THE TIES THAT BIND: SOCIAL COHESION AND THE YUCATEC MAYA FAMILY

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This analysis of unstudied census materials and Maya-language notarial records explores the nature of Maya familial organization and identity in colonial Yucatán, Mexico. At the intersection of the two primary units of Maya society, the community and the patronym-group, existed the extended family, which was formed through marriage alliances within largely endogamous communities between strictly exogamous patronym-groups, expressed as a multiunit patriarchal household of about ten members, and given cohesion by community and patronym-group identities and by familial participation in working and owning property. Marriages may have been later, and separate newlywed households less common, than previously suggested.

There is at first glance a certain opacity to the Maya family in colonial Yucatán. Reading through the many hundreds of extant notarial records in Yucatec Maya[1]—mostly wills, petitions, and land records[2]—the family unit is at once omnipresent, and yet its nature and form are elusive; for example, a satisfactory cognate to the English term *family* does not appear in the Yucatec written record. Nancy Farriss, in a study of the colonial Mayas primarily based on Spanish-language sources, emphasized the importance of the extended family but likened it to "an undiscovered planet or star whose existence and movements are inferred from the behavior of known bodies or from the debris it has left after ceasing to exist."[3]

A closer reading, however, of colonial Maya-language archival material and colonial census records can provide a clearer picture of the nature of Maya familial organization and identity. The purpose of this article is to make use of this evidence both at a micro level, by proposing details on marriage and settlement that confirm, complement, or clarify conclusions by Farriss and others, and at a macro level, by arguing that the Maya family, as an important focus of identity as well as social and economic activity, existed at the intersection of the two primary units of Maya society, the *cah* (the semiautonomous municipal community) and the *chibal* (the patronym-group).[4]

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The immediate historiographical context of this argument is Farriss's suggestion that, at the time of her writing more than a dozen years ago, no evidence had arisen of "phratries, moieties, clans, or any equivalent to the Aztec *calpulli* or the Andean *ayllu*," necessitating her "tentative" conclusion that

> beyond the level of the extended family . . . social grouping had shifted from lineage to locality; to the territorially based community of village or town and the wards or precincts into which they were divided. At both these levels, common residence had replaced common descent as the focus of loyalty and the basis for defining rights and obligations, roles and statuses.[5]

These statements can now be modified and clarified: the community, identified by Mayas as the cah (the equivalent to the Nahua *altepetl*), consolidated its position in the colonial period as the foundation of indigenous society and culture. Its subdivisions were not "wards or precincts" but the social groupings of chibal members and marriage-based alliances; it was thus the patronym-group (chibal) that functioned as the unit (equivalent to the *calpulli*) for which Farriss found no evidence. Rather than these two levels being "beyond" that of the extended family, the latter existed where community (cah) and patronym-group (chibal) overlapped, that is, where members of the same chibal (lineage) lived in the same cah (locality); thus at the local level, there was no shift from lineage to locality, but a continual reconciliation of the two, expressed in structural terms in the family.

With respect to the broader historiographical context, most of the studies that give treatment to the family in New Spain try to come to grips—as does this article—with the nature of extended family organization. Recent scholarship on Spaniards in colonial Mexico has emphasized the importance of extended family networks and of marriage as economic strategy.[6] Some works also recognize the existence of significant numbers of nuclear families,[7] as well as taking into account the cohesive or divisive effects of such factors as love, sexuality, and ethnicity.[8] Of more direct relevance to the Yucatec Maya are studies of other Mesoamerican societies during this period. These have also stressed the centrality of extended family units: an elemental part of the social cohesion of the *chinamit-molab* of the Quiché Mayas, a municipal unit similar to the Yucatec community (cah), was its self-identification with a dominant lineage or extended family;[9] indicative of the crucial economic role of the extended family in Cakchiquel society was the success of one late-seventeenth-century family in building what was in effect a "family corporation";[10] the Nahuas of central Mexico lived in household compounds consisting of the residences of related nuclear families centered on a common patio, symbolizing the cellular nature of family (indeed, community) organization.[11]

This historical literature prompts a number of questions regarding the Yucatec Maya family. For example, what was the organizational relationship between nuclear and extended families and between the family and the community? How were kin ties structured? To what extent can Maya families be characterized as strategic economic units? What was the impact of such patterns on marriage practices? What evidence is there that Maya conceptions and formations of family were altered by Spanish colonial economic demands and cultural norms? How do inheritance patterns illuminate these questions? Above all, what were the social elements that provided the cohesion that made family life possible?

While recognizing that families tend to be too complex, contradictory, and shifting to be easily typecast,[12] my method is to use the empirical evidence (some quantifiable, some anecdotal) of Maya-language sources and census records to focus first on the nature and size of the Maya family, its manifestation in two forms—the household unit and the patronym-group—and the formative and cohesive role played by marriage patterns. Second, I portray the Maya family as an economic corporation, as reflected in work patterns and the material environment of the household.

THE TIES OF MARRIAGE AND KIN

As stated above, no term existed in colonial-era Yucatec Maya to denote *family* as we tend to understand the word (the nucleus that appears to have originated primarily in early-modern England).[13] However, the term *chibal* (patronym-group) described an extended family unit determined by paternal descent. Before turning to the patronym-group in detail, I would like to present evidence of a smaller familial unit, the household, which existed within the patronym-group and was given definition by kinship terminology and the nature of the household complex.

In colonial-era written records, the household complex was referred to either in terms of its physical plant (to which I shall return below)—the *solar* (house-plot) and the *na* (house structure)—or in relation to its social role as a home (*otoch*). A resident of a particular community could just as well be called an *otochnal* as she or he could a *cahnal*; in other words, the two terms, one containing the term *cah*, the other the term for home, were interchangeable. Just as the central Mexican Nahuas built multiple dwellings on their house-plots,[14] so might a Maya house-plot contain various structures according to the size of the extended family. My estimate is that the typical Maya house-plot of the mid-eighteenth century contained ten individuals living in two adjacent houses; broader demographic trends in the peninsula suggest that this figure would have been lower from the conquest period through to the early eighteenth century, but somewhat higher from the end of the eighteenth century through to the outbreak of the Caste War in the 1840s.

This estimate is based on a number of factors. One of Yucatán's first Franciscan friars observed in 1548 that a Maya house typically contained 2 to 6 residents; there were often 2 or 3 houses to a house-plot. The data from the community of Pencuyut of a 1583 population census showed household (i.e., house-plot) numbers of 8 to 11, with average household numbers in the Tizimin area that same year of 9.4.[15] The 1570 census of two communities on Cozumel island (see Table 1) indicates a range of 2 to 8 couples per household, or residential compound (the term used is *otoch*, meaning "home," as distinct from *na*, "house"); the averages of 3.65 and 3.68 suggest total household populations of about 11. References to residency in one late-eighteenth-century collection of wills suggests solar occupancy levels of 6 to 12 people.[16]

Total household estimates depend in part, of course, on estimated number of children. My calculation of a typical household size of 11 for Cozumel in 1570 is based on average numbers of unmarried children per couple of 1.05 and 1.10 for Xamancab and Oycib, respectively; the census listed only unmarried children separately, with married children included in the list of adults by couple, but using patronyms as a guide, the average number of married children for each household head couple can be calculated at 1.05 and 1.09 for the respective communities. Although we can only

Table 1
Data from the 1570 Census of San Miguel Xamancab (SMX) and Santa Maria de Oycib (SMO), Maya Communities (*cahob*) on the Island of Cozumel

		Patronym-Group Alliances		*Number of Children*	
Number of Households	*Number of Married Couples per Household: Average (range)*	*Couples Linked by Patronym to Household Head or Wife*	*Number of Households with Multiple Patronym-Group-Alliance Marriages*	*Unmarried: Average per Couple*	*Married: Average per Household-Head Couple*
SMX 17	3.65 (2-7)	51%	5	1.05	1.05
SMO 22	3.68 (2-8)	56%	4	1.10	1.09

Source: CC; also see Roys, Scholes, and Adams, "Cozumel," 15-22; McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors*, 106-9. The categories in the table are discussed in the text.

Table 2
Number of Children Surviving to a Maya Parent at Parent's Death

Archival Source	*Number of Testators*	*Community of Testators*	*Time Period of Testaments*	*Average Number of Surviving Children per Testator*
LC	23	Cacalchen	1646-1656	1.96
LC	3	Cacalchen	1678-1679	2.00
DT	34	Tekantó[a]	1726-1757	2.94
TI	46	Ixil	1765-1769	2.98
ANEY/AGN	8	Various[b]	1741-1784	3.50
TE	9	Ebtun	1785-1813	4.22
ANEY	3	Various[c]	1805-1832	4.00

Note: Please see note 1 for a description of each archival source.
a. A breakdown of the Tekantó data shows a marked increase in the second half of the period covered: 1726-1738 (eight testators), average 2.00; 1743-1757 (twenty-six testators), average 3.23. Of course, the thinner source-base for the first half makes that figure less reliable.
b. Bokobá, Chicxulub, Motul (all in the La Costa district immediately northeast of Mérida), Itzimná, Santiago Tihó (both in the Mérida district, the latter a barrio of the city), and Homún (in Beneficios Bajos, immediately south of La Costa).
c. Sicpach (La Costa), Hunucmá (Camino Real Bajo, immediately west of Mérida). Note that Cacalchen, Ixil, and Tekantó are all in La Costa, while Ebtun is in the western end of Valladolid's district; thus, all twelve *cahob* cited in this table are located in the northwest heartland of the colony.

tentatively add these two numbers together,[17] these figures suggest 2 children per couple as a reasonable estimate.

