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AN ETHNOLOGICAL  
STUDY ON THE IXIL  
INDIANS OF THE  
GUATEMALA  
HIGHLANDS

J S LINCOLN

AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY ON THE IXIL INDIANS  
OF THE GUATEMALA HIGHLANDS

BY

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With Foreword, by Ruth Benedict

MICROFILM COLLECTION OF  
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CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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## Foreword

Dr. Lincoln's work in IXIL was cut short when he was taken ill in the village and died soon after in Guatemala City. This publication on results of his last field trip has been put together by his wife from notes and manuscripts, and we are fortunate to have this study of a little known corner of Guatemala. It does not however represent his full interests or plan of work and it is fitting that this, his last publication, should be prefaced by some word on the problems for which he had prepared himself and in which his work was cut short by his untimely death.

After his graduation from Harvard two events shaped his life work: he was in the Rocky Mountains for two years and came into contact with various Indian tribes, and he was psychoanalyzed. He never again lost sight of either of these interests. He went to Europe for a couple of years of training, studying with Piaget and with Stekel but especially with Jung. He found much of interest in the problems of ontogeny they discussed but he believed that if he devoted himself to the study of preliterate peoples he should meet the standards of the anthropologist too. He therefore spent a couple of years studying anthropology at the University of California, during which time he spent six months with the Navaho Indians. For his M.A. thesis he used his own collections as well as already printed material, taking as his subject, "American Indian Dreams, their Significance to the Native and their Relation to the Culture Pattern."

His ambition was to take his Ph.D. degree under Professor CG

Seligman at the London School of Economics of the University of London, and out of this realized plan developed what was probably the most valued close association of his professional life. The thesis he prepared ~~xxxxxx~~ was published in England and in this country as "The Dream in Primitive Culture". His ~~work~~ work with Professor Seligman was most congenial and the latter turned over to him his field notes that dealt with psychology in native cultures.

When Dr. Lincoln returned to America he undertook a trip to the Chinantecos of Oaxaca, Mexico but this field work was cut short by illness. For several years he lived in New York City devoting himself to his family and to library research. Then in 1939 he made his plans to go to Guatemala for intensive field work. He wanted to study a village long enough and intimately enough so that it would satisfy at the same time the demands of the anthropologist and of the psychoanalyst. He took with him official letters from the Department of Anthropology <sup>of</sup> at Columbia University but he had no financial backing except his own funds with whatever additional he had himself been able to provide. After he had begun his work in Guatemala, the Carnegie Corporation at the request of Professor Kidder made \$1,500 available to him to carry on his work.

The information on the Mayan calendar and on the arrangements of land use and land ownership which is here presented were to have been the firm grounding for work on the attitudes and evaluations of this tribal culture. <sup>Dr. Lincoln</sup> He had a vision of worthwhile research and he had devoted himself as few others have to obtaining the training which would enable him to cope with the

problem. Time does not lessen the regret of his friends that he was not spared to carry out his plans.

Ruth Benedict

Columbia University

## AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY ON THE IXIL INDIANS OF THE GUATEMALA HIGHLANDS

## Part I - a. Introduction.

- b. A preparation for field work

## Part II - History

- a. Prior to 1887
- b. From the coming of the ladinos in 1887 to the present.
- c. Notes on two ladinoized principales.

## Part III - Religion

- a. The calendar.
- b. The church and cofradias

## Part IV - Land, occupation, Economic Status, Family Life.

- a. Occupation and economic status illustrated by visits to aldeas (or outlying districts).
- b. Education, hygiene, justice.
- c. Family life - birth, marriage, and death

## Appendix

- a. Notes on folklore and dreams
- b. Native prayers - Texts in idiom, Spanish and English

Photographs of the Region

Correspondence with Dr. Redfield

Jacks.

HIGHLANDS

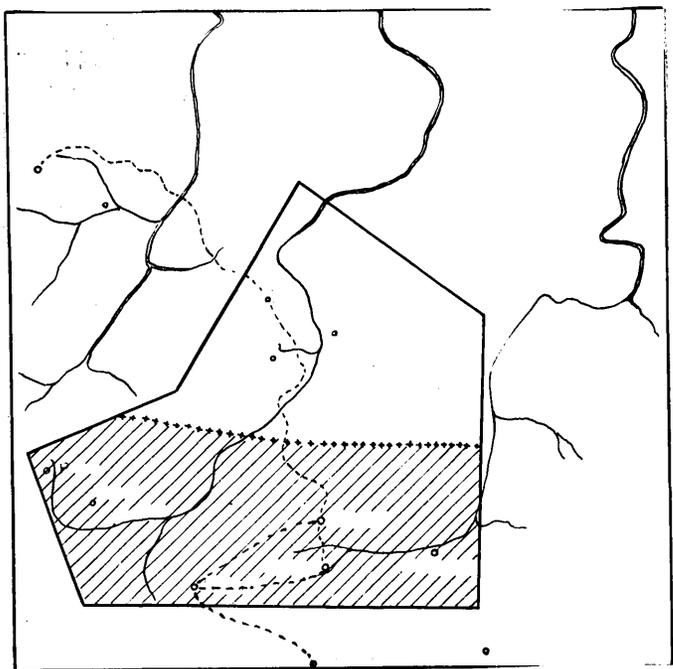
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visits to

English

*Jackson Steward Lincoln, The author.*



MAP OF THE IXIL REGION.

Part I Introduction

A Preparation for Field Work.

## Introduction

~~A HISTORY OF THE IXIL~~

In the Northern<sup>n</sup>most inhabited section of the Departamento de Quiché in Guatemala over two mountain passes, the second of which reaches a height of 8,600 feet, which rise up from the Quiché speaking town of Sacapulas on the Rio Negro, is an area of approximately 500 square miles. It is a corn, sugar, coffee, vegetable, and fruit (apples and peaches) producing land, which ranges in altitude from 3,500 feet at Ilom in the North to 6,500 feet in the South at Nebaj. This area is geographically sharply set off on the South, East, and West, by a high tropical cloud forest, which encloses a region of markedly different fauna and flora and climate from those on the other sides of the high divide.

The Northern end of the region slopes gradually down to meet the jungles of Chiapas and the Peten, and it is in this direction that all the rivers drain, either via the Lacantun to the East or the Chixoy to the West, both of which eventually end in the Usumacinta. In the Northeast and East the land slopes down through the lower lying half jungle finca country of the Zona Reina and the Rio Copon. Mists and clouds arise from the jungle regions and blow up to the high cloud forest which marks the Southern boundary, between the region and the arid Rio Negro country around Sacapulas. As a result rains abound throughout the year. The West is bounded by the Cuchumatanes mountains of which the ranges within the area are offshoots and continuations.<sup>1</sup>

Within these clearly set off natural boundaries are three agriculturally prosperous municipios or townships, Nebaj, Chajul, and Cotzal. These contain their principal towns of the same name and their subsidiary aldeas or rural hamlets and caseríos (also called cantones) or rural

- neglected?*
1. Termer - Maps of the region all wrong
  2. 1940 Census.

collections of farms. <sup>2</sup> The most important aldeas, which are really small towns, are Salquil Grande pertaining to Nebaj, Iiom, Chol and Zetzil which pertain to Chajul. The large coffee finca of San Francisco in the municipio of Cotzal with its 2000 or more mostly Ixil speaking inhabitants, is practically a small town in itself. A few small fincas, many owned by Indians, are scattered through the three townships.

A motor highway is in construction from Sacapulas via Cunen to Nebaj, but this will probably not reach the region for another year or so, any more than will the proposed hydraulic electric plant for Nebaj. As a result, approach to the towns is only by horse or mule over steep mountain trails, and the encroachments of the machine age on the lives of the inhabitants ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> very slight.

To arrive for the first time at the top of the second mountain pass 8,600 feet high on the way over from Sacapulas and look down from the strip of tropical cloud forest, occasionally filled with the roars of howling monkeys, into the beautiful open valley with the town of Nebaj 3000 feet below is an unforgettable experience. Guarding this pass is a pagan shrine in a grotto containing <sup>2</sup> crosses, ~~and~~ strewn with rose leaves and the ashes of pom incense. No less an experience is the descent into town, passing clear running streams, green pastures, luxuriant corn fields, and attractive wooden or adobe whitewashed houses with red tiled roofs and outside verandahs, set back in fenced-in sitios. The Indians working in their fields <sup>are</sup> dressed in red; the women with halo-like head band or cinta, animal and human figured huipiles or blouses, same colored and designed faja or sash, and ~~red~~ tight wrap-around skirts <sup>of red</sup> with a thin yellow stripe; ~~the men are dressed~~ in short, red, black braided jackets, and broad brimmed flat crowned straw hats and white cotton trousers. Arrival in

Nebaj with its central Plaza and great church and populous and numerous houses, gives an impression of at least former prosperity and civilization with what appears to be an all Indian population, no ladinos or non-Indians being in evidence until the centre of town is reached. The "Shangrila" aspect of the valley and town is almost too beautiful to be true.

The latest census, of April 1940, gives the population of this region as follows:

Nebaj - 3, 636 urban inhabitants and 9,353 rural inhabitants in 8 aldeas and 69 caseríos. Of this total of 12,552 inhabitants about 650 are ladinos or non-Indians. All the rest are Indians. There are 9 fincas, 3 of which are owned by Indian principales.

Chajul- About 8,000 inhabitants divided in the same proportion as above between urban and rural and of whom approximately 300 are ladinos.

Cotzal- About 7,000 inhabitants divided similarly of whom 400 are ladinos.<sup>1</sup>

Hence the population is divided into approximately 25,000 Indians and 1300 ladinos the latter of whom live with a few individual exceptions in the towns.<sup>2</sup> Three quarters of the Indians live permanently in rural districts away from ladinos, and one quarter in the towns.

Even at the present time this district is little visited by travelers others than Indians going to market and fiesta to and from the region, and to the great annual pilgrimage to the Christ of Golgotha at Chajul, on the second Friday is Lent, and by occasional local ladinos connected with the few fincas and shops in the townships. The Indians differ from the surrounding Quiché, Uspanteca, Kekchí, and Aguacateca speaking peoples, and from the natives of the Cuchumatanes mountains, not only in language<sup>3</sup>

1. Still unpublished - Recorded in Nebaj after census agents returned from aldeas.
2. In Iiom is one family of ladinos consisting of three people. In Zotzil is one family. In Chel is 1 ladinoized Indian who helps "costumbre".
3. Stoll - See p. Note Etnographia de la Republica de Guatemala. p. 182.

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but in physical appearance, temperament, costume, and "costumbre".<sup>1</sup> Particularly striking with regard to the latter is the retention of a pagan religious calendar, which preserves more Old Mayan and Old Quiché features than any other living Mayence calendar of Guatemala, including those of the remote Cuchumatanes peoples.<sup>2</sup>

Although the people of this region are divided into three distinct municipios or townships, with slight cultural and linguistic differences between each<sup>3</sup>, they regard themselves as all closely related to each other, and as jointly different from other peoples. The municipios, therefore, though they have certain features exclusive to each other are not separate cultural units as in other parts of Guatemala<sup>4</sup>, and certainly much less so than, say, the Rio Grande Pueblos of the Southwest of the U.S.A., who in spite of many differences jointly form a branch of the Southwest Indian culture. Likewise, as will be shown throughout this monograph, the municipios of Nebaj, Chajul, and Cotzal with their towns, aldeas, and rural districts jointly form a cultural or subcultural unit of Indian life.

PART I - PRIOR TO 1887

Historical and ethnological information on the region is very scanty, but all existing literature refers to the language of the inhabitants as Ixil. How this word originated is impossible to say.<sup>5</sup> Natives do not call their language by this name, but in the three towns they call

1. Ch. on calendar and religion.
2. " and La Farge -Ms. on Santa Eulalia.
3. Stoll, p.182 -Ethnografia de la República de Guatemala.
4. See Tax -S. The Municipios of the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala. Amer. Anthropol. Vol.39, N° 3, Jul.-Sept., 1937.
5. ~~See also...~~

## PREPARATION FOR FIELD WORK IN THE IXIL REGION.

Priests, travellers, the few ethnologists (Bernouilli, Stoll, Termer and lately finqueros who have been in the Ixil speaking region are all agreed on the reserved, unfriendly, suspicious, and difficult temperament of the natives. So far nobody has more than scratched the surface of the ethnology of the region.

Forearmed with this knowledge I approached the region expecting that it would take many months before I would be able to win the confidence of enough natives to even begin ethnological work. By a stroke of good luck two events occurred which shortened considerably the introductory period. One was the result of a letter from the Jefe Politico of the Departamento de Quiche to Gaspar C, leading Indian principal<sup>1</sup> and citizen of Nebaj, ordering him to take me about the region. This led to a riding trip with him to Chajul and Cotzal where we stayed in Indian houses and collected much information on the native calendar, and through his ~~auspices~~<sup>sup</sup> I got an introduction of the greatest value. The other event was an 18-day ride with the priest to all the outlying hamlets of this region and to villages in the Quiché speaking section during which time I acquired added prestige with the natives.

This tour of the church militant through a purely native region is worth describing. The priest with three mozos carrying his baggage and church vestments and vessels for mass, and <sup>1</sup> with one mozo, left Nebaj on Nov. 20 about 7 A.M. I was well mounted on a fast walking mule and the Padre had a large and plodding horse ~~of~~ which he was afraid to mount for any distance. He went mostly on foot leading his horse, smoking a cigar and talking the whole time in fast Asturian Spanish. The Padre was a pure Spaniard from Spain, and an ardent orthodox Catholic who believed that the church was a mystical body that could do no wrong whatever human mistakes were made by priests or personnel of the temporal church. Salvation

<sup>1</sup> See ch. on calendar.

by sacrament was the essential teaching. He would not admit that the Indians of the region were really religious and regarded their practices as pure superstition. A man of fairly wide though bigoted education, he was very learned in church scholarship and theology. He believed it was important to study social science, and natural history, and the customs of the natives, but the latter only for the purpose of being able to convert them better and suppress all pagan practices. Protestants he regarded as degenerate and no real Christians. He admitted that the Church of England and its Episcopalean branch in the U.S.A. <sup>University</sup> was the nearest thing to real Catholicism, and thought it would eventually join up with Rome. The real reason it could not be accepted by Rome, even as a schismatic branch of the true church, was because it had lost the continuity of the apostolic succession which would have to be reacquired. The Anglicans of course still claim to have the true apostolic succession as well. Because I could qualify as an Episcopalean, the Padre was willing to have me accompany him on his annual and purely pastoral journey among the Indians. <sup>as</sup> (With) <sup>100</sup> regards myself he had two aims, one, to convert me to the true faith, and the other to make use of any information I might collect about native custom in order to stamp out paganism. I in turn got the benefit of being a close associate of the priest whom the Indians everywhere regarded with great veneration, and once and for all the trip dispelled any suspicion that I might be connected in any way with the local evangelist whom they regarded as an instrument of the devil. <sup>Protestant missionary</sup>

In his relations with people the Padre was very much the "good fellow" type. Indians, ladinos, foreigners all were equally treated with jovial greetings and back slappings. Although required by the church to charge for baptisms, marriages, masses, etc. he always met the price that could be payed and never held out for the official amount. Everything he

earned from this source he gave back in charity before the end of a year, and he invariably lent money to anybody who asked him. Many ladinos took advantage of his generosity and were constantly borrowing from him generally never intending to repay it.

He was fond of the bottle in a moderate way, and the first day's journey from Nebaj to Zetzil, a ride of twelve hours over steep mountain trails, through mud, fog and rain, was punctuated every few hours by halts to take swigs of aguardiente to keep from getting cold. The bottle was invariably passed around to all the mozos as well, and by the end of the day they were singing and laughing as they ran along with their heavy loads on their backs secured by tump line straps around their foreheads. Aguardiente is one of the most potent drinks there<sup>is</sup>, but I have found from experience in Mexico as well, that it is a most hygienic drink if taken during periods of strenuous exercise in tropical regions. I taught all the mozos to say "bottoms up" in English, and one who could write, wrote it down, and the next day taught it to many natives of the village of Zetzil. Possibly it may pass into the native language for future ethnologists to record.

After fording two rivers in the dark we arrived by moonlight at the hamlet of Zetzil. About a half a mile outside of town the Padre was met by a delegation of men carrying pine torches and of women in full regalia (Women's ~~huipil~~ and <sup>is the</sup> costume here same as Chajul). The Padre dismounted and walked to town in procession accompanied by drum and plaintive Indian chirimia or wooden pipe. At the juzgado all the principales received us, and ushered us inside the one/roomed thatched town hall, which had been all cleaned up and decorated with palm leaves. While we were there, this room served as dining, sleeping, reception room and church. We were placed at a long wooden table and all the principales came up and spoke to the padre

who blessed them by patting them on the head and afterwards they came to me to do the same, thinking I was another priest. The room was crowded with onlookers while the Padre and I sat in silence eating the food (chicken, coffee, tortillas, chile), which our hosts brought us. Afterwards he explained to them that I was a writer whose only reason for being there was to visit among them, study their language and "costumbre" for the purpose of recording valuable things from the past. He also explained that I was his travelling companion and friend and a christian, though having certain faulty doctrinal differences from the true catholic which were due entirely to erroneous instruction. This announcement was followed by an attitude of suspicion; they all drew back from our table and there was much whispering and consultation in groups, accompanied by unfriendly exclamations and pointing at me. Suspicion was increased and a shock went through the assemblage when the half/Mexican half/Indian Auxiliar Municipal suddenly imparted a historical fact of the greatest interest. He asked us if we knew that a "Santo" called the Holom Konop many years ago had belonged to the village of Ilom and had been taken away to Santa Eulalia where it remains today. In reality the Holom Konop is a piece of wood which at the present time is kept in a locked shack at Santa Eulalia and worshipped by the Prayermakers of this Chuj village in the Cuchumatanes Mountains several days journey away.<sup>1</sup> The auxiliar's statement confirmed other information in my possession showing a migration of the Ixil of Ilom to Santa Eulalia in the past.<sup>2</sup> At this point an Indian whom I had noticed looking at us with a peculiarly penetrating stare without once taking his eyes off us, was introduced to us as a Santa Eulalian. He refused to converse with us

<sup>1</sup> See La Farge and Byers - Yearbearer's People, and La Farge - Santa Eulalia Ms.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. on calendar, p. Since Ilom was founded 150 years ago as an offshoot of Chajul. This dates the Holom Konop as probably not over 100 years old. It may be a worn down statue of the Christ.

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and for the ~~whole~~ rest of the evening he continued to stare as if he was concentrating all his mind on us. I recognized this as an example of "looking and thinking", a practice described in La Farge's Santa Eulalia manuscript, which is either a method of trying to do harm to others or to avert harm. The "watchers of time" or Chiapanecos from Santa Eulalia concentrate their gaze on people and "represent the highest development of the power of looking used for beneficent purposes". It was impossible to tell whether this Santa Eulalian was looking at us beneficently or harmfully, but it seemed more likely that he was trying to ward off possible harmful influences to himself.

After a while, the Padre and I ignored the large group around us and talked to each other for some time and eventually the attitude of suspicion seemed to relax and gave way to one of curiosity. The discussions among themselves subsided and they had apparently decided that there was nothing harmful about my presence, because from then on for the ~~whole~~ rest of our visit in the village their friendliness and hospitality left nothing to be desired.

The Padre lectured them on the purpose of his visit and discussed the details of mass to be held the next day. The price to be payed for this was settled and the auxiliar promised to get up a collection. Once the Padre <sup>began to</sup> ~~got started talking~~ he was likely to continue for hours until most of his listeners practically dropped with exhaustion. He began a theological discussion explaining many essential points of the mass. We sat at a long table, he with his Latin breviary, and I not to be outdone got out my Episcopalean New Testament. I decided to hold out for Episcopaleans being true catholics and pointed out that much of the Mass and Morning Prayer were identical, the main difference being one of language. He had not realized that Episcopaleans had both the Apostle's and Nicene Creeds and

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was very surprised to learn it. The Auxiliar sat at table with us and he claimed that all the Indians were of the true faith and actually believed that all of the "costumbre" practiced at the mountain crosses was pure catholicism. A large part of his attitude was merely to impress the Padre and he well knew that much of Indian "costumbre" was not catholic. We finally ended the discussion all claiming to be true christians and all agreeing that the Protestant evangelists were ignorant and dangerous. By the time we had finished, the room had gradually emptied and all our red-coated listeners had gone home. I went to bed exhausted on a wooden bench, and before retiring to his especially built palm and petate canopied bed, the Padre spent an hour or so performing his evening devotions before a candle. Even after a physically and mentally exhausting day he never once missed his last hour of devotion. The mozos had long since fallen asleep and were rolled up in their blankets on the floor.

Early the next morning we were awakened by the two Indian Regidores who came in with other companions and sat opposite us on a wooden bench talking and spitting on the floor, and waiting for us to get up in order that the room could be converted into a church for mass. From this time on I had to get used to getting up, going to bed, washing and eating in public. There was a complete absence of privacy at all times. Our mozos brought us water to wash with and I asked for some coffee and oranges because the Padre could not eat until after mass, and I had decided not to attend on this day.

Since we were to remain in Zotzil only three quarters of the day I decided to see the village and to glean what information I could. The only ladino, the military Captain under the Comandancia of Nebaj, Simon ~~A~~, took me on a tour of the village while mass was going on in the juzgado. The village is at an altitude of 3,500 feet in a shut-in hollow valley. Houses are palm thatched on wooden pole structures. The population

is about 500 and the natives are all associated with the town of Chajul. The men wear the same red, black braided jackets and flat wide brimmed straw hats and the women the same white and red striped huipiles with red skirts with yellow stripe as in Chajul. The village is an aldea of Chajul and all go ~~to~~ there for fiestas and Cofradía celebrations. In the aldeas of Zotzil, Ilom, and Chel there are no Cofradías<sup>1</sup> of their own, but some of the men and women belong to Cofradías in Chajul, about a day's journey away. Climate is cloudy and rainy with practically no dry season at any time of the year. Oranges, and bananas abound and in nearby fincas excellent Arabian coffee is raised. Pigs, turkeys, and chickens are the main domestic animals.

Throughout the village and all around in the mountains are crosses where the natives worship. The ones in the village are all wrapped tightly in banana leaves. Simon ~~A~~ took me to two groups of two crosses each in town, one on a little mound where prayers to Dios Mundo<sup>2</sup> were offered, and the other where prayers were said to las animas or souls of the dead. Next to the latter were a few graves with grave stones shaped like hooded cradles. In the hood were ashes from pom incense. I got photographs of all these. Simon told me of the courting custom of young men who play a tune by blowing through a piece of banana leaf outside a girl's house. He asked a young man to demonstrate this, which he promptly did. The tune played was a 4 note plaintive little air resembling very much the chirimía ~~pipe~~ pipe. Two others came up and joined him and there was much laughter and amusement at the performance.

I told Simon what I already had learned about the native calendar on my trip with Gaspar ~~C~~ in Nebaj and Chajul, and asked if he knew

<sup>1</sup> Religious brotherhoods in charge of the image of some Saint and a sort of primitive men's club

<sup>2</sup> World god or just World. Possibly old Indian god huracan.

whether there were any names for the 20 day periods or months. Like all ladinos he barely knew that there was a native calendar, but he said he would ask two old medicine men or mamas (in Ixil) who specialized in the calendar. We went down to the Auxiliario's house and he brought in two old men whom I had seen the evening before while the Padre was holding forth in the juzgado. We all sat down with the Auxiliario's wife and son and passed cigarettes around. I found that one of the old mamas spoke understandable Spanish and the Auxiliario's wife and son spoke both Ixil and Spanish. I began by telling them that the day was 12 Kame1 (Nov. 21, 1989) and recited the twenty day names and numbers which I had learned in Nebaj and Chajul. I then read off from my note book the meanings and significance of each day including the 4 Yearbearer days or alcaldes del Mundo. Occasionally they corrected me, but by the time I had finished they were laughing and approving with complete amazement. I then asked if there were any names for the 20 day months, but they did not seem to understand this and grew very serious and puzzled. I left the subject and asked if they would recite me a prayer to Dios Mundo, or what they said when they prayed at the crosses in the monte. Without any hesitation they both recited jointly a long prayer in Ixil with many gestures and signs of the cross. It was very difficult to get them to repeat it slowly enough for me to write it down because every time they started they would go right on through to the end and not pause long enough. With the assistance of the Auxiliario's wife and son I finally got the Ixil text written down and read it back repeatedly as well as the Spanish translation given by the Spanish speaking mama. In all other villages after this I read off the Ixil version until it was as correct as I could make it, and although there is a slight dialectal difference from the Nebaj version, it was understood in Nebaj and Chajul and the aldeas. The prayer turned out of the greatest value in understanding.

the native religion of this region. The deities petitioned in it were Dios Mundo, Jesus Christ, Saints, Angels, the Yellow Corn, the White Corn, the Holy Earth, the Carpenter Bird, the Mountains around Zotzil by name, the previous 13 days of the calendar as Day-Lords and called the 13 Kings, the 20 days of the Calendar and the Sun. It was a wonderful amalgam of Christian and pagan. It took a good three hours to get this prayer down and we were all thoroughly tired at the end. I gave each of the mamas 10 centavos, the official price for a consultation, and they went to their homes.

