

## Chapter 6

### Interculturation and the Indigenous Testament in Colonial Yucatan

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#### Introduction: Mixed-Up Differences

"A persistent myth," one anthropologist has written (Fabian 1983: 149), "shared by imperialists and many (Western) critics of imperialism alike has been that of a single decisive conquista, occupation, or establishment of colonial power." Fabian goes on to indict anthropological practice as an imperialist exercise in perpetuating a West-Other relationship. If there is any validity to this sweeping judgment, historians of colonial Mexico must also fall under the gavel; long and overly (but not surprisingly) influenced by the colonists themselves, those who wrote about New Spain worked from an assumption of indigenous irrelevance or utter submission or appropriate isolation—or any combination of the above—often insisting on colonialism's "single decisive" imposition with such eagerness as to make one suspect wishful thinking in the tradition of that consummate colonial Mexican commentator, don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora.<sup>1</sup>

In the decades since Charles Gibson's pioneering studies of central Mexico (1952, 1964), most historians of colonial Latin America have ceased believing in Fabian's "persistent myth" while nonetheless continuing to perpetuate a binary-oriented perspective on culture history. With the security offered by the totalist vision of the conquest undone by the new social history, by subaltern studies, and by the New Philology, ethnohistorians, like anthropologists, have been tempted by the romanticism of indigenous resistance and cultural persistence, in absolute form an equally pernicious pendulum-swing solution.

In between lies the heart of the matter, that fascinating grey zone of interethnic interaction, that "gradual spectrum of mixed-up differences"

(to steal from a different context a phrase of Geertz's [1988: 148]). In between, too, lies much of the recent work on colonial Mexico and Peru (see the introduction to this volume); the analysis therein tends to navigate a more or less safe passage past the rocks of cultural extinction on one side and conscious cultural resistance on the other. Without at all wishing to take issue with or to distance myself from this scholarship, I would like to suggest, by using the example of Yucatan, that the dangers of these interpretive rocks are perhaps not always adequately recognized.

Certainly it is clear that the colonial period saw a steady diminution of the initial barriers between the indigenous and invasive peoples and their cultures. But it is also clear that the subdominant majority were not passive instruments of cultural change, but rather responsive (albeit not altogether conscious) agents in "a dynamic process of adaptation" (Lockhart 1992: 443). Lockhart's comment that the Nahuas were "self-centered realists and corporate survivors" (1994: 219) certainly applies to the Mayas, probably to all colonial Mesoamericans, and perhaps to Andeans, too; this implies that the processes of cultural intercourse and alteration were multiple and varied, but not necessarily under the aegis of cultural defense or resistance.

Susan Kellogg has argued in this volume and elsewhere (1995a) that Nahuatl-language wills dictated by men and women in Tenochtitlan/Mexico City reveal the gradual but significant impact of Spanish legal concepts upon Mexica culture; economic, demographic, and cultural forces of change were fortified as a result of Mexica engagement with the colonial legal system, a process that was also evident at the same time in the nearby Nahua community of Culhuacan (Cline 1986). Leslie Offutt has examined several dozen Nahuatl wills from the early seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries from San Estebán de la Nueva Tlaxcala, a community of Nahua colonists in Coahuila; she argues that such documents illustrate "increasing exposure to, and integration into, the hispanic world" on the part of Nahua individuals (1992: 412).

In her study of Culhuacan, Sarah Cline's presentation of her sources showed that cultural continuities from preconquest times and the influx of Spanish elements were in some sense parallel and compatible phenomena; Kellogg has emphasized that culture change must be placed in the context of power relations, for only then can we understand how Nahua strategies of protection and resistance became culturally counterproductive; Offutt viewed her testamentary sources in the temporal and spatial context of culture change offered by evidence from the center, with the pace of change slightly slower in San Estebán than in central Mexico—as

revealed by the delayed acquisition of Spanish-language elements by Nahuatl speakers.<sup>2</sup>

Such evidence from Nahuatl-language wills would suggest that indigenous testaments from the colonial Mexican province of Yucatan might also reveal a delayed and slow, but nevertheless steady, process of acculturation, with the language used in such wills revealing a growing grammatical and lexical Spanish influence, and lists of material items betraying a gradual integration of Maya and Hispanic worlds. Indeed, such a pattern can be clearly demonstrated (Restall 1997b: chap. 14 and 22). On the other hand, this approach also comes dangerously close to romanticizing the subject culture as an agent of persistence and resistance. Part of the problem is terminological; the term "acculturation" implies that individuals or groups are primarily engaged in acquiring another culture, reacting to its imperatives rather than acting according to their own traditions and needs. Fernando Ortiz pointed this out half a century ago, but his proposed alternative term, "transculturation" (1947: 97-103), arguably places too much emphasis on deculturation, on "the loss or uprooting of a previous culture."

The notion of culture loss is problematic because it too easily becomes something to be lamented, sometimes only by implication, sometimes as though all colonial-era culture change were a direct result of conquest-era violence, destruction, and repression. Colonial circumstances made unequal partners in cultural intercourse, but the subordinate partner was by no means passive; colonialism was by definition victimizing, but indigenous peoples were far more than mere victims. Their activism, their "riposte" to the "challenge" of colonial realities, did not necessarily amount to conscious resistance but certainly might be characterized as "counter-hegemonic formulations."<sup>3</sup>

The evaluation of indigenous cultures in terms of their ability to persist or their "success" at self-defense tends to be based upon two misconceived assumptions. The first assumption is that culture can have integrity or purity; thus acculturation taints, compromises, and diminishes the subject culture. Yet culture exists to be used; the value of cultural forms lies in their utility, and the resourcefulness of a culture lies in its ability to make creative use of cultural forms, regardless of their origin, and give them symbolic meaning. As a result, cultures are perpetually in transition, confounding any attempt to pinpoint a moment of cultural purity. The only circumstance under which this assumption becomes valid is that of a conscious effort to manipulate concepts of cultural integrity for political purposes—which brings us to the second assumption, that subject peoples strove to defend their culture from dilution and reduction.