Evidence from testaments shows that the number of children still alive shortly before the death of one of the parents was typically two in the mid- to late seventeenth century, three a century after that, and four at the end of the colonial period (see Table 2). These figures only give us some sense of household numbers, although presumably the fact that not all children named in wills lived on a single house-plot is somewhat balanced by the fact that other children died before a parent dictated a will. That surviving children were a mere proportion of total births is suggested by the remark of one Ebtun woman dying in 1785 that "my children are not many; there are four of

Table 3
Age Distribution (by percentage) of Maya Population in Selected Communities

	Community				
	Ebtun	*Cacalchen*	*Tekanto*	*Valladolid*	*San Marcos*[a]
Year	1811	1810	1811	1810	1811
Population	1,624	2,360	2,833	44,313	388
Age					
1-7[b]	30.3	14.8	29.5	26.8	24.5
7-16	20.2	16.7	17.0	23.8	13.9
16-25	13.9	18.2	21.1	13.7	17.3
25-40	15.9	27.0	12.6	17.6	24.5
40-50	11.7	12.3	11.4	11.4	11.6
50 and older	8.0	11.0	8.4	6.8	8.3

Source: AGEY *Censos y padrones* (*colonial*) 2, 4: 1, 5, 17; 2, 8: 11, 12, 23, 24. Note that Farriss, *Maya Society*, 466, n. 15, comments that parish censuses from this period of six communities (including Tekantó) show 18 percent to 19 percent of the population older than fifty, but I have not been able to compare her sources in the AA directly with the civil census used here.
a. San Marcos is a Maya suburb (a *cah-barrio*) of Valladolid (which the Mayas called Saci).
b. These age categories follow those of the original census, which unfortunately offers neither an alternative breakdown nor an explanation as to whether, for example, seven-year-olds are counted in the 1-7 category, the 7-16 category, or both.

them";[18] if four, the average number of surviving children, was not considered many, then it must have been common for others to be born and predecease their parents. The mid- to late-colonial increase in the number of surviving children (see Table 2) may reflect a decline in infant mortality, an increase in fertility rates, greater life expectancy, or a combination of all these factors, although at the end of the colonial period, the age distributions in communities (see Table 3 and Figure 1) suggest that fertility rates were still unstable and/or infant and child mortality remained significant.[19]

The increase in family sizes between these time periods suggested by Maya wills is supported by general demographic estimates, which show the indigenous population of the colony of Yucatán falling from something more than two million at contact to fewer than a quarter of a million around 1550, a level not regained until the end of the eighteenth century. In the intervening years, the low point was an estimated 100,000 in 1688, with shallow, stalled recoveries in the early seventeenth and turn of the eighteenth century, and a sustained climb in numbers from the late eighteenth century to a zenith of 390,000 in the final year of colonial rule.[20]

The approximately ten family members living on one house-plot typically consisted of related series of nuclei making up an extended grandfamily, for example, a couple and their children, possibly one or more of their parents, a sibling couple with their children, and possibly additional siblings of one or another generation. As Table 3 (and Figure 1) shows, Mayas could live into their fifties (and, as wills occasionally reveal, into their sixties), long enough to see the household become a four-generation unit.

This was made more possible by the drop, early in the colonial period, of typical marriage ages into the mid-teens for both sexes, at least according to Diego de Landa, head of the Franciscans and later bishop in Yucatán.[21] Either this was wishful thinking on the part of fray Landa (for reasons discussed below), or marriage ages shifted up

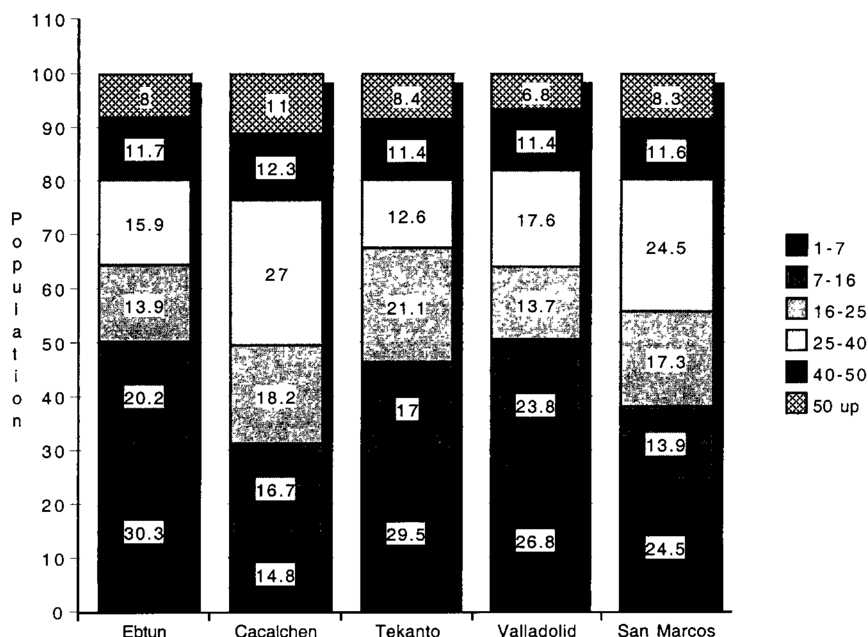

Figure 1. Visual Representation of Table 3
Note: Please see source information and notes to Table 3.

during the colonial period, for census evidence of 1810-1811 shows most (in Tekanto, all) marriages took place in the couples' late teens or early twenties (see Table 4).[22] Generally speaking, marriage ages rose in Spain and, to a lesser degree, in Mexico, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,[23] and Yucatán may thus have been party to the same pattern.

Marriages tended to be, but were not always, patrilocal; sixteenth-century Spanish commentators remarked that newlywed couples lived with or adjacent to fathers and fathers-in-law, sometimes so that a man could fulfill a labor obligation to his father-in-law for five or six years.[24] Testaments and other notarial sources do not contain reliable data on this question, and when it is clear that a couple resides either in his or her parents' household, there is no apparent pattern as to how the choice was made, suggesting individual decisions were made based on a variety of possible factors, such as personal relationships and the availability of residential space. The relationship between household size and wealth would suggest that class factors played a role, with more privileged parents able to create multiplot households comprising the nuclear families of sons-in-law as well as of sons.[25] References in Maya wills to married children living on the same (or an adjacent) house-plot show that Spanish clerical

Table 4
Percentage of Men and Women in Each Age Category in Selected Communities Who Were Married or Widowed at the Time of the 1810-1811 Census

	Community				
	Ebtun	*Cacalchen*[a]	*Tekanto*	*Valladolid-Saci*[b]	*Average*
Age 7-16					
Men	17.0	4.4	0	28.3	12.4
Women	14.2	4.4	0	27.3	11.5
Age 16-25					
Men	84.7	53.5	89.8	72.0	75.0
Women	80.9	51.8	91.5	69.2	73.4
25 and older					
Men	99.3	35.3	100	94.2	82.2
Women	98.3	38.2	100	92.3	82.2

Source: Same as Table 3. Age categories follow original census. Note that the percentages given are for each age category and each community, not for total populations on either axis; for example, of all the men in Ebtun age seven to sixteen in 1810-1811, 17 percent were married or widowed.
a. The relatively low marriage rate in Cacalchen, especially for those twenty-five and older, would seem to correlate with the unusually low percentage of infants in the community (see Table 3 and Figure 1). However, the severity of the contrast raises questions as to the consistency of data collection by census officials. In studying the 1811 census of the viceregal capital, Arrom (*Women of Mexico City*, 112-13) discovered that couples living together were counted as married; perhaps this was not done in Cacalchen in 1810, but was in Ebtun and Tekanto, which were not counted until 1811. This of course would mean large numbers of older unwed couples. Another possible explanation is that in Cacalchen, widows and widowers were accidentally counted as single.
b. These figures are for the entire population of the town, 75 percent of which was Maya ("indios") according to this same census. There is thus a significant margin of error in this entry.

requirements that married couples establish their own nuclear homes were not effectively enforced (a topic to which I shall return below).

The inclusion in the household of lateral and affinal kin is reflected in elements of bifurcation in Yucatec Maya kinship terminology, particularly bifurcation by gender (the sex of the linking relative being the crucial determinant) and by generation (effectively grouping kin of the same generation together).[26] For example, *yum*, "father," was also used for a paternal uncle, and *mehen*, "son," could also refer to a nephew and a son-in-law; a separate term was then used for a maternal uncle (*acan*). However, as far as can be told from testamentary evidence, such usage tended to be restricted to individuals who were household residents; those living on separate, especially noncontiguous, house-plots were more often described with distinct kin terms (such as *achak* for "nephew"). Thus, familial demarcations were determined as much by household residency as by relational details that might otherwise have separated kin into nuclear units. In fact, some household residents may have been distant kin and/or subordinates working for the household head or dominant residents; census and testamentary evidence reveals the occasional resident or residents who cannot be clearly linked patronymically to the rest of the household.[27]

Two other factors mitigated the use of bifurcated terms. First, there were clearly variations in kinship terms between different communities. For example, a wife in Ixil

was *atan*, in Tekanto *chuplil*; a man's granddaughter was *chich* in Cacalchen, but *idzin* or *mam* in Ixil, whereas in Tekanto *mam* was a cross cousin and *idzin* a younger sibling or parallel cousin; note that Cacalchen, Ixil, and Tekanto are all located near to each other in the region to the northeast of the colonial (and now state) capital of Mérida. These variations were paralleled by other minor intercommunity differences in terms selected or how they were pronounced (the terminology, for example, of animal husbandry). Second, the only apparent impact of Spanish kin term usage on Maya practices was the late-colonial use by Mayas of terms that modified the bifurcation of indigenous terminology: *tio/tia*, "uncle/aunt," and *sobrino*, "nephew" (I have not seen instances of *sobrina*, but it was presumably also used); this suggests a modest late-colonial Spanish influence on Maya conceptions of family and kin relations.[28]

If Maya kinship terminology sometimes de-emphasized the distinction between lateral kin, such as cousins,[29] at the same time it underscored differences in age and gender; lateral-kin de-emphasis was not simply between any cousins, but between cousins of the same sex, and additional or substitute terms could be used to denote whether one's cousin (or sibling) was older or younger than oneself. There are important hints here as to the nature of interpersonal household relations. Maya society was characterized by multiple hierarchies with accompanying expectations of deference and respect offered in return for protection of various sorts. The political structure of community self-rule was a macrocosm of household hierarchy, with each community governed by a senior male (the *batab*) and below him a municipal council (*cabildo*) made up of other senior males often referred to, among their various individual and collective titles, as "the elders."[30]

