and lasted for thirteen hours." Other battles took place in Zinacantan Center, on May 1, and at Yerbabuena and San Francisco, on June 18. The Pinedistas were routed in all these engagements, from which they never recovered (*ibid.*:124).

?albérto ?espinósá li totile*
škohtikin
yihil vo?ol natil molol yav kuyel sat hee

?albérto ?espinósá
?a li b'aç'il totil ?une
tal ?un ke
?eso muk'ta kopa
hii muk' kabron
muk'
?a li?ay ?une
li?ay
?a hnup tal li ?obrekone
te ta çoh lume hm?*
?a li k'al ilike če?e
?eč' li? toe
?eč'
?eč' çk'an vah
?eč' ta sçak ka?
çk'an ?išim
?a li pénteho hob'el ?une
preserente
stak' ta k'anel li ?išime
içob' li ?išime
ib'at ?o noš li ?išim ?une hee
ib'at ?o noš i ?išime
kie? muč'u la štihon
sóltaro ?oya?a
sóltaro
púta
naka lísto
pero ?armádo
kabron
lek ta hmek hee
lek sk'u?ik
lek
bwéno ?iday ?a li mu ša b'uč'u štihon ?un
?oč ta hmek spas ségir
yu?un ša čb'at ta ?olon ?un
li sóltaro ?une hee
ib'at ?un
yu?un ša te ta ni?b'ake
te çinil

- The leader was Alberto Espinosa.
355 I knew him!
The old hatless, tall, pock-marked-faced old man! Hah!
Alberto Espinosa!
He was the real leader then.
He came then. Wow!
360 This enormous cup!
Ooh, it was huge, sonofabitch!
It was enormous.
I was there then.
I was there.
365 I met the Obregonistas,
There in Red Earth [Tierra Colorada]. Uh-huh!
When they rose up then,
They passed by here.
They passed by.
370 They passed to request tortillas.
They passed by to seize horses.
They wanted corn.
As for that awful San Cristobal Las Casas then,
[The] magistrate,
375 He acceded to the request for corn.
He gathered the corn.
The corn just departed forever then. Hah!
The corn just departed forever then.
Wow! The people who were recruiting,
380 They were certainly soldiers.
Soldiers!
Sonofabitch!
They were completely prepared,
But armed!
385 Sonofabitch!
They were very handsome! Hah!
Their uniforms were gorgeous,
Gorgeous.
Well, so then no one had recruited yet.
390 They came trying to keep up,
Because they were already going to the lowlands.
As for the soldiers then, Hah!
They went then,
Because they were already there at Ixtapa.
395 They were stuck there.

(note continued from preceding page)

Indians fought on the side of the reactionary forces in all five conflicts. Like other oppressed peoples in many parts of the world, they clung tenaciously to the traditional order, never realizing that their interests lay with the revolutionary government. They regarded these armed encounters as variations on the familiar ethnic-conflict theme, with Indians fighting against "Mexicans" (the Carrancistas and Obregonistas) as they had done so often in the past (cf. Text C-3).

354. The storyteller is mistaken about the name of the leader of the Pinedistas (see Laughlin 1977:124). It was Pineda, not Espinosa.

366. The Obregonistas chased 300 Pinedistas from Tierra Colorada (Red Earth) on April 24 (Laughlin 1977:124).

ni'b'ake
 lah ta hmek hee
 lah ta hmek
 te ša pahem
 ?iday ?a li naka šaa?a
 ta abril*
 va?i ?un
 yu?un lek ša smuk'ul li hčob'
 te hčob' ta hoyihel ?un
 čb'a hk'el ša ?un
 te hnup ča?vvo? ?ulo?
 ?ulo?
 ?oy yunen mankoe
 teke b'u la?ay ?ulo? škut

 li?ay ta muk'ta hok' ši

 ?a k'u apas škut
 ?a li?ay ta ?ab'tel kulo? ši*

 b'u ata li mankoe če?e škut ?un

 ?a li liyak'b'e kulo? ši ?un

 ?a škut ?un
 ?ee muk' b'u ava?i k'u ši
 muk' b'u yal tavuloe
 muk' b'uy iyal li k'u š?elan li k'ope škut

 ?i?i č'ab'al
 mu k'u šal ši b'u šal li čámlula pukuh ?une
 hee
 te la?ay ta soktom ?uk ?un hee*

 ?ee ha? te čib'at ?un
 b'atan kik če?e
 va?i č'ab'al ava?i škut ?un
 li? čahhak' ?alb'e kik ?ulo?
 b'u ?oy šun vaskese ši
 b'atan ta myérta
 kabron
 čamúla
 vo?on škut ?un
 ?a vo?ot ši
 vo?on

As for Ixtapa,
 They died in great numbers. Hah!
 They died in great numbers.
 They had already stopped there.
 400 So then it had simply happened!
 It was in April,
 You see then,
 Because my cornfield was already this high.
 My cornfield was in Roundabout [Joyijel] then.
 405 I was already going to look at it then.
 I met two Chamulans there,
 Chamulans.
 They had unripe mangoes.
 "All right, where have you been, Chamulans?" I said.
 410 "We have been in Big Dig [Muc'ta Joc']," they said.
 "Ah, what were you doing?" I said.
 "Ah, we were working there, my Zinacanteco," they said.
 "Then where did you find the mangoes?" I said then.
 "Ah, they gave them to us, my Zinacanteco," they said then.
 415 "Ah," I said then.
 "Eh, don't you ever know what's up?
 Didn't they tell you Chamulans?
 Didn't they tell you how the war was going?" I said.
 "No, nothing!"
 420 They didn't say anything," said the devilish Chamulans then. Hah!
 "You have been in Chiapa de Corzo too, then?" Hah!
 "Eh, that's where we're going then!"
 "You may go then!"
 You see, you don't know anything!" I said then.
 425 "I guess I'll ask you for information, Zinacanteco.
 Where is Juan Vásquez?" they said.
 "Go to shit!
 Sonofabitch!
 Chamula!"
 430 "That's me!" I said then.
 "Ah, it's you!" they said.
 "That's me!"

401. The battle of Ixtapa was fought on April 24, 1924 (see note to line 353).

412. The word *?ulo?* or *kulo?* is a reciprocal term of address between Chamulans and Zinacantecos (Laughlin 1975:74). Zinacantecos use the unpossessed form *?ulo?*, while Chamulans use the possessed form *kulo?*.

421. The storyteller refuses to believe that the Chamulans are not returning from the lowlands because they are carrying mangoes, lowland fruits (cf. Laughlin 1977:124).

- ?a yal ?un
púta
listak tal mantal li mol petule*
šavalb'e la ači'iltak
- te ša šoč li bala ?ok'ob'e ši ?un
- ?a k'u čažal ta to šaval yael ?un škut
?a yu?un mu šaval ši?utat ?un
yu?un ta hsa?b'e sna tah šun vaskis ?une
- li hvan vaskis la ši
vo?ona?a škut ?un
?ee sutan če?e ?ulo? ši
lisut talel
tal kal likb'al
li? tal kalb'e li párahe li?e hee
- ?a li ?ob'ol ab'aik
ta la štal hun li ?aryoplano ši
b'u
mu škohtikin li ?aryoplano hee
ta štal ši
k'u š?elan škut
ta vinahel čanav ši
muk' b'u šul
mu škohtikin
primero ta hmek ?un
bweno škut ?un
?a li kalb'e yeče nan
yeč ta h?ob' ša hb'atikótik ?une
li? ta kámpo sántoe.
te hmalatikótik ?un hee
tal ?un
ta po?ot ?olk'ak'al ?un
te ša lok' li sóltaro ta ni?b'akal
pinera?a
yu?un ša čak'
lísto ša skotol ta hmek
yu?un ša ščik' li ?eklešyae*
?oč ša banta
yu?un ša čak'b'e k'as
yu?un ša č?oč čik' i ?eklešyae hee
- ?a li tal mantal ?un
- "Ah!" they said then.
"Sonofabitch!"
- 435 Old Pedro sent us with a message.
You are supposed to tell your fellow townspeople
That the attack will begin tomorrow," they said then.
"Ah, what are you saying then?" I said.
"Ah, because you don't mean it," I was told then.
- 440 "Because we are looking for the house of that Juan Vásquez then,
Juan Vásquez," they said.
"But that's me!" I said then.
"Eh, return then, Zinacanteco!" they said.
I returned there.
- 445 I came to report that it would begin.
I came here to report it to the hamlet here.
Hah!
"Gather together!
An airplane will come!" they said.
"Where?"
- 450 I don't know what an airplane is!" Hah!
"It will come!" they said.
"How?" I said.
"It travels through the sky," they said.
"It has never come here.
- 455 I don't know what it is."
"It's the very first one!"
"Okay!" I said then.
I told them that it might be true.
"It's true that we should come together then,
- 460 Here in the cemetery.
Then we'll wait there." Hah!
They came then.
It was almost noon then.
The soldiers had already left Ixtapa.
- 465 They were Pinedistas!
Because now they attacked.
Everyone was completely ready now.
Because now they set fire to the church.
The band had already begun [to play].
- 470 Because now they poured kerosene on;
Because now they had begun to set fire to the church. Hah!
The order came then.

435. Old Pedro is apparently Petul Tzu, who joined Pineda's army and later served as magistrate of Zinacantan (see Laughlin 1977:124 and lines 1115–1121 below).

468. Laughlin (1977:113) thinks it unlikely that the Pinedistas were church burners: "It is also difficult to believe that the Pinedistas, who represented the conservative clerical interest, intended to burn the church at Ixtapa, for it was the armies of the revolutionary government that achieved notoriety as 'saint burners.'"

?a li hk'elik me ?un ši
 ha? to tal li ?áryoplano le?e
 šhororet
 ša talik
 te noš isut
 sut to?oš ?un
 ?a li škaltikótik
 brenyen ši
 brenyen ši
 li káyon ?une
 ilah ša li sóltaro ta ni?b'ak ?une
 ha? ?o tal li ?áryoplano ?une
 li? k'al i?ay
 li? to ?ay sk'el li kriščanoe
 šhororet
 ši ta hmek ?un
 li bala čak' ya?lele
 vompa
 brúto ta hmek
 kabron
 lah li sóltaro ?un
 sikub' ša k'op ?un
 iyak' čanib' vo?ob' li sib'ak ta vinahele hee

 i špoti sil sib'ak ?une hee

 bweno ?a li ta yok'om ?une
 tal ša mantal ?un
 ?a li ?ak'o la b'a hnup i . . .
 ?a li héneral ?une
 mol petul ?une
 ?ak'o la b'a hnup ?un
 ?ak'o la h?ob' hb'atikótik ?un ši
 tal ša mantal
 tako tal
 ?a li hkúmpare ši la
 mu šaši?o
 te ša čib'at ta ?oh lum ši la

 i hk'eltikótik li sóltaro
 ti k'al lah li k'op ta ni?b'ak ?une
 hk'eltikótik ya?el ?une
 hii pero ?oy sinil ša ko?ol šinič hee
 ha? yeč š?elan li sóltaroe hee
 lah sob' lib'at ?un
 yeč šal te?on ta h?oh lum la ?ora ?une
 k'ot k'opon ?un
 ?a li bánsada
 li? ta vi?tik ?une
 ken bíbe ši
 ?a čkič'tikótik bala

"We should look at them then!" it said.
 When the airplanes came there,
 475 Put-putting
 They came now.
 "They just returned there;
 Then they kept returning,"
 We said.
 480 "Boom!" it said.
 "Boom!" it said,
 The cannon then.
 Then the soldiers died at Ixtapa,
 When the airplanes came then.
 485 When they were here,
 The people were watching here.
 "Put-put-put"
 They kept saying.
 It seems that they fired bullets.
 490 Bombs!
 Very brutish!
 Sonofabitch!
 Then the soldiers died.
 Then the war had cooled down.
 495 Four [or] five [shots] of gunpowder were fired into
 the air. Hah!
 And the awful gunpowder was piled up then.
 Hah!
 Well, then on the following day,
 An order had already come then,
 That I should go to meet the . . .
 500 The general then,
 Old Pedro then,
 That I should go to meet him then.
 "We should assemble, then," it said.
 The order had already come.
 505 "Send him,
 My *compadre!*" it said.
 "Don't be afraid!
 Now I will go there to Red Earth [Tierra
 Colorada]!" it said.
 And we saw the soldiers
 510 When the battle of Ixtapa had ended then.
 It seems that we saw them then.
 Ooh, but they were as thick as ants! Hah!
 That's how the soldiers were. Hah!
 Then [when] it ended, I went off early.
 515 It's true, I was in Red Earth at that time then.
 I spoke immediately.
 The advance group
 Was here in the mountains then.
 "Who goes there?" they said.
 520 "Ah, we've been hit by bullets!"

b'at htob' yinik*
 vinik li vo?one hee*
 mo?oh hči?il b'at ?un škut ?un
 bwéno helavan če?e
 ši tal sk'oponon ?un
 b'u čab'at
 b'a hk'opon li ministeryo škut

muy byen ši
 ?ab'olahan če?e ši
 k'ahomal vinik le?e
 k'ahom škut
 ha? to stak' ta ?alel
 mi tey ?a li pegroe škut
 tey ši
 šokol ša
 hkob'el
 ?aaa
 maríya santísima
 b'atan če?e
 b'a ?uč'o poš ši ?un
 lib'at
 hii te li méro totil ?une
 ministeryo stuk
 ?aaa
 mero mol sóltaroe
 kabron
 ?eč' ta mas
 tey nihil ta hmek
 te ta to?oš šlok' poš ta çoh lum ?une

te ispohik ša
 te ša lamal ta toh
 ši snatil hit'il li límetoe
 ši smuk'ul b'aç'i b'oč ?une
 iskokon li hun li sóltaroe
 ?uč'anik la li?e ši ?un
 bweno škut ?un
 ihčolb'e hb'atikótik
 mu šlah
 sonso mu šana? šavuč'ik
 ši li mole
 li ?ahvalile
 mo?oh
 mu hk'antikótik hpastikótik yakub'el
 pwes te šak'el

Twenty men went.
 I was one of the men. Hah!
 "No, my friends have gone then!" I said then.
 "Okay! Come on, then!"

525 They said, coming over to speak to me then.
 "Where are you going?"
 "I'm going to speak to the district attorney," I said.
 "Very well," they said.
 "Please do!" they said.

530 "It's only a man there,
 Only [one]," I said.
 They were supposed to answer then.
 "Is Pedro there?" I said.
 "He was there!" they said.

535 "He's already gone!"
 Fuck!
 Aaah,
 Holy Mary!
 "Go then!"

540 Go drink [some] rum!" he said then.
 I went.
 Ooh, but the leader himself was there then!
 The district attorney himself!
 Aaah,

545 The old soldier himself!
 Sonofabitch!
 It was too much!
 He was slumped over there.
 Formerly rum was distilled there in Red Earth
 [Tierra Colorada].

550 It was already fermented there.
 They were already gathered there by a pine tree!
 The jugs were in a row this long!
 The gourds were this big!
 The soldier emptied it into one.

555 "Drink this!" he said then.
 "Okay!" I said then.
 We all lined up.
 We could not finish it.
 "Stupid! Don't you-all know how to drink?"

560 Said the old man,
 The officer.
 "No,
 We don't want to become drunk."
 "Well, look over there!"

521 522. According to Laughlin (1977:124), "After Xun [the storyteller] learned the news, he and nineteen other Zinacantecs left the Center to join up with Petul Tzu half way to Ixtapa in Tzoy Lum or, as it is known in Spanish, Tierra Colorada. He remembers that they were camped about a week there with the government soldiers."

k'el li ?oy li pégroë
 ša ?oy li? li petule
 b'atem ta sçak vakaš
 b'a sçak tal li ?ak'b'il réata
 ?ak'b'il ša stuk'
 ?ak'b'il ša spístola
 lísto ša
 ?oš vo?ik
 ?a li hune
 petul
 mu hna? . . .
 mi maryan čka'i li hune hm?
 ?iday ihmalatikótik ?ora ?un
 ?a li čahok'čahik ?un
 ši ti ?ahvalil
 stuk méro mol ?une
 ?uč'anik
 mu šašírik
 ?uč'anik li poše šiyut ?un
 ?a li ihkuštikótika?a
 péro mu stak'
 ta šak' yakub'el ?un
 ma?aik
 k'u ?ora ta štal li pégroë ši ?un hee
 ?iday ?a li č'ab'al
 muk' b'u štal li mol petul
 mu sçak li vakaše
 ha? to b'at soltaroetik ?un
 b'a skolta ta smantal ?un
 b'at soltaroetik ?un
 bwéno ?a li iyak' hp'eh
 ?a li vo?one
 laso
 yak' hp'eh laso
 b'a sa?o tal yanal vale? ta spačle?e*
 péšu čakak'b'e ši
 ši yepal yanal ?une
 pešu
 ha? li ka?e
 li ka?e
 hii b'usul ta b'e ?un
 kabron hee
 ?iday ?a li . . .
 ikeantikótik ?un
 ta k'ak'ale*
 htob' pešu ihta*
 hulikel

- 565 Look! Pedro is here!"
 Pedro was here now.
 He had gone to catch cows.
 He had gone to lasso them.
 Their shotguns were fired now.
 570 Their pistols were fired now.
 They were ready now,
 The three of them.
 As for the one,
 He was Pedro.
 575 I don't know . . .
 If Marian was the other, I think. Uh-huh!
 So then we awaited the hour then.
 "You are delayed then!"
 Said the officer,
 580 The old leader himself then.
 "Drink up!
 Don't be afraid!
 Drink up the rum!" he told us then.
 We certainly rested!
 585 But it wouldn't do
 To become drunk then.
 "Wait!
 Until Pedro comes!" he said then. Hah!
 So then, he wasn't there.
 590 Old Pedro never came.
 He didn't catch the cows
 Until the soldiers went then;
 They went to help with his errand then.
 The soldiers went then.
 595 Well, they gave one
 To me,
 A rope;
 They gave [me] a rope.
 "Go look for sugar cane leaves in the plain!"
 600 I'll give you pesos!" he said.
 For so many leaves,
 A peso.
 As for the horses,
 As for the horses,
 605 Ooh, then they were piled up on the road!
 Sonofabitch! Hah!
 So then, the . . .
 We carried them on our backs then.
 For a day,
 610 I received twenty pesos.
 Every few minutes,

599. As fodder for the horses (cf. Laughlin 1977:120).

609 610. The recruits to Pineda's army were paid what was then considered the magnificent sum of twenty *pesos* a day (Laughlin 1977:124).

- hulikel
 čk'ot kič' li yanal va?le smuk'ul
 hulikel
 hulikel
 hulikel
 ?oy te ?a li ?aha pom
 te ta káhonetike
 lo?ol svok' ?očel soltaroetike
 svok'olik ša
 yahval nae
 č'ab'al ša
 hatav ša
 hatav ša
 ?o ti? na čák le?e te liutikuke
- vok'b'il ša
 no ves ke pínera ?un to
- pínera ?une
 bwéno hok'čah yo?e
 te ?o nan čib' ?ošib'uk k'ak'ale
 ?a li tal kič' vah ?un
 vahe
 ?a li hun tak'in*
 hun vah ši smuk'ule*
 hun tak'in hee
 pero ma?uk ?išim čal
 čínke ši
 ši hee
 ?ay čínke ši hee
 čínke ši hee
 bwéno lna?oh skotol
 bwéno pwes ?a li yalanik talel ši?utat ti
 mol petul
 yalal lek
 ?ik'o tal avinike ši?utat ?un
- b'at
 b'at
 sk'an yan i vinik ta hmek ?un hee
 ?a li tal ti vinahel k'ok' ?une
- hnitik i banta ši ?un
 hnítikótik li banta
 šhororet
 č'a tal sk'el ?un
 čpašyah ša skotol li ?avyon ?une
 li ?avyon
 sk'el ša skotol ta hmek ?un
 sk'el ša skotol
- Every few minutes,
 I came to fetch cane leaves so big!
 Every few minutes!
- 615 Every few minutes!
 Every few minutes!
 There was honey there,
 There in boxes.
 It was soft [when] the soldiers broke into them.
- 620 They broke into them now.
 As for the owner of the house,
 He was no longer there.
 He had already fled,
 He had already fled.
- 625 The door of the house was like the one where we
 are.
 It was already broken.
 Don't you see that the Pinedistas were still there
 then
 The Pinedistas then.
 Well they lingered there;
- 630 They were there for two [or] three days perhaps.
 Then I came to fetch tortillas.
 As for the tortillas,
 One *real*
 For a tortilla this size!
- 635 One *real!* Hah!
 But they did not call them corn.
 "Chinque!" they said.
 They said. Hah!
 "Ay, chinque!" they said. Hah!
- 640 "Chinque!" they said. Hah!
 Well, I remember everything.
 "Well, come down!" we were told by Old Pedro.
- "Descending cautiously,
 Bring your men!" they were told.
- 645 They went;
 They went.
 They recruited many more men then. Hah!
 Then the heavenly fire came.
 "We'll lead the band!" they said then.
- 650 "We'll lead the band!"
 Put-putting,
 Then they came to see right away!
 Everyone was already diverted by the plane then.
 The plane,
- 655 Everyone had already stared at it then.
 Everyone had already looked at it.

mu ša k'u palta ?un hee
 ?a li ?a lik ?a li . . .
 ihnitikótik k'u shalil li mantal ya?el
 ihk'itikótik ti sakil pok' te
 te ša ?oy ?a li ?obrekonista
 pešu
 pero hlikel ?un
 hlikel ta hmek hee
 hlikel
 ha? noš ti helave
 ha? ?o i?oč ta pakel ?un*
 pero pešu hee
 yu?un li tak'in ?une
 yul ta ?a li . . . ta karō čka?i
 mu hna? k'u šelan iyul li tak'ine
 hii če?e
 b'usul ston čak' k'ečob' šitoe
 ši smuk' ti voršaetike
 b'ahahtik ?un
 b'ahahtik ?un te
 isham
 skotol sb'us stohol li soltaroe
 hii péro b'ač'i kabron ta hmek hee
 čopol
 ?iday ihtočtikótik ?un
 tal ?a li . . .
 bwéno čab'at ši li . . . ?a li mero hénerale
 čab'at ta saliníta ši
 čb'a k'an tal hun hánika ?išim ši*
 štal yak' ?išim ši ?un
 ?ee péro te čilah ši yoš škut ?un
 péro mu šalah
 te ta lok' ša bánsaraetik ši
 bwéno pwes likahi ta ka? ?un
 b'at hun tuk'
 b'at hun bala ši
 ta čak' ši la
 b'at
 tob'ol htuk' ?un
 ti lik'ote
 lek
 muk' b'u kič'
 i lek
 ikalb'e li máyole

There was no problem then. Hah!
 It began . . .
 We led them as long as ordered, it seems.
 660 We spread the white cloth out there.
 The Obregonistas were already there.
Pesos!
 But in a moment then,
 A long moment! Hah!
 665 For a monient,
 While it passed,
 Until it began to double back.
 But *pesos!* Hah!
 Because the money then,
 670 It arrived in . . . a truck, I think.
 I don't know how the money arrived.
 Ooh, a bowl!
 It was piled up like stones against a log like this!
 The [money] bags were this size!
 675 Then they were closed.
 Then they were closed there.
 They opened them.
 The entire pay of the soldiers was piled up!
 Ooh, but they were such bastards! Hah!
 680 They were bad!
 So then we got up.
 The . . . came.
 "Well, you will go!" said . . . the General himself.
 "You will go to Salinita!" he said.
 685 "You are going to request one *fanega* of corn!" he said.
 "They are coming to deliver corn!" he said.
 "Eh, but I will die there like this, God!" I said
 then.
 "But you won't die!
 The advance forces are already on their way
 there!" he said.
 690 Fine, well I mounted a horse then.
 "A shotgun went;
 A bullet went," he said.
 "They will shoot," he said.
 They went.
 695 My gun was lying on its side then.
 When I arrived,
 [I was] fine.
 I was never hit.
 And fine.
 700 I told the tithe man:

667. That is, the plane was circling back to them.

685. A *fanega* is a grain measure roughly equivalent to 1.6 bushels (Cuyás 1904:266).

bwéno ča?ab'olah avak' hunuk hánika ?išim
 la ?une škut ?un
 tek čib'at ši hm?
 ?ab'olahan ta hmoh me škutik
 te čib'at ši ?un
 la lisut talel ?un
 li? ta sak lum ?une
 te ta pósta skwénta ?álampre ?une
 te kič'
 hii likel li trasb'at čan moh ikič'

 kič' mahel ta hmek ?un
 ikak' ša bala
 lok' ša ?oš ikak' i balae
 ha? to tal li bansaraetike
 ?ak'b'at ta ?ora
 tal ib'at skotol
 šči?uk hun b'ot
 kabron
 i balaik ?un
 čam čan vo?
 ?a ča? vo? ičam
 yane
 hatav
 púta ikalb'e li mol ?une
 bwéno senyor lilah ?un škut
 kabron
 k'u yu?un mu avak'
 pero muk' b'u ?ep ikak'
 ikak' čib' ?ošib'uke
 pero te li bansara
 muk' šil ta ?ora
 no ves ke ?ak' ?olon to škut ?un