Perhaps this fact can be demonstrated with respect to some of Spanish America's indigenous peoples, but it is difficult to make the argument stick for colonial Yucatan, particularly for the long period between the end of the conquest and the decades preceding the Caste War.<sup>4</sup> If the political will to strategize cultural protection existed, there would be evidence of a strong sense of ethnic consciousness; instead, there are overwhelming signs of a society divided by multiple identities of class, *chibal* (the patronym-group of extended families), and *cah* (the self-governing municipal community). Indeed, if the Mayas were committed to cultural defense in a purist sense, they would hardly have been so willing to adopt new cultural forms.<sup>5</sup>

What is important here is the nature of the process whereby the Mayas adopted new cultural forms—and the symbolic meaning given to those forms. The process was more than the simple acquisition of a new culture through acculturation, more too than the transition from two separate cultures to a new hybrid culture, as implied by transculturation. New cultural forms were seldom taken wholesale with their original meanings intact, but were adopted in fragments or as part of complexes consisting of fragments from both cultures whose usages and meanings depended on the beholder.<sup>6</sup> The process was, in the words of Sidney Mintz, writing on the Caribbean (1974: 25), "neither a seamless synthesis nor a potpourri," but it did contain both of these elements. Perhaps a neologism may be permitted to capture the multiple aspects of this interaction between cultures: "interculturalization." This term does not restrict culture change to a single direction or a single end result, nor does it overemphasize culture loss or acquisition, expressing instead the colonial-era process of cultural intercourse.

To demonstrate the applicability of "interculturalization" to Yucatan, this chapter draws upon the surviving body of more than five hundred Yucatec Maya-language wills, emphasizing the three corpora from Cacalchen, Ixil, and Tekanto, but also referring to other individual testaments (see table 6.1). To make the potentially contradictory patterns of culture change accessible, I have chosen a somewhat perverse, but I hope persuasive, methodology. First, I will examine three documents that might represent the early, middle, and late stages of a spectrum of culture change, one with relatively tidy spatial and temporal parameters. These documents are the Maya-language testaments of Ursula Ake, who died in Cacalchen in 1649, and Juan Cutz, whose children inherited his property in Motul in 1762, and the will of Enrique Chan of Seyba Playa, who dictated his dying wishes in Spanish in 1818. Having presented these wills as

more or less indicative of such a spectrum, I then hope to show how Maya testaments, and corresponding patterns of culture change in colonial Yucatan, paradoxically also reflect more complex interculturative processes—and in turn help to articulate the nature of culture change and contribute toward a theory of interculturalization.

### Three Testamentary Tales

We might imagine that it was a hot and sticky evening in northwest Yucatan when in late June, 1649, Ursula Ake realized that she was facing death. Perhaps she sent her son, Marcos Itza, to notify one of the members of the *cabildo* (municipal council) that it was time for Ursula to dictate her will; perhaps Marcos went to the house of Francisco Uicab, a respected citizen of Cacalchen to whom Ursula had entrusted the task of executor. Certainly it could not have been long before Ursula's three children and a small group of relatives and friends were joined at her bedside by one of the two *alcaldes* of the *cah*, Joseph Couoh; one of the *regidores*, Felipe Kuk; and the community notary, Antonio Chi.

Ursula probably asked the notary to begin the will for her; having written them out many times before, Antonio knew the customary opening phrases better than anyone.<sup>7</sup> He began to write: "Tu kaba dios uchuc tumen tusinil . . ." [In the name of Dios, who has power over everything] (or, as our formula would have it, "In the name of God Almighty") (LC: 16). As always on these occasions, Antonio went on to cite the Virgin Mary, to name the testator's parents, and to record her request that candles be lit and that the local friar, Juan Lorenzo, say a mass for her, the customary fees for which were two *tostones*,<sup>8</sup> two measures of maize, and four chickens.

Ursula then told Antonio how she wished to settle her estate. Like that of many colonial-era Maya women, Ursula's involvement in the local economy went beyond vegetable gardening, animal husbandry, and weaving so as to feed and clothe her family and pay her taxes. She does not appear to have been a veritable banker like Ana Xul (who died in Cacalchen in 1678; LC: 33) or a virtual domestic clothing factory like Pasquala Matu (of eighteenth-century Ixil; TI: 29), but she probably borrowed and lent money, and bought and sold yarn and lengths of cloth; on her deathbed she gave 120 measures of yarn to a Lucia Pech and settled a debt of one *real* with an Ana Euan, neither woman her apparent relative. Ursula also owed three different small sums of money to three men; to pay them off, she sold her horse. In addition, Ursula kept three score

Table 6.1  
Extant Colonial-Era Testaments in Yucatec Maya

<b>Cah of Origin</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Type/Number</b>	<b>Source</b>
Cacalchen	1646-78	corpus/34	LC in TULAL
Ixil	1765-68	corpus/65	TI in CCA [Restall 1995b and 1997b]
Tekanto	1724-1835	corpus/approx.400	DT in ANEY
Bokoba	1775-84	individuals/2	ANEY
Chicxulub	1759	individual/1	ANEY
Cuncunul	1699	individual/1	TE [Roys 1939]
Dzan	1700	individual/1	TT in TULAL
Dzan	1764	individual/1	AGEY Tierras
Ebtun	1785-1813	individuals/9	TE [Roys 1939]
Homun	1763	individual/1	AGN Tierras
Izamal	1795	individual/1	AGEY Tierras
Izamal district	1706-1831	individuals/9	ANEY Protocolos
Ixil	1738-69	individuals/3	ANEY [Restall 1995b]
Kanxoc	1814	individual/1	MT in TULAL
Mani	1629	individual/1	TT in TULAL
Mani	1760	individual/1	DTi in TULAL
Motul	1762	individual/1	ANEY [the present article]
Pustunich	1726	individual/1	TS in TULAL
Sicpach	1680-1709	individuals/3	Titles of Chichi in CCA
Sicpach	1820-32	individuals/2	ANEY
Tehaas	1805	individual/1	ANEY
Tekanto	1661-79	individuals/3	DT in ANEY
Tekax	1689	individual/1	ANEY
Ticul	1736	individual/1	TS in TULAL
Tiho	1741-89	individuals/5	ANEY

*Note:* Citations in brackets under "Source" indicate where wills have been published. Most of these sources are discussed in Restall 1997b, while the Tekanto collection is analyzed in Thompson 1978. Full citations of archival sources are in the bibliography, save for the following manuscripts in TULAL: DTi (Documentos de Ticul); MT (Montes de Tsek etc.); TS (Tierras de Sabacche); and TT (Tierras de Tabi)

hives of bees, divided among her son and two daughters; the latter also inherited her piglets (including those of her pregnant pig), two chairs, and one set of female clothing (a Maya dress and petticoat).<sup>9</sup>