This conceptual relationship between generational difference and political authority is reflected in the Maya use of *yum*, "father," to mean "lord"; this term is ubiquitous in Maya petitions to colonial authorities, which tend to make much use of rhetorical, reverential language to portray Maya subjects as the obedient and respectful children of their Spanish paternal lords.[31] The use by a Maya man of *yum* to refer to his uncle thus not only reflects the fact that generation was more important than immediate paternity, but also has additional respectful overtones. The expectations of the parental generation are indicated in personal comments by testators on the success or failure of certain children to live up to these standards ("he remembered me in this world," for example, or "she did nothing on my behalf"),[32] comments that were used to justify the inheritance or lack thereof granted to a child. Generational hostility, especially father-son conflict over land, is perhaps to be expected,[33] in which case, it is striking how few instances there are in the written record of such disputes, suggesting that the pressures of generational deference were powerful and that the mechanisms of conflict resolution within household and community were effective.[34]

The patriarchal implications of the use and meaning of terms such as *yum* (lord, father) are supported not only by the use of many different kinship terms by men and women but also by the tendency of that terminology to indicate the sex of a man's children (*mehen*, "son," and *ixmehen*, "daughter") but not that of a woman's (*al*, "child," although *al* could be modified or substituted by *xib*, "boy," or *chuplal*, "girl").[35] This pattern was not unique to the Yucatec Maya; the Cakchiquels made the same distinctions in their kinship terminology, also employing bifurcated terms and marking age and gender differences.[36]

Bifurcation usually indicates that descent is being traced unilineally, that is, matrilineally for women and patrilineally for men.[37] Indeed, the preconquest Yucatec

naming system consisted of a child receiving his or her mother's matronym and his or her father's patronym (prefixes denoted gender so that male and female children were not named identically; same-sex siblings were distinguished by nicknames). However, after the conquest, the matronym system was dropped in favor of given Christian names, while the patronym system was retained (this hybrid system is still in use today, altered since colonial times only by the addition of maternal patronyms, in imitation of Spanish practice). This shift from a unilineal to a patrilineal naming system helps explain why the few Spanish kin terms adopted by the Mayas offset tendencies toward bifurcation in Maya kinship terminology.[38]

In Maya families, Christian names were as varied for women as for men, and every family member would have been named after an ancestor, most likely a parent or a grandparent; for example, Luisa Noh of Ebtun named one daughter after herself and the other after her mother, Maria. Gender posed no problem, for either the most popular names had simple counterparts (Francisco/Francisca, Pasqual/Pasquala, Bernardino/Bernardina, Juan/Juana), or one could be invented (Pablo/Pabla). As in preconquest times, nicknames or abbreviations of Christian names helped distinguish between namesake family members, while the late-colonial vogue for double Christian names enabled a Juan to name his sons Juan Pablo, Juan Clemente, and so on.[39]

While Christian naming patterns were similar for men and women, the postconquest patriarchal shift in surname patterns was marked not only by the dropping of the maternal matronyms, as discussed above, but by the persisting importance of the patronym system; the patronym-group (chibal) was, aside from the community (cah), the most important organizational unit in Maya society, acting as a primary determinant of social, political, and economic subdivision within the community, but also to some extent functioning across community boundaries. The term *chibal* itself was rarely used; the Mayas preferred to name the patronym-group in question, usually in the collective form *ah* [x]-*ob* ("those of the patronym-group named [x]").[40] I have noted about 270 patronym-groups in the colonial record, represented in documentation that has survived from almost all of the approximately 200 Maya communities in the province.

Patronym-group affiliation was central to the identity nexus of the Yucatec Maya. It carried associations of status and territory with respect both to the broader structures of class and community and to household-specific patterns of residency and land tenure. One expression of how the extended family household represented the intersection of lineage and location was the strong connection that household and patronym-group members felt through land to ancestors and descendants. It was common for a Maya testator, when bequeathing a residential or farming plot, to name the ancestors from whom that land had been passed down and also to emphasize its connection to subsequent generations; the term *kilacabob* was often used for both "ancestors" and "descendents," as in the example of Felipe Noh of Homún, who left six plots of land to his heirs in 1763.[41] They included,

> one well, named Ticheb, where my plantain orchard is, which I leave in the hands of my wife; this well was not purchased, but has come down from the ancestors. There is also one forested plot[42] at Ticheb that I leave in the hands of my sons and all their descendants. Whoever is born of the ancestry of the Noh people will successively support themselves with it in the future. Its possession is arranged well; no one shall take it from them. There is also another forested plot in Kocholá, which I leave in the

> hands of my sons and all their descendants, by which they will support themselves. The possession of this forest was well arranged in the will of my father, don Matias Noh, who died some time ago.

This sense of patronym-group identity deeply rooted in time and territory was more common the higher up the community social structure; the Noh were clearly among the better-off patronym-groups in Homún, as evidenced not only by Felipe's property, but by the don title held by his father, an honorific that the Yucatec Mayas reserved for community governors (*batabob*), ex-governors, and *indios hidalgos* (an elite Spanish-created class within the nobility). Indeed, by no means were all patronyms socially equal. Some patronym-groups were noble or dynastic and thus more likely to have a sense of cross-community identity (the best examples are the Pech and the Xiu);[43] the status and spread of most was limited by region, if not community. Some were rare, others common, with a general pattern of limited diffusion, which is explained in part by community endogamy (particularly important in view of patronym-group exogamy, a subject to which I shall return).

Community endogamy is suggested by testamentary evidence from Ixil, where every single one of sixty-eight couples living in the early eighteenth century represented community-endogamous marriages (sixty-six of them, or 97 percent, were natives of Ixil, the remaining two couples having married fellow community members elsewhere and subsequently moving to Ixil).[44] This data contrasts somewhat with evidence from a tribute census of 1721 and that of late-colonial parish registers. The 1721 census shows that eighteen of twenty-one communities in one region of the province contained residents born in another community, although they were a definite minority (of these twenty-one communities, half contained between zero and 12 percent of adults born in another community, and the rest had up to 32 percent nonnative adults, with one community showing a figure of 57 percent).[45] Parish records show that while community exogamy was substantial in certain communities, it was neither a widespread nor a random phenomenon, nor did it represent a gradual migration from small communities, to regional centers, to Mérida; rather, it was restricted to certain communities that maintained strong ties with a small number of other communities (Sotuta with Teabo and Tihó, for example, and Tecoh, Ticul, and Homún with one particular community within Tihó, San Sebastián).[46] I would argue, therefore, that while data on migration and marriage reveals a wide range of individual community variants, community endogamy was the norm; in the vast majority of communities, the majority of the population married fellow residents, while a minority was subject to migration and marriage patterns that were usually community distinct.[47]

The clustering of patronym-groups also suggests that they may have been cognatic, in the sense that patronym-group members may have descended from a common ancestor, as Diego de Landa claimed,[48] or at least have once adopted the name of a community leader or dynasty, as may have been Quiché Maya practice.[49] Furthermore, patronym-group concentrations are especially noteworthy with respect to elite families or dynasties, many of whom were clustered in areas named after them in preconquest times and in communities that they dominated and ruled before and often during the colonial period. The Cochuah, for example, were still confined at the end of the seventeenth century to an area around Tihosuco that had been named after the patronym-group before the conquest, and in the late-colonial period, the Pech continued to dominate communities in the La Costa region that had once been called Ceh

Pech. Likewise, the Xiu remained concentrated in colonial times in the southern portion of the province where they had ruled before Spaniards arrived and where they continued to control many community governments. Another noble patronym-group, the Cupul, was largely confined to the east.[50]

Patronym-group clustering meant that a small proportion of the total number of patronyms were represented in any given community. Although sources such as testaments and land sale records are not as ideal for this type of analysis as census data might be, it is still worth noting that they suggest that in the eighteenth century in both a small community such as Ebtun (fewer than a thousand inhabitants) and in larger communities such as Ixil and Tekanto (one to two thousand), about 12 percent of all patronyms in the province appear. In the five communities that were the suburbs of Mérida (the city and its indigenous communities were known to the Maya as Tihó), this figure rises to 28 percent for the late eighteenth century, reflecting Maya migration into the colonial capital.[51] Thus, a typical family living in a modest-size community would be familiar with thirty to forty local patronyms—and would also be related to half a dozen or more of them.

As patronym-groups were exogamous,[52] the family members on a typical house-plot would not all hold the same patronym; women retained their patronyms after marriage, although children took their fathers' surnames. As children married and some stayed on the house-plot, more patronym-groups would become represented in the household complex. The multipatronym nature of the household might suggest that the latter was more important than patronym-group organization, and that no doubt would have been the case had love's whimsical nature been the sole factor in marriage choice. However, where the documentary sources are dense enough, visible patronym-related patterns reveal the organizational significance of marriage decisions.

For example, the 1570 Cozumel census and the collections of wills from seventeenth-century Cacalchen and eighteenth-century Ixil show that families tended to form alliance groups of, typically, four or five coresident patronym-groups of similar socioeconomic standing in the community.[53] The class structure of patronym-groups within a community can be compiled using testamentary information, such as titles of nobility and social deference, access to political office, land holdings, and general wealth. In Ixil in the 1760s, for example, there were forty patronym-groups (as recorded in testaments) that can be placed into eight socioeconomic levels; at the top, the circle of marital alliances tightens (eleven patronym-groups comprise four levels of nobility), and at the bottom, it widens considerably, although practices designed to tighten the circle, while still conforming to patronym-group exogamy—such as preferential bilateral cross-cousin marriage[54]—remain in evidence.