 ?a kabron
 ?asta pere čilah ša ?ok'ob' ča?eh
 b'al tey ša č'iko ši ?un
 htob' pešu
 péro li?e
 kolaval
 yu?un lakuš
 ?a li muk' šilah ši ?un
 bwéno pwes ?ilo li?e ši
 htob' pešu hm?
 slok'b'e šila ka? ?un
 b'ečo li htuk' ?une
 ?ilo latuk'e
 mu ša šavik'ta ši ?un
 mu šavik'ta latuk'e
 kabron
 ht'omb'e tuk' avu?un

"Well, please deliver a *fanega* of corn then!" I said then.
 "All right, I will go," he said then.
 "Oh please!" we said.
 "I'm going there," he said then.
 705 Then I supposedly returned,
 Here to White Earth [Tierra Blanca] then.
 There at the post for barbed wire, then,
 I was hit there.
 Ooh, in a moment I was hit four times from behind!
 710 I was bombarded then.
 Now I was hit by bullets!
 I had been hit by bullets!
 When the advanced forces came,
 They were immediately attacked.
 715 All of them left
 Under a hail—
 Sonofabitch!—
 Of bullets then!
 Four people died.
 720 Ah, two people died.
 As for the rest,
 They fled.
 "Sonofabitch!" I told the officer then.
 "Well, mister, I died then!" I said.
 725 "Sonofabitch!"
 Why you weren't even hit!"
 "But I wasn't hit much.
 I was hit two [or] three times."
 But the advance force was there.
 730 They didn't see it right away.
 "Don't you see that they are still shooting below?" I said then.
 "Aah, sonofabitch!"
 But even if I die tomorrow [or] the day after,
 Put up with it now!" he said then.
 735 Twenty pesos.
 "But here!"
 "Thank you."
 "Because you survived.
 I won't die," he said then.
 740 "Fine, well, take it!" he said.
 Twenty pesos. Uh-huh!
 He removed the saddle then.
 "Hand over my gun then!"
 "Take your gun!"
 745 "Don't give it up!" he said then.
 "Don't give up your gun!
 Sonofabitch!
 I have blown up your gun!

muk' ša ?ab'tel ša ši ?un hee
 bwéno čakak'b'e ?ep tak'in ši ?un
 bwéno parte ti pašyal
 ti za li k'elo li k'utik paltae ši ?un
 bwéno škut ?un
 čital ša te
 pero b'u soltarō šie
 soltarō šie
 te šišanav ša
 mu ša k'u ši
 nom ša li pukuha?a
 nom ša
 ?a litočotikótik ?un
 čib'atik ?un ši
 ?a li čavič' avika?a ?un ši
 ?ep li vinika?a
 lab'al kahon
 ha? li párkeetik ?une
 lab'al bálaetik ?un
 sb'uh li káhon ?une
 hup'eh
 hup'eh k'al mansaniya hee
 mi šavil li mansaniya
 ?a te ta yolon htekum
 te lipahotikótik
 te pah ti soltaroe
 hii péro kavron
 ta hmek kavron hee
 ?a li ?očik i soltaroetik ?une
 ?a li te slam sb'aik ?un
 hmelčantikótik htem
 hmelčantikótik svayeb' li ?ahvalile
 péro pešu
 ?ak'o me hlikel
 ?ak'o me mérya ?ora
 ?ak'o me mu stak'
 péšu
 hlikel hee
 ?o tak'in ta hmek
 ?a li b'uč'u ?melčanik čihe
 vo?ob' pešu
 b'uč'u ?melčan tuluk'e
 vo?ob' pešu
 ?melčan veželil
 ?melčan skotol ta hmek
 pero vo?ob' pešu
 čib' k'ak'al teyotikótik ?une
 ?ora čib'atik š?utat ti mol petul ?un
 čib'atik ?un
 ?a li b'a hk'eltik ?elav ši
 ?oy ša sóltaro
 te tik'il hun kóral vákaš ?un

It no longer works!" he said then. Hah!
 750 "Well, I'll give you lots of money," he said then.
 Well, hunting is different.
 "See what's wrong!" he said then.
 "Okay!" I said then.
 "Now I'll come over there."
 755 "But where is the soldier?" he said.
 "The soldier?" he said.
 "I'm walking over there now.
 Nothing's up!
 The Devil is certainly still far away.
 760 He's still far away."
 Ah, we got up then.
 "We're going then!" he said.
 "Ah, take your burden then!" he said.
 There were lots of men indeed!
 765 Nothing but boxes
 [Of] ammunition then.
 Nothing but bullets;
 The boxes were bulging with them then.
 Each one,
 770 Each one as far as Manzanilla. Hah!
 Do you see, Manzanilla,
 Ah, it is below our town.
 We stopped there.
 The soldiers stopped there.
 775 Ooh, but sonofabitch!
 It was too much, sonofabitch! Hah!
 Then the soldiers came.
 Then they gathered together there.
 We made our beds.
 780 We made the officers' beds.
 But *pesos*!
 Even if it was only a moment,
 Even if it was only half an hour,
 Even if it was impossible,
 785 *Pesos!*
 A moment. Hah!
 There was lots of money.
 Whoever made up the beds
 [Received] five *pesos*.
 790 Whoever prepared turkeys
 [Received] five *pesos*.
 They prepared meals.
 They prepared just everything.
 But five *pesos*!
 795 We were there for two days then.
 "Now we're going!" Old Pedro was told then.
 "We're going then!
 We're going to amuse ourselves!" they said.
 There were already soldiers;
 800 They were there inside a bull pen then.

b'a snitik talel
 po?ot ša li? ikom
 me?on ikom i yahval rávol le?e
 no ves ke pínera ?un to hee

pínera
 ?oy te hun . . .
 ?a li hkašlan škohtikin
 ?a li don sául sb'i
 te yahval ta vompana hee
 ma?uk pínera ?una?a
 te ša kapal šči?uk soltaroe
 muk' b'u ivok'b'at sna
 mu?uk
 lek
 mu k'usi ?oy
 lek ikom ta hmek
 ?iday ital ?un
 b'a hk'eltikótik ta yolon htekulum
 ?oy te kámpo sánto
 ?a li na ?ičin sb'i ?un
 te hlub'antikótik ?un
 soltaroe
 hii ta hmek
 ?a li pínera ?une
 lok' tal nan ta ?ošib' ?ora ?un
 ilok' tal ta vič ?une
 b'at ta kávitlo
 b'at
 te čb'at
 ta štal ?a? k'u sna? ta tyenta

penteho ?une
 muk' ?onoš šak' ša
 te b'usul ša li sóltaro ?une
 tal čan vo?
 naka ta ka?
 i?ak'b'at ti me? trayadore
 kahal ta sk'el ?un
 te va?alon ši toe
 ?i te va?alon
 šči?uk soltaroe
 ?ee čano ?un
 k'u š?elan ši
 ke ?ak'b'at ?un
 šb'uk li? ša ?a li bala
 te to šk'ot
 te to šk'ot t'omuk tah toe
 ?a li sóltaroe
 k'alal lum
 k'al šči?uk ska?

They were going to catch them.
 They almost remained there.
 The rancher was left impoverished there.
 Don't you see that they were still Pinedistas
 then? Hah!
 805 Pinedistas.
 There was a . . . there.
 The Ladino whom I knew,
 His name was Don Saul.
 He was a rancher there in Bombana. Hah!
 810 He was not a Pinedista at all!
 He was already there among the soldiers.
 His house was never entered.
 No.
 It was fine.
 815 Nothing happened to it.
 It was left unharmed.
 So then they came then.
 "We're going to look down below our town."
 There was a cemetery there.
 820 It was called Owl House [Na Ichin] then.
 Then we made fun of them there.
 As for the soldiers,
 Ooh, they were too much!
 As for the Pinedistas then,
 825 They left at three o'clock perhaps then.
 They left the mountains then.
 They went to the town hall.
 They went.
 They went there.
 830 They came to look for whatever they thought of
 at the store.
 The jerks then!
 They never fired.
 Then the [dead] soldiers were already piled up
 there.
 Four people came,
 835 Just on horseback.
 The traitress was shot.
 Then they watched on horseback.
 I was standing there like this.
 And I was standing there
 840 With the soldiers.
 "Eh, learn it then!"
 "How?" she said.
 Wow! She was shot then!
 The bullets were already puffing up here.
 845 They landed there.
 They had landed there, exploding over there.
 As for the soldiers,
 [They fell] to the ground,
 Even with their horses.

k'älal lum šči?uk ska? hee
 hlikel hlikel ?o
 ?ak'b'at ša hmoh noštok ?un
 muk' b'u ščam li č'ul ka?e
 ib'at i ka?a?a
 ib'at
 b'at
 b'at
 b'at ta hun yahval
 ?oš vor te kom hee
 te kom li yahvale
 ?iday ?a li hk'eltikótik ?un te yo?e
 stamel tal laso
 stamel tal kašlan
 stamel tal pop
 skotol lok' tal ta hmek
 me?on ikom ?un
 ti pínerista ?un to hee
 bwéno ?a li vo?one
 a ?li ?o škohtikin hun sárhento ?un
 sarhénto škut
 ?ak'b'on hlikuk li pope
 tah ku?un
 ?ič'o ši
 ?a li hvóršail
 ?a li hárina ?un
 hlikel ihituh
 ?a li k'eh ab'a b'a?yuk ta te?tik ?un
 mo?oh te hna?tik mi štal tana šiik li
 sóltaroe ?une
 pero muk' vaye
 te ša skotol bánsadaetik ta hmek
 č'ab'al ?un
 ?iday ti ika?itikótik vayuk ?une
 ?a li vo?otike
 htuk čib'atik ši
 ?a li?e b'uč'u šohtikin ?isb'ontik ši
 b'uč'u šohtikin ravol ši
 b'uč'u šohtikin ?a li čámu?etik ši
 sóltaro škohtikin škohtikin šiik ?un
 ?a li hutob' pešu
 huhun ?un
 htob' pešu
 htob' pešu čik'
 čb'a yak'iluk li b'e
 čak' ?iluk li b'ee
 la b'atik ?ik'ik to
 ?ik' to
 ta ?ošib' nan ?ora ?ak'ub'al ?un
 ilok' i pobreetik ?une
 ilok'ik ?un

850 [They fell] to the ground with their horses. Hah!
 In just a moment,
 They were shot at again then!
 The blessed horse never died.
 The horse went off!
 855 It went.
 It went.
 It went.
 It went to an officer.
 Three people remained there. Hah!
 860 The officers remained there.
 So then we looked over there then.
 They picked up the ropes.
 They picked up the chickens.
 They picked up the reed mats.
 865 They took absolutely everything away.
 Then they remained poor,
 The Pinedistas then. Hah!
 Well, as for me,
 I knew a sergeant then.
 870 "Sergeant!" I said.
 "Give me a little mat!"
 That one's mine!"
 "Take it!" he said.
 The bag
 875 [Of] flour then,
 In a moment it came untied.
 "Go ahead first into the woods then!"
 "No! Who knows if they have come there
 now!" said the soldier then.
 But they didn't sleep.
 880 All the advance forces were already there.
 There wasn't anything then.
 So then we thought about sleeping then.
 "As for us,
 We're going by ourselves!" they said then.
 885 "Ah here, who knows Dogwoods [Isbontic]?" they said.
 "Who knows Ranch [Ravol]?" they said.
 "Who knows the Chamulans?" they said.
 "Soldiers, we know! We know!" they said then.
 Twenty pesos apiece,
 890 For each one then.
 Twenty pesos—
 They received twenty pesos.
 They went to let them scout the road;
 They let them scout the road.
 895 Then they went to call them;
 Then they called them.
 Then perhaps at 3 A.M.,
 The poor things left then;
 They left then;

ilok'ik i pobreetik ?une
 ilok'ik ?un
 pero k'elom ab'a škut ?un
 bwéno šiik
 hii ilok'ik ?un
 soltaroe
 hii brúto
 bwéno litalotikótik li vo?otikótik ?une
 ?a li te yak'e
 te ša b'usul li sóltaro ta mero véntina ?une*

 šavil véntina
 mu šavil
 te ta shelavel steklum
 ta stek ti čámu?etike
 ?i ha? te véntina yo?o ?une
 bwéno pwes ?a li yak' i káyon ?une
 hii péro ta hmek
 kabron
 ši syik' i sb'ek'
 ši snatikil
 ši to tik'b'il ši to ?une
 k'alal ɿillet ša čak' čauk ya?el*
 øengyen ši
 øengyen ši
 øengyen ši
 yak' ta hmek
 čan kot ti káyon ?une*
 pero muk'tik hee
 ?a li huhun kányone
 čak' ča? kot ka?
 ikaki ka? ɿkilik
 ta ka? kilb'il hee
 ta ka? kilb'il
 ?iday lah yo?onik ?un
 lib'atotikótik ?un
 a ?li b'u šcam li pínera ?une
 ?ep ta te?tik
 k'u čaval ?a li hun kotom
 čak hun mut
 ?ep ta te?tik ?un
 te člok' tal li bala
 ha? to tal napač ?un*
 ?oy to?oš napač ta heč li sravol*
 ti vo?ne ?oy napač*

900 The poor things left then.
 They left then.
 "But be careful!" I said.
 "Okay!" they said.
 Ooh, they left then!
 905 As for the soldiers,
 Ooh, they were brutes!
 Well, then we came.
 They attacked there.
 The soldiers were already piled up at the very Pass
 [Ventana] then.
 910 You see, the Pass.
 Don't you see,
 There on the outskirts of their town,
 The Chamulans' town?
 And they were there at the Pass then.
 915 Well, they fired the cannon then.
 Ooh, but it was too much!
 Sonofabitch!
 It took balls like this!
 This long!
 920 Then they were stuck in like this!
 It seemed to shoot thunderbolts when it rumbled.
 "Boom!" it said.
 "Boom!" it said.
 "Boom!" it said.
 925 It fired on and on.
 There were four cannons then.
 But they were enormous! Hah!
 As for each cannon,
 It attacked with two horses.
 930 [When] it became stuck, horses dragged it away.
 It was dragged away by horses. Hah!
 It was dragged away by horses.
 So then they became tired of it.
 We left then.
 935 As for where the Pinedistas died then,
 There were many in the woods,
 Like coatis,
 Like birds.
 Then there were many in the woods.
 940 The bullets came out from there.
 Then when the raccoons came—
 There used to be raccoons on his ranch.
 Formerly there were raccoons.

909. The battle had taken place on May 1, 1924 (Laughlin 1977:124).

921. Note the association between the cannon and a thunderbolt!

926. Four cannons were actually used during the battle of Ixtapa in 1924 (Laughlin 1977:113; see also note to line 353).

941 950. Is this perhaps a reference to the self-styled "Coon" marauders who were engaged in guerrilla activities in Chiapas between 1914 and 1917? [see Laughlin 1977:132 and note to line 353].

h²e¹elek/*
 ital li napač ?une*
 ?a li ta yok i?oč ?un*
 hu sčak ta sk'ob/*
 kabron hee*
 napače*
 ?oč ?un hee*
 ?a li hkob'el pínera ?une
 vuvuvuvu ši
 te ša b'usul ?un
 pero ti ?oče
 kabron
 netb'il ib'at ta hmek ?un

 ista li véntina
 ista ča?vo? ti hob'ele
 tal li ?áryoplano ?une
 ?ak'b'at bala ?un
 hii te kom li č'ič'e
 kabron
 ?animal b'usul ta hmek
 kabron b'usul
 ?a li te ša patalik i hlome
 ?o ša te čotahtik
 kušul to hee
 li? ta mero véntina
 ha? ti ?ep b'usule
 ti b'usilal
 čel li ?animaе
 hii kabron
 mu ša ?elav hee
 te ?ec'el ikom vakaš
 te čve?ik
 te sb'ek'et ikome
 tey
 ?oč i sóltaro
 čak ši huhun taho
 kabron
 ?oč ta č'akulanel li vakaš teyone hee

 ?oč ta č'akulanel
 li? to htíptikótik vakaš
 ismil ti soltaroe
 hkolta hb'atikótik
 hkolta hb'a ta šcoel ši
 č'akb'il ?un*
 ši smuk'il huhun pérsone*

They were thieves.
 945 Then the raccoon came.
 Then it began with his feet.
 Uh, it grabbed his hand.
 Sonofabitch! Hah!
 As for the raccoons,
 They began then. Hah!
 950 As for the fucking Pinedistas then,
 "Oh-oh-oh-oh!" they wailed.
 They were already piled up there then.
 But it came on,
 955 Sonofabitch!
 It went on moving [its head] from side to side
 then.
 They reached the Pass [Ventana].
 Two people reached San Cristobal Las Casas.
 Then the airplane came.
 960 Bullets were fired then.
 Ooh, the blood was left behind there!
 Sonofabitch!
 Lots of them were piled up!
 Sonofabitch, piled up!
 965 Some were still sitting bent over.
 They were still sitting there.
 They were still alive. Hah!
 It was here at the very Pass.
 Many were piled up,
 970 The piles,
 The heaps of corpses,
 Ooh, sonofabitch!
 It was no joke! Hah!
 The cows were left behind there.
 975 They were grazing there.
 Their meat was left behind there,
 There.
 The soldiers came.
 They grabbed them like this!
 980 Sonofabitch!
 They began to divide up the cows there where I
 was! Hah!
 They began to divide them up.
 We ate beef here.
 The soldiers killed them.
 985 We helped them.
 "I'll help skin them!" they said.
 They were divided up then.
 A piece this big for each person!

987 994. Zinacantecos can rarely afford to eat meat. The storyteller is exclaiming over the large portions each person received, which had to be eaten without tortillas because of the shortage of corn. He is commenting on the irony that meat, a luxury, was plentiful, while tortillas, a staple, were unavailable!

skotol ta hmek*
 kabron hee*
 ha? ti muk' ti vah ?un*
 vob'il ta k'ok'*
 nāka b'ek'et*
 kabron*
 ?iday li?očotikótik ?un
 syémpre lah li ?obrekon
 ilah
 ilah
 li? ?oč i hun li? toe
 li? lok' li? toe
 kušul to
 kušul to
 ?o li? ?očem li? toe
 ?o li? toe
 a ?li hun ?ahvalile
 li? ta yut rávol čka?ie
 mero ?ahvalil
 li? ti tey li? ?oč li bala li? toe
 li? ?oče
 k'ečb'il ša ?eč'el ta sakil pok'
 b'at ti soltaroetike
 k'ečb'il ša ?un
 ?a li loktor
 tey ša lamal loktora?a hee

 ?iday li loktor ?une
 li? tey ša ?oy li mérikoetik ?une
 mu hna? k'u tik'b'at ti ?ahvalile hee

 ilok' i č'ič' ?une
 ilok'
 lok'
 ikuši ?un
 ikuši
 ikuši
 ikušia?a
 bwéno b'atotikótik ?un
 ya?el ?un
 b'at ?un
 b'atik ši
 b'atik
 ihč?intikótik ?eč'el
 ?a li kányon ?une
 mol kányon ?une
 hči?uktikótik ?eč'ele
 ?epotikótike
 ?a li ?ánimae
 te b'usul me
 kapal pínera
 kapal ?óbrekon

Everyone!
 990 Sonofabitch! Hah!
 Then there weren't any tortillas!
 It was roasted on the fire.
 It was just meat!
 Sonofabitch!
 995 So then we began then.
 The Obregonistas always died.
 They died,
 They died.
 One came here.
 1000 One left from here.
 They were still alive!
 They were still alive!
 Some had come here.
 They were here.
 1005 As for an officer,
 He was here inside the Ranch [Ravol], I think,
 The chief officer.
 Bullets came here.
 They came here.
 1010 He was already being carried under a sheet.
 The soldiers went.
 He was already being carried.
 The doctors,
 The doctors had already gathered together
 there! Hah!
 1015 So then the doctors then,
 The doctors were already there then.
 I don't know with what the officer had been
 stabbed. Hah!
 Then the blood flowed.
 It flowed.
 1020 It flowed.
 Then he revived!
 He revived!
 He revived!
 He certainly revived!
 1025 Well we went then,
 It seems then.
 They went then.
 "Let's go!" they said.
 They went.
 1030 We accompanied them.
 As for the cannon then,
 It was an old cannon then,
 We were with it.
 We were many.
 1035 As for the corpses,
 They were piled up there,
 Pinedistas mixed up
 With Obregonistas.

?a li ?obrekone če?e
 tamb'il ib'at
 kučb'il
 kučb'il ib'at ta hob'el

?a li ka?tikótik ša
 li yič' ?ahvalil ta ?isb'ontik ?une
 ha? ilah ?una?a
 ta vinahel ib'at
 b'at
 b'at ?uk
 čamem ša
 b'at
 te noš ikom
 ha? yak' i pínera ?une hee
 b'a yal li pínera
 tal i . . .
 hun čak ?oš kot ?avyon
 tal ta vinahel ?une
 ilah i pínerae
 ilah
 nuče ta hmek
 inuče tā hmek
 b'ač'i ča? ta hmek
 ?oč k'ot ta hob'ele
 šči?uktikótik ?a li ?ahvalile
 tey li mol ?une
 ?oč ?un
 hii li tyenta*
 solel voob'*
 muč'utik ?onoš štohob'e
 staik tak'in
 staik k'usi
 staik sk'užik
 staik skotol ta hmek
 húta
 ?a li ta č'ivite
 smuk'tikil yavil
 kolol te rosae
 svátk'un ti čih
 čihetik
 pope
 ?a ti ?ač'ame
 ti k'usi
 te kom skotol ta hmek
 hii b'usul
 b'ek'ete
 pane
 kahve

As for the Obregonistas then,
 1040 They were carried off.
 They were carried.
 They were carried off to San Cristobal Las Casas.

We now thought
 That they took the officer to Dogwoods [Isbontic].

1045 Then he died!
 He went to heaven.
 He went.
 He went too.
 He had already died.

1050 He went.
 He just stayed there.
 The Pinedistas shot him then. Hah!
 The Pinedistas went down.
 There came the . . .

1055 Three planes,
 They appeared in the sky then.
 The Pinedistas died;
 They died.
 They hunted for them;

1060 They hunted for them.
 They searched for them.
 They reached San Cristobal Las Casas.
 We were with the officers;
 The senior [officer] was there then.

1065 They entered then.
 Ooh, the store—
 It was just hot coals!
 Whoever who was still able to
 Discovered money;

1070 They discovered whatever;
 They discovered clothing;
 They found absolutely everything!
 Sonofabitch!
 In the market,

1075 A huge box,
 A crate of roses there!
 They shoved blankets in it,
 Blankets,
 Mats,

1080 Salt,
 Or whatever;
 Everything that had been left behind!
 Ooh, it was piled up!
 Meat!

1085 Bread!
 Coffee!

?a ke porkeríya ta hmek
 te b'usul kom
 te li vo'otikótik ta hob'el ?une
 te li vo'otikótik ?un
 ?a li sakub' ?osil ?une
 b'a ša sk'elel ta ?ávyon ?un

 b'u ša ?oy i pínera ?une
 húta
 te ?el komitan ša
 b'at ša ta hmek ?un
 pero ?oč savel ta hmek ?un
 ?oč savel ta hmek
 savel ta pwérsa
 yo? to k'u ča?al šlah skotol ta hmek
 ?a li méro héneral
 mu k'u štael ?un
 ?ač' to čame
 na?tik nan me hee
 mu to sta hun hab'il
 ičam ša li porkeríya mole
 ?ač' to čam
 ?ač' to
 mu to sta hun hab'il ičam hee
 čam ša ?un
 ti hsa? pletu vo?ne ?une
 čam ša
 ?a li lah ?o b'i
 ilah ?o ?un
 solel li? ?alb'at totil i mol petul ?une
 ?a li preserentee*
 hatav ša*
 hatav ša*
 b'u ti ?o ?a li kávron pínera li preserentee*

 ?alb'at totil li mol petul ?une*
 kom ta préserenteal ?un*
 ha? kom ?un
 kom
 ?ak'b'at ?un
 ?ak'b'at yahsóltaro čab'ib'il
 pero mu ša b'uč'u šb'ak'
 ta mukul ša č?oč sk'oponel muč'u li pínera
 ?une
 isk'opon la taha?a
 šana? k'u yepal i?ak'b'at
 i?ak'b'at pa ke yo?o konfórme
 mu ša k'u š?alb'at ?oe hee
 ?ak'b'ata?a

Ah, how disgusting!
 It was left piled up there!
 We were in San Cristobal Las Casas then.
 1090 We were there then.
 Then at dawn,
 They had already gone to look at the planes
 then.
 The place where the Pinedistas were then,
 Sonofabitch!
 1095 They were already there near Comitan!
 They hurried off then.
 But then they began to hunt for them.
 They began to hunt for them.
 They had to search
 1100 Until every single one had died.
 As for the general himself,
 He was not found then.
 He had recently died,
 We think perhaps. Hah!
 1105 Less than a year before,
 The disgusting old man had died.
 He had recently died,
 Recently.
 He died less than a year before. Hah!
 1110 He had already died then.
 As for the warmonger long ago then,
 He had already died.
 He had certainly died!
 He died then.
 1115 Old Pedr?o was simply appointed chief then.
 As for the magistrate,
 He had already fled;
 He had already fled.
 The magistrate [had fled] to join the bastard
 Pinedistas.
 1120 Old Pedro was appointed chief then.
 Then he became magistrate.
 Then he remained [magistrate].
 He remained.
 [The position] was given to him then.
 1125 He was given soldiers to protect him.
 But no one bothered him.
 The Pinedistas began to speak secretly then.