Judging from thirty wills covering a decade of Cacalchen's history (1646-56), Ursula Ake was neither the richest nor the poorest of that small community's inhabitants. In terms of the type of items she owned, as well as their number, Ursula might be taken as a typical *cahnal* (Maya citizen) of mid-century Cacalchen. Rather than compare her property in detail to that of her contemporaries, however, let us compare it to that of Juan Cutz, who lived in the following century and died in Motul in 1762 (ANEY 1796: 205; see the will at the end of this chapter). The cah of Motul was larger than nearby Cacalchen and more important—both to the Maya, for whom it had been a regional economic center since the days when it was also the capital of the preconquest province of the Pech, and to the Spanish colonial and ecclesiastical authorities, for whom it was a regional administrative head town, or *cabecera*. By this time there was also a growing number of Spaniards and mestizos living in Motul.<sup>10</sup> While both *cahob* (plural of "cah") were geographically equidistant from the colonial capital, we might expect 1760s Motul to be culturally closer to Mérida than 1640s Cacalchen.

The will of Juan Cutz would appear to support that supposition. For example, Juan leaves four house-plots to his children; neither Ursula nor her contemporaries mentioned house-plots at all. Always referred to in Maya documents with the Spanish term *solar*, the house-plot à la Juan Cutz was a colonial innovation; preconquest-style clusters of houses whose gardens had traditionally been marked off with stone mounds were gradually reorganized in the colonial period into a grid system of plots demarcated by stone walls (Restall 1997b: chap. 3 and 8). Larger, more important cahob were given this facelift more quickly.

A comparison between these two wills also suggests that there was an architectural dimension to the contrasting looks of Ursula's Cacalchen and Juan's Motul. Juan leaves to his son a house-door and frame ("u hol na y[etel] u marcoil"). As the Nahuas did,<sup>11</sup> the Mayas left these items in lieu of houses themselves partly because doors, frames, and beams were understood to represent houses, and partly because such items were prized as the manufactured product of a carpenter's skills (as opposed to common or garden house ingredients such as palm leaves for roofs and wattle and daub for walls). House-doors and frames are standard items in eighteenth-century Maya wills; in the roughly forty extant seventeenth-century wills (mostly LC; see table 6.1) there are no mentions of house-doors and just

one mention of an unspecified frame. Not only did the Cacalchen of 1649 and the Motul of 1762 look different, reflecting stages of architectural Hispanization, but their inhabitants conceived of their residential environment differently; like Juan Cutz, Ursula Ake lived on a house-plot in a house with a doorway, but she viewed differently their value and the appropriateness of their inclusion in her will. <sup>12</sup>

Another item left by Juan Cutz to his son that does not appear in the will of Ursula Ake is a silver spoon (*cuchara takin*). One of Ursula's contemporaries (LC: 9) mentions a spoon, but it probably falls into the same category as other food-related objects bequeathed in Cacalchen, such as the plate (*frado* or *plato*) and the gourd (*luch*). Juan's spoon, on the other hand, not only seems to hold greater economic value but also indicates that eighteenth-century Mayas may have adopted something of the cultural value ascribed to silver spoons by Spaniards; common items in Spanish wills, such spoons were symbols of prosperity (however modest) and, as the English adage suggests, western European symbols of inherited wealth.

Accompanying the changes in municipal layout were also changes in the form and outward structure of colonial administrative status and local political office. A *cah* became, from the Spanish perspective, a *pueblo*, an official part of the *república de indios*, complete with a *cabildo* or municipal council of elected officers holding Spanish titles (Restall 1997b: chap. 3, 5, and 6). But while a community's classification may have been unambiguous from the viewpoint of colonial government, Maya-language records such as testaments reveal that the transition was sometimes (perhaps usually) gradual. Cacalchen had *pueblo* status by the 1640s, and *cabildo* officers are named as present during the dictation of all extant wills, but the *cabildo*'s form is uneven in several ways. This can best be explained by examining Juan Cutz's will, which contains an example of the complete and full-fledged ritual presentation on paper of the Maya *cabildo*. The document ends (again, see the will at the end of this chapter) with a brief statement that the *cabildo* officers were present, followed by a paragraph of ratification and validation in which confirmation is made of, first, Juan Cutz's identity and the truth of his statement, and second, the location, date, and the names and office titles of the *cabildo* members present.<sup>13</sup> Ursula's will (like other Cacalchen wills) features no such statements, listing *cabildo* officers as present in a sentence in the middle of the will (between religious formula and the settling of the estate) and ending simply with a record of the date. Furthermore, Cacalchen wills of Ursula Ake's time tend to mention one *alcalde* and one



regidor, the identities of which differ between wills, and there is no mention of the *batab* (cah governor) in the 1646-52 testaments. The mature-period norm, as reflected in Juan Cutz's will, was always to not only mention but prominently feature the *batab*, and to list all *alcaldes* and *regidores* (the numbers of which varied between cahob—eighteenth-century Motul had three of each—but not from year to year or document to document [Restall 1997b: chap. 6]).

If these two wills seem to illustrate a gradual process of Hispanization affected by location and time, can we detect a progression of the process by extending this partially anecdotal method to a later cah more heavily populated by Spaniards (and Hispanized *castas* [Africans and mixed-race people])? The testament of Enrique Chan (CCA X-1818, 007) suggests we can. The document was dictated in the final years of the colonial period in the community of Seyba Playa, a cah down near the Bay of Campeche, far from Cacalchen and Motul and the most thickly populated Maya regions of the colony, a town whose inhabitants were mostly not *cahnalob* (plural of "cahnal," Maya citizen) as such, but *vecinos*—*Spanish* residents—whose identity was rooted in the pueblo, not the cah.<sup>14</sup> Seemingly caught between these two worlds, or in a world that appears to us Janus-faced, was Enrique Chan. The cover page to his will describes him as a *vecino*; the text itself categorizes him as "yndio, natural de este pueblo." The latter was presumably more accurate, but the ambiguity remains and is reflected in the form and content of the document.

On the one hand, Enrique was a *cahnal*, a Maya citizen of Seyba Playa, the son of Maya parents—Pasqual Chan of the same cah and Maria Couoh of the nearby *cabecera*, Seyba. He was married to a Maya woman, Maria Petrona Mut; together they had four children. He was illiterate, as were all Mayas save for the elite notarial and gubernatorial (*batab*) class; the cah notary, Josef Chel, signed his name for him. Also present were two other members of the cah *cabildo*, the *alcaldes* Dionisio Puch and Justino Tun. Enrique did not live near the center of town, where Spaniards tended to reside, but on the outskirts, on the road to Xkeulil, a neighboring cah less than a third the size of Seyba Playa and demographically almost twice as indigenous.<sup>15</sup> His household property included modest items common in mid- and late-colonial Maya homes, such as a washing bowl, a bench, and some clothes chests.