One such alliance existed in Ixil between families representing the Cante, Coba, and Yam (level 3) and the Couoh and Matu (level 5). Of two siblings, Pasquala Matu and Juan Bautista Matu, born around the turn of the eighteenth century, Pasquala married a Cante, and they had a daughter who married another Matu, whose mother had been a Couoh; meanwhile, Juan Bautista married a Coba, and one of their daughters married a Yam, and of their children, two married Coba and one married a Couoh. From the perspective of the two Matu siblings, their descendants had married equally or upwardly, and their grandchildren's inheritance was certainly above average for the Ixil of the 1760s. Likewise, the four most prestigious patronyms in Cacalchen—Cocom, Couoh, Pech, and Uitz—all come together in the 1647 will of Cecilia Couoh; she married a Cocom, her sister married a Pech, and one of her daughters married a

Uitz. Going back further still, there is evidence of patronym-group alliances on sixteenth-century Cozumel (see Table 1), especially in the community of Xamancab between the Cab, Mah, Pat, and Puc. The Pat-Cab alliance extended to the community of Oycib; in both communities together in 1570, there was a total of eight Pat-Cab couples.[55]

These marriages did not simply represent single alliances between households made possible by the woman's dowry (Maya women were sometimes given property to bring into marriage) but were complex interweavings of families over generations in which relatively small class differences were perpetuated, group identities were nurtured, and women almost as much as men claimed, developed, and made use of a variety of property. The patriarchy of the Maya family, and Maya society as a whole, was indeed reflected not only in naming patterns as discussed above, and in political structures (women held no offices or titled positions of authority and thus had no official access to literacy), but also in the ownership of the most valued type of property in the community, land; yet women did have important roles to play in the use and exchange of property, roles that had a direct bearing on the household and its cohesion.[56]

We have seen that Maya society was asymmetrical in various ways, according to differences of generation, class, patronym-group membership, and gender, with social organizations at all levels represented by a dominant male—from the governor of the community, to the patronym-group patriarch, to the household head. That such inequalities existed not just within the community but within the extended family did not mean the cohesion of the extended household complex was thereby compromised. On the contrary, asymmetrical residential relations were central to the economic and productive function of the family.[57]

MATERIAL TIES

The Maya household complex was a diversified economic corporation.[58] The historical literature on indigenous economic activity has tended to focus on the community as a corporation and to make a distinction between capitalist activity and a peasant subsistence economy.[59] This distinction, however, is not a useful tool for analyzing the Maya economies of community and household, which were geared toward both subsistence production and the generation of surplus and profit (to meet tribute and other demands as well as to invest in economic enterprise and to fund ritual activities).[60] Within the economic culture of the Maya community and family, capitalist and subsistence economies were not separate modes of production, but complementary sets of principles.

Christine Kray, in an ethnographic study of the contemporary Maya community of Dzitnup, argues that these two sets of principles are combined in various ways by Maya producers and that this interactive model is more appropriate to modern Yucatán than are other models (such as Marx's evolutionary model in which capitalism wipes out subsistence modes of production, Wolf's model of reaction whereby subsistence becomes defensively entrenched in closed corporate communities, or the Tax model of peasants operating on capitalist principles without actually accumulating capital).[61] I suggest that the interactive model is also appropriate to the colonial period.

Although the extreme poverty of many commoners in Maya communities and the punitive effect of colonial taxation often limited Maya family access to greater

productive means, capitalism was clearly a part of colonial Maya culture, as shown by the existence of informal bankers in some communities; by the generation of cash profits bequeathed to children by individuals, paid as tribute dues by Maya community councils (cabildos) or reinvested in community cattle ranches; by the ability of elite families to develop considerable and diverse wealth relative to their fellow community members; and by the domination of the production of certain commodities by one or a few patronym-groups within a given community.[62] This is not to say that Maya society was capitalist in an unqualified sense. Robert Patch has argued that Latin America's "colonial *economy* may have had elements of capitalism, [but] colonial *society* did not; or at least it had very few."[63] The same might be said of the Maya community or cah; balancing the above evidence of capitalist activity is the lack of evidence of wage payment within the community, even though community members sought wage labor from local Spanish employers to supplement (or, especially in the late-colonial period, substitute for) other forms of family income and subsistence.[64]

A key element of this complex economic mode was diversification, which served not only to meet Spanish demands for cloth and wax products while at the same time feeding family members, but also enriched the sharing and exchange of goods within the household complex. Testaments from mid- to late-colonial Cacalchen, Ebtun, Ixil, and Tekanto featured as bequeathed property seventeen different types of trees and plants, twenty-one different kinds of animals, a dozen types of furniture items, twenty-one separate kinds of tools, nine kinds of clothing, and more than a dozen other items of value. This is not to say that all Maya families lived in a richly diverse material environment; the above list is culled from hundreds of wills over many generations from four communities, where no one household came close to owning all these kinds of goods and most owned very few indeed. Furthermore, a closer look at these items shows a certain uniformity; most homes contained but a few pieces of wooden furniture limited overwhelmingly to beds, tables, benches or stools, and chests for storing clothing (differentiated only by gender) and other valuables (mostly coins, crockery, necklaces and earrings, and rosaries and saint images). Nevertheless, there was a socioeconomic basis to class differences within the community; because each community had limited access to land and other bases of wealth, the relative poverty of most Mayas facilitated rather than prevented elite families from engaging in diverse economic activity, producing a surplus, accumulating capital, and acquiring varied material property.

Material diversity was reflected in economic activity both on family house-plots within the residential part of the community and on the outlying cultivated lands that constituted the territorial part of the community and were worked exclusively by men.[65] Thus, tools (and the patterns of their ownership and inheritance) reflected the varied requirements of maize farming, arboriculture, herb and vegetable growing, water extraction, weaving, apiculture, cattle rearing, horse keeping, and other kinds of animal husbandry. As a general rule, activity away from the house-plot (clearing forested land, marking boundaries, planting and harvesting maize, tending to distant orchards, traveling to trade items in other communities or Spanish centers) was a male preserve, whereas women dominated house-plot activities (growing food; keeping pigs, turkeys, and chickens; and weaving, with men tending to be involved in beekeeping and the cultivation of fruit trees only if family holdings were large).[66] Correspondingly, women were far more likely to own house-plots, and men to own

forested or cultivated land, although during the lifetime of the "owner," both types of land were used by, and benefited, the entire household.[67]

Typically, therefore, in a Maya family, the division of labor by gender would have separated men and women from each other for much of the day (sometimes days at a time). Their respective activities can be further illustrated by the examples of an actual household. Six Cutz siblings of Motul inherited shares of property from their father, Juan, in 1762. Andrés took possession of a house-plot with a well and palm trees on the stony ground out back (once his paternal grandfather's land), as well as goods that had come down from his grandmother and might ultimately go to Andrés' future wife and/or daughters (a mare, a chest, and a silver spoon). Juan still lived on this plot with his children at the time of his death, and he seems to have expected that Andrés would remain on the plot with his future nuclear family but that the well and palm trees (used for roofing material) should benefit all his descendants. Meanwhile, second son Josef and his four sisters would in time settle on three adjacent house-plots on the edge of the community, forming a satellite household of clustered nuclear families—Josef to move when he had children of his own, Luisa and Josefa to move to their joint plot when they were old enough to spin thread and weave, and likewise, Rosa and Antonia to their joint plot. Just as the daughters were expected to live and work together in the cottage textile industry that was pervasive in colonial Yucatán,[68] so were the sons expected to work together on four plots of corn fields located outside the residential part of the community, fields of which they were the joint owners as household representatives. Thus, together, through their respective enterprises, the Cutz men and women would maintain their households and their patronym-group.[69]

I suggested earlier that Spanish clergy did not succeed in dividing up households into nuclear families upon the marriage of a child, despite the fact that Farriss has argued that "residential division, perhaps the colonial innovation most destructive to the corporate system, was imposed by the Catholic clergy."[70] Certainly, Spanish officials throughout New Spain were keen to see indigenous parishioners marry early and create separate households, ostensibly for moral reasons, although fiscal motives were clearly also paramount. How successful the clergy were is one question; another is how well the appearance of separate nuclear households correlated with the realities of indigenous social organization and economic activity. Parish censuses often give the impression of high numbers of small nuclear households, and yet ecclesiastical officials continued to push for their creation as though it had yet to be realized.[71]

For Yucatán, the issue is complicated by the layout of house-plots in the community, as reflected in the clustered house-plots of the Cutz of Motul. At some point in the early colonial period, any given community (cah) took on a parallel identity as an indigenous pueblo in the structure of colonial administration. As its community elders became the new municipal council, or cabildo, so did its patchwork of clustered houses become municipal blocks, each ideally containing four solares, or house-plots. In theory, these were uniform and distinct units. In practice, as revealed by records of property sales, the Mayas divided up house-plots or treated contiguous plots as one so that what might have officially been nuclear families living on separate house-plots were really multiple-residence extended-family household complexes.[72] Not only have such patterns of residential clustering survived to the present in much of Mexico,[73] but they have been observed by archaeologists for a number of pre-Columbian Maya sites—most notably Cobá, Dzibilchaltún, K'axob, Mayapan, and Tikal.[74]

Patronym-based marriage alliances and the resulting growth of extended families sometimes resulted in the eventual splitting of a household into two, each on neighboring halves of a house-plot (see Figure 2), halves that might be reunited either by an outside purchaser or by one patronym-group later consolidating house-plot holdings; wills and bills of sale often recorded the transfer of "shares" and "portions," as plots became further divided (see Figure 3).[75] Boundaries between colonial blocks and plots were supposed to be marked by roads and walls, but their construction was a slow process, and the Maya tendency was to continue to delineate boundaries with the traditional stone-mounds (sometimes in lines that approximate walls but often simply marking corners; even today, many roads are unpaved in Maya communities and many plot walls are token or nonexistent).[76] Thus, a typical grandfamily household might occupy adjacent house-plots and its members frequent the neighboring plots of related households of the same patronym-group or alliance of patronym-groups.