After mass at the juzgado all participants stayed on for some time consulting with the Padre, and when they came out I got photographs of large groups of men and women dressed in their Sunday best. In no Ixil village is there any fear of being photographed, in fact they often came up and asked to be photographed and would be very surprised when I refused payment for it.

After lunch and baptisms of many infants we packed up and started on the trail for Ilom, about an hour's ride further on. We said good bye to all our hosts whose hospitality and kindness were unrivalled. They would not let me pay a cent for my food or board and said I would be welcome any time I came, either with or without the Padre. While mounting, my mule nearly bucked me off because I had forgotten to blindfold him, much to the amusement of the assembled village whose shrill laughs could be heard all the way up the hill on the trail leaving town.

About 40 minutes ride further on from the top of a high hill, the thatched village of Ilom could be seen way down in the valley below. From this same height it was possible to get a glimpse through a pass, divided by the Rio Xacbal, of the vast lowland tropical plains which stretch out to Chiapas and the Peten. It was from just such a height in this region that the mysterious gleaming white pre-Columbian city was seen, according to the old story reported by Stephens, Maudslay and others. From the height near

Ilom it was impossible to see anything but heat mist over the jungle.

During the steep descent into Ilom I stayed behind so as not to get mixed up in the procession which came out from town to escort the Padre. The reception was the same as the one on the day before only much more elaborate, and suited to a town of 1,500 inhabitants. At all the roadside crosses and in many doorways incense was being burned. The procession consisted of men and women in brilliant red dress regalia accompanied by drum and chirimía. As we entered town, all ran up to the Padre to be blessed, and although I tried to keep out of it they insisted in coming to me for the same, and I had to dismount and tap men, women, and children on the head all the way into the town hall or juzgado. Here the Padre went in first to greet the assembled principales and the leading women of the village who were all seated in rows on benches inside while an excellent marimba played. The juzgado was beautifully decorated with palm leaves and flowers. I stayed outside until the Padre sent for me and introduced me to the Secretario Municipal, the only ladino (with his family) in town, and to the two Indian Regidores. He gave them a brief explanation of why I was there which they accepted without question, and we both sat down at the large table prepared for us. We sat there in silence and in state for some time facing rows of principales and women, while the marimba played. It was a scene of beauty and color and the marimba played with much gaiety. The marimba played on and on, and dinner was brought to us consisting of the usual tortillas, coffee, eggs, and chicken with chile sauce. Before eating, a cup of water was brought and poured over our hands. After eating, all our mozos of whom several had been added as an escort from the village of Zotzil, would come up to the table with hats in hand and bow down before the Padre and then to me and we would tap them on the head. They would ask formally for permission to go out and get their dinner which the village

leaders had prepared for them in another house.

While we were sitting unable to talk because of the marimba, suddenly there was a commotion outside and everyone in the juzgado rushed out and left the Padre and myself and marimba alone to finish our meal. In a few minutes we could hear a crowd of people bringing into the adjoining room a woman who was crying and moaning as if in the greatest pain. A man came in and told us that she had been robbed in her house and severely cut up with a machete; the criminal, an Indian from a nearby finca, had been caught and thrown into jail on the other side of the juzgado. We could hear the crowds in the other room around the poor woman, all talking and saying "Ojalá que no va morir" (May it be that she will not die) over and over. Many were saying that there was nothing that could be done for her. In the meanwhile the marimba struck up again until the Padre dismissed the players and we went on with our meal. The Padre started talking about all kinds of extraneous matters and paid no attention to what was going on in the next room. I had the feeling that he would prefer to give extreme unction to the woman and have another soul safe in heaven rather than to see whether she could be cured or not.

Finally, I could not stand doing nothing any longer and I went in to where the woman was, taking along a jar of iodex ointment, a bandage roll, and a box of bandaids. I found the poor woman seated on a low stool moaning and crying with great numbers of people around her talking and jabbering at her. Her face was covered with blood, and there were two inch cuts on her forehead, and her arm was bound up with filthy rags. A bandage string was tied so tightly around her arm below her elbow that her hand was almost mortified. I was told that it was to stop the bleeding from an elbow cut from which the bone was protruding. They said her arm was broken and that there was a huge cut on her lower arm. I made them clear a space and told the Secretario's wife to get some warm water and wash her face

and all the smaller wounds. I applied iodex ointment and band aids on all the wounds, took off the tight cord and bound her hand. All the wounds were clean and bleeding had stopped, because they had applied white of egg which is a very effective agent for clotting blood. It is interesting that they knew of this remedy which is part of that used in the most modern treatments to clot blood in haemophilics.<sup>1</sup> After binding her, the poor woman tried to kneel down and pray to me and she besought me to do everything I could do to cure her. I gave her some aspirin to help her sleep if possible and told the people to let her be quiet. She could not lie down because of the wounds in her back.

I rejoined the Padre. Instantly by reflected glory from being with the Padre and because of helping the woman, I was regarded as being a medicine man and something extraordinary. Many came in to ask me for medicines and several women brought me their children to bless. At this point both the Padre and I were so exhausted from the events of the day that we cleared everybody out and went to bed, he after performing his usual devotions. I slept soundly on a hard wooden bench, and the Padre on a wooden table.

On the next morning the juzgado was turned again into a church for mass. The Secretario came and asked me to take an official photograph of the wounded woman, the criminal, and himself. They dragged the poor creature out, and she tried to kneel to me and thank me for dressing her wounds. The criminal, a puny little Indian who looked completely crazed with terror was brought out in chains. The Secretario, the military Captain from Zotzil, the Regidores, the woman crying, and the criminal all posed. The Secretario pointed a pencil in an accusing manner at the

<sup>1</sup> See J. Harpole, The Surgeon's Case Book, p. 22.

criminal, the bloody machete was stuck in the ground, and all officials struck important attitudes. The woman crying and praying turned to the criminal and said, "Que Dios te castiga para tu pecado". Afterwards I had her main wounds dressed again. She blessed me and her little boy offered me five cents for helping her.

I got into conversation with the first Regidor who is also first Rezador or prayermaker about the native calendar, and mentioned the day names and Yearbearers which he said were called Alcaldes del Mundo and represented la justicia. He seemed to be impressed with my knowledge and after a preliminary reserve was quite willing to talk. I read to him the 18 alleged Uinal or 20 day month names collected by Termer from Santa Eulalia which were not confirmed by La Farge in his study of the latter village. He appeared to recognize what they were but said that these names belonged to another language which he did not understand, until I got to the word mol which he said was also of his language. The names he said represented the toj amak or "tiempo del año de los antiguos". Finally he said that the year was divided into 16 main costumbres and gave me a list of 8 names. He then became confused and said that there were no more. He couldn't remember any more. He wasn't certain whether the year began in March or April and did not know the exact day on which the new Yearbearer came in. The day counts he said were kept by special mamas who kept them from day to day and did not count very far ahead. The Yearbearers were E. Noj, I'q and Tche and special costumbre was performed as these days recurred, (See Ch. on calendar.) all of which is the same as in Nebaj and Chajul. He concluded the discussion by saying he would promise to consult an old mama and find out the names of the 16 or 18 costumbres or month names, and left. To me this would be highly important information because so far nobody has recorded any month names ~~that are~~ still in use.

If discovered and correlated with old Maya ones and with the Gregorian calendar it would be possible to date with accuracy all the old Maya dates found in hieroglyphs in the ruined cities of the jungle.

There were rumours of many old ruins around Ilom, and Old Ilom which formerly had a church, was supposed to be a mile or so away down the Rio Xacbal. There were also supposed to be ruins on the finca of Las Pilas just on top of the divide. In the afternoon the Padre and I set out on foot accompanied by the 1st principal and our mozos to look for Old Ilom. Because of the deep mud and rain we got no further than the farm of Don Lisandro ~~G~~ a Mexican who ~~also~~ resided at Nebaj. We stayed there for several hours discussing the agricultural possibilities of this very fertile region. Later the Padre went to the cemetery for services for the dead, and I stayed home in the Juzgado.

In the evening the Intendente who was also Juez de Paz arrived from Chajul with an armed soldier to investigate the ~~case of~~ the attempted murder of the woman. Later on he thanked me for taking photographs and treating the woman.

On the fourth day out from Nebaj on Nov. 23 it was still rainy, cloudy, and muddy. The Padre went off in the fog to spend a couple of days at the finca of Las Pilas and I decided to stay behind with my mozo. I found it very difficult to discuss any ethnological questions when the Padre was around because he would always interfere and make suggestions and stop all conversations. He invariably showed his lack of sympathy with any native customs and this attitude was not conducive to building up an atmosphere of confidence. I found after a while that I had to assure the natives that everything they told me was to be in the strictest confidence and would not be told to the Padre. This confidence I kept and I never showed the Padre anything that I did not want to. This made a difficult diplomatic situation and I had to play a double game keeping in

with both the natives and the Padre. I eventually convinced him that I could not pass judgement on the information I collected and if native custom was pooh-poohed before it was collected it would be impossible to get anywhere. I also convinced him if he waited until my work was finished and I had left the country he could make any use of it that he wanted.

On this same morning the Juez who was also Intendente from Chajul set out with his official report and the soldier took the prisoner on a rope to be walked all the way to Quiché and eventually to Guatemala where he would get either ten years in prison if the woman lived or be shot if the woman died. He left with a heavy pack on his back and shaking all over like a leaf. Before leaving the Juez asked me to take another set of photographs which I did.

By now I was regarded by the natives as patron, mama and almost bishop and the atmosphere was one of the greatest friendliness and interest. In the morning I had a few discussions about the calendar with the regidores and other principales. I also checked on Stoll's Ixil vocabulary most of which is the same as when he recorded it. I was waiting for the Rezador, to come and tell me if he had any information on the uinals from the old mama whom he said he would consult. He finally came in the afternoon and said that the old mama didn't know any more about the month names than he did. He said that they were mostly lost and were known by only a few old men. Many principales gathered around and long and heated discussions took place over the correctness of the uinal names that the rezador gave me the day before. One young boy about 16 was very eager to learn everything he could and asked me numerous questions on what I knew about the calendar. I showed them the archaeological symbols of the old Maya day names from E. Thompson, Spinden, and pictures of native life from Mrs. Osborne. They were all intensely interested especially in the identity of many of their own and old Maya day names. A real technical discussion of the calendar

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was started which went on for several hours, none of which I could understand except what was translated to me by my mozo Jacinto ~~C~~. Finally they gave me the name of an old medicine man in Chajul called Tectus in Ixil and Diego ~~M~~ in Spanish whom they said would know everything that there was to be known about the calendar and costumbre of the region. After this they said, it is finished, (se acabó) and left the Juzgado for other occupations. Before leaving, the rezador said that they were all young and didn't know as much as the old men, and few of the young men now wanted to learn too much costumbre because they were afraid people would laugh at them and call them brujos. This statement was later denied to me by Gaspar ~~C~~ of Nebaj.

Rain, fog, cold and damp still prevailed the next morning. I read and waited for people to come in to the Juzgado. All meals were brought to me and my mule fed regularly with corn and zacate for which they refused to accept a cent. The hospitality, kindness, and a sort of simple sweetness of my hosts was, I think, a result not only of the Padre's recommendation, but because they liked me and were impressed by my interest in their costumbre. This day I spent some time with the ladino Secretario and his wife and they were amazed and somewhat annoyed because I spent most of my time with the Indians and seemed to get on well with them without their assistance. To appease them I ordered a chicken and bread for the next day's trip. They were very poor and needed to make some extra cash. Neither of them knew anything of or were interested in native customs.

The wounded woman was taken home to her house and before leaving she sent for me to help her again. I told her, of course, she would live, but her cure would be slow. The wounds were clean and there was no bleeding. She was suffering, however, from severe shock and exhaustion. I told those looking after her that she would live only if cared for properly, her

wounds kept clean and infection prevented, and gave them some zinc ointment and bandages, all that I had left. They all exclaimed again in front of her, "Ojalá que no va morir".

Every day I found that I was regarded more and more as a curer and a mama and later, on this day, a man from a Mam speaking village called Concepción near San Martín Chile Verde came in and asked me how to cure loneliness. No woman at Ilom would look at him and he was very miserable. He said that at Ilom the women had to be captured and taken away by force, whereas in his village you could enter a house and ask permission to see a girl. Here you were not allowed in a woman's house. He expected me to prescribe some love potion, but all I was able to do was to advise him to conform to the custom of the village and to be patient.

In the evening the Padre returned again accompanied by drum and chirimía, and the marimba played once more while he and I ate our dinner formally in public.

The next morning, the last in Ilom, an elderly looking man came in, handed me a bunch of bananas as a present, put his head down for me to bless and sat down. He had come to consult me and asked me to tell him what day of the calendar was Lord of cows (Dueño de las vacas). I looked in my notes and found it was the day Tijax which would occur in eight days. He also wanted to know what Saint was patron of cows and thought it was San Antonio. I found out from the Padre that this was so. So definitely I was being consulted as a mama. I had arrived.

As I was saying good bye to the principales, a boy came in from the wounded woman's family with a large fat live hen as a present (this I gave to my poverty stricken mozo who carried it on top of my baggage load all the way to Nebaj. After <sup>he had</sup> feeding ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> for several months, it was caught and eaten by a coyote). He asked me to help again, but all I could do

was to say that I had left medicine with the Secretario's wife. He went away.

I was deeply touched, by the kindness, simplicity, friendliness and endurance of these people, once they were convinced that you were their friend. I went out and rode off alone on my mule ahead of the Padre towards Zotzil in order not to get mixed up in his farewell procession.

I reached Zotzil very quickly on my mule and waited about an hour before the Padre arrived. On the way in to the hamlet I saw a boy hiding in the bushes with a long wooden blow gun or cerbatana. He was hunting birds and ran away as soon as he saw me. When the Padre arrived we set out for the hamlet of Chel about three hours ride further on. Half way there we led our mounts down a steep trail and crossed the Rio Xacbal on a thatched covered bridge resembling in many respects the covered bridges of New England. The river here was a raging torrent passing through high stone walls.

The arrival at Chel was similar to those of Zotzil and I lom with drum and chirimia procession and marimba reception at the town hall. This village was at a lower altitude than the others with much more tropical vegetation. Its appearance was more primitive and there was not a single ladino. <sup>Many</sup> Lots of the inhabitants were sickly looking and I soon found that many had malaria. Many were suffering from worms and had distended stomachs. I dispensed quinine and all the medicines I could. At the juzgado there were two Regidores, the first one being first rezador or prayermaker as well, and we were treated with the same hospitality as in the other two villages. It was rainy, muddy, hot and unhealthy in this village. There was much bargaining over the price of mass to be held the following morning. The Padre expected \$ 4.50, but accepted their offer of \$ 3.00.

I attended mass in the morning because our mozos who had accompanied

us from Nebaj were beginning to wonder whether I was of the true faith after all. The table on which the Padre had slept the night before was used as altar, and with the aid of altar cloths, candle sticks, flowers, and the local image of the Saint made a very professional looking altar. The table on which I slept was rushed out from under me very early in the morning to be used for resting a corpse. They said it was the table always used for this purpose.

After mass I went over to the tienda of P.A. He was a natural by blood and he kept all the costumbre and prayed at the crosses in the monte, but at the same time he was becoming ladinoized, lived like a ladino and kept a shop. I heard later that he and his family were accepted as Indians by Indians, but they were deceitful and double-faced and would denounce the Indians to the Government while pretending to be their friends, and the Indians never suspected them. The brother of this man was a bad brujo who was supposed to indulge in evil practices. I noticed that most people were afraid of him. I started talking to P.A. about the month names of the calendar, and he called in a mama by the name of Baltasar M. He knew what I wanted right away and he gave me 14 names some of which were the same as those I got at Iiom. He couldn't remember more than these and he was not sure of their order in the year, but three of the names were the same as old Maya. He also referred me to the old man Tectus in Chajul, whom he said would know all that there was to be known. I collected other bits of information from ~~Me~~ which I have recorded elsewhere along with all that I found out about the calendar. He said he liked to talk to me about the "costumbre" because I was really interested, provided it was privately, but he did not like extraneous people listening in. He was apparently on good terms with the bad brujo who sat in on our conference.

The afternoon I spent at the juzgado watching the men weaving and

sewing the palm fiber wide brimmed straw hats, while the Padre performed baptisms inside.

That evening on Nov. 27 occurred the entry of the Main Yearbearer day 'E with the number 5, for the first time since the opening day of the year 5'E on March 12, 1939. This represented the end of the 260 day tzolkin cycle of the native calendar. After dinner in the Juzgado the bad brujo brother of P.A. came in to ~~see~~ us with an exaggerated ingratiating manner. He brought presents of several cooked huisquiles or sort of green squashes. He instantly engaged the Padre in a long winded discussion by asking him if it was wrong to burn candles in front of the outdoor crosses and also if it ever was right to kill. The Padre launched forth ~~right~~ away explaining what ~~sort~~ of worship was right and what was idolatry, and made <sup>E</sup>veral jokes about certain Indian practices, such as regarding sacred beans used in divination with veneration, a practice which he discovered when he was priest in the Quiché town of Santa Catarina Ixtahuacan. He said that there was nothing sacred about a few "frijoles escondidos" (hidden beans) and roared with laughter. The brujo tried to draw me into the discussion, but I sat in a corner where I could see through the cracks outside. Right next to the Juzgado was the main centre of Indian worship, which consisted of 5 crosses, 2 large ones and 3 small ones arranged in this order († †† †) and covered with a thatched roof. I could see a fire in front of the crosses, clouds of incense smoke and a group of men praying. I knew that important "costumbre" was going on in connection with the Main Yearbearer day 'E, and maybe for the beginning of a new 260 day cycle.

The Padre noticed nothing, however, even after the door of the juzgado was slammed and two men stood in front of it, and he was completely taken in by the obvious ruse to prevent him from knowing what was going on out-

side. They knew that once he ~~was~~ started talking he would go on for 2 hours and he actually did talk for that long, delivering a sermon on true and false religion. I decided to try to get out of the situation, and went to the door with my flashlight as if going out for a stroll. I pushed by the two men at the door and went out. I saw clearly the people standing up outlined by the fire, praying at the crosses and strongly suspected that a sacrifice was going on, but I didn't dare approach too near without invitation. The Regidor came out and said that the Padre wanted to see me and I had to go back and be drawn into the discussion for a while. The brujo gave me some nasty looks and acted as if I had insulted him. After a while I ~~tried~~ to escape again, but three men were leaning against the door. I felt certain that a sacrifice was taking place. The first and second Regidores sat in attentive silence next to the Padre, and the atmosphere was very tense. I was furious not to be outside. Finally a boy at the door gave a signal to the brujo apparently meaning that all was well. I saw through the cracks a procession of women carrying ocote torches, and ran out, but it was too late. The fire in front of the crosses was out and all was over except for fires seen on all sides at the mountain crosses. I went up the street in the rain and mud with my flashlight to the tienda to try and find out exactly what was going on. I found that the brujo was following me in the dark. He came into his brother's tienda at the same time as I, and they all said that nothing was happening. On my way back to the juzgado I got lost in a black side street and what seemed like a hundred screaming dogs rushed at me, and I was almost frightened. I finally got back, <sup>where</sup> and the Padre couldn't understand my behavior at all. I didn't even bother to explain. I found out from my mozo later that a bird or other animal had been sacrificed that night, but he would not

tell me any details.

I spent one more day at Chel alone while the Padre went on to a finca. All were very friendly and apparently nothing that had happened the night before made any difference. The brujo, however, did not turn up again. I worked on vocabulary and gathered some information on marriage and other customs. All day I was besieged by people asking me for medicines, but my supply had dwindled to practically nothing.

In the evening the Padre returned full of information about ruins supposed to exist down the unexplored Chel valley. It was impossible to cross from the Rio Xacbal to the Rio Chixoy except by foot. The country was practically unknown except by a few Indians. There were still two very small caserios of Chajul down the valley called San Antonio and Caba and Gaspar ~~C~~ later told me that a lot of escaped criminals lived in them.

On the last day of the trip before returning to Nebaj we stayed at the finca La Perla at Chamac near Zotzil, owned by a Swiss. It was a relief to get a bed and some decent food after the diet of tortillas and frijoles we had been living on. The finca employed about a 1000 Indians from Santa Eulalia who observed their own special customs and had their own language which differed from the surrounding Ixil dialect. I talked with a few of the brujos and found that the day names and Yearbearers of their calendar were the same as those used at Santa Eulalia. None of them knew what Termer's list of uinals meant and they said that they were not from Santa Eulalia. The finca attitude of the workers toward their Patron made any ethonological work impossible.

On this finca were some very large archaeological sites, especially the stone temple with steps about 30 x 60 metres in the middle of the cafetal. There were many rumours of gold, jade and mummies being found

nearby.

We spent two nights at this finca in the greatest luxury of food and wine, and returned to Nebaj in a day by the way we had come. On the way back we passed close again to the top of the Cumbre de Huyi from which the Old Maya city is supposed to be seen, but again clouds and mist prevented us from seeing anything.

At Nebaj I temporarily said goodbye to the Padre and went to my quarters there. I spent another ten days in town writing up notes and to my surprise I found that the attitude of the natives toward me had changed considerably since my last stay. Before, they were suspicious and occasionally insolent in manner although generally outwardly respectful. They never could be induced to talk about their customs and always were silent if I tried to get any information. This time I did not try to go to them, but news of my trips with the Padre had spread and many were inquisitive and came to seek me out. Some had heard it said that I knew a lot about the calendar and the toj amak or old customs, and came to consult me. Several took me out to the mountain crosses and told me about them and gave me much information. I was asked by several if on my return I would continue talking with them. The atmosphere had changed to one of at least temporary friendliness and interest. Gaspar C., the leading Indian citizen, assumed an attitude of increased respect toward me and told me he would give me any information I wanted, but he is a past master in pretending to tell all while giving away very little.

He agreed to go with me to Chajul to consult Tectus, the old medicine man whom they told me to see at Ilom and ~~at~~ Chel. Gaspar also knew him and believed that he would know everything about the toj amak or uinals. Gaspar and I had ridden to Chajul several months before on my first visit to the region to consult with the mamas there about the calendar. We set

off about ten days after my arrival in Nebaj on fast mounts and made Chajul in about 2 hours and a half. Gaspar, as head citizen of Nebaj, was greeted everywhere en route with laxi-Pap or "Hail, Uncle!" In town he was always very formal but as soon as we got on the trail he would relax, ask me lots of questions and tell long allegorical folk tales in Spanish which were generally in illustration of some point in our conversation. We agreed that most ladinos of the region were no good, and he said that among a hundred you might find one good one.

On arrival at Chajul we went straight to the house of Tectus. Gaspar went in and emerged again in a few minutes and said that the old man was asleep, but his wife would send him over to our lodgings when he woke up. We went on to the house of Juan A., a pure Indian where we had stayed on our last trip. It was a large whitewashed tile roofed house with three rooms and a covered verandah set in back of the enclosed sitio. The clean guest room or sala was ~~all~~ furnished with plain wooden benches and tables and a wooden bed covered with a petate. The house altar with the usual three crosses and a Saint was in the back. We deposited our baggage, and valuables such as flash light and thermos were placed on the altar for safety. Juan A was a friendly host and his wife brought us coffee and food whenever we wanted it.

Soon Tectus, a very old man, all bent over, tottered in with his cane, sat down, and asked what we wanted. Gaspar told him we wanted the list of the month names or toj amak. He began giving a list of day names which were not in the right order, got all mixed up about the Main Year-bearer for the current year and when the year began, and gave us 9 uinals some of which were the same as the ones in Chel. He could not remember the order or when they came in the year and he contradicted himself several times. In fact he was so old he could hardly speak and clearly was in his

dotage. In a short time he asked for his 10 cent fee and tottered home. This performance was very disappointing because all villages had referred me to him as the one authority on Uninals. I had got there too late and maybe this ancient knowledge has gone for ever unless some other old man can be found who has preserved his memory.

Gaspar and I spent the rest of the day talking and joking with Juan A. as well as discussing different aspects of costumbre. I checked with them all of Stoll's Ixil Vocabulary in which many mistakes were found.

We went shopping for huipiles for a collection I was making and after much hunting I found one. I also bought a hand loom with an unfinished red sash or faja in it. The people from Chajul have no interest in money and it was very difficult to get them to part with anything.