On the other hand, the testament is not in Maya, like our previous two sample wills, but in Spanish, written not by the cah notary, despite his presence, but by the local *juez español* (a local Spanish official of modest rank). Accordingly, the form and phrasing of the testament is

Spanish: Maya formulations are replaced by Spanish legalese, and instead of the customarily brief religious opening of indigenous wills (eleven lines in Ursula Ake's will, none at all in Juan Cutz's) there are almost three pages of religious formula and provisions from Enrique Chan. In addition to three official cah representatives were three Spanish witnesses, in effect representing the pueblo; at the foot of the document, in lieu of cabildo ratification and signatures, are the self-signed names of these Spaniards. Furthermore, although Enrique's children are Mayas, they carry not only their father's patronym (Chan), as is overwhelmingly the colonial-era Maya naming pattern, but also their mother's, in the Spanish style (Chan y Mut).

Symbolizing the existence in Enrique's will—and in his life—of these two cultural systems were his two houses. One was Spanish-style, a "solid" house (that is, of limestone: "de cal y canto") with a timber roof; the other is Maya-style, roofed with palm leaves and walled with wattle and daub ("de cololche y embarro"; the Maya term "cololche" means "something made from sticks [palisade, fence, wall]"). From Enrique's description of these structures it is clear that he recognized how different they were, and the use of a Maya term to describe the nature of one of the houses is significant; through this metonymy Enrique is saying that he has one *casa* and one *na*, each representing two different ways of doing things. Yet just as important was the fact that the two structures sat side by side on the same plot of land, both contained stores of maize, and both served the daily needs of family members who surely would not have been conscious of separate cultural systems as they walked from one building to the other. Symbolically adding this theme of integration to that of cultural duality was the existence of the kitchen, a wattle-and-daub addition attached to the back of the stone house ("una cosina de cololche y embarro").

The image of two things distinct yet integrated within a single framework is pertinent not only to material objects but also to personnel. We have seen that the six witnesses to Enrique Chan's testament were three Mayas and three Spaniards, representing cahnal and vecino communities; yet all lived in Seyba Playa, and all appeared to witness the same ritual and be included in the same document. Likewise, of the two landowners whose property bordered on plots of Enrique's, one was a vecino (Lucas Bera, the "capitan de pardos" <sup>16</sup>), the other a Maya nobleman (don Ermenejildo Balam). Five men owed Enrique sums of money, four of them Mayas and the fifth a non-Maya (José Grasales); all five were to settle accounts through the agency of one of the debtors, Juan Mian.<sup>17</sup>

Enrique's testament thus reflects the fact that people of Spanish, African, and Maya descent all lived in Seyba Playa, in some senses separated into indigenous and Hispanic worlds, but to some extent tied to each other politically, economically, and culturally.

On Enrique Chan's house-plot the culture-change spectrum ends, at least for our purposes. We pass from the unspecified Maya structure of Ursula Ake to Juan Cutz's Maya house with valuable wood-worked door and frame to Enrique's pair of houses—one traditional, let us say, the other modern. The Maya cabildo goes from ill defined to deeply rooted to marginalized. There is an apparent shift in the culture of meaning, in the values assigned to objects and words. We move from an overwhelmingly Maya environment to one that seems permeated by "the modern" on every level; the moment when Maya culture seems to flourish, in Juan Cutz's day—strengthened by its adaptation to colonial innovations since Ursula Ake's times—seems also to be pregnant with a profound Hispanization.

Yet we have also seen signs of a pattern featuring less of a simple shift between cultures and more of a cultural cohabitation and intercourse. Clearly the model of a spectrum of culture change requires the modification suggested by the image of the Chan y Mut family continually and (we might conjecture) un-self-consciously passing between their two houses.

### **Toward a Conclusion: Cultural Intercourse**

More than a century passed between Ursula Ake's and Juan Cutz's deaths; Juan lived in a community several times larger than Ursula's; in the former's home cah, about one in three residents were Hispanic. Given these facts, perhaps what is surprising is not that the wills of 1649 and 1762 reflect culture change, but that they are so similar—in language, in the material items they contain, in the social world onto which they let a little light. The major lexical impact upon Maya has taken place before Ursula Ake's lifetime; her will contains a representative sample of Spanish nouns borrowed by Mayas in response to the colonial introduction of coins, horses, Spanish-style furniture, the Spanish calendar and religion, and new titles of political office. Juan Cutz's will reflects the same process, almost to the same degree. Juan uses more loanwords, but he has more property and dictates a longer statement. Even if we accept that Juan's will reflects the gradual increase in loanwords evidenced by the wider corpus of Maya-language material, the fact remains that there has

been no change in the *nature* of the impact of Spanish upon Maya; in particular, there are no signs of grammatical influence. <sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, the material worlds of Ursula, Juan, and Enrique are notably similar. Comparing their three wills, we find that all three lived in a municipality whose material environment was—from an urban Spanish perspective—rural; that is, revolving around the use and husbandry of animals (Ursula's colt, pigs, and bees; Juan's mare, cow, and calf; Enrique's mules) and the gender-specific economic staples of farming and weaving (Ursula's yarn; Juan's maize fields; Enrique's corn and rice fields and his stash of dried maize). All three participated in the cash economy, all three discussing loans or debts, installment payments, or coin bequests. The household property of all three was modest but reflecting the early-colonial introduction of Spanish-style furniture (Ursula's bed and chairs; Enrique's bench; and the chests mentioned by all three testators).

This comparison can be given an empirically stronger foundation by placing it in the context of four corpora of testaments, contrasting the Cacalchen wills of 1646-79 with the later collections from Ixil (1765-68), Ebtun (1785-1813), and Tekanto (1725-1835) (LC; TI; TE; DT).<sup>19</sup> While a detailed such comparison would have to take into account a variety of factors (such as the incidence and number of samples within each corpus, as well as other factors discussed here), the general sense given is parallel to the impression lent by the philological comparison of the previous paragraph. The nature or typology of material life remained little changed: plots of house and farming land; trees and vegetables; horses, cattle, pigs, and chickens; small pieces of wooden furniture; machetes and a variety of tools for farming, horse keeping, apiculture, and so on; petty valuables, such as plates, spoons, and small amounts of cash; unchanging gender-specific styles of clothing, and measures of cloth and yarn. There is, however, an increase in the variety and quantity of items within these categories. In the later wills there are more species of trees, and donkeys and mules make an appearance, as do such tools as well pulleys and branding irons, and items of value such as saint images. (Conversely, turkeys disappear from the record, perhaps because they were no longer considered worthy of mention; even pigs and chickens are given scant passing attention in late-colonial wills.)