The free movement of family members and animals between plots symbolized the blurred lines between separate and joint.[77] Indeed, a complex relationship between separate and joint generally characterized Maya principles and practices of property ownership, as reflected in inheritance patterns. From at least the mid-seventeenth century, movable goods were bequeathed evenly to spouses and children, largely according to the gender-specificity of items; this principle of even distribution was termed *cetil*. The numbers of particular items owned by an individual and his or her surviving children did not always correlate, however, and thus some property, most notably land, could not be easily divided. To avoid cutting up parcels of land while still recognizing cetil requirements, Mayas made use of the parallel principle of *multial*, "joint ownership." Typically then, a plot of land was placed in the hands of a representative of the household or, in the cases of large cultivated plots, the patronym-group. Nominal owners of forested or farming land were almost always male, but women often appeared as invested parties at the ritual recording of a plot sale, and women could inherit and sell residential land as household representatives; when siblings of the Cutis patronym-group, three male and two female, gathered before the community council of Ebtun to sell a house-plot, it was Luisa who represented the household as the eldest of the five.[78] Widows sometimes held farming land but were more likely to have inherited house-plots and animals, with farming plots going under the names of male representatives even if widows were sustained in part from the produce of those plots; where women did inherit such land, they tended to sell it during their lifetimes rather than wait to bequeath it.[79]

Because those household members who lived on or from a plot of land were in some sense considered its joint owners, family members effectively held shares in such property, which they then left to successive generations. For example, Viviana Canche of Ixil had inherited from her father his part in the household plot, which was, by the time of Viviana's death in 1766, also owned jointly by her husband, son, uncle, older brothers, and younger siblings; she left her share to her husband and son, which had the effect of confirming her nuclear family's interest in the house-plot without bringing in any additional members. The plot had three wells on it, possibly each one pertaining to separate structures for the nuclear families that made up the household; note, however, that individual structures or wells are not specified in a bequest such as this, for that might have jeopardized both multial (joint ownership; the joint plot might then fragment into separate nuclear plots) and cetil (even distribution; shares in a plot can more easily be seen as even or equal when not tied to physical portions of it).[80]

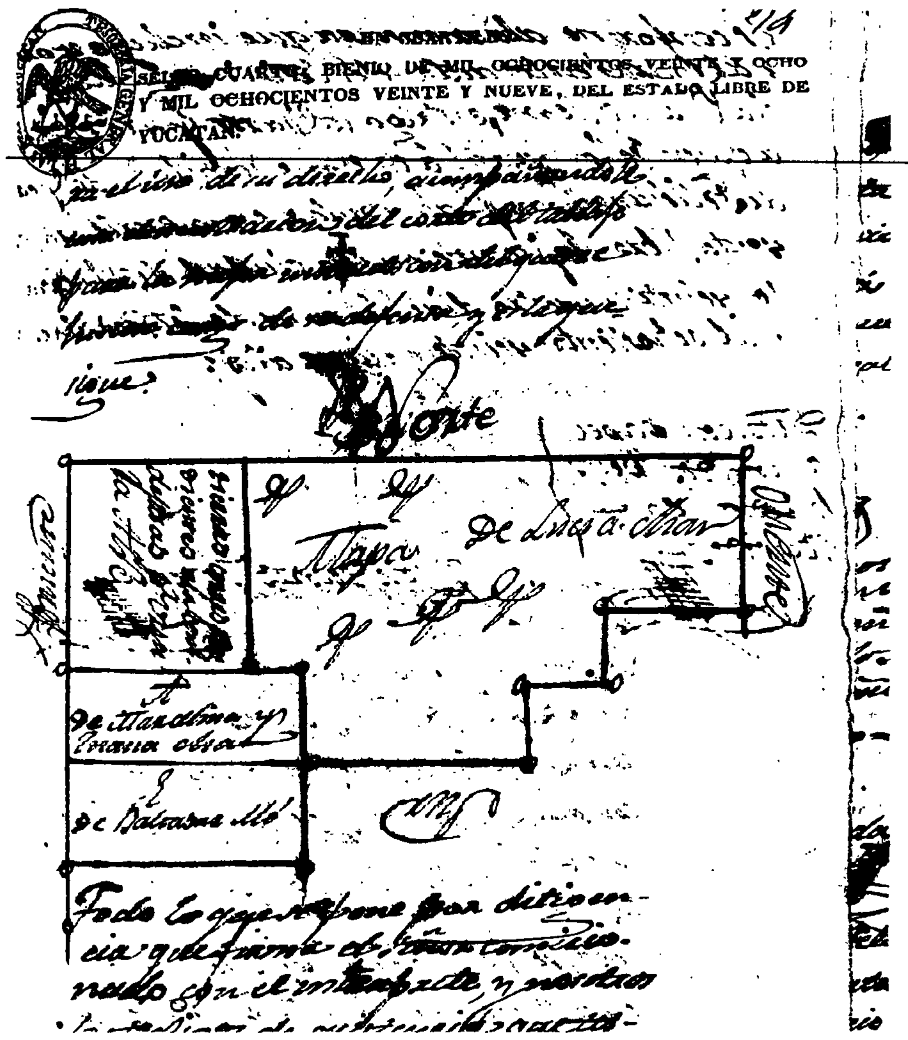

Figure 2. A House-Plot in Santa Ana Tihó (a community that was a suburb to Mérida-Tihó, i.e., a *cah-barrio*); House-Plot Divided into Two, with Maya-Style Houses on Eastern Street Side and a Central Well with Outside Access Path from the South; Plot Owners Probably Mestizos (ANEY 1828i, n.f.; map of 1819)

The persistence of large households, with a continued emphasis on the identity and function of the extended family rather than its constituent nuclear subunits, was not simply a case of cultural reactionism by the Maya. It was also a response to economic realities. If the "labor demands of agrarian production select for large household size,"

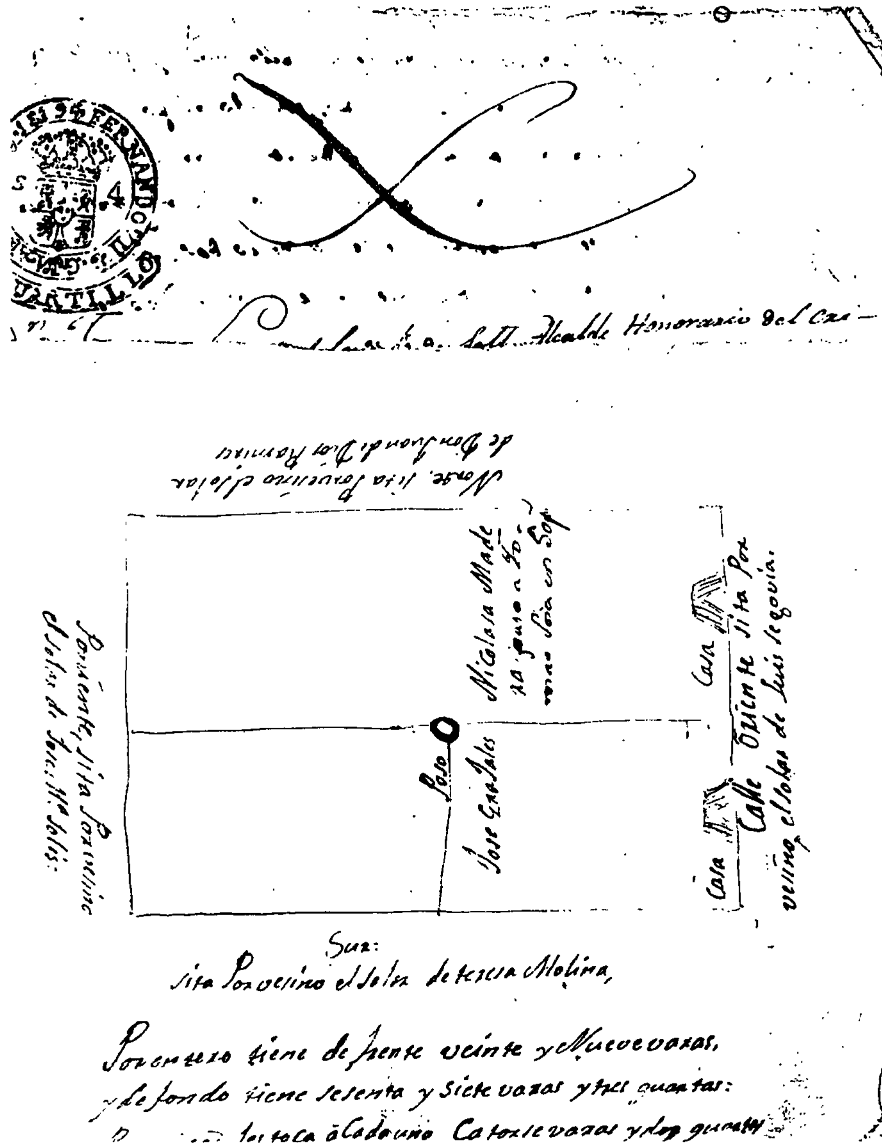

Figure 3. A House-Plot in Santiago Tihó (another *cah-barrio*); Plot has Multiple Divisions and Maya Owners (ANEY 1828ii, 74; map c. 1810).

as McAnany has argued with respect to the pre-Columbian Mayas,[81] then the colonial period, with its increased demands of labor and taxation on a population struggling to recover from demographic collapse, surely made larger households even more efficacious. Thus, despite the efforts of colonial authorities, colonial rule may have, through adversity, fortified the extended family as a diversified economic corporation.

CONCLUSION: COHESION AND IDENTITY

There was thus an ambiguity to the way in which Mayas conceived of the relationship between family and residential location—their use of house-plot land as divided yet integral (as with the Canche of Ixil example), or separate yet contiguous (as with the Cutz of Motul example). This treatment of space suited the Maya perception of family as fundamentally extended, with nuclear units seen only as subunits of extended families, themselves multilateral subunits of patronym-groups (chibalob), which in turn were subunits of the community (cah). Without suggesting that the ambiguities of clustered settlement represented a deliberate strategy of Maya resistance, it is clear that the practice partially and deceptively satisfied Spanish concerns over indigenous residential patterns; separate structures on theoretically separate plots sufficiently conformed to Spanish notions of what constituted a nuclear household, while Spanish officials were presumably unaware of the significance to the Mayas of the adjacent siting and group usage of those plots.

In the long run—especially in the final decades of the colonial period in the Maya communities that became suburbs of Mérida—Hispanic state and cultural pressures may have shifted the emphasis within the Maya extended family away from the aggregate and toward the nuclear. But I do not see sufficient evidence that during the colonial period "nuclear families rose to a privileged position over the multifamily units that were preeminent prior to the conquest," as Susan Kellogg has argued for the Mexica (the Nahuas of Mexico City) and as has been suggested for the Yucatec Mayas.[82] Indeed, one might expect a Maya-Mexica contrast, in that the Nahuas lacked a patronym-based system of social organization comparable to that of the Maya patronym-group. Furthermore, the Mexica municipal community (their *altepetl*) was subsumed within (and almost consumed by) Mexico City, where Spaniards were more concentrated than anywhere else in Mesoamerica,[83] whereas those rural indigenous communities of Yucatán that survived the conquest period reconstituted and consolidated themselves as largely homogeneous and semiautonomous political, economic, and social units—with the extended family strengthened, rather than undermined, by the colonial experience.

