

RECENT ETHNOHISTORICAL  
WORKS ON SOUTHEASTERN  
MESOAMERICA

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- LA PAZ DE DIOS Y DEL REY: LA CONQUISTA DE LA SELVA LACANDONA.* By JAN DE VOS. (Chiapas, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Chiapas, 1980. Pp. 524.)
- MAYA SOCIETY UNDER COLONIAL RULE: THE COLLECTIVE ENTERPRISE OF SURVIVAL.* By NANCY M. FARRISS. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984. Pp. 585. \$60.00 cloth, \$19.50 paper.)
- HISTORIA SOCIODEMOGRAFICA DE SANTIAGO DE GUATEMALA, 1541-1773.* By CHRISTOPHER H. LUTZ. (Antigua Guatemala and South Woodstock, Vt.: Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica, 1982. Pp. 499. \$11.50.)
- ARCHITECTURE AND URBANIZATION IN COLONIAL CHIAPAS, MEXICO.* By SIDNEY DAVID MARKMAN. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984. Pp. 443. \$35.00.)
- THE INDIAN CHRIST, THE INDIAN KING: THE HISTORICAL SUBSTRATE OF MAYA MYTH AND RITUAL.* By VICTORIA REIFLER BRICKER. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981. Pp. 368. \$45.00.)
- LOS MAYAS REBELDES DE YUCATAN.* By MARIE LAPOINTE. (Zamora, Michoacán: Colegio de Michoacán, 1983. Pp. 258.)

These six books represent only a sample of the numerous contributions to southeastern Mesoamerican ethnohistory published over the past several years.<sup>1</sup> They have in common some degree of concern with the experiences of Mayan-speaking Indian societies as these peoples confronted the conditions emerging from the Spanish colonial experience. Taken together, these works encompass the entire sweep of post-conquest history. Their regional scope, however, is limited to Chiapas, Guatemala, the Yucatán peninsula, and Belize—the focal areas of indigenous Mayan languages.

The authors of these works come from several disciplinary traditions: cultural anthropology (Victoria Bricker), history (Jan de Vos, Nancy Farriss, Christopher Lutz, and Marie Lapointe), and art history

(Sidney Markman). This catholic orientation toward southeastern Mesoamerican ethnohistory reflects a welcome tendency to ignore increasingly vague scholarly boundaries and to focus instead on common or complementary critical issues. Ethnohistory, once primarily the domain of anthropologists eager to reconstruct indigenous societies of the contact period, has become the common theme of a variety of studies seeking to understand the transformation of these societies under more than four centuries of external control. The issues addressed by these authors are numerous and unevenly explored. Certain broad questions stand out as primary, however. First, how did Indians respond to colonial and political domination during the period of independence? Under what conditions did rebellion, religious innovation, political reorganization, migration, or other conscious responses to externally imposed controls emerge among the indigenous population? Second, what more can be learned about Spanish and post-Spanish methods of control over the souls, bodies, social groups, and productive activities of the indigenous populations? How were these methods related to the various forms of creative response by Indians? Third, what were the long-term demographic processes accompanying the emergence and maturation of complex, stratified, multiethnic societies, including the effects of disease and famine, urbanization, various forms of migration, and miscegenation?

Victoria Reifler Bricker's *Indian Christ, Indian King: The Historical Substrate of Maya Myth and Ritual* is the sequel to her earlier *Ritual Humor in Highland Chiapas*. In the new work, Bricker attempts nothing less than a full-scale structuralist interpretation of Maya history since the conquest. Maintaining that "oral tradition may be no less valid a source of historical data than written documents," she examines Claude Lévi-Strauss's view that related myths are composed of a constant structure into which historical events are fitted in a seemingly hodgepodge fashion. According to this view, myths may be found both in the written record and in contemporary folklore, and they are just as important for understanding European historical sources as for grasping the nature of indigenous historical thought. To uncover these structures is to discover what history actually is and, implicitly, to be able to interpret actual past events more profoundly.<sup>2</sup>

Focusing her analysis on ethnic conflict and the history of Indian revitalization movements, Bricker identifies two fundamental structures in the corpus of Maya history following the conquest. First, written and oral history produced by the Maya is predicated upon the belief that time and events recur in cyclical fashion. Prophecy and repetitiveness must therefore be essential ingredients in all Maya historical thought, and much Maya behavior must be viewed as an expression of prophetic fulfillment. Second, Spanish or "ladino" history is based on an equally

compelling underlying structure, the “myth of pacification,” according to which each episode of interethnic conflict throughout history is a structural equivalent of the initial Spanish conquest. These two structures of history appear to interact in certain circumstances, resulting in ladino authorities misinterpreting Maya acts as threatening and therefore inappropriately applying violent pacification tactics that sometimes led to open ethnic conflict.