 They certainly plotted!
 You know how much they were attacked?
 1130 They were attacked so that they would yield.
 They weren't told anything. Hah!
 They were certainly attacked!

- ha? yeč smelol ti vo?nee
 to li plétu vo?nee
hii ti vo?ne
 tol plétu ta hmek
day ?a li k'alal i?oč i plétu ta . . .
 ta ?olon
k'al lah i soktome
 lah i tuštae če?e
?a li hna?tik b'u lik ti li pletue
 yak'b'e sb'aik ta tušta
ilah i tuštae
 ilah
?oč tey ta soktom ?une
 ta soktom mu š?oč
?a mas pukuh i soktome
 k'al ta ?ač' čak' bala
ta véntina shatik li nae
 shatik li na tee
te ša li balae
 ?a li la te ša nan
hna?tik me hee
 hna?tik hayib' kilometro ya?el b'u š?oč ta
 soktome
te lah li sóltaroe
 ha? spas kanal li čapaneko ?une
ha? ikuč yu?un ?un
 pero kapal ta ?ançetik ?un hee
- ?ançe
 mas pukuh
no ves ke
 ha? li lek yab'teheb' ?un to
?a li bala
 mas pukuh
mas k'išin
 mas çoč
?a ti me yu?un tc li soktom če?e
 te tal húlyán*
?a li lok'em tal sóltaroe
 ta b'alamil ša
ta b'alamil ša
 te ta heč
čahal č'en
 çoh
muk'ta vię
 heč škohtikin
te tal hulyan škohtikin*
- That's the truth long ago.
 The war was long ago.
1135 Ooh, long ago!
 There was a great war!
So then, when the war began in . . .
 In the lowlands,
Even the Chiapanecos died,
1140 The Tuxtlatecos died then.
Who knows where the war began?
 They attacked them in Tuxtla Gutierrez.
The Tuxtlatecos died;
 They died.
1145 They had already come to Chiapa de Corzo then.
 [But] they did not enter Chiapa de Corzo.
Ah, the Chiapanecos were more devilish!
 They attacked first!
They broke the window of the house.
1150 They broke into the house there.
The bullets were already there.
 They were already there perhaps.
Who knows! Hah!
 Who knows how many kilometers there might
 have been until they reached Chiapa de Corzo!
1155 The soldiers died there.
 Then the Chiapanecos won.
Then they won.
 But they were mixed up with women then.
 Hah!
As for the women,
1160 They were more devilish.
Don't you see that
 They had good weapons then?
The bullets
 Were more devilish.
1165 They were hotter;
 They were stronger.
Because the Chiapanecos were there then.
 Julian came there.
The soldiers had emerged
1170 From the earth now.
Already from the earth,
 They were there for sure!
In Red Cave [Tzajal Ch'en],
 [It was] red.
1175 Big Mountain [Muc'ta Vitz].
 Yes, I know it.
Julian whom I knew came there.

1168. This may be a reference to General Julian Grajales, who helped the Chiapanecos defeat Juan Ortega's imperialist army in 1863 (Laughlin 1977:124; López Gutiérrez 1963:178–179).

1177. See note to line 1168.

té tal li sóltaro ?une
 muk' ?onoš kuč yu?un li sóltaro ?une
 b'at te
 lah skotol ta hmek ?un
 ha? to smelčan li za li sóltaro skwenta
 čápaneko ?une
 za li čápanekoe
 za li ši?b'il
 ha? yeče li?e
 za ti vo?ne če?e hee
 toh ?ep
 ?ee mu šlah ava?i tana skotol toh ?ep

 ha? ša ščab'i hkumpare ?antun ška'i yič'
 skotol ta hmek
 yič' skotol
 bwéno avokoluk kumpáre
 k'u yepal čahtoh šut ?un
 pwes yiyil
 ?ak'b'on k'u yepal šavak'b'on šut ?un

 mi čakak'b'e hunuk syen ši
 mo?oh kumparíto škut ?un
 mu?yuka?a
 bwéno kič' skotol ši
 kič' skotol ši
 ha? yeče li vo?one li?e če?e
 za li soktome
 spas ša kanal
 šči?uk stot smerik
 ha? yeče li vo?one li?e
 ?oč pletu ti vo?nee
 ta šlah ša li mehikoe
 ha? ša čal ti hme? htot ?une
 ?a?yeh ša čka?i
 huu spasel b'alamil ta hmek
 ?iday ib'at ?un
 tak' ta ?ik'el li preserente repúblika

 stak' ta ?ik'el li ?ínakanta ?une
 za li čavale
 hun ša b'u ti hun pepen *
 hun za li vaknab*
 hun čauk hutik*
 čan vo? čka?ie*
 tal tek'el ?un
 k'ot sk'opon li préserente ?une
 ke

The soldiers came there then.
 Then the soldiers never won.
 1180 They went there.
 Every single one died then.
 Then when the Chiapaneco soldiers settled it,

 As for the Chiapanecos,
 They were feared.
 1185 That's true here!
 It used to be then! Hah!
 It's too much!
 Ah, you haven't heard everything, it's too
 much!
 While my *compadre* Antonio was standing guard,
 I think, he took everything!
 1190 He took everything!
 "Well, for your suffering, *compadre*,
 How much should I pay you?" he said then.
 "Well, forget it!
 Give me as much as you [want to] give me!" he
 said then.
 1195 "Should I give you about one hundred?" he said.
 "No, little *compadre*," I said then.
 "No indeed!"
 "Well, I took all of it!" he said.
 "I took all of it!" he said.
 1200 That's right; I was there then.
 As for the Chiapanecos,
 They had already won,
 With their mothers' fathers.
 That's right; I was there.
 1205 The war began long ago.
 The Mexicans had already died.
 That's what my father's mother said then.
 It was already a story I think.
 Ooh, the creation of the world!
 1210 So then they went.
 They were able to capture the President of the
 Republic.
 The Zinacantecos were able to capture him.
 As you say,
 One was already a Butterfly.
 1215 One was Rainbow;
 One was Thunderbolt only.
 There were four persons I think.
 They came standing firm then.
 They came to speak to the President then.
 1220 "Wow!"

1214 1217. Here begins an account of the use of magical weapons in ethnic conflict (cf. Texts C-1 C-3).

kabron
 k'usi b'al ?o
 yu?un me ?ep ta hk'ane ši la
 ?a k'usi b'al ?o le?e ši la
 bwéno b'u tal yan sónsó
 me yu?un ?ep ana?oh
 mi?n ha? yeč čak le?e
 ha? b'a me paheso ša tal la
 ikehi la li préserentee
 mu šakohtikin
 pasob'e slok' la spišol
 ikehi la
 ilah yo?on ?un
 lah yo?onik
 isk'elik ?un
 ?a li pukuhe
 te ša štal ta barko hee
 bwéno spas mantal ?un
 k'eh ab'a li vo?ote š?utat
 ?a li soltaro
 li kriščano
 yo?o øk'elik ?un
 kriščano
 ši?em ša
 ?ahvalil
 preserente
 heneral
 ši?em skotol ta hmek
 ši?em ša
 ?a li tale
 b'at la tak ?eč'el pepen ?un
 ?a li ta ti? barko la
 šk'iet ša la
 li pepen ?une
 li? šk'iet ša
 yolel ša ve?el
 ši la ša ti pcpcn ?une
 hun vinik ?un
 bwéno ?a li mu k'usi če?e
 ?a li ta hk'eltik k'u ta hnóptik ši la
 va?i ?a li b'atan vo?ote šut
 vaknab'
 ?a li hune
 ?ik'
 ?a li hune
 čauk
 ?a li hune če?e
 ?a li b'at øako li yok bárko
 nitb'o yalel ši la
 k'alal ?uk'um ši la ?un
 tal li hun ?ik'
 pero kabron

Sonofabitch!
 What can be done?
 Because I want a lot!" he said.
 "What can be done about that?" he said.
 1225 "Well, where did that other fool come from?
 Do you remember much?
 Does it mean it's true like that?
 Yes, stop them from coming!"
 The President knelt.
 1230 "I don't know you!"
 He removed his hat.
 He knelt.
 They were satisfied then.
 They were satisfied.
 1235 They looked at him then.
 As for the Devil,
 He had already come there in a boat. Hah!
 Well, he fulfilled his errand then.
 "Move aside, you!" they were told,
 1240 The soldiers,
 The people
 Who were watching then.
 The people,
 They were already frightened.
 1245 The officers,
 President,
 General,
 All of them were terribly frightened.
 They were already frightened.
 1250 As for the arrival,
 Butterfly left on an errand then.
 Alongside the ship,
 He had already spread [his wings],
 The Butterfly then.
 1255 He had already spread [his wings] here.
 "They are now in the midst of a meal,"
 Said the Butterfly then,
 A man then.
 "Well, it doesn't matter then.
 1260 Let's see what we can do!" he said.
 You see, "Go then!" he said.
 Rainbow
 Was one.
 Whirlwind
 1265 Was one.
 Thunderbolt
 Was one then.
 "Go seize the ship's rudder!
 Pull it down!" he said,
 1270 "Into the river!" he said.
 A Whirlwind came,
 But sonofabitch!

lah skotol li kriščanoe
 č'ab' ši k'op ?un
 ha? to ?avan li htotik čauk ?une
 k'eee ši hun čauk ?une
 bwéno lah ?o k'op ?un
 melčah ?un
 konfórmee
 mu ša k'usi šb'ak'
 č'ab'al ?un
 solel kehi li préserente ta méhiko ?une
 iwoč ta vun
 séyo skotol te pak'al svunal
 ?a li čínakanta ta méhikoe
 muk' b'u mas štihon ?une hee
 te pak'al svunal skotol ?un
 b'atan š?utat lahel ?un
 te melčah skotol ta hmek ?un
 ti ha? ši?b'il ?une
 ?oy ikom ta rétrato k'u š?elan ti viniketik
 vo?nee
 ti kriščano vo?nee
 ha? kriščano čak vo?ona?a
 ha? yeč kriščano ta hmek
 kriščano
 lekil kriščano
 ?i lekil kriščano
 ?iday imelčah skotol li? ta rétrato

 ti kom ša ta vun skotol*
 yak' komel sb'i ti muč'u smelčan li
 b'alamile*
 čínakanta hítimó*
 ha? smelčan
 ha? noš čínakantae
 č'ab'al
 čámula
 mu k'usi b'al ?o
 č'ab'al
 č'ab'al
 čínakanta
 ha? noš tey
 ikom slok'ol ?un
 ?a li moletik ?une
 te ta tušta
 ik'iil hun bwelta
 hii? ?o nan ta htob' hab'il
 šišanav to?oš šči?uk mulaetike*

- All the people died!
 Then the war ended like that
 1275 When our father Thunderbolt sounded then:
 "Boom!" said a thunderbolt then.
 Well, the war ended then.
 It was settled then.
 They agreed.
 1280 Nothing bothered them any more,
 Nothing then.
 Only the President of Mexico knelt then.
 It was put in writing.
 All their documents lying there were sealed,
 1285 Of the Zinacantecos in Mexico.
 Then they never bothered again. Hah!
 Then all their documents were lying there.
 "Go!" they were finally told then.
 Then everything had been settled there.
 1290 Then they were frightened.
 What men were like long ago remained in a
 photograph.
 As for people long ago,
 They were people just like me!
 That's true, real people!
 1295 People,
 Nice people,
 And nice people.
 So then everything was settled here in the
 photograph.
 Everything remained now on paper.
 1300 The person who arranged the land was called a
 depositor.
 Zinacantan is legal!
 He settled it.
 Only, as for Zinacantan,
 Nothing!
 1305 Chamula,
 It was not satisfactory!
 Nothing!
 Nothing!
 Zinacantan,
 1310 Only there,
 Its picture remained then.
 As for the elders then,
 There in Tuxtla Gutierrez,
 It [Tuxtla] was flattened once [by the whirlwind].
 1315 Yes, it was perhaps twenty years ago.
 I used to travel with mules.

1299 1301. The Zinacantecos received papers to prove their right to their land.

1316. Many Zinacantecos earned their living as muleteers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Wasserstrom 1978:200).

tal ?un
 melčah
 mu ša b'uč'u šb'ak' ?un
 ?a li ta to la šlik hun bwélta noštoke
 ?a li te ta nom ?un
 hna?tik b'u likem talel
 ha? nan i tránhero ?une
 hna?tik b'u likem talel
 ?iday ta la šlik hun bwelta la ?un
 ?a li ha? b'atem i hšonob'tikótike
 li hšakitaile
 li hpok'tike
 li hpišalale
 b'atem
 vešal hkamišatikótik
 b'atem
 tako ta k'anel li préserente repúblika ?une
 va?i la ta štal la ?un
 bwéno stak' škak'b'e hb'atik
 mi yeč aval ši la li ?eč'el ?un
 pero kriščano
 b'ač'i kriščano ša ?un
 ?iy yiyil če?e
 škak' noš lekuk
 solel ikoman š?utat
 solel imelčah stuk ?un
 mu ša b'u ?oč bala ?un
 le? iši? ša
 išč'un ti k'u šal
 komo te ša ti svunale
 išč'un
 te ša svunal
 išč'un
 bwéno teyuk če?e
 yiluk yil ši la
 melčah ?o
 k'al tana ?un
 č'ab' ?un
 mu ša b'uč'u šb'ak' ?un
 č'ab'al ša
 ta tušta če?e
 ihk'eltikótik ?a li . . .
 ?a li slok'ol li . . .
 ?a li moletike
 ti čauke
 ti slok'ol
 ši smuk'ul ši toe hee
 ši smuk'ul
 pero li kriščanoe
 mu hta te k'elel
 mu hta te k'elel

They came then.
 They settled it.
 Then no one bothered them any more.
 1320 It began another time again.
 It was far away then.
 Who knows where it began!
 Perhaps it was imported then.
 Who knows where it began!
 1325 So then it began another time then.
 Our sandals had gone,
 Our woolen tunics,
 Our kerchiefs,
 Our hats,
 1330 They had gone.
 Our underwear,
 It had gone.
 "Send them to petition the President of the
 Republic then!"
 You see, they came then.
 1335 "Well, we can serve!
 Are you telling the truth?" they said then.
 But people,
 Already real people then!
 "Oh, what's the use!
 1340 We'll just attack hard!
 Just stay!" they were told.
 They just settled it by themselves then.
 The bullets did not appear anywhere then.
 They were already afraid there.
 1345 They believed what they said
 Since it was already there in their document.
 They believed it.
 It was already there in their document.
 They believed it.
 1350 "Well, all right then!
 What's the use!" they said.
 It was settled forever,
 Until now then.
 Then it ended.
 1355 Then no one had bothered them,
 Not yet.
 In Tuxtla Gutierrez then,
 We have seen the . . .
 The picture of the . . .
 1360 The elders,
 The Thunderbolt.
 The picture,
 It was this size! Hah!
 This size!
 1365 But the people,
 I did not find them watching there.
 I did not find them watching there.

lok' tal ta hun č'ul na ta hmek
 lok'el
 bwéno ?iday za li . . .
 ?a li ?inakánta
 ši li ?ahvalile
 ryoš
 ?očan tal li vo?ote ši
 pas ?adelánte ši
 k'elavil š?elan
 ?a li čauk vo?one ši ?un
 ihk'eltikótik k'u smuk'ul ?une
 yan krem
 mu š?ak'b'at yil
 ?a li larinoetike
 mu š?ak'b'at yil
 ?očan tal li vo?ote
 k'elavil li vo?ote
 vo?osuk le?e ši
 te va?al ?un
 pero shunul čak vo?otike
 b'aq'i hči?iltikótik
 shunul lek ta hmek
 lek ta hmek šonob'
 lek ta hmek sk'u?
 lek lísto hee
 hii ha? yeč ti vo?ne
 ha? me smelčanoh b'alamil li hlumal
 vo?ne

They had all left the church.
 They had left.
 1370 Well, so then the . . .
 "The Zinacantecos,"
 Said the officers,
 "God!"
 Come in, you!" they said.
 1375 "Come right on in!" they said.
 "Look at what they are like!"
 "I am Thunderbolt!" he said then.
 We saw how big he was.
 The other boy,
 1380 He was not permitted to see it.
 As for the Ladinos,
 They were not permitted to see it.
 "Come in, you!"
 Look, you!
 1385 You-all there!" they said.
 They were standing there then.
 "But they are exactly like us!"
 We are real townsmen!"
 They were extremely nice.
 1390 Their shoes were handsome.
 Their clothes were beautiful.
 They were very neat. Hah!
 Ooh, that's how it used to be.
 That's how our land was arranged long ago.

 TEXT C-8

The War of St. Rose (Ladino Version)

Lo que ella me contó ?verdad? que en una época
 ?verdad? había en Chamula un indio llamado Cus-
 cate, y una mujer era . . . Se llamaba Rosa, pero le
 decían la Santa Rosa, y el indio Cuscate.

¡Bueno! En esto los indios estaban sobresaltados o
 alzados, como en aquel tiempo decían. Había un
 señor, que se llamaba Galindo, que estaba del parte
 de ellos. Y ellos los . . . Este señor decían que los . . .
 Bueno, para nosotros ya comprendemos que los in-
 sistía ?verdad? que vinieran a esta población, como
 en vía de quitar la vida de los que vivían aquí
 ?verdad? Y levantó a toda la indiada de Chamula
 ¿no?

What she [my grandmother] told me, you see, was
 that once upon a time, you see, there was an Indian
 called Cuscat in Chamula, and a woman who was
 . . . She was called Rose, but they called her St. Rose,
 and the Indian man Cuscat.

Fine! At this time the Indians were agitated or
 stirred up, as they said at that time. There was a
 man, who was called Galindo, who sided with them.
 And they the . . . This man, they said that the . . .
 Well, among ourselves we understand that he was
 urging them, you see, to come to this city, in order
 to kill those who were living here, you see. And he
 stirred up the entire Indian population of Chamula,
 isn't that so?

¡Bueno! En esto lo que yo no recuerdo bien bien, quien era el mandatario de ese tiempo. No . . . A ver si Ud. puede . . . (Pues, no le hace.) ¡Sí!

¡Bueno! Este señor dicen . . . , o decía mi abuelita, que este señor les hacía ver por medio de magnetismo que se morían y que volvían a revivir; que no importaba que entraron a esta ciudad; que si morían, iban a revivir.¹

¡Bueno! Pero en esto pues ha delatardado al alce ¿verdad? Todas las familias de aquí de San Cristóbal se reunían en el centro ¿verdad? la gente humilde. Y se acercaban a las casas de las gentes visibles para reunirse. Y como estaba tan alarmante el caso, decían pues que llega el último día de su vida. Ella me contaba ¿verdad? que era tanto el miedo, que unos a los otros se pedían perdón de sus hechos ¿verdad? las familias íntimas ¿no? ¡Las racionales!

En esto—“¡Que hoy van a entrar!” “¡Que no! ¡Que vienen mañana!” “¡Y que no! ¡Que ahora!”—Pero en esto ¿verdad?, empezaron a invadir todo lo que es este cerro de Moxviquil ¿verdad?, hasta el rumbo Tzontehuitz ¿verdad? Allí era el parlamento de ellos.²

¡Bueno! Cuan dice mi abuelita, que cuando ellos hacían un grito, pues de señal debe haber sido indudablemente, que retumbaban los cerros. Bueno, que resonaban. Era el grito tan fuerte que resonaba, más espantaba toda la gente de aquí.

Y en esto no sé en qué forma aprehenderían al indio Cuscat, y a la Santa Rosa. Era tanta la estimación que ellos le guardaban a estos indígenas, que los caminaban en andas. Y a la Santa Rosa hasta incienso le ponían y todo eso, y los caminaban en andas.

¡Bueno! ¡Y ya los tenían prisioneros aquí! En esto, estos indios se venían a sacar a la Santa Rosa pues, y a entrar a pelear aquí, y hacer matanza con los ladinos, según decía mi abuelita.

¡Bueno! En esto, todo esto estaba ocupado. Dice mi abuelita que era una cosa espantosa, que porque eran miles de indios, por eso más asustaban todos esos gritos que daban.

¡Bueno! En esto, este señor . . . , es lo que yo no recuerdo . . . , quien era. Porque me acordaba yo

Fine! At this point what I don't remember very well, is who the commander was at this time. No . . . Let's see if you can . . . (Well, never mind.) Yes?

Fine! They said that this man . . . , or my grandmother said, that this man showed them by means of hypnotism that they would die and that they would return to life; that it did not matter that they would march into this city; that if they died, they were going to revive.¹

Fine! But at this point he had delayed the uprising, you see. All the families here in San Cristobal [Las Casas] were congregating in the center, you see, the humble people. And they approached the houses of the society people to join them. And as the situation was so alarming, well, they said that the end of the world was coming. She told me, you see, that their fear was so great, that they begged each others' forgiveness for their deeds, you see, the close families, isn't that so? The reasonable ones!

At this juncture—"They're going to attack today!" "No! They're coming tomorrow!" "And no! It's now!"—But at this point, you see, they began to invade this entire mountain of Moxviquil, you see, in the direction of Tzontehuitz, you see. Their parley was there.²

Fine! As my grandmother says, when they shouted, well, surely it must have been as a signal, the mountains resounded. Well, they resounded. The shout was so loud that it resounded, which frightened all the people here even more.

And at this point I don't know by what strategy they seized the Indian man Cuscat, and St. Rose. These Indians thought so highly of them, that they carried them in litters. And they even placed incense before St. Rose and so forth, and they carried them in litters.

Fine! And now they were being held as prisoners here! At this point, well, these Indians came to rescue St. Rose, and to march in to fight here, and to slaughter the Ladinos, according to what my grandmother said.

Fine! At this point, all this was occupied. My grandmother says that it was a horrible thing, that because there were thousands of Indians, all those cries that they emitted were even more frightful.

Fine! At this juncture, this man . . . , it's what I don't remember . . . , who he was. Because I used to

¹. Cristóbal Molina (1934:371) also claims that Galindo used hypnotism to convince the Indians that they were not going to die.

². Moxviquil is a Late Classic archaeological site on top of a mountain that lies between Chamula and San Cristobal Las Casas (Lowe and Mason 1965:232). Tzontehuitz, which lies north of San Cristobal Las Casas within the township of Chamula, is the highest mountain in the central highlands of Chiapas (Vogt 1969:4). (See Map 8.)

muy bien, pero se me olvidó, el mandatario, quien era ¿no? Mandó a unos señores de aquí a hablar con el señor ese que seducía a los indios, llamadose Galindo. Su nombre directamente no, no le recuerdo así. Pero Galindo era su nombre. Hacer unos tratados con él, vinieron los señores de los tratados ¿no? Llegaron aquí con los señores y todo eso.

Y la Santa Rosa, ya lo tenían aquí, y el Pedro Cuscat, en vía de prisioneros. Cuando trajeron éste a la Santa Rosa, aquí estuvo. Fueron los mandatarios, regresaron, y éste aceptó el convenio que fueron a hacer los del tratado, si le ofrecían dinero, o ¿quién sabe qué!³

El caso es de que se lo traían a este señor Galindo. Parece que . . . , me parece que decían que se llamaba Rosas ese señor, el mandatario de aquí. Antes mi abuelita ¿verdad? había sido sirvienta de ese señor (¿Quién?) Mi abuelita. (¿Pero de qué señor?) Del mandatario de aquí. Me parece que es Rosas. No estoy muy seguro.⁴

Echaban sus idas en busca de los indígenas ¿verdad? como a perseguirlos y todo eso, antes que invadieron el cerro este. Y allí encontraban grandes ollas de tamales, de atole, y los . . . , ella decía "los parlamentos"; así contaba mi abuelita.

Y el jefe les decía que nada de eso fueron a comer, porque podía estar envenenado. Por eso ahora pienso, porque ya hace muchos años, fuí a mirar allí las ruinas que encontró la señora, este . . . , esa señora americana (¿Blom?) Blom. Fuí ¿verdad? con mis hijitos chicos así. Y allí dice que eran ruinas ¿quién sabe de qué! Pero mi abuelita decía que allí había un parlamento, en atrás del cerro decía, donde encontraba este ollas y todo, y allí hacían sus reuniones, y los indios, todo. Supongo que allí esto . . . Ahora que ya lo ví últimamente, supongo que allí ha de haber sido el lugar de centro de que se reunían, y allí hacían casas, y todo; porque habían hasta pedazos de metate, tepalcate, sí, restos, y todo esto. Porque yo fuí a ver después de que . . .⁵

remember very well, but I have forgotten who the commander was, isn't that so? He sent some men from here to speak with that man who had subverted the Indians, [who was] called Galindo. At the moment I don't remember his [the commander's] name. But Galindo was his name. The negotiators came to make a treaty with him, isn't that so? They came here with the men and so forth.

And they already had St. Rose here, and Pedro Cuscat, as prisoners. When they brought him to St. Rose, she was here. The commanders went, they returned, and this one accepted the agreement that the negotiators had gone to make, when they offered him money, or who knows what!³

The fact is that they brought Galindo to this man. It seems that . . . , it seems to me that this man was called Rosas, the commander here. Heretofore my grandmother, you see, had been this man's servant. (Who?) My grandmother. (But of what man?) Of the commander from here. I think it is Rosas. I am not absolutely sure.⁴

They departed in search of the Indians, you see, in order to pursue them and so forth, before they invaded this mountain. And then they discovered large pots of *tamales*, of *atole*, and the . . . , she called them "the parleys"; that's what my grandmother called them.

