

Defining variability in colonial lowland maya domestic groups

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INTRODUCTION

Primary historical documentation in archives in Spain and the Americas provides a wealth of information about sixteenth and seventeenth century Maya domestic organization in the southern lowlands of Mesoamerica. Most historians however have approached these materials with an interest in the number and composition of local and regional populations. Documents are evaluated in terms of completeness and accuracy, and elaborate data sets based on this material are compiled to provide detailed descriptions and analyses of regional populations. Recent research has demonstrated that census material can generate significant information not strictly related to demographic trends (Carmack, Lutz, and Early, 1982; Robinson, 1981). Because of their importance in Spanish colonial ideology, these documents can be manipulated to reveal much about colonial self-image, imperial priorities, local understanding of social structure, and so on (Lombardi, 1981: 11).

The *matricula* or houselist is a specific kind of census and provides insight into the social context of particular populations. Not only do these social inventories of individuals and families permit the location of people within a community, they indicate how ecclesiastical bureaucracy perceived the composition of households and more inclusive social groups. While it may be unclear how representative these views of household arrangements may have been, there is a certain degree of normative behavior.

These documents can therefore be used to derive a more conservative model for the organization of domestic groups because they provide elemen-

tal data on early colonial household units. Although many Mayan scholars have referred to the size of prehispanic and colonial domestic groups, few attempts have been made to establish reliable or even suggestive data about variability in household composition and size (Ashmore, 1981). The reliability of any attempt to characterize a population depends upon the analysis of a relevant and significant base sample, and past efforts have generally suffered from a lack of empirical data on the material correlates, whether artifactual, architectural, areal, or demographic variables, which might reflect such information. The use of direct analogies from modern ethnographic to prehispanic contexts are likely to be meaningless in the absence of reliable data on microdemographic variation from one population to another, detailed information on sociocultural differences between populations, and an understanding of the dynamics of household development. Such attempts usually present modern village society as the most recent transformation of an essentially prehispanic configuration. Explanation of differences between the two models emphasizes concepts of unidirectional change in which social change proceeds at varying rates thereby resulting in the differential survival of indigenous features. Thus, concentration of research upon the conquest has produced a synthetic model of indigenous society in which a sophisticated prehispanic nobility is replaced by Spanish colonists, leaving a local peasantry to subsist largely unchanged to the present. It has become increasingly clear that some aspects of Mayan society do not accommodate such models.

This paper is a materialist analysis of a series of houselists from southwestern Campeche in the early seventeenth century. Particular emphasis is given to identifying and defining variation in the composition and size of domestic groups, and a description of some features relating to suprahousehold social organization. The Campeche houselists are especially important not only because they represent a point in time which is transitional between archaeological and ethnographic contexts, but rather because the demographic and sociocultural data appear sufficiently well understood.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A large body of primary and secondary historical literature is available for the study of the development and transformation of Hispano-Indian society in Yucatan from the sixteenth through seventeenth centuries (Chamberlain, 1948; Cook and Borah, 1972-1979; Farriss, 1984; García Bernal, 1978; Landa, 1941; Moseley, 1980; *Relaciones historico-geográficas de la gobernación de Yucatán*, 1983; Roys, 1943, 1957; Scholes, 1937; Scholes and Roys, 1948; Sotelo Regil, 1963-1964). The information presented in this summary is partially based upon these studies.

The sixteenth century conquest of the Maya-speaking Indians of Yucatan was consolidated in large part by the actions of missionaries. A Carme-

lite friar and two secular priests accompanied Francisco de Montejo in 1528 during the early conquest period, and shortly thereafter Fray Jacobo de Testera was the first Franciscan to reach the peninsula. In 1546, six more members of that order arrived from Guatemala, the vanguard for hundreds of others who would join the missionary effort in the following decades.

The first permanent convents in Yucatan were established by the Franciscans at Merida and Campeche in 1546, and others were founded at Conkal, Izamal, Mani, and Valladolid during the next two decades.

The golden age of missionary activity in southern Mesoamerica began in 1573 with the *Ordenanzas sobre descubrimientos* promulgated by King Philip II (Bolton, 1917). The Spanish empire at this time was overextended and wealth of the Americas were required to finance campaigns in the Mediterranean, Italy, and Flanders. These ordinances essentially prohibited armed expeditions and the primary responsibility for the pacification of frontier areas in the Americas was placed in the hands of missionaries. The role of the military was purely defensive and limited to the protection of missionaries and Christianized Indians (Villagutierrez Soto-Mayor, 1983: 16-17). After a region was pacified, missionaries were instructed to transfer their responsibilities to the secular clergy and advance further into hostile territory. The use of the term «conquest» was forbidden and was replaced by «pacification». This method of pacification was relatively successful and it cannot be denied that missionaries were the mainstay of early colonial rule in many frontier regions of Mesoamerica.

Spanish colonial control of northern Yucatan was stable by 1580 although the central and southern parts of the peninsula remained largely an unconsolidated hostile territory. The area served as a buffer between Christianized colonial Yucatan and the Cholan-speaking Peten lakes region to the south (Jones 1982: 285) and represented a potential threat to the civil and religious administration in the north (Scholes and Adams, 1936).

Throughout most of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries large number of Yucatec-speaking Maya fled colonial frontier settlements and moved southward into the interior forests of Campeche, Quintana Roo, and northern Belize (Farriss, 1984: 20; Jones, 1983: 64; Scholes and Roys, 1948). The causes of this movement were varied but emphasized relief from administrative and religious controls imposed by Spanish colonists, especially hardships resulting from the *encomienda* and repartimiento systems.

Population movement was generally characterized by small groups of Yucatec Maya who migrated southward and settled along water courses and near *aguadas* or water holes. These settlement locations were probably selected for their suitability for orchard crops and canoe transport (Farriss, 1984: 20; Jones, 1983: 64). Relocated Maya were certainly not isolated and continued to pursue an active illicit commerce in beeswax, pepper, copal incense, and other forest products and salt, metal implements, and cotton thread with Christianized border towns.

bush settlements and relocated at a mission center at Tixchel, located northeast of Laguna de Terminos. This attempt at consolidation was only moderately successful inasmuch as many Indians fled back into the forest.

By 1599 concerns were being expressed by colonial administrators about the increasing numbers of Yucatec Maya who were leaving northern Yucatan for the interior. As a result, two Franciscans accompanied by a small military garrison traveled inland in 1604 to the apostate settlement of Nacaukumil, south of Champoton and east of Tixchel. Information gathered here regarding the location of at least twelve other forest settlements proved to be of importance in subsequent penetrations into the area.

The Franciscans were able to establish three forest missions by 1606 at Tzuctok, Ichbalche (including Ichmachich) and Chacuitzil. Again the length and hardships of inland travel made it difficult to sustain effective missionary control and by 1609 the deterioration of ecclesiastical authority had begun to accelerate. A series of meetings were held in January and February of 1615 by colonial administrators and indigenous representatives from Ichbalche, Ichmachich, Sacalum, and Tzuctok to consider a proposal to relocate these missions nearer to the coast. Sahcabchen, situated about 20 kilometers southeast of Champoton, was chosen as a suitable location for resettlement.

Francisco de Villalobos Cárdena, appointed as special commissioner in charge of the relocation effort, traveled with the Franciscans Joseph del Bosque and Juan de Buenaventura to Sahcabchen in early March to mark out sites for the village. The Indians from Tzuctok were brought to Sahcabchen at the end of March and the residents of Ichbalche arrived in three groups between April and August. The populations at Chacuitzil, Chunhaz, and Ichmachich were relocated at Cheusih, a few kilometers east of Popola, sometime in July or August. Dwellings as well as orchards and agricultural fields were destroyed in order to discourage return migration. Villalobos Cárdenas then ordered a *matricula* or census to be prepared for taxation purposes after the resettlement of Cheusih and Sahcabchen was completed in August. A transcript of the enumeration is provided as an appendix, and an analysis of document is the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

Little is known of the missions at Cheusih and Sahcabchen between 1615 and the end of the seventeenth century, and there is little evidence to suggest a concerted effort by colonial administrators to further reduce and extend administrative control over the interior region. It is clear however that conditions continued to deteriorate. Intermittent raids by Dutch, English, French, and portuguese corsairs at Campeche and Champoton threatened colonial stability along the coast and during the 1660's there were reports of English privateers following inland trails from the coast to plunder mission settlements (AGI, Escribania de Cámara, 317B; Villagutierre Soto-Mayor, 1983: 124).

The apostate population in the forests of Campeche probably increased

substantially throughout the middle and late seventeenth century as groups of Yucatec Maya continued to flee border settlements in the north. This movement may have been accelerated by the yellow fever epidemic of 1648. In addition, the mission system in coastal Campeche was in the process of disintegration as a result of mistreatment of Christianized Indians under the *repartimientos* of Governor Rodrigo Flores de Aldana, the excessive use of Indian labor in the coastal logwood trade, and the increasing violence caused by coastal privateers (AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 315B, 317B; AGI, Mexico, 307, 308).

The flight from interior missions in Campeche appears to have peaked in the 1660's at a time when the fugitives developed a number of large settlements. The most influential of these was at Tzuctok, the site of the former mission near the hostile Cholanspeaking Cehach territory, which included about 200 armed warriors (AGI, Mexico, 307). The *cacique* of Tzuctok was a *batab* named Juan Yam, a fugitive from Bolonchen de Cavich who first entered the forest in 1645, controlling some 1200 Indians armed with bows and arrows, lances, and firearms at the settlements of Chunputit, Bolonpeten, Temchay, and Thubub. Each of these districts was governed by a lesser *cacique* responsible for between six and thirty fugitive families. Large numbers of apostate warriors attacked and pillaged most of the frontier settlements on a regular basis under instructions from Yam (AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 315B). He also preached that the time had arrived for Christianized Maya to abandon their mission settlements and take refuge in the interior forests according to the ancient prophecies. These testimonies may refer to one of the year prophecies but, as Scholes and Roys (1948) have argued, it seems more likely that a *katun* prophecy, such as described in the books of Chilam Balam, is indicated. The aspect of revitalization served to illustrate the survival of traditional Yucatec Maya religion and the influence of indigenous religious practitioners among the Christianized Maya.