Bricker’s book interweaves these structural themes into the context of descriptive and critical historical summaries of interethnic conflict throughout southeastern Mesoamerican history. Some of these summaries successfully juxtapose ladino historical structures with those found in Maya writings and oral texts, several of which are reproduced in the original Maya, with the author’s translations in an extensive series of appendices.

The very structure of Bricker’s book offers a key to her complex analysis: the second, third, and fourth parts present syntheses of eight cases of ethnic conflict, written in “historical” as opposed to “mythical” time. “The First ‘Rebellions’ (1511–1697)” provides useful summaries of the often protracted conquests of Yucatán, Guatemala, and Chiapas, relating Maya responses to conquest activity, wherever possible, to passages in the extant native histories. The third part, “Colonial Rebellions,” summarizes three aspects: first, four early-eighteenth-century highland Chiapas indigenous religious movements (including the so-called Cancuc rebellion) associated with saint worship;<sup>3</sup> second, the 1761 rebellion led by Jacinto Canek in Quisteil, Yucatán;<sup>4</sup> and third, a purported 1820 rebellion in Guatemala known as the revolt of Totonicapán. The fourth part considers two postcolonial episodes, the Guerra de Castas (Caste War) in Yucatán (1847–1901) and the Guerra de Santa Rosa in Chamula, Chiapas (1867–1870).

In the fifth part, Bricker finally shifts from “historical time” to “structural time” to consider a series of structural themes binding recent and contemporary ritual and folklore in Chiapas, Guatemala, and Yucatán with the “actual” history of these regions as described in parts 2 through 4. The reader who has survived this somewhat unwieldy, but informative, empirical journey now learns the full significance of the structuralist argument. In this case, the “remains and debris” are various verbal and iconographic references to instances of ethnic conflict dating back to the Spanish Conquest, all treated as structurally equivalent in accordance with Maya concepts of temporal cyclicity. On the one hand, Bricker argues that ladino claims that Mayas crowned themselves as “kings” in order to restore preconquest order are misinterpretations caused by the myth of pacification; on the other hand, she finds evidence that the Maya fully accepted the symbolism of Christ’s passion, transforming a deeply Spanish concept into the basis for cultural revi-

talization.<sup>5</sup> The reader is also treated to an interesting analysis of the nature of cultural revitalization movements among the Maya, which Bricker has consistently argued were far more syncretistic and accommodative and far less threatening than the pacification-oriented ladino authors would have argued.

Whereas Bricker's analysis of the Caste War of Yucatán is rooted in the textual analysis of the meaning of the Maya and Spanish sources, Marie Lapointe's *Los mayas rebeldes de Yucatán* reflects goals that are more materialist. Lapointe argues in accordance with Henri Favre that peasant rebellions are limited in their effectiveness to the degree that the rebels find it impossible to separate themselves from their dependency on forces of domination. In the case of the Caste War, the British in Belize became the source upon which the supposedly autonomous rebels depended for their arms and manufactured necessities and thus became the ultimate cause of the rebels' downfall. Lapointe's intriguing argument emphasizes the place of Maya rebellion in a world system comprising British and North American capitalists, Mexican centralists caught in the circumstances of spiraling international debt, and Yucatecan slavers and oligarchs anxious to preserve a balance of ethnic and economic stability in their war-torn and politically divided peninsula. Lapointe places the Caste War, which resulted in rebel control over the southeastern part of the peninsula throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, squarely in the sphere of diplomatic and economic history.

Lapointe's work is sometimes less satisfactory when dealing with issues internal to the Santa Cruz movement itself. In my opinion, she overestimates the importance of a tribute system payable to the Santa Cruz leaders (pp. 93, 100), overuses the notion of acculturation as a factor determining the regional degree of rebellious behavior (pp. 60–61), and overstates the importance of "modernization" as a motivation promoting rebel economic dependence upon the British (pp. 220–21). Lapointe's account of the preconditions and regionalization of the rebellion is derived partly from Howard Cline's earlier work, but her analysis of the rebel movement ignores some recent English sources.<sup>6</sup> Her placing the important Proclamation of the Talking Cross in 1885 is challenged by Bricker's discovery that this document was written in 1850, at the outset of the formation of the Santa Cruz polity (pp. 104–5).