Maya family members, then, were tied to each other in five fundamental ways: first, by coresidency on a house-plot or residency on a cluster of plots, and second, by the legal and formal recognition of family membership via principles of joint ownership recorded on paper, kept in the community archive, and reconfirmed with the passing of each family member. Third, co-ownership was daily reinforced by coparticipation—partially modified by gender roles—in the business of household labor, using shared property, produce, access to well water, and tools. Fourth and fifth, these material ties were themselves underpinned by an ideology of identity that gave Mayas a sense of membership in two social groups—the patronym-group (chibal) and the municipal community (cah), the former a microcosm of the latter with respect to the structure and function of patriarchal representation. For Maya family members, these social groups were expressed and conceived in highly localized terms—those of their patronym-group as represented by their household or network of households in their particular community. McAnany has argued that among the ancient Maya, "ancestors [came] to symbolize the coalescence of lineage and locale."[84] For the Mayas of colonial Yucatán, the family form was the product of that coalescence, of the cohesive meeting of cah and chibal.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. The following abbreviations are used for archival and primary material: Archivo del Arzobispado, Mérida, Yucatán (AA); Archivo General del Estado de Yucatán, Mérida (AGEY); Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain (AGI); Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (AGN); Archivo Notarial del Estado de Yucatán, Mérida (ANEY) (note that cited volume numbers are not document dates); Biblioteca Nacional de México-Fondo Franciscano, Mexico City (BNM-FF); The Cozumel Census of 1570 (CC), published in Ralph L. Roys, France V. Scholes, and Eleanor B. Adams, "Report and Census of the Indians of Cozumel, 1570," in *Contributions to American Anthropology and History* 30 (1940): 4-30; The Documents of Tekanto (DT) in ANEY (uncatalogued; I thank Victoria Bricker and Philip Thompson for granting me access to copies of DT); Libro de Cacalchen (LC) in the Rare Manuscript Collection, Latin American Library, Tulane University, New Orleans (T-LAL); Title (also Chronicle, Codex) of Calkiní (TC) published as Alfredo Barrera Vásquez, *Códice de Calkiní* (Campeche, Yucatán: Biblioteca Campechana, 1957) and in Matthew Restall, *Maya Conquistador* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998); Title (also Chronicle, Codex) of Chicxulub (TCh) published as Daniel Brinton, *The Maya Chronicles* (Philadelphia, 1882) and in Restall, *Maya Conquistador*; Titles of Ebtun (TE) published as Ralph L. Roys, *The Titles of Ebtun* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1939); Testaments of Ixil (TI) published as Matthew Restall, *Life and Death in a Maya Community: The Ixil Testaments of the 1760s* (Lancaster, CA: Labyrinthos, 1995); Tierras de Tabi (TT) in T-LAL; Titles of the Xiu (TX) in T-LAL; Title (also Chronicle) of Yaxkukul (TY) in T-LAL and published in Restall, *Maya Conquistador.*

2. These sources are discussed in Matthew Restall, " 'The Document Shall Be Seen': Yucatec Maya Literacy," in *"Chipping Away on Earth": Prehispanic and Colonial Nahua Studies in Honor of Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble*, ed. Eloise Quiñones-Keber (Lancaster, CA: Labyrinthos, 1995), 119-30; idem, "Heirs to the Hieroglyphs: Indigenous Writing in Colonial Mesoamerica," in *The Americas* 54, no. 2 (1997): 239-67; and idem, *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550-1850* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), chaps. 18-22.

3. Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 133.

4. For a book-length study of Maya society in the *cah*, which includes extended definition and discussion of these terms, see Restall, *The Maya World.* For the sake of readability, I often refer in this article to *cah* as "community" and to *chibal* as "patronym-group," but the reader should be aware that no English word fully conveys the meaning of the Maya terms. This article uses colonial, not modern, orthography for Maya terms (with the exception of the letter *dz*, which is the modern rendering of a colonial letter resembling a backwards *c*).

5. Farriss, *Maya Society*, 137.

6. John K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978); John Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983); Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 228-45; Lourdes Villafuerte García, "El matrimonio como punto de partida para la formación de la familia, ciudad de México, siglo XVII," in *Familias Novohispanas: Siglos XVI al XIX*, ed. Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru (Mexico City:

El Colegio de México, 1991), 91-99; Louisa Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590-1660: Silver, State, and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Richard Boyer, *Lives of the Bigamists: Marriage, Family, and Community in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), chaps. 2, 3.

7. Boyer, *Bigamists*, shows that while extended family networks were crucial to the migration and mobility of Spaniards in Mexico, movement sometimes fragmented families into nuclear units. Silvia Marina Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 77, emphasizes "the basic social unit" of the nuclear family. Larissa Adler Lomnitz and Marisol Pérez-Lizaur, *A Mexican Elite Family, 1820-1980: Kinship, Class, and Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 125, propose for the national period that "the basic unit of solidarity in the culture of Mexico is the grandfamily . . . comprising one's parents, siblings, spouse, and children."

8. Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Thomas Calvo, "The Warmth of the Hearth: Seventeenth-Century Guadalajara Families," in *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 287-312; Carmen Castañeda, "La formación de la pareja y el matrimonio," in Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Familias Novohispanas*; Matthew Restall, " 'Repugnant the difference': The Roles of Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Love in Personal Relations in Colonial Hispanic Yucatán" (paper presented at the American Historical Association, Chicago, 1995).

9. Robert M. Hill II and John Monaghan, *Continuities in Highland Maya Social Organization: Ethnohistory in Sacapulas, Guatemala* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 38-42.

10. Robert M. Hill II, *The Pirir Papers and Other Colonial Period Cakchiquel-Maya Testamentos* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology, 1989); idem, *Colonial Cakchiquels: Highland Maya Adaptation to Spanish Rule, 1600-1700* (Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992), 33-38.

11. Jerome A. Offner, "Household Organization in the Texcocan Heartland," in *Explorations in Ethnohistory: Indians of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. H. R. Harvey and Hanns J. Prem (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 127-46; Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, chap. 3; Susan Kellogg, *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500-1700* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), chap. 5.

12. As Calvo, "Guadalajara Families," 287-89, points out.

13. Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977); Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Richard Wall, Jean Robin, and Peter Laslett, *Family Forms in Historic Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Nor is there a Maya-rooted term for *family* used by Yucatec speakers today; instead the Spanish *familia* has been borrowed, but even then, in the possessed form *infáamilyáa*, the term is used only by men and means "my wife"; William F. Hanks, *Language and Communicative Practices* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996), 277.

14. Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 60-68.

15. Ralph L. Roys, *The Indian Background of Colonial Yucatan* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1943), 21; Ralph L. Roys, France V. Scholes, and Eleanor B. Adams, eds., "Census and Inspection of the town of Pencuyut, Yucatán, in 1583 by Diego García de Palacio, oidor of the audiencia of Guatemala," *Ethnohistory* 6 (1959): 205; Farriss, *Maya Society*, 134. A census of 1569 recorded nine married couples living on the household compound of the governor of the community of Tixchel, in the Chontal region at the base of the peninsula; France V. Scholes and Ralph L. Roys, *The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalan-Tixchel* (1948; Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1968), 54. These numbers suggest some continuity from preconquest times: using mostly archaeological data (and some ethnohistorical early-colonial sources), the contributors to *Precolumbian Population History in the Maya Lowlands*, ed. T. Patrick Culbert and

Don S. Rice (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), estimate pre-Columbian lowland Maya occupancy levels of 4 to 5.6 individuals per house, with most suggesting that about 10 family members could have lived in the larger structures; although these scholars tend to equate households with houses, most argue that houses were arranged in residential clusters (see n. 74 below), and several, for example, B. L. Turner II, "Population Reconstruction of the Central Maya Lowlands: 1000 BC to AD 1500," 307-8, recognize that extended families could have occupied multiple adjacent structures (typically grouped in pairs or trios in central lowland sites). The estimate of 10 household members is also consistent with the findings of a recent investigation into colonial-era parish records by Edward Kurjack, Elena Lincoln, and Beatriz Repetto, "Models for Maya Archaeology from Church Archives" (paper presented at the 49th International Congress of Americanists, Quito, Ecuador, 1997).

16. CC; TI.

17. Due to three problems with the figures on married children: they are for household head couples only, not all couples in the community; some of the individuals assumed to be married children could be siblings; some of a head couples' children could be head couples themselves or at least living in other households.

18. TE: 196 (*in ualob ma u iaballobi cantulobili*).

19. Note, for example, the contrast with respect to infants between Cacalchen and the other communities included in Table 3 (and Figure 1), suggesting that outbreaks of disease (in this case, presumably one to which children were most susceptible) could be highly localized. For Andean examples of disease likewise affecting single seven-year generations in particular communities, see Karen Powers, *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis, and the State in Colonial Quito* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 178-79.

20. This pattern is compiled from estimates in Farriss, *Maya Society*, 57-65; Manuela Cristina García Bernal, *Yucatán: Población y encomienda bajo los Austrias* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1978), 163; Marta Espejo-Ponce Hunt, "Colonial Yucatán: Town and Region in the Seventeenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1974), 163-67; and BNM-FF, 468, 51 and 59-78 (census of 1794). See also Robert W. Patch, *Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1648-1812* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 139.

21. Diego de Landa, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* (1566; reprint, Mexico City: Porrua, 1982), 42. Farriss, *Maya Society*, 173, argues that Spanish pressure explains the change, as marriage made a Maya man eligible for the labor draft and for tribute payment as a new household head.

22. Despite four problematic aspects of the data in Table 4—the age categories, the suspicious tidiness of the Tekantó entries, the high incidence of older single residents, and the inclusion of non-Mayas in the Valladolid-Saci entry—the suggestion that marriage ages were later than early teens is clear.

23. Robert McCaa, "Marriageways in Mexico and Spain, 1500-1900," *Continuity and Change* 9, no. 1 (1994): 12.

24. Roys, Scholes, and Adams, "Cozumel," 15, cite Diego de Landa and the *oidor* Tomás López; Landa, *Relación*, 42, refers to the labor obligation.