These disturbances had a direct impact on the stability of mission centers at Cheusih and Sahcabchen. By 1663 the resident population for Sahcabchen had been reduced from 552 in 1615 to only 83. Fray Juan de Sosa arrived at Sahcabchen in May of 1668 and the mission was further reduced to only 50 residents although an additional 200 adults and unspecified number of children were collected during short circuits into the adjacent forest. The following July Captain Lorenzo de Hevia reached Sahcabchen with a garrison of 120 Spaniards and 50 Indians from Mérida and Campeche and found 39 Indians at the mission and another 175 were reduced from *parajes* located between five and thirty kilometers in the bush (AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 315B).

There was a Franciscan friar resident at Sahcabchen as late as 1670 but he retired soon thereafter (García Bernal, 1978: 243) and by 1678 it was reported that many Indians from the center had allied themselves with hostile Cholan-speaking Maya at Petenecte along the Río Usumacinta in Tabasco.

By 1680 conditions had deteriorated once again to such an extent that it was necessary to send a military expedition into the interior to restore order. This action resulted in the destruction of Tzuctok and the abandonment of many hamlets. The missions at Chekubul, Chiuha, and Usualaban, with a combined population of lightly over 400 adults, were the only remaining stable Christianized settlements in the district by 1688.

After this time the interior fugitives ceased to be a threat to colonial authorities and an expedition [from Campeche] in 1695 against the Itza in the Peten region of northern Guatemala encountered little resistance (AGI, Guatemala, 151; Avendaño y Loyola, Cano, 1942; n.d.; Villagutierre Sotomayor, 1983).

In later years Sahcabchen became an important commercial center supported by numerous farms and cattle ranches, and participated in the profitable coastal logwood trade. The parish was reestablished as a benefice sometime between 1737 and 1752.

ANALYSIS OF THE CHEUSIH AND SAHCABCHEN HOUSELISTS

The original Cheusih and Sahcabchen enumeration ordered by Francisco de Villalobos Cárdena in August of 1615 is located in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI, Mexico, 138, ramo 4, número 62e, ff. 318v-337v). Photographs of this document, as well as a number of other manuscripts relating to the mission system in southwestern Campeche during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were prepared by France V. Scholes in 1933 for the Carnegie Institution of Washington History of the Yucatan Project. Duplicate copies for many of these papers were deposited at Tozzer Library, Harvard University, and in the Library of Congress.

Structure of the Houselist. The purpose of the census was to ensure that all individuals [over 14 years of age] from Chacuitzil, Chunchaz, Ichbalche, Ichmacich, and Tzuctok were listed in order to facilitate the collection of tax revenues. The governors, alcaldes, regidores, and scribes from Cheusih and Sahcabchen were charged with the preparation of the census. Whether these census officials actually visited individual houses or sent representatives to notify different segments to report for enumeration is unknown. However, either method of data collection reveals a direct association with the order of recording and the physical arrangement of the communities.

It is assumed that information contained in the houselist was collected in a more or less systematic manner. The resident population associated with each house structure or cluster of houses are considered in this paper as primary units of analysis. It is not the purpose here to enter into a lengthy discussion of the problems implicit in the definition of «household» as an analytical concept. This has been treated elsewhere in great detail (Carter,

1984; Hayden, 1982; Cook and Borah, 1972-1979; Hammel, 1984; Laslett, 1972; Rapp, 1983; Woodford-Berger, 1981; Yanagisako, 1979). For the purposes of this paper, «household» refers loosely to a group of individuals who appear together or are otherwise clearly separated from group of others in the document. It is assumed that «household» comprises a centralized context for the organization of productive and reproductive systems of interaction and dependency at different social, economic, and political levels spread out over number of dwellings. The circulation of people, services, and resources among groups of houses constitutes cohesion within the local system. This context is not a static system but rather is fluid and may vary from one individual to another.

In the Maya region, the primacy of kinship and the fact that kinship is recognized on different levels with village organization causes difficulties with restrictive definitions of household. The recognition of lineage heads who have authority over the residents of many houses all of whom may not operate corporately in all social and economic situations, would lead one to label such segments as «house groups».

The Cheusih and Sahcabchen houselist includes 1338 individuals enumerated according to 410 house structures, which in turn are further partitioned by horizontal lines into 190 groups of houses (figure 2). Information included within each of the five lists was recorded in a systematic fashion with occasional minor variations. The specific format includes Spanish baptismal names and Yucatec Maya surnames for all married persons, solitaires, and widows, followed by the number of tribute-exempt children under 14 years of age. Additional information includes administrative offices currently held, physical impairments, name and location of nonresident or fugitive spouse, and other circumstances which may have affected taxation assessment. Examples of tribute exemption include the following:

- f. 319 Don Diego Ho, governor, Ana Che, wife; she is a fugitive.
- f. 325v Miguel Uc, Magdalena Evan, with a daughter less than three years; she is insane.
- f. 326v Juan Chel, Catalina Chan; he is in Pocomuch with two children less than four years.
- f. 327v Beatriz, age widow and ill; tribute exempt.
- f. 330r Pedro Cavich, Ana Zulu; he is aged and ill, with a young child of nine years.
- f. 330v Francisco Cavich, Ana Canul; he is very aged.
- f. 332v Francisco Kuk, Ana Ytza; crippled.

The enumeration of all individuals included in the census is tabulated along the right margin under the designations "c", *casados* (married couples), "s", *solteros* (solitaires), "v", *viudos* (widows), and "m", *muchachos* (children).

Only two administrative positions are given in the body of the enumera-

319

Comu Tardos. Zeros traygan
 a sus reser. Dia. Donahayon
 aha cuenta. Inque fabe
 ninguna persona. Zaimendos
 fundado. Chica casao vella
 a la quenzia. de fue ha dundo a
 fha quenzia. Por la forma Zna
 nera siguiente.

quenta de Chuch

~ dondago ho. goi ana se sume	C. S. b. m.
per. lliac de huyda	
~ Juan de lliac ho. sumiger	
con quatro hijos menores de diez	
años	L +
~ simon cabi al calde. 2 sume	
miz condos hijos. menores de	
10 años	L 2
~ Juan de Juan miz sumiger sin	
hijos	L
~ Diego. Oram. Ana trute. El	
huydo. tiene dos hijos menores	
de diez años	L 2
~ Pedro. can de a. calde. ha	
miz condos hijos. menores de	
ocho años	L 2
~ Juan can de Juan Lanti sin	
muger	L
~ Gas. Llan can de ca ha con tres.	
hijos menores. de diez años	L 3

FIGURE 2.—Folio 319r of the Cheusih (i.e., Chacuitzil) houselist.

tion. These include the names of governors in charge of a district and subordinate *alcaldes* responsible for smaller geographical areas, probably comprising a few hamlets. The names of all governors, *alcaldes*, *regidores*, and scribes are listed in the certification narrative concluding each census list.

It should be emphasized here that the particular format followed in the Cheusih and Sahcabchen houselists is not found in subsequent census documents from southwestern Campeche. Enumerations compiled later in the seventeenth century are typically arranged as lists of married couples with little attempt to differentiate local populations by individual dwellings or groups of houses (e.g., AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 315B, 317B; AGI, México, 307).

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHEUSIH AND SAHCABCHEN HOUSELISTS

The demographic characteristics of the Cheusih and Sahcabchen houselists are not anomalous and appear generally similar to other populations enumerated in the region later in the seventeenth century (table 1). These data are relatively simple to assemble for adult tributaries. Unfortunately precise information beyond adult/non-adult categories is not possible to reconstruct because of the fragmentary nature of the original data. Despite these difficulties, several features are apparent. Most of the adults are married and there are few examples of individuals who are very old. The combination of all designated widows and single individuals comprises less than 9 % of the total population. Adult males are not statistically more frequent than females (409 males; 391 females) and the sex ratio of 1.05 is within the worldwide expected ratio of 1.04-1.05. The population is young with 40 % less than 14 years of age. Over half of the children are less than seven years of age. The information contained in the enumeration is not adequate for reconstructing precise fertility rates although an average survival rate of 1.84 children is slightly higher than 1668 and 1670 rates.

Variation in the Size and Composition of Dwellings. The primary unit of enumeration in the Cheusih and Sahcabchen houselist was the individual dwelling. A total of 410 houses comprising 1338 individuals are given in the list. The range of individuals included in dwelling units varies from one to ten, although intrahouselist means range from 2.70 at Chunchaz to 3.47 at Ichbalche. Aggregate mean dwelling size is 3.25 with a standard deviation of 1.80 (table 2).

Male adults are usually enumerated first as heads of households and the typical social category comprising the dwelling unit is the nuclear family consisting of a married couple with or without dependents. Other structures including widows and solitaires are present although their frequency is low (table 3).

TABLE 1
GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHEUSIH AND SAHCABCHEN HOUSELISTS,
AND SUBSEQUENT ENUMERATIONS FROM SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SOUTHWESTERN CAMPECHE

Date	Total Population	Total Adults		Couples		Widows		Solitary		M/F Ratio	Total Children		Mean Children/ Couple	Locality
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%		#	%		
1615	178	115	64.6	53	92.1	4	3.5	5	4.4	0.95	63	35.4	1.8	Chacuitzil
	135	92	68.2	43	93.4	3	3.3	3	3.3	1.04	43	31.8	1.0	Chunhaz
	850	484	57.0	218	90.1	18	3.7	30	6.2	1.08	366	43.0	2.5	Ichbalche
	63	41	65.1	20	97.6			1	2.4	1.05	22	34.9	1.9	Ichmachich
	112	68	60.7	31	91.2	4	5.9	2	2.9	1.00	44	39.3	2.0	Tzuctok
1668		363		123	67.8	25	6.9	92	25.3	1.45	129+			Chapoton/Uiumal
	146	105	71.9	49	93.3	3	2.9	4	3.8	1.02	41	28.1	1.6	Holail
		20		8	80.0			4	20.0	1.50				Pocyaxum reduced from Bacel
		58		21	72.4	2	3.5	14	24.1	1.00				Pocyaxum reduced from Tiop
		23		8	69.6			7	30.4	1.87				Pocyaxum parajes
	39	34	87.2	15	88.2			4	11.8	1.00	5	12.8	1.3	Sahcabchen mission
	99	68	68.7	25	73.5			18	26.5	1.00	31	31.3	1.8	Sahcabchen parajes
1670	225	117	52.0	58	99.1			1	0.9	1.11	108	48.0	2.3	Chekubul
		65		24	73.8	10	15.4	7	10.8	1.24				Chiuha reduction
	101	69	68.4	32	92.7			5	7.3	1.03	32	31.6	1.9	Holail reduction
	148	99	66.9	49	88.9	1	11.1			1.02	49	33.1	1.6	Sahcabchen mission
	99	68	68.7	25	73.5			18	26.5	1.19	31	31.3	1.8	Sahcabchen parajes
	81	58	71.6	22	75.9			14	24.1	0.90	23	28.4	1.6	Sahcabchen reduc- tion
	90	84	84.4	38	94.0			5	5.9	1.11	14	15.6	1.1	Usulaban

Data: 1615, AGI, Mexico 308.