And the chief told them that none of those things were to be eaten, because they could have been poisoned. Therefore I now think, because it has been many years [since] I went there to look at the ruins that the lady discovered, uh . . . , this American lady. (Blom?) Blom. I went, you see, with my small children like this. And she says that there were ruins there, who knows of what! But my grandmother said that there was a parley there, behind the mountain, she said, where she found those pots and everything, and they held their meetings there, and the Indians, everything. I suppose that there this . . . Now that I have finally seen it, I suppose that their central meeting place must have been there, and they built houses there, and everything, because there were even pieces of grinding stones, potsherds, yes, remains, and so forth. Because I went to see after . . .⁵

3. They were arranging the exchange of Galindo and his Ladino accomplices for Agustina Gomes Checheb and Pedro Díaz Cuscat, who were being held in the jail of San Cristobal Las Casas at that time (see C. Molina 1934: 375–376 and Chapter 9).

4. She is right. The commander's name was Crescencio Rosas (Pineda 1888: 87).

5. Moxviquil was excavated by Frans Blom (Lowe and Mason 1965: 232), and artifacts from the site are exhibited in a museum in the house of his widow, Gertrude Duby de Blom. The storyteller's grandmother evidently believed that the ruins were the remains of the Indian headquarters established during the War of St. Rose. The Indians did, in fact, occupy the mountain of Moxviquil in 1869

(note continued on following page)

¡Bueno! Con eso que me contaba mi abuelita le digo no, esto no es de que haiga sido, de que haiga reinado alguien do . . . , sino que allí era un centro de reunión, cuando la época de los indios.⁶

Y dé Ud., llegando allí al cerro, se divisaba bien la población, sí. Sí, era una vista muy segura y todo eso. Así es que ya cuando estaban los indios invadidos allí, y ya estaban por entrar, ya habían regresado los de los tratados ¿no? Y habían resuelto entrar en la ciudad, y a entrar a matar aquí a todo las gentes. En esto dicen que la ciudad . . . , vieron muchísimos soldados. ¡Pero soldados en cantidad! Y de esto se atemorizaron, y ya no tomaron la ciudad.

Volvieron a regresar los de los tratados ¿verdad? por este Galindo, entonces Galindo vino aquí. Y al presentarse Galindo, que supongo que debe haber sido la casa, o bien sea estado en esta Santa Clara,⁷ o sea el otro edificio que está cerca del palacio, allí era donde ocupaba. Pues yo no estoy segura de el señor, pero me parece que es Rosas. (Rosas, yo creo que sí.) Parece; no estoy muy segura. (¿El mandatario?) El mandatario de la ciudad.

¡Bueno! Cuando este Galindo se presentó, que lo metieron los escoltas que los fueron a traer, pero lo trajeron en vía de paz ¿verdad? nada más un tratado. Cuando dice—“Señor Galindo, adelante! Entregue su arma!”—Y le quitaron la arma. Y entonces contestó este Galindo—“Eso no es lo tratado!” “Ud. está como en vía de prisionero!”—Y en esto lo prendieron. Lo prendieron.⁸

Y en esto, los indios entraron aquí a la ciudad. Y ya llevaron a todo, a la Santa Rosa y al Pedro Cuscat ¡en andas! Pero dice mi abuelita, que algo que no pudo haber tenido comparación: ¡que temblaba la tierra! ¡que eran miles de indios! Venían con lanzas, con machetes, con luques, con ocote, con cántaros de trementina, bueno, para incendiar y acabar la ciudad. Hija, ¡no te puedes imaginar lo que fué esa época! ¡Una cosa espantosa! Cuando ya llevaron a la

Fine! At this point what my grandmother told me I tell you no, this was not what it could have been, that someone could have ruled . . . , except that a meeting center was there, during the epoch of the Indians.⁶

And grant you, having arrived at the mountain there, the city could be seen well, yes. Yes, it was a very secure lookout and so forth. So it was that when the Indians occupied it, and they were ready to march into [the city], the negotiators were already returning, isn't that so? And they had made up their minds to march into the city, and to commence killing all the people here. At this point they say that the city . . . , they saw a great many soldiers. But hordes of soldiers! And they were frightened of this, and then they did not take the city.

When the negotiators returned again, you see, for this Galindo, then Galindo came here. And after Galindo had appeared, which I suppose should have been [in] the house, or more likely it was in this [hotel of] Santa Clara,⁷ or perhaps the other building near the town hall, that was where he stayed. Well, I am not sure about the man, but I think it is Rosas. (Rosas, I think so.) I think so; I am not absolutely sure. (The commander?) The commander of the city.

Fine! When this Galindo appeared, he was surrounded by the escorts who had gone to fetch him, but they brought him without shackles, you see, in accordance with the treaty. Although they said—“Go on, Señor Galindo! Turn over your arms!”—And they took away his arms. And then this Galindo replied—“This is not part of the treaty!” “You are now in our power!”—And at this point they seized him. They seized him.⁸

And at this juncture, the Indians marched into the city here. And then they carried off everything, St. Rose and Pedro Cuscat, in litters! But my grandmother says, that it was something without equal: that the earth quaked! Because there were thousands of Indians! They came with spears, with machetes, with billhooks, with pine torches, with pitchers of turpentine, well, to set the city afire and destroy it. Dear, you cannot imagine what that epoch was like! It was horrible! When they carried the

(note continued from preceding page)

(Pineda 1888:96, 97). The ruins themselves, however, predate the War of St. Rose by more than one thousand years (Lowe and Mason 1965:232).

6. The storyteller disagrees with her grandmother that the ruins of Moxviquil were created by Galindo's Chamulan army.

7. The hotel of Santa Clara is situated on the western side of the main plaza in the city of San Cristobal Las Casas.

8. According to Molina (1934:376n), "Galindo coolly attempted to go to his house, thinking it had been so agreed, but Rosas gave him to understand that he was detained by the government for questioning."

india, era aquella cosa que se estremecía la tierra, algo alarmante, algo duro, y todo eso.⁹

Y este Señor Galindo ya prisionero. Ya lo tenía, ya aquí prisionero donde estaba la casa del que gobernaba antes ¿verdad? No estoy muy segura éste del nombre, pero yo creo que puede hacer que lo encuentre en alguna leyenda.

¡Bueno! En esto ya el señor prisionero, no sé después de que lo han deber juzgado, o como sería ¿verdad? lo sacan para fusilar. Y cuenta mi abuelita, no, no estoy cierto también, pero que la señora, al sacar ya su marido escoltado, que lo llevaron para fusilarlo, sale en un balcón y le decía—"¡Adiós, Galindo, adiós! ¡El último adiós! ¡Te dejastes engañas para que te quitaron la vida y lechón grande!"—Eso es lo que mi abuelita contaba. Y en esto los indios se llevaron a la mujer y a la Santa Rosa, y se lo llevaron.¹⁰

Y en esto . . . , después no me acuerdo tampoco quien era como dijera yo . . . , el párroco o qué ¿verdad? de Santo Domingo, Caridad, que eran los que gobernaban allí como parte de aquella época de los españoles ;no? Entonces fué cuando a la santísima Virgen de Caridad la nombraban como reina de la batalla esa. Porque los indios indios, dijeron que no habían entrado a matar toda la gente, porque habían visto que habían muchos soldados, y que veían a una señora, que gobernaba con una bandera y una varita, y todo eso. Y obedecían. (¿Una señora?) Una señora. Y como en ese día, creo que era el día de Caridad, o invocaron a la Virgen de Caridad, pues yo no le sé explicar. Y entonces fué cuando estos españoles que eran los de que gobernaban allí le decía, entonces era la santísima Virgen la nombraban como reina, reina de guerra, porque tenía su . . . ¡Ahora pues, ya le quitaron! Tenía su casco, su casco como reina, su bastón. (¿Su corona?) ¡No! ¡No! ¡No! No, su casco de batalla ¿no? Tenía su bastón y su bandera ¿verdad? Ahora ya se lo quitaron ¿no?¹¹

¡Bueno! Ah, dice mi abuelita, si no hubiera sido

Indian woman off then, it was something that made the earth tremble, something alarming, something unbearable, and so forth.⁹

And this Señor Galindo [was] now a prisoner. Now they had him, now [he was] a prisoner here in the house of the person who used to be in charge, you see. I am not absolutely certain of his name, but I believe that you might be able to find it in some legend.

Fine! At this point now, I don't know of what the prisoner must have been convicted, or what it might be, you see; they brought him out to execute him. And my grandmother says, no, I'm not sure either, but that when her husband was escorted to the execution, the lady went out on a balcony and told him—"Good bye, Galindo, good-bye! The last goodbye! You were tricked so that they could kill you and [they are] great swine!"—This is what my grandmother related. And at this point the Indians led the woman and St. Rose away, and they carried them off.¹⁰

And at this point . . . , afterward I don't remember either who it was as I have said . . . , the parson or whatever, you see, of St. Dominic, Charity, who were the ones who governed here during the epoch of the Spaniards, isn't that so? That was when they designated the most holy Virgin of Charity as the queen of that battle. Because the Indians themselves said that they had not marched in to kill all the people, because they had seen that there were many soldiers, and they saw a lady, who led with a flag and a little staff, and so forth. And they yielded. (A lady?) A lady. And as on that day, I believe that it was the day of Charity, or they implored the Virgin of Charity, well I don't know how to explain it to you. And that was when these Spaniards who were the ones who governed there, she said; then it was the most holy Virgin whom they designated as queen, queen of war, because she had her . . . Well now, they have already removed it! She had her helmet, her helmet as queen, her staff of command. (Her crown?) No! No! No, her battle helmet, isn't that so? She had her staff of command and her flag, you see. Now it has already been removed from her, isn't that so?¹¹

Fine! Ah, my grandmother says, if it hadn't been

9. Note the reference here to one of the magical weapons (earthquake) so often invoked by Indians in time of war.

10. According to Molina (1934: 376n), "The agreement proposed by Galindo having been accepted, he [Galindo] with his wife Doña Luisa Quevedo and the youth Trejo, passed over to the government lines at the same time that the rebels received Cuscate [sic] and their priestess with the wildest enthusiasm."

11. The Dominicans were the dominant religious order in Chiapas during the Colonial period. The Virgin of Charity is associated with the Cancuc revolt of 1712, which took place during the Colonial period (Chapter 5), as the storyteller correctly points out. She seems to think that the Virgin of Charity also saved the city during the War of St. Rose, more than 150 years later.

eso, dice, que este Galindo quiso venir, dice, con los tratados que le hizo este Señor Rosas, dice, hubiéramos acabados. Porque hijita, eran unas armas, garramplones. "Garramplones," parece que le decían. Le metían el tiro. Pegaban el balazo. Volvían a quitar el tiro, y otra vez. Y unos cañones, hijita, que ponían la mecha, daba el cañonazo, y salían corriendo. Hacían los cañones. Ud. ya no lo vió. Pues yo digo de entre mí, ¡quién sabe que le harían los cañones! Pero allí donde es la industrial, allí estaban en el patiocito los cañones esos. (¿Dónde estaban qué?) En el patiocito ese de la industrial. ¡Ah, no es cierto! Que le habían esos cañones; no los debían desaparecer. ¡Quién sabe! ¡Quién sabe! ¡Unos cañones largos, antiquísimos! ¡Con un agujero así! ¡Quién sabe por donde le prendían! Porque dice mi abuelita que lo atascaban de . . . ¡quién sabe qué! Le ponían una mecha. Y allí lo incendiaban, y de allí daba el cañonazo. Eran unas armas potentes que tenían en San Cristóbal y muy pocas gentes. Pero la alarma allí, el miedo, fué horrorosa. Esto es lo poco que me acuerdo, y más no, no recuerdo.

Que era el cerro este de Tzontehuitz, desde Tzontehuitz, todo esto. Y me acuerdo de otro cerro que hay allí atrás. ¡A ver si Ud. puede indagarse como se llama! ¡Bueno! Era donde dice mi abuelita que iban a . . . cuando fueron a seguir el enemigo. Y donde hacían sus parlamentos, decía mi abuelita, que encontraban mucho que comer donde se prevenían pues de abasto, y todo eso. Pero el lugar ilegítimo fué éste de arriba de Moxviquil. Allí fué el lugar, donde dice mi abuelita, que allí se conoce que el señor este se paraba a hablarle a los indios, y a dominarlos, y a mandarlos. Por eso abarcaron todo esto los indígenas a llenar todo el cerro como árboles, decía mi abuelita. ¡Una cosa espantosa! Ahora lo que se esperaba aquí fué una cosa horrorosa. (Sí . . . ¡gracias a Diós que . . . !) Sí, ¡que no sucedió eso! Porque, pues, los indios son bárbaros. Ahorita, pues, ya están más comprensibles ¿no? Y quien entienden, ya comprenden. Pero antes . . . (No.) A menos la forma en que venían para quitarle la vida a los ladinos. Traían sus luques, lanzas, palos—porque ellos usaban unos palos muy fuertes—, trementina, ocote, y todo eso.

for that, she says, that this Galindo wanted to come, she says, with the treaty arranged by this Señor Rosas, she says, we would have been destroyed. Because, dear, there were some arms, "garramplones." It seems that they called them "garramplones." They inserted the shot. They fired the shot. They returned to remove the shot, and repeated it. And some cannons, dear, into which they placed the fuse, the cannon fired, and they went off running. They prepared the cannons. You did not see it. Well, I tell you confidentially, who knows how they could have prepared the cannons! But those cannons were there in the little courtyard where the factory is. (Where what was?) In the little courtyard of the factory. Ah, I'm not positive! There used to be those cannons; they should still be there. (Who knows!) Who knows! Some long, very ancient cannons! With a bore like this! Who knows where they got them! Because my grandmother says that they stopped them up with . . . who knows what! They placed a fuse in them. And they fired them there, and the cannon fired from there. They had some powerful weapons in San Cristóbal [Las Casas] and very few people. But the alarm there, the fear, was dreadful. This is what little I remember, and I do not remember more.

All that was [on] the mountain of Tzontehuitz, from Tzontehuitz. And I remember another mountain that was behind it there. Let's see if you can find out what it is called! Fine! It was where my grandmother says that they were going to . . . when they went to follow the enemy. And where they held their parleys, said my grandmother, well, they discovered much food where they had stored supplies, and so forth. But the hiding place was this one above Moxviquil. That was the place, where my grandmother says, that was where she understood that this man stopped to speak to the Indians, and to control them, and to command them. That is why the Indians agreed to all this, to cover the whole mountain like trees, said my grandmother. A frightening thing! Now what was being awaited here was a dreadful thing. (Yes . . . , thank God that . . . !) Yes, that that did not happen! Because, well, the Indians are uncivilized. Well, recently, they have become more enlightened, isn't that so? And those who understand are already more knowledgeable. But formerly . . . (No.) At least the way they came to kill the Ladinos [was uncivilized]. They brought their billhooks, spears, cudgels—because they used some very stout clubs—, turpentine, pine torches, and so forth.

(¿De dónde vino Galindo? ¿Sabe?) Parece que me decía mi abuelita como que oaxaqueño su . . . Ella me dijo así ¿no? (¿Pero no fué coleto?) ¡No! ¡No! ¡No! No, era un hombre de fuera. Por eso éste ¿verdad? sedujo a los indios con la misión tal vez de algo ¿no? Y les hacía ellos ver que magnetizándolos y todo eso, si morían en el bala o lo que fuera, iban a revivir. Eso sea lo que les comprendieron ¿verdad? o sabían ellos ¿verdad? que era lo que hacía ¿no? y levantó a todos los indios. (¿Solo los chamulas? ¿u otros?) Solo los chamulas.¹²

También hay otra división de por ahí de por Cancuc también. (Ah ¿qué pasó allá?) Una división entre ellos, entre los dos pueblos. Hay una parte de Cancuc que es del mero pueblo y otra parte que dividio un río que se llama . . . Chacté? No, no es Chacté el otro lado. Yaxchanal me parece. ¡Yaxchanal! Del otro lado vivía una parte de cancuqueros y una parte de cancuqueros aquel lado. Los de aquel lado no se iban con estos, ni estos con aquellos ¿verdad? Porque tuvieron una división de pleito. Ahora ya había como unos dieciseis diecisiete años que yo fuí por allí para una finca a atender un parto. Había un indio ¿verdad? que los seguía dominando entre ellos. Que entre ellos ¿verdad? tienen sus mandatarios. Así es lo que me acuerdo.¹³

(Where did Galindo come from? Do you know?) It seems that my grandmother told me that as his . . . was from Oaxaca . . . She told me this, isn't that so? (But he wasn't a native of San Cristobal Las Casas?) No! No! No, he was an outsider. That is why, you see, he subverted the Indians with ulterior motives perhaps, isn't that so? And he showed them that by hypnotizing them and so forth, if they were killed by bullets or whatever, they were going to revive. That was what they understood, you see, or what they knew, you see, that it was what he had done, isn't that so? And he stirred up all the Indians. (Only the Chamulans? Or others?) Only the Chamulans.¹²

There was another conflict over there in Cancuc, too. (Ah, what happened there?) A difference among them, among the two towns. One part of Cancuc is the actual town and another part separated from it by a river which is called . . . Chacte? No, the other side is not Chacte. I think it's Yaxchanal. Yaxchanal! One group of Cancuqueros lived on the other side and one group of Cancuqueros on that side. Those of that side had nothing to do with these, nor these with those, you see. Because they had quarreled. Now it has already been some sixteen [or] seventeen years since I went there to a ranch to attend a child-birth. There was an Indian, you see, who continued to control them. For among them, you see, they had their commanders. This is what I remember.¹³

12. Galindo was a native of Mexico City, and his wife came from Tepic in the state of Jalisco (Pineda 1888: 106). *Coleto* is the nickname for men born in San Cristobal Las Casas (*coleta* for women). The storyteller's point seems to be that Galindo and his wife were outside agitators.

13. The storyteller may be alluding to the conflict between Protestant and Catholic Indians that divided Cancuc during the 1950s (Gutiérrez-Holmes 1961: 355–357). Yaxchanal was one of the places to which Canqueros retreated after Cancuc was captured in 1712 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Audiencia de Guatemala, Legajo 294, folios 713, 715, 767, 792).

TEXT C-9

Galindo and the Chamulans

Mi papá nos contaba que este señor . . . de Cuscate . . . Resulta que cuando en tiempo de este . . . Galindo, que habían ofrecido que iba a ser gobernador, pero no sabe por qué motivo dice que ya no fué. Y entonces él se quedó muy sentido, y dijo que se iba a

My father used to tell us that this man . . . Cuscat . . . The issue was that in the time of this . . . Galindo, they had offered to make him governor, but that in the end he was not [governor], he does not know for what reason, he says. And then he became

vengar. Y entonces, no encontraron más apoyo que irse allá con los chamulas. Y les hizo ver lo que iba a ser esto. Y los indios le aceptaron inmediatamente.¹

Y entonces dicen que empezó a medir las calles ¿verdad? Pero el gobierno no le dió importancia de que estaban mediendo las calles. Pero ya después, ya lo fueron tomando en serio, porque decían que queda cosa que tal vez que ¡quién sabe que clase de trabajo que se iban a hacer! Pero así que vieron que ya de verdad, la cosa se fué poniendo más negra, y entonces empezó a tener miedo el gobierno de lo que éste estaba de haciendo. Y entonces, optaron por ofrecerle todo lo que quisiera ¿verdad?

Pero a este Galindo, se fué con los chamulas. Y les dijo que ellos no morirían, que porque iban a defenderse al pueblo. Entonces les magnetizó un pollito; les durmió; y les dijo que miraron que ese pollito ya se había muerto, pero que él lo iba a volver. Y entonces lo volvió el pollito, y lo soltó que fué que andara. Y entonces los indios se quedaron espantados. Y sí, creyeron que ni iban a morirse. Bueno.²

Entonces ya el gobierno viéndose afligido, entonces lo llamó y le ofreció todo lo que quisiera él. Y los tratados fueron allá en este terreno Esquipulas, en los campos allí. Allá fué donde hicieron todos los tratados, donde le ofrecieron la casa de Don Augusto Lazos, o si no quería esa, la que quisiera. Le ofrecieron dinero y muchas cosas más ¿verdad? con tal de que ese rebajara, y ya no hiciera nada. Y le dijeron también que no quería que llevara tantos indios más que solo los necesarios.

Y ya que estaba allí, todo le ofrecieron y todo firmaron allí. (¿Los tratados?) Los tratados. Ahí fueron los que llevasen en este Esquipulas ¿verdad? Ese querían acabado de firmarnos y todos. Entonces ya se vino con la comitiva de que había ido a los tro-

very offended, and he said that he was going to take revenge. And then they had no choice but to join the Chamulans there. And he showed them what he was going to do. And the Indians accepted him immediately.¹

And then they say that he began to measure the streets, you see. But the government paid no attention to the fact that they were measuring the streets. But eventually, they took it seriously, because they said that it was something that who knows what kind of work they might be doing! But in this way they saw that indeed, the situation was already worsening, and then the government began to fear what they were doing. And then they decided to offer him everything he wanted, you see.

But this Galindo joined the Chamulans. And he told them that they would not die, because they were going to defend the town. Then he hypnotized a chicken in front of them; it slept in front of them; and he told them to observe that that chicken was now dead, but that he was going to revive it. And then he revived the chicken, and he set it free so that it would walk. And then the Indians were frightened. And yes, they believed that they were not going to die either. Fine.²

Then finally the government became concerned; then it summoned him and offered him everything he desired. And the negotiations took place there on this land of Esquipulas, in the fields there. It was there that they made all the negotiations, where they offered him the house of Don Augusto Lazos, or if he didn't want that one, whichever one he wanted. They offered him money and many other things, you see, with the proviso that that [situation] would abate, and he would do nothing more. And they told him also that they did not want him to bring any more Indians than necessary.

And once he was there, they offered him everything and signed everything there. (The treaty?) The treaty. In that place were those who had brought them to this Esquipulas, you see. They wanted us to finish signing that and everything. Then he had come with the followers who had gone to exchange

1. There is no evidence that Galindo had aspirations to be governor. He was offended by the people of San Cristobal Las Casas, who ridiculed him and ultimately forced him to close the school he had established there (Chapter 9).

2. According to Cristóbal Molina (1934:371), Galindo took advantage of the Indians' credulity by hypnotizing children, not chickens: "He hypnotized children of both sexes in the presence of everybody and told them 'that they had died but that as God had given him the power to raise the dead, he would bring them to life,' and, in fact, he awakened them from hypnosis and they came to. By all of this the Indians were convinced that he had in reality descended from heaven. He preached to and admonished them frequently to do all he commanded in order to liberate Cuscat, that they should have no fear and that if there should be a war and any one of them died, he would raise him on the third day as they had already seen."

cazo.³ Y lo traía. Pero ya entrando aquí en el barrio de San Ramón, y entonces ahí empezaron a pegarle de golpes, de patadas, de escupirlo . . . Y entonces él les dijo que no ese eran los tratados.—“¡Pues, estos son los que te vamos a dar!”—Y se lo fueron trayendo a golpes y como pudieran ¡verdad? hasta llegar aquí en la población.

Llegando aquí en la población, no le dieron tiempo de nada más que lo fusilaron.

Pero antes de acudir a esos tratados, se fué al pueblo de Chamula, y les dijo a los chamulas que si adentro de tres días no regresaba, era señas que algo le había pasado, y entonces que se echaron a encima sobre el pueblo. Y así lo hicieron los indios. Ajustándose los tres días, vieron que no regresó, y entonces se echaron sobre el pueblo, y juntamente matando y haciendo alboroto.⁴

Pero como ya les habían dicho que no iban a morir, entonces las indias ¡verdad? en las bocas de los cañones de ese tiempo que eran atacados por la misma boca y con una mecha; iban las inditas, las hembras; se alzaban las vestiduras y tapaban con él . . . , agachándose la boca del cañón; y al estallar el cañón les dejaban vacíos. Sí.⁵

Pero ellas creían que no iban a morir. Por eso no tenían miedo de nada. Sí. (¿Como . . . porque lo que hizo con los pollos?) Sí, porque por eso creyeron que iban a ser lo mismo con ellas, pero ya no. (Ya no.) Ya no.

Allí fué cuando ya se murieron varios indios y quedó . . . Y entonces ya, ya habían ganados los indios, pero no lo comprendieron. (No lo comprendieron.) No lo comprendieron. No lo comprendieron.⁶

(¿Y qué pasó con Cuscat?) El Cuscate, también lo agarraron, y fueron fusilados también. Lo que no recuerdo es si fueron fusilados juntos con . . . (¿Con

them.³ And he brought him. But once having entered the *barrio* of San Ramon here, and then they began to beat him, kick him, to spit on him over there. And then he told them that that was not in accord with the treaty.—“Well, this is how we are going to treat you [anyway]!”—And they beat him and [did] whatever they could while they transported him, you see, until they arrived here in the city.

After arriving here in the city, they immediately executed him.