We asked Juan A. about the rumours of old documents and painted books supposed to be held by the Mayordomos of the Cofradias and he admitted it might be true. Since there is always the possibility of another Maya codex turning up I asked him to send for one of the Mayordomos. He did so but the man was away. Gaspar promised to trace these and have them sent to his house in Nebaj to be held until my return for inspection.

In the evening before going to bed, my mozo came in and lit candles, burned pom incense and prayed at the house altar to Cubal or Lord I'q, the Yearbearer day which entered that evening. The room was so filled with smoke that it was impossible to get to sleep for a long time.

On the following morning we rode off early for Cotzal. On the way we passed lots of men, women and children dressed in their best, going up to the crosses in the mountains. Gaspar said they were going up to pray to Cubal I'Q. (He asked me if in my religion the Stm was just the Sun or

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whether it was God as well and wanted to know what God was called in my religion. I replied that God was called, "Luz del Mundo", and he said, "That is just what we call him, Dios Mundo".<sup>1</sup> )

At Cotzal which has many varieties of some of the most beautiful huipiles and weaving in Guatemala, we stopped at the town hall to bargain for some. Because several finqueros had been through there often and had bought at exorbitant prices, the town has become very tourist conscious and prices were so ridiculously high that I soon left after having bought only one. We returned to Nebaj the same day.

I stayed only a few days talking to two Indians who were definitely interested in discussing costumbre with me, and left town for another week's trip with the Padre, this time to Cunén and San Miguel Uspantán, both villages outside the Ixil speaking region. I started out ahead on my mule with a new mozo, Luis S. At the cross in a grotto on the top of the divide we stopped and he told me that the name of this place of worship was Vilajam and every time any ceremony was performed at the crosses in or near town, a delegation made the long climb to Vilajam and offered incense, rose leaves, and prayers at this place of worship. Luis wanted to know if all the people in my country knew as much of his costumbre as I did, and why was I so interested in it. No ladinos in town knew much, although a few did perform "costumbre" at the crosses. He went on to tell me that his father was an important zahorin who knew all about the calendar and other customs and moreover he could read and write, and he wanted very much to see me and work with me when I returned. All through our trip Luis kept reiterating that his father wanted to see me and he kept telling me exactly where his father's house was in Nebaj.

We spent the first night in the convent at Cunén. The people of this town were Quiché speaking and of an entirely different temperament

<sup>1</sup> See section on ladinoized Principales.

from the Ixil. In the first place they had a sort of sullen bigoted streak and did not like at all the fact that I was travelling with the priest. The fiesta and procession of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe was going on, and while mass was taking place in the church, one of the Regidores, who was dead drunk, came up to me threateningly and screamed out that I had no right to be there at all unless I was in the church singing mass with the Padre. I ignored him as much as possible. Later the other Regidor apologized to the Padre and me and said that the convento was "lugar muy sagrado, y no todos penetran aquí", nevertheless, any time I came there in the future with or without the Padre I would always be welcome, although it was a curious "modo" for the Padre to be travelling with a foreigner who did not attend mass. This Regidor then gave me a broken watch and asked if I could mend it. When I could not, he requested that I send him another from Guatemala, which I promised to do.

On my return to Cunén a week later, the Regidor who had been drunk and insolent to me had in the meanwhile sobered up and was in a very contrite state. He apologized to me, and said I would always be welcome, and told the Padre he had a confession to make.

We stayed several nights at San Miguel Uspantán, a day's ride further on. Here I visited the ruins of the Pre-Columbian town destroyed by the Spaniards in 1530, and I discovered that the Uspantecan dialect still was spoken in spite of the fact that most of the women are from the Quiché village speaking/Santa María Chiquimula. Stoll called attention to this situation some time ago and thought that eventually the Uspantecan dialect would die out. This is not yet the case. I checked his Uspantecan vocabulary and found it just as he recorded it. (See also Termer).

While the Padre was away I stayed behind alone in the convento. During the night, Luis, my mozo, who was sleeping on the floor, woke up and

jumped up with a violent start, saying "Señor, Señor, there is an espanto (ghost) in the room", which was trying to kill both me and himself. He said he had a great susto (fright). The ghost, he said, looked like a ladino from Nebaj who made rockets. He hovered over my bed first and shouted, "Come with me", after which he went for Luis and tried to kill him. Luis tried to grab the flashlight but couldn't find it. He said the place was full of ghosts. I told him it was a dream. To comfort him, at his suggestion we said out loud three Padres Nuestrros, and Luis with a sign of relief murmured that now the Ghost, "se fue para juntarse con las animas".

The Padre's mozo, also from Nebaj, later told us that the night we all slept in the convent at Cunén, he saw something come through the locked door and circle around the room, stopping first at the Padre's bed, then at mine. Afterwards it hovered over the mozos sleeping on the floor. It was a small animal, he said, like a dog but not one. I suggested as a joke that maybe it was my nagual, but nobody thought that this was funny. It seemed to frighten them.

On one of the evenings at San Miguel Uspantán it was very cold and damp and I bought a small bottle of aguardiente for Luis and myself. He let loose and admitted that in Nebaj there were naguales, or men who claimed that they could change into animals at night and go about the country killing people's chickens and turkeys. I pretended to be indifferent to this bit of information, hoping that he would impart more on the subject, but he suddenly got frightened and said he meant that there were naguales in Momostenango not in Nebaj.

We returned with the Padre to Cunén where I left him and proceeded to Sacapulas where this trip ended. Before leaving to return to Nebaj, Luis came to me and said, "I want you to realize that you will always be welcome among us and in my father's house."

Part II History

- A. Until the Coming of the Ladinos. - *UP to 1887*
- B. From the Coming of the Ladinos to the Present Day.
- C. Two Ladinoized Principales.

- ~~A. Until the Coming of the Ladinos.- Up to 1887~~  
~~B. From the Coming of the Ladinos to the Present Day.~~  
~~C. Two ladinoized Principales.~~

## Part I Prior to 1887

Historical and ethnological information on the region is very scanty, but all existing literature refers to the language of the inhabitants as Ixil. How this word originated it is impossible to say<sup>1</sup>. Natives do not call their language by this name, but in the three towns they call it merely "cuy oiba!" or "nuestra lengua" as also mentioned by Stoll in 1906.<sup>2</sup> The word "Ixil", they use today to describe the shapes of their mountains which in English would be called saw-toothed. In Spanish, informants say that "Ixil" means "barbas de la chamarra" or the fringes of a rough woolen blanket. Local ladino government officials who do not speak the native language, obviously following Stoll who visited the region, call the language Quiché-Mam if they call it anything. Stoll calls the Ixil a Mayance speaking people with very slight and mutually understandable dialectical differences between their villages. The latter I also found to be still true with the slight differences being mainly in a few words and in intonation but not in structure. Stoll relates the language to Mam, but the evidence given in his comparative vocabulary which I checked carefully and

<sup>1</sup> Refer to Chilam Balam de Ixil, and the town in Yucatan calle Ixil.

<sup>2</sup> Stoll, cit. p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Juarros, D. - Compendio de la Historia de Guatemala, 1808, p.91, Vol. 1.

tested in all the main villages, seems to show that it resembles Quiché but has hardly any likeness to Mam.

The following table shows the very few differences found when checking Stoll's Vocabulary.

	<u>Stoll</u>	<u>Lincoln</u>
Father	Bal	su-bal (tata most usual)
mother	chuch	chuchuch
mouth	si	tzi
neck	jul	kul
leg	o	oj (Ilom)
string	chi	sa'chi and sa'quil
deer	quié	tché
ant	sanic	cachú'c
scorpion	cachú'c	no word
spider	no word	am
wood tick	" "	sip
earth	ch'avvá	ch'avá
day before yesterday	paxíc set tzan	cabitzán
year	yab	hallap
lake	nimlá á	(means small pond - no word found for lake)
hot	tza	la vitz
hard	atiyaqufl	ayuqufl
pretty	tzuquel	tzumél
he or she	avué	ak
yours	maéx	ax
	(the word "maéx" in reality "hijo del sol" or the blonde one. Stoll himself or someone of his party must have been blonde).	
when	jutú	jatu
1000	lávval toxlane'álal	oc'átol

Another fact of significance is that the Quiché speaking people do not go easily in spite of the fact that they have more contact with the Mam people than have no contacts with the Mam people. This evidence that they ever had a designation Quiché-Mam according to the Royal Commission which included Huehuetenango as part of the great area the main Indian population has always been apart from the Mam people formerly.

Another fact of significance is that present day natives understand the Quiché speaking people of Sacapulas, Chichicastenango, and Momostenango easily in spite of the dialectical difference between these, and they have more contact with them than with any other linguistic group. They have no contacts with present day Mam and there is no historical evidence that they ever had close relations with them. Possibly the designation Quiché-Mam arose from the fact that in Spanish Colonial days, according to the Royal Census of 1776<sup>3</sup>, the Province of Totonicapan included Huehuetenango as well as the whole Ixil region, and in this great area the main Indian languages were Quiché and Mam. The Ixil have always been apart from both of these but geographically closer to the former.

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Gates, referring to the Ixil speaking Indians in the Northernmost section of the Departamento de Quiché states that, "culturally, historically and linguistically our knowledge of this branch is almost a blank, save for just enough to make linguistic comparisons." He goes on to call the Ixiles cousins of the Mams, basing his statement on Stoll's conclusion and comparative vocabulary which he, nevertheless, admits remains too scanty and poorly done to be of great value. He does not believe that ethnological studies of these "degenerated modern peasants" can throw any light on the Maya past.<sup>1</sup> Field studies, however, of the people of this region do show many old Indian ~~actual~~ historical survivals as well as rich material for the student of cultural dynamics, to say nothing of acculturation.

Further proof that the Ixil speaking villages were closely connected with Quiché speaking peoples is shown in certain features of the native calendar such as the names and positions of the Yearbearer days and the 20 day names. The former are identical with Old Quiché as compared with three recorded calendars of the past, but now are lost to many Quiché calendars of today<sup>2</sup>. The day names are almost identical in language and meanings with both old and modern Quiché from Momostenango, Chichicastenango, Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán and other Quiché speaking pueblos.<sup>2</sup>

Other clues to the past of the Ixil speaking peoples are given in the Rabinal Achí, the old dance drama of the Baile del Tun, recorded from an old Indian from Rabinal in the Quiché language by Brasseur de Bourbourg in 1856. The action of the drama is stated to go back to an epoch prior to the foundation of the Kingdom of Quiché.<sup>3</sup>

1. Gates, W.E. - Mayance Nations and Languages - Maya Society Quarterly. Vol. 1, pp. 98-101.
- 2.- See calendar chapter pp.
3. Rabinal Achí - Historia de la Literatura de la America Central - by Leonardo Montaibán, San Salvador, Aug., 1929.

This Baile has been given in Chajul until very recently and possibly is given secretly even today. It was forbidden all over Guatemala in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Natives of Chajul told me that it was still given on January 6 at the Fiesta de los Reyes, but others said that although it was called the Baile del Tun or Tzunun<sup>2</sup> it really was no longer the same, and was also called the Baile de Los Canastos. At all events in the written argument of this drama one of the main personages is Cavek-Queche-Achi, "Príncipe de los Yaquis<sup>3</sup> de Cunen y de Chahul e hijo de Balam-Achi-Balam Queche<sup>4</sup>, Rey de los Quichés." In other words the Prince of Chajul and Cunen was the son of the King of the Quichés. Today Cunen, a town just over the divide from Cotzal and Chajul speaks a dialect of Quiché in contradistinction to the Ixil language of the other two villages and its costumbre and calendar are quite distinct.

1. Lothrop, S.K. *Notes on Indian Ceremonies in Guatemala* - (Reprinted from *Indian Notes - Museum of Am. Indian - Heyt Foundation - N.Y. 1929*)
2. It is interesting that in Chajul the word Tzunun should be used as well as Tun. Tun was a musical instrument, a round log sounded by a little stone or stick. Drama called Xahotun (Montalbán, p.67). Natives of Chajul and Nebaj use word Tun for drum. Ixtatzunun was the intoxicating liquor called for by the Prince of Chajul in the drama. A name used for liquors which "tenían la pérvida propiedad de producir borracheras fuertes en extremo." (Montalbán, Note 41). Drink today prevails in Chajul dances. Tzumun'ki is one of vestigial uinal or month ~~of the cat~~ calendar names still known by a few keepers of the day counts in Chajul (See p. Chapter on calendar)
3. Yaqui meant maza or hatchet. Meant all that was foreign and culto. Meant the langosta or (insecto migratorio) "all nations of Toltec origin". (Montalbán, Note 3).
4. Balam Quiché was the 9th King of Utatlán and under him were united the Kingdoms of Chiquimula (Copan) and Utatlán, eleven generations before the Spanish conquest. He was probably the 1st historical personage since before him came Hunahpu, the divine hero of the Popol Vuh. Hence at about the date of 1200 A.D. the Ixil towns of Chahul and Nebaj were ruled by the son of the Quiché King of Utatlán (see Distribution of the Several Branches of the Mayance Linguistic Stock, by William Gates in Appendix XII of The Inscriptions at Copan by S.G. Morley, Carnegie Institution of Washington Pub. N° 219, 1920, pp. 615, 605-606).

In the drama the Prince of Chajul shows himself a very royal personage, and constantly refers to his beautiful mountains of Nebaj and Chajul and his final request before being sacrificed as a captive of the King of Rabinal, is that he be allowed to return to his mountains for 13 x 20 days and nights.<sup>1</sup>

Historically there is practically no early information about the Ixil speaking people except mention of the conquest of Nebaj and Chajul in 1530 by the Spanish under Francisco de Castellanos. These villages are described as very populous and the inhabitants as aggressive, warlike, rebellious and fierce.<sup>2</sup> The conquest of Nebaj and Chajul was only incidental to the campaign against the town of San Miguel Uspantan beyond Cunen.<sup>3</sup> The Spaniards had been in the country for five years before thinking of conquering the Indians of Uspantan, who were aggressive mountaineers who sniped at Spanish expeditions. In 1529 they forced back a Spanish army and took captives whom they sacrificed to the God Exbalanquen. In 1530 Francisco de Castellanos set out again against Uspantan with 40 infantry, 52 horses, and 400 Tlaxcalan<sup>4</sup> and Mexican Indian allies. They went to Chichicastenango and Sacapulas where they crossed the deep Rio Negro on a wooden bridge constructed by themselves. They climbed the steep ascent to the pass above Nebaj and met four or five thousand Indians from this town with allies from the Verapaz. They soon got to

1. This period represents the 260 day cycle or tzolkin which still occurs in the Quiché and Ixil calendars of today.
2. Fuentes y Guzmán, Recordación Florida. Tomo III Biblioteca "Goathemala" de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia, Vol.VIII, pp. 58, 63.
3. Stoll recorded an Uspantecan dialect from this town in 1906 but thought it would eventually disappear because the men mostly married women from the Quiché speaking Santa María Chiquimula (Stoll-o Etnografía de la Rep. de Guatemala, pp. 141-143). Termer in 1926 visited Uspantan and said the dialect was not as much in use as when Stoll recorded it because marriage with Chiquimula women had been killing it off (Termer, op. cit. Bd. 39 pp. 12-13). I spent four nights in this town in April 1940 and found that the dialect still existed and Stoll's vocabulary still applied. The Santa María Chiquimula abound and are more and more giving their language to the town but

the town, burned much of it until the defense was abandoned and the principal persons were taken prisoners. This event was sufficient to cause Chajul to surrender without a fight.

The conquerors went on over the mountains towards Uspantan and were met by an army of 10, 000 defenders from Verapaz, Cunen, Cotzal, and Sacapulas. These were finally conquered by cavalry and the town was reached and sacked in Dec. 1530.<sup>1</sup>

In these early records it is significant to those interested in the origin of municipios that Nebaj, Chajul and Cotzal were all mentioned as towns already in existence. Mention is also made of the names of the numerous hamlets or rural districts that were later united to form new towns or townships (municipios) in the highlands of Chajul and Nebaj on petition of the founding Dominican priests of the convent of Sacapulas. Many of these names such as Ilom, Huyl, Honcab (Xonca), Chaxa, and Huitz still exist as aldeas and caseríos of the region, and belong to one of the three present day municipios.<sup>2</sup>

Little further historical information on these towns is known between the conquest in 1530 and the end of the 17th. century when the first church records appear. This first century was a period when the Dominican missionaries settled in the region, partially converted the natives to Christianity, built churches (one in each of the 3 towns) and organized new town centres. At this time "Santa María de Nebah",

still without extinguishing the Uspantan language.

4. Mexican survivals possibly shown in words calpui for barrio of town, tenam for pueblo, 13 year calendar period, Mazat for deer when not using calendar word Tché.
1. Juarros, D. Compendio de la Historia de Guatemala, 1808, Guat. Vol. II, Ch. 13, pp. 307-311. (Well defined ruins of the early town are visible today with stone outlines of house and 2 sacrificial temples).
2. Peláez, García - Memorias para la historia del antiguo reino de Guatemala, Vol. I, p. 174.

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"San Gaspar Chahul", and "Cozal" are listed under the "Curato de Nebah", the "Partido de Totonicapan", and the "Obispado of Guatemala". The Bishop of Nicaragua at the end of the 17th century lists for "Nebah", the head of the Parish, 3 churches (which include Chahul and Cozal), 3,363 parishioners (approximately same town population of Nebaj today), 0 haciendas, 0 trapiches or sugar and aguardiente<sup>1</sup> mills, the language as Ixil, and the area as 8 leagues 52 N.E.<sup>2</sup>

The next record known to me is the Royal Census of 1776 which includes Nebaj, Chajul and Cotzal under the large Province of Totonicapan and Huehuetenango, both being one at that time and still under the tutelage of the Dominicans. For this whole area which now comprises the Departamentos of Quiché and Huehuetenango are listed 58, 200 inhabitants of which 55,450 are Indians, 2,750 ladinos, 48 pueblos, 2 ladino aldeas, and 11 curatos or parishes.<sup>3</sup>

I found an interesting but undocumented note<sup>4</sup> on the covers of the oldest known parish register of Chajul, dated 1676, written by Father Baltasar Valdiviã in the mid 19th century. He quotes from an old Spanish manuscript of the time of Philip II, dated 1575, which the present priest says should be in the convent but cannot be found, and he makes many interesting comments about the natives of the region. He states that only four known villages speak the Ixil language, Chajul, Nebaj, Cotzal

1. The absence of plantations and sugar and aguardiente mills testify to the absence of ladinos who later first introduced these new ways of life.
2. Juarros - op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 99-100, 108.
3. Juarros -op. cit. Vol. 1, p.91 and pp. 60-61.
4. Complete quotation in my possession.

and a part of the natives of Santa Eulalia.<sup>1</sup> I lom which today speaks Ixil and is an aldea of Chajul, he classes linguistically with Amelco in the now chuj speaking section of the Cuchumatanes mountains in Huehuetenango, not far from Santa Eulalia. He also suggests that the Indians of I lom (now Ixil), Amelco (now Chuj), and Chajul (Ixil) as well as those Cahbon (old spelling) and Lanquin (Kekchi) are all mixed descendants of the Lacandones, because there are many words common to these widely scattered villages which overlap the old Lacandone area. Among words referred to are batz,<sup>2</sup> mo, icom, anay, pop, Xac, Tzu, Xinibih. In connection with word comparison among the scattered peoples of the large Maya linguistic family, Termer shows that many of the same words occur without necessarily proving any other results of contact among the groups.<sup>3</sup>

Father Valdivia goes on to add that the old books pertaining to the pueblo and former church of I lom were moved to Soloma (Chuj), the altar of the Saviour to Chajul, and the bells to Santa Eulalia (Chuj)<sup>4</sup>. This was done by the early missionaries, "para impedir que no continuaran los neófitos de I lom remontándose a los bosques y soledades inmensas de los territorios del rio de la Pasion a la confluencia con el de Chixoy o Lacantun".<sup>5</sup> No date is given as to when the attempt was made to prevent the people of I lom from reverting to their pagan customs. In connection with the statements that the bells of I lom went to Santa Eulalia, and that a part of this Chuj speaking village with its different "costumbre" formerly spoke Ixil, I found strong corroboration of the latter when I was at I lom. The inhabitants believe that long ago the

1. La Farge ms. on Santa Eulalia, See. Ch. on Calendar.
2. batz is one of the day names common to many native calendars, mo is the same as one of the unchecked uinal names given by Termer as Chuj. Pop is one of the old Maya uinals.
3. Termer - op. cit. pp. 390-391.
4. Santa Eulalia language is strictly speaking not Chuj, but related to it and Jacalteca. Termer calls it Chuj, and I shall do so until a word for this dialect is decided on. See Lafarge Ms.
5. "in order to prevent the converts of I lom from continuing

Idol or Saint known as the Holom Konop was taken from their village to Santa Eulalia by a group of their own Ixil speaking people who stayed there and never returned to Ilom. Today the Holom Konop<sup>1</sup> meaning, "Head of the Village" in Santa Eulalia dialect, is a log of wood or plank kept in a locked shack, and is still worshipped by the Prayermakers,<sup>2</sup> and guarded carefully at Santa Eulalia. Santa Eulalia at the present time has its own Chuj speaking dialect, and there are no longer any Ixil speaking inhabitants; Ilom today is pure Ixil in language and its customs and calendar differ completely from those of Santa Eulalia.<sup>3</sup>

Bewailing the strength and endurance of native custom in this region, the Father goes on to write on the cover of the first Chajul parish register

"Que aguanten los Misioneros apostólicos en estas poblaciones que después de trescientos años de evangelizadas se hayan en peor estado que en el primer siglo marchando atrás hasta la antigua barbarie mezclada de los vicios e irreligión de otras castas." 4

And the same can be, and is, said today as I can testify after a tour of the region with the present parish priest.<sup>5</sup>

So far the only ethnologists to work in the region have been Dr. Bernouilli who visited Ilom in 1877 and made some linguistic studies<sup>6</sup>;

1. Some think it merely a worn down wooden image of the Christ.
2. La Farge and Byers - The Yearbearers People -op.cit.p. 228.
3. See La Farge Ms. on Santa Eulalia.
4. ~~May~~ <sup>must take</sup> the apostolic missionaries in these towns ~~endure~~ the fact that after 300 years of evangelization they are found in a worse state than in the first century, regressing toward the old barbarism, mixed with the vices and irreligion of other races."
5. I travelled for 11 days to Ilom, Chel, Zotzil with Padre Jordán Fernández. (See ch. on this).
6. Termer - Op. cit. p. 391 and Berichte Uber Reisen in Mittelamerika. Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg. Bd. XXXIX pp.

Stoll, who visited Nebaj and Chajul in 1906 and wrote a short note on the language and vocabulary of the Ixil<sup>1</sup>, and Termer who travelled twice through the whole region making ethnological notes. He refers to traits that still prevail today, such as the Spanish type plastered houses in one section and the wooden and tiled houses in another, the familiar clay and wood animals and human figurines on the roof gables in Nebaj and Chajul, the men's red and black braided jacket and costume derived from 17th and 18th century Spanish officers, and he is aware that there are brujeria practices. He ends with the statement that information is lacking on the ethnology of the Ixil district.<sup>2</sup> Both Stoll and Termer refer to the difficult and reserved temperament of the Ixil for ethnological work, and the latter speaks of "der wenig freundliche Ixilbevölkerung."<sup>3</sup>

1. Stoll - Op. cit.- There is also Arte y Vocabulario de la lengua Ixil. Pub. 14 for the Maya Society which is not available to me in Guatemala.
2. Termer - op. cit. p. 462.
3. Stoll - op. cit. & Termer - op. cit. p. 413

*Ref*

In a later trip, Termer again refers to the carved roof riders on the houses of Chajul, Cotzal and Nebaj, such as crosses, plants, human and animal figures and states that these are never found in other parts of Guatemala. This is not a true statement because I have seen identical figures on the roof tops of the Quiché speaking towns of San Andrés Sajc'ajaba, and Rabinal, as well as in Tactic in the Alta Verapaz. In Nebaj some informants say that these animals represent the "nagual". Others deny it.

In the record of Termer's last trip in Dec. 1926 <sup>2</sup> through the Cuchumatanes mountains and the Ixil region, he mentions that the Indians of Nebaj, Cotzal, and Chajul are mainly devoted to agriculture and hiring themselves out as plantation workers on the coast. He again states how unfriendly and disagreeable the people are towards foreigners, and he calls attention to the sharp ethnological division between the Ixil and the Chuj speaking peoples of the Cuchumatanes, Indians from both sides not wanting to cross over the mountain Sumal which separates them from the others' territory.

Several times he tried to climb Sumal, the highest mountain in the region, but he was always prevented by bad weather or the passive resistance of the Indians, who have many superstitious beliefs about the mountain. With regard to Sumal I found when <sup>examined</sup> in the region from both ladinos and Indians, that this mountain, <sup>with</sup> among one or two others, was supposed to be the site from which an inaccessible large city with gleaming white towers was visible in the tropical lowlands far below.