1668, AGI, Escribania de Cámara, 317B.

1670, AGI, Escribania de Cámara, 317B; AGI, Mexico 307.

TABLE 2
 VARIATION IN THE SIZE OF RESIDENT POPULATION
 BY DWELLING AND HOUSE GROUP

	Chacuitzil	Chunhaz	Ichmachich	Ichbalche	Tzuctok	Total
Total Population	178	135	63	85	112	1338
Total Dwellings	59	49	20	244	38	410
Total House Groups	21	30	7	118	14	190
Range of Population by Dwelling	1-7	1-6	2-5	1-10	1-6	
Mean Dwelling Population	2.97	2.70	2.99	3.47	2.87	3.25
Standard Deviation	1.72	1.64	1.73	1.86	1.69	1.80
Range of Population by House Group	2-29	2-10	2-24	1-32	2-16	
Mean House Group Population	8.04	4.50	9.00	7.20	8.07	7.04
Standard Deviation	2.77	2.09	2.78	2.67	2.74	2.65
Range of Dwellings by House Group	1-10	1-4	1-7	1-10	1-5	
Mean Dwellings by House Group	2.71	1.63	2.86	2.09	2.64	2.15
Standard Deviation	1.61	1.26	1.57	1.44	1.57	1.46

There are several kinds of social relationships which are explicit in the houselist. These include connections between spouses, parents and offspring, siblings, and orphans. The scribes used the term "mujer" to designate husband-wife relationships. No type of marriage union is specifically indicated and relationships may have been of legal, visiting, or common law. Some concept of marriage stability may be determined by examining anomalies in the patrilineal transmission of surnames. For example, of 26 solitaries of tributary age attached to existing nuclear family structures, almost 30 % (N = 7) derive from previous unions. Examples of such arrangements include the following:

- f. 321r Francisco Xoc, Catalina Cocom with two children; one called Clara Mitz is of tributary age and the other is five years.
- f. 326v Francisco Chan, Isabel Camal; he is in Yxpocomuch with two sons. One called Francisco May is of tributary age and the other is less than eight years.
- f. 327v Pedro Canul, Isabel Habnal, with a son of tributary age called Pedro Chi.
- f. 327v Pedro Ek, Maria Cel, with three children; one called Juan Cob is of tributary age and the other two are less than four years.
- f. 328r Juan Hau, Maria Chan, with two children; one called Juan Balam is of tributary age and the other is less than seven years.

TABLE 3
VARIATION IN THE COMPOSITION OF DWELLINGS

	Chacuitzil		Chunhaz		Ichmachich		Ichbalche		Tzuctok		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Solitaires	5	8.5	6	12.2			25	10.2	6	15.8	42	10.2
Solitaires	1	20.0	3	50.0			7	28.0	2	33.3	13	
Solitaires with Children							1	4.0			1	
Widowed	2	40.0	1	16.7			11	44.0	1	16.7	15	
Widowed with Children	2	40.0	2	33.3			6	24.0	3	50.0	13	
Single Family Dwellings	54	91.5	43	87.8	20	100.0	219	89.8	32	84.2	368	89.8
Married Couple	18	33.3	25	58.1	8	40.0	73	33.3	12	37.5	136	
Married Couple with Children	36	66.7	18	41.9	12	60.0	146	66.7	20	62.5	232	
Total	59		49		20		244		38		410	

- f. 331r Pedro Tamay, Maria Panti, with three children; one called Gaspar Puc is of tributary age and the other two are less than eight years.
- f. 333r Francisco Chi, Maria Cime, with two sons called Pedro Can and Gaspar Can, both of tributary age.

In each of these examples, solitaires are attached to households headed by males with different surnames. The frequency of remarriage, thus defined, is probably conservative since males who have remarried cannot be identified.

In addition, six orphans are identified in the houselist; four comprising a single dwelling unit (f. 326v) and two attached to existing families in apparent cousin or nephew relationships (ff. 322r and 334r).

Variation in the Size and Composition of House Groups. A survey of the historical literature relating to lowland Maya settlement systems indicates that rural populations were rarely nucleated and usually comprised a series of small population clusters or *parajes* (Avendaño y Loyola, n.d.; Cano, 1942; Elorza y Rada, 1930; Landa, 1941; Means, 1917; Scholes and Adams, 1936; Scholes and Roys, 1948; Scholes and Thompson, 1977; Tozzer, 1913; Valenzuela, 1979; Villagutierre Soto-Mayor, 1983). It is the cluster, usually consisting of several related families, which appears to have been the primary focus of food sharing, economic production, and other aspects of domestic social life. There was however, considerable variability within such arrangements. For example, a single nuclear family may live relatively isolated from others or conversely, large numbers of individuals may reside in close proximity. Similarly, the dispersal of clusters may themselves be diverse. Some may be closely grouped with only a few minute's walk separating them, while others may be an hour or more walk.

The use of horizontal lines in the Cheusih and Sahcabchen houselists to differentiate groups of dwellings probably identifies the small population clusters or *parajes* described in the ethnographic literature. A total of 190 house groups comprising 410 individual dwellings are enumerated in the list. The range of individuals included in house groups range from one to 32, although intragroup means range from 4.50 at Chunchaz to 9.00 at Ichmachich. Aggregate mean house group population size is 7.04 with a standard deviation of 2.65. Similarly, the range of dwellings included in house group ranges from one to ten, with means ranging from 1.63 at Chunchaz to 2.86 at Ichmachich. Aggregate mean dwellings within house groups is 2.15 with a standard deviation of 1.46 (table 2).

Information relating to house group composition summarized in table 4 indicates a variety of domestic formations. Despite the apparent complexity of configurations provided in the table, several patterns emerge as important. House groups comprised of solitaires, i.e., widowed individuals, and nonfamily structures are very few ($N = 5$; 2.7 %). One of the most common

TABLE 4
VARIATION IN THE COMPOSITION OF HOUSE GROUPS

	Chacuitzil		Chunhaz		Ichmachich		Ichbalche		Tzuctok		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Solitaires							2	1.7			2	1.1
Widowed							2	100.0				
Non-Family	1	4.8	1	3.3					1	7.1	3	1.6
Coresident Relatives	1	100.0	1	100.0							2	
Unrelated									1	100.0	1	
Single Family House Group	5	23.8	18	60.0	3	42.9	47	39.8	3	21.4	76	40.0
Married Couple			11	61.1	1	33.3	9	19.2	2	66.6	23	
Married Couple with Children	4	80.0	1	38.9	2	66.6	38	80.8	1	33.3	52	
Widow with Children	1	20.0									1	
Extended Family House Group	2	9.5					8	6.8	1	7.1	11	5.8
Multiple Family House Group	13	61.9	11	36.7	4	57.1	61	51.7	9	64.4	98	51.5
Total	21		30		7		118		14		190	

structures identified consists of single family house groups ($N = 76$; 40.0 %). These include married couples alone ($N = 23$; 30.3 %), married couples with dependent children ($N = 52$; 68.4 %), and widows with children ($N = 1$, 1.3 %). Extended family structures, consisting of a single family unit with the addition of one or more relatives other than children, are surprisingly few ($N = 11$; 5.8 %). This probably indicates that large numbers of otherwise extended families are embedded within multiple family house groups. Multiple family house groups, comprising two or more single family units connected by affinal and/or consanguineal relationships, are most frequent ($N = 98$; 51.5 %). This group corresponds to the traditional patrifocal type of household group documented in the ethnographic literature for Yucatan (P. Thompson, 1974: 27-39; Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1934).

It is unlikely that multiple family dwellings similar to those described for northern Yucatan during the sixteenth century (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940: 14; J. Thompson, 1938: 599) were in existence in southwestern Campeche during the early seventeenth century. The pattern of multiple family dwellings had begun to fragment well before the date of the census and was evidently replaced by a pattern of individual families residing in clusters of small buildings thereby preserving spatial propinquity.

Aspects of the Organization Network. Despite the apparent disorganization and randomness of individuals in the Cheusih and Sahcabchen households, it is evident that these communities did not comprise mere aggregations of unrelated people. Each community existed to serve certain functions, and complex administrative and economic structures developed to ensure that these functions were successfully carried out.

An attempt to describe the organizational features implicit in the enumeration is considerably more difficult than defining variability in the composition and size of dwellings and house groups. The population was bound together by a complicated matrix of social obligations and responsibilities which were ramified throughout the regional system. One of the most striking ways however in which this social organization manifested itself was the apparent ease with which recent arrivals from the north and elsewhere were able to discover and ally themselves with existing kin relations. These social connections were undoubtedly operationalized at different times in different ways, and for different reasons.

Individual families and larger domestic groups enumerated in the census related to neighbors, other community members, and members of other hamlets on the basis of, among other things, direct and indirect ties of kinship. In traditional Maya society such ties have important and explicit ritual dimensions which focus on the male patriline (Collier, 1975; Edmonson, 1974; Haviland, 1972; Patch, 1979; Press, 1975; Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1934; Roys, 1940; Smith, 1977; Vogt, 1969; 1983; Willey, 1980). The practice of using patronymics or surnames to demonstrate certain principles associated with lineal descent organization is well documented in the historical litera-

ture (Landa, 1941: 98-99; Roys, 1940: 42-45, 1943: 36; Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1959: 196). A total of 145 surnames are given in the census of which 106 are represented among male adults and 119 among females. Only one patronymic, Chan, appears in each of the five lists, and 58 (43 %) names are restricted to single communities. This suggests that many of the surnames were localized. Ambilocal and neolocal residence patterns appear to be frequent although the large number of matronymics indicates that female movement was greater than with males. A related principle associated with traditional lineal descent organization is avoidance of marriage to others with the same surname. This is evident in that document to the extent that no married individuals share the same name. These two principles, adherence to patronymics and avoidance of common surname marriage, define the extent to which apostate Maya principles of wider patrilineal descent organization are manifested in the Cheusih and Sahcabchen houselists.