But before attending those negotiations, he went to the town of Chamula, and he told the Chamulans that if he did not return within three days, that was a sign that something had happened to him, and then they should fall upon the town. And that is what the Indians did. After waiting for three days, they saw that he had not returned, and then they fell upon the town, at the same time killing and creating a din.⁴

But because they had been told that they were not going to die, then the Indian women, you see, in the muzzles of the cannons of that time, for they were attacked by that very muzzle and fuse; the Indians, the women, went up to it; they lifted their dresses and covered it . . . , crouching over the muzzle of the cannon; and when the cannon exploded, it left them empty. Yes.⁵

But they believed that they were not going to die. That is why they weren't afraid of anything. Yes. (Because of what he did with the chickens?) Yes, because that is why they believed that the same thing was going to happen to them, but it didn't. (It didn't.) It didn't.

That was when several Indians died and remained . . . [dead]. And already then, the Indians had already won, but they did not realize it. (They did not realize it.) They did not realize it. They did not realize it.⁶

(And what happened to Cuscat?) Cuscat, they seized him too, and they were executed also. What I don't remember is whether they were executed to-

3. Galindo offered to surrender himself and his Ladino accomplices in exchange for the release of Pedro Díaz Cuscat and Agustina Gomes Chechel, who were in jail in San Cristobal Las Casas (Chapter 9).

4. The Indians did return to San Cristobal Las Casas three days after Galindo had given himself up and threatened to fall on the city if Galindo and his accomplices were not released. But they never entered the city, not even after Galindo and the others were executed (Pineda 1888:94–103).

5. In fact, a cannon was used during this conflict: “The Indians . . . approached the cannon which they tried to take possession of with an admirable audaciousness and courage” (Pineda 1888:101). Pineda does not mention whether the Indians who tried to capture the cannon were women.

6. Evidently the Indians did not realize that victory was within their grasp: “Fortunately for Ciudad Real [San Cristobal Las Casas] the Indians did not recognize their advantage, . . . because until today we have not been able to determine: For what reason did the victorious Indian mobs remain in their positions instead of marching *en masse* upon the city, when the forces of the Government were dispersing from the field of San Ramon, and certainly few if any obstacles would have blocked their path?” (Pineda 1888:103).

Galindo?) Con Galindo, sí. (Sí, yo tampoco no sé.) Sí.

Lo que sí recuerdo fué que en ese tiempo fué cuando la Virgen de Caridad protegió al pueblo de aquí. Porque un capitán, dicen que se veía afligido con la indiada, sí. Y entonces, era devoto de la Virgen de Caridad cuando vió, dicen, que iba adelante de él una señora, de vestido blanco, adelante, adelante, adelante. Cuando terminó la batalla aquí, ya los indios habían casi terminado, pero no lo comprendieron. Entonces fué, y encontró que la Virgen de Caridad tenía un balazo en el vestido. Entonces dicen que se arrodilló, y le dejó la bandera, y la pistola, y la espada. Le dejó a la Virgen de Caridad.⁷

Muchos años estuvo eso con la Virgen de Caridad. (¿Con la Virgen de Caridad?) Sí. A última hora era yo chiquito todavía cuando le ví. (¿Ahora ya no?) Ahora ya solo le ponen la bandera. Y está la historia de esa de la Virgen de Caridad, sí. Pero no sé quien lo tenga.

Había un viejito que vivía en la esquina de mi casa. Y sí, tuvo el libro de esa guerra. Le prestó a papá, y lo leyó. Pero últimamente se murió el viejito. La hija se fué a México. Ya era viejita. Y como en este tiempo no había interés en todo esto, pues no, no nos interesamos . . . Porque si hubiéramos sabido que iba a servir para algo, lo hubiéramos recogido. (Es muy interesante esa época. ¡Gracias a Diós que ahora ya ha cambiado!) Ya ha cambiado, sí.

(Sí, creo que la vida es más segura que . . .) Es más segura, y el indio está más civilizado. ¿Porque fíjese que antes, no podía uno ir a Carnaval? (¿No?) Por ejemplo, iba uno; verdad? y el gusto era ir a pasear y llevar que comer, pero los inditos no le dejaban a uno comer. Y en ese tiempo, pues era rara la vez que no habían cinco o seis muertos. ¡Entre ellos mismos se mataban! Ambos venían a buscar armas para defenderse en el Carnaval. Lo mismo era en Todos Santos. Ahora no, ya con la civilización que han tenido, ya puede uno, ya puede uno ir. (¿Hasta Pantelhó?) Hasta Pantelhó, ya. Ahora viven . . . Ahora que fuí últimamente a la muerte de una mi madrina, que fué en el mes de mayo, ya ví que los inditos viven casi revueltos con los ladinos, y ya no hay esas contradicciones.⁸

gether with . . . (With Galindo?) With Galindo, yes. (Yes, I don't know either.) Yes.

What I do remember is that it was at that time that the Virgin of Charity protected the town here. Because they say that a captain was bothered by the multitude of Indians. And then, he became a devotee of the Virgin of Charity, they say, when he saw that a lady was going before him, in a white dress, onward, onward, onward. When the battle ended here, the Indians had almost finished, but they didn't realize it. Then he went, and he found that the Virgin of Charity had a bullet hole in her dress. Then they say that he kneeled, and he left his flag, and his pistol, and his sword to her. He left them with the Virgin of Charity?

That was with the Virgin of Charity for many years. (With the Virgin of Charity?) Yes. At the last moment I saw it when I was still a child. (Now, no longer?) Now they just place the flag on her. And there exists the history about that [image] of the Virgin of Charity, yes. But I don't know who has it.

There used to be an old man who lived at the corner of my street. And yes, he had the book about that war. He lent it to Father, and he read it. But finally the old man died. His daughter went to Mexico City. She was already an old lady. And as at that time there was no interest in all this, well, no, we weren't interested . . . Because if we had known that it was going to be useful, we would have kept it. (That epoch is very interesting. Thank God that it has changed now!) It has changed now, yes.

(Yes, I believe that life is more secure than . . .) It is more secure, and the Indian is more civilized. Because did you know that formerly, one could not go to Carnival? (No?) For example, one might go, you see, and one would want to take a walk and carry something to eat, but the Indians would not let one eat. And at that time, it was seldom that there were not five or six deaths. They even killed each other! Both came looking for arms to defend themselves in Carnival. It was the same during All Saints. Now no, now with the civilization that they have acquired, one can, one can go. (To Pantelho?) To Pantelho, now. Now they live . . . The last time I went [there] was for the death of my godmother, which was in the month of May, and I saw that the Indians live almost side-by-side with the Ladinos, and now there aren't those hostilities.⁸

7. The Virgin of Charity is associated with the Cancuc revolt of 1712, not the War of St. Rose of 1867–1870 (see Chapter 5, Brinton 1897:xv, Juarros 1808 1818:2:65, Pineda 1888:48, and Trens 1957:198).

8. The storyteller was born in Santa Catalina Pantelhó, one of the towns that participated in the Cancuc revolt of 1712 (Chapter 5).

Notes

Abbreviations Used in Notes

AB	Archives of Belize, Belmopan.
AGC	Archivo General de Centroamérica, Guatemala City (formerly Archivo General de Gobierno de Guatemala).
AGE-Y	Archivo General del Estado (Yucatán), Merida.
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
ASA-Y	Archivo de la Secretaría del Arzobispado (Yucatán), Merida.
CCA	Biblioteca Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona, Merida.
FO	Great Britain, Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office.
Guat.	Audiencia de Guatemala.

Chapter 1. The Historicity of Myth and the Myth of History

1. Hereafter, quoted material from foreign-language sources is given in my translation, unless otherwise specified.

Chapter 2. The Conquest of Yucatan

1. The best source on the conquest of Yucatan is Robert S. Chamberlain's *The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan, 1517–1550* (1948a). Chamberlain's work is based on an impressive collection of primary sources, including documents in the Spanish Archives in Seville. I have therefore relied heavily on his account.

2. Apparently the Spaniards mistook the Indians' invitation *conéx cotóch*, *conéx cotóch* (*kó·roné·eš k ɿ·toč* 'let's go to our homes!') for the name of the place where they landed (Cogolludo 1842–1845:1:4).

3. I infer this from the fact that the final consonant in the first part of the name is not /n/ but /m/, which is what it should be if the following phoneme were the labial /b/, rather than a glottal stop or a vowel.

4. Nativism is "any conscious, organized attempt on

the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture" (Linton 1943:230).

5. The most important sources on the Conquest of the Itza are (1) Hernán Cortés's Fifth Letter to King Charles V (1971); (2) Juan de Villagutierre Soto-Mayor's *Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itzá* (1933); (3) Diego López de Cogolludo's *Los tres siglos de la dominación española en Yucatán ó sea historia de esta provincia* (1842–1845); (4) Agustín Cano's letter to the King of Spain (1942); and (5) Andrés de Avendaño y Loyola's *Relación de las Dos Entradas que Hize a la Conversion de los Gentiles Ytzaex . . .* (1695–1696). Avendaño's work has never been published, but much of it is quoted in Philip Ainsworth Means's *History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatan and of the Itzas* (1917). Means also quotes relevant portions from the histories of Cogolludo and Villagutierre Soto-Mayor.

6. "From an arbitrary start at the end of Katun 13 Ahau, the day numbers in the names, always Ahau, change in the cycle 11, 9, 7, 5, 3, 1, 12, 10, 8, 6, 4, 2, 13" (Satterthwaite 1965:626). This means that the time elapsed between the sixth *tun* of Katun 9 Ahau (1562) and the beginning of the next Katun 3 Ahau (1616) is two *katuns*, fourteen *tuns*, which is approximately fifty-four years. It also means that the time between a Katun 3 Ahau and the next Katun 8 Ahau is approximately eighty years, which corresponds to the time interval between Fuensalida and Orbita's visit in 1618 and Avendaño's visit in 1696.

7. According to the Goodman-Thompson-Martínez correlation of the Maya calendar with the Christian calendar, Katun 8 Ahau did not begin until about July 1697 (Roys 1962:68). This would have been several months after the conquest of the Itza had been completed. On the other hand, if one uses the correlation of the date of Toral's arrival in Yucatan with the Maya Calendar, which is given in the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, Katun 8 Ahau began in 1695. In either case, it is clear that the Itza expected to be conquered after December 1695, when they sent their second embassy to Merida. This would explain

why the Itza resisted Cano's efforts to Christianize them in March 1695, but welcomed Avendaño in the following year.

If the July 1697 date for the beginning of Katun 8 Ahau is the correct one, then it is possible that the Itza simply overestimated the amount of time that the Spaniards would need in order to conquer them.

8. This is probably a reference to the four "yearbearer" days that began the Maya New Year (see Edmonson 1976:713).

9. This is a metaphorical description of the body of Christ slumping on the Cross. The words *sak uaom* literally mean 'pregnant,' a reference to the protruding abdomen seen in many portrayals of the crucified body.

10. Juan de Montejo is confused here with Francisco de Montejo the Elder (cf. Roys 1933:81n3, 112n3, 119n3).

11. "The two-day seat" and "the two-day reign" refer to a reign cut short by the arrival of invaders.

12. The term *ahau can*, which I have translated here as 'learned lord,' signified 'Bishop' during the Colonial period (Pérez 1866–1877: 4).

13. "Under the Colonial administration, unmarried youths and old men were exempt from tribute (Roys 1933:84n2).

14. Edmonson (1976) presents evidence that in 1539 the Maya of Yucatan reformed their calendar by shifting from terminal to initial counting—that is, they stopped naming each *katun* for its last day and started naming it for its first day. They began the new Katun 11 Ahau on the last day 11 Ahau of the old Katun 13 Ahau, which was eighty days earlier than Katun 11 Ahau would have begun under the old system of terminal counting. What effect did this change have on the preceding *katun*, Katun 13 Ahau? Did Katun 13 Ahau end on the day before 11 Ahau, the day that began the new system? Or did the two systems overlap by one day, with the date 11 Ahau both ending the count in the old system and beginning the count of the new? The effect of the latter possibility would have been to double Katun 11 Ahau (that is, to assign the name Katun 11 Ahau to the old Katun 13 Ahau as well as to the new Katun 11 Ahau), thereby making it possible to assign all the events of the Spanish Conquest to the prophesied *katun*.

15. According to the *Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin*, a calendar reform was introduced in 1752 which changed the length of the *katun* period from twenty *tuns* (of 360 days each) to twenty-four years (of 365 days each) (Roys n.d.:35). This may have been done in order to synchronize the Maya *katun* cycle with the Christian century, for as a result of this reform, Katun 13 Ahau began in 1800 instead of 1793, as would have been the case under the old system. Had it not been for this reform, Katun 9 Ahau would have antedated the Caste War of Yucatan and the revitalization movement based on the Second Coming of Christ foretold for that *katun* (or perhaps the uprising would have begun a few years earlier).

Chapter 3. The Conquest of Guatemala

1. The only known Spanish eyewitness account of the conquest of Guatemala is contained in two letters written by Pedro de Alvarado to Cortés (Mackie 1924:35). There are, however, several native accounts of the conquest, which may be based on eyewitness reports. They include *The Annals of the Cakchiquels* (Recinos and Goetz 1953) and the *Titulos de la casa Ixquín-Nehaib* (Recinos 1957).

The most important secondary sources on the conquest of Guatemala are the works of Francisco Antonio Fuentes y Guzmán (1933), Domingo Juarros (1823), Francisco Vázquez (1937), and Francisco Ximénez (1929–1931). The accounts of the first three historians represent a synthesis from both native and Spanish documentary sources. They are therefore not "pure" examples of the Spanish view of the conquest. Guatemalan historians seem to have relied on native accounts of the conquest to a much greater extent than Yucatecan and Chiapan historians.

Another set of secondary sources on the conquest of Guatemala consists of the manuscripts of the Dances of the Conquest which are still being performed today in Indian communities (Bode 1961). However, these texts, like the works of Spanish historians, probably represent a synthesis of the Spanish and native views of the conquest, if only because many of them are written in Spanish rather than in the native language. Their historical value is discussed in Chapter 12.

2. The best published source on the conquest of the Manche Chol is Father Francisco Ximénez's *Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Predicadores* (1929–1931). Ximénez's account of Dominican efforts to subdue and convert the Manche is based on a manuscript history of Guatemala and Chiapas written by Father Agustín Cano, his predecessor as Provincial of the Dominican Order in Guatemala and one of the priests who participated in the final conquest of the Manche, Mopan, and Itza (Ximénez 1929–1931:2:341, 370, 430–431, 458; Cano 1942). Cano's manuscript was never published, but a photocopy of part of it, wrongly attributed to Father Joseph Delgado, is in the Gates Collection of the Latin American Library at Tulane University ("Fray Joseph Delgado, Letters and Reports, 1682 and after"). Adolf Bandelier (1881:27) discovered a fragment of what may be another copy of it (probably the original) in the National Museum of Guatemala with the title "Historia de la Provincia de Predicadores de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala" (note its similarity to the title of Ximénez's work). He mentions the possibility that it was written by Cano; it appears in his bibliography just before two documents that were clearly authored by Cano. One of them has been published in the meantime (Cano 1942); the other is part of the same numbered series as the document in question (see below). The Guatemalan copy of Cano's manuscript later found its way into a collection of documents attributed to Charles Etienne Brasseur de

Bourbourg in the Archivo General de Centroamérica (AGC) in Guatemala City. Pedro Tobar Cruz transcribed and published several pages of it in 1967; it has since disappeared. In the fall of 1976, Marjorie Esman, a graduate student at Tulane, discovered that Ximénez had quoted extensive portions of Cano's history in his work, in only a few cases identifying Cano as their author [e.g., 1929–1931:2:341, 433–443]. Frans Blom had noted years ago that parts of the manuscript were quoted by Ximénez, but they were not the excerpts identified by Ximénez as the work of Cano.

Tulane's copy of Cano's manuscript is part of a series of photocopied documents, with consecutively numbered pages (not folios), all concerned with the conquest of the Manche and Lacandon. Unfortunately, however, the documents were separated by William Gates before Tulane purchased them from him, and they are still separately catalogued and shelved. I have so far been able to account for pages 1–234 and 385–399. Ximénez reproduced several documents in the series verbatim [e.g., 1929–1931:2:211–217, 435–443] and paraphrased others [e.g., 1929–1931:2:373–380, 382–396, 402–410, 414–418]. This was obviously the set of documents from which Ximénez wrote the sections of his history concerning the conquest of the Manche and Lacandon. Internal evidence suggests that they were originally assembled by Cano. For example, in his manuscript, Cano refers to the documents in the series and notes where they should be reproduced verbatim; Ximénez followed many of these instructions, although he sometimes substituted other documents for the ones mentioned by Cano. The whole set of documents ultimately seems to have fallen into the hands of Brasseur de Bourbourg (Tobar Cruz 1967), who may have been the person who numbered the pages (I assume that if they had been numbered by Ximénez or Cano, they would have been treated as folios rather than as pages). My synthesis of the history of the conquest of the Manche and Mopan is based on this series of documents, as well as Ximénez's work.

3. In highland Chiapas today, the term *Chol* refers to a Maya language that is spoken in the highlands north of the Tzotzil and Tzeltal areas and in the lowlands around Palenque. J. Eric S. Thompson (1970:68–69) calls this language Palencano Chol and claims that it is not the same language as Manche Chol. It is also not the same language as modern Lacandon (McQuown 1956:194–195). Apparently there were at least three "Chol" languages during colonial times, only one of which has survived with that name until the present.

4. "Fray Joseph Delgado, Letters and Reports, 1682 and after," pp. 147–148, 150 [see note 2 above].

5. Sebastián de Olivera y Angulo's extortionary treatment of the Manche is also described in a letter from the Provincial of the Order to the Archbishop of Guatemala: "Carta del provincial de Santo Domingo al S^r Arzpo de Guatimala" [photocopy in Latin American Library of

Tulane University], pp. 17–20 [see note 2 above]. The original document is supposedly in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

6. Letter from Father Joseph Delgado, March 12, 1682; Report by Father Joseph Delgado, March 17, 1682 [photocopy in Latin American Library of Tulane University], pp. 119–128 [see note 2 above].

7. The resettling of the Manche in the Urran Valley is also mentioned in "Informe de los servicios hechos por la religión de Santo Domingo en la provincia de Verapaz y tierras de Lacandones, Relacion y memoria relativa á los asuntos de la provincia de Santo Domingo de Guatemala dirigida al Muy Ilustre Señor Don Antonio Pedro de Echevers y Suvisa, año de 1724" [photocopy in Latin American Library of Tulane University], p. 44 [see note 2 above]. The original document is supposedly in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Chapter 4. The Conquest of Chiapas

1. The most important primary source on Luis Marín's expedition is Bernal Díaz del Castillo's diary (1904). His description of the first "reconquest" of Chiapas was apparently written many years afterward. Díaz del Castillo himself admits forgetting the names of some of the Indian peoples of Chiapas (1904:2:220). Another primary source is Diego de Godoy's letter to Cortés (1918). Godoy's interpretation of the incident in Chamula is somewhat different from Díaz del Castillo's. Both Vicente Pineda (1888) and Manuel B. Treñas (1957) base their accounts of Marín's expedition on Díaz del Castillo's diary.

The most often cited account of Diego de Mazariegos's expedition is that of Antonio de Remesal (1932), which was written in 1616. Remesal's report is not an eyewitness description, and, in fact, as both Ximénez (1929–1931:1:335) and Pineda (1888:28) point out, there is an important error in his work, namely that he attributes the first "reconquest" to Mazariegos instead of Marín. However, these later authors apparently believed that Remesal's account was accurate in other respects, because their descriptions of Mazariegos's expedition are based on it.

2. AGC, A1.23, Leg. 4575, folio 84, no. 20.

3. See also Cédula Real [Royal Decree], January 22, 1556, "Algo sobre Lacandones," *Boletín del Archivo General del Estado, Documentos Históricos de Chiapas*, no. 2, 1953, pp. 13–15.

4. San Marcos may have been situated not far from Chama, for a land document from that town describes Vico bringing the Indians of San Marcos out of the mountains and settling them on land belonging to Chama. A photocopy of the document in question, which is mistakenly labeled "Founding of Cobán in 1548," is in the Latin American Library of Tulane University.

5. "Founding of Cobán in 1548" [see note 4].

6. Agustín Cano's manuscript history of Guatemala and Chiapas contains a detailed account of Lorenzo's

peaceful resettlement of the Pochutla Lacandon: "Fray Joseph Delgado, Letters and Reports, 1682 and after" (photocopy in Latin American Library of Tulane University), pp. 142–145 (see Chapter 3, note 2). Much of this portion of Cano's manuscript was published by Pedro Tobar Cruz in 1967.

7. "Fray Joseph Delgado, Letters and Reports, 1682 and after," pp. 142–143; see also Tobar Cruz 1967:90.

8. Letter from Joseph Antonio Calderón in Palenque to Ygnacio de Coronado, August 9, 1786, "Algo sobre Lacandones," *Boletín del Archivo General del Estado, Documentos Históricos de Chiapas*, no. 2, 1953, pp. 17–18.

9. Letter from Father Diego de Rivas in Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, February 27, 1696, and letter from Jacobo de Alcagaya in Nuestra Señora de los Dolores to Joseph de Escals, February 28, 1696, AGC, Al.94, Leg. 2033. Transcripts of these letters appear in Hellmuth 1969:9–20.

10. Letters from the King of Spain, July 16, 1709, and October 30, 1713, *Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno* 5(1):41–43 (1939). See also Nolasco Pérez 1966:92.

11. Letter from the King of Spain to Don Toribio de Cosío, President of the Audiencia of Guatemala, June 7, 1715, AGC, Al.23, Leg. 1526, folio 15. See also *Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno* 5(1):42–43 (1939) and 5(3):178–186 (1940).

12. A comparison of modern Lacandon, Yucatec, Itza, and Mopan, using Swadesh's 100-word list of basic vocabulary items, indicates that Lacandon, Itza, and Mopan are more closely related to Yucatec than they are to each other. This suggests that the ancestors of the modern Lacandon did not speak colonial Itza or Mopan, but rather some third language which was as closely related to Yucatec as Itza and Mopan were. During the Colonial period, a Yucatecan language called Quejache was spoken in the southern part of the Yucatan peninsula, northwest of the Itza and northeast of the Prospero Kingdom. Alfonso Villa Rojas (1961:112–113, 1967:39–41) believes that the "Prospero Yucatec" belonged to the Quejache group of Yucatec Maya speakers. The lexical comparisons cited above support Villa Rojas's hypothesis.

Chapter 5. Indian Saints in Highland Chiapas (1708–1713)

1. Father Francisco Ximénez's *Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Predicadores* (1929–1931:3:257–343) is the only comprehensive work in print which contains primary source material on the early eighteenth-century revitalization movements in highland Chiapas. Ximénez's account of the movements is based on the eyewitness testimony, much of which he quotes verbatim, of Father Joseph Monrroy and other priests living in Chiapas at the time. His principal source of information was a report on the uprising prepared for the King of Spain by Father Gabriel de Artiaga, who was Provincial of the Dominican Order in

Chiapas in 1712 (*ibid.*:3:259). In spite of its importance, Ximénez's work was not consulted by nineteenth-century historians. It seems that the relevant part of his manuscript was lost for perhaps as much as a century (Brinton 1897:xxviii). It was rediscovered in the twentieth century and published together with the rest of the manuscript between 1929 and 1931.

The Audiencia de Guatemala (Guat.) section of the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Seville, Spain, contains more than six thousand pages of documents, grouped into Legajos 293, 294, 295, and 296, concerning these revitalization movements. They include the official journal of the expedition led by Toribio de Cosío, the president of the Audiencia of Guatemala, to put down the rebellion in Chiapas, as well as reports and correspondence of the Bishop of Chiapas and other religious officials and numerous eyewitness testimonies by Indians involved in the movements. To my knowledge, the only historian who has made use of this rich source of information is Herbert S. Klein, who has published an analysis of the political aspects of the rebellion (1966).

Two Guatemalan historians, Domingo Juarros (1808–1818:2:65–66) and Francisco de Paula García Peláez (1851–1852:2:150–156), have written brief descriptions of the movement in Cancuc. Juarros's account is based on official documents in the city of Guatemala (Brinton 1897:xxviii). García Peláez's report is actually a "description of twenty-two paintings, executed by the order of President Cocio [sic], illustrating various incidents of the war" (Brinton 1897:xxviii–xxix).

Two Mexican historians, Vicente Pineda (1888) and Manuel B. Trens (1957), have written more comprehensive accounts of this rebellion. Pineda apparently did not have access to Ximénez's work; his report is based on (1) a letter to the King of Spain, dated December 18, 1712, from Toribio de Cosío, (2) García Peláez's (1851–1852) description of the twenty-two paintings depicting scenes from the war, and (3) oral traditions. According to Trens (1957:185–199), there are many errors in Pineda's account, some of which he attributes to the fact that Ximénez's work was not available at the time.

Trens's description of the rebellion is drawn mostly from Ximénez's work. Trens believes that Cosío's letter to the King of Spain is an unreliable source of information because Cosío did not arrive on the scene until after the hostilities were well under way and because it was in his interest not to mention the real causes of the rebellion (1957:187). Trens argues that Ximénez's account is much more trustworthy because it is based on the eyewitness testimony of Joseph Monrroy, the parish priest of Chamula, Pedro Villena, the parish priest of Yajalon, and Gabriel de Artiaga, the Provincial of the Dominican Order (1957:187).

Three North Americans have also written historical accounts of this rebellion. Daniel G. Brinton (1897) wrote a historical drama with the rebellion as the theme; his his-

torical introduction to the drama was based on a manuscript by Ramón de Ordóñez y Aguiar (1907) and Juarros's (1808-1818) and García Peláez's (1851-1852) brief accounts. He mentions that Ximénez "treated of the insurrection at length in the fourth volume of his work," but that it was apparently lost (Brinton 1897:xxviii).