Pre-Columbian City Legend

Berendt, Stephens, Stoll and Maudslay all refer to the reports of an inaccessible large city which is visible from the top of a high mountain near Chajul. It was traditional among the Indians of Chajul that no white man ever reached this city; that all who attempted to were killed. This city which is in the region of the occidental Lacandones (not the Yucatecan ones)

1. Termer - cit. on p. 13, Ref. 1.
- 2.- Termer, F. Berichte Uber Reisen in Mittleamerika. Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg. Bd. XXXIX, pp. 15-33, 1928.

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is supposed to preserve intact all Pre-Columbian Maya customs.

In December 1939, I found that this story is still believed by the natives of Chajul. From the top of a cumbre today one is said to be able to see a city with gleaming white towers which no white man has ever reached. Father Jordán Fernández of Nebaj and Chajul told me that he made inquiries from an Indian who said that from the top of the Cumbre de Huyl such a white towered city could be seen. On my return journey from Iloom with the Padre, we passed close to the top of the Cumbre de Huyl but did not get the whole way up. It was raining and I did not know at that time that this was the mountain. The Cumbre de Huyl is the most important site among the Ixil for performing their religious rites. I did get a glimpse of the vast tropical plains stretching out to Chiapas and the Peten in the direction of the alleged city.

Gaspar Cedillo, leading Indian principal of Nebaj said to me that maybe such a city could be seen from a cumbre on the other side of Iloom, but not from the Cumbre de Huyl, probably Sumal.

Coronel Arturo Guzmán, ladino Comandante of Nebaj, however, completely corroborated the original story. He described the city with all the details as mentioned in Stephens, and said that it was either Sumal or the Cumbre de Huyl from which the city can be seen. He had never seen the city himself, but said that many natives of Chajul claim to have done so. Several have tried to reach it, but always get lost before arriving there, and none have ever found it. He advised taking binoculars next time I went up the Cumbre de Huyl or Sumal.

On Jan. 30, 1940 I was on the first flight ever made across the Ixil region, with the British Minister the Hon. John Leche, Mr. Lowell Yerex of the Taca Air Co and Mr. Ledyard Smith, archaeologist for the Carnegie Institution. I mapped the course first and we went over Nebaj, cut across to Iloom and went down the Rio Chacbal and the Rio Lacantún into Chiapas and returned across the unexplored northernmost tip of the Depto. de Quiché between the ríos Chacbal and Cotzal. Clouds prevented seeing much but glimpses of jungle in this section, which is the old Lacandone region - we were unable to spot any ruins - cloud formations at one point looked very much like the city with gleaming white towers described above.

In April, 1940 I decided to make an attempt to climb Sumal to investigate whatever truth there might be in the legend of the inaccessible city. At the Intendencia of Nebaj both ladinos and Indians said I could never reach the top; there were no trails and it would take at least two days on foot from the caserío of Sumal Grande. I nevertheless decided to make an attempt and rode with the Indian regidor of Sumal up to the caserío and spent several nights in the house of his father where I was most hospitably received in this all-Indian family.<sup>1</sup> There were no ladinos living

1. Visit here described in ~~JUNE~~ chapter. "Life in the aldea of Sumal". See p. 100.

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there, only Indians who were full of tales of how dangerous it was to attempt to reach the top of Sumal. They admitted it was possible by sheep trails and on top was a cross and native place of worship. The country on the way, however, they said was full of dangerous Indians who cut travellers throats unless well guarded. These were said to be largely evaders hiding from the road tax or work service. Not because of these reasons, but because I did not feel up to going on foot for two days across very rough country, I postponed the trip until later and decided to make the attempt from Salquil Grande from which, an Indian principal assured me, one could reach almost to the summit of Sumal by horse.<sup>1</sup> (Second approach from other side).

Termer on his trip visited the aldeas of Ilom and Chel and he refers to Chel as one of the remotest settlements in the mountains of Guatemala. Ilom and Chel he states were supposed to be settled 150 years ago by Indians from Chajul who had escaped from their home town because of land troubles. For many years they lived alone untroubled by foreigners. Now several fincas have grown up and there are many disputes about land between Indians and the finca owners. He did not find the Indians here as unfriendly as their reputation although they were not overly hospitable with him. My own experience in Ilom and Chel was one of great hospitality and kindness on the part of the Indians largely because I was travelling with the priest.<sup>2</sup>

Termer found the vocabulary at Ilom phonetically little different from other Ixil dialects. He quotes Ximenez' then unpublished history as saying that from the beginning of the 18th/ century Chajul, was the most outlying settlement of the settled Indians, and North from them in the forest

1. I finally reached the summit of Sumal on Nov. 20, 1940. Clouds again obscured the view and no traces of the city were seen.
2. See ch.

were only nomadic Lacandones who made rapacious invasions as far as Chajul and Cotzal.<sup>1</sup>

Referring to the numerous archaeological mounds and remains of this region, he says that these Lacandones who were of a very primitive culture, cannot be considered the builders of the stone edifices whose construction, many of which had Maya vaults, resembles those of Palenque. Possibly here he may be confusing the primitive and present day Lacandones with the old Chol Lacandones who lived in this region<sup>2</sup> and were more civilized. These old Maya peoples probably came up the Usumacinta and Lacantun rivers.

Archaeological investigation is still in the future, the only work so far having been done by Mr. Robert Burkitt<sup>3</sup> who has visited most of the important sites, but as yet he has published nothing about this region and it is impossible to get any information from him. At Nebaj, Salquil Grande, Acul, Sumal, Ilom, the Chel valley and Chajul are found important unexcavated sites most of which I have visited and photographed. All the sites show the record of a highly developed pre-Columbian people, and include stone temples with steps, a Sun observatory<sup>4</sup>, stone statues of human figures, jade necklaces, red and orange pottery painted with scenes and sculptured heads, ~~much of which~~ according to Termer ~~is of the~~ Chamá type.

In the 16th century the Ixil were confined to a region in large part bounded by the Quiché speaking peoples in the South, and by the Lacandones in the North. At the end of the 17th. and in the 18th, centuries

1. Juarros, D. Compendio de la Historia de Guatemala. 1808. Vol. II,
2. See Note 3 next page. Thompson. pp. 130-139, 1857 Ed.
3. Have drawings of this from Nebaj.
3. Also unpublished field notes - March and April 1941 of Dr. Mary Butler - Work done for the Carnegie Institution.

they expanded as far as the Rio Xacbal and Rio Lacantun to territory formerly occupied by pre-conquest Lacandones<sup>1</sup> who were conquered or rather converted, since there was no fighting, by the Spanish in 1695- 96.<sup>2</sup> These historic Lacandones should not be confused with the modern Lacandones in Chiapas and on the Usumacintla. The former were a branch of the Chol Mayas and the latter descendants of people from Yucatan.<sup>3</sup> Today the Ixil speaking Indians still extend to the Rio Xacbal to the edge of a practically unexplored section of country, uninhabited but full of archaeological sites according to reports of Indians from Ilom.

Although Termer states that the Lacandones could not have built the highly developed buildings found at numerous sites, nevertheless, a great number of these are found in territory occupied entirely by Lacandones until the Ixil moved into it in the 17th. century, after the conquest of the latter by the Spaniards. In the territory extending from Nebaj to beyond Ilom, archaeological sites appear to have the same type and construction and there is no historical record of any ~~other~~ peoples/<sup>other</sup> than the Lacandones and the Ixil living in this area at the time of the conquest. If the historical Lacandones did not build the sites the only other historical clue is in the hint that the Ixil were tributary to or a branch of the highly civilized Quiché kingdom of Utiatlán as mentioned in the Rabinal

1. Termer, F. Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv. Bd.IV Heft.3 Oct.1930.
2. Juarros, D. Compendio de la Historia de Guat. Vol. II, pp.130-139, 1857 Ed. (See also Tozzer's letter on the Dolores Lacandones).

In 1695 a party of 50 Spanish soldiers and 15 Indians, and several priests left San Mateo Ixtatán in the Cuchumatanes and encountered the first Lacandon village after a six day march. They named it Dolores because found on Good Friday. They found the village abandoned. It had 100 private houses, 2 large communal ones and a temple of worship. Soldiers captured several Lacandones and soon the whole village of 400 returned with the Cacique Cabnal. They were peacefully converted and baptized. Party returned to Guatemala leaving only a small garrison of soldiers and a few priests. In 1696 village found in perfect peace but when the house of idols was torn down to

Achf.<sup>1</sup> Possibly the sites were constructed by the ancestors of present day Ixil speaking people under the influence of Utiatán. An interesting legend in the same connection is still believed in today by ladinos who are interested in pot hunting and digging up buried treasure.<sup>2</sup> They believe that just before the destruction of Utiatán by the Spaniards, the gold and treasure of this city was taken away and is today buried in a cave near Ilom which is guarded by Indians who will kill anybody who tries to approach it. Finqueros near Ilom swear that this treasure is buried in an archaeological site and several people, both Indians and ladinos, have been killed in the attempt to approach the cave.

Whatever archaeologists may eventually conclude with regard to the pre-history of this district, at all events here is a region of the greatest ethnological and archaeological importance, facing jungle Old Maya country on the North and the highland Old Quiché speaking peoples on the South. Consistent joint ethnological and archaeological field studies should find<sup>m</sup> this region an important historical link between the jungle and highland Maya peoples.

A summary, therefore, of the sketchy historical data on the Ixil speaking region from the Spanish conquest in 1530 to the coming of the ladinos in 1887 and 1894 shows at least the following:

At the time of the conquest, the Spaniards found these Indians living in three main towns and many scattered rural districts, most of which preserve the same names today. The archaeology of the region indicates

make way for a church the Cacique and his followers fled to the mountains. This same year the Lacandon villages of Peta and Mop were discovered on the Rio Lacantun and also 4 other little villages.

3. Thompson, J. Eric - 16th. and 17th Century Reports on the Chol Mayas, American Anthropologist Vol. 40 N° 4, 1938.

1. See p. 6, Note 3.

2. Don Francisco Egger-Finca La Perla-Chamac. Don Gii. Gord. Nebaj

well defined remains of towns with ceremonial centres at Nebaj and at Chajul. The population was dispersed largely in small rural districts and the towns were probably priestly and government centres.

The Dominican priests came in right after the conquest accompanied by the usual garrison of Spanish soldiers, and reorganized the three towns on the same sites and attempted to draw in without much success, the scattered rural population to the towns. It was at this time that new townships or municipios were formed on the Spanish pattern with main pueblos and subsidiary rural districts known as aldeas or hamlets, and caseríos or small groups of farms for each municipio. The priests had churches built in each town and wanted to keep the Indians in town in order to prevent them from practising pagan rites in the mountains. They converted the Indians in part to Christianity, but never succeeded in making them surrender most of their pagan religion.

The early priests and soldiers stayed long enough to convert them, reorganize their towns, and to give them Spanish types of tiled houses and Spanish costumes in part. The men today still wear the red black-braided jacket derived from 17th century Spanish officers.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the only Spanish residents were probably a few soldiers and a resident priest at Nebaj who was priest for all three towns, Nebaj being the head of the parish. The agricultural self-sufficient economy of the region was probably left untouched and no outside systems were introduced, although domesticated animals such as horses, cattle and sheep, and pigs were brought in and raised. The Royal Census of 1776 shows that no ladinos were living in the region, and there were no fincas or trapiches<sup>1</sup> or non-Indian types of business. About this

1. Sugar or aguardiente factory.

date the remote hamlets of Ilom, Chel, and Tzotzil were founded by Indians as offshoots of Chajul in the country of the Chol Lacandonnes. ~~Capital of Chajul called Ilom.~~

By the 19th century the soldiers had left entirely and the only non-Indian living in the region was the resident priest. The people lived self-sufficiently without outside contact in an urban and rural agricultural culture in which original pagan Indian and Spanish catholic traits had combined to form a historic mosaic. They were nominal Christians but kept the old pagan religious calendar with its mountain and day worship and sacrifice of animals; there are hints that they may have preserved the old Indian endogamous caste system with payment of tribute by the lower to the top caste; they controlled the local government without outside interference, and they spoke only their native language with a few individual exceptions who learned to read and write Spanish under the instruction of the priest<sup>1</sup>. Field studies of the survivals of these ways of life form the main body of this treatise.

The result of the Spanish conquest was a case of acculturation by adaptation, but the pattern of life ~~had~~ developed <sup>was</sup> into a true Indian cultural integration evolved by growth out of itself, rather than in response to further or continuous alien pressure. This "Recent Indian" culture continued without interference until the coming of the first ladinos to Nebaj in 1887 and much of it survives even today.<sup>2</sup> ~~The history~~ <sup>More recent</sup> and influence of the ladinos ~~which~~ <sup>today</sup> is resulting in a different kind of acculturation, and details of the sort of life they found on first arrival ~~is given in another chapter~~ follows.

1. Information from first ladinos. See ch. on ladinos.
2. I accept La Farge's terms for describing the post-conquest pre-ladino Indian life. See ~~his historical sequence ms.~~

*The Maya + their Neighbors, New York 1940. Pp. 281-295*

## ~~B~~ The Coming of the Ladinos.

Any study of the culture of a living, largely Indian community undertaken from a historical and functional standpoint should take into consideration the non-Indian minority, known throughout Guatemala as ladinos, which in the towns of Nebaj, Chajul, and Cotzal plays an important and in some ways a controlling role in the municipios or sociological units. Throughout the Ixil speaking region and especially in Nebaj, ladino impact has influenced and changed much of Indian life.

The word "ladino" is applied locally to all individuals of pure or mixed blood whether Indian or Spanish, who have not been conditioned by and do not (with a few individual exceptions) observe Indian "costumbre". This category includes the pure-blooded Spanish who make up most of the leading non-Indian families of Nebaj, the mestizos of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, and occasional pure-blooded Indians who have dropped the customs of Indians, and live, act, and work like other town-dwelling non-Indian Guatemalans. Foreigners who settle in the country are also included. This classification is somewhat confused by the fact that there are mixed-blooded ladinos who actually have taken up some of the Indian custom and pray and offer candles at the mountain crosses. This is done, however, only by a few individuals among a poor and largely illiterate group, by conversion, superstition, or long association with Indians, not as a result of being brought up in the framework of Indian religious tradition.

Practically all the ladinos live in the towns, there being about 500 in Nebaj, 300 in Chajul, and 400 in Cotzal. Many aldeas and caseríos have no ladinos; others ~~will~~ have one or two resident ladino families, but on the whole the rural areas are practically 100 % Indian. The Indians on the other hand are divided in each municipio into one-fourth town

dwellers, and three-fourths rural dwellers, hence the rural dwellers have little contact with ladinos except when they come to town for market, fiesta, or political business.

Because all of the first ladinos to come to Nebaj and settle there or in the region, are still there, it is possible to reconstruct at first hand the history of their activities and influence on the Indians, who prior to their coming had lived, without alien contact or pressure after the conquest, for several centuries in the amalgamated culture of pagan-Indian and Spanish-Catholic elements.

In 1887 Doña Juana B, who today is very old and occasionally visits Nebaj, was the first non-Indian to come to this town with a view towards settling there. She came from the Quiché speaking town of Sacapulas a hard day's ride away across two high mountain passes. She arrived in Nebaj in this year to see about the opening of a school, but only stayed several weeks, because of a smallpox epidemic, and did not return to establish the school until two or three years later under the administration of President Barillas. When she settled in 1889 or 1890 there were absolutely no non-Indians in town or in the whole region, including the towns of Chajul and Cotzal to which she also travelled; <sup>the only one</sup> except the priest, who was <sup>responsible</sup> priest for all three towns, and two or three mestizos who lived with and as Indians.

Nebaj at the time was under the domination of strong Indian Gobernador named first Juan Brito and afterwards Diego de Leon both descendants of old Indian warrior or top caste families according to Doña Juana. The latter had a special agreement with President Barillas by which the town of Nebaj did not have to pay tribute to Guatemala and could import contraband from Mexico. At the same time he and other warrior-caste individuals

extracted tribute from the lower caste Indians of the region.<sup>1</sup> She said the old Indian caste system was still in existence and the Indians were divided into Warriors, Priests, Merchants, and Workers.<sup>2</sup> There was endogamy at least ~~between~~ <sup>did not intermarry</sup> the Worker caste and the top caste, and the workers lived in the barrio or canton of Salquilito, and wore a special blue-skirted and blue-jacketed costume as they do to a large extent even today. There was no social mixture either between these castes. Several leading top-caste Indians had 50 or more workers who <sup>worked</sup> ~~worked for~~ them in payment of tribute due them. Indians did not pay taxes to Guatemala until 1899. The town of Nebaj was divided into Barrios or Cantones each of which had its Indian jefe.

When Doña Juana first built her house<sup>3</sup> the Indians tried to stop it, and several times burned the wood which she had assembled for building. They were very surly and told her to return to her own village, and said if she settled, other ladinos would follow and spoil their life and interfere with their costumbre. All of which she admitted was perfectly true.

The Indians in those days drank comiteco from Comitán, Mexico, a milder drink than the present day aguardiente, and did not drink half as much as they did later when the ladinos came and introduced the latter drink.

There was always lots of praying and costumbre by the zahorines at all the crosses and mounds in town and especially at the great cross in front of the church.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See notes on Gaspar and Diego. (Notes on two ladinoized Principales of Nebaj).

<sup>2</sup> Gaspar C. Indian principal says there were only three classes Warriors, Priests and workers.

<sup>3</sup> According to Doña J. Denied by Indians.

<sup>4</sup> Removed five years ago. Now no costumbre in the centre of town.

The cerbatana<sup>1</sup> or blow gun for hunting birds was constantly in use.

In the houses, all of which were of the same, probably early Spanish, type as today, meat hung drying over the fire and altars.

There was no milk, but some cattle, sheep, and many pigs.

In the government there were no ladinos, only Indian Alcaldes, and the town was virtually ruled by the Governor assisted by his top-caste associates who were very ruthless with lower caste or poorer Indians.<sup>2</sup>

Only one or two Indians could read or write Spanish as taught by the priest, but most could neither read, write, nor talk it and they did not want to learn.

Doña Juana finally got her house built, won their confidence, got a small school started and eventually opened a boarding house for the ladinos who began to come up to visit from 1891 on.

The next ladino who came to settle was Don Isaias ~~P...~~, a pure Spaniard from Spain who is still in Nebaj. He was sent up by the Government as Secretario and was the first ladino in the local government. Later he became a habilitador and rounded up Indian labor for fincas on the coast, and still later became a landowner in the region and a shop-keeper in town. After him other ladinos served as secretaries and alcaldes in the government.

Next to come was Don P., an Italian, who came to Guatemala as a child. Today he owns a famous coffee finca near Cotzal with a labor colony of 2000 mostly Ixil speaking Indians from Cotzal and Nebaj. He came as habilitador for the Finca Chocola and is responsible for sending the first group of Indian labor ever to leave the region to this finca in 1894.

<sup>1</sup> Still in use, mostly in the rural districts.

<sup>2</sup> It is still impossible to say how much was really caste and how much was economic status.

Around the same time came Don Guillermo ~~S~~ (Spanish) and Don Lisandro ~~G~~ (Mexican), and others. All of them came as habilitadores and today these remain the leading citizens of the region, <sup>They</sup> who acquired lands from the Indians, built houses in town, and set up shops.

When they came, they stayed in Doña Juana's house and she was instrumental in getting labor caporales for them. The Indians have always liked her, and today all speak of her with great affection, contrary to their attitude towards the other ladinos who have a reputation for exploitation and corruption amongst them.

Doña Juana and her grandson are the only ladinos in town who have any interest in, knowledge of, or affection for, the Indians and both were eager to give me the information they had on ladinos and Indians. Her grandson was brought up in Nebaj, made many close friends amongst the Indians and interested himself in studying their costumbre. Today he lives in Guatemala and teaches Spanish, but returns to Nebaj for his vacations where his intelligence and understanding of the Indian and ladino history ~~has~~ <sup>was</sup> been invaluable to me.

According to Doña Juana no ladinos besides herself actually settled in Nebaj until 1894, but for three or four years previously many came up and stayed in her house mostly for the purpose of examining a virgin labor territory. Her statement does not ~~quite fit into~~ <sup>at all with</sup> the published census of 1893 which lists 66 ladinos in Nebaj, 11 in Chajul, and 21 in Cotzal. Undoubtedly being very old, her dates are not absolutely exact, but <sup>that many people told</sup> at all ~~events from every source~~, she was the first <sup>ladino</sup> to arrive in 1887 <sup>who</sup> and all the others came after her. Her age also makes it very difficult to extract much detailed information from her, and it was impossible to get her to tell more than that which I have just recorded.

Don Pedro B., on whose beautiful coffee finca near Cotzal I have stayed several times, ~~has, nevertheless,~~ confirmed most of Doña Juana's statements. He told me he first visited Nebaj in 1894 and during the same year as habilitador he took the first group of Ixil-speaking Indian labor to the Finca Chocola. He described how he and his companions, when they used to see the zahorines praying in front of the great cross in the Plaza, threw oranges at them and poured water on them.

He said that a few Indians already spoke and wrote Spanish, especially Diego de Leon, the governor and later alcalde. Most of these were the ones not to be trusted, and he felt very strongly that they were cases of a little learning being a dangerous thing. Prior to the period when export of labor became the main product of the region, the Indians worked entirely for themselves on their lands, and trade consisted mostly of pigs and cattle which were exported to Huehuetenango, Cobán and Quiché. They had more money than today when their trade is weak and their labor no longer goes to fincas. They ~~never went~~ <sup>also went</sup> far afield for their trade and no weekly markets were held anywhere in the region. The only local market was once a year at the big fiesta of Santa Maria at Nebaj on August 15. The weekly or bi-weekly market is a very recent institution, only 15 years old in Nebaj and one year old in Cotzal. Today Chajul still has no market.

Don P. admitted that some of the early ladinos stole Indian lands and began the aguardiente trade. When he first arrived in Nebaj there were only two estancos and not much drinking.

He believes that the Indians on fincas were better off before the recent cancelling of the Indian debt under the present administration, and had more money which was advanced to them to buy anything they wanted. Now \$ 2.50 is all the debt allowed them by law and they never have any money to buy clothes or to perform ceremonies.

The Indian principales who got rich ~~such as~~ Gaspar and Diego were generally alcaldes who knew when people couldn't pay up debts and when to get hold of their lands.

The men's and women's costumes were identical with today's, but there were no exceptions or concessions to ladino dress. Men wore the red jacket and the women the same red-and-white-figured huipiles.

In the first days there was a lot of communal house building which was a festival occasion. A bull was killed, women cooked and ground corn for the workers who worked without pay for each other<sup>1</sup>, and the roofs were put on at night to keep off evil influences.

In all his years in the region he never saw a sacrifice, only normal killed meat which was eaten on ceremonial occasions such as milpa planting. He admits that he never had any interest in Indian "costumbre" and he treats it with an amused contempt. He belittled<sup>s</sup> the idea of the caste system and he never knew of the existence of the native calendar. Indians were very unfriendly at first and it was almost impossible to get food or lodging with them.

In running his great finca, however, he ~~is absolutely liberal in~~ allowing<sup>s</sup> any costumbre they <sup>believe</sup> want. He manages it in an orderly, paternal, and strict way, and the 2000 colonos, mostly from Cotzal and Nebaj, seem better off than <sup>d</sup>in many fincas I have visited. They have their own houses, private and communal lands, <sup>and</sup> live stock and are given liberal rations of food. They have a bi-monthly Sunday market, their zahorines keep the calendar and pray at mountain crosses, burn incense, and sacrifice animals secretly<sup>2</sup>, all without interference.

<sup>1</sup> Still occurs today but not frequently.

<sup>2</sup> According to Tomas M., "brujo" at San Francisco.

Don Pedro has always had the reputation for justice, fair dealing, and honesty both among ladinos and Indians. He is the great success and exception among all the other pioneer ladinos of this district. The large tract of land amounting to 135 caballerias<sup>1</sup> which he has acquired is in a territory where practically no Indians were living, and all was acquired by fair purchase without first indebting them to himself.

Present day ladinos among themselves have strong class distinctions, yet all regard themselves as a class superior to all Indians. Don P. is regarded as the leading individual of the region. Those who regard themselves as tops are mostly of pure Spanish blood and had emigrated from Spain. Of the heads of the 10 leading families of ladinos in Nebaj, 8 are pure-blooded Spanish emigrants of shopkeeper class, 1 is a Mexican from Oaxaca, and 1 a pure-blooded Italian.

Other ladinos, being mostly Guatemalan more or less mestizos, are treated as workers, servants, and social inferiors. At one period around 1915-1929 there were a great many more pure Spanish estanco owners and shopkeepers, who, according to Don Pancho ~~M.~~ (Spaniard who came in 1907), only stayed during good times. Some of these went on to Guatemala, Quiché, Huehuetenango and other larger towns. At one time there were nearly 80 of ~~these~~ <sup>many by business</sup> bars or drink shops in town. That was in the days when coffee prices were high, much Indian labor went to fincas, and large sums of money were advanced to them which was mostly spent in drink and ceremony. During the August 15 annual fiesta, there would be 50 or 60 marimbas and private parties whereas today there may be 2 or 3.