Related historical documents indicate that many Cholan Maya speakers, especially Acalan and Cehach, were scattered throughout the forests of southwestern Campeche during the seventeenth century. None of these can be identified in the Cheusih or Sahcabchen houselists. Cholan surnames appear initially in lists about 1670 when numbers of Cholan matronymics are found at Chiuha (N = 12; 37.5 %) and Usualaban (N = 37; 58.7 %) (AGI, Mexico, 307). Perhaps the most practical explanation for marriage across linguistic borders was the creation of commercial networks between individual families. On a superficial level, hamlet endogamy seems not to be in evidence whereas linguistic endogamy appears quite strong.

Patterning in surname distributions on the Cheusih and Sahcabchen houselists provides a basis for identifying some of the structural relationships inherent in the local and regional social network. At a minimal level of complexity, these connections comprise pairs of individuals who interact with each others in terms of social categories, and who regarded each other as approximate social equals, ignoring in this context any slight differences in social status that may have existed between them. At a maximal level, connections may be perceived of as entire communities interacting at a regional level.

The concept of network has been developed by social anthropologists to analyze and describe the morphological and interactional characteristics of social processes involving functional links across, rather than within, group and category limits as a means of explaining behavior (Barnes, 1969: 45; Whitten and Wolfe, 1975). The purpose here is not to provide an extensive analysis of social networks inherent in the Cheusih and Sahcabchen houselists but rather to identify some the major characteristics of these networks.

Direct and indirect kinship relationships within the Cheusih and Sahcabchen houselists may be portrayed in graphic form and some notion of the structure of the social network may be obtained by examining the subcomponents of the system. Such a graph would consist basically of a series of

nodes (individuals and other aggregates) and arcs or links (direct and indirect relationships). Some graphs will exhibit more relationships based upon marriage and kinship than others. For example, in an ideal graph where each node is connected to all others, a maximum number of relationships would exist between nodes thereby indicating high potential interaction or integration. A mathematical value can be assigned as a measure of density or the relative frequency of nodes actually connected. This measure may be expressed as:

$$\text{Density} = 200 \times N_{\text{arcs}} / N_{\text{nodes}} \times N_{\text{nodes}-1}$$

where nodes indicate surnames associated with individuals, dwellings, or aggregates of houses within a structured group and arcs between these nodes may represent marriage and other kinship relationships (Mitchell, 1969: 18). A value of 100 % would indicate a theoretical maximum density in which all persons are related to all others, and few links between them are needed to reach a majority. Such a dense network would imply that norm enforcement is more likely to occur than in a partially connected network.

Table 5 summarizes density values calculated for the Cheusih and Sahcabchen houselists and 36 additional census lists from Yucatan between 1570 and 1670. Only surname relationships between pairs of married adults are considered. Linkages based upon marriage and direct kinship tend to be universally low and a functional threshold or maximum density level at which a population will be related by surname correspondences appears to exist. Highest density values are generally a function of group size (e.g., Cacatan Chalacam, and Holail) with some exceptions. For example, densities for the large Cozumel Island communities of Santa María and San Miguel are unusually high. Enumerations for these towns however are known to have been completed prior to the 1574 edict prohibiting multiple family dwellings (Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940: 14). The local social disruptions caused by relocation programs during the seventeenth century resulted in a general temporal trend toward reduction in local network densities.

Figure 3 provides a network graph of surname linkages between married adults in dwellings and house groups for the Chunhaz enumeration. This graph comprises 43 dwellings or married couples representing 49 surnames. These are further arranged in 29 house group. Even a casual examination of the graph reveals a high degree of connectedness. Only 6 (13.9 %) of all dwellings and 3 (10.3 %) of house group are unrelated. Highest density is focused on three families, Chan, Keb and May, which incorporate approximately 79 % of all dwellings and house groups.

In addition to individuals directly related to others by direct kinships relations, it is possible to isolate the number of intermediaries between them, that is, persons indirectly related through marriage. An example of important intermediaries in the Chunhaz graph are Pot and Ceh women who serve as bridges between primary Chan and May family clusters. In a partially con-

TABLE 5

VARIATION IN THE NETWORK DENSITIES IN SIXTEENTH
AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY YUCATAN ENUMERATIONS

Date	Total Surnames	Total Marriages	Density Index	Locality
1570	31	78	16.34	Santa Maria
	24	60	21.74	San Miguel
1583	31	29	6.24	Chacxulu
	39	39	5.26	Mocoche
	41	39	4.76	Pencuyut
1615	51	53	4.16	Chacuitzil
	50	43	3.51	Chunhaz
	104	218	4.24	Ichbalche
	24	20	7.24	Ichmachich
	36	31	4.92	Tzuctok
1655	6	9	60.00	Cacatan
	10	6	13.33	Caccuz
	3	2	66.67	Chalacam
	8	4	14.29	Holpatin
	7	4	19.05	Mayapan
	74	90	3.33	Tipu
1663	36	25	3.97	Sahcabchen fugitives
1667	32	24	4.84	Bolonchencavich fugitives
	5	4	40.00	Holail fugitives
	7	4	19.05	Pichin fugitives
	19	19	11.11	Siho fugitives
1668	15	8	7.62	Bacel reduction
	23	19	7.51	Champton/Ulumul reduction
	21	16	7.62	Hool reduction
	26	16	4.92	Holail reduction
	50	50	4.08	Holail reduction
	28	21	5.17	Pocyaxum reduction
	14	8	8.79	Pocyaxum parajes
	32	22	4.44	Sahcabchen reduction
	26	14	4.31	Sahcabchen reduction
	22	16	6.93	Sahcabchen reduction
	32	23	4.64	Sahcabchen parajes
1670	51	58	4.55	Chekubul reduction
	21	16	7.62	Champton de Hool reduction
	17	17	12.50	Champton de Hool reduction
	26	23	7.08	Chiuha reduction
	25	20	6.67	Holail fugitives
	26	15	4.62	Holail reduction
	22	17	7.36	Holail reduction
	53	49	3.56	Sahcabchen reduction
	38	39	5.55	Usulaban reduction

Data: 1570, Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1940.

1583, Roys, Scholes, and Adams, 1959.

1615, AGI, Mexico 308.

1655, Scholes and Thompson, 1977.

1663, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 317B.

1667, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 315B.

1668, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 317B.

1670, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 317 B; AGI, Mexico 307.

nected graph the magnitude of these connections is unequal and each becomes a bridge to others. It is possible that such bridges could exercise control as intermediaries and may indicate a form of hierarchy.

Clusters are also identifiable in terms of informal leaders who occupy focal positions in terms of social action through not necessarily purely genealogical terms. It is noteworthy that two males from Chumhaz, Melchior Keb and Diego May, serve as regidor and escribano in the administration of Cheusih. Both represent important surname clusters. By coopting the heads of large name groups, the Franciscans were presumably able to coerce or otherwise control large numbers of people. Thus, clusters emerge through time as identifiable parts of a network in which there is focal leadership and considerable, although not complete, overlap of member sets of kin-neighbors.

CONCLUSIONS

The interior forest occupation of southwestern Campeche by recalcitrant Yucatec Maya speakers during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries was a response to social and demographic factors and to Spanish colonial policies that created conditions favorable to displacement from other parts of the peninsula. Even a cursory examination of the 1615 houselists for Cheusih and Sahcabchen offers an indication of their potential for investigating aspects of localized domestic groups in the southern Maya Lowlands.

The enumerations portray a relatively young population, apparently coping well with the stresses accompanying the process of forming new settlements. Besides the social and political demand imposed by the Franciscans, the apostate Maya had to cope with the ecological and biological exigencies of a seventeenth century agricultural society. These included frequent epidemics and general agricultural uncertainties.

The mission settlements at Chacuitzil, Chumhaz, Ichbalche, Ichmachich, and Tzuctok comprised more or less discrete clusters of hamlets separated from others by stretches of uninhabited woodland, swamp, and bush. The composition and size of dwellings and larger domestic groups were highly variable. A wide range of household types were in existence and although the formation of domestic groups appears based on agnatic kinship relationships in simpler forms, marriage alliance became increasingly important in more complex configurations. The relationship between variation in composition, size, and complexity is unfortunately neither simple nor direct.

Explanation of differences in group composition will ultimately be based not on static functional developmental approaches which emphasize a constant set of roles, functions, or purposes. Such approaches assume a predictable cyclical process of intergenerational development associated with pro-

creation, and ignore changes in the larger cultural or social context, the sources of these changes, and changes in external pressures.

Differences in domestic group composition are more appropriately related to distinct adaptive patterns of development and fission, largely the result of ecological conditions. New domestic groups are not simply repeating a developmental pattern which existed previously nor are they different phases in a single cycle, but rather have their own specific formative sequence.

The phenomenon of family clustering is viewed as necessary in allowing for the formation and maintenance of domestic groups in the face of low and unstable subsistence capabilities. The demands of swidden agriculture which require access to large parcels or uncultivated land the need for hunting and collecting practices will usually result in low population densities and a dispersed population. Dispersed domestic groups are therefore seen as adaptations to a tropical forest environment, given a certain level of technology. Such a system leads eventually to a regional system organized and perpetuated through marriage rather than commodity exchange.

The apostate Maya social network consisted of a continuous, convolute mesh of kinship linkages and of practical relationships and interactions among a limited range of neighbors in a community at any point in time. The mesh of the network however was not of equal scale throughout. Instead, there were clusters of nodes within certain parts of the network, providing a smaller mesh within such a part and a larger mesh between those parts. A number of such clusters of neighbors are evident in the Cheusih and Sahcabchen houselists. Their significance was presumably latent in the analysis of interaction, cooperation, and conflict resolution. The majority of dwellings within each community were linked indirectly through marriage and the hamlet probably did not operate explicitly as a kinship group. Rather, many relatives lived elsewhere, scattered irregularly in a number of other forest settlements. There were no absolute localized descent groups, unilineal or otherwise, neither in ideal conception nor empirically in term of actual social behavior and interaction.