25. Andrés Cutz, a mid-eighteenth-century resident of Motul, assumed in dictating his will (ANEY 1796-97, 205; discussed further below) that not only would his son raise a family on the *solar* where Andrés himself had lived, but that his daughters would attract husbands to the contiguous house-plots that Andrés was providing for them too.

26. Explained more technically in Philip C. Thompson, "Tekanto in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1978), 81-82.

27. CC; TI, 20. Patricia McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors: Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 121, may be right in suggesting that the finding of subordinate non-kin household members in Morelos by Pedro Carrasco, "The Joint Family in Ancient Mexico: The Case of Molotla," in *Essays in Mexican Kinship*, ed. Hugo Nutini, Pedro Carrasco, and J. M. Taggart (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1976),

55, was paralleled by Yucatec practice, and she cites Landa's reference to orphan adoption by some Maya households. Indeed, there are signs in wills from the Ixil and Tekantó collections of adoption in the eighteenth century (TI, 30; DT, 151, 170).

28. Kinship terminology drawn from LC, TI, DT, and the analysis of DT in Thompson, "Tekanto," chap. 2 and 151-53. On colonial-era Maya-language variants and changes, see Restall, *The Maya World*, chap. 22.

29. While also making a general distinction between cross and parallel kin; see Thompson, "Tekanto," 81.

30. Restall, *The Maya World*, chaps. 5, 6. Thus a Maya woman seeking protection from, say, physical threat or sexual abuse would turn first to her husband (TT, 32-33) and then to her community governor (*batab*) (AGN *Inquisición* 69, 5, 169-74); husbands also appealed to the batab and community council to defend their wives (AGN *Bienes Nacionales* 21, 20, 2-8; *Inquisición* 69, 5, 277), while councils sometimes had to defend women from their own husbands (TE, 284).

31. Restall, *The Maya World*, chap. 19.

32. TI, 56; ANEY 1819(iv), 19r.

33. McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors*, 120; Richard Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 179-80.

34. Examples of inheritance dispute resolutions, all largely disguising prior intrafamily hostilities, are in TI, 35 and 40 (see Restall, *Life and Death*, 103-6, 116-21) and DT, 185. Families often endeavored to prevent such disputes by including statements, embedded within testaments, of confirmation or renunciation by multiple family members (e.g., TI, 51; DT, 61). Families, like communities, were naturally prone to internal conflicts—often along divisions of generation, gender, or faction—that did not necessarily destroy group integrity; in fact, as Steve Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), chap. 6., has observed for elsewhere in colonial Mexico, conflict and solidarity could be paradoxically interlinked, the tendency toward the former promoting the latter.

35. Thus, the Maya term for "noble(man)," *almehen*, means literally "the child of a woman, the son of a man."

36. Hill, *Colonial Cakchiquels*, 32-35.

37. As Hill, *Colonial Cakchiquels*, 32, points out.

38. This early-colonial transition from a system of unilineal or parallel descent to one of patrilineal descent only, as suggested by naming patterns, is similar to that proposed by Irene Silverblatt for the Andes, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 132.

39. Ralph L. Roys, "Personal Names of the Maya of Yucatan," in *Contributions to American Anthropology and History* 31 (1940): 31-48; Restall, *The Maya World*, chap. 4; AGN *Inquisición* 1187, 2, 59 (example of Pabla, written in Maya with a feminizing prefix as *xpab*); ANEY (land records in Maya throughout colonial-era volumes); DT; LC; TE; TI. The Juan and Luisa examples are taken from the same family (TE, 222).

40. Examples: TI, 32, 40, 41; AGN *Tierras* 1359, 5, 19.

41. AGN *Tierras* 1359, 5, 19-22; my translation from the Maya. The link between land and ancestors in ancient Maya society is explored extensively in McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors*.

42. The Maya term is *kax*, literally "forest"; it was used by some communities (for example, Tekantó) to describe uncultivated plots, as distinct from cultivated fields (usually *col*), but many communities (for example, Ixil and, above, Homún) used it to refer to cultivable plots regardless of whether the land was at that moment forested, fallow, or fully cultivated. On colonial-era Maya land description and tenure, based on Maya-language sources such as Felipe Noh's will, see Restall, *The Maya World*, chaps. 13-17.

43. TCh; TY; TX.

44. TI (testaments dated 1765-1768 of children of the couples). In nine wills from Ebtun, 1811-1813 (TE, between 224 and 242), of ten named couples, half appear to be community-endogamous marriages and half cannot be identified either way.

45. Patch, *Maya and Spaniard*, 60.

46. David J. Robinson, "Migration Patterns in Colonial Yucatán" (paper presented at the International Conference of Latin American Geographers, Mérida, Yucatán, México, 1987).

47. Although I have avoided bringing ethnicity into the discussion of marriage, it is worth observing that while the mestizo (indigenous-European mixed) population was growing rapidly in Mérida and other Spanish centers (Patch, *Maya and Spaniard*, 234-35; AGEY *Censos y padrones*, vols. 1, 2), much of this miscegenation was extramarital or resulting from the internal growth of the mestizo sector, while marriages between Mayas and non-Mayas were actually rare in the Maya world; for example, although eighteenth-century Tekantó had a relatively large non-Maya population of about 30 percent, endogamy among the Maya residents was 93 percent, and among nonnoble Mayas, including commoner-noble Maya marriages, 97 percent (Thompson, "Tekanto," 253). It would thus be safe to say that the typical Maya family was ethnically homogeneous. John K. Chance, "The Caciques of Tecali: Class and Ethnic Identity in Late Colonial Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 76 (August 1996): 494-98, noted that in late-colonial Tecali in the province of Puebla, both community and ethnic endogamy was high; endogamy among the Nahua elite, while declining through the eighteenth century, was initially high and remained significant.

48. Landa, *Relación*, 41-42.

49. Hill and Monaghan, *Highland Maya Social Organization*, 32-33.

50. Based on analysis of a 1688 census from AGI in Roys, "Personal Names," as well as TE and TI. Chance, "The Caciques of Tecali," 487-88, found concentrated clusters of noble cognatic patronym-groups in late-colonial Tecali.

51. TE; TI and DT; Maya sources in ANEY (volumes numbered but not dated 1776-1839). The locations of these communities are discussed in the notes to Table 2. For populations of individual communities, see Patch, *Maya and Spaniard*, Appendix A. The figures suggested by late-eighteenth-century parish records are a little higher, with 20 percent to 30 percent of patronyms represented in larger Maya communities; Kurjack, Lincoln, and Repetto, "Models for Maya Archaeology."

52. Landa's statement (*Relación*, 42) on the taboo of marrying someone from one's own patronym-group is borne out strongly by colonial-era evidence. Of the hundreds of couples that appear in close to two thousand extant Maya-language notarial records, I have noted just three cases of chibal endogamy, two of them Pech and one Xiu (TI; TX); as elite *chibalob* with few peers, these dynasties were presumably driven on occasion by the imperative of class endogamy to break the taboo and marry one of their own.

53. CC (also see Table 1); LC; TI; also see Restall, *Life and Death*; *The Maya World*, chaps. 9-10.

54. As demonstrated by Thompson, "Tekantó," chap. 2.

55. TI, 1 and 29; LC, 8; CC (total of 40 patronym-groups and 143 couples in both communities combined). This is not to suggest that individual romantic choice played no role, but clearly individuals may believe they are guided by love and be unconscious of certain social pressures to which they are nevertheless susceptible, as observed by Lomnitz and Pérez-Lizaur, *Mexican Elite Family*, 135; also see Restall, "Personal Relations."

56. The importance of female roles in the related matters of marriage patterns and property ownership modifies but does not undermine the existence of gender hierarchy and patriarchy in colonial-era Maya society; individual women were potentially empowered by their patronyms and the property they owned, thereby influencing the course of marriage alliances between patronym-group, yet it was the patronyms of men that were passed onto children, and it was men who controlled the most valued property item, arable land. For a complementary discussion

of this issue, see Matthew Restall, " 'He Wished It in Vain': Subordination and Resistance among Maya Women in Post-Conquest Yucatan," *Ethnohistory* 42 (Fall 1995): 577-94.

57. "Asymmetry" is applied to the pre-Columbian Maya family by McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors*, 111-24, and to the modern Yucatec Maya family by William F. Hanks, *Referential Practice: Language and Lived Space among the Maya* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990), 115-19.

58. As Farriss, *Maya Society*, 138-39, 169, observes, all social groups are corporate to some extent, but the corporate nature of the Maya family extended beyond mere affiliation to a powerful sense of identity. Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City*, 76-81, discusses family and corporatism in colonial Mexico.

59. A common historiographical starting point is Eric Wolf, "Closed Corporate Peasant Communities in Mesoamerica and Central Java," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13, no. 1 (1957), and *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959). Also see the bibliographies to Eric Van Young, "Mexican Rural History Since Chevalier: The Historiography of the Colonial Hacienda," *Latin American Research Review* 18, no. 3 (1983): 5-46, and Steve Stern, "Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean," *American Historical Review* 93, no. 4 (1988): 829-72.

60. By "other demands," I am primarily referring to the *repartimiento*, which in Yucatán was a forced sale of goods at below-market prices imposed on a community by Spaniards working independently and/or for the colonial provincial administration; on repartimientos and the Maya role in the colonial economy, see Farriss, *Maya Society*; García Bernal, *Yucatán: Población y encomienda* (as well as a long list of articles by García Bernal published 1979-1994 in Spain and cited in Restall, *The Maya World*); Patch, *Maya and Spaniard*; Restall, *The Maya World*, chaps. 14, 17; idem, "Identity and Legitimacy: The Rulers and the Ruled in Colonial Yucatán" (paper presented at the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain Councils on Latin American Studies, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1996).

61. Christine Kray, "Worship in Body and Spirit: Practice, Self, and Religious Sensibility in Yucatán, Mexico" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1997); idem, "New Labors, New Lives: Capitalist Practice and Critique in Yucatán" (paper presented at the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, 1996); Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (1867; reprint, New York: Vintage, 1977); Wolf, "Peasant Communities"; idem, *Shaking Earth*; Sol Tax, *Penny Capitalism: A Guatemalan Indian Economy* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1953).