These and other mostly minor weaknesses may prevent *Los mayas rebeldes de Yucatán* from becoming a successor to Nelson Reed's book on the Caste War.<sup>7</sup> But students of nineteenth-century Yucatecan anthropology and history will find much of interest in the work. This reader, for example, was surprised to learn the extent of British commercial and logging activities as far north as Tulum and was intrigued by Lapointe's analysis of the late-nineteenth-century shift of the cult

center from inland Santa Cruz to coastal Tulum in response to entrepreneurial opportunity (pp. 92–95). No less interesting is her emphasis on Maya fear of the Yucatecan trade in Maya slaves with Cuba as a key factor in prolonging rebel resistance (p. 121).

Nancy Farriss's long-anticipated *Maya Society under Colonial Rule* has already become required reading for anyone wishing to understand the long-term antecedents of the Caste War or almost anything pertaining to the Maya from the conquest to the present. Those seeking a thorough examination of the Yucatec Maya experience under Spanish colonialism, virtuosic in its empirical breadth and its analytical creativity, will not be disappointed. As the first major modern synthesis of colonial Yucatán and the only one of this scale and depth for the entire Maya area, *Maya Society* will be a major source for years to come.

Farriss argues that the Maya of Yucatán came through the colonial experience less culturally disoriented than most native peoples who experienced the Spanish colonial system. Several factors created this state of affairs, all of which contributed to the relatively positive environmental circumstances in which the collectively oriented Maya set about surviving. Farriss asserts that the effects of Spanish colonialism were comparatively mild, despite the well-documented excesses. Yucatán was too poor—too isolated and bereft of exportable natural resources—to attract many Spaniards. Its coasts were virtually undefendable from pirates and foreign logwood cutters, leaving the colonial population under a constant state of siege. Internally the land lacked natural boundaries, allowing the Maya to maintain an open forested frontier where they could escape the pressures of exploitation and maintain sizable independent polities.

Given these circumstances, the colonial institutions set up in Yucatán did not prevent the Maya from calling on their own strengths of “social bonding” and maintaining structures at the community and extended family level that would ensure their ethnic survival. Although the Spanish effectively replaced hierarchical territorial organizations, Maya elites survived at the community level, directing the Maya “collective enterprise” that provided the “organizing principle of Maya society, incorporating the individual in widening networks of interdependence from extended family through community and state and ultimately to the cosmos” (p. 6).

These social bonds within the Maya community were periodically threatened by a vicious cycle of excessive *repartimientos*, subsequent flight to the frontiers, excessive tribute demands placed on the reduced *encomienda* population, famines and resultant increased flight, and susceptibility to epidemic disease. Somehow, the Maya survived these systemic attacks on their fragile, but persistent, social order. Their flexibility and adaptability took many forms, perhaps the most impor-

tant of which was their ability to move physically from community to community, from community to farm, and from areas under colonial control to the independent frontier and back again. Farriss deals intensively with these demographic issues in chapter 7, one of the most innovative recent analyses of Maya social processes.

One might wonder, given the purported strength of Maya society, why rebellions were not more frequent throughout Yucatecan colonial history. Citing the Quisteil (or Cisteil) revolt of 1761 as the single true rebellion occurring between the conquest and the Caste War, Farriss argues that intercommunity, pan-Yucatán Maya organizational networks were too weak to produce the level of cooperation needed to mount large-scale hostilities. She recognizes the high degree of Maya dissatisfaction with the colonial system but observes that responses to this system tended to be passive, ultimately taking the form of flight to the frontier. Recent research indicates that organized hostility on the frontier indeed occurred; however, Mayanists still lack a sufficient sense of this activity's impact on communities under colonial control.<sup>8</sup>

The Maya society that emerged by the end of the colonial period certainly differed greatly from that discovered by the Spanish. *Cabildos*, *cofradías*, *cajas de comunidad*, and the cult of saints all had the trappings of the Spanish social and ideological system. But Farriss argues that these trappings were essentially external, that the Maya had consciously set about adapting their own society and culture to the new system so relentlessly forced upon them. She envisions the subjected population as maintaining a certain degree of control over its destiny, patiently discovering how to survive without giving up its identity. She maintains that the Maya were successful in this enterprise, facing no real threat to their survival until the Bourbon reforms of the late seventeenth century and the initial expansion of landed estates in the late colonial period. After independence the conditions of the Maya worsened considerably, but this time they responded violently in the Caste War.