Don G., the grandson of Doña Juana who is as intelligent a ladino as there is in Nebaj, with a first hand experience and understanding of the Indians and recent history of the region, told me that nobody would ever

<sup>1</sup> 1 caballería = 111'5 acres (approx.)

know how badly the Indians have been treated by the ladinos. They have been robbed, exploited, and corrupted in every possible way, from taking away lands by dishonest methods, getting them into virtual slavery, corrupting them sexually, tricking them out of money through faulty contracts, and making them into confirmed drunkards. What he told me was confirmed by Don P. and some of the more honest older ladinos. Others admitted the same situation but tried to justify it from the standpoint of Indian stupidity and viciousness.

In 1936 at the time <sup>new</sup> the national law cancelling the Indian debt was about to go into effect, a misunderstanding which led to an insurrection of Indians in Nebaj took place, largely because of the tactless handling of the situation by the local Comandante. Several versions of what actually happened were told to me by ladinos who were eyewitnesses or were in the Intendencia at the time. The following outline is assembled from the points on which all are in agreement.

When the ladinos knew that the Indian debt was to be cancelled, they tried every trick possible to collect what was owed them before the dead line date, after which they could not even force them to work off the debt. For many years previously, illiterate Indians <sup>had been the victims of a long</sup> would be indebted by offering them sums of money they could never repay. A habilitador or ladino would say, "Here are 300<sup>1</sup> pesos; now you owe me 300 pesos, 300 more in interest, which makes 900 altogether; sign here." The confused Indian overcome by the large amount made no distinction between 300 and 900 and would make his mark.

When the dead line was approaching for cancelling the Indian debts, ladinos contrived various tricks to collect what was "owed" them or to extend it by getting the Indians to sign contracts. Even after the dead-line day several tried to force Indians to pay. They also told them that

<sup>1</sup> Peso is old style currency. 60 pesos made 1 quetzal or dollar.

if they didn't, no more money and the new law was designed

Hence a group of Ind principales came to Nebaj to same day a delegation from G law to the Indians, and the C village in conference. Instead he called the whole town to different parts of town and and thought they might be he denuncia on the Plaza and wall meeting and returned to his ation from the aldeas was t While <sup>the</sup> the spokesman for the turned on them and called t effect. This infuriated the Comandante in the face with delegation instantly disarm the aid of the Comandante. Plaza <sup>at the</sup> of men and women) adva had captured the guns did n with them. A few <sup>of these</sup> were retur violence occurred; no shots the milling crowds of India Soldiers were <sup>partly</sup> sent up from

After this event, w have been avoided, many Inc Many agree that it was the

if they didn't, no more money would be forthcoming for them in the future, and the new law was designed to keep them poor for ever.

Hence a group of Indians from the aldeas, headed by regidores and principales came to Nebaj to protest to the Comandante, unarmed. On the same day a delegation from Guatemala had been sent up to explain the new law to the Indians, and the Comandante had been requested to summon the village in conference. Instead of calling for the leaders and principales, he called the whole town together. They assembled by the thousands in different parts of town and the Comandante ~~instantly~~ became frightened and thought they might be holding seditious meetings. He left the Intendencia on the Plaza and walked down to the end of town to break up a meeting and returned to his office. When he got there the Indian delegation from the aldeas was there as well as the Guatemalan delegation.

<sup>was</sup> While the spokesman for the Indians approached, the Comandante suddenly turned on them and called them a bunch of dirty savages or words to that effect. This infuriated them and one picked up a broom and struck the Comandante in the face with it and knocked him down. Other members of the delegation instantly disarmed the garrison of 7 soldiers who had come to the aid of the Comandante. It was on a Sunday market day and soon <sup>in the</sup> ~~the whole~~ Plaza <sup>at the</sup> of men and women advanced picking up stones on the way. Those who had captured the guns did not know what to do with them and stood around with them. A few <sup>of these</sup> were returned voluntarily a few days later. No other violence occurred; no shots were fired; and ~~other~~ ladinos walked through the milling crowds of Indians without being interfered with in any way. Soldiers were <sup>Partly</sup> sent up from Quiché and 7 ringleaders were caught and shot.

After this event, which, according to most ladinos could easily have been avoided, many Indians fled to the mountains and stayed there. Many agree that it was the Comandante's fault and ever since the Indians

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have been afraid of him and even say that he will kill them if they burn  
candles and pom at their mountain crosses. On several occasions he did  
interfere with their worship, calling on the national law against brujeria  
(witchcraft). He never made any distinction between native pagan religious  
worship and witchcraft, much to the annoyance of the Indians, who among  
themselves make a strong distinction between the two.

Since this insurrection there has been complete order in the region  
among Indians. Doña J. said that under Cabrera, the region was extremely  
dangerous for travellers, which is a complete contrast to the present  
situation. Practically all individual cases of violence, crime or disorder  
which occur today are among ladinos<sup>1</sup>. In 1925 an insurrection occurred in  
Iilom which led to fights and bloodshed between Indians and finqueros and  
arose because of land disputes.

The story of the Nebaj insurrection illustrates how the unscrupulous  
qualities of the ladinos by playing on Indian ignorance and credulity can  
lead to a stupid situation to the complete detriment of the Indian. Just  
recently this Comandante has been deposed by government order from Guatema-  
la and it is rumored that this action was instigated by a petition of  
Indians who went to Guatemala to present it to the President.

Ladinos today ~~among themselves~~ play different roles in the social  
organization of Nebaj. The top group of pure Spanish or foreign blooded  
take part (or did until recently) in the government<sup>2</sup>, are landowners with  
fincas in the rural districts, own town houses as well as the best estancos  
and shops selling machine-made goods. Two own tanning establishments and  
another a hotel. The lower-class group, many of whom are mestizos, are

<sup>1</sup> See p 24

<sup>2</sup> Formerly these were local alcaldes and intendentes. Now these  
offices are filled by non-residents appointed from the capital.

regidores in the government along with Indians, own smaller shops which sell local fruits and vegetables, knickknacks, occasional local handicrafts, and the lowest grade liquor. These are regarded by the small top group as servants, workers, and social inferiors. Another group, consisting of only a few individuals, are those pure blooded Indian principales who in varying proportions live, dress and act, like non-Indians. These are accepted as equals by the mestizo group and treated with outward respect by the top group.

A last group consists of a few lower class, mostly mestizo, (1 from Huehuetenango) illiterate; ladinos who have not been brought up and do not dress as Indians yet have associated with them closely for many years. Some of these have been converted in part to Indian religious costumbre and pray and burn pom incense at the main outdoor crosses and shrines. According to a zahorin informant<sup>1</sup> none of them, however, know the sacred native calendar. Some of these formerly set themselves up as brujos largely for the purpose of exploiting the ignorant.<sup>2</sup>

All these four groups including the latter, and regardless of differences among themselves, consider that they are apart from and socially superior to the true costumbre-keeping Indian, reared in his own traditions.

Formal social control and influence of the ladinos is today mainly in the spheres of government, fincas, and lands as employers of Indian labor within the region. <sup>they acted</sup> Until a few years ago/as habilitadores <sup>now many run</sup> who indebted and exploited Indian labor to coastal fincas, and/businesses connected with outside machine culture which brings non-handicraft goods to the Indian and hybridizes his own crafts. (Red cotton thread formerly

<sup>1</sup> Diego ~~S~~

<sup>2</sup> Zat Chel.

spun locally is now imported from abroad and is used in hand loom woven huipiles).

As already mentioned, the first ladino in the local government was don I.P. who came in 1891 as Secretario. Prior to his coming Indian alcaldes and "gobernadores"<sup>1</sup> ruled the region largely independent of Guatemala, and the pagan priests or zahorines exerted theocratic control in the government as alcaldes.<sup>2</sup> After the ladino invasion got started, many ladinos assumed government office along with Indian alcaldes, and gradually they acquired government representation all out of proportion to their numbers and the large Indian population. It was not until the whole government organization was changed under the present administration that the old Indian office of alcalde was abolished and that of ladino Intendente substituted.<sup>1</sup> ~~(See notes on changes in Government).~~

Today in Nebaj the government is divided into military and civil branches, <sup>namely the</sup> ~~consisting of~~ the Comandancia and the Intendencia. The Comandante is a military man and ladino appointed by the President and directly under the Jefe Politico of the Departamento de Quiché. He has a garrison of seven soldiers, all ladinos from other towns. The Comandante also has jurisdiction over the municipios of Chajul and Cotzal with their aldeas, and caserios. He has a ladino Captain assistant in the aldea of Zotz'il and a soldier or two in the other towns. His function is to keep order in the region, arrest criminals, and have them brought to trial in Quiché.

The Intendencia has a ladino Intendente or Mayor ~~from Guatemala or~~ not native to the region, appointed by and directly responsible to the military Jefe Politico in Quiché. Under him are 6 Regidores, 3 ladinos and 3 Indians, each in office two years but half of whom are elected every year.

<sup>1</sup> The alcalde Mayor - Intendente

<sup>2</sup> other alcaldes - regidor

The first Regidor is a ladino, the second an Indian, the third a ladino, and so on alternately for the six. The ladino Regidores are generally local residents. There is a ladino Sindico Municipal, and a Tesorero. The municipal police force consists of 1 ladino and 5 Indians. The towns of Chajul and Cotzal are organized exactly along the same lines.

The Intendente is also Juez de Paz <sup>(Justice of the Peace)</sup> as well as civil administrator and executive. All disputes between Indians, between ladinos, and between Indians and ladinos are brought to him for judgement.

Hence in these towns the ladinos obviously are the controlling factor in the government, which, however, no longer represents much of the local population either ladino or Indian (only the 6 Regidores). It is mainly an arm of the strong centralized Government of Guatemala. The Indian element in government now has very little power or influence except through direct petition to the President of Guatemala where they always get a hearing and fair treatment. This applies mainly to the towns. In the rural ~~practiced~~ all-Indian aldeas and their caserios, each one has one or two Indian Regidores who are responsible to the Intendente of the town to which they belong. These rural Regidores, who exert considerable influence in their large regions, are often Rezadores or professional prayermakers as well, a situation which is undoubtedly a survival of the old dual theocratic control of government.<sup>1</sup>

Government control over Indians is also exerted in the law which applies to all individuals in Guatemala which requires them to either work on the roads twelve days a year without pay or else pay a fine of one quetzal. If not payed by a certain date, the fine is doubled. Since only Indians do not pay the fine they are the ones who work on the roads. The government also requires them to work <sup>150</sup> days a year for others. Data on road tax and

<sup>1</sup> Personally know Regidores of aldeas, Ilom, Tzotzil, Chel - aldeas of Chajul. Also those of Acul, Tzalval, and Sumal aldeas of Nebajal are also rezadores.

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work service are entered in the books of each individual known as Boletos de Vialidad and Boletos de Ornato. In the aldea of Sumal under the jurisdiction of Nebaj, is hidden in the almost inaccessible mountains, a colony of Indian evaders from the road tax and work service. A few years ago, the Indian Regidor from Sumal rounded up a lot of these, and alone, on his own authority brought them down to Nebaj to be dealt with by the government.

Most of the Intendentes who come from the outside have no interest in or knowledge of the region or local affairs, become desperately bored and lonely and rarely stay more than a month or two. During an eight months' period in 1939-1940 there have been no less than 6 Intendentes in Nebaj, and 4 in Chajul. For a short period during this time between a change of Intendentes from Guatemala, the highest Indian Regidor acted as temporary Intendente. He dressed partially as a ladino on this occasion, but kept bare feet and other Indian features. Shortly afterward he changed completely to ladino dress with shoes, smartly tailored suit, and fedora. He was another example of a pure Indian principal suddenly deciding to change to ladino ways.<sup>1</sup>

All fincas of the region date from after the arrival of ladinos. Their number and acreage is small with two or three exceptions. Today there are 9 in the municipio of Nebaj, 6 in Chajul, and 2 in Cotzal all scattered about the widespread rural districts. They are all coffee, and panela fincas although San Francisco de Cotzal, the largest one in the region, is practically a great self-sufficient community employing and housing 2000 Indians, and produces mainly coffee, but also raises cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, and produces corn, sugar, fruits and vegetables. Most

<sup>1</sup> See notes on ladinoized principales.

fincas large and small are owned by the top ladinos although a few Indian principales own several smaller ones. The latter generally acquired them by copying early ladino methods of land seizures. On all fincas only Indian labor is employed, except for skilled crafts such as ladino carpenters and technicians employed by the big fincas.

Habilitacion or rounding up of Indian laborers and transporting them to coastal fincas began in 1894 and continued until the cancelling of the Indian debt and the recent slump in coffee. The exporting of labor during these years was the main product of the region (formerly 6000 a year, now 600), but today it is hard to get Indians to leave the district; ~~and they generally give~~ <sup>and they give</sup> as an excuse that it is too unhealthy to work on the coast. The real reasons are the new debt law which forbids finqueros <sup>to</sup> ~~from~~ <sup>advancing</sup> ~~large~~ sums of money as an inducement and the present relative lack of demand for labor because-- of the absence of a good coffee market. It is hard to say which of these situations is the main reason, but it seems likely that the absence of money inducement is the greatest deterrent to acquiring labor. Habilitacion was started and carried on by ladinos, but several Indian principales also became habilitadores and very ruthless ones at that.<sup>1</sup>

With one exception (Don P.) the local finca lands were acquired from the Indians, generally by tricky and dishonest methods, amounting in many cases to practical robbery. The largest ladino landowner in Nebaj got many lands by sleeping with Indian women of property, advancing them money, and afterwards seizing the land if they could not pay up. This method was only one of the ways of getting lands, all of which were owned by Indians prior to the coming of ladinos.

In Nebaj with a few Indian exceptions, all the shops and main businesses

<sup>1</sup> see note on principales.

are owned by ladinos. Indians seem to have a monopoly on the butcher shops. The better general stores sell machine-made and imported goods such as dry goods, hardware, and medicines, from Guatemala. Most of the shops have estancos in connection with them where aguardiente is sold. A large number of the lower class ladinos own liquor shops which also sell bread, a few fruits and vegetables, and pottery imported from other pueblos and purchased in the market. In all the shops most of the money is made by selling aguardiente and ceremonial paraphernalia such as candles and rockets to the Indians. Pom incense is bought from Indians in the market. Ladinos also have stalls in the market where cheap machine-made knickknacks are sold. In Chajul and Cotzal there are only a few of the second class ladino shops with the usual estanco attached.

One prosperous Spanish shopkeeper who had been selling aguardiente all day during the August fiesta was looking on at a procession of ceremonially drunken cofradia women, and he turned to me and said, "el indio es muy vicioso". I replied, "Isn't it the fault of those who sell them the vicious aguardiente?" He shrugged his shoulders and said, "Business is business".

Liquor is a government monopoly and the ultimate fault in not controlling the amount and quality sold, lies in this direction. Of course even prior to the coming of ladinos, Indians drank on all ceremonial<sup>1</sup> occasions as they do today; ~~only~~ <sup>government</sup> the ladinos are responsible for increasing the amount and strength of the liquor for the purpose of enriching themselves, ~~and with the result that~~ <sup>=</sup> drunkenness has increased to such an extent that it has become chronic amongst large numbers of Indians. Ladino witnesses agree that in the early days Indians drank much less, and the milder

<sup>1</sup> Doña J., Don P.

comiteco.<sup>1</sup> Practically every ladino in town at one time or another has owned and run a liquor shop particularly in the days when habilitadores were advancing the Indians large sums of money. Many of them formerly had their local trapiches or distilleries which are now forbidden by law.

The best and most sophisticated marimbas are ladino ones, although on every market day, at Indian parties and celebrations in the cofradia houses, Indians play the more plaintive marimbas of their own. Drum and chirimfa playing, however, is confined exclusively to Indians.

Most of the skilled trades such as blacksmiths, leather workers, carpenters, adobe masons, and tile makers are ladinos although there are a fair number of excellent Indian carpenters and masons, and wood-workers.

The proposed motor highway now being built by Indian labor conscripted by the government, will be completed within a year or so, and undoubtedly ladino influences on native life will be further increased. Surveys have also been made for a hydraulic electric light plant which will bring more of the machine age to the Indian. Incidentally the Indian fears the coming of the light and thinks it will interfere further with his costumbre, much of which takes place at night. One Indian inquired whether I was there in behalf of the light, and if I killed people, because surely somebody would have to die as a sacrifice before the light could come.

Telephone and telegraph connect Nebaj with Sacapulas, and Nebaj with Cotzal, but this has no effect on, and is never used by, Indians except a few of the principales. The town of Chajul is isolated from all telegraphic connection with the outside world.

Social relations between ladinos and Indians are marked by strong class consciousness on the part of both. Ladinos regard themselves as a

<sup>1</sup> Doña J., Don P.

superior class mind. The prin ladinos regard or zahorines and to be kept humble and inf Although there ship between I the Indians I ladinos and th With the are treated so rural Indians Indians when i and laborers f which they use uncalled for. ly servants an obey without c who employ muc ness than ladi the Indian wor On the o children, henc godparents. Th ceremony and way and callin

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superior class, and Indians of the present day are in a mixed state of mind. The principales or leading Indians when not trying to pass as ladinos regard themselves as superior to ladinos, the professional priests or zahorines regard their cult as a superior truth not held by ladinos, and to be kept hidden from them, and the mass of Indian workers have a humble and inferior attitude toward ladinos often mixed with surliness. Although there are individual cases of trust, mutual respect, and friendship between Indians and ladinos, it is rare to find them. Practically all the Indians I have known have an open or concealed hostility or fear of ladinos and this applies to principales, zahorines, and workers.

With the exception of principales who have shared in government and are treated socially ~~not~~ still without real equality, and some of the rural Indians who work for themselves and rarely come to town, most Indians when in contact with ladinos are in the status of mozos, servants, and laborers for them. Ladinos have a special kind of baby talk Spanish which they use to their Indians which in many instances is entirely uncalled for. Some are affectionate and paternalistic to them, but generally servants and mozos are ordered about in dictatorial fashion and meekly obey without complaint. Incidentally Indian principales such as Gaspar C. who employ much Indian labor, treat their workers with even more ruthlessness than ladinos, hence this pattern of behavior is not one foreign to the Indian worker even among his own people.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, ladinos of all classes are godparents to Indian children, hence have Indian compadres, the term applied between parents and godparents. The relationship does not extend much beyond the baptism ceremony and is shown only by greeting the Indian in an outwardly friendly way and calling him "compadre" when meeting him on the street. I was told

<sup>1</sup> See notes on Principales.

that the main reason Indians want ladino compadres is because they pay for the baptism. Ladinos rarely visit their godchildren or compadres because a present is generally expected if they enter the Indian's house.

In the early days Indians were very inhospitable to ladinos and rarely gave them food and lodging in their houses, but if they did accept them, their hospitality was unlimited. No payment was ever asked, and a woman of the family would be offered to the guest merely as a hospitable gesture. This custom still occurs today as I can testify after spending several nights in the house of the Indian Regidor and Rezador of the remote aldea of Sumal. The host was kindness itself, and said his house was mine, and everything I wanted would be provided including one of the women. I expressed thanks but excused myself on the grounds of being married.

Ladinos generally took advantage of this hospitality as many have told me, and as can easily be seen among the mixed blooded Indians who are often in evidence. All the first ladinos have numerous bastards among the Indians and admit it readily and often with pride. One early settler is reputed to have 72 children scattered from Nebaj to Mexico, and 32 of them, both ladinos and mestizos are in Nebaj.

Don P. M. the head of a top class Spanish family, asked me if I had seen the beautiful girl who had just gone out of the house, and said with the greatest pride that that was his hija natural, and he hadn't seen her for years. His own legitimate daughters were on very friendly terms with her, but always in the mistress-servant relation.

Undoubtedly the many natural offspring of ladinos and Indians was a result of the old Indian custom of hospitality. Today Indian men often take a certain pride in having their wives have children by ladinos. In fact I was witness to several invitations by Indian men to foreigners,

asking them to have offspring by their wives. Twice this was presented on the grounds of sterility and the inability to have children on the man's part.

Another situation, however, is more the result of ladino immorality than Indian custom. All the younger ladinos<sup>1</sup> in town boast of being able to have relations with Indian women for 10 cents, and generally they visit them in the middle of the day secretly when the husbands are away working in their milpas. According to Gaspar this has resulted in a lot of commercialized prostitution, particularly in hard times when the women will do anything to make some extra change. At all events the ladinos have increased promiscuous sexual customs among the Indian women, and are responsible for diluting much of the pure blooded Indian stock.

Formal intermarriage either in the church or intendencia between Indian men and ladino women has occurred among a few well-off principal families. One such Indian has a ladino wife and two ladino mistresses. The younger generation of these families in several instances have married ladinas. This is because they want to become ladinos themselves or bring up their children as such.<sup>2</sup> There are no formal marriages between ladino men and Indian women.

During fiestas, ladinos never mix in Indian celebrations, processions, or dances, except as onlookers. At these times most of them are coining money selling drink and ceremonial paraphernalia. Socially they remain completely apart.

In religion, ladinos all claim to be catholics, but this means that they generally go no further than having their children baptized. With the exception of a very few individuals of the top families who are

<sup>1</sup> According to M.S. and brothers.

<sup>2</sup> See notes on principales.

really practising catholics, they rarely attend mass except on the feast of the Immaculate Conception and at Easter, and they never take part in the sacraments of the church such as communion and confession. Practically none are married in the church, but occasionally they are buried by it. The usual reason they give for not being married in the church is that it is too expensive. They generally are married either civilly at the Intendencia or don't bother with any kind of civil or religious formality. The great majority of ladinos in Nebaj are of illegitimate birth, and it is literally, with a few exceptions, a town of bastards as far as the non-Indian element is concerned.

They are offended if you deny that they are catholics, yet they hold the church and priest mostly in contempt, and in conversation say that they serve no purpose whatsoever. This attitude does not prevent them, however, from using the very generous Spanish priest as a kind of liberal bank from whom to borrow money, which he is always ready to lend although he knows that he is rarely repayed. The ladinos are the despair of the priest who cannot get them to attend services and sacraments, and he regards them as a depraved, degenerate and outcast lot, and says they have no right to call themselves catholics. He told me that in all his experience in Guatemala and other countries he had never been in such a completely "immoral" town.

There is one all-ladino Cofradia or religious brotherhood in contrast to 13 Indian ones of both men and women.<sup>1</sup> This one is that of the Immaculate Conception which has charge of the Saint's image, and on the annual fiesta in April has processions from the church to the cofradia house chosen for one year in some individual's house, where the Saint is kept until the following year. There is a novena of 9 nights with evening service in the church every night. This is attended solely by ladinos especially on the

last two nights. The only Indian element is the accompaniment of the procession on the last night by Indian drummer and chirimia player. The contrast between the lives of the ladinos and this annual worship of purity is a very interesting example of psychological compensation.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to Indian pagan worship and other custom, their attitude is one of ridicule and contempt, and they always attempt to suppress it if it interferes with any commercial or public project. They refer to it all as brujería, and threaten to invoke the law against witchcraft if the Indians perform costumbre in public. They have no knowledge of or interest in Indian practices and say that the Indians don't even know themselves what they are doing. I could not find a single ladino in the whole region who even knew that the ancient Indian calendar was in existence, to say nothing of its being the ruling factor in Indian life.<sup>2</sup> This applies even to Don P. the 1st, finquero and the most intelligent and liberal minded man in the country, and even to Doña Juana and her grandson. Several Indians told me they were afraid of the Intendencia ladinos who on all occasions tried to destroy their crosses and prevent them worshipping at them. A zahorin went on to add that they would merely continue to perform their sacred rites privately without ever telling the ladinos.

As already mentioned <sup>2</sup> a few illiterate ladinos took up pagan worship at the crosses. One such individual who lives in the remote área of Chel is supposed to be doing this for ulterior motives. He pretends to be an Indian with Indians, and appears largely so, although he dresses as a ladino, but at the same time he spies on them and denounces them to the government without their knowing it. He owns the usual small ladino shop. His brother has the reputation of being a brujo, but as Gaspar says, this is done purely to exploit, make money and play on the credulity of the people.

<sup>1</sup> See chapter on cofradías.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter on calendar.