In demonstrating the material similarities between wills over time, I have already hinted at alternative factors that explain differences, factors that indicate culture differences not related to Hispanization. One of these is gender: female roles in the domestic and local economies are inevitably and strongly reflected in testaments. Another is the existence of

variations between cahob, variations that were often independent of temporal developments. Such variations were manifested in a myriad of ways and amounted to integral cah subcultures of ways of doing and viewing things. Substantial elaboration is offered elsewhere (Restall 1997b); let it suffice to say here that some of these variations were determined by locale (for example, Ebtun, its lands less fertile than those to the west, specialized in apiculture from preconquest to modern times; from shortly after the conquest, Dzaptun became caught up in the economy of transport along the nearby Campeche highway), others by traditions of probable precolonial origins (numbers, combinations, and compositions of political offices made colonial cabildos highly varied from cah to cah; while the dictionaries tell us that *col* meant "field" and *kax* "forest," some cahob used *kax* to mean any nonresidential plot—cultivated, cultivable, or not). Other variations resulted simply from the fact that human organizations, when given some autonomy and when enjoying the close affinity and loyalty of their members, as was the case with the cah, tend to develop customized patterns of behavior. The logical extension of this point is the theme of what I have termed "cahcentrism" (Restall 1997b); the ubiquity of the cah in the Maya-language documentary record reflects the centrality and vitality of the Maya community in the colonial period. From this perspective, contrasts between source materials such as wills can not only be subsumed within the dominant pattern of cahcentrism but can also contribute to its supportive evidence. The three wills selected above could thus be interpreted as reflecting the cah's ability to adapt to colonial innovations in the early period; its continued integrity and maturity as late as the 1760s; and its survival on the very eve of independence in a community where Mayas were a minority.

We can de-emphasize or recontextualize the differences between the Maya-language wills, but there is yet another way to view these contrasts. For example, the length of Juan Cutz's will, about twice as long as the testaments of Ursula Ake and her neighbors, might be taken as another indicator of cultural change. Spanish wills tended to be far longer than indigenous ones, but of course Spaniards tended to be wealthier. My point, rather, is not that length indicated Hispanization, but that what makes Cutz's will longer is the detail he chooses to include, detail that earlier Maya wills tend to exclude. While there are certainly examples of Spanish testaments that feature lengthy personal asides or accounts, <sup>20</sup> wills by Spaniards more commonly featured item-by-item lists of property. Instead, the personalization of wills—including the use of reported speech, laudatory or deprecatory remarks about relatives, and the shifting

of pronominal perspective as relatives or cabildo officers add comments—seems to be an indigenous phenomenon, a cultural form that was subject to change independent of any Spanish influence. Such features are visible in the Nahuatl wills from sixteenth-century Culhuacan (Cline and León-Portilla 1984) and in Ixil's eighteenth-century testaments (Restall 1995b) (giving the impression that they developed earlier in central Mexico, although this may be a distortion created by the uneven survival of testament corpora).

In other words, Maya culture change and Hispanization are not necessarily synonymous simply because during the period under study the Mayas were increasingly exposed to Spaniards and their culture. Late-colonial testators such as Juan Cutz, along with the notary and cabildo in his home cah of Motul, may have felt more comfortable with the ritual of the will—in the sense that its format and validity were perceived as deeply rooted and secure—making its written record an appropriate place to clarify a matter such as the digging of a well and the purchase of the land around it. Certainly, the written testament was a Spanish innovation, but it was culturally familiar to Cutz and his contemporaries as something Maya.

Indeed, while in an analysis of testaments and other texts we can detect and label some cultural elements as deriving from Maya or Spanish "systems of representation" (as William Hanks [1986: 739] has put it), often such elements cannot be so easily categorized. This is because, to use Hanks's terms, they can be "fused within the larger whole," a process of "hybridization" that produces an "ambivalence in discourse." The process of cultural fusion, however, does not result in a hybrid culture that we can then place under the microscope. The process remains incomplete; it is its own end, in essence a continuous and infinite dynamic interplay or intercourse between cultural forms that is not necessarily progressive and certainly not teleological. There remains a duality to the process, but the two cultures are in constant communication; the "ambivalence in discourse," or what has been referred to earlier as an ambiguity of cultural identity, lies in the fact that in this cultural dialogue it is not always apparent who is doing the talking.

In fact, Maya-language notarial documents are conversations on a variety of levels. In one sense, these written records are dialogocentric within cah culture; that is, they center on conversations between ritual participants acting as both individuals and corporate representatives. In the case of testaments, the conversants are testator and heir (representing generational interest groups and/or the extended families or patronym groups

called *chibalob*), testator and notary (representing the cah citizenry and the cabildo, the cah ruling body), and various other pairs of interested parties ranging from the batab to a family creditor.

In another sense, the very nature and format of indigenous notarial documents represents a dialogue between cultures, of which testaments are a fine example. A clerically imposed genre satisfying colonial legal and ecclesiastical requirements, wills were also Maya rituals, probably based on some form of preconquest oral tradition, that helped to maintain community ties of family, property, social hierarchy, political office, and corporate identity. The dual purpose of the document was reflected in the terms used by the Maya to describe it: "yn takyahthan [t]in testamento" [my final statement, (in, of) my testament]. The terms are like Enrique Chan's two houses: one is Maya, the other Spanish, but the two sit side by side to constitute a single phrase and identify a single document; their purpose is both singular and dual. Bilingual couplets were omnipresent in colonial cah life—take the names of our testators, for example, or the full name of any cah (such as San Juan Baptista Motul)—and drew upon a tradition of semantic couplets that seems to have preconquest Mesoamerican roots (Edmonson and Bricker 1985; Hanks 1986; Restall 1997b: chap. 18; Lockhart 1992: chap. 9). Monolingual semantic couplets in colonial Maya texts are common, reflecting cultural continuity; their bilingual counterparts are indicative of the interculturative yet inclusive process of Maya adaptation to colonial realities.