Hubert Howe Bancroft devoted part of a chapter of his *History of Central America* to "The Tzendal Rebellion" (1886:2:696-706). His account seems to have been based entirely on an unpublished manuscript entitled "Informe sobre la Sublevación de los Zendales, escrito par el Padre W. Pedro Marselino García de la orden de Predicadores, Predor. General, Calificador del Santo Oficio y Vicario Provincial de San Vicente de Chiapa, dirigida al Ilmo. Señor Obispo desta diocesis y fecho en 5 de Junio de 1716." According to Bancroft, García's manuscript, consisting of 154 pages bound into one volume, "contains a copy of testimony taken by PP. Frs Maxelina [sic] García, and Diego de Cuenca, by direction of the bishop, concerning the death of the several Dominican friars at the hands of the revolted Zendales; the details of these murders are given. The manuscript also contains copies of letters and journals of Padre García written at the time, which contain a very full account of the origin of the Tzendal rebellion, the singular religious schism which they sought to establish, and the various proceedings, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, which led to the final suppression of the rebellion" (1886:2:705-706n).

I have already mentioned Klein's (1966) work on the political aspects of the rebellion. His sources include the documents in the AGI and the works of Ximénez and Trens.

This chapter is based on the approximately 6,500 pages of documents in Legajos 293, 294, 295, and 296 (Guat.) in the AGI and on Ximénez's history of the rebellion. I also consulted the works of Trens, Pineda, Klein, Bancroft, Juarros, García Peláez, and Brinton, but I have relied most heavily on the primary sources in recapitulating the history of the early eighteenth-century revitalization movements of highland Chiapas.

2. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Apariciones de la Virgen," folios 2-3; Ximénez 1929-1931:3:263.

3. According to Father Bartholomé Ximénez, the curate of Totolapa and Preacher General of the Dominican Order, the image in question was of Our Lady of Solitude (AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Apariciones de la Virgen," folios 2-3).

4. The section of AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, entitled "Apariciones de la Virgen," contains documents which are almost exclusively concerned with the Virgin cult of Santa Marta.

5. Ximénez (1929-1931:3:265) claims that the cult of the Virgin in Santa Marta came to light in 1711, thereby implying that the first appearance of the Virgin in that town occurred during the fall of 1710. There is, however, good evidence that this date is in error. All of the documents which are concerned with the discovery of this

movement by the Spanish authorities are dated 1712 or later. I have therefore given 1711, not 1710, as the date for the beginning of the movement. If this date is correct, then the Virgin cult of Santa Marta is closely linked chronologically with the Virgin cult of Cancuc, which began while the authorities were suppressing the cult in Santa Marta. For evidence concerning the dating of the movement in Santa Marta, see the documents in the section of AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, entitled "Apariciones de la Virgen."

It is possible that Ximénez is not responsible for this dating error. Apparently, the only copy of Ximénez's work in existence is a copy of the original manuscript which contains many mistakes in transcription. Thus the date in question may have been mistranscribed and the "2" in 1712 misread as a "1." See Ximénez 1929-1931:1:xvi.

6. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Apariciones de la Virgen," Confession of Dominica López, May 30, 1712, folios 12-14.

7. Ibid., Confession of Juan Gómez, June 6, 1712, folios 14-17.

8. Ibid., Confession of Dominica López, May 30, 1712, folios 12-14.

9. Ibid., Confessions of Dominica López and Juan Gómez, folios 12-17.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.; they came from the district of Las Coronas y Chinampas, from the Guardanía of Huitiupa, and from the towns of San Bartolome, Totolapa, and San Lucas in the Provincia de los Llanos.

12. Ibid., Letter from Father Bartholomé Ximénez to Father Joseph Monrroy, March 11, 1712, folios 3-5; Confession of Juan Gómez, June 6, 1712, folios 14-17.

13. Ibid., Declaration of Joseph Antonio de Zavaleta, May 23, 1712, folios 10-12.

14. Ibid., Letter from Father Bartholomé Ximénez, undated, folios 2-3.

15. Ibid., Letter from Father Joseph Monrroy to Father Bartholomé Ximénez, March 11, 1712, folios 3-5.

16. Ibid.; Ximénez 1929-1931:3:266.

17. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Apariciones de la Virgen," Letter from Father Bartholomé Ximénez, undated, folios 2-3.

18. Ibid., Report of Juan Bautista Alvarez de Toledo, Bishop of Chiapas, March 31, 1712, folios 1-2; Order from Alcalde Mayor of Chiapas, March 22, 1712, folio 5; Ximénez 1929-1931:3:266-267.

19. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Apariciones de la Virgen," Testimony of Father Joseph Monrroy, April 2, 1712, folios 6-7.

20. The Virgin of Santa Marta was probably also a Virgin of the Rosary. She first appeared during the month of October (Ximénez 1929-1931:3:266), which is the month during which the festival in honor of the Virgin of the Rosary takes place (Vogt 1969:563). Furthermore, after her cult was suppressed in Santa Marta, she moved to

Cancuc, where she was explicitly referred to as the Virgin of the Rosary (AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Testimonios de 1713," Confession of Antonio López, February 15, 1713, folio 59; "Apariciones de la Virgen," folio 25; 2d Quaderno, Confession of Antonio Díaz, September 12, 1712, folio 59; Declaration of Juan Francisco de Medina Cachón, Alcalde Mayor of Tabasco, February 24, 1713, folios 325–326, 367; Leg. 294, folios 204–218).

21. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Apariciones de la Virgen," Petition of the *alcaldes* and *regidores* of Santa Marta, folios 5–6; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:267.

22. They were sentenced to death, but the sentence was not carried out until 1713, after the rebellion in Cancuc had been put down (AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Apariciones de la Virgen," folios 21–27).

23. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Apariciones de la Virgen," Order of Alcalde Mayor of Chiapas (in Nahuatl), March 22, 1712, folio 5.

24. Ibid., Edict of Juan de Santander, Comisario of the Holy Office, June 16, 1712, folios 18–19.

25. Ibid., Confession of Dominica López, May 30, 1712, folios 12–14.

26. Ibid., Letter from Father Joseph Monroy, March 11, 1712, folios 4–5; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:267–268.

27. AGI, Guat., Leg. 295, 5th Quaderno, Confession of Nicolás Vásquez, March 3, 1713, folio 199.

28. Her real name was María López (AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Testimonios de 1713," folio 4).

29. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, Declaration of Juan García, December 12, 1712, folios 134–135.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., 5th Quaderno, Declaration of Juan Pérez, November 28, 1712, folios 30–31.

32. Ibid., 2d Quaderno, Confession of Miguel Vásquez, February 22, 1713, folio 117; Declaration of Juan García, December 12, 1712, folio 135; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, Report of Juan Bautista Alvárez de Toledo, Bishop of Chiapas, July 20, 1712, folios 1–3.

33. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, Declaration of Juan García, December 12, 1712, folio 135; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folios 3–6, 9–15, 18.

34. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, Declaration of Nicolasa Gómez, December 5, 1712, folio 75; 5th Quaderno, Confession of Nicolás Vásquez, March 3, 1713, folio 200.

35. Ibid., Leg. 293, "Testimonios de 1713," Confession of Juan López, February 15, 1713, folios 59–62; Confession of Matheo Méndez, February 16, 1713, folios 67–71.

36. Ibid., Confession of Juan López, February 15, 1713, folios 59–62.

37. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, Declaration of Juan García, December 12, 1712, folios 129–147; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:271.

38. Specific texts of the summonses are given in the following documents: AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folio 3; Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folios 196–197; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folio 83.

39. Ibid., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folios 209, 218, 261, 326; Leg. 294, folio 188.

40. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folio 136; 5th Quaderno, folios 105, 200, 293; Leg. 296, 4th Quaderno, folio 58.

41. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folio 136; 5th Quaderno, folio 293; Leg. 296, 4th Quaderno, folios 58–59; 7th Quaderno, folios 58, 60.

42. Ibid., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folios 40–44, 53–60, 67–75, 115–117, 124–129; Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folios 40–44, 50–56, 136; 5th Quaderno, folios 105, 200, 293; Leg. 296, 4th Quaderno, folio 58.

43. Legajo 294 in AGI, Guat., is entitled "De los autos Hechos sobre la Sublevación de treinta y dos pueblos de indios de los Partidos de los Zendales, Coronas, Chinampas y Guardianía de Gueitiupa [Huitiupa] de la Provincia de Chiapa," from which I infer that thirty-two towns participated in the uprising. The following Tzotzil towns were involved: Nuestra Señora de la Asuncion Huitiupa, San Pedro Huitiupa, San Andres Apostol Huitiupa, Santa Catalina Huitiupa, San Pablo Chalchihuitan, San Pedro Chenalho, San Miguel Huistan, San Andres Iztacostoc (now Larrainzar), Santa Maria Magdalena, San Miguel Mitontic, Santa Catalina Pantelho, San Bartholome Platanos, Santa Marta Xolotepec, Santiago Huistan, and San Antonio y San Bartholome Simojovel. The following Tzeltal towns participated: San Martin Obispo, San Geronimo Bachajon, San Juan Evangelista Cancuc, Santo Domingo Chilon, Nuestra Señora de la Natividad Guaquepeque, San Francisco de los Moyos, San Jacinto Ocosingo, Santo Tomas Oxchuc, San Francisco Petalsingo, San Pedro Sitala, San Marcos Sibaca, San Nicolas Tenango, San Alonso Tenejapa, and Santiago Yajalon. The following Chol towns participated: Santo Domingo Palenque, San Matheo Tila, and San Miguel Tumbala.

44. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Testimonios de 1713," folios 68, 93, 97, 104, 124, 134; Leg. 294, folios 176–179, 267–268; Leg. 295, 5th Quaderno, folios 105, 132.

45. Ibid., Leg. 293, "Testimonios de 1713," Confession of Miguel Hernández, February 3, 1713, folios 41–43; Confession of Matheo Méndez, February 16, 1713, folios 67–71.

46. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folio 137; 5th Quaderno, folio 292.

47. Ibid., Leg. 293, "Testimonios de 1713," folios 3–5; Leg. 295, 5th Quaderno, folios 195–196.

48. Ibid., Leg. 296, 6th Quaderno, Declaration of Francisco de la Torre y Tovilla, February 19, 1713, folios 9–10.

49. Ibid., Leg. 293, "Testimonios de 1713," Confession of Matheo Méndez, February 16, 1713, folios 67–71; Leg. 294, folios 176–179, 267–268; Leg. 295, 5th Quaderno, folio 132.

50. See also AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Testimonios de 1713," Confession of Domingo Méndez, February 15, 1713, folios 47–53.

51. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, Declaration of Domingo Pérez, December 7, 1712, folios 83–85; Declara-

tion of Juan García, December 12, 1712, folios 129–147; 5th Quaderno, folio 22; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:281, 284.

52. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folio 107; Leg. 296, 4th Quaderno, folios 59–60.

53. Ibid., Leg. 295, 3d Quaderno, folio 123; 4th Quaderno, folios 3, 6.

54. Ibid., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folio 128; Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, Declaration of Juan García, December 12, 1712, folios 129–147; 5th Quaderno, folio 3; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:281, 284.

55. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folio 394; Leg. 294, folios 19, 22, 186, 187, 655; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folios 83, 88, 256, 258.

56. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folios 131, 149–150, 154; 5th Quaderno, folios 118, 142, 147, 179–180, 182–183, 190, 201; 8th Quaderno, folio 3; Leg. 296, 4th Quaderno, folio 59; 6th Quaderno, folios 1, 3, 5–6, 11; 7th Quaderno, folio 18.

57. Ibid., Leg. 294, folio 597; Leg. 295, Proclamation of Toribio de Cosío, President of Audiencia of Guatemala, page 1; Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folio 66; Leg. 296, 6th Quaderno, folio 6.

58. Ibid., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folio 394; Leg. 295, 3d Quaderno, folio 170; 5th Quaderno, folios 197, 202, 203; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:271.

59. AGI, Guat., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folios 10, 11, 19, 20, 23, 24, 49, 52, 56, 59, 136, 139; 5th Quaderno, folio 48; Leg. 296, 4th Quaderno, folio 61.

60. Ibid., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folios 115–117, 124–125, 126–129; Leg. 294, folios 301–302; Leg. 295, 5th Quaderno, folios 47–48; 8th Quaderno, folio 21; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folio 29; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:273–274.

61. AGI, Guat., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folio 137; 5th Quaderno, folios 22, 107.

62. Ibid., Leg. 293, 1st Quaderno, Testimony of Juan Gutiérrez, March 17, 1713, folios 151–160; 2d Quaderno, folios 411–412; Leg. 294, folios 597–598; Leg. 595, 5th Quaderno, folio 31; 8th Quaderno, folio 76; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folio 161.

63. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, Declaration of Manuel Ordóñez, December 4, 1712, folios 66–67.

64. Ibid., Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, Letter from Pedro Ordóñez to Fernando de Monge y Mendoza, August 7, 1712, folio 16.

65. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, Declaration of Manuel Ordóñez, December 4, 1712, folio 67.

66. Ibid., folios 9–14, 18–32, 48–59; 5th Quaderno, folio 62; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folios 36–37; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:279–280.

67. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, "Testimonios de 1713," folios 7–29; Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folios 1–64; Leg. 296, 6th Quaderno, folios 31, 47. After the rebellion had been put down, these unfortunate women were brought before the Inquisition and subjected to intensive questioning. The testimony of ten Spanish and Ladino women from Ocosingo and two from Yajalón was published in 1948 in the *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 19(4) under the

title "Sublevación de los indios tzendales, Año de 1713."

68. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folio 43; Leg. 296, 6th Quaderno, folios 5–6; 7th Quaderno, folios 50–53, 76–79; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:288–289.

69. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folios 128, 262; "Testimonios de 1713," folios 7, 94, 135; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folio 168.

70. Ibid., Leg. 295, 8th Quaderno, folio 24; Leg. 296, 6th Quaderno, folios 43, 57, 72, 96–97, 100; 7th Quaderno, folios 78, 108–109, 143, 161.

71. See note 59 above.

72. AGI, Guat., Leg. 295, 5th Quaderno, folio 4; 8th Quaderno, folios 47–48, 79; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folios 35, 76–80; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:289.

73. AGI, Guat., Leg. 294, folio 549; Leg. 295, 8th Quaderno, folios 25, 44–45, 70, 90; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folios 48, 80; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:292–294.

74. AGI, Guat., Leg. 295, 8th Quaderno, folios 70, 79–80; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:292–294.

75. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folios 40–44, 53–56, 57–60, 67–75; Leg. 294, folios 172–175, 187; Leg. 295, 3d Quaderno, folios 32–41; 5th Quaderno, folio 205; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folios 66–67, 141–157, 187, 205–215.

76. Ibid., folios 116–120; Trens 1957:193; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:296.

77. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 1st Quaderno, folios 56–59; Leg. 294, folios 1–5, 8–10, 14–15, 56–57; Trens 1957:195; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:299.

78. AGI, Guat., Leg. 294, folios 17–20; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folios 250–251; Trens 1957:193; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:296–297.

79. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 1st Quaderno, folios 56–59; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, Report from Pedro Gutiérrez Mier y Theran, Alcalde Mayor of Chiapas, October 21, 1712, folios 250–251; Trens 1957:193 194; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:297–298.

80. AGI, Guat., Leg. 294, folios 40–48; Trens 1957:194; Ximénez 1929–1931:3:299–302.

81. AGI, Guat., Leg. 294, Letter from Toribio de Cosío to Nicolás de Segovia Parada y Berdugo, October 29, 1712, folios 55–56.

82. Ibid., folios 91–98, 138–141, 153–156.

83. Ibid., folio 813.

84. Ibid., folios 182, 488, 497–501; Leg. 295, 3d Quaderno, folios 39–40, 58, 64, 71–72, 79–80, 108, 129, 130, 139–140, 145–150, 176, 190, 196; 5th Quaderno, folios 134, 283–284, 286–287.

85. Ibid., Leg. 294, folios 165–167; Brinton 1897:xv; Juarros 1808–1818:2:65; Pineda 1888:48; Trens 1957:198.

86. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 1st Quaderno, Declaration of Lázaro Ximénez, March 11, 1712, folio 122; Leg. 294, folios 425–426, 681–683, 685–691, 714–717, 727–729, 767–768, 824, 826–829, 832–836; Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folios 29, 32, 78; 5th Quaderno, folios 209–210; Leg. 296, 6th Quaderno, folio 7.

87. Ibid., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folio 377; Leg. 294, folios 181–183; Leg. 295, 5th Quaderno, folios 179, 183; Leg. 296, 6th Quaderno, folio 6; Ximénez 1929–1931: 3:309.

88. AGI, Guat., Leg. 294, folios 221, 243, 245; Leg. 295, 3d Quaderno, folios 14–15, 23–26, 128–129.

89. Ibid., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folios 75–86 passim; Leg. 294, passim; Ximénez 1929–1931: 3:310–317.

90. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 1st Quaderno, Declaration of Lázaro Ximénez, March 11, 1713, folio 116; Leg. 294, folios 327–329, 330–333, 502–504; Ximénez 1929–1931: 3:319, 323. However, twenty Indians from Chamula did join the rebels (AGI, Guat., Leg. 295, 8th Quaderno, folio 82; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folio 108).

91. Ibid., Leg. 294, folios 515–518; Ximénez 1929–1931: 3:322.

92. AGI, Guat., Leg. 294, folios 513–515, 560–563, 607–608, 643–646, 678.

93. Ibid., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, passim; Leg. 294, passim; Klein 1966:261.

94. AGI, Guat., Leg. 294, folios 68, 719–721, 729–731, 766, 772–774, 778–785, 798, 802.

95. Ibid., folios 730, 765–766, 787–788, 790–791.

96. Ibid., Leg. 295, 8th Quaderno, folio 7; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folios 18–21.

97. Ibid., Leg. 295, Proclamation of Toribio de Cosío, President of the Audiencia of Guatemala, March 15, 1713.

98. Ibid., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folios 55, 59, 218; Leg. 295, 5th Quaderno, folio 218.

99. Ibid., folio 158.

100. Ibid., folio 200; Leg. 296, 4th Quaderno, folios 54–55, 57–58.

101. Ibid., folios 45–46, 69–70.

102. *La Brújula*, June 11, 1869:3, June 25, 1869:1; *El Baluarte de la Libertad*, May 1, 1868:4; Pineda 1888:74.

103. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, Testimony of Antonio Díaz, September 12, 1712, folio 59.

104. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folios 66, 68, 129, 147; 5th Quaderno, folio 5; 8th Quaderno, folios 76–77; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folios 84, 254.

105. Ibid., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folio 3; Leg. 296, 7th Quaderno, folio 110.

106. Ibid., Leg. 293, "Testimonios de 1713," folios 74, 93–94, 125.

107. Ibid., Leg. 295, 2d Quaderno, folios 131, 149–150, 154; 5th Quaderno, folios 142, 147, 179–180, 182–183, 190, 201; Leg. 296, 6th Quaderno, folio 6.

Chapter 6. The Indian King in Quisteil (1761)

1. Also spelled Cisteil, Kisteil, and Cistéel.

2. The following primary sources are known: (1) the municipal minutes for the city of Merida, which contain entries concerning the rebellion in Quisteil dated December 17, 26, and 28, 1761; (2) an anonymous diary published in the *Registro Yucateco* with a commentary by a man later identified by Justo Sierra O'Reilly (1954:2:28) as

Pablo Moreno (1845); (3) another anonymous diary written by a resident of Merida, which was published in *El Museo Mexicano* (Documentos históricos 1844); (4) a letter to the ecclesiastical chapter by the Jesuit priest Martín del Puerto, dated December 26, 1761, and published in the *Registro Yucateco* in 1846; (5) a letter from Governor Joseph Crespo y Honorato to the Viceroy of New Spain dated January 16, 1762; and (6) the Viceroy's response to Crespo's letter, dated March 11, 1762, which were both published in full in an article by Eduardo Enrique Ríos in the Merida newspaper, *Diario de Yucatán*, on November 22, 1936. The principal secondary sources are Justo Sierra O'Reilly's *Los indios de Yucatán* (1954; first published in 1848 in the newspaper *El Fénix*), the second volume of Eligio Ancona's *Historia de Yucatán desde la época más remota hasta nuestros días* (1878–1880), and the third volume of Juan Francisco Molina Solís's *Historia de Yucatán durante la dominación española* (1913).

3. Archivo de la Secretaría del Arzobispado (Yucatán), Santa Visita Pastoral 1778–1782, Expediente 53, folio 17 (1785) Mocochá. I am grateful to Philip C. Thompson for bringing this document to my attention.

4. Acuerdos del Muy Ilustre Ayuntamiento de Mérida, January 1, 1761–August 22, 1766, pp. 43–48.

5. Ibid., December 17, 1761, pp. 43–45.

6. The Sierra was the name of a military district (*partido*) that encompassed the following towns along the puuc hills (*sierra* in Spanish): Maní, Tekax, Muna, Uxmal, and Ticul (Espejo-Ponce Hunt 1974: Map 6).

7. Acuerdos del Muy Ilustre Ayuntamiento de Mérida, January 1, 1761–August 22, 1766, pp. 45–46.

8. Moreno cited as support for his position the testimony of a priest, Dr. Lorra, who he claimed was Canek's confessor in the jail and who, on the day of Canek's execution, mounted the gallows and preached of various injustices that had been committed and declared that Canek was more innocent than the spectators were. This declaration did not please the Spanish authorities, who requested the bishop to suspend Lorra's license to preach. But Lorra was not so easily daunted and persevered to the extent of composing a statement in which he informed the King of Spain of the plot to manufacture a revolution out of the disorder created by the inebriation of a miserable town (Moreno 1845:94–95). Moreno claimed to have once possessed a manuscript copy of Lorra's exhortation which he had mislaid and never found again (1845:95). It may well be that a number of similar dissenting missives were sent to the Viceroy and the King of Spain, which would explain the Viceroy's cool reception of Crespo's defense of his actions.

According to Moreno, when Crespo realized that Lorra had appealed directly to the King, he requested that Lorra's revoked license to preach be reinstated, and Lorra was suddenly the recipient of 15,000 pesos from the Church, which he had requested repeatedly without success for use in completing the construction of the church in his parish (1845:95).

9. There is little support for the conspiracy argument in the historical record. Philip C. Thompson, who has searched through the documents for this period in the church archives of Yucatan, found only one document that referred to the disturbance in Quisteil (note 3 above), a situation which is in marked contrast to the wealth of documentation for the Caste War of Yucatan in those archives (Chapter 8).

Chapter 7. The Indian King in Totonicapan (1820)

1. The data for this chapter come from thirteen *legajos* [files] of documents in the AGC. The only published history of the disturbances in Totonicapan in 1820 is J. Daniel Contreras's recent work (1951) entitled *Una rebelión indígena en el partido de Totonicapán en 1820: El indio y la independencia*, which is based on the same corpus of material.

2. Daniel Contreras quotes as evidence of this the following document:

"Atanasio Tzul, first *principal*,
Lucas Aguilar, *alcalde* of the Blessed Sacrament,
Juan Monrroy, *alcalde* of the Trinity, and
Francisco Velasco, Juan Paz, and the Community *cofradías* of [the] years which have passed.
Having investigated the fable of the tribute and we had
Expenses of one thousand pesos minus one-fourth [of a
real].
Lucas Aguilar, *alcalde* of the Blessed Sacrament, in the
same year discovered the same answer.
And we ask God to thank the King, Our Lord.
Now we are obedient to the honor that Our Lord did for
us.
On the 7th of July 1812." (Contreras 1951:27)

However, the date of this document is ambiguous. It can be read as either 1812 or 1820 (although, as written in AGC, A1.5480, Leg. 47155, folio 75, 1812 seems more plausible). The following kinds of evidence support an 1820 reading: The document that follows it in AGC, A1.5480, Leg. 47155 (folio 76) is dated July 8, 1820; both documents are concerned with expenditures related to a tribute dispute. Furthermore, it was on July 5 or 6 in 1820 that the Indians received the news that would have moved them to thank the King. The expenses of the 1820 tribute dispute are mentioned as approximately one thousand pesos in two other documents in the same *legajo* (folios 4 and 52), an amount consistent with the expenses referred to in the document quoted above. One of those documents (folio 4) mentions that the book of the *cofradía* of the Blessed Sacrament contained the statement that one thousand pesos had been spent in the effort to prevent the payment of tribute. Finally, there is evidence that Atanasio Tzul and Lucas Aguilar were first *principal* and *alcalde* of the Blessed Sacrament, respectively, in 1820 (AGC, A1.193, Leg. 3942, folios 53, 69; Leg. 3944, folio 3; A1.5480, Leg. 47155, folios 23, 26). I suspect that the document in ques-

tion is not evidence of knowledge of the constitution in Totonicapan in 1812, but is rather concerned with the reinstatement of the constitution in 1820.

3. AGC, A1.5480, Leg. 47155, Testimony of Agustín Sapon, August 14, 1820, folio 22.

4. AGC, A1.193, Leg. 3942, Letter from Lucas Méndez and Domingo Chávez to Prudencio de Cozar (undated), folio 53; Leg. 3944, Letter from Indian officials of Sacapulas (undated), folios 1–2.