Don P. and others admit that most crimes that have occurred in the region are by ladinos, although a drunken Indian may run amuck, rob and become violent. Occasionally ladino groups have planned and successfully carried out the robbery of a ladino shop.<sup>1</sup>

During three visits to the region, of the 5 major criminal offenses that occurred, one was by an Indian and 4 by ladinos. The Indian robbed and badly cut up an Indian woman with a machete. One ladino had a secret aguar-diente distillery, and was undercutting legal estancos; another was caught hiding in the mountains after having killed several Indians; another had killed another ladino; and the fourth was caught breaking through the roof of the treasury of the Intendencia with intent to rob. The latter man was nearly 80 years old and the brother of the first ladino to settle in Nebaj after Doña Juana and <sup>his</sup> 1st ladino secretary in the government. He had been in the penitentiary several times before and was regarded as somewhat crazy.

As to education, there is a ladino school in Nebaj which all ladino children attend, and occasionally a few Indians. Most ladinos are illiterate if only barely so. Cotzal and Chajul also have ladino schools but the school master at the latter is generally drunk and rarely attends classes.

There is no doctor, or trained nurse in the region and no attempts are made to spread a knowledge of hygiene or simple medicine. Medicines are sold in one or two of the better shops but ladinos do nothing to teach the Indians how to use them.

Etiquette among ladino follows old Spanish forms but at present these have become mere formulas empty of all content. Excessive politeness may be followed by denunciations to the authorities or attempts to put over a dishonest business deal. Every time a ladino meets a ladino on the street, they greet each other with, "Buenos dias, Doña Elvira, or Don Guillermo.

<sup>1</sup> Don Augusto T's shop

Qué tal amaneció? Tengo mucho gusto en saludarle, para servirle a sus ordenes, igualmente, etc, etc.", whereas an Indian principal will be spoken to only occasionally. Two Indian exceptions in Nebaj are the principales, Gaspar and Diego, who are often called Don by ladinos.

All the above was written prior to seeing Dr. Redfield's article on the ladinos of Agua Escondida in the Lake Atitlan district. It is obvious that the situation in the Ixil speaking region is quite different. Ladinos and Indians here are more clearly distinguished, and this is one of the communities where the Indians retain more "primitive" traditions, and the ladinos are commercial chancles rather than agricultural workers as they are at Agua Escondida as mentioned by Dr. Redfield!

In the towns of Nebaj, Chajul and Cotzal, the only common ways of life for Indians and ladinos are, 1) the same formal centralized government control in which the Intendente settles all disputes between Indians, between ladinos, and between Indians and ladinos; 2) the same commercial habit of mind among Indian principales who have absorbed ladino methods of trade, bargaining, and land seizures, ~~more than other Indians~~; 3) the same outward acceptance of the Catholic church, with Indians more genuine in their acceptance of Saints, candles, masses, baptism, compadres, and pilgrimages. Both ignore other sacraments but the ladinos are notoriously more lax than the Indians who support the church and priest entirely from their own contributions.

Differences between ladino and Indians behavior are very sharp and are not confused as in Agua Escondida, except among a few of the lowest class ladinos who don't wear shoes, speak Indian language, and absorb a few pagan beliefs and practices. These are generally poor and illiterate, and though they may seem in many ways closer to the Indians, they do not dress as such, do not belong to the Indian cofrades, or take part in Indian masked dances; they do not work as agricultural workers or for Indians, or ~~make~~ <sup>practice</sup>

On my last trip July 1940 I found a few individual exceptions

handicrafts such as weaving.<sup>1</sup> The women of this class haul water from the pila, and men gather wood. Community washing of this class is done with the Indians, and occasionally they take a temazcal in an Indian's house, and some believe in the evil eye. This poorer class of ladino often lives in the Indian style house/<sup>of</sup>whitewashed adobe/<sup>and</sup> tiled roof with outside verandah, but the great majority of Nebaj ladinos have the regular modern grilled-windowed, pastel-coloured house with patio as seen in all urban parts of Guatemala.

This class of ladino is class conscious in regard to Indians and employs Indian servants when they can afford them. I know of only one case of a ladino working for an Indian<sup>2</sup>, although ladinos will often be servants along with Indians and both together work for other ladinos.

There is no formal objection among ladinos to Indians becoming ladinos, but until very recently few of them attempted to do so. The case of principales who have done so, or are attempting to do so are accepted, but still with reserve even though these may live, dress, and act outwardly like ladinos<sup>3</sup>, and have openly abandoned "costumbre". When more Indians do change to ladino ways, there will undoubtedly be no ethnic barrier any more than in other parts of Guatemala. Historical information, such as it is, shows that until recently Indians in general had no desire to imitate ladino ways. They regarded themselves as a strong group with their own satisfactory way of life, which possibly included vestiges of a caste system, a working pagan-Christian religious compromise, and a rich agricultural life. Labor was performed either as a tribute to top caste Indians or communally amongst themselves for planting, harvesting, and housebuilding.

of ladino agricultural workers who had ranchos in rural districts and worked their own small fincas of land. 1 at Suchum, 1 on road to Chajul, 1 at Acul.

1 The ladino wife of an Indian principal weaves, but in poor imitation of the true Indian weaving.

2 A ladina cook in the household of one of the two richest Indian principales.

3 Section on Ladinoized Principales.

They decidedly did not accept the inferior status accorded them by the ladinos and they regarded the latter with great hostility.

The ladino invasion, however, gradually made them into debtors, enforced laborers, servants and social inferiors whenever possible. Ladinos and Indians in this region today regard themselves as ethnic groups apart from each other, but the Indians are gradually beginning to accept the ladino superior evaluation of themselves, and they are developing an inferiority complex which is still in evidence among those individuals who try to pass as ladinos.

Most Indians when in contact with ladinos are the hewers of wood and drawers of water for a small local minority of them. As yet this has not much affected their pagan beliefs and observances and way of life on their lands, except to drive it under cover and away from the destructive acts of the ladinos.

In conclusion, in view of what has been presented, I think it is fair to say that the impact of ladino behavior since their arrival in the region in 1887 until the present day, tends to be disruptive and destructive to the pre-existing Indian-Spanish culture, and will result in a totally different type of acculturation, as this gradually takes place, than that which occurred with the early Spanish conquest and conversion. The former was an acculturation in which original and foreign traits combined to form a new historic mosaic which endured and evolved until the coming of the ladinos, and still endures in large part even today.

At least the early Spanish brought elements of a strong religious and civil culture, which could amalgamate with the pre-Columbian pagan culture in spite of the many destructive tendencies of the early conquerors and priests. The ladinos so far have brought no social benefits such as education, medicine or hygiene, and no cultural contributions in religion,

agriculture or improved ways of life. Their sole contribution has been a few machine-made goods, their influence has been destructive to native self-respect and their aim and result have been commercial and personal exploitation. For this reason I believe that they can be described as parasitic on the Indian Body politic, as described by Bunzel in her study of Chichicastenango. The Indian has acquired nothing but increased commercialism and an inferior social status.

It is possible to understand the difficulties of ladinos attempting to earn a living in a hostile community, but it is not possible to be sympathetic with the unscrupulous commercial motives of a culturally inferior people (as compared with pre-ladino Indian, old Spanish, or the best of modern Guatemalan), or their assumption of superiority towards a hitherto strong, integrated, self-sufficient community. Their influence has resulted in hostility and culture conflict, which can result eventually only in the destruction of Indian culture, although the Indian is still a long way ~~off~~ from giving up his vital beliefs for an alien way of life. With the further encroachments of the machine age the Indian, however, will not be able to hold out ~~for ever~~.

Examples <sup>of Indians</sup> /who have become ladinos show that the ladino invasion of this region will probably end in the gradual acceptance of the behavior pattern and inner values or lack of values of an alien accentuated culture at the expense of the older, "Recent Indian"<sup>1</sup> cultural heritage.

<sup>1</sup> La Farge.

C. NOTES ON TWO LADINOIZED PRINCIPALES OF NEBAJ

( A Principal is an Indian who at present has, or formerly had, a part in the civil government such as former alcaldes or present regidores. Natives also speak of principal families or descendants of the old Indian top caste. Since members of these families sooner or later hold government office, the first definition holds. Newly rich Indians who have acquired lands and later hold government office are also principales even though not descendants of top caste families.)

1) Gaspar C.

According to his own statement and the opinion of both Indian and ladino informants of Nebaj, Gaspar is a pure blooded Indian and is the descendant of an old upper caste Indian family. I have not ~~as yet~~ been able to get him to give me his ancestry, but he ~~has admitted~~ <sup>claims</sup> that he knows the names of all his forebears for at least " a thousand years", and ~~has promised that he will tell them to me~~ eventually. He is known by all the inhabitants as a principal and a leading citizen of Nebaj, and he was born and brought up there. He was educated entirely in the framework of Indian culture and has always lived in this municipio with the exception of occasional trips to Guatemala and other nearer towns for business or fiestas. At present he is in his middle fifties, hence he was 10 to 12 years old when the first ladinos settled in Nebaj in 1894. When a considerable number of ladinos had settled in town he held the office of alcaide and associated with ladino government officials who assumed office shortly after their arrival. Prior to 1887<sup>1</sup> or even later all officials had been Indians, according to the statements of first ladino settlers who still reside in or near Nebaj and of Indians.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1887 the first ladina visited Nebaj as a school teacher. She did not settle until 1889. Others settled in 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Gaspar C. Diego S. Vicente C.

While holding the post of alcalde Gaspar became very familiar with ladino methods of habilitacion or "rounding up" Indian labor to work on fincas by means of getting them into debt, and acquiring Indian lands by advancing cash to impoverished land owners and foreclosing on the mortgage.

Using the facilities of his office he systematically looked up Indians whose lands were mortgaged or who were otherwise hard up, got them into debt to himself and foreclosed on the properties. As a result today he is the largest Indian landowner in Nebaj and surrounding country, and is considered very rich. He owns two large houses in Nebaj on opposite sides of the street, a block from the central Plaza. One is partially an Indian type of house with no windows on the street and having two large rooms containing Indian furniture<sup>1</sup> in one of which live in pure Indian style an Indian wife and his mother, some of his children, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren. On the outside this house is painted in pastel color like many ladino houses. On the opposite side of the street is his ladino house in which he sometimes stays alone but never with his family. This house has windows and a large entrance on the street, and contains three large rooms furnished in European style with beds and mattresses, armchairs, etc. He has a small shop in this house where he sells corn, coffee, and panela, the produce from his fincas of which he owns several small ones in or near aldeas. He also keeps and runs a successful butcher shop on the other side of the Plaza, all the meat being from his own livestock. He has an Indian wife who lives and dresses as an Indian at every finca and property he owns outside of town.

According to Don P. who was ladino alcalde at the time Gaspar held government office about 1910, he dressed as an Indian with red jacket and bare feet, but in the last five years he has adopted a modified ladino costume with shoes, a woolen or cotton "sack" coat, and a Stetson hat,

<sup>1</sup> Indian houses described in other notes.

but he keeps the white cotton home woven Indian trousers and silver topped alcalde cane. He carries and is very proud of a large fat gold watch the General, the Jefe Politico gave him.

When Acalde, his reputation among ladinos was that he always drove a hard bargain and was very tyrannical to his own people, but at the same time he was considered scrupulously honest and to be trusted with commissions and money. He later won the approval of the Jefe Politico who today regards him as the most worth while Indian in Nebaj. He and one other are the only Indians in town whom the middle and lower class ladinos address as Don and treat more or less as equals, although he has never learned to read or write except to sign his name. His Spanish, however is very fluent. He employs a lot of Indian labor, both in town and on his properties, to whom he pays the lowest possible wage which is 2 c a day less than many others pay. He always rides on well groomed horses and never indulges<sup>1</sup> in manual labor himself.

His association with ladinos has given him a peculiar and dual point of view. He has often said to me that out of 100 ladinos you might find one good one, but at the same time he expects to be treated as one by them, and the non-Indian he admires most has the reputation of being the most notorious land swindler and exploiter in town.<sup>1</sup> He is envious of their relatively recent position as controlling top caste and has a decided inferiority complex which he compensates for by a somewhat pompous and formal manner. He likes to be seen standing around with ladinos listening to the only radio in town and discussing the European war news although his ideas as to the location of the warring countries are very hazy. What fills him with great jealousy is the ability of his 90 % ladinoized rival Diego

<sup>1</sup> On good authority I was told that this man used to solicit the graces of Indian women with property, afterwards offer them money and later when they could not pay he would get them to sign over their lands to him.

to marry and acquire ladino mistresses, as well as the latter's ability to read and write. Gaspar struggled for some time to learn to write but apparently he was never able to learn.

His greatest disappointment is that no ladina woman will have anything to do with him and a large part of his efforts are to make himself attractive in their eyes, but all to no avail. Undoubtedly one reason why he decided to dress more like a ladino and to build his ladino house was because of this frustrated wish which is a great blow to his pride and prestige among ladinos. Several of his sons, however, are married to ladina women.

His greatest admiration is for the General whom he also fears. He regards him as a man of great justice and he is always on the lookout to fulfill his orders or slightest wish. Because of my letter from the General to Gaspar, the latter will ride with me anywhere I want to go in the region, and his assistance and introductions have been invaluable to me in my field work, which he, nevertheless, regards with suspicion and believes must have some ulterior commercial or other motive.

Indians treat him outwardly with great respect, greet him with shalaxi pap, an expression reserved for principales and older respected people, but many fear and dislike him and feel that he is out to acquire their lands or to denounce them to the government.

His attitude towards Indian "costumbre" or ~~beliefs and practices~~ <sup>in the region</sup> is one of intense reserve at least to all non-Indians. As an informant at first he was full of guile and assumed either a manner of telling all in a deprecating way without giving away anything, or of denying the existence of Indian religious custom and belief other than that which centred about the church. Since other Indians as well as ladinos had informed me that he knew more of costumbre than anybody else, I kept at him until I gradually extracted

pieces of information by collecting material from other sources and getting him to enlarge or check on it. When he saw I had genuine information, he became really interested in my researches on the native calendar which is still the central force of Indian life and belief, and he assisted me in every way to make contacts with the professional keepers of the day counts, and acted as interpreter for them. He rode with me to other towns and aldeas to hunt up these calendar priests.

With regard to the calendar, he admitted it had "mucho contenido" and religious truth to it, but whenever I brought up folk beliefs such as nagualism, origin of the world stories, birth, marriage, or death customs, he generally roared with laughter and said, "son mentiras". Finally I got him to the point of telling me some of these beliefs and customs (which I always checked later with other informants) while admitting that of course they were just lies and the fantasies of ignorant people. Since outwardly he has to keep up his position of practical equality with ladinos he cannot afford to risk their ridicule or hostility by admitting his knowledge or part in Indian costumbre. Most ladinos, much to the annoyance of the Indians, do everything to ridicule and suppress native religious worship, destroy the latter's shrines and outdoor crosses if they interfere with some civic project, and call all non-church native worship brujeria. Since there is a national law against non-medical curers, such an attitude causes most native worship to be relatively secret and to take place mostly outside of town in the mountains and aldeas or late at night in town where there are many fixed sacred ceremonial shrines or crosses.

Gaspar believes that all who profess and call themselves brujos are merely exploiters and liars who are out to make money <sup>by</sup> deceiving people: he does not believe that there is such a thing as a sincere brujo. He is,

nevertheless, not free from superstition about them, and on another occasion he told me that he knew a man a "nagual" who claimed he could draw blood from his arm, throw it in the air, and instantly cause an animal such as a wolf or a lion to appear and flee into the mountains.

On one of our riding trips to Chajul where we were always hospitably received in the house of an Indian principal and friend of his, he began to recite folk tales in very fluent Spanish. Most of these were moral allegories of Christian-Spanish origin mixed with many local features and used to illustrate points in our conversation. Away from town and ladinos he always became less reserved and would volunteer information and ask me many questions about my country.

"Was the Sun in my country just the Sun or was it also God?"

"What was God called in my country?"

To the latter I replied that God in my country was sometimes called "Luz del mundo", and Gaspar said, "That's just what we call him here, Dios Mundo".

He believes that in a pure state of mind dreams can be a message from God and said he had dreamed it was all right for us to go on a trip, that a God appeared and the day was favorable.

At the time of the 5 day unlucky end of year period followed by the annual change of Yearbearer and beginning of a new year, Gaspar was out of town and I could not get hold of him although he had promised to take me to some of the new year ceremonies. He returned the 2nd day of the native year with many excuses, saying that he had been held up because a mozo of his had been badly burned at his panela finca. I suspected that he had been observing the native custom of this period of the year as all Indians had been doing, but he was excessively reserved and would admit nothing. At that time I wanted to get in touch with a zahorin of the type

who specialized in matchmaking and marriage customs of whom I knew there were several in Nebaj, but Gaspar said there were no zahorines of any kind in town. I brought up the fact that I had been working with one who could read and write and was writing down native prayers for me, and he instantly said that this man was entirely unreliable and would give me a lot of false information, and to be sure and bring everything to him to be checked on. In this case there was a real jealousy because of his not being able to write, and Gaspar was being ~~secret~~ Indian rather than ladino. He would not even discuss the calendar on which we had worked so many times before.

A week later his mood/<sup>had</sup>changed . He knew that I was collecting information from other sources and was curious to know what this was. I went to see him in his ladino house where he often stayed during the day, and he volunteered a lot of information about himself. Prior to this I had been in contact with a young ladino, the grandson of Doña J, the first ladina to come to Nebaj, both of whom were the only ones in town to have any real understanding or affection for the Indians. As a consequence the latter were very fond of them. Doña J and her grandson had been of the greatest help <sup>in</sup> to telling me of her first experiences with the Indians and the activities of the ladinos. They had told Gaspar that he could have complete confidence in me as a friend of the natives. One reason he had been so secretive and reserved was his constant fear that I would discuss costumbre with ladinos and he might be ridiculed. I had finally proved to him that all information was in confidence and was never discussed with those uninterested or hostile to it. At all events on this day when asked if he knew his ancestry, he said, "Yes", that he was descended from the old Reyes and knew his ancestors names for 1000 years back. He gave vent to a really aristocratic philosophy, about the importance of respecting

elders, about the continuity of truth throughout the ages, of learning the ancient teaching from his father and grandfather, of money not really counting, of simplicity and justice, about educated upstarts with no background, of keeping one's cultural heritage in the narrow path, and adhering to it as a force against the encroachment of corrupt nobodies with a scattered and flashy education.

He said he would some day tell me his ancestry and what they taught him, but ~~as yet~~ this has not been forthcoming. Formerly he admitted that Indians were divided into the four classes of warriors, priests, merchants and workers and even today the class divisions were strong.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the above seemed to me quite inconsistent with his well-known highly commercial ways which did not fit into the philosophy as stated. He several times had justified in conversation, the former ladino methods of lending money and acquiring lands. If people could not pay up their debts it was perfectly just to take their lands, he believed.

In religion, Gaspar like all Indians, claims to be a Christian and a Catholic, but does not like evangelism. He believes in God, Jesus Christ, Saints and Angels, but he never goes to mass or confession or attends a church sacrament. He and his children were baptized, but he was not married in the church. His excuse for the latter was not the usual one that it was too expensive, but, "imagine having to stick to only one woman for life". I told him about divorces in the U.S.A. and he thought that a very sensible system. Evangelists, of whom there is an American one who occasionally visits Nebaj and has a chapel and about ten ladino

<sup>1</sup> At present class distinctions are observable between principales who are former or present government officials and larger landowners who live in special streets, zahorines or professional priests who specialize in pagan religious and social ceremony, and workers who own little or no land and in many cases dress differently. Salquilito a barrio of Nebaj was formerly and is mostly inhabited by workers who wear blue and grey woolen jackets instead of the usual red one, and the blue skirt. Have not been able to determine if merchants

converts, he regards as not having the truth. At the same time he is outwardly friendly with the evangelist, got him to send him a gold watch chain from Guatemala, and allowed him to put up a poster of the American Bible Society in his shop.

Like other Indians, Gaspar sees no inconsistency in accepting native calendar and mountain worship. He believes this ancient Indian inheritance contains great truth, according to his own statement. I was first told by D.S., the zahorin who could write, that Gaspar being rich, had his own private zahorines whom he payed to worship for him and burn pom and candles, and sent to all the mountain shrines and crosses of the region including the most sacred shrine of Huyi at Chajul. His zahorines observed all the Yearbearer rites every five days, every 20 days for the Alcalde Mayor or Main Yearbearer, 260 days after the opening of the year, and for the entrance of the new Yearbearer at the opening of the year, as well as all the native worship that exists.

Much of this statement was confirmed by an incident which occurred later. The Jefe Politico came to Nebaj on his annual visit and while there told Gaspar to be sure to take me anywhere I wanted to go. Gaspar took this as an order although he wanted to go with the General to other towns of the region. He appeared the next morning to ride with me over to a sacred cave to which he had formerly promised to accompany me. We left at 5 A.M. by moonlight and rode up in the mountains for five hours through narrow steep trails with many difficult ascents and descents to a small caserio called Birramos. We left our horses and walked about 3 kilometres and came to a large cave in the hillside whose entrance was quite hidden by trees. Inside was a great stone altar about 6 feet high and ten feet long. In the centre of this altar was an opening containing an upright

are still regarded as a special group. Doña J. told me that this caste system was in existence when she first came to Nebaj in 1887.

white stone like a stalactite, and the usual two or three wooden crosses and flowers. The whole altar was covered with a whitewashed stucco, and carved in relief along the top face was a very archaic looking animal head with two paws like a lion, on the left another beast of the same kind, and on the right a monkey. In front was another table-shaped stone about two feet high covered with a pile of pom ashes.

After showing me the cave, Gaspar spoke for practically the first time during the trip. He was intensely emotional and serious, and said the cave was called Xetish, which meant; "where formerly there dwelt a God". He said he had now fulfilled the General's orders although he would much preferred to have gone with him instead. No ladinos had ever been to this very sacred spot or knew of it, only natives. He himself sent zahorines here to pray and offer pom and candles on the Alcalde or Year-bearer days. He hoped I would report to the General and tell him that his orders had been fulfilled.

I was very grateful to him because the whole situation had been a misunderstanding and I could have gone on any other day, and I promised to have pom and candles sent up by his zahorin on the next Main Yearbearer day, which would occur in three days, in gratitude for having been able to visit such a sacred spot. Gaspar was appreciative of this because it was, he said, his main centre of worship and he came there himself on "romerias" to pray.<sup>1</sup>

The situation was a rather pathetic conflict between appearing as the General's ladino assistant, which he regards himself, and trying to

<sup>1</sup> Prayers are to God, Jesus Christ, Saints, Angels, Day-Lords, Mountains, Sun, Corn, and Animas.

act objective about his own native Indian, largely pagan, centre of worship, which had always been kept a secret from prying ladinos.

On the way home from the cave we found that the bushes and trees had been felled across a large piece of the trail by Indians who Gaspar said were angry because we had visited Xetish. It took an hour's chopping with machetes before we could get through with our horses.

After this trip, back in town, Gaspar instantly became very commercially minded. He was obviously annoyed about not having gone with the General, and he gave vent to his feelings by trying to sell me an old horse and a broken saddle, to overcharge for a bag of coffee, and to refuse to pay for a gold ring which he had asked my wife to order for him in Guatemala. On all previous occasions he had consistently refused payment for his services to me saying that all he wanted to do was to carry out the General's orders. Previously I had brought him a gold ring from Guatemala which he had wanted. He had expected to pay for this and was most surprised when it was offered as a present, and not particularly appreciative. He later ordered another one, but when I tried to collect for it, he became suspicious and wanted to know if the rings were really gold and thought them very expensive. He thought I was trying to pawn off false gold rings on him and charge for real ones. Later he asked me if when he came to Guatemala to see a Doctor he could stay with me and pay me board.

It is obvious that Gaspar is an interesting study of individual adjustment to two different cultural patterns. Brought up as a child and conditioned in the pre-ladino Indian culture, he later took advantage through his official government office of Alcalde of the newly arrived ladino methods of getting rich at the expense of Indians. Because of his wealth he was thrown more and more with ladinos who in most cases were better off

financially than the Indians, and he acquired some of their outward ways and manners, but largely he remained an Indian in temperament, way of living at home, in dress, in not learning to read and write, and in keeping the pagan religion. He regarded himself mainly as an Indian principal and at heart disliked the ladinos. In recent years he suddenly decided, however, to appear more ladino, to abandon Indian dress,<sup>1</sup> and to build a ladino house, and to depreciate and denounce a large part of Indian costumbre. Factors which caused this change were probably close association with the General, the desire to marry a ladina woman brought on by jealousy of his successful (in this respect) rival and fellow principal, who lives, dresses, and <sup>is</sup> married <sup>to</sup> ~~to~~ a ladino; and finally commercial reasons. He probably realized after several trips to Guatemala and a knowledge that when the proposed motor highway and electric light plant come to Nebaj it will be more profitable to be a ladino.