Not just the form but also the content of indigenous wills contain fragments of cultural conversations, detectable within both corpora of wills and individual documents. For example, taking material possessions as indicative of cultural alignments, not surprisingly we find that some individuals in Ixil in the 1760s were more Hispanized than others (TI). Some Ixil cahnalob lived only in homes and wore only clothes that were wholly colonial Maya (in the sense that such objects, mostly precolonial-rooted, would not have been possessed by a contemporaneous Spaniard); the same applied to most of their tools and kitchen implements. In the same cah, at the same time, were individuals whose material world approximated that of a poor Hispanic. Yet rather than representing contrasting groups within the community, such individuals were contributors to a cultural intercourse that existed not only on a community level but also within the confines of individual house-plots.

Pedro Mis, for example (TI: 30), owned some objects not included in the estates of any other Ixil cahnal dying during the same period (sixty-five wills span November 1765 to January 1768). Two of these

were Spanish-style items: a writing desk ("papierera," i.e., *papelera*) and a door lock and key ("yabe," i.e., *llave*) to go with one of his two houses (only one other Ixil testator mentions a house, per se, the rest refer to house-doors and frames; I believe the distinction is that the former are stone houses and the latter represent wattle-and-daub structures). Both items are culturally symbolic: literacy was reserved for Spaniards and elite Mayas holding certain offices (Pedro Mis was probably a former notary in Ixil), and houses have been a leitmotiv of this discussion of interculturalization. Yet Pedro was also the unique possessor (the aforementioned caveats still applying) of items whose cultural associations were Maya: an orchard of sapote trees, a "nuc" (a seat of some kind), and a "dzopatancochbol" (a blunt-ended digging stick). Comparing Pedro's entire estate to those of his contemporaries, the picture becomes clearer. His property is not just more varied, it is more extensive (only one other testator has as many plots of farmland [four] as Pedro). Pedro was not simply more oriented toward the Hispanic world, he was wealthier. Given the realities of colonial socioeconomic structures, it is not surprising that exceptional wealth might mean the possession of items unusual in a cah.

In her analysis of indigenous testaments from a community in Coahuila, Leslie Offutt concluded that her Nahua subjects "straddled both the Indian and the Hispanic worlds" (1992: 424). I have argued here that the existence of Hispanic elements in an indigenous testament and in indigenous lives did not necessarily signify acculturation toward the Hispanic world, that the straddling process was not always a one-way progression into Hispanization, that it was more comfortable than the image of straddling suggests, and that it was as reciprocal, natural, and potentially ambiguous as a conversation. Drawn as we are to the West-Other relationship cited at the start of the chapter, and valid as it can be as a tool of analysis, the binary paradigm of conflicting absolutes needs to be modified by an understanding of indigenous perspectives. While Mayas surely perceived themselves as subject to systems of hierarchy and accordingly granted cachet to Spanish-style forms and objects, they also did not always view the world in binary terms; or, if they did, the terms were not ours or those of the Spaniards (what is to us Hispanic could have been to them Maya or, more likely, simply local, pertaining to the cah). The nature of the intercultural process was in many ways determined by each Maya individual's subconscious perception of it, by each individual's contribution to the cultural intercourse of mixed-up differences.



***Last Will and Testament of Juan Cutz, Motul, 1762***  
**(ANEY 1796-97: 205)**

ten cen Juan cutz Ah cahalnal en Uay tu mektan cahil ca yumilan Ah bolon pixan San Ju.° Baptista Uay ti cah motul lae cin mentic yn hahal than lae tohil in uol Utial in dzaic hecex solar yan ten ti in palilobe y \* hecex kax u lumil colob yan tene = Bay xan yax chun lae cin dzaic<sup>21</sup> lay hunac solar yn cah lic lae ti in mehen Andres cutz heix lay solar lae [yan]<sup>22</sup> u chenil ten tin holah u cenil = oxlahunpis\* peso catac hunpel toston tin [bot]jah u men cenil heix tun lay u cotil u pach lae tomas Aguilar cote yoklal u yoltic cahtal cachii Bay bic tun utial yn yum Pablo cutztze ma tin chaah ti ti lay tomas Aguilar lae tin botah hecex u tohol lay cot tu betahe uaxacpel\* peso tin betahix u hanalil xan u chic u betabal canpel\* peso u cuentail u tohol lay cot y u hanalil lae lahcapis\* peso lay tumenel cin patic ti lay in mehen lae y tulacal hecex xanob pakanie y tulacal he. . . [c]heob yanie maix mac u chac u thanan cal yoklal uamax tu hok uba than yoklal [t]u kinile ca u tucin cakal peso ti lay in mehen lae ca u hokes ubae bay bic coh yanil lay solar ten lae lay tumenel cin mentic lay in hahal than lae tac tanil yn yum Batab y in yum Justisias li[c i]n kubic lay solar ti lay in mehen lae ychil u tohol in uol = Bay xan cin dzaic ti lay in mehen lae hunpok yeua in mandzil na yxim col y hunpok baca y u yal in man yoklal hopel\* toxtones y hunpel\* u hol na y u marcoil in man yoklal hunpel peso u ci y hunpel caja in matan ti i[n] na y hunpel cuchara takin in matan ix ti in na xan lay cin dzaic ti lay in mehen Andres cutz lae mix mac bin than nac yoklal

Bay xan cin dzaic ti in mehen Joseph cutz hunac solar minan u cotil bin cah lae u palilob tu kinili heix lay solar lae in matan ti in Na heix lay solar lae te yan tu lakin cah bel cibalame u yohelob =

Bay xan cin dzaic ti in uixmehen luisa cutz y Josepha cutz hunac solar yan tu lakin cah bel cibalam canupop yoklal bin u . . . b tu kinil hecabin yol cah tolobie catanili u pache

Bay xan cin dzaic ti in uixmehen Antt.<sup>a</sup> cutz y Rosa cutz hunac solar canupop yoklal heix lay solar lae yan u chenil ti li tu hol cah bel cibalam heix lay solarob lae mix ca u conol mix ca u siob bin cah lae yalobi tac tu kilacabilob tu kinil =