5. AGC, A1.193, Leg. 3942, Letter from Ambrosio Collado to Carlos de Urrutia y Montoya, February 24, 1820, folios 4–5.

6. Ibid., Letter from Indian officials of Chiquimula, May 14, 1820, folio 64.

7. Ibid., Letter from Manuel José de Lara to Carlos de Urrutia y Montoya, February 16, 1820, folio 1; Letter from Tomás Antonio O'Horan to Manuel José de Lara, February 24, 1820, folios 6–7.

8. Ibid., folios 12–16, 73–75, 77–79; A1.5480, Leg. 47155, folios 53–55.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. AGC, A1.193, Leg. 3942, Letter from Ambrosio Collado to Carlos de Urrutia y Montoya, March 22, 1820, folios 12–16.

12. Ibid., Leg. 3944, folios 1–2, 5–6; A1.194, Leg. 4966, folios 1–3.

13. AGC, A1.193, Leg. 3942, Letter from Valentín Alvarado to Ambrosio Collado, April 3, 1820, folio 23.

14. Ibid., folios 39–40; A1.5480, Leg. 47155, folios 51–53.

15. AGC, A1.193, Leg. 3942, Letter from Indian officials of Chiquimula to Prudencio de Cozar, June 10, 1820, folios 67–68.

16. Ibid., Letter from Manuel José de Lara to Carlos de Urrutia y Montoya, April 17, 1820, folios 41–42; Letter from Fray Manuel Reyes to Manuel José de Lara, May 30, 1820, folio 93; A1.193, Leg. 3944, Letter from Prudencio de Cozar to Carlos de Urrutia y Montoya, May 5, 1820, folio 3.

17. AGC, A1.193, Leg. 3942, Letter from Pedro Regalado de León to Prudencio de Cozar, April 19, 1820, folio 71.

18. AGC, A1.5480, Leg. 47155, Testimony of Francisco Velasco, August 25, 1820, folios 53–55.

19. AGC, A1.193, Leg. 3942, Letter from Royal Audiencia to Ambrosio Collado, March 26, 1820, folio 17; Letter from Prudencio de Cozar to Carlos de Urrutia y Montoya, April 1, 1820, folios 26–29.

20. AGC, A1.5480, Leg. 47155, Declaration of Buenaventura Pacheco, August 13, 1820, folios 17–18.

21. Ibid., folios 2–3, 17–21, 53–55.

22. Ibid., Leg. 47153, folios 1–2.

23. Ibid., Leg. 47155, Declaration of Lucas Méndez, August 13, 1820, folios 18–20.

24. Ibid., folio 36.

25. Ibid., folios 2–5, 7–9, 17–18, 20–22, 53–56, 83–85.

26. Ibid., Testimony of Macario Rodas, August 15,

1820, folio 26; Testimony of Valentín Alvarado, August 18, 1820, folio 46.

27. Ibid., Declaration of Lucas Méndez, August 13, 1820, folios 18-20; Leg. 47154, Letter from Manuel José de Lara, July 21, 1820, folio 3.

28. Ibid., Leg. 47155, folios 18-25, 56, 58, 65.

29. Ibid., folios 7-8, 17-22, 84-85.

30. Ibid., folios 9-12.

31. Ibid., folios 12-14.

32. Ibid., folio 76.

33. Ibid., folios 3-5, 18-21.

34. The Indians were still trying to convince Guatemalan officials that they had been freed of the tributes as late as the summer of 1821 [AGC, A1.194, Leg. 4965, Nos. 8, 9, 12].

35. AGC, A1.193, Leg. 3945, Letter from Indian nobles of Totonicapan, December ?, 1820, folios 1-2; Letter from Prudencio de Cozar to Gabino Gaínza, May 7, 1821, folios 10-12.

36. AGC, A1.5480, Leg. 47152, folios 5-6, 11, 13; Leg. 47155, folios 2-5.

37. Ibid., folios 17-24, 56, 58.

38. Ibid., folios 3-5, 7-8, 53-55.

39. Ibid., folios 81-82, 84-85.

40. At one point Contreras (1951:39) briefly compares the Totonicapan Revolt of 1820 with the uprising led by José Gabriel Condorcanque [Tupac Amaru] in Peru in 1780 and suggests that the former resembles the early stages of the latter. In the case of Condorcanque, however, there is indisputable documentary evidence that he claimed to be a direct descendant of the last reigning Inca, Tupac Amaru, and made himself king of Peru and other countries in South America (Lewin 1957:427-428; P. C. Thompson 1973:85). In Condorcanque we have a historical "Indian king," but in Tzul probably only a mythical one.

41. AGC, A1.5480, Leg. 47155, folio 25.

Chapter 8. The Caste War of Yucatan (1847-1901)

1. The most important published sources on the Caste War of Yucatan are the works of Eligio Ancona (1878-1880), Serapio Baqueiro (1871-1879), Juan Francisco Molina Solís (1921), and Nelson A. Reed (1964). The appendices in the first two histories contain some letters written by Indian leaders.

No less important, however, are Howard F. Cline's Ph.D. dissertation (1947) and a series of working papers available on microfilm (Cline 1941, 1943a, 1943b, 1943c), which contain a wealth of information culled from published sources. They proved indispensable to my research.

The Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona library in Merida has a collection of approximately one hundred letters, many of them in Maya, which were exchanged between Indian leaders and Yucatecan government and military officials between 1848 and 1853. They are listed by Bingham (1972). The Archivo del Estado (Yucatán) in Merida also contains Indian letters and other relevant documents from this pe-

riod. Another important collection of Indian correspondence in the Archives of Belize in Belmopan covers the period 1848-1887. Some of these letters are listed by Burdon (1935). The Foreign Office section of the Public Record Office in London also has relevant documents for the period 1850-1904.

2. According to Baqueiro, Imán told the Indians that "now they were not going to pay any more obventions to their parish priests, that they were going to abolish or at least decrease the contributions, and that finally they were going to distribute among them sufficient land for cultivation" (1871-1879:1:22; original in Spanish).

3. These religious "contributions" should not be confused with the civil "personal contributions" which were levied against all Yucatecans, of both Indian and Spanish descent, except soldiers and people too disabled to work for a living (Peón and Gondra 1896:1:219-224). The religious "contributions," like the obventions before them, were exacted of Indians only. They differed from the obventions in name (an artful attempt to confuse them with the more egalitarian civil "contribution") and in amount (Indian women were excluded from this discriminatory tithe entirely, and it was reduced by one-half *real* per year for Indian men). However, see note 2 above, which suggests that Imán also promised to abolish the civil "contribution."

4. Reed has "shirts" instead of "trousers." However, he is undoubtedly quoting from Molina Solís (1921:1:267), who says "Muera todo el que tenga pantalón" ("Kill everyone who has trousers").

5. The importance of Cuba, and especially Havana, as the source of news about the Constitution of 1812, seems to have been recognized by Indian historians. The Books of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, Maní, and Tizimin contain similar historical passages referring to a war with Cuba, to the movement of ships between Havana and Yucatan, to the French, and to the town of Tizimin (Edmonson forthcoming: lines 5341-5434; Pérez 1949:136-139; Roys 1933:123-125). Edmonson (forthcoming: note to line 5155) argues that these passages were written during the first part of the nineteenth century, between 1824 and 1837. I believe that they refer to the Constitution of 1812, its repeal in 1814, its reinstatement in 1820, and its effective repeal after 1821, when Mexico became independent and Yucatan was free to pass laws contravening it, and to the political conflicts that plagued the peninsula between 1835 and 1847, when the leaders of the party out of power sought refuge in Cuba (see below). Edmonson (forthcoming: note to line 5344) points out that the chief protagonist of all three versions, Antonio Martínez y Saúl, "is unknown to history, but his story is remarkably parallel to that of Santiago Imán, who was imprisoned in Tizimin in 1838" (cf. Ancona 1878-1880:3:364). These passages therefore telescope events covering a period of at least twenty-five years (1813-1838). The Constitution of 1812 (which did not take effect in Yucatan until 1813 [Acereto 1947:154]), like Imán's promises to the Indians

in 1839, was concerned with equalizing the treatment of Indians and people of Spanish descent and culture.

6. Not all travelers had this impression. John L. Stephens, for example, who visited the peninsula in 1840 and 1841, described the mistreatment of Indians on several *haciendas* (1841:2:404–405, 414–418; 1843:1:82, 2:158).

7. Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona library in Mérida (CCA), Letter from José María Barrera et al. to José Canuto Vela, April 7, 1850; original in Yucatec Maya.

8. Archivo General del Estado (Yucatán) (AGE-Y), Gobierno, 1847, Letter from Bonifacio Novelo and Florentino Chan, Commandant of Southern forces in Chemax, to ?, December 10, 1847.

9. Ibid., Letter from Cecilio Chi, Lorenzo Chan, Jacinto Pat, Manuel Cób, Crescencio Poot, and Luciano Bé to Francisco Caamal, December 11, 1847; original in Spanish.

10. Archives of Belize (AB), Letter from Jacinto Pat to John Kingdon, Edward Rhys, et al., undated.

The documents in the Archives of Belize in Belmopan are bound in numbered volumes, and the volume numbers are customarily cited in references to them (e.g., Dumond 1977; Jones 1974, 1977). However, the volumes containing most of the documents referred to in this chapter were being repaired and rebound during the summer of 1972, when I was working in those archives; I never saw the documents in bound form and therefore cannot cite volume numbers. I am grateful to Leo H. Bradley, Director of the National Archives of Belize, for granting me permission to peruse those documents while the rebinding was in progress.

11. CCA, Letter from José María Cocom et al. to Manuel Antonio Sierra, September 22, 1851; original in Yucatec Maya.

12. AB, Letter from Cecilio Chi, Venancio Pec, and José Atanasio Espada to ?, March 22, 1849.

13. Letter from Francisco Caamal et al. to Domingo Bacelis and José Dolores Pasos, February 19, 1848, in Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:Appendix, 115–117; original in Spanish.

14. Apparently some Ladinos believed this also. Molina Solís mentions that some Barbachano supporters in Mérida had publicly expressed sympathy for Jacinto Pat, "of whom they said that his only motive in rebelling was to unite with them in order to rid themselves of Méndez's government" (1921:2:31).

Other evidence that the Indians were simply supporting the causes of Ladino politicians is contained in a list of court cases in the Archivo General del Estado (Yucatán) for the years 1843–1847. In 1843, for example, Bernardino Mex, Francisco Ku, Florentino Chan, and Casimir Tuyú were sued for having refused to pay the "established contributions." At least one of these men (Florentino Chan) later became one of the principal leaders of the Indian rebellion. The year 1843 was an important one in Yucatecan politics. Santiago Méndez was in power during the first half of the year and Miguel Barbachano during the second half. The month of the trial was not given in the list, but if

the Indians belonged to the Barbachano faction, it is understandable that they would refuse to pay "contributions" levied by Méndez. A typescript of this list can be found in the office of the Director of the State Archives of Yucatan. I am grateful to Philip C. Thompson for drawing it to my attention.

15. Molina Solís's explanation was that the purpose of the conspiracy was racial, not political, and that the plotters had tried to disguise their real intentions by saying that it was purely political (1921:2:4).

16. AGE-Y, Gobierno, 1847, Letter from José Eulogio Rosado to Domingo Barret, July 22, 1847; Letter from José Dolores Cetina to ?, July 30, 1847.

17. Ibid., Testimonies of executed Indians recorded by Crescencio Carrillo, First Alcalde of Tihosuco, August 14, 1847.

18. Letter from Francisco Caamal et al. to Domingo Bacelis and José Dolores Pasos, February 19, 1848, in Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:Appendix, 115–117; original in Spanish.

19. Letter from Jacinto Pat to José Canuto Vela, February 24, 1848, in Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:Appendix, 114–115; original in Spanish.

20. Unsigned letter to Victor García, March 18, 1848, in Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:Appendix, 117–118; original in Spanish.

21. According to Philip C. Thompson (1978:194), the *hidalgos* formed a separate social stratum during the Colonial period and enjoyed many of the prerogatives of Spaniards. Furthermore, there is evidence that some members of the secular clergy were of Maya descent: of the 1,009 secular clergy deaths that occurred between 1796 and 1887 in the bishopric of Yucatan, 22, or 2 percent, were individuals with Maya surnames (Archivo de la Secretaría del Arzobispado [Yucatán] [ASA-Y], Asuntos Terminados, 1887–1889). I am grateful to Thompson for bringing this document to my attention.

22. CCA, "Ligeros apuntes de algunos episodios del sitio de Valladolid ministrados por un testigo presencial," January 1848.

23. CCA, Letter from Miguel Barbachano to rebel Indians, February 17, 1848; Letter from José Canuto Vela to Jacinto Pat, February 6, 1848, in Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:315–317.

24. Unsigned letter to Victor García, March 18, 1848, in Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:Appendix, 117–118; original in Spanish.

25. Letter from Jacinto Pat to José Canuto Vela, February 24, 1848, in Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:Appendix, 114–115.

26. CCA, "Ligeros apuntes de algunos episodios del sitio de Valladolid ministrados por un testigo presencial," January 1848, Baqueiro 1871–1879:1:348–355.

27. CCA, Letters from Jacinto Pat to Felipe Rosado, April 1, 1848, April 2, 1848, April 6, 1848, April 9, 1848; Letters from José Canuto Vela and Felipe Rosado to Jacinto Pat, April 1, 1848, April 3, 1848; Letter from Jacinto Pat to

Isidro Rejón, April 2, 1848; Letter from Felipe Rosado to Jacinto Pat, April 3, 1848; Letter from Jacinto Pat to José Canuto Vela, April 9, 1848.

28. Baqueiro 1871–1879: I:408–411; CCA, "Los tratados de paz celebrados en Tzucacab entre los comisionados, Cura D. Canuto Vela y D. Felipe Rosado, y por otra parte el caudillo indígena Jacinto Pat, Jose Ma. Poot y otros," April 27, 1848.

29. AB, Letter from Florentino Chan and Venancio Pec to Superintendent of Belize, October 10, 1849; Letter from Paulino Pech to Juan Pedro Pech, October 26, 1849; Letter from Percy W. Doyle to Charles Fancourt, November 15, 1849.

30. CCA, Letter from Pedro Pech to ?, April 9, 1848.

31. AB, Letter from Florentino Chan and Venancio Pec to Superintendent of Belize, October 10, 1849; Letter from Paulino Pech to Juan Pedro Pech, October 26, 1849; Letter from Percy W. Doyle to Charles Fancourt, November 15, 1849.

32. AB, Letter from Cecilio Chi, Venancio Pec, et al. to Superintendent of Belize, June 15, 1849. These archives also contain another letter signed by Chi, dated March 22, 1849. Reed (1964:122n) says that "the date of Chi's death has been disputed, but no writer places it later than May 1849 and the best evidence points to December 14, 1848." I would place Chi's death later, during the summer or fall of 1849, because of these two letters.

33. AB, Letter from Florentino Chan and Venancio Pec to Superintendent of Belize, October 10, 1849; Letter from J. H. Faber to Charles Fancourt, October 13, 1849; Ancona 1878–1880:4:263–264; Reed 1964:121–122; AGE-Y, Gobierno, 1849, Official letter from the Commander in Chief of the Southern Forces to the General Commander of the East, September 18, 1849; Official letter from José Dolores Pasos, General Commander of Barracks of Peto, to General Commander of the East, September 14, 1849.

34. CCA, Letter from José María Barrera et al. to José Canuto Vela, April 7, 1850; Letter from José Canuto Vela to José María Barrera et al., May 5, 1850; Letter from José María Barrera et al. to José Canuto Vela, May 5, 1850; Letter from José Canuto Vela to José María Vásquez, May 5, 1850; Letter from José María Barrera to José Canuto Vela, May 6, 1850; Letter from José Canuto Vela to José María Barrera et al., May 6, 1850.

35. AB, Letter from José Venancio Pec and Cosme Damián Pech to Superintendent of Belize, July 22, 1850.

36. CCA, Letters from José Canuto Vela to José María Barrera, May 7, 1850, May 13, 1850.

37. Villa Rojas (1945:161) has "Doña Heriana Uat" instead of Doña Hilaria Nauat. The copy of the manuscript I have seen has "D^a ylaria navat" (see Machlin and Marx 1971:19 for a facsimile copy of this page). I would argue that the last two letters of "Heriana" belong with the following word (na + Uat = nauat). It is possible that Doña Hilaria Nauat was a relative of Manuel Nauat, perhaps his paternal aunt or sister.

38. The most recent date mentioned in the version pub-

lished by Villa Rojas (1945:164) is August 15, 1887. The copy I saw (in 1971) had addenda dated 1903, 1944, and 1957. Furthermore, I have discovered that the pagination in the version published by Villa Rojas is different from the pagination in the copy made by members of the Argosy expedition.

39. The leader of the Kekchi rebellion of 1885 in Guatemala also called himself Juan de la Cruz (Brinton 1897:xviii–xix; Sapper 1895:205).

40. Great Britain, Public Record Office, Foreign Office section 39, volume 17 [hereafter cited as FO section/volume], Letter from José Leandro Santos and José Dionisio Zapata to John Gardiner Austin, January 1, 1864, folios 70–73.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., Letter from Edmund Burke to Mr. Berkeley, January 25, 1864, folios 68–69; FO 39/5, Letter from Captain W. Anderson to Frederick Seymour, February 15, 1858, folios 91–98; AB, Statement of José de los Angeles Loesa, August 26, 1861.

43. Ibid., Letter from José María Barrera to Superintendent of Belize, January ?, 1851.

44. Ibid., Letter from Miguel Barbachano to Superintendent of Belize, March 27, 1851.

45. There is some confusion about how many crosses there were in all (see Reed 1964:137 for a discussion of this point). Cámara Zavala claims to have seen three crosses in 1852, but in later years eyewitnesses mention only one Talking Cross.

46. FO 39/5, Letter from Frederick Seymour to Governor Darling, March 13, 1858, folios 141–143.

47. Eight children were ransomed by the English in November 1858 (FO 39/7, Letter from Frederick Seymour to Governor Darling, November 17, 1858, folios 17–22).

48. This church was recently described by Nelson Reed: "The new church was laid out along ambitious lines, over 100 feet long and 60 feet wide. Foundations weren't necessary on that scanty soil; some leveling was sufficient. Stone lay everywhere at hand and mortar was easily reduced with heat from limestone boulders in open-air kilns, a technique unchanged in thousands of years. And the walls began to rise, massive, richly mortared, growing in sections, with pauses to let the mortar cure, flanked by five reinforcing buttresses on either side. The buttresses supported an equal number of low arches, on which were placed horizontal rows of wooden poles; the poles served as forms for a thin layer of mortar, and when that hardened, for more layers, until there was a ponderous, self-supporting concrete vault forty feet high. A protected walkway ran the length of each long side of the roof, a feature typical of Yucatecan churches, intended for defense. Four stumpy, never-completed towers gave stability at the corners, the southwestern one mounting the looted bells of Bacalar. A single arched portal, and above it a door with a balcony, pierced the bare façade, and together with side doors, let a dim light into the interior" (Reed 1964: 173–174).

49. This is probably a misprint for Puc; according to Molina Solís (1921:2:245), Venancio Pec died in 1852. Furthermore, it is clear from correspondence that Venancio Puc was both Tatich and Headman in 1858 (FO 39/5, Letter from Captain W. Anderson to Superintendent of Belize, February 15, 1858, folio 94).

50. FO 39/13, Letter from James Plumridge and I. Twidge to Frederick Seymour, April 12, 1861, folios 165–172.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., Declaration of José María Trejo, April 12, 1861, folios 181–182.

53. FO 39/5, Letter from Commander Inglefield to Commodore Kellet, December 23, 1857, folios 71–78; FO 50/326, Letter from Frederick Seymour to Governor Darling, November 17, 1857, folios 335–340; Molina Solís 1921:2:284–287; Reed 1964:165–170.

54. The attack took place on April 1, 1858. The Indians took possession of the city, but they were eventually driven out (FO 39/5, Letter from Frederick Seymour to Governor Darling, May 3, 1858, folios 324–328).

55. FO 39/17, Letter from José Leandro Santos and José Dionisio Zapata to John Gardiner Austin, January 1, 1864, folios 70–73. This was not the first attempt against the lives of the Puc triumvirate. Discontent with Puc rule had also come to a head during 1862, when a faction led by José Dolores Tec tried to kill the three leaders. The coup failed, and Tec was sentenced to death for his part in the revolt (*La Nueva Epoca*, July 27, 1863:2).

56. FO 39/17, Letter from Edmund Burke to Mr. Berkeley, April 4, 1864, folios 107–110.

57. Reed (1964:190) claims that Poot became the ranking general after Zapata and Santos were deposed. However, Captain John Carmichael, who visited Chan Santa Cruz in 1867, reported that Cen was the second chief of the Cruzob, and Cen's signature followed directly after Novelo's in a letter sent to Carmichael by the triumvirate (AB, Letter from Bonifacio Novelo, Bernardino Cen, and Cresencio Poot to John Carmichael, October 30, 1867; Letter from John Carmichael to James Robert Longden, November 15, 1867).

58. AB, Letter from James Robert Longden to Edwin Adolphus, July 8, 1868.

59. AB, Letter from John Carmichael to James Robert Longden, November 15, 1867.

60. AB, Letter from Edwin Adolphus to Thomas Graham, December 4, 1866; Letter from Edwin Adolphus to James Robert Longden, September 30, 1869. The letter from Juan de la Cruz dated October 20, 1866 (*El Espíritu Público*, July 19, 1867) may have been written at Tulum.

Still another cult seems to have been established at Tancah, near Tulum, in 1887. It was publicized in a bilingual newspaper called *El Agorero de Oriente*, edited by Juan Peón Contreras de Elizalde. The first (and perhaps only) issue of the newspaper was published in March of that year. The first page was taken up by an announcement in Maya and Spanish expressed in the same idiom as

the proclamation of Juan de la Cruz (see Chapter 11 and Appendix A). A putative letter from the Archbishop of Mexico on the second page, dated September 29, 1886, authorized Contreras de Elizalde to undertake a peace mission to Chan Santa Cruz. The announcement implies, however, that Contreras de Elizalde's real motive for establishing the cult was to use it as a means of recruiting Indian labor to exploit the forest along the coast near Tulum (ASA-Y, Oficios, 1887).

61. When I visited Carrillo Puerto (formerly Chan Santa Cruz) in August 1971, I was informed by a relative of a former leader of the Cruzob that Juan de la Cruz was the son of Christ..

62. The first Tatich of Chan Santa Cruz had probably been a *maestro cantor* in his home village. *Maestros cantores* were given the right to perform the sacraments during the sixteenth century (Collins 1977:244).

63. AB, Letter from John Carmichael to James Robert Longden, November 15, 1867.

64. Ibid.

65. Ladino captives were treated as slaves by the Cruzob; the women were forced to work as house servants, the men as laborers ("Noticias que emite el C. Anastasio Durán a esta jefatura de su prisión en Tunkas por los indios bárbaros, conducción y permanencia en Santa Cruz, usos y costumbres de los rebeldes y particularidades de aquel punto," *El Espíritu Nacional*, September 3, 1862:1).

66. AGE-Y, Gobierno, 1851, Letter from Modesto Méndez to Governor of Yucatan, April 1, 1851. Méndez was Guatemalan, but Hoil belonged to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Yucatan and was probably of Yucatecan origin (Philip C. Thompson, personal communication).

67. Ibid., Letter from Modesto Méndez and Juan de la Cruz Hoil to Governor of Yucatan, August 21, 1851.

68. CCA, "Copia autorizada con la firma del Srio. Gral. de Gobierno Do Francisco Martínez de Arredondo y con el sello de la Secretaría, del tratado de paz celebrado con las autoridades y pueblo de Chichan há con el corregidor del Petén D. Modesto Méndez y con el Pbo. D. Felipe J. Rodríguez; Fechada en Mérida a 10 de Septubre de 1851"; Baqueiro 1871–1879:2:429–432; Molina Solís 1921:2:243.

69. Letter from Crown Surveyor to Superintendent, July 6, 1860, summarized in Burdon 1935:3:230.

70. FO 39/15, Letter from Luciano Zuç to Frederick Seymour, June 15, 1863, folios 276–280.

71. FO 50/433, Letter from Robert M. Mundy to William Grey, November 4, 1874, folios 140–142.

72. FO 50/362, Letter from William Stevenson to Major General Neill, September 9, 1856, folios 6–14; Letter from William Stevenson to Secretary Labouchere, December 16, 1856, folios 75–84; Cline 1943c:31.