With only slight information as yet on the old Indian caste system and its present influence, it is still impossible to say conclusively whether Gaspar's ability to adopt ladino commercial and exploiting methods is an extension of the old upper caste methods or just the change of one individual to new and alien ways. Observation of other principal families in Nebaj and Chajul who are pure Indian, shows that they employ labor, live in certain sections of the towns in better houses, are greeted especially, often assume government office, and often but not always own relatively more lands than other Indians. Mayordomos of cofradias are chosen from these families. Gaspar and one other (to be described) are the two most important principales in Nebaj who have assumed in different proportions ladino patterns of behavior.

<sup>1</sup> In July 1940 he ordered his first complete woolen tailor made sack suit.

2) Diego B.

Diego B. is also supposed to be descended from one of the old top caste families and he is about the same age as Gaspar and was brought up in the same Indian manner. His later experience was, however, different. At the time Gaspar was acquiring experience with local ladinos in Nebaj, Diego was in Guatemala as a soldier where he learned to read and write very fluently. When he returned to Nebaj he never reverted to Indian ways. He has always dressed completely as a well-to-do ladino, lived in ladino houses, and married ladina women. At present he is married to one and at the same time has two ladina mistresses in separate houses in town. He became<sup>a</sup>/habilitador and also acquired lands from Indians. He has a reputation for being very ruthless both among Indians and ladinos, and for not being entirely trustworthy. He became involved in law suits and today he is not particularly well off. He has one small finca in an aldea, and a good sized house in town which contains a pottery and vegetable shop.

He also served as Alcalde at one time, and because of his ability to read and write both his native language and Spanish he is constantly in attendance at the Intendencia as interpreter. Ladinos treat him as one of themselves and he takes great pride in admitting that he knows nothing of Indian costumbre. He ridicules it and has been known to take the side of ladinos in questions involving the removal of native shrines or other changes in custom. For pay he will collect information from native zahorines and write/<sup>it</sup>~~them~~ down in Ixil and Spanish. Several times he brought me false information, but when his attention was called to it he would occasionally bring valuable material. The Priest in town has hitherto never been able to get any information from the Indians because they know he is trying to suppress pagan worship. One day Diego came in when I was talking to the priest and brought me some information on the calendar. The priest jumped on it and said, "Why don't they tell me these things?"

Diego became very emotional and could hardly speak or even breathe at being caught revealing or even knowing Indian lore. Later the priest took lessons in the native language with him and Diego gave him a false native calendar. Diego always says that of course he knows personally none of the native "costumbre" but must collect the information from others.

From a zahorin I found out that the only Indian worship observed by Diego was the cult of the Alcalde Mayor or main Yearbearer of a current year that occurs every 20 days. He hired a zahorin to pray and burn pom for him at the mountain crosses only for this one Yearbearer. "Costumbre" for the other three Yearbearers and all other pagan rites are ignored.

A rather ironic situation occurred on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, when the only ladino Cofradia, that of the Concepcion, has its annual ceremony. The Image of the Virgin is carried in procession by ladino "virgins" dressed in white from the church to the Cofradia house, which is a ladino house chosen every year to take charge of the Image. The only Indian element in this celebration is the accompaniment of Indian drummer and chirimia player in the procession. On the occasion in which I took part in this procession the "ladino" Cofradia house chosen was that of Diego Brito. When the Virgin reached the house a young man came out and gave an awkward speech in Spanish to the effect that we should all keep our minds on pure things at a time like this. The Virgin, symbolizing absolute purity, was then enthroned in a bower of roses in this house of a notorious Indian who was at that time, known to all, keeping two ladino mistresses in town. This occasion also showed how high was his prestige among ladinos.

Diego's greatest disappointment is his inability to have children, and to compensate for this he often adopts ladino babies of poor families.

and he and his wife bring them up until they are seven years old, a situation showing a less ruthless strain of character than his other traits.

On the whole, I should say that Diego is 90% ladino, and is a case of acculturation by acceptance. In spite of being brought up in, <sup>the</sup> Indian manner, his Guatemalan experience caused him to change largely to an alien culture pattern at an early age. He retains only a very small part of Indian pagan belief, and has the distinction even more than Gaspar, of being the only Indian who is completely accepted as one of themselves by ladinos. He has accepted the behavior pattern and inner values or (lack of values) of an alien attenuated culture at the expense of, and largely the loss of, the old Indian-Spanish-Catholic cultural heritage.

Again it is still impossible to state how far the fact of his being the descendant of an old Indian upper caste family is responsible for his change to a way of life having possible parallel elements.

Both Gaspar and Diego are the last two Indians who together with Diego de Leon,<sup>1</sup> did not have to pay tribute to the government, although they were both used to extracting payment of tribute to themselves from lower caste Indians. Up till recently under the present administration which forbids collecting of tribute, Gaspar is supposed to have had 50 or more laboress who worked free for him as payment of tribute to an upper caste Indian. Doña J. says that there was <sup>some</sup> endogamy among the castes and no intermarriage between them. Especially none of the three top castes of Nebaj would marry or mix socially with the blue-shirted workers, who lived and still live in Salquilito, a large barrio or canton on the edge of Nebaj.

<sup>1</sup> From Doña J.E. first non-Indian to settle in Nebaj in 1887. See notes on ladinos.

Part III Religion.

A. The Calendar.

B. The Church and the Cofradias.

## AMONG THE IXIL SPEAKING PEOPLE .-

In living use among the 25, 000 or so Ixil speaking Indians<sup>1</sup> who comprise the municipios of Nebaj, Chajul, and Cotzal, with their central towns and aldeas and caseríos or rural districts, is found an ancient unwritten calendar which I have been recording since August 1939, after visiting all the towns and many of the rural districts of this highland region of Guatemala, and after consulting at least 25 divinator-calendar priests. This calendar has a 365 day year called uallab in Ixil; 20 day names; 13 repeating numbers; 12, 14, or 18 uinals<sup>2</sup> or month names which vary in name and order in each town and with each calendar priest; a 260 day tzolkin cycle which dates from the opening day of the native year; a 360 day period identical to the old Maya tun; 5 end of year supernumerary days called O'ki, identical with Old Maya uayeb; and 4 Yearbearer days called Alcaldes del Mundo or ij yab, which succeed each other every five days in regular order in the 20 day count, and every year as opening days of the year.

Termer is the only one to mention the Ixil calendar, but his one statement is that the tzolkin is probably in use in the Ixil district of Nebaj and Chajul, but he has no information on the subject.<sup>3</sup> With regard to the ancient uinals, he states that he was unable to discover anything relating to the uinals of the past, and future travellers should give their attention to the subject.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Official but unpublished census of Nebaj and Chajul of April 1940. There are approximately 1,200 ladinos centred mainly in the 3 towns of the municipios. Even after a year of visiting the region I could not find one who knew anything of the Indian calendar.
- 2 The Old Maya word uinal is used for the month which strictly should be only 20 days.
- 3 Termer - op. cit. p. 382.
- 4 Termer - op cit. p. 394.

He records a list of uinals claiming to be Chuj from Santa Eulalia<sup>1</sup>, but La Farge found no corroboration for these in his study of Santa Eulalia<sup>2</sup>, and I found that these names were completely unknown to two calendar priests among a large colony of Santa Eulalians living at a finca near Ilom<sup>3</sup>. The Ixil at Ilom, when I read these names to them, knew what they were but said they belonged to another language which they did not know, with the exception of two names, mol and huatzikin, which are almost identical in their own partial list of uinals.<sup>4</sup> Mol of course is also old Maya. Tap, one of the names on the list, is also the name of <sup>a</sup>present day Indian place of worship on an archaeological mound in the centre of Nebaj.

The calendar is not only an accurate measurer of annual solar time, with the exception of leap year calculations, but is a religious, ceremonial, and divinatory director of man's destiny.<sup>5</sup> It controls his daily life in the spheres of worship, agriculture, domestic and social life, and influences his behaviour in connection with birth, love, marriage, social etiquette, and earning his living from the earth, and death. The days, which are also divinities to whom he prays, exert favorable and unfavourable influences on all his activities.<sup>6</sup> Although some of the features of this ancient calendar are beginning to be lost, it still endures as the core of Indian religion after 400 years of Spanish and Christian influence and efforts to suppress native custom, and in spite

<sup>1</sup> Termer -op. cit. pp.390-391. The 18 uinal or 20 day month names listed as Chuj from Santa Eulalia are, 1. Mol, 2. Mak, 3. Onen, 4. Sivil, 5. Tap, 6. Oyobin, 7. Bex, 8. Sacmay, 9. Nabich, 10. Mo, 11. Bac, 12. Tam, 13. Huatzikin, 14. Kanal, 15. Yaxaquil, 16. Yaxul, 17. Savul, 18. Xujim.

<sup>2</sup> La Farge - op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Finca La Perla Nov. 1939.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 7-9

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 22 on divination.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 12-14.

of the use of the Gregorian calendar as well to date Catholic holidays,<sup>1</sup> and for secular life that centres in relations with ladinos, and commercial and market activities.<sup>2</sup>

Information on the calendar was collected from and checked by 25 or more leading Indian principales<sup>3</sup> and professional divinator-calendar priests<sup>4</sup>, some of whom were special keepers of the day and number counts in the town of Nebaj with its remoter rural districts of Sumal, Acul, Salquil Grande, and Tzalbal, and the town of Chajul with its hamlets of Tzotzil, Ilom, and Chel'. Only professional divinator calendar priests know the calendar thoroughly, and the sacred prayers, divination and rites connected with it. Principales and other laymen may have considerable knowledge of it, but for any serious occasion when the calendar must be consulted or special rites must be performed, a professional must be called in, payed a fee and given offerings for prayers of pom incense, candles, rockets, and aguardiente.

- <sup>1</sup> These are observed throughout the year and follow a separate cycle from native calendar celebrations.
- <sup>2</sup> The bi-weekly market in Nebaj was begun only 15 years ago by Indians. Prior to this there was only one large annual market for the fiesta of the patron Saint, Santa Maria on August 15, and Indians used to come into Nebaj from the rural districts singly and in groups at any time when they had something to sell. (Information from D.C., who was Indian Alcalde at the time the market was started, and from Don P.B. pioneer ladino of the region).
- <sup>3</sup> Principales mean all Indians who have or have had a part in the local government. A calendar priest may or may not be a principal. In Ilom the 1st, Regidor in the government was also 1st, Rezador or prayermaker.
- <sup>4</sup> In Spanish rezador and zahorin are used for shaman-calendar priest divinator. I shall use calendar priest for short. This type of professional is a shaman in that he is in direct touch with and an interpreter of the supernatural through his dreams and through divinatory inspiration from his sacred red pito beans, and he is a priest when he officiates at ceremonial acts which result from the interpretation of the sacred calendar.

- 5. Rezador (used by Indians) Ixil  
Balvashteesh (Father before God-Nebaj).
- Zahorin (used mostly by Indians, the term they prefer Mama (Grandfather or ancestor-Chajul).
- Brujo (1. used by ladinos mostly in contempt for all types of Indian religious professionals. Nagual (used by Indians, <sup>for the</sup> who can send out his soul and take possession of another's, and can change into an animal.



All of the above again shows that the count of days has been maintained in widely separated sections without error since the conquest.<sup>1</sup>

By assuming that there were Yearbearers, I asked directly for their names and was instantly given the four days, E, Noj, I'q and Iche, and from the information that followed, I found the real resemblances to and differences from present day Quiche calendars, which in Momostenango<sup>2</sup>, Santa Maria Chiquimula<sup>3</sup>, and Naguala<sup>4</sup>, have the identical Yearbearers with linguistic differences. Chichicastenango probably formerly had these same Yearbearers<sup>5</sup>. In Nebaj and Chajul and in Cotzal, the four Yearbearer days are called Alcaldes del Mundo in Spanish and ij yab in Ixil and they are the same ones listed as Old Quiché Yearbearers<sup>6</sup>, and they do not occur as

<sup>1</sup> Thompson, J.E. - A Correlation of the Mayan and Gregorian Calendars. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series. Vol. XVII, N° 2, 1930. (See below\*)

<sup>2</sup> In Momostenango a few of the remoter rural professional calendar priests or tchuchkajau have knowledge of the 4 Alcaldes del Mundo which are I'K, Quiej, E, Noj. They speak of the "4 Alcaldes del Mundo en el mam". Mam means grandfather or ancestor. (Information from Don Ernesto Lang of Momostenango, and Don Abel de Leon, ladino Intendente of S.M. Chiquimula).

<sup>3</sup> In Santa Maria Chiquimula, a pure Indian town of 9,836 Quiche speaking inhabitants, the identical 20 day names and 4 Yearbearers are found only much more widespread than in Momostenango. I spent Oct. 24-25, 1940 here and collected the calendar with day names and Yearbearers. (Don Abel de Leon informant, and assembled regidores and cofrades).

<sup>4</sup> I visited Naguala on October 22, 1940 and amongst the cofrades of the Cofradia de la Cruz got an admission from 3 of them that the 4 Yearbearers, I'q, Quiej, E, and Noj were in use there.

<sup>5</sup> In Chichicastenango there may be a few who observe these Yearbearer days, but this feature has practically disappeared. I noticed that on the Yearbearer day 2 Quiej, October 27, 1940, that the important ceremony of raising the volador pole took place.

<sup>6</sup> La Farge and Byers - op. cit., p. 176, see p 11-12 ahead.

\* Maya Chronology - The Correlation Question. Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937. Publication 456, N° 14, pp. 53-104.

such in any other native Maya calendars past or present, according to the literature. They appear as ordinary days in many other Maya calendars that have other days for Yearbearers<sup>1</sup>.

It was very difficult at first to get any information about the existence of the uinals or Old Maya 20 day month names. I tried in several villages with no results until I reached Ilom and read to the first Regidor who was also a prayermaker and a group of principales, Termer's list of alleged uinals from Santa Eulalia. When they came to the word mol they said immediately that this word was in their language (Ixil), and represented one of their costumbres having to do with the year. The other words belonged to a language they did not understand, but they knew what they represented. Afterwards they gave me a list of 8 names which they called the toj amak or time of the year, but soon became confused and said that most of the names were now lost and the order of them no longer known, except to a few old mamas or calendar priests who still keep track of them. They said that these costumbres of the year were not observed any more, but they gave the name of an old calendar priest in Chajul who would probably know more about them. After this experience I knew what to ask for, and in other villages was able to get further information.

At Chel I got a list of 14 names, 7 of which were the same as at Ilom, but in a different order. The calendar priest who gave them to me, however, made some of the month names begin on the day of the Main Yearbearer or Alcalde Mayor for the current year which turns up every 20 days. The names, therefore, represent true uinals or 20 day periods.

<sup>1</sup> Listed in *ibid.* Yucatan Maya Yearbearers are Kan, Muluc, Ix, Cauac, and Jacaltenango ones are watan, K'anil, ah, tcinax. In the latter calendar the same 4 Ixil names occur one day ahead of the Yearbearers as ordinary days. Lowland old Empire Maya calendar probably used Akbal, Lamat, Ben, Eznab for Yearbearers. (See E. Thompson - The Correlation Question, pp. 101-102. See p. 11, Note 4.)

In Nebaj, three calendar priests had the same consecutive list of 12 month names, or uinals called the tachbal amak or "time of the year of the ancients", which occurred in a definite order correlated with the Gregorian year. Twelve names covered the 360 day period, and left room for the 5 day supernumerary end of year O'ki period. Five of these names were the same as found in other Ixil villages, five were the same or similar to Old Maya (Yax'ki, Mol, Chentemak, Muenchin and Kajab)<sup>1</sup>, and two were the same as on Termer's unknown list claiming to be from Santa Eulalia<sup>2</sup> (mol and Tzikin'ki).

In all villages it was said that there were still old men who knew that 18 names existed for the 20 day periods of the year, and later I found one in Nebaj who knew this in general<sup>3</sup>, and another in Chajul<sup>4</sup> who gave me a list of 18 month names and the extra 5 day period, but as usual with the exact order uncertain.

IXIL MONTH NAMES OF THE TOJ AMAK (Nov. - Dec. 1939) (*Tachbal Amak same - "Toj" used in Chajul & Aldeas - "Tachbal" in Nebaj*)

ILOM (An aldea of Chajul)

1. Chentemak (Old Maya Chen) (Kekchi)<sup>5</sup>
2. Mol Masat (Old Maya Mol)
3. Nol
4. Muenchin (Old Maya Muan)
5. Tchochol
6. Talcho
7. Nimcho
8. Tchotzcho (Old Maya Zots?)

O'ki - five day end of year period with date certain.

CHEL (An aldea of Chajul)

1. Tzu'ki (7 E to 4 Batz or Nov. 11 to Nov. 26. A true uinal of 20 days beginning with the Main Yearbearer).
2. Tzunun'ki (5 E to 11 Batz or Nov. 27 to Dec. 16. Also a true uinal).
3. Chentemak (Old Maya Chen) (Kekchi)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 9 ahead.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 2 Note 1

<sup>3</sup> Vicente C.

<sup>4</sup> Sebastian C.

<sup>5</sup> Thompson, J.E. - A Maya Calendar from the Alta Verapaz, Guatemala. American Anthropologist - Vol 34, pp. 449-454, 1932.

- 4. Muenchin (Old Maya Muan)
- 5. Och'ki
- 6. Koj'ki
- 7. Talcho
- 8. Nimcho
- 9. Tchoochcho
- 10. Avax'ki
- 11. Petzetz'ki
- 12. Yowal
- 13. Nol'ki
- 14. Mol Tche (Old Maya Mol)

O'ki - five day end of year period with date certain

Tel callab - end of year

Toke ballab - entry of new year

CHAJUL (1st. list collected Dec. 1939)<sup>1</sup>

- 1. Mol Tche
- 2. Nol'ki
- 3. Xet'ki
- 4. Talcho
- 5. Nimcho
- 6. Metch'ki
- 7. Yax'ki
- 8. Hui'ki
- 9. Tzil'ki

O'ki - five day end of year period with date certain.

CHAJUL UINALS (given on Nov. 24 and 27, 1940)

Order of first 7 same on both Nov. 24 and Nov. 27).

- 1. Mol Tche - 12 Noj to 5 Amak (Nov. 6 to 25)
- 2. Och'ki - 6 Noj to 12 Amak (Nov. 26 to Dec. 15).
- 3. Mek'aj - 13 Noj to 6 Amak (Dec. 16 to Jan. 4)
- 4. Koj'ki - 7 Noj to 13 Amak (Jan. 5 to Jan. 24)
- 5. Talcho - 1 Noj to 7 Amak (Jan. 25 to Feb. 13)
- 6. Nimcho - 8 Noj to 1 Amak (Feb. 14 to March 5)

O'ki - 2 Noj to 6 Imux (March 6-10)

New Year opens with 1'q (March 11, 1941)

November 24 list

- 7. A'ki
- 8. Tchojtcho
- 9. Kucham
- 10. Petzetz'ki
- 11. Xukul'ki
- 12. Yowal
- 13. Muen
- 14. Chentemak
- 15. Pactzi
- 16. Nol'ki
- 17. Zil'ki
- 18. Zoj'ki

November 27 list

- 7. Tchojtcho
- 8. Kucham
- 9. Yowal
- 10. Muen
- 11. Chentemak
- 12. Pactzi
- 13. A'ki
- 14. Nol'ki
- 15. Petzetz'ki
- 16. Xukul
- 17. Zil'ki
- 18. Zoj'ki

<sup>1</sup> Diego ~~M~~ - or Tek Tus

NEBAJ<sup>1</sup>

- |                          |                            |  |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| 1. Muenchin              | - Shadows from the straw.  | March 11 to April 13                                   |
|                          | Time of sowing.            | (Old Maya Muan) (Kekchi Muen) <sup>2</sup>             |
| 2. Mu                    |                            | April 14 to May 13                                     |
| 3. Mol or                | When the <u>clarineros</u> | May 14 to to June 12                                   |
| Molchu                   | assemble                   | (Old Maya Mol and Termer's <sup>3</sup> Santa Eulalia) |
| 4. Tzanakbai             | - Little green animals     | June 13 to July 12                                     |
| 5. Tzikin'ki             | - Plantings that people    | July 13 to August 11                                   |
|                          | used to make               |  |
| 6. Chen temak            | - Little is lacking        | August 12 to September 10                              |
|                          | before the harvest         | (Kekchi) <sup>2</sup> (Tzeltal chan)                   |
| 7. Lajab'ki              | -                          | Sept. 11 to Oct. 10                                    |
| 8. Cajab'ki              | -                          | Oct. 11 to Nov. 9                                      |
|                          |                            | (Old Maya Cayab)                                       |
| 9. Onchil                | - Time when little         | Nov. 10 to Dec. 9                                      |
|                          | animals come out of the    |  |
|                          | earth                      |  |
| 10. Pactzi               | - Kind of bird             | Dec. 10 to Jan. 8                                      |
|                          |                            | (Old Maya Pax <sup>7</sup> and Old Quiche              |
|                          |                            | Pach?) <sup>4</sup>                                    |
| 11. Talcho               | - Time when the corn is    | Jan. 9 to Feb. 7                                       |
|                          | little.                    |  |
| 12. Nimcho               | - Time of large animals    | Feb. 8 to March 5                                      |
|                          |                            |  |
|                          | O'ki                       | - 5 days   |
|                          |                            | March 6 to 10  |
| 13. Tzijep <sup>5</sup>  |                            |  |
| 14. Mama'ki <sup>5</sup> |                            |  |

<sup>1</sup> Names and dates from Diego B and Nicolas B<sup>2</sup>, meanings from Vicente C. Gregorian dates do not fit exactly the opening of Native Year and do not take account of leap years. An attempt on the part of one or two calendar priests to freeze some of the month names into the Gregorian year.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson, J.E.- A Maya Calendar from the Alta Verapaz, Guatemala. Amer. Anthropol. Vol 34, N° 3, 1932, p.452.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 2 Note.)

<sup>4</sup> Old Quiche uinals were, 1. Nabe tzih, 2. Ucak tzih, 3. Rox Tzih, 4. Che, 5. Tecoxepual, 6. Tzibe, Pop, 7. Zak, 8. Chab, 9. Huno Bixgih, 10. Nabe Mam, 11. Ucab Mam, 12. Nabe Liginga, 13. Ucab Liginga, 14. Nabe Pach, 15. Ucab Pach, 16. Tzikin Gi, 17 Tzizi lagan, 18. Cakam (Brinton- Annals of the Cakchiquel p.)

<sup>5</sup> Given later by old calendar priest Nicolas B.

<sup>6</sup> Redfield and Villa- Ethnography of Tzeltal Communities of Chiapas. Carnegie Publication N° 509 (Contributions to American Anthropology and History), 1939, N° 28, pp.107 seq.

The whole year of 365 days is called uallab which is almost identical with Old Maya Uayeb for the 5 day end of year period. The days with their respective numbers are believed by some to begin at sun down of the preceding Gregorian day given in the list. Others think the day begins at midnight at the same time as a Gregorian day. Ceremonies for the entering day nevertheless, often begin at sundown, hence I shall adhere to to the Old Maya custom of regarding the day as beginning at this time.<sup>1</sup> For instance the day 5 E, the beginning of the year, entered on the evening of March 11, 1939 but it is listed as March 12. The calendar is made up of two counts; the count of 13 numbers and the count of 20 days, each count being officially kept by different calendar priests (in Chajul) who specialize in their respective counts. The 13 numbers and the 20 days are both regarded as sacred beings or deities who are worshipped and petitioned in prayer.<sup>2</sup> The 13 numbers with their days are referred to as the Thirteen Kings, and one old calendar priest in Nebaj said to me, "The twenty days is the King".<sup>3</sup>

The Ixil number count which keeps repeating ad infinitum is:

1. Úmvwal, 2. Káwal, 3. Óxwal, 4. Kajwal, 5. Ówal, 6. Vwajil, 7. Bujwal,
8. Vwashakíl, 9. Belúwal, 10. Láwal, 11. Hunláwal, 12. Capláwal, 13. Oxláwal.

In connection with numbers, the Ixil have no knowledge of the concept of zero, as did the Old Mayas. This is to be expected because the keepers of the counts carry them in their heads and no longer have any system of writing, and zero has never been known among illiterate peoples.

The 20 days with their meanings, beginning with the Main Yearbearer or Alcalde Mayor del Mundo which opened the year on March 12, 1939<sup>4</sup>; are

<sup>1</sup> Spinden, H.J. Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America, pp. 11-145, 1928.

For instance, on July 14, 1940 at sun-down I saw a man praying at a cross near the lake at Nebaj. I looked on my calendar and found that the Yearbearer day 1'q should enter at this time. On July 23, 1940 Nicolas B., calendar priest of Nebaj told me a  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour before sun-down that in  $\frac{1}{2}$ , an hour he was going out to pray at the 4th. Yearbearer cross for the entry of the Yearbearer E.

as follows compared with Old Quiche, and modern Quiche from Santa Maria

Chiquimula, and Momostenango.