[f.205v] Bay xan cin patic tu kab yn mehenob Joseph cutz y Andres cutz canac u lumil col h[eix] hunacie hokal u kanil lay yan tu lakin cah tu xaman bom yan chenil ychil potbil . . . heix u lak hunace tu kin u estansia cah hokal u kanil u yohelob = heix u lak hunace te yan tu chikin yaxleula u kal u kax D.<sup>a</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Ake u yohelob hokal u kanil y u lak hokal u kanil u lumil . . . man kax in Na ti lorenzo Kuh escriba[no] te yan xaman

chenkelem u yohelob . . n hun bak lay kax tu pakkil lae cin patic tu kab in mehen Joseph cutz y \* Andres cutz bin u mul col yetel u bal tu kinil bay bic tun tu tohil in uol cin mentic lay in hahal than lae bay test[amen]toe cin pecoltic u than ca yumil ti Dios he tux cin manel tin mol patan bic tusan in bel tumen ca yum encomenderroe lay hahal than cin mantic . . tu tanil yn yn [*sic*] Batab y yn yum Justisias y Regidoresob y escribano lay u ha[hal] [hele] en 13 de Agosto de 1762 años

ten Juan cutz =

toon con Batab y Justisias Regidores escribano Uay ti cah motul tanil tu dzah u h[a]hil u than lay Juan cutz lae licil u mentic lay u hahal than lae cu pecoltic u . . yal tumen ca yumil ti Dios tux ci tan tumenel ychil u mol patan lay [tu]mentah lay u hahal u tanil lay u hahil lic ca dzaic ca firma yalan [ca]bal hele en 13 de Agosto de 1762 años

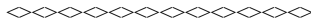
Nicolas balam      D<sup>o</sup> Matheo Koh [*rubric*]      Julian Tzek

Ber.<sup>no</sup> pech      Batab      Seuastian chan

Santiago Koh      Pasqual Pech the<sup>e</sup>      Matheo Ake

Alcaldesob      Ambrosio kuh      Regidoresob

escribano=



I who am Juan Cutz, I am a citizen here in the cah governed by our lord the blessed San Juan Baptista, here in the cah of Motul, where I make my true statement and affirm that I give this house-plot of mine to my children and this forest of milpa lands that is mine.<sup>23</sup> Therefore first I give this one house-plot where I reside to my son, Andrés Cutz. This house-plot has a well of mine. I made the well hole; thirteen pesos and one tostón I paid for the well construction. Here too is the stony ground around it. It was Tomás Aguilar's stony ground, because he used to live there when it was the property of my father, Pablo Cutz. I didn't take it from this Tomás Aguilar; I paid him bit by bit. The price of this stony ground came to eight pesos; a resale payment of four pesos was also made by me. The cost, the price of the resale of this stony ground was therefore twelve pesos. Thus I leave it to my son here with all these planted palm trees<sup>24</sup> and all its other trees. Nobody shall have much to say about it. Whoever does come out with words about it, at that time let them come out with forty pesos for my son here. This is how expensive this house-plot of mine is because I made it what it is. This is my true statement, before m'lord the Batab and m'lord the Magistrates. I now deliver this house-plot to my son here, as is my wish. Likewise I give to my son here one mare bought with my mother's corn field; and one cow with its calf which I bought for five tostones; and one house-door with its frame which I bought for one peso

of henequen; and one chest, inherited from my mother; and one silver spoon, also inherited from my mother, which I also give to this son of mine, Andrés Cutz. Nobody shall say anything about it.

Likewise I give to my son, Josef Cutz, one house-plot without stony ground. His children shall live there in time. This particular house-plot I inherited from my mother; it is to the east of the cah on the road to Cibalam, as is known.<sup>25</sup>

Likewise I give to my daughters, Luisa Cutz and Josefa Cutz, one house-plot that is to the east of the cah on the road to Cibalam. It shall go to both of them at the time when they are ready to spin thread there; then they will take possession.

Likewise I give to my daughters, Antonia Cutz and Rosa Cutz, one house-plot for both of them. This house-plot has a well; it is near the cah's entrance, on the road to Cibalam. These house-plots we are neither to sell nor to give away; they dictated this impediment in the time of our ancestors.

Likewise I leave in the hands of my sons, Josef Cutz and Andrés Cutz, four milpa fields. Here is one of them, of one hundred mecates, to the east of the cah and to the north of Bom. There is a well dug in it. Here is another one of them at the corner of the cah estancia; it is known to be one hundred mecates. Here is another one which is to the west of Yaxleula and the twenty-mecate forest-plot of don Francisco Ake—it is known to be one hundred mecates—and the other one-hundred-mecate field, a forest-plot my mother bought from the notary Lorenzo Kuh, which is to the north of Chenkelem. The cultivated area of this forest-plot is known to be four hundred mecates.<sup>26</sup> I leave the whole field with its contents in the hands of my sons Josef Cutz and Andrés Cutz. Thus my wish at this time is just. I make this my true statement, as a testament, that I swear by the word of our lord Dios whereby I passed my tribute collection, according to my appointed office, on to our lord the encomendero. This true statement I make before my batab and my lords the magistrates and regidores and notary. This is the truth. Today on the 13th of August of the year 1762.

I, Juan Cutz.

We who are the batab and magistrates, regidores, and notary here in the cah of Motul, to whom Juan Cutz gave his true statement. He now makes his true statement; he hereby swears by the sayings of our lord Dios regarding where he stands in his tribute collection. He made his true statement. This is the truth. We now give our signatures below. Today on the 13th of August of the year 1762.

Don Mateo Koh: Batab.  
 Pasqual Pech: Lieutenant.  
 Ambrosio Kuh: Notary.  
 Nicolas Balam; Bernardino Pech; Santiago Koh: Alcaldes.  
 Julian Tzek; Sebastian Chan; Mateo Ake: Regidores.

## Notes

I am grateful to Sarah Cline, Susan Kellogg, James Lockhart, and William Hanks for comments made on earlier versions of this chapter.