APPENDIX

Transcript of the 1615 Cheusih and Sahcabchen Houselists (AGI, Mexico 138, ramo 4, número 62e, ff. 318v-337v)

qta de pue° En el pueblo de Cheuzih que nuebamente aqui se [h]an po-
de Cheuzih blado de los yndios que tienen su poblacion en las montañas de
Chunhaz, Chac Uitzil y Tixmachich en veinte y dos dias del
mes de agosto de mill y seis y quince años. Fran^{co} de Villalo-
bos Cardenas, juez de comision por su mandado del señor don
Antonio de Figueroa, gobernador y capitan general por su ma-
gestad de estas provincias de Yucatan, Cozumel y Tauasco y
en cumplimiento de lo que nuebamente que se me [h]an aman-

dado que haga la cuenta y matricula de toda la gente de este dho pueblo y los demas contenidos en la dha comision, casados, solteros y viudos y los hijos que tienen para que conforme a ella se le de tasa para que ttributen, mandando a Don Diego Ho, gouernador deste dho pueblo y a Fran^{co} Chel, Simon Cauich, alcaldes y a Pedro Canche, Fran^{co} Ay, Marcos Dz'ib, Marcos Keb, regidores, Diego May, escriv^o que junten todos los yndios e yndias // e muchachos y los ttraygan a su presenzia para hazer la dha cuenta sin que falte ninguna persona y aviendoles juntado en las casas de la audiencia se fue haziendo la dha cuenta por la forma y manera siguiente. [319r]

<i>Quenta de Cheuzih</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>m</i>
— don Diego Ho gou ^{or} , Ana Che su muger. Ella esta huyda				
— Fran ^{co} Chel, Lucia Ho su muger con quatro hijos menores de diez años	1			4
— Simon Cavich alcalde, Isauel Miz con dos hijos menores de seis años	1			2
— Juan Ye, Fran ^{ca} Miz su muger sin hijos	1			
— Diego Balam, Ana Kuk. El huydo tiene dos hijos menores de diez años	1			2
— Pedro Canche alcalde, Fr ^{ca} Miz con dos hijos menores de ocho años	1			2
— Juan Canche, Fran ^{ca} Panti su muger	1			
— Gaspar Canche, Fr ^{ca} Ku con tres hijos menores de diez años	1			3 // [319v]
— Gaspar Che, Ana Dz'ib su muger	1			
— Pedro Pat, Mariana Hacat con un <u>hijo de un año</u>	1			1
— Fran ^{co} Ail, Ana Covoh su muger	1			
— Alonso Ail, Fran ^{ca} May su muger	1			
— Pedro Canche, Madalena Ail su muger	1			
— Gaspar Ci, Juliana Kantun su muger con una hija de un año	1			1
— Fran ^{ca} Huichim biuda			1	
— Gabriel Chan, Cat ^a Cambatz su muger con una hija de tributar	1	1		

— Marcos Dz'ib, Isauel Ku con dos hijos menores de seis años	1		2
— Agustin Covoh, Pettronilla Ek su muger	1		
— Baltasar Cambaz, Ffran ^{ca} Pot su muger	1		
— Pedro Keb, Beatriz Can con un hijo de tres años	1		1
— Pedro Ytza, Luysa Che con tres hijos menores de doce años	1		3
— Fran ^{co} Quime, Cecilia Ytza con dos hijos menores de ocho años	1		2
— Maria Cauich biuda		1	//[320r]
— Marcos Keb, Fran ^{ca} Tucutz su muger	1		
— Diego Ake, Ana Canul su muger	1		
— Fran ^{co} Uc, Ana Vitzil con dos hijos menores de seis años	1		2
— Fran ^{co} Quime, Ana Chel con dos hijos. El uno llamado Diego Quime de edad de ttributar y el otro de ocho años	1	1	1
— Juan Quime, Ana May con dos hijos menor de seis años	1		2
— Pablo Quime, Maria Pech con una hija de un año	1		1
— Fran ^{co} Balam, Cat ^a Ceb con dos hijos menores de cinco años	1		2
— Juan Balam, Fran ^{ca} Uluac con una hija de un año	1		1
— Al ^o Uc, M ^a Balam con cinco hijos menores de diez años	1		5
— M ^{or} Pat, Ana Nauat su muger	1		
— Gaspar Nauat, Ana Balam su muger	1		
— Fran ^{co} Ek, Ana Tzel su muger			//[320v]
— Andres Pech, Isauel Dz'ul con tres hijos menores de diez años	1		3
— Luis Cab, Clara Pech su muger	1		
— Juan Balam, Juana Mo su muger con una hija menor de quattro años	1		1
— Fran ^{co} Ho, Maria Keb. El tributario de Popola. Ella desta quenta con dos hijos. El uno llamado Fran ^{co} Mo de edad de ttributar. El otro menor de ocho años	1	1	1

— Al ^o Chan, M ^a Nic con ttres hijos menores de diez años	1		3	
— Pablo Chan, Fran ^{ca} Chuc con dos hijos <u>menores de quattro años</u>	1		2	
— Pablo Xoc, Beatriz Dz'ul. El esta en el pue ^o de Captun	1			
— Diego Tamay, Fran ^{ca} Dz'ib con una hija menor de ocho años	1		1	
— Domingo Tamay, M ^a Ho con dos hijos menores de seis años	1		2	
— Sebastian Can, Juliana Tamay su muger	1			//[321r]
— Fran ^{co} Xoc, Cat ^a Cocom con dos hijos. La una llamada Clara Miz de edad para tributar y la otra de cinco años	1	1	1	
— Gaspar Ye, Ana Chan con una hija menor de quattro años	1		1	
— Pedro Keb, Isauel Chuc con un hijo de un año	1		1	
— Gaspar Miz, Ana Ye con dos hijos menores de quattro años	1		2	
— Fran ^{co} Miz, Fran ^{ca} Mazun con un hijo menor de ocho años	1		1	
— Juan Yupit, Ana Can su muger	1			
— Andres Yupit, Fran ^{ca} Ac con una <u>hija de un año</u>	1		1	
— Xtobal Ta soltero de edad de tributar con un hermano de catorce años		1	1	
— Maria Zulu biuda con una hija menor de seis años			1	1
— Ana Ye biuda con un hijo menor de ocho años			1	1
— Fran ^{co} Pech, M ^a May con un hijo menor de dos años	1		1	
— Gaspar Kak, Beatriz Yam. Ella es tributaria de Popola. El desta quenta con un hijo de un año		1	1	//[321v]
— Pedro Çima, Cat ^a Canul con una hija de ocho años	1		1	

La quenta de Chunhaz en el mismo asiento de Cheuçih

— Gaspar Coy, Ana Chable con cuatro hijos menores de doce años	1	4
— <u>Juan Chan, M^a Coy su muger</u>	1	
— Pablo Keb, Ana Puc su muger	1	
— Gaspar Puc, Isauel Canul con dos hijos menores de ocho años	1	2
— Pedro Dz'ib, M ^a Uc su <u>muger</u>	1	
— Pablo Chan, María Na su muger	1	
— Agustin Xix, Fran ^{ca} Chan con una hija menor de ocho años	1	1
— Fran ^{co} Ek, Cecelia Chan su mu- <u>ger</u>	1	
— Fran ^{co} Chi, Maria Zima con ttres hijos menores de nueve años	1	3
— Fran ^{co} Uluac, Cecelia Pol su mu- <u>ger</u>	1	
— M ^{ra} Tun, Fran ^{ca} Yal con dos hijos menores de ocho años	1	2 // [322r]
— Fran ^{co} Tun, Cat ^a May su muger	1	
— Pablo Tum, Xuliana Dz'ib con una hija de un año	1	1
— <u>Miguel Tun biudo</u>		1
— Diego Chim, Andrea Pam su mu- ger	1	
— Sebastian Chim, Ana Tiyu con dos hijos menores de siete años	1	2
— Fran ^{co} Keb, Maria Tacu con dos <u>hijos menores de ttres años</u>	1	2
— Alonso Chim, Ana Uc su muger	1	
— Xtobal Covoh, M ^a Euan su mu- ger	1	
— Xtobal Euan, Cat ^a Chay con una hija de dos años	1	1
— Gabriel Huchim, M ^a Euan con un hijo de un año	1	1
— Diego Euan soltero de hedad de tributar. Huerfano		1
— Lucas Keb, Ana Mo su muger	1	
— Fran ^{co} Keb soltero de hedad de tributar. Huerfano		1
— Diego May, Maria Keb su mu- ger	1	

— Daniel Cahum, Andrea Ye con tres hijos menores de diez años	1	3
— Melchior Keb, Juana Cumi con un hijo de un año	1	1
— Diego Cumi, Maria Cob. Ella esta en China	1	
— Juan Dz'ib, Fran ^{ca} Yam con quatro hijos menores de diez años	1	4 // [322v]
— Juan Canche, M ^a Dz'ib su muger	1	
— Maria May biuda con una hija menor de diez años		1 1
— Juan Dz'uc, Maria Be con ttres hijos menores de ocho años	1	3
— Pedro Tuz, Beatriz Canche su muger	1	
— <u>Pedro Ceh, Fran^{ca} Pot su muger</u>	1	
— Xorje Kantzan, Fran ^{ca} Miz. Ella es tributaria de Popola. El desta quenta		1
— Fran ^{co} Nic, Juliana May con ttres hijos menores de tres años	1	3
— Gabriel Panti, Beatriz May con una hija menor de dos años	1	1
— Fran ^{co} May, Cat ^a Ceh. Ella esta en Tecoh	1	
— Juan Chan, Ana Pot. Ella esta en Puztunich	1	
— Agustin Cauich, Madalena Uc su muger. Ella esta en Çincontun	1	
— Gaspar Çulu, Ana Balam. Ella esta en San Diego Ulumac	1	
— Fran ^{co} Muan, M ^a Tec. Ella esta en Taxcaba	1	
— Luis Chan, Cat ^a Tzuc. Ella esta en Calquini	1	// [323r]
— Fran ^{co} Couh, Ynes Euan. Ella esta en Tepipe	1	
— Juan Noh, Maria Ceh. Ella esta en Oxhutzcabo	1	
— Luis Can soltero de hedad de ttributar	1	

-- Lucia Chi biuda con ttres hijos
menores de diez años 1 3

Matricula y quenta de los indios de Tixmachich en el dicho
asiento de Cheuzih

-- Diego Cocom alcalde, Maria Yam su muger	1		
-- Gregorio Ytza, Ana Cocom su muger	1		
-- Al ^o Cocom, Fran ^{ca} Can con tres hijos menores de seis años	1		3
-- Pablo Ytza, Isauel Couoh su muger	1		
-- Gaspar Yam, Cat ^a Chable su muger	1		
-- Fran ^{co} Yam, Isauel Che con dos hijos menores de seis años	1		2
-- Pablo Qui, Fran ^{ca} Yam con dos <u>hijos menores de quatro años</u>	1		2
-- Gaspar Ek, Maria Chan con dos hijos. El uno llamado Antonio Ek de edad de ttributar y el otro menor de ocho años	1	1	1
-- Juan Chan, M ^a Coba su muger	1		//{323v}
-- Graviel Coy, Cat ^a Cocom con tres hijos menores de ocho años	1		3
-- Andres Cocom, M ^a Pech su muger	1		
-- Juan Chan, Fran ^{ca} Cob con un <u>hijo menor de quatro años</u>	1		1
-- Pedro Miz, Juana Pol su muger	1		
-- Al ^o Miz, Andrea Cocom don dos hijos menores de seis años	1		2
-- Juan Kuyoc, Maria Icte su muger	1		
-- Melchior Cuyoc, Fran ^{ca} Tucuch con un hijo menor de ocho años	1		1
-- Lorenzo Cuyoc, Lucia Tax con tres hijos menores de ttres años	1		3
-- Pedro Cab, Cat ^a Cuyoc con un hijo de un año	1		1
-- Pablo Tzu, Maria Cab con dos hijos menores de ttres años	1		2