73. FO 50/362, folios 104–125, 278–284, 318–323.

74. FO 39/5, Letter from Frederick Seymour to Governor Darling, May 17, 1858, folios 418–440.

75. See AB for 1866; FO 39/21, folios 34–37; FO 39/432, 433.
76. FO 50/433, folios 85–88; FO 50/547, folios 86–95; Letter from Superior Political Prefect of Yucatan to Governor, July 6, 1864, summarized in Burdon 1935:3:256; Letter from Mr. Blockley to James Robert Longden, July 10, 1868, summarized in Burdon 1935:3:307–308.
77. FO 50/433, folios 85–88; *La Razón del Pueblo*, February 3, 1873, and February 24, 1873, quoted in FO 50/432, folios 233–250.
78. FO 50/434, Letter from Frederick P. Barlee to Anthony Musgrave, August 1, 1878, folios 335–336.
79. AB, Letter from Venancio Pec to Superintendent of Belize, October 5, 1848.
80. AB, Letters from James Plumridge to James Robert Longden, June 24, 1869, July 6, 1869.
81. AB, Letter from Cresencio Poot to Magistrate of Corozal, November 4, 1873, Orange Walk Correspondence.
82. AB, Letter from Robert M. Mundy to Eugenio Arana, March 3, 1875; Letter from Eugenio Arana to Robert M. Mundy, April 13, 1875; Letter from Robert M. Mundy to William Grey, May 12, 1875; FO 50/433, folios 224–228; FO 50/434, Letter from Frederick P. Barlee to Anthony Musgrave, January 4, 1878, folios 100–106.
83. They were followed by X-Kantunilkin, a town east of Tizimin, on October 2, 1859, and Yokdzonot, a town southwest of Espita, on March 4, 1861 (*El Constitucional*, October 10, 1859:3; ASA-Y, Oficios, 1861–1862). By 1861, according to one report, twenty-six towns had been pacified (*La Razón del Pueblo*, August 28, 1867:1).
84. AB, Letter from John Carmichael to James Robert Longden, November 15, 1867; *La Razón del Pueblo*, April 20, 1868:1, May 6, 1868:1; ASA-Y, Oficios, 1866, Letter from P. J. Sánchez López to Bishop of Yucatan, September 11, 1866.
85. AB, Letter from John Carmichael to James Robert Longden, November 15, 1867.
86. AB, Letter from Luis Moo to William W. Cairns, January 20, 1874, Orange Walk Correspondence.
87. AB, Letter from Eugenio Arana to William W. Cairns, February 12, 1874, Orange Walk Correspondence.
88. AB, Letter from Eugenio Arana to Robert M. Mundy, June 2, 1874; FO 50/433, folios 109–110.
89. AB, Letter from James Plumridge to James Robert Longden, November 30, 1868.
90. AB, Letter from James Robert Longden to ?, November 13, 1869.
91. AB, Letter from Rafael Chan and Marcos Canul to James Plumridge, 1869; Letter from James Plumridge to James Robert Longden, January 29, 1869.
92. FO 50/433, Letter from Robert M. Mundy to William Grey, November 14, 1874, folios 140–142.
93. Two of the priests who served the northern group of towns had Indian surnames: Juan Ascención Tzuc and Juan de la Cruz Caamal (ASA-Y, Oficios and Cartas, 1851–1867, *passim*).
94. AGE-Y, Gobierno, 1856, Letter from Jefe Político of Izamal to Governor of Yucatan, November 8, 1856.
95. AB, Letter from John Carmichael to James Robert Longden, November 15, 1867; Jesuit Archives in Belize City, Letter from Fr. Barastro in 1867 or 1868; Buhler 1975.
96. AB, Letters Inwards for 1884, January 11, 1884.
97. AB, Letter from Teodosio Canto to Juan Bautista Chuc, January 13, 1884, Letters Inwards for 1884.
98. AB, Letter from Cresencio Poot to Henry Fowler, January 30, 1884, Letters Inwards for 1884.
99. Yucatecans opposed this decision to separate Quintana Roo from their state, but they were powerless to do anything about it because all their efforts to "reconquer" it had failed. However, this territory was never effectively controlled by Yucatan, even before 1847 (Cline 1941:9–10; Espejo-Ponce Hunt 1974:467–475, 546–547, 584–585, 589). The federal government's recent decision to transform Quintana Roo into a state now makes it impossible for Yucatan to regain what it considers to be its rightful territory. Yucatecans are understandably bitter about this decision, saying that it means that the 200,000 Yucatecans who died during the Caste War died in vain (Sosa Ferreyro 1974).

Chapter 9. The War of St. Rose in Chamula (1867–1870)

1. This chapter is based on three kinds of sources: (1) Vicente Pineda's (1888:70–118) history of the movement, (2) Cristóbal Molina's (1934) eyewitness description of some of the events that took place in Chamula and neighboring towns, and (3) contemporaneous newspaper reports and editorials. One newspaper, *La Brújula*, was published in San Cristobal Las Casas and therefore presents a conservative interpretation of the movement. The other two newspapers, *El Baluarte de la Libertad* and *El Espíritu del Siglo*, express the liberal view of it. *El Baluarte de la Libertad* was published in Chiapa de Corzo, a liberal stronghold. *El Espíritu del Siglo* was the official newspaper of the state government of Chiapas; it was published at different times in San Cristobal Las Casas, Chiapa de Corzo, and Tuxtla Gutierrez, depending on the location of the state capital (cf. Locke 1964 for a discussion of reasons why the state capital was moved from city to city during the nineteenth century).

2. The Indian Christ was the son of Juan Gomes Chechel and Manuela Pérez Jolcogtom (Pineda 1888:77). His surnames imply that he was a relative of Agustina Gomes Chechel, probably her brother or nephew.

3. The one exception I found was a short article in *El Baluarte de la Libertad*, entitled "A New Religious Sect," which appeared on May 1, 1868. The author of this article, José Velasco S., noted that there had been many meetings of Indians "which have alarmed the city of San Cristobal; but we know of nothing hostile until this date, and that the alarms and agonies of the inhabitants of that city, have resulted from groundless reports." The "groundless" reports may have concerned the crucifixion of Domingo Gomes Chechel a month or two earlier.

4. The annual report of the state government of Chiapas issued on February 18, 1848, contains the following statement: "remember what happened and is still happening in southern Mexico and Yucatan, whose natives have sent a message about the rebellion to those of Tumbala in this State" [S. Orantes 1848: 12]. I am grateful to Professor Prudencio Moscoso Pastrana for bringing this report to my attention.

Chapter 10. The Iconography of Ritualized Ethnic Conflict among the Maya

1. See Beals 1964:144, 1951:81–82; Bennett and Zingg 1935:314–315; Bode 1961; Brand 1951:204; Bunzel 1952:424; Carrasco 1952:25; de la Fuente 1949:283; Foster 1948:208; Gamio 1922:2:230–231; Gillmor 1942, 1943; Ichon 1969:349; Johnson 1950:39–40; Kurath 1949; La Farge and Byers 1931:99; Madsen 1960:155; Parsons 1932:330–333, 1936:250–252, 261–263; Redfield 1930:117, 120; Ricard 1932; Spicer 1954:142–143; Starr 1908:30; Toor 1925; Vázquez Santana 1940:359–362; Vázquez Santana and Dávila Garibi 1931:49, 50, 111; Wagley 1949:56; Wisdom 1940:451–452.

2. Professor Prudencio Moscoso Pastrana has brought to my attention a handwritten text of a Dance of Christians and Moors, which bears the following inscription on the first page:

La Fe de Cristo Triunfante Manuscrito Siglo XVIII se representó en 1822	The Faith of Christ Triumphant Manuscript 18th Century performed in 1822
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The Cancuc revolt of 1712 is referred to in a speech of one of the actors (quoted in note 10 below).

3. The modern Lacandon are not descendants of the colonial Lacandon (see Chapter 4). It is possible that the colonial Lacandon had the same curing ceremonies as the modern Lacandon do. Alternatively, because both groups have been called Lacandon, it may have seemed appropriate to attribute the curing rituals of the modern Lacandon to the colonial Lacandon. In any case, the Crossbacks also resemble the Lacandon of the Colonial period, who went about naked and painted their bodies (Tozzer 1913: 501–502).

4. The Lacandon impersonators (*kabinal*) of Bachajón fight a "red war" against Captains dressed in colonial Spanish costumes. The Lacandon chase the Captains fourteen times around the sports field in front of the church (Becquelin-Monod and Breton 1973). The mock battle obviously symbolizes the Lacandon raids of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, were already being dramatized in nearby Ocosingo [Ximénez 1929–1931:2:220; see also Chapter 4]. Does the name "red war" also refer to the invasion of Simojovel, in 1712, by Indians daubed with red mud?

5. I have argued that the costumes used in ritual drama reflect the structure of myth and ritual. The feathered serpent columns at Chichen Itza and other sites in Yucatan are probably artistic representations of the mythical Quetzalcoatl. Given the fact that historical events are often telescoped in myth and ritual, the representation of Quetzalcoatl as a feathered serpent in sculpture or dramatic costuming does not necessarily mean that this culture hero was actually conceived of as part-serpent, part-bird. It may mean only that Quetzalcoatl was associated with two mythical (or historical) events, one about birds and another about animals, in which one type of bird and one type of animal played the same role. In other words, a knowledge of the structure of Maya myth is probably just as necessary for interpreting Maya sculpture and painting as it is for understanding Maya ritual, which is sometimes represented in painting (e.g., the masked performers depicted in the mural in Room 1, Structure 1, at Bonampak [Ruppert, Thompson, and Proskouriakoff 1955:49–51, Figure 25]). Arthur Miller (1974) has shown that the intertwined borders of the painting in Structure 5 at Tulum could have several meanings at once.

Another well-known improbable creature which is represented in sculpture is the so-called "were-jaguar" of the Olmecs. Some scholars have argued that Olmec culture was the "mother culture" of the Maya and other civilizations of Mesoamerica. According to Michael Coe, "The Olmec art style, as seen in gigantic basalt sculptures (some weighing many tons) and in smaller carvings, was centered upon the representation of a creature which combined the features of a snarling jaguar with those of a weeping human infant; this were-jaguar almost surely was a rain god, the first recognizable deity of the Meso-American pantheon" (1966:47). However, in light of my discussion of the structure of myth and ritual, it is not necessary to conclude from the existence of these sculptures that the Olmecs believed in a god that was half jaguar, half human. Rather, it is at least as likely that the sculptures of were-jaguars represented several mythical or historical events, in which a crying baby and a jaguar played the same role. This would mean that the sculptures in question symbolized several structurally similar events, just as the monkey impersonators of Chamula symbolize several analogous historical cases of ethnic conflict.

6. Other versions of this myth have been published in Vogt (1969:326–330, 357–360).

7. According to William J. Smither (personal communication), this ritual may also be related to the medieval war game described in the *Poema del Cid* (Menéndez Pidal 1971:194), variants of which are found in other parts of Spanish America, such as New Mexico, where it is called *cañas*, and Puerto Rico, where it is called *carrera de sortijas*.

8. This does not mean that the people interviewed by Bode were unconcerned about the historical accuracy of their dance-dramas. They expressed the belief that some

versions were more authentic than others, and not all dance masters confused the conquest of Mexico with the conquest of Guatemala (Bode, personal communication and 1961:228).

9. According to Bode, the dance masters sometimes confused the *Dance* of the Conquest with the conquest itself: "So closely associated in their minds are their manuscripts, the *historia*, and the events it relates that they often confuse the two. For example, when I asked Rubén de León Cabrera, in Concepción, where he had obtained his *historia*, he embarked on an animated dissertation on Pedro de Alvarado's route down through Mexico to his encounter with Tecum in the Llanos de Pinal. Santiago Mul felt that they were probably doing the dance 'durante la misma Conquista' ['during the Conquest itself'], when the Lacandón came down from Mexico where 'un señor llamado Hernán Cortés había conquistado el Rey de México, creo Moctezuma' ['a gentleman named Hernán Cortés had conquered the King of Mexico, I believe it was Montezuma']" (1961:231).

10. The original Spanish text is as follows:

Reina: Quien vencerá en esta guerra

Que no se llegó a contar
 Ninguno, ninguno pues
 La guerra era muy fatal,
 Y de parte de los indios
 Treinta y dos pueblos están,
 Y los de Guatemala,
 Comitán y Ciudad Real,
 Quetzaltenango y sus pueblos,
 Soconusco y Tonalá,
 Reunidos temen la fuerza
 En que los indios están.

I am grateful to Professor Moscoso for pointing out the significance of this passage to me (see note 2 above).

Chapter 11. The Passion Theme in Maya Folklore

1. The heart sacrifice resembled several important events in the history of Christianity. The custom of shooting the victim with arrows was probably responsible for the association of the sacrifice with the martyrdom of St. Sebastian in Zinacantan (Chapter 10). The scaffold to which the victim was tied was analogous in purpose to the Cross.

2. AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folio 394; Leg. 295, 3d Quaderno, folio 170; 5th Quaderno, folios 197, 202, 203.

3. Indian Christs also appear in the oral traditions of highland Guatemala. A tale from Panajachel relates how an Indian of San Jeronimo el Ingenio was crucified and tormented like Christ: "They say that there was formerly a great town in this place [Now it is only a small ranch which has the same name] in which all the people were Catholics; but later they relapsed into such savagery that they no longer celebrated Holy Week in the traditional

fashion but, instead of crucifying a saint [image] on Good Friday, they did so with one of their own people whom they had previously selected. All the torment that Our Lord suffered at the hands of the Jews they did to the poor fellow who had been struck with bad luck. After lowering him from the Cross, they carried him in a procession as far as the cemetery to bury him.—After the deed of those men had become known, a priest was sent there to determine if the things that were being said were true. When they turned out to be true, the priest performed a solemn Mass to the end that all kinds of animals of the mountains, such as tigers, lions, poisonous snakes, etc., would come to finish off these perverse people. Days later when men and women went out they did not return again. The church can still be seen" (Tax 1950:2544).

4. For example, General May's son-in-law, whom I met in Carrillo Puerto (formerly Chan Santa Cruz) in August 1971, believes that Juan de la Cruz was the son of Christ.

5. CCA, Letter from Juan de la Cruz to Miguel Barbachano, August 24, 1851. This is one of five similar letters written during August and September 1851. The complete text of one of them (dated August 28, 1851) appears in Appendix A, together with an English translation and explanatory notes (Text A-2).

6. As mentioned in note 21 to Chapter 8, of 1,069 secular clergy deaths between 1796 and 1887 in the bishopric of Yucatan, 22, or 2 percent, were individuals with Maya surnames (ASA-Y, Asuntos Terminados, 1889–1891).

7. The name Juan de la Cruz may have a special meaning for the Maya. When the Kekchi rebelled in 1885, their leader was a man named Juan de la Cruz (Brinton 1897: xviii–xix; Sapper 1895:205). The choice of this name was probably not accidental; the Cruzob were famous for their successes against Ladino armies, and they could have served as the model for the Kekchi rebellion in Guatemala.

8. On August 13, 1974, I visited the church of St. Dominic in San Cristobal Las Casas. I wanted to look at the image of the Entombed Christ because of its importance to Chamulans before 1868. It was a Tuesday afternoon, and I did not expect to find a Mass going on at that hour of the day (3:30 p.m.) and on that day of the week. The church seemed to be deserted, but I could hear someone singing what I thought at first was a Mass. As I moved around the church in search of the image of the Entombed Christ, I suddenly realized that what I was hearing was not chanting in Spanish or Latin, but an Indian praying in Tzotzil.

As I neared the front of the church I saw in the right transept a Chamulan man, his wife, and their child praying before the image of the Entombed Christ. A stone slab in front of the glass case which enclosed the image was covered with lighted candles. The Chamulan man was chanting *mi sirikočyo* (*misericordia*), his voice resonating throughout the church.

After praying for some time in front of the glass box enclosing the figure of the Entombed Christ, the family turned to another image directly across the transept and

prayed before it also. Then they exited from the side door of the church and prayed in the courtyard just outside the door. After that they disappeared into the town.

The Chamulan man and his wife were not wearing the robes of political or religious officials, so I concluded that they were making some personal appeal to the image, perhaps to cure an illness. Evidently the image of the Entombed Christ in the church of St. Dominic in San Cristobal Las Casas was not entirely forgotten by Chamulans after 1868, even though it is no longer the focus of official worship during the Easter season.

Chapter 12. The Indian King

1. The Tupac Amaru rebellion in Peru, with which the Totonicapan dispute has been compared, also occurred during the Colonial period when the Spanish King was the supreme political ruler.

2. AGC, A1.5480, Leg. 47154, folio 5.

3. It is interesting that in Contreras's (1951:39) paraphrase of Lara's anguished plea for help, he refers to a "new reconquest."

4. When Cecilio Chi heard of the terms of the treaty, he refused to abide by it. He immediately sent 1,500 men to Peto, where they caught Pat by surprise and destroyed the staff, the banner, and the treaty (Reed 1964:89). After that there was no more talk of an Indian governor.

5. Montezuma, the most powerful Indian king in Mesoamerica on the eve of the conquest, seems to have been an important symbol in several Maya Indian rebellions. The leaders of the Cancuc revolt of 1712 tried to gain support for their movement by announcing that Montezuma was being resuscitated and would help the Indians defeat the Spaniards (AGI, Guat., Leg. 293, 2d Quaderno, folios 209, 218, 261, 326; Leg. 294, folio 188).

6. AGC, A1.5480, Leg. 47155, folio 26.

Chapter 13. Contemporary Developments in Highland Chiapas (1958–1972)

1. In 1942–1943, Professor Sol Tax and a group of Mexican students of anthropology conducted some field research in Zinacantan (Vogt 1976:192). Calixta Guiteras-Holmes carried out field work in San Pedro Chenalho in 1944, 1953, and 1955–1956 and in Cancuc in 1944 (1946a, 1946b, 1961:1–5). Ricardo Pozas Arciniega worked in Chamula during 1944 (1944, 1959). Fernando Cámara Barbachano was engaged in research in Tenejapa during 1943–1944 and in San Miguel Mitontic during 1944 (1946a, 1946b). William R. Holland worked in San Andres Larrainzar in 1956, 1957, and 1959–1961 (1963:1). And members of the Harvard Chiapas Project, under the direction of Professor Evon Z. Vogt, have been working in Zinacantan continuously since 1957 and, more recently, also in Chamula.

2. My etymological interpretation of the term *me?* *santo* rests on the following reasoning: *me?* is a Tzotzil

noun root which has the general meaning 'female' and, in some contexts, the specific meaning 'mother' (Laughlin 1975:232). *Santo* is a Spanish loan word which, in Indian communities, may mean either 'saint' or 'god.' Guiteras-Holmes (1961:270) apparently translates *me? santo* as 'mother of the saint,' as does Holland (1963:199). However, *me?* does not mean 'mother of' unless it is preceded by the third person possessive pronoun *s-*; the correct Tzotzil equivalent of 'mother of the saint' is *sme? santo*.

Without the possessive prefix, *me?* has the general meaning 'female,' unless it is used as a term of address. Therefore, the correct translation of *me? santo* is 'female saint' or 'Virgin.' Indians usually call female saints Virgins. Furthermore, Guiteras-Holmes also says, "Talking boxes are called by the name of a saint; more rarely, they are known as Jesucristo or La Virgen" (1961:294). Finally, this gloss makes sense in terms of the history of these movements: the object of worship in the eighteenth-century cults of Santa Marta and Cancuc was a "talking" Virgin, and the Virgin of St. Rose became the focus of the religious revitalization movement in Chamula during the nineteenth century.

Chapter 14. Nativism, Syncretism, and the Structure of Myth and Ritual

1. The Cancuc revolt is not the only documented postconquest example of the use of magical weapons by the Maya in ethnic conflict. In 1837, the Indians of San Juan Ostuncalco (near Quezaltenango in highland Guatemala), "being provoked at being compelled to work at the construction of prisons, . . . rose *en masse*, to attack the circuit judges, at that time holding their first court of justice in the town. They and the officers accompanying them were compelled to save themselves from the popular indignation by a precipitate flight. The magistrate of the district, escorted by a troop of dragoons, proceeded to remonstrate with the Indians; but he had no sooner begun to speak than they directed against him a shower of stones. An engagement then took place between the mob and the dragoons, when the former was dispersed with considerable loss after killing twenty-four of the dragoons. The Indians left behind them an idol and a jar filled with stones collected from the bed of a neighbouring river. It appears that they had been made to believe that the jar, if broken at the moment of the attack, would throw lightning upon the enemy, and, by enchantment, a number of venomous snakes were to rush out from a neighbouring wood and bite the soldiers,—an event which was to be brought about by the assistance of the old gods of the country" (Dunlop 1847:192–193). The inspiration for this futile attempt to unleash natural forces against the enemy could only have been oral or written traditions about the use of these weapons in past ethnic conflicts such as the conquest of Guatemala (Chapter 3)—another example of the intervention of myth in history.

Glossary

aguardiente (Span.): sugarcane liquor, rum.

alcalde (Span.): a local magistrate; a judge and member of the town government.

alcalde mayor (Span.): a provincial governor; the governor of an *alcaldía mayor*.

aldea (Span.): a small village or hamlet.

arriero (Span.): a muleteer.

arroba (Span.): a weight of twenty-five pounds.

audiencia (Span.): the court or governing body of a region.

barrio (Span.): a ward of a town or city; a suburb.

batab (Yucatec Maya): the civil and military head of a Yucatecan town in pre-Spanish times; during the Colonial period the *cacique* and later on the governor of an Indian town.

cacicazgo (Span.): a native province or political division.

cacique (Span.): an Indian chief or local ruler; a political leader or "boss."

cargo (Span.): a burden or weight; used to refer to a civil or religious post.

castellano (Span.): a Castilian; the language of Castile.

catrín (Span.): a citified or sophisticated person; term used for a person of non-Indian culture in the Yucatan peninsula.

cenote (from Yucatec Maya *dzonot*): a natural cistern or water hole; a limestone sink.

Chac (Yucatec Maya): rain god of the Yucatecan Maya.

chic (Yucatec Maya): a coati mundi.

chilam (Yucatec Maya): a prophet or priest.

cofradía (Span.): a religious sodality.

coleto (Span.): a native of the city of San Cristobal Las Casas, Chiapas.

comisario (Span.): an investigator (for the Inquisition).

conjunta (Span.): a meeting.

copal (Nahuatl): incense.

coroza (Span.): a hood or cape.

Cruzob (Yucatec Maya): people of the Cross.

Ehécatl (Nahuatl): Quetzalcoatl in his wind god aspect.

encomienda (Span.): a grant of Indians, originally for labor and tribute, later mainly for tribute; the area of the Indians granted.

entrada (Span.): an expedition for purposes of exploration or military conquest.

fanega (Span.): a grain measure; ca. 1.60 bushels.

fiscal (Span.): a minor church official.

fustán (Span.): a petticoat.

gobernador (Span.): the governor of a province.

guardia (Span.): a system of rotational service in the municipal government of Yucatan.

haab (Yucatec Maya): solar calendar of 365 days.

hacienda (Span.): a large landed estate, ranch, farm, or plantation.

hidalgo (Span.): a noble.

hrik'al (Tzotzil): Blackman, Moor, or Negro.

huipil (Yucatec Maya): typical dress worn by Indian women in Yucatan.

jarana (Span.): traditional dance of Yucatan.

Jteclum (Tzotzil): the name of the ceremonial center of Zinacantan.

ka'b'enal (Tzotzil): name of Lacandon chiefs during the Colonial period.

kalvaryo (Tzotzil, from Span. *calvario*): Calvary Hill.

kastiya (Tzotzil, from Span. *castilla*): a scaffolding tower of fireworks set off during festivals in the Indian communities of highland Chiapas.

katun (Yucatec Maya): a time period of 7,200 days, or approximately twenty years; a score of years.

Ladino (Span.): a non-Indian, Spanish-speaking inhabitant of Guatemala or Chiapas.

leva (Span.): military conscription.

maestro (Span.): during the Colonial period in Yucatan, a lay assistant to a Spanish priest.

maestro cantor (Span.): a native religious specialist in Yucatan.

mayordomo (Span.): a majordomo or custodian.

mesonero (Span.): a publican.

mestizo (Span.): a person of mixed Indian and Spanish ancestry.

mico (Span.): a monkey.

milpa (Nahuatl): a cornfield. The term also refers to swidden or slash-and-burn agriculture.

mono (Span.): a monkey.
nagual (Nahuatl): an animal alter ego.
naguatlato (Nahuatl): an interpreter.
nixtamal (Nahuatl): hominy.
nohoč tata (Yucatec Maya): great father; spiritual leader of descendants of the Cruzob.
ordinario (Span.): Ecclesiastical Judge Ordinary.
partido (Span.): a local district or administrative area; the district administered by a curate or beneficed priest.
pašyon (Tzotzil, from Span. *pasión*): passion; religious post in Chamula, Chenalho, and Zinacantan.
peso (Span.): in Colonial times, a silver coin equivalent to eight *reales*; today, the basic monetary unit of Mexico.
presidente (Span.): a mayor or magistrate of a town.
principal (Span.): an Indian aristocrat.
pueblo (Span.): a town, village, or settlement.
rancho (Span.): a hamlet, small farm, or ranch.
real (Span.): a silver coin, one-eighth of a silver *peso*.

reducción (Span.): a settlement of converted Indians.
regidor (Span.): an alderman or councilman.
reina (Span.): a queen.
rey (Span.): a king.
secretario (Span.): a secretary or scribe.
señora (Span.): a lady.
tatich (Yucatec Maya): title of Patron of the Cross in Chan Santa Cruz.
templo (Span.): a temple, church, or shrine.
teponaztli (Nahuatl): a slit or horizontal drum.
tesorero (Span.): a treasurer.
tun (Maya): in Yucatan, a time period of 360 days; in highland Guatemala, a slit or horizontal drum.
turko (from Span. *turco*): a Turk.
tzolkin (Yucatec Maya): ritual calendar of 260 days.
vicario (Span.): a vicar.
visita (Span.): a tour of inspection; a community or church ministered by nonresident clergy.

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