1. Among the best-known examples of this old school are, from the late nineteenth century, W. H. Prescott and H. H. Bancroft, and from the early twentieth, Robert Ricard. For some succinct historiography on this topic, see Lockhart 1992: 2-3. As Lockhart observes (1994: 220), a particular version of this view still survives (and is certainly dominant outside the community of academic specialists) with respect to the conquest of central Mexico.
2. The frame of reference for culture change in the philological ethnohistory of Mexico tends to be the "stage" theory first proposed in Karttunen and Lockhart (1976, cited by Offutt 1992) and further articulated in Lockhart 1992, especially chapter 7.
3. Comaroff and Comaroff (1992: 236) describe colonial relations as a process of "challenge and riposte"; also quoted by Burkhart (1996: 5), who suggests that "counter-hegemonic formulations" may be found as "muted messages" in postconquest native-language texts.
4. If specificity was required, the conquest's terminal date could be taken as 1570 and the Caste War as originating in 1800, following the titles of two persuasive studies by Clendinnen (1987) and Rugeley (1996); also see Restall 1998.
5. These assertions are explored below to some extent, but also see Restall 1997b.
6. It is essentially this aspect of the process of cultural interaction that has been characterized by Mintz (1974: 25; context of the Afro-Caribbean) as "culture disguise" and by Lockhart (1992: 445; context of the colonial-era Nahuas) as "double mistaken identity."
7. Over the preceding two years, Antonio Chi had written a dozen wills (that are extant) (LC).
8. There was also a fee of two *tomines* (*tumin*) "for Jerusalem," effectively a supplemental priest's fee. A tomin was the same as a real (although Mayas and Nahuas used the term generally to refer to cash or coin); four reales made a tostón, and two tostones made a peso. Sung masses cost an extra tostón. (On mass fees paid by Mayas, see Restall 1997b: chap. 12; in the context of all taxes paid by colonial Mayas, see Farriss 1984: 41.)
9. For further discussion of Maya women in colonial Yucatan see Restall 1995a and 1997b: chap. 10, as well as Hunt and Restall 1997.
10. There are available estimated populations of these cahob in 1700 and 1716, respectively: Cacalchen, 860 and 956; Motul, 1,169 and 1,274. It is probable that

Motul in 1762 was three or four times the size of Cacalchen in 1649. By the 1780s Motul was 48 percent non-Maya. See Patch 1993: app. A, B.

11. Lockhart 1992: 69, citing the Tulancingo Collection in the UCLA Research Library, a corpus also discussed, with sample documents presented, in Lockhart 1991a: chap. 6; Cline and León-Portilla 1984; and Cline 1986: 101-2.
12. This perception of Ursula Ake's was presumably shared by those who witnessed and possibly prompted her dictation. On Maya houses and households, see Restall 1997b: chap. 8.
13. The signing of documents by Maya cabildo officers was a typical incomplete imitation of the form of the Spanish model: a document might state (as does Juan Cutz's will) that "ca dzaic ca firma yalan" [we give our signatures (or, we sign) below], but the notary actually wrote the names, with only the batab (governor of the cah) sometimes signing his own name (as was the case with Juan's will). (Nahua, Mixtec, and Cakchiquel practices were similar; see Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart 1976; Terraciano 1994; Hill 1989; and Restall 1997a; also see the wills included at the end of each chapter of this volume.) Of course, whether the signators actually signed (as Spaniards did) or not (as illiterate Mayas did not and could not) made no difference to the legal validity of the document. Because a document was in Maya, it was expected and acceptable for its form to be an "imperfect" imitation of a Spanish genre; in effect, by late-colonial times, if not sooner, Maya notaries employed their own legal forms (as well as some that were not accepted as legal) (Restall 1994, 1997a, 1997b: chap. 18-21).
14. Seyba Playa had a population of about four thousand in 1794 and five years earlier was about 55 percent vecino (Patch 1993: 173, 259). We can assume that both these figures would have risen a little by 1818. "Vecino" usually refers to Spaniards, but sometimes, in Yucatan at least, it included castas, making "nonMaya" or "Hispanic" more accurate glosses.
15. Based on the population estimates offered by Patch (1993: 259), which include Xkeulil at 24 percent vecino relative to Seyba Playa's 55 percent (1789).
16. There was a militia company of eighty-five armed pardos installed in Seyba Playa in the late eighteenth century; the term "pardo" was used in Yucatan to mean mulatto, and sometimes applied to all people of African descent. On Africans in Yucatan see Patch 1993: 94-96, 232-36; García Bernal 1972: 17-19; and various brief entries in Hunt 1974; I am currently working on an article and book chapter on the African and pardo experience in colonial Yucatan, drawing upon archival material in AGEY, AGI Escribanía and AGI México, AGN, and ANEY.
17. These business ties were related to the two ways in which Enrique Chan appears to have made a living: as a muleteer (he owned five mules with corresponding riding gear and bags) and as a farmer (he had plots devoted to maize and to rice).
18. For discussions of colonial-era Maya language changes see Karttunen 1985 and Restall 1997b: chap. 22. William Hanks is also at work on a study of the impact of Franciscan evangelization upon the Maya language. With respect to the Nahuatl-Maya comparison, the fact of minimal language change during the period of the three selected wills (1649-1818) does not imply Maya incompatibility with the "stage theory" analysis of Nahuatl (Karttunen and Lockhart 1976; Lockhart 1992: chap. 7), as Maya appears to have passed very rapidly (within a

decade or two of the conquest) through a "stage one" equivalent while not entering anything like a "stage three" until the mid-nineteenth century at the earliest.

19. Such a comparison can be found in itemized and table form in Restall 1997b: app. E.
20. One well-known example which comes to mind is Diego Mendez's tale in his 1536 will of Columbus's fourth transatlantic voyage (included in the Penguin edition of *The Four Voyages*). More mundane examples can be found scattered through the volumes of ANEY (covering Yucatan from the 1690s on).
21. Shortly after the Spanish conquest a letter resembling a backwards "c" was invented for the colonial Maya alphabet (see Restall 1997b: chap. 18, 22); it is represented here by its modern equivalent, "dz" [ts'].
22. Worm damage to the document has necessitated a number of spaces in the transcription; where possible these are filled with syllables or words suggested by context and thus placed in brackets.
23. This testament, while representative of colonial Yucatec Maya wills in many ways, is unusual in not including an opening religious formula. However, the formula used by Yucatec notaries was similar to that used by other colonial Mesoamerican notaries (see other wills in this volume; also Restall 1994, 1995b, 1997a, 1997b: chap. 12).
24. This is the xan, or *abal mexicana*, whose leaves were used by the Maya as roofing material (I thank Eugene Anderson [pers. comm. Nov. 1997] for identifying the botanical Latin name of this tree; I misidentified it in Restall 1997b: 204).
25. Literally, "they know it" ("they" being the community in general, represented by the cabildo witnesses, and specifically the Cutz heirs).
26. The measurement here is one *bak*; the *kan* and *kal* are also used in this will (one bak equals 20 kal equals 400 kan; a kan is equivalent to a mecate) (see Restall 1997b: chap. 15).