Some readers will no doubt disagree with the basic premises of *Maya Society*. But the breadth of Farriss's knowledge and insight will impress even the most skeptical Marxist. She considers with care most major controversies, provides encyclopedic coverage of the details of the Spanish colonial system in Yucatán, and guides future researchers with detailed and accurate notes on the primary sources.

"La paz de Dios y de el Rey" was Fray Pedro de la Concepción's intended gift to the Maya of Sac Balahn (or Sac Balam) in 1695. Harboring the last descendants of the Chol Maya speakers of lowland Chiapas, Sac Balahn symbolized nearly two centuries of Maya resistance in this region. Fray Pedro's gift of peace was in fact the news of final Spanish victory, resulting in the displacement of the inhabitants of Sac Balahn

(called Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Lacandón by the Spaniards) to Guatemalan towns closer to the highlands. In choosing Fray Pedro's phrase as the title of his book, Jan de Vos identifies the central irony of continued Spanish conquest in the face of pockets of resistance—that so-called ethnocide in the name of peaceful missionization and physical relocation were the only perceived European alternatives in situations where indigenous populations would not accept forms of colonial accommodation.

De Vos's *La paz de Dios y del rey* chronicles Spanish efforts to conquer the Chol-speaking Lacandón region of eastern lowland Chiapas, adjacent to the Guatemalan Petén. This work, along with the recent excellent edition of Nicolás de Valenzuela's account of the 1695 *entrada*,<sup>9</sup> adds significantly to knowledge of one of the most important regions of the independent lowland Maya frontier. De Vos is at his best when reporting from the primary sources on the militarization of *entradas* to the Lacandón area (limited in the early sixteenth century to Dominican missionaries), on patterns of Chol Lacandón hit-and-run resistance against Chiapan and Guatemalan towns, and on the ultimate extinction of the Chol Lacandón. De Vos's efforts to locate long-abandoned Chol Lacandón settlements may ultimately aid the archaeological investigation of these independent Maya settlements of the colonial period. Chapter 10 on the gradual population of this region by frontier region speakers of Yucatec Maya, which began in the seventeenth century, is certainly the best-documented argument yet on the origins of the present-day Yucatec Lacandón.

An underlying theme of de Vos's account is the Spaniards' exaggerated fear of the Chol Lacandón (see especially chapter 6), a fear clearly reminiscent of Bricker's pacification myth. While Chol Lacandón raids on small, undefended settlements were common, their threat to larger population centers was negligible.<sup>10</sup> The usual response to Spanish *entradas* (also characteristic of the reaction to the 1697 Spanish conquest of the Itzá capital at Tayasal) was retreat and removal in the face of heavily armed opposition.<sup>11</sup> A similarly exaggerated fear of Itzá savagery and invincibility apparently delayed Spanish efforts to conquer them until 1697.

De Vos's book is to be welcomed as the first major historical account of a lowland Maya frontier region since France Scholes and Ralph Roys's 1948 study of the Chontal Maya of Acalán-Tixchel.<sup>12</sup> *La paz de Dios y del rey* is less ethnographically sophisticated than the earlier work, and its single ethnographic summary chapter may strike cultural anthropologists as superficial and insufficiently related to wider issues in Maya ethnology. But the quality of descriptive historical scholarship is uniformly high, and the sources presented are so rich that the book is bound to be a major resource for the history of this frontier region.

Sidney Markman and Christopher Lutz both address issues of urban settlement during the colonial period, including the attendant phenomena of demographic change and *mestizaje*. Lutz illuminates social and demographic processes in the history of Santiago de Guatemala (Antigua Guatemala), deriving major implications for urban areas elsewhere in Latin America. Markman's study has more specialized appeal as an analysis of variations and processes of change in primarily ecclesiastical architecture in both Indian and Spanish communities in the colonial provinces of Chiapa and Soconusco.

Markman's aim in *Architecture and Urbanization in Colonial Chiapas, Mexico* is "to understand the process whereby the material object, the artifact, in this case the architectural monument, is reflective of the society that produced it" (p. 19). In his view, this process is one of *mestizaje*, of the biological and cultural mixing of Indian, Spanish, and black populations, which occurred primarily in the towns of the Soconusco and along the main routes connecting Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapa de Corzo, San Cristóbal (Ciudad Real), Teopisca, and Comitán. (The Indian towns of highland Chiapas remained off the beaten track, however, and were hardly touched by *mestizaje*.) This process effected a dynamic ladino society with characteristics stimulating the construction of the rich ecclesiastical monuments and the complex, centralized urban planning of the larger towns, particularly Comitán and San Cristóbal.