— Nicolas Ba, Juana Chulim con un
hijo menor de cinco años

1	1
105	20
7	127

En el dho pueblo, el dho dia, mes, y ano sus dho vista por el dho juez la dha matricula de gente rezibio juramento al dho Don Diego Hoo, gobernador, Simon Cauich, Fran^{co} Chel, alcaldes, Pedro Canche, Fran^{co} Ail, M^{os} Dz'ib, Melchior Keb, rregidores, y Diego May, escriv^o en su propia lengua // ma- [324r]
terna por entenderla y hablave, y [h]aviende les pregunto y apercibio declarasen si [h]abia mas gente en este pueblo o si la tienen ocultada que la manifiesten luego sopena de ser castigados como encubridores [h]aviendolo entendido dixerón que ellos [h]an manifestado y exsevido toda la gente que ay en el dho pueblo sin ocultar ninguna y esta toda matriculada y por no saber firmar, firmo Diego May, escriv^o de dho pueblo por ellos con el dho juez y escriv^o de esta vesta, Fran^{co} de Villalobos Cardenas, Don Diego Ho, gobernador, Simon Cauich, alcalde, Fran^{co} Chel, alcalde, Fran^{co} Ail, alcalde, Pedro Canche, Marcos Dz'ib, Marcos Ek, regidores, Diego May, escriv^o. Doy ser dello Lorenço Rrosado, escriv^o.

Pareze por la quenta y vessita que se a fecho de la gente qur ay en este dho pueblo de Cheuçih y Chunhaz y Tismachich en el dho asiento que son ciento y cinco casados y los solteros y medios ttributarios son con mas siete viudas y ciento y veinte y siete muchachos para que dello conste a su // merced yncubridores y abiendolo entendido dixerón que ellos an manifestado y excibido toda la gente que ay en el dicho pueblo sin ocultar // ninguna y que esta toda matriculada y por no

tributarios	enteros
109	trib ^{os}
27	medi ^{os}
muchachos	
127	much ^{os}

[324v]

[336r]

saver firmar, firmo, Fran^{co} Tec, escriv^o del dho pueblo por ellos juntamente conmigo, el dho juez receptor, Fran^{co} de Villalobos Cardenas, Don Fran^{co} Pol, gobernador, Al^o Ek, alcalde, Andres Ek, alcalde, Fran^{co} Ek, regidor, Bar^{me} Tzec, regidor, Juan Couoh, regidor, Diego Cen, regidor, Fran^{co} Tec, escriv^o.

Parece por la quenta y besita que se a hecho de la gente que ay en este dho pueblo de San Antonio de Sahcabchen y Çocototz que esta en el dho asiento que so por todos duzientos y diez y nueve casados y sesenta y tres solteros y medios ttributarios y diez y nueve biudos y trezientos y ochenta y dos muchachos y porque dello conste a su merced del señor gobernador y capi-

Tributarios
279
Solteros
63

tan general al destas // provincias y provea lo que fuere servido, leiemito esta quenta originalmente y lo firme y se hallo a ella padre fray Josef del Bosque, guardian deste convento y asi lo del señor gobernador y capitan general destas provincias y provea lo que fuere servido, le remite, esta quenta originalmente, y lo firmo y se hallo a ella el padre fray Josef de Bosque guardian de San Antonio Sahcabchen y del dho Cheuçih, y asi lo certifica, fray Josef del Bosque, Fran^{co} de Villalobos Cardenas. Doy dello Lorenço Rosado, scrivano.

Medios tributarios [326v]

19

Muchachos

382

En el pueblo de San Antonio Çahcabchen en las savannas de Chinal que agora nuebamente en el se an poblado, los yndios que setavan en las montañas del pueblo de Ichbalche y Çutoc en ttreinta dias del mes de agosto de mill y seis cientos y quince años, Fran^{co} de Villalobos Cardenas, juez de comision por su mandado del señor Don Antonio de Figueroa, gobernador y capitan general por Su Magestad destas provincias de Yucatan, Cozumel y Tauasco, en en cumplamiento de lo que nuebamente se me a mandado que ha//ga la quenta y matricula de toda la gente de este dho pueblo y los demas contenidos en la dha comision casados, solteros, viudos, y hijoss que tienen. Para conforme a ella se les ponga tasa de lo que [h]an de tributar a Su Mag^d mandando a Don Fran^{co} Pol, gobernador y Alonso Ek, Andres Ake, alcaldes, y a Fran^{co} Ek, Bar^{me} Queh, Juan Hau, Diego Cen, regidores y a Fran^{co} Tec, escrivo, que junten todos los yndios e yndias e muchachos asi de su parte como de los de la parcialidad del pueblo de Çutoc, que estan en el mismo asiento, y los ttraygan a mi presenzia para hazer la dha quenta, sin que falte ninguna persona, y aviendose juntado en las casas de la audiencia se fue haciendo la dha quenta por la forma y manera siguiente.

<i>Quenta de San Ant^o Sahcabchen</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>m</i>
— Don Diego Pol gobernador				
— Maria Noh				
— Andres Pol, Cat ^a Pot con ttres hijos menores de diez años	1			3 // [325v]
— Her ^{do} Pol, Isabel Keb con un hijo menor de quatro años	1			1
— Diego May, Ana Chuan. Ella esta en Quinlacam	1			
— Ant ^o Huch, Isauel Chi. Ella esta en el pueblo de Çitbalche			1	
— Fran ^{co} Canche, Menzia Tulum. El esta en Xequelchecan con una hija menor de seis años			1	1

— Al ^o Ek alcalde, M ^a Chuan su muger	1		
— Fran ^{co} Cantun, Fran ^{ca} Tamay su muger	1		
— Pedro Quime, M ^a Chan. Ella esta en el pueblo de Zotuta	1		
— Agustin Kek, Juliana Camce con un hijo menor de un año	1		1
— Diego Chan, Fran ^{ca} Kuk con un hijo menor de un año	1		1
— don Martin Pol, Ana Tzay su muger	1		
— Pedro Euan, Beatriz Vicab su muger	1		
— Miguel Uc, Madalena Euan con una hija menor de tres años. Ella es loca		1	
— Beatrix Cam biuda con dos hijos menores de quatro años		1	2
— Fran ^{co} Tec, Fran ^{ca} Hau con tres hijos. El uno llamado Agustin Tec de edad de tributar y los dos menores de ocho años	1	1	2
— Juan Tec, Cat ^a Zima con una hija menor de tres años	1		1
— Fran ^{co} Euan, Ana Tec con dos hijos menores de tres años	1		2
— Fran ^{co} Chay, Fran ^{ca} Canche con dos hijos menores de cinco años	1		2
— Pedro Chay, Ana Xol con dos hijos menores de tres años	1		2
— Fran ^{co} Yam, Juana puc su muger	1		
— Fran ^{co} Xol, Catalina May su muger	1		
— Juan Cuyoc, Maria Yam su muger	1		
— Juan Chan, Fran ^{ca} Uc con una hija menor de ocho años	1		1
— Fran ^{co} Ba, Fran ^{ca} Tinal su muger	1		
— Juan Yama, Cat ^a Ba con tres hijos menores de cinco años	1		3
— Gaspar Ba, Luzia Xoc su muger	1		
— Gaspar Chan, M ^a Ac, con tres hijos menores de nueve años	1		3

//[326r]

— Diego Chan, Ana Canul con quatro hijos menores de diez años	1		4
— Juan Çima, Fran ^{ca} May con tres hijos. El uno llamado Agustin Çima de edad de ttributar y los dos menores de ocho años	1	1	2 //[326v]
— Diego Çima, Cat ^a Canul con dos hijos menores de tres años	1		2
— Fran ^{co} Chan, Isauel Camal. El esta en Yxpocomuch con dos hijos. El uno llamado Fran ^{co} May de hedad de ttributar y el otro menor de ocho años		1	1
— En esta cassa estan quatro huerfanos y el uno llamado Juan Bolon de edad de ttributar. Los tres menores de ocho años		1	3
— Miguel Ucan, Ana Euan con tres hijos menores de siete años	1		3
— Fran ^{co} Pix, M ^a May su muger	1		
— Juan Pix, Cat ^a Maz con quatro hijos menores de siete años	1		4
— Antonio Pix, Catalina Canche con una hija menor de tres años	1		1
— Pedro Xol, Catalina Yz. Ella esta ciega y asi se puso a el por tributario		1	
— Juan Chel, Catalina Chan. El esta en Pocomuch con dos hijos de quatro años		1	2
— Diego Ta, Juana Xol con ttres hijos menores de diez años	1		3
— Juan May, Maria Covoh. El es viejo y tuerto de un ojo. Ella es tributaria		1	//[327r]
— Pablo May, Ana Chan con dos hijos menores de quatro años	1		2
— Pedro Huichim, Ana May su muger	1		
— Fran ^{co} Huichim, Anas asia Chuc su muger	1		
— Fran ^{co} Çime, Ana Ku su muger	1		
— Andres Çime, Ana Ba con quatro hijos menores de siete años	1		4