62. Banker example: LC, 33. Cash use examples: TE, 224; ANEY 1736-37, 400; AA (*cofradía* records cited in Farriss, *Maya Society*, 500). Wealth differences: DT (and Thompson, "Tekanto," 118-25 on relative landed wealth in DT); LC; TI (and Restall, *The Maya World*, chap. 7 on same in TI). Commodity domination: the Coba and henequen, and the Yam and apicultural products, in late-eighteenth-century Ixil (TI, 10, 33). There are numerous examples in the Maya-language record of debt dealings involving cash, land (TI, 41), or even, on the part of one choirmaster, masses (TE, 28).

63. Patch, *Maya and Spaniard*, 247 (emphases his). Patch argues (245-49) that the colonial economy was neither feudal nor capitalist, being (like all economies) too complex and diverse "to be forced into the straightjacket of the long-cherished typology of modes of production" (249).

64. On late-colonial wage labor see Patch, *Maya and Spaniard*, 166-200. One of the colonial battlegrounds between Spanish and Maya authorities was the question of employment versus labor service. For example, the provincial governor built a new citadel in Mérida in the 1660s using laborers from Maya communities in and around the city; the Maya authorities in these communities repeatedly petitioned to receive wages for this labor, achieving some success only in the wake of an unfavorable *residencia* (royal investigation into a term of office) report on the governor (AGI *Escribanía* 315b, *cuadernas* 30-31 on the citadel affair, 315a-318a on the

residencia; Restall, "Identity and Legitimacy"). For other examples, see Restall, *The Maya World*, chap. 19.

65. For a more detailed discussion of this view of the cah (Maya community) as divided into residential and territorial spaces, a division with economic and gender dimensions, see Restall, *The Maya World*, chaps. 3, 10, 16.

66. More extensive interests in particular industries tended to be linked to the nature of the community economy; apiculture was central to the seventeenth-century Cacalchen and eighteenth-century Ebtun economies, for example, and thus men were just as involved as women in beekeeping, perhaps marginally more so (LC; TE).

67. For a more detailed analysis of the material environment as contained in these sources (DT; LC; TE; TI), see Restall, *The Maya World*, chaps. 8, 10 (for the division of labor by gender), 14.

68. Restall, *The Maya World*, chaps. 10, 14; Patch, *Maya and Spaniard*, especially chap. 4.

69. ANEY 1796-97, 205. Cutz's will is published in transcription and translation in Matthew Restall, "Interculturation and the Indigenous Testament in Colonial Yucatan," in *Dead Giveaways: Indigenous Testaments of Colonial Mesoamerica and the Andes*, ed. Susan Kellogg and Matthew Restall (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, in press).

70. Farriss, *Maya Society*, 169.

71. Deborah Kanter, "Hijos del Pueblo: Family, Community, and Gender in Rural Mexico, the Toluca Region, 1730-1830" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1993), 219 ff. shows apparently high numbers of nuclear units in Toluca, but she also quotes the late-eighteenth-century Archbishop Lorenzana of Mexico City and Bishop Fabián of Puebla urging in pastoral letters the immediate creation of nuclear homes for newlyweds, primarily to avoid family "dissension," although Lorenzana admits that the goal is to improve tribute collection (223-24). Farriss, *Maya Society*, 169, cites a couple of edicts to the same effect, as do Roys, Scholes, and Adams, "Cozumel," who assume that the multifamily households found on Cozumel in 1570 represented "conditions which had been abolished elsewhere in northern Yucatan" (7), that is, in the mainland colony, as colonial communities were so "closely under the supervision of the missionaries and the Spanish civil authorities" (14). This assumption is highly questionable; furthermore, the repeated reissue of an edict in Spanish America usually signified noncompliance rather than repeated and successful imposition. I find no comment on this topic in William Taylor's otherwise encyclopedic *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). For a discussion of clerical efforts to oblige indigenous Andeans to marry, with the issue interpreted as one of conflicting sexual values (rather than one of settlement patterns or tribute arrangements), see Ward Stavig, " 'Living in Offense of Our Lord': Indigenous Sexual Values and Marital Life in the Colonial Crucible," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 75 (November 1995): 597-622.

72. Property sales in ANEY, various volumes. Landa, *Relación*, comments that young couples lived in small houses opposite their fathers or fathers-in-law (cited by Roys, Scholes, and Adams, "Cozumel," 14; 15).

73. Lomnitz and Pérez-Lizaur, *Mexican Elite Family*, 130-34, on the Mexico City elite; Larissa Lomnitz, *Networks and Marginality: Life in a Mexican Shantytown* (New York: Academic Press, 1977) and Lourdes Arizpe, *Migración, etnicismo y cambio económico* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1978) on the Mexico City poor. Studies of modern-day rural mestizo and indigenous communities also emphasize the importance of residentially clustered extended grandfamilies—examples are Hugo Nutini, *San Bernardino Contla* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968); E. Z. Vogt, *Zinacantán: A Maya community in the Highlands of Chiapas* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1969); Alice Littlefield, *La industria de las hamacas en Yucatán, México* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1976); Claudio Lomnitz-Adler, *La evolución de una sociedad rural: Historia del poder en Tepoztlán* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982); and Mary Lindsay Elmendorf, *Nine Mayan Women: A Village Faces Change* (Rochester, VT: Schenkman, 1985).

74. Ellen Kintz, "Neighborhoods and Wards in a Classic Maya Metropolis," in *Coba: A Classic Maya Metropolis*, ed. W. J. Folan, Ellen Kintz, and L. A. Fletcher (New York: Academic Press, 1983), 179-90; Edward Kurjack, *Prehistoric Lowland Maya Community and Social Organization: A Case Study at Dzibilchaltun, Yucatan, Mexico* (New Orleans: Tulane University Middle American Research Institute, 1974), 73-89; McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors*, 49-60, 100-105; Evon Vogt, "Ancient and Contemporary Maya Settlement Patterns: A New Look from the Chiapas Highlands," in *Essays in Prehistoric Settlement Patterns: Essays in Honor of Gordon R. Willey* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of Harvard University; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 89-114; William Haviland, "Ancient Lowland Maya Social Organization," in *Archaeological Studies in Middle America* (New Orleans: Tulane University Middle American Research Institute, 1968), 109. Also see Culbert and Rice, *Precolumbian Population History*, for studies of other Maya sites (see n. 15 above). Pre-Columbian residential clusters were effectively the precursors to the blocks of colonial and modern communities, with the ancient terraces corresponding to the house-plots that contained several houses in both preconquest and postconquest times.

75. ANEY 1826ii, 340-41 and 1835ii, 99-101 (outside purchaser examples); TE, 221-22 (a representative of the Dzul patronym-group in Ebtun reunited a plot that, over the course of three generations, had split into two, into the hands of Noh-Cutis and Dzul-Un households, respectively).

76. TC, 111-12 for an example of road-building reaching Calkiní around 1580. The lack of a single reference to a house-plot (solar) in Cacalchen wills of the 1640s-1650s implies that this reconstruction had yet to reach the community by this time (LC). The process of pueblo formalization was still continuing in the last colonial decade, no doubt partially as a result of population growth (AGEY *Ayuntamiento, Colonial*, 1, 11-16).

77. AGN *Bienes Nacionales* 21, 20, 2 for an example of a Maya noblewoman justifying missing catechism because she was retrieving the animals that had wandered off her house-plot.

78. ANEY (1826ii, 34-36 for women at a land sale); DT; LC; TE (222 for Cutis example); TI. No collections of Maya wills appear to have survived from the first century of colonial rule in Yucatán. Altman, *Emigrants and Society*, 151, and Hoberman, *Merchant Elite*, 231, among others, have noted that despite Spanish customs of even distribution of goods among children, elder sons of elite families tended to get the lion's share in Spanish family bequests (a process that the wealthiest families formalized by *mayorazgo* petition); this was seldom the case among the Yucatec Mayas. Farriss, *Maya Society*, 170, argues that Spanish inheritance rules "distorted" and "conflicted with . . . the corporate, patrilineal principles" of the Maya system; I see no evidence of a conflict of principles, as patrilineality was maintained through nominal male ownership of cultivated land (the Mayas' most valued socioeconomic item), while the inclusion of female family members as owners, residents, and workers was central to the corporate integrity of the household complex. Also see Restall, *The Maya World*, chap. 9.

79. As evidenced by the larger body of Maya wills and land records (see Restall, *Life and Death*, and *The Maya World*), including two illustrative cases. One is that of the widow Maria Kantun of Itzmal (the Maya community west of Mérida that was also Spanish Izamál). Although Maria's husband, the nobleman Vicente Cauich, had left her a parcel of forested land in his will, the noble male representatives of the Kantun patronym-group in Itzmal, Matias and his son Francisco, had the community authorities ratify a 1797 statement of possession confirming that the land was in Maria's name; this was presumably to protect her interests against her two sons by Vicente Cauich, for when Maria sold the land in 1803, these Cauich brothers appeared in the bill of sale to acknowledge it as valid. Maria's status as owner of forested land was exceptional enough to require additional legal fortification; the fact that in this series of Maya-language records the term *viuda* is used to describe Maria suggests that the property status of widow was not as deeply rooted in Maya culture as other aspects of land tenure (I have not seen *viuda* used in pre-eighteenth-century Maya records) (ANEY 1818iii, 1-4). If society was uncomfortable with independent widows, as Stern (*Secret History*, 117-23) has suggested for late-colonial

Morelos, then social pressures may have led such women back into dependent relationships with male kin. The other sample case is that of Petrona Pat of Hunucmá, who inherited a cultivated plot from her father, adjacent to plots inherited by her mother, brother, and sister; in 1826, she and her mother both individually sold their plots to a local mestizo (ANEY *Escrituras Hunucm* , 86-87).

80. TI, 23.

81. McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors*, 109, who cites similar arguments made by George Collier and Pedro Carrasco in studies of other Mesoamerican regions.

82. Kellogg, *Aztec Culture,* 160-219 (quotation on 215); Roys, Scholes, and Adams, "Cozumel," 15; Farriss, *Maya Society*, 169.

83. On Nahua social organization see Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, and Kellogg, *Aztec Culture*.

84. McAnany, *Living with the Ancestors*, 110.