Markman argues that although most of these towns were established by the Dominicans as seats of Indian missionization, their growth as busy ladino centers created conditions that caused them to evolve past the simple church and open plaza design of the original *reducciones de indios*. This generalization does not imply, however, that it is possible to distinguish stylistic components on an ethnic basis in any of the more complex architectural examples of the developed ladino Chiapas style. But the architecture of the primarily Indian towns of the highlands, because of the "natural conservatism" of the indigenous population, has remained "fossilized" to this day (pp. 25, 27, 29, 32). Anthropologists will find Markman's views on Maya religious beliefs rather archaic and uninformed by recent research and conceptual re-orientations.

In the introductory chapters (the first three parts), Markman develops his straightforward (but not particularly productive) thesis in a useful survey of the demographic history of Chiapas. These chapters also contain interesting details about Dominican town planning strategies as they related to attempted reductions of dispersed Maya populations, the origin and history of architectural styles in the more urbanized centers, and the actual materials and methods of construction. The rest of the volume is a detailed discussion of the history and architectural characteristics of thirty-three colonial structures (including eight



*pueblo de indio* churches) and six later buildings. This handsome volume is well illustrated with 236 photographs and sketchplans.

Markman's bias toward a progressive, evolutionary view of ecclesiastical architecture notwithstanding, his work provides some foundation for ethnohistorians and historical archaeologists (especially those working in the Maya Lowlands) who are interested in the early, simpler church-convent complexes.<sup>13</sup> Readers who find his analysis of social interaction as a determinant of style outdated will do well to apply more current ideas to the high-quality descriptive work in this book.

Lutz's *Historia sociodemográfica de Santiago de Guatemala, 1541–1773* is the second in a series of monographs published by the Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica, which also publishes the new Spanish-language journal *Mesoamérica*. It is to be hoped that the high quality of this work will be typical of forthcoming volumes. Like Markman, Lutz is interested in the process of urbanization in a predominantly Indian area. Not surprisingly, he also finds that a principal source of social and cultural transformation may be found in the process of the formation of the *castas*. Whereas Markman takes this process as a given, Lutz seeks to document the demographic details of the process and to elaborate the resulting changes in Santiago de Guatemala's social and economic structures from its formation in 1541 until its destruction by earthquake in 1773.

Lutz's *Historia sociodemográfica de Santiago de Guatemala* is a judicious mixture of prodigiously researched quantitative and social history, reinforced by numerous detailed case studies and demographic tables. The underlying conceptual model is Hoetink's plural society, in which ethnically distinct segments are arranged hierarchically with varying possibilities for mobility. Santiago de Guatemala was originally conceived as a city of ruling Spaniards and Indian laborers and tribute payers, each sector to be separated by the geography of the city. Various inexorable factors, however, transformed this dual system into a complex, dynamic, "multiracial" society in which the autonomy of both Spanish and indigenous inhabitants was compromised. As intersegmental mobility increased, the "plurality" of the whole was ultimately diluted.

Spanish-Indian mestizos began to appear almost immediately, of course. The introduction of African slaves and their gradual manumission led to Afro-Indian and Afro-Spanish mulattoes. In the barrios around the periphery of the city, these castas gradually usurped the exclusive Indian identity of the population. Over time, the poor barrio population became increasingly homogenized and Hispanicized, absorbing the less fortunate Spanish population as well. The urban Indian community became less recognizable, and the level at which segmentation could be fully discerned shifted from the inner urban sphere to an

urban-rural dichotomy, in which the pueblos surrounding the city retained their indigenous identity.

Some readers might prefer a more powerful explanatory model that could have dealt more effectively with the changing class structure of the city as the castas gained greater economic and political independence. Lutz focuses instead on the compositional history of the castas, a task that he approaches primarily by applying Charles Tilly's "index of exogamy" to marriage records for Santiago's four *parroquias* from the late sixteenth century to 1769. Notwithstanding the impressiveness of this and other varieties of quantitative demographic analysis (for instance, the analysis of marriage *compadrazgo* and efforts to reconstruct an overall population history of the city), this reader was especially impressed by Lutz's handling of the nonquantifiable issues, such as his description of the increasing economic independence of the castas in marketing and producing alcoholic beverages (chapter 14). The numbers are indispensable, but this book's insights into social and economic detail in the life of the city are no less worthwhile.