— Miguel Pot, Fran ^{ca} Quime con un hijo menor de dos años	1	1	
— Pedro Canul, M ^a Ba su muger	1		
— Fran ^{co} Canul, Fran ^{ca} Euan con dos hijos menores de tres años	1	2	
— Pedro Canul, Ysaul Habnal con un hijo en edad de tributar llamado Pedro Chi	1	1	
— Diego Pech, Lucia Yam con cinco hijos menores de cuatro años	1	4	
— Pedro pech, Pettronilla Yam con dos hijos menores de cuatro años	1	2	
— Al ^o Miz, Cecilia Pech con un hijo de un año	1	1	
— Al ^o Kuk, Juliana Pech su muger	1		
— Fran ^{ca} Tun viuda con tres hijos menores de ocho años		1	3
— Beatriz Chel viuda		1	//[327v]
— Fran ^{co} Tzeb, M ^a Pix con cuatro hijos menores de siete años	1	4	
— Beatriz viuda vieja y enferma y reservasse			
— Xpobal Canul, Ffran ^{ca} Yam con un hijo menor de diez años	1	1	
— Gaspar Ytza, Menzia Canul. El esta en Manicaptun con tres hijos menores de ocho años		1	3
— Fran ^{co} Ek, Ana Uluac su muger	1		
— Pedro Ek, M ^a Zel con tres hijos. El uno llamado Juan Cob de edad de tributar y los dos menores de quatro años	1	1	2
— Diego Ek, Cecilia Cocom con dos hijos menores de cinco años	1	2	
— Juan May, Fran ^{ca} Ek con dos hijos menores de quatro años	1	2	
— Xpobal Chim, M ^a Ek su <u>muger</u>	1		
— Mateo Dz'ul Cat ^a Chi con dos hijos menores de ocho años	1	2	
— Pedro Dz'ul, Ana Ceh con una hija de un año	1	1	
— Ant ^o Ek, Cat ^a Dz'ul con un hijo menor de dos años	1	1	
— Gaspar Dz'ul, Ana Queh con dos hijas menores de tres años	1	2	

— Bar ^{mc} Queh, Fran ^{ca} Ho. Ella esta en Popola	1		
— Ju ^o Tzuc, Fran ^{ca} Cuyoc con dos hijos menores de quatro años	1		2 //[328r]
— Ffran ^{co} Kuyoc, Isauel Queh. El esta huydo, con ttres hijos menores de ocho años	1		3
— Luis Yama, Maria May con tres hijos menores de diez años	1		3
— Al ^o Yama, Juana Na con tres hijos menores de ocho años	1		3
— Ffran ^{co} Coy, Ana Yama con un hijo menor de dos años	1		1
— Fabian Canul, Isauel Yama su muger	1		
— Juan May, Cat ^a Camal con dos hijos. El menor es de seis años	1		2
— Juan Hau, M ^a Chan con dos hijos. El uno llamado Juan Balam de edad de ttributar y el otro menor de siete años	1	1	1
— Ffran ^{co} Covoh, Catalina Hau con cinco hijos menores de diez años	1		5
— Gaspar Pot, Ana Cot con dos hijos menores de once años	1		2
— Fran ^{co} Pol, Ana Can su muger	1		
— Fran ^{co} Canche, M ^a Chi. Ella esta en Halacho		1	
— Ant ^o Noh, Fran ^{co} Ceh. Ella esta en Çucabab		1	
— Gaspar Cauich, M ^a Pol esta en Ticul		1	
— Diego Chi, Madalena Puc con quattro hijos menores de ocho años	1		4 //[328v]
— Ana Tuz biuda bieja y enferma reservada			
— Fran ^{co} Can, Fran ^{ca} Chel con quatro hijos. El uno llamado M ^{os} Can de edad de ttributar y los tres menores de nueve años	1	1	3
— Xpobal Can, Beatriz Ucan con un hijo menor de un año	1		1
— Juan Can, Juana Tuyu su muger	1		
— Simon Kuk, Fran ^{ca} Canche con dos hijos de quatro años	1		2

— Ana Canche biuda con un hijo menor de seis años		1	1
— Pedro Navat, Ana Na su muger	1		
— Marcos Chan de edad de tributar		1	
— Andres Tun, Ana Chan. Ella esta huyda		1	
— Baltasar Dz'ul, Isauel Xoc con <u>tres hijos menores de ocho años</u>	1		3
— Andres Ake alcalde, Cat ^a May con un hijo menor de diez años	1		1
— Fran ^{co} Cante biudo		1	
— Juan Huchim, Maria Tzuc con tres hijos menores de siete años	1		3
— Pedro Chan, Beatriz Huchim su muger	1		
— Baltasar Balam, M ^a Chel con tres hijos. El uno llamado Mateo Balam de edad de tributar y los dos menores de ocho años	1	1	2
— Luis Kuk, Ana Te con tres hijos menores de seis años	1		3 // [329r]
— Diego Balam, Cat ^a Chuc con un hijo menor de dos años	1		1
— Pedro Hau, Maria Couoh con dos hijos menores de ocho años	1		2
— Baltasar Cauich, Cecelia Hau con un <u>hijo menor de dos años</u>	1		1
— Juan Maz, Ana Ku su muger	1		
— Pedro Hau, M ^a Maz con dos hijos menores de tres años	1		2
— Diego Uc, Agueda Maz con <u>cuatro hijos menores de nueve años</u>	1		4
— Andres Coy, Mag ^{na} Xol con un hijo de un año	1		1
— Fran ^{ca} Mo biuda con tres hijas menores de seis años		1	3
— Diego Ac, M ^a Xol con dos hijos menores de seis años	1		2
— Antonio Chan, Isauel Habnal su muger	1		
— Andres Coh soltero de edad de tributar		1	
— Pablo Canul, Ana Mo su muger	1		

— Agustín Mo, Isauel Canul con dos hijos menores de tres años	1		2
— Gaspar May, Fran ^{ca} Canul su muger	1		
— Diego Mo, Maria Ho con quattro hijos menores de nueve años	1		4
— Gaspar Tec, Ana Ku con una hija menor de ocho años	1		1 // [329v]
— Geronimo Tec soltero de edad de ttributar		1	
— Pedro Tec, Ana Tuyu con dos hijos menores de siete años	1		2
— Maria Chay biuda _____		1	
— Al ^o Canul, M ^a Culim con tres hijos menores de seis años	1		3
— Xpobal Kantun, Fran ^{ca} Chim con seis hijos. El uno llamado Pedro Cehtun de edad de ttributar y los cinco menores de diez años	1	1	5
— Diego Chan, Fran ^{ca} Tzuc con quattro hijos menores de ocho años	1		4
— Sebastian May, Lucia Chan su muger	1		
— Pedro Chan, Fran ^{ca} Noh con dos hijos menores de seis años	1		2
— Gaspar Canche, Isauel Canul con un hijo de un año	1		1
— Gaspar Tun, Ana Chan con ttres hijos menores de nueve años	1		3
— Diego Chi, Fran ^{ca} Tun su muger	1		
— Maria Yam biuda con dos hijos. El uno llamado Juan Tun de edad de ttributar y el otro menor de seis años		1	1
— Mateo Ci, Pettronilla Ceb con un hijo llamado Juan Euan de edad pagar ttributo	1	1	
— <u>Sebastian Can, Andrea Canche</u>	1		// [330r]
— M ⁱⁿ Euan, Beattriz Cuyoc con dos hijos menores de quatro años	1		2
— Ffran ^{co} Ek, Maria Mukul con tres hijos menores de seis años	1		3

— Fran ^{co} Mo, Ana Çuc con dos hijos menores de quatro años	1		2
— Pedro Cauich, Ana Çulu. El es viejo y enfermo con un hijo menor de nueve años	1		1
— Martin May, Juana Cauich con ttres hijos menores de seis años	1		3
— Tomas Cauich, Ana Can su muger	1		
— Fran ^{co} Cen, Marta Ku con dos hijos. El uno llamado Miguel Cen de edad de ttributar y el otro menor de dos años	1	1	1
— Martin Noh, Fran ^{ca} Uz su muger	1		
— Andres Chan, M ^a Uz. Ella ocho meses que falta con un hijo menor de catorce años		1	1
— Diego Ku, Maria Euan con quatro hijos menores de diez años	1		4
— Antonio Pech biudo		1	
— Gonzalo Pix, Maria Chan con ttres hijos menores de siete años	1		3
— Agustin Euan, Fran ^{ca} Pix con ttres hijos menores de seis anos	1		3 // 330v
— Gaspar Hau, Cat ^a Kuk con dos hijos menores de ocho años	1		2
— Andres Balam, Luzia Kuk su muger	1		
— Ana Ku biuda con un hijo llamado Diego Cauich de edad de ttributar		1	1
— Gaspar Miz, Maria Cauich. El <u>esta huydo</u>		1	
— Fran ^{co} Uc, M ^a Cob su muger	1		
— Xorje Kuk, M ^a Kantun con un <u>hijo menor de un año</u>	1		1
— Al ^o Kantun, Cecelia Chan. Ella esta en Xequelchecan		1	
— Luis Nal, Fran ^{ca} Uc con ttres hijos menores de quatro años	1		3
— Her ^{do} Cacum, Cat ^a Na con ttres hijos menores de cinco años	1		3
— Fran ^{co} Cauich, Ana Canul. El es muy viejo		1	

— Miguel Balam, Isauel Cahun con tres hijos. El uno llamado Fran ^{co} Balam de edad de ttributar y los dos menores de cinco años	1	1	2
— Juan Cauich, Cat ^a Balam con dos hijos menores de quatro años	1		2
— Juan Xoc, Maria Coy con cinco <u>hijos menores de quatro años</u>	1		5 // 331r
— Pablo Ceh, Fran ^{ca} Chan con quatro hijos menores de nueve años	1		4
— Xpobal Dz'ul, Luzia Ek con tres hijos menores de seis años	1		3
— Agustin Mo, Cat ^a Coba con un <u>hijo menor de diez años</u>	1		1
— Miguel Kuk, Juana Tuyu con seis hijos menores de onze años	1		6
— Luis Kuk, Beatriz Miz con dos hijos menores de quatro años	1		2
— Miguel Kuk, Cecilia Chan. ella esta en Yaxa		1	
— Pedro Tamay, Maria Panti con tres hijos. El uno llamado Gaspar Puc de edad de tributar y los dos menores de ocho años	1	1	2
— Ffran ^{co} Tamay, Menzia Mo con ttres hijos menores de seis años	1		3
— Fran ^{co} Uc, Maria Chel su muger	1		
— Gaspar Ucan, Ana Uc con dos hijos menores de quatro años	1		2
— Ju ^o Uc, Mag ^{na} Cob su muger	1		
— Fran ^{co} Uc soltero de edad para ttributar		1	
— Maria Kuyoc biuda,			1
— Fran ^{co} Tec, Ana Caiuch con una menor de doce años	1		1 // 331v
— Sebastian Coyi, Luzia Tun con ttres hijos menores de ocho años	1		3
— Ju ^o Pech, Catalina Pol con cinco hijos menores de siete años	1		5
— Fran ^{co} Chan, Luzia Kuyoc su muger	1		
— Pablo Na soltero de edad de ttributar		1	