In reading these volumes, one is impressed by the rapidly increasing knowledge of primary source documentation on the sociocultural history of this fascinating region. The excellent quality of much recent publication on southeastern Mesoamerica reflects the authors' assiduousness and imaginative approaches to sources as well as their creativity in exploring major issues, which together bode well for what may be expected in years to come.

## NOTES

1. Other recent works pertaining to the ethnohistory of southeastern Mesoamerica include Peter Gerhard, *The Southeast Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); William L. Sherman, *Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979); Robert M. Carmack, *The Quiché Mayas of Utatlán: The Evolution of a Highland Guatemala Kingdom* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981); Munro S. Edmonson, *The Ancient Future of the Itzá: The Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982); *Spaniards and Indians in Southeastern Mesoamerica: Essays on the History of Ethnic Relations*, edited by Murdo J. MacLeod and Robert Wasserstrom (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); Robert Wasserstrom, *Class and Society in Central Chiapas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); and Sandra Orellana, *The Tzutujil Mayas: Continuity and Change, 1250–1630* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984). Murdo J. MacLeod's fundamental *Spanish Central America: A Socio-Economic History, 1520–1720* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973) was recently published in Spanish under the title *Historia socio-económica de la América Central española* (Guatemala City: Editorial Piedra Santa, 1980).
2. For another anthropological view on the structural analysis of history, see Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), and his *Islands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985). For another interesting perspective on the relationships between myth and colonial history, see Joanne

- Rappaport, "Myth, History, and the Dynamics of Territorial Maintenance in Tierradentro, Colombia," *American Ethnologist* 12 (1985):27–45.
3. See also Kevin Gosner, "Soldiers of the Virgin: An Ethnohistorical Analysis of the Tzeltal Revolt of 1712 in Highland Chiapas," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1983.
  4. Bricker was unaware of *expedientes* in the Archivo General de Indias pertaining to the Quisteil episode, reported by Nancy M. Farriss after the publication of Bricker's book (see Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule*, p. 429, n. 40).
  5. For a contrasting interpretation of the Guerra de Santa Rosa, see Jan Rus, "Whose Caste War? Indians, Ladinos, and the 'Caste War'," in *Spaniards and Indians in South-eastern Mesoamerica*, pp. 127–68.
  6. For bibliographic references to the Caste War of Yucatán, see Bricker, *Indian Christ, Indian King*, chap. 8.
  7. Nelson Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).
  8. Some of these frontier hostilities are discussed in Grant D. Jones, "The Last Maya Frontiers of Yucatán," in *Spaniards and Indians in Southeastern Mesoamerica*, 64–91, and in "Maya-Spanish Relations in Sixteenth-Century Belize," *BELCAST Journal of Belizean Affairs* 1 (1984):28–40.
  9. *Nicolás de Valenzuela: conquista del Lacandón y conquista del chol*, 2 vols., edited by Götz Freiherr von Houwald (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1979).
  10. Both Bricker (p. 136) and de Vos (chap. 11) document examples of highland Maya carnival rituals in which historical encounters with the Lacandón appear to be recalled.
  11. The best (although often flawed) published source on the Itzá conquest and its aftermath is Juan de Villagutierrez Soto-Mayor's *Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itzá, reducción y progresos de la de el Lacandón* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1933). Originally published in 1701, it was recently published in English as *History of the Conquest of the Province of the Itzá* (Culver City, Calif.: Labyrinthos, 1983).
  12. France V. Scholes and Ralph L. Roys, *The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalán-Tixchel: A Contribution to the History and Ethnography of the Yucatán Peninsula*, 2d ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).
  13. See, for example, Antonio C. Benavides and Antonio P. Andrews, *Ecab: poblado y provincia del siglo XVI en Yucatán* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1979). Frontier mission churches are described archaeologically in David M. Pendergast, "Lamanai, Belize: An Updated View," in *The Lowland Maya Postclassic*, edited by Arlen F. Chase and Prudence M. Rice (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 91–103; and in the same volume, Elizabeth A. Graham, Grant D. Jones, and Robert R. Kautz, "Archaeology and Ethnohistory on a Spanish Colonial Frontier: An Interim Report on the Macal-Tipu Project in Western Belize," 206–14.