— Miguel Uc, M ^a Ayl su <u>muger</u>	1		
— Gaspar Dz'ul, Madalena Chi con dos hijos menores de seis años	1		2
— Baltasar Dz'ul, Cat ^a Tax su muger	1		
— Fran ^{co} Dz'ul, Beattriz Mo con un hijo de un año	1		1
— Maria Canul biuda		1	
— Fabian Euan, Fran ^{ca} Tamay con tres hijos menores de seite años	1		3
— Miguel Mo, Ana Cauich con un hijo de un año	1		1
— Lorenzo Ceh, Magdalena Ek con un hijo de un año	1		1
— Ana Ye biuda con un hijo llamado M ^{ta} Euan de edad de pagar ttributo		1	1
— Sebastian Ceh, Ju ^a Bolom. El esta en Poçob con un hijo de un año	1		1 // [332r]
— Gabriel Dz'ul, M ^a Canul con tres hijos menores de ocho años	1		3
— Juan Ye, Catalina May con un hijo de un año	1		1
— Pablo Maz, M ^a Can su muger	1		
— Antonio Pol, Isauel Tut con quatro hijos menores de once años	1		4
— Sebastian Dz'ib, M ^a Bolom su muger	1		
— Luis Canche, Fran ^{ca} Yama con una hija de un año	1		1
— Pablo Cantun, Cat ^a Haban con dos hijos menores de tres años	1		2
— Martin Ba, Beattriz Can con ocho hijos. El mayor llamado Pedro Ba tiene edad de ttributar y los siete son menores de doce años	1	1	7
— Diego Cambal, Isauel Ba con cinco hijos menores de ocho años	1		4
— Diego Uz, Maria Pol con cinco hijos. El uno Juan Uz tiene edad para ttributar y los quattro menores de quattro años	1	1	4

— Pablo Coyi, M ^a con un hijo llamado Miguel Coy de edad de tributar	1	1	
— Juan Coyi, Isauel Ye. Ella esta en Xequelchecan		1	
— Al ^o Mati, Fran ^{ca} Chim con quatro hijos menores de nueve años	1		4
— Diego Chim, Catalina Uc con dos hijos menores de seis años	1		2
— Juan Ceh, Ana Cen su muger	1		
— Juan Ek, Maria Ceh con una hija de un año	1		1
— Gaspar Ceh, Fran ^{ca} Canul con quattro hijos menores de siete años	1		4
— Fran ^{co} Uz, Fran ^{ca} Ceh con un hijo de un año	1		1
— Gabriel Ceh, Angelina Chan con tres hijos menores de seis años	1		3
— Fran ^{ca} Uicab viuda		1	
— Diego Cen, Ana Noh con quattro hijos menores de ocho años	1		4
— Fran ^{co} Uc, Juliana Hoh con dos hijos menores de tres años	1		2
— Diego Canche, M ^a Ba con cinco hijos menores de diez años	1		5
— <u>Luis Chi, M^a Canul su muger</u>	1		
— Fran ^{co} Kuc, Ana Ytza y tullida		1	
— L ^{co} Kuc, Fr ^{ca} Dz'ul con seis hijos menores de seis años	1		6 // [333r]
— Fran ^{co} Kuk, Cat ^a Chan. Ella esta en Tenabo		1	
— Juan Chi, Fran ^{ca} Kuc. El esta en Tenabo		1	
— Marta Uc biuda		1	
— Gonzalo Cima, Juana Tun con quattro hijos menores de seis años	1		4
— Al ^o Tun, M ^a Kuc con tres hijos menores de siete años	1		3
— Ana Can biuda		1	

— Fran ^{co} Chi, M ^a Çime con dos hijos llamados Pedro Can, Gaspar Can, ambos de edad de tributar	1	2	
— Juan Koh, M ^a Cocom su muger	1		
— Xpobal Catzim, Apolina Ho su muger	1		
— Pedro Maz, Angelina Kuyoc con dos hijos menores de quatro años	1		2
— Fran ^{co} Mo, M ^a Che su muger	1		
— Gaspar Mo, Ana Ku con dos hijos menores de ocho años	1		2
— Pedro Kacun, Beatriz Ba con dos hijos menores de a diez años	1		4
— Fran ^{co} Kacum, M ^a Cambal su muger	1		
— Juan Can soltero de edad de tributar		1	//[333v]
— Lucas Habnal, Cat ^a Xec con ttres hijos menores de nueve años	1		3
— Miguel Yam, Andrea Cuz con dos hijos menores de once años	1		2
— Diego Ku, Maria Xiu con tres hijos menores de seis años	1		3
— Juan To, Cecilia Chinab con quatro hijos menores de nueve años	1		4
— Lucas Ceb, Elena To con un hijo de un año	1		1
— Diego Catzin, Ana Xiu con ttres <u>hijos menores</u> de seis años	1		3
— Juan To, Maria Pech su muger	1		
— Pablo Can, Fran ^{ca} Ku. Ella esta en Quinchil		1	
— Fran ^{co} Yam, M ^a Tun su muger	1		
— Gabriel Chan, Mencia Ku. El esta enfermo con quatro hijos menores de ocho años	1		4
— Fran ^{co} Pix, Fran ^{ca} Chan su muger	1		
— Gaspar Che soltero de edad de tributar			1
— Diego Canul, Fran ^{ca} May. El esta en Xequelchecan	1		
— Diego Pech, Fran ^{ca} Miz con dos hijos. El uno llamado Fran ^{co} Pech			

	de edad de ttributar y el otro menor de nueve años	1	1	1	//[334r]
	— Sebastian Pizte, M ^a Mo con quatro hijos menores de nueve años	1		4	
	— Andres Uc, Fran ^{ca} Cu con tres hijos menores de seis años	1		3	
	— Pedro Cen, M ^a Zima su muger	1			
	— Luis Catzim, M ^a Tzeb con un hijo de un año	1		1	
qta de los Yndios de Tzuctok	La quenta de los yndios de Tzuctok que estan en el mismo asiento de San Antonio de Sahcabchen				
	— Don Fran ^{co} Canche, Clara Chable con ttres hijos menores de nueve años			3	
	— Fran ^{co} Chan, Ana Ba con dos hijos menores de siete años	1		2	
	— Fran ^{co} Chay, M ^a Cambal con un hijo de un año	1		1	
	— Diego Chuc, M ^a Chay su muger	1			
	— Pedro Coyi, Ana Tzuc con una her ^{na} huerfana de nueve años	1		1	
	— Gaspar Noh alcalde, Andrea <u>Dz'ul su muger</u>	1			
	— Luis Uicab, Juana May con dos hijos menores de quatro años	1		2	
	— Pablo Euan, M ^a Hau con quattro hijos menores de diez años	1		4	//[334v]
	— Gaspar Chuc, Mag ^{na} Euan su muger	1			
	— Diego Euan, Juana Habnal su muger	1			
	— Diego Haban, Fran ^{ca} Mo su muger	1			
	— Gaspar Haban, Fran ^{ca} Chay con un hijo menor de ocho años	1		1	
	— <u>Pablo Haban, Ana Ceb su muger</u>	1			
	— Pablo Chay, Fran ^{ca} Ku con un hijo menor de diez años	1		1	
	— Fran ^{co} Uitzil, Ana Chay su muger	1			
	— Fran ^{co} Couoh alcalde, Isauel Tuz con quattro hijos menores de siete años	1		4	

— Fran ^{co} Mo, Ana Tzacum con tres hijos menores de seis años	1	3	
— Simon Chim, Clara Chuc con un hijo menor de siete años	1	1	
— Tomas Chuc, Magdalena Yupit con una hija menor de ocho años	1	1	
— Diego Chuc soltero de edad de ttributar		1	
— Pedro Cauich, Luçia Yupit con tres hijos menores de seis años	1	3	//[335r]
— Simon Canche, M ^a Yah con un hijo de un año	1	1	
— Juan Chinal, Fran ^{ca} Ku. El esta en Numquini		1	
— Fran ^{co} Uc, M ^a Euan con ttres hijos menores de cinco años	1	3	
— Bar ^{mc} Chab, Madalena Ku con un hijo menor de nueve años	1	1	
— Alonso Che, Ana Canche con dos <u>hijos menores de quatro años</u>	1	2	
— Luis Mian biudo		1	
— Sebastian Tzu, Juana Mian con un hijo menor de dos años	1	1	
— Juana Dz'ul biuda con un hijo de un año		1	1
— Fran ^{co} Mian, Cecilia Uc. ella esta en Mona		1	
— Juan Çiu, Maria Pot. El esta en Mani con quatro hijos menores de nueve años		1	4
— Maria Chable biuda con dos hijos menores de once años		1	2
— Catalina Hau biuda con dos hijos menores de ocho años		1	2
— Diego Ba, Cat ^a Kuyoc su muger	1		
— Diego Kumun, Cta ^a Panti su <u>muger</u>	1		//[335v]
— Pablo Couoh, Beattriz Cuyoc su muger	1		
— Miguel Canche soltero de edad de ttributar		1	
	119	63	19 382

En el pueblo de San Antonio de Sahcabchen, el dho dia y año suyo dho vista por mi, el dho juez la dha mattricula de gente,

recibi juramento al dho Don Fran^{co} Pol, gobernador, Al^o Ek, Andres Ake, alcaldes, y a Fran^{co} Ek, Bar^{mo} Ceh, Juan Hau, Diego Cen, regidores, y a Fran^{co} Tec, escriu^o, en su propia lengua materna y abiendolo fho en forma devida les pregunto y apercibio declarasen si abia mas gente en este dho pueblo asi de su parte como ve la de Sutoc o si la tienen ocultada que la manifiesten luego sopena de ser castigados como certifica fray Josef Bosque, Fran^{co} de Villalobos Cardenas.

acuerdo
último

En la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Merida de Yucatan en catorce dias del mes de noviembre de mil y seis cientos y quince años sus mer^{des} Don Antonio de Figueroa, gobernador y capitan general por el Rey Nuestro Señor en estas provincias de Yucatan, Coçumel, Tauasco, e^a Xil Carrillo de Albornoz, contador y berdor, Juan Sarmiento Palazio, tesorero y factor, juezes oficiales reales de estas provincias de Yucatan, abien-dose juntado a acuerdo en rrazon de lo pedido por Francisco de Villalobos sobre la ocupazion que a tenido en la rreduccion, congrega//cion, y poblacion a que se [...]

[337r]

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