	<u>IXIL</u>	<u>OLD QUICHE</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>CHIQUMULA</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>MOMOSTENANGO</u> <sup>3</sup>
<u>Main Yearbearer for 1939-'40</u>	<u>E</u> - teeth	<u>EE &amp; Ci</u> -teeth	<u>'E</u> - roads	<u>E</u> - departure
	Aj - cane	& balam - <u>tigre</u> ah - cane	aj - cane	ach - staff
	I'x - to remove grain from corn.	balam - <u>tigre</u> and itz- <u>brujo</u>	I'x -You (pl)Iirz-	thorn
	Tzikin - bird	tkikin - bird	Tzikin-bird	Tzikin - bird
	A'mak - sinner	ahmak- sinner	Ajmak -sinner	Achmak-sinner
<u>Yearbearer for 1940-'41</u>	<u>NOJ</u> - Alcalde	<u>Noh</u> -temperature	<u>Noj</u> - idea	Noch-living and ideã
	Tijax - Day of sacrifice	tihac-flint & obsidian knife	Tijax-devils flesh	Tijax-ti.jax draw out
	Kauok -Guardian of the World	kaok-rain	Kauok-2 meals	Cauac-eater
	Hunahpu-A God	hunahpu- a blow jun shooter	Hunajpu- branches of flowers	Junajpu
	Imux -The World <sup>2</sup>	nomoc-sword	Imox-crazy	Imox-advancer
<u>Yearbearer for 1941-'42</u>	<u>I'Q</u> - air	<u>IK</u> - spirit	I'q - anger	Irsk-shaman
	Akbal -night	agbal-house	akabal-dark-ness	Akabal-noct-urnal
	Katch - net	k'at -lizard	Kat-net	Kat-net
	Kan - snake	kan- snake	Kan-walking	Kan-walker
	Kamel - death	kame- death	Kamel-death	Kame - death

(contd. from page 10)

Yearbearer ceremonies began at Huyl at sun-down the day before.

<sup>2</sup> See prayer at end of article.

<sup>3</sup> "El veinte dias es el Rey".

<sup>4</sup> Date repeatedly checked with informants and by being present for opening of year March 11, 1940, and many calendar celebrations throughout a year.

<sup>2</sup> ~~also name of the earth.~~

<sup>1</sup> Sources Ximenez and Basseur de Bourbourg in J. Milla op. cit. p.LXII and V.H. Spina in A Villacorta -Manuscrito de Chichicastenango (Popol Buj).

<sup>2</sup> Recorded by myself in Chiquimula on October 24, 1940. Informant the Intendente Don Abel de L. and assembled Indian cofrades.

<sup>3</sup> Lothrop, S.K.- op. cit. The same 4 Yearbearers exist here in weakened form - See p. Notes

<u>Yearbearer</u> <u>for 1942-'43</u>	<u>IXIL</u>	OLD QUICHE	CHIQUIMULA	MOMOSTENANGO
	<u>TCHE</u> &- horse & (Tje) deer	<u>KEH</u> - deer	<u>Quiej</u> -horse, deer	Quiej-horse
	Kanil - corn	kanel - rabbit	K'anil-ripe	Kanil-ripe
	Tcho - payed	toh-rain storm	Toj -pay	Toh
	Tchii -dog	tzi - dog	Tzi-dog	Tzie- dog
	Batz - monkey	bats - monkey	Batz -thread, monkey	Bats - thread, Monkey

From the comparison, it is readily seen that the Ixil Yearbearers are identical with Old Quiché and with modern Quiché from Santa Maria Chiquimula and Momostenango, as are many of the day names and meanings. As mentioned before there are no other calendars in the literature and in existence, except those from the so-called Quiché speaking peoples, which have these particular days as Yearbearers.

The following are the favorable and unfavorable influences of the Ixil days in controlling man's destiny as learned and handed down by professional calendar priest, and as used by brujos in divination and for harmful practices to others. All the days are deities, but the main Lords are the 4 Yearbearers and especially the Alcalde Mayor del Mundo or Main Yearbearer or opening day of a current year. The influences of the days go in pairs, with each pair having the same influence, whether good or bad.

E - Alcalde Mayor for 1939 - '40. The Main Yearbearer for the year. A day of justice and of prayer. Favorable. (Preceding day Batz has same influence).

Aj - A day for asking God to favor children. In Chel, observances to protect weapons and guns, by sending up rockets. A day protective to animals in general.

I'x - a day of the mountain, of sheep. Lord of the goat. A day for the increase of animals. Favorable.

Tzikin - A day favoring chickens, and for praying for money and other benefits. Favorable.

A'mak - A day favorable for cornfields, for the "milpa blanca".

NOJ - Alcalde del Mundo or Yearbearer. Day of prayer for little domestic animals.

Tijax - A day favorable for pigs and cows. The Day of the Pastor Caporal Vaquero<sup>1</sup>. A day for sacrificing animals.

Kauok - Guardian of the World<sup>2</sup>. A day to pay for all injuries done by animals. Favorable.

Hunahpu - The name of a God. A Saint's day, and a day of the Holy Virgin. A day for burning candles.

Imux.- A name of the earth. The World. A day to pray for the house and the family, that the World will not punish them. Favorable.

I'q - Alcalde del Mundo or Yearbearer. Lord of the air. Day of the wind. Favorable for sowing corn.

Akbal - A bad day. A day for doing harm to others. The day of witches or brujos.

Katch - A bad day. A day for doing harm to others, and to pray for harm to others.

Kan. A good day, favorable for asking for material profit.

Kamel - A favorable day for the "milpa amarilla".

TCHE - Alcalde del Mundo - or Yearbearer. Very favorable.

Kanil - Day of the holy milpa, favorable for all other seeds and planting.

Tcho. - A day for calling down evils and troubles on others, used especially by witches. When there are sins and faults, this is the day of payment and reckoning for them.

<sup>1</sup> A deity mentioned in most prayers. Possibly a name for Christ.  
<sup>2</sup> See p.23 for note on the World as God, and a World conception.

Tchii - a bad day enjoyed by witches.

Batz - A day of celebration. Very favorable for increase in all things.  
(Influence goes with E.)

Three days are addressed by other names as well. Imux is called ikabal, Tijax is called kivitz meaning sun on the mountain, and Hunahpu is called 'kitish, the God of the Sun or Day.

The 20 day names keep repeating in conjunction with the 13 repeating numbers, hence it takes exactly 13 x 20 or 260 days for any day name to recur with the same number. The tzolkin or 260 day celebration differs at Nebaj and Chajul from those of Momostenango and Santa Maria Chiquimula. In Momostenango<sup>1</sup> the chief celebration is made every 260 days when 8 Bats recurs, and in Santa Maria Chiquimula 8 Bats is observed but not so strongly as 8 Quiej which is the main calendar celebration for this town.<sup>2</sup> In Nebaj one or two calendar professionals celebrate 3 Bats having learned the custom in Momostenango<sup>3</sup> but this is a borrowed cultural feature and not in the main Ixil calendar pattern. In Nebaj<sup>4</sup> and in Santa Maria Chiquimula<sup>5</sup> each calendar professional has his own special day which he celebrates on its recurrence every 260 days. In Chiquimula this day is determined by divination with the sacred red pito beans, and when I visited this town, a divinator worked out my own special day in this manner and arrived at the day 8 Kamel, which, he said, would be my day for the rest of my life and should be celebrated every time it recurred. In Nebaj an individual's

<sup>1</sup> Lothrop - op. cit. & Goubaud - Guaxaquip Bats. The latter has errors in his calculations for the return of 8 Bats in his Gregorian dates. For instance: Dec. 2, 1938 to Aug. 18, 1939 is only 259 days, as is the period from May 4, 1940 to Jan. 18, 1941. 8 Bats falls on Jan. 19 1941 not Jan. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Information from Don Abel de L., Intendente of Santa Maria de Chiquimula, while I was there on Oct. 24, 1940.

<sup>3</sup> Information from Nicolas B. and Vicente C. of Nebaj.

<sup>4</sup> Diego C. and Nicolas B. of Nebaj.

<sup>5</sup> Divinator in Chiquimula on edge of church wall. Oct. 24, 1940.

<sup>6</sup> ~~See p. ahead.~~

special day is determined either by divination or dreams, or by taking the person's birthday when this is known.

In Nebaj and Chajul 260 days after a new Yearbearer opens the year, there is celebrated the recurrence of this Yearbearer with the same number. The latter happens only once in every year. Every year, 260 days after the opening of the year at the same date in the Gregorian calendar, (with the exception of leap years when it slips back a day) occurs the tzolkin celebration.

For instance:

In 1939 5 E which opened the year on March 12 recurred Nov. 27<sup>1</sup>

In 1940 6 Noj opened the year March 11 and recurred Nov. 26.<sup>2</sup>

In 1941 7 I'q will open the year March 11 and return Nov. 26.

In 1942 8 Tche will open the year March 11 and return Nov. 26.

The Ixil speaking people also celebrate the Yearbearer days E, Noj, I'q, and Tche which are regarded as deities or Day-Lords. These days return every five days in this order, but they celebrate especially the 20 day recurrence of the Alcalde Mayor or Main Yearbearer which opened the year. Because of the 5 day end of year period and the change of the Main Yearbearer every year, the tzolkin starts ~~in~~ every year five days further on in the native count.

Ixil day names and numbers keep repeating in regular order throughout the whole solar year, and the <sup>mark</sup>measure of the beginning and ending of a year is the entry of a new Yearbearer after the 5 day supernumerary end of year period. The year strictly speaking ends with the 360 day period which among the Old Mayas originally represented the end of 18 uinals or months of 20 days each. With the Ixil after the 360 days come 5 supernumerary days called O'ki (O, abbrev. of Owal (5) and ki (day)) which correspond exactly to the

<sup>1</sup> Was at Chel, aldea of Chajul Nov. 27, 1939 and witnessed some of the Yearbearer ceremony on this occasion. See P.

<sup>2</sup> Was at the sacred all-Ixil shrine of Huyl near Chajul for the Yearbearer ceremony of Nov. 26, 1940. with Mr. Giles Healey who filmed the ceremony in motion and color.

3 was present

old Maya uayeb.<sup>1</sup> During these days the 13 number and 20 day counts keep going without a break.

It is the adding of these five days to the 360 day period that changes the Main Yearbearer every year. The Main Yearbearer occurs, therefore, at the opening of the year, every 20 days throughout the year (i.e. at the beginning of each uinal when these exist), 260 days after the opening of the year with the same number, and at the beginning of the 5 day O'ki period. Each year would begin with the same day name if it were not for the addition of the 5 day O'ki which brings up the next successive Yearbearer 5 days in advance in the 20 day name sequence. Hence, with these extra 5 days it is mathematically impossible for any but one of the four regularly ordered Yearbearers to begin a year, or for a year not to begin with a Yearbearer 5 days in advance of the preceding one.

The O'ki 5 day end of year period is regarded as being very unlucky and dangerous by the Ixil speaking people. During this period everyone fasts and nothing is eaten save a little meat with pulik, a chile sauce on a very small piece of tortilla. No greens, frijoles, or vegetables are eaten. One informant, an old brujo,<sup>2</sup> told me that sacrifices of chickens, turkeys, and bulls, were made during these days at the mountain crosses. Another said that incense was burned at all the crosses and marimbas were ceremonially carried to the mountains, and the chirimía<sup>3</sup> was played. Confessions of sin are made within the family, and it is believed that children born at this time will grow up impotent and sterile, and boys will grow to be like women.

Diego C. was very reticent about discussing the unlucky 5 day end of

<sup>1</sup> Spinden, H.J. Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America. p.115.

<sup>2</sup> Tomas M. at San Francisco. He himself used the word brujo.

<sup>3</sup> A wooden pipe played on many ceremonial occasions.

year period or O'ki which was current at the time of our conversations from March 6 through 10, 1940. He did admit that children born during these days would be born without molars and would grow up impotent.<sup>1</sup> He also admitted that ~~sacrifices of animals~~ were made as an offering to God, of the best that they had, and occurred among other days, on the day tijax, which fits the meaning of this day in Old Quiché and modern Momostenango calendars, where in the former it meant an obsidian knife, and in the latter "to draw out flesh".<sup>2</sup>

While in Nebaj during the 5 day end of year period, I noticed that the town was completely dead. Absolutely no work or any activities were in evidence among the Indians, and in the houses I visited nobody was eating. There was a general atmosphere of anxiety and stagnation.

While visiting a well-known calendar priest of Nebaj at his rancho at Vikucham in the aldea of Xonca about 4 hour's ride up in the mountains, I went with him to visit the sacred cave of Coxtum Campanil. Within the cave was an altar made of natural limestone formation draped with the sacred plants of ek and alamek. I offered candles and pom incense while Diego prayed and made offerings in my name. His prayer in the main, was similar to ones we had previously written down, and included the General Confession, the Christian doctrina, the Mountains, the Day-Lords, Saints, Angels, prayer for all members of his family by name, and the teachers who had taught him how to pray. Afterwards we climbed from the cave to the top of the hill of the same name, and sat down by the cross. Diego recited in Spanish the story of the origin of the tachbal amak or month names of the native calendar, which had been told to us the day before in native language by Nicolas B., an old calendar priest who was reputed to be a hundred

<sup>1</sup> Another example of the widespread association of teeth with sexual potency. See J.S. Lincoln - The Dream in Primitive Cultures p. 130

<sup>2</sup> See p. 11

years old. The story is a naïve, Christianized, fantasy rationalization of the origin of the centuries' old uinals, and goes as follows:

When the world began, a man went to Sacapulas to buy his salt<sup>1</sup> and there was stationed at the cross of Vilajam<sup>2</sup> a gentleman. A ladino gentleman was stationed there and he asked the traveller where he was going, and the latter answered that he was going to get his salt at Sacapulas. "Good," said the ladino, "Please do me the favor of taking this little paper and leaving it on the hands of the cross of Xabap." The man left to leave the paper there. The ladino asked if he would return the same day, and the man said, "Yes", that he would return today, and he went to take the little paper but he was held up in Sacapulas and there he remained. The following day when he went to leave the paper at the cross of Xabap, the paper had turned green. When the ladino gave it to him it was white.

The ladino gentleman was always stationed at Vilajam, and he said to the man when he got there, "Why didn't you come yesterday?" The man answered, "I was suddenly held up in the evening and my paper, here it is. Now it has turned green."

The ladino said to the man from Nebaj that he was very grateful to him for returning the paper. "I shall give you some advice. All the people of the town are ignorant of the times for sowing and harvesting. You must teach them the names of the times of the year (Tachbal amak) in order that they will not forget them. They are written on the green paper.

For ever afterward the man never failed in his times for sowing and harvesting.

The ladino may have been an angel or maybe Jesus Christ.

The people of the town were astounded that the man never lacked corn at any time. They went to verify the situation with the priest, and the priest sent for the man because he never lacked food. He told the priest what had happened at Vilajam. The priest sent a copy of what had happened to the Bishop.

Everyone in the town began to study the tachbal amak or times of the year.

With regard to the Tachbal amak it is interesting that after consulting a great many calendar priests in Nebaj, Chajul and the aldeas of both, that only three of them knew that the months should contain only twenty days. D.B., the ladinoized principal of Nebaj who gave me the first list of 12 month names of 30 days each, which he had collected from a calendar priest, said that these were sufficient and fitted in perfectly with the annual agricultural round regardless of whether there were formerly 10 month names or not. The additional two month names mentioned above which if used would bring the total number of uinals for Nebaj up to 14, he admitted

- <sup>1</sup> All Indians of Nebaj get their salt from the hereditary salt works of Sacapulas.
- <sup>2</sup> Vilajam is the shrine on the highest point of the divide on the road to Sacapulas.

were old month names, but he considered them entirely superfluous. In other words, in Nebaj at least, where among a few calendar priests, there exists a definite order in the year for 12 month names, these have been "frozen" into the Gregorian calendar<sup>1</sup> and no longer have any relation to the 20 day recurrence of the Main Yearbearer or to the 20 day count or other rounds of the native year. All the rest of the native calendar has not been so frozen and follows its unchanging day and number count with annual change of Yearbearers, without relation to the Gregorian calendar.

Of special interest is the fact that the day names and Yearbearers are Old Quiché whereas the month names<sup>2</sup> with one exception<sup>3</sup> are not. It might be that the non-relationship of the two counts is explained, not only by the attempt to adjust the months to the Christian year, but also as having been derived from different peoples. Many of the month names are the same or similar to Old Maya, and may have come from the Chol-Lacandonnes who formerly adjoined the Ixil speaking territory and into which the Ixiles moved after the conquest.<sup>4</sup>

A query which may have bearing on the correlation problem is here thrown out. If in three widely scattered regions of distinct cultural features with little contact between them, the native calendar has been kept with the same opening day of the native year, which correlates in each of the three instances with the same Gregorian day, may this not have significance for the whole problem of Maya and Gregorian correlations? The native New Year occurred on March 12, 1939 with the entry of the Yearbearer 5 E in Nebaj and Chajul, (Ixil) and in Santa Maria Chiquimulá<sup>5</sup> (Quiché),

<sup>1</sup> Thomson, J.E. - A Mayan Calendar from the Alta Verapaz- Amer. Anthrop. Vol. 34, N° 3, 1932 - (Month names here are frozen into the Christian Year).

<sup>2</sup> Listed on pp. 7-9

<sup>3</sup> Tzikin'ki

<sup>4</sup> See p. Note

<sup>5</sup> See p. 11

and the New Year occurred on this same day with Yearbearer ceremony (name of Yearbearer unknown to me) in San Miguel Acatan in the remote Cuchumatanes mountains.<sup>1</sup> These three regions are linguistically and culturally separate and geographically far apart and communicate hardly at all. It does not, therefore, seem likely that with such accuracy in the independent keeping of the day counts and the New Year change of Yearbearers, that any change or slip in the opening day of the year can have taken place since pre-Columbian days, any more than there has been in the unbroken record of the 20 day and 13 number counts<sup>2</sup>, for 400 years.

This situation could be true with regard to the opening date of the native year, even if the names and orders of the uinals have been largely lost. Although the order and number of 1x11 uinals are uncertain, and no longer have any relation to the rest of the native calendar, this situation has no influence on the annual change of Yearbearer and opening day of the year, or the 20 day recurrence of the Main Yearbearer throughout the year.

If the above is true, it would be a simple matter to project any one of these calendars back to conquest and pre-conquest days, and establish an exact correlation between present day and Old Maya Yearbearers and the opening of the native year at any time in the past, as based on present-day known dates in the Gregorian calendar. It would of course simplify matters, if the exact order in the year of at least two or three living uinals could be established as unchanged and their names correlated with Old Maya.

The problem is also complicated by the fact that in the three examples

<sup>1</sup> Siegel - Amer. Anthrop. Vol. 43, Jan,-March 1941. p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 5- note 1.

of living calendars just mentioned, in one of the regions (San Miguel Acatan) the Yearbearers may not be the same<sup>1</sup> as in the other two, although in all three regions, the native year opens on the same Gregorian date.

This is naturally a problem for the Maya correlation specialist, and one which I am in no way competent or trained to handle; nevertheless, on the basis of the new material presented in this article, I put forth these suggestions which may prove of use for further research.

<sup>1</sup> Cuchumatanes Yearbearers known to me are the Jacalteca Watan, K'anil, Ah, and Tcinax or Chuj Woton, Lambat, Been, and Tcinac, both sets of which are one day after the Ixil and Quiche I'q, Tche, E, and Noj.

DIVINATION

D.C., one of my main calendar priest informants was very upset by the attitude of the ladinos because they refuse to distinguish between a brujo, who does supernatural harm to others, and a zahorin who is a priest of the old calendar days and a "Christian". Both of them perform divination with sacred red pitto beans, but from different motives. In Chajul, he said, the Christian doctrina is not so often included in the prayers, which are mainly to Mountains, the Corn, the Sun, and the Day-Lords.

All calendar priests are professionals. If a man does not know how to pray, he hires a professional to teach him, or he pays for one to pray for him in substitute. G.C., the leading partially ladinoized Principal of Nebaj, is supposed to know more of native custom than anybody else, but he himself hardly ever prays at the mountain crosses. Because he is rich he hires four private calendar priests who observe all rites for him, and burn for him at least 100 pounds of pom incense a month. Each of his calendar priests are devoted to the cult of a Yearbearer, and on the appropriate days they go to the right mountain crosses, and perform all costumbre for him in substitute. They also go to Huy1 and all the sacred shrines. Occasional women learn to pray, but generally they merely accompany their husbands to the crosses and offer candles.

Before becoming a calendar priest a man has to have an urgent dream or series of dreams which determine his fate. He cannot ignore them under pain of death.

Divinators are called in by Indians for advice on almost all aspects of life. Specifically I have divination information for the following occasions: in Nebaj: the birth of a child to establish his day and his nagual animal<sup>1</sup>; the times to plant and to harvest; the time to marry; when

<sup>1</sup> Nagual is used for spirit; for the animal double of a person; for the witch who has the power to metamorphose into his animal double.

to undertake journeys; and when there is an illness, a divinator is called in to pray, and, through pito divination, to find a favorable day for confession in the family.<sup>1</sup>

All witchcraft is also tied up with the calendar. Certain days are especially favorable for those who want to harm others by supernatural means. On days numbered 9 and 13, those who know how and want to harm another, lie face down in a hammock and let their spirits (espíritu or nagual) out. These can go into another person's body and take possession of him. To get rid of the possession, the person must burn candles at his house altar and undergo a novena for nine nights. To catch a wandering nagual a lighted candle must be placed in a jar and the mouth must be sealed with wax. Prayers must be read from the Catholic breviary, and a prayer said to Angel Pusnawal (The World)<sup>2</sup>. When the nagual enters the house the wax is taken off the mouth of the jar, the nagual enters it and is sealed up. Some people know what animal form their nagual takes, but not all.

<sup>1</sup> Nowadays there is little intra-family confession, but formerly this took place on every Main Yearbearer day. (V.C. and D.C.)

<sup>2</sup> It is often asked if Indians have a real world conception. In prayers of Nebaj and Chajul, the World (Mundo) is one of the principle deities addressed. In Nebaj, the Spanish word Mundo is used mostly, and in Chajul they use more the native word Pusnawal, but they also use Mundo. In both towns the word for earth is cháva. Nicolas B., calendar priest of Nebaj, says that Angel Pusnawal is the World. "The World is what carries us all. It floats in water or is set in rock. God created it. It is God. How it was formed nobody knows." According to Nicolas the World is a man.

The above is a definite conception of the world and the same can be said, although in a more localized form, of a long prayer to which I listened at a cross outside the Calvario of the Quiche-speaking village of San Andres Xecul near <sup>San Cristóbal</sup> Momostenango on January 11, 1941.

When I saw an old Indian priest or tchuchq'ajau start to pray at a cross surrounded with broken pots, I asked him to offer a candle for me and sat down and listened to the prayer. Almost half of it was in Spanish and I was able to understand much of it. Besides addressing the 7 days of our week and the 12 months of our year by name, and the 20 days of the native calendar and the 4 Yearbearers

(ajawap) he mentioned by name a long list of Quiché-speaking towns of Guatemala which included Momostenango, San Francisco El Alto, Totonicapan, Naguaia, Santa Maria Chiquimula, Santo Tomas Chichicastenango; and non-Quiché-speaking towns such as Solola and Santiago Atitlan, and many others whose names I did not know. The countries of Chiapas, Honduras and Salvador were also mentioned. He repeatedly addressed the Mundo and all that it contained including mines of salt and silver. The whole prayer seemed to be an itemized list of all that his local world contained which extended nevertheless <sup>way far</sup> beyond the boundaries of his municipio, and it certainly could be placed in the category of a world conception.

CHURCH, COFRADIAS, NATIVE RELIGION.

There is one priest for the Ixil region, the Zona Reina, and Sacapulas, a pure Spaniard who has had his headquarters at Nebaj for the last two years. He is an ardent, sincere, orthodox, well educated Catholic whose aim is to spread the Christian religion according to his lights and to do away with Indian pagan custom as quickly as possible. Before being able to do this, he believes in the importance of studying Indian language and costumbre in order to get his message across and make the Indians mend their erroneous ways. At present he rants and scolds them, tells them how sinful it is to worship mountains, sun, corn or hidden beans, gives them sermons not only about the necessity of performing the rites and duties of church attendance, but concerning high theological problems and explanations. After all is said and done, the Indians go to baptism and to mass, say responses and pray in the church to their own as well as to Christian Gods, observe a few outward forms of the Christian faith, believe in Saints, Angels, pilgrimages, and go their own way with regard to beliefs without in the least understanding or caring what is said by the priest. In the village of Chel, the reaction of the first Regidor to the annual visit of the priest was, "es bueno que el Padre haya venido aquí para hacer su costumbre" (It is good that the priest has come here to perform his own religious rites).

In the last year a protestant evangelical chapel was opened in Nebaj with an American evangelist in charge. He travelled to every town and rural district in the region and so far has about 10 converts, most of whom are ladinos. The Indians regard him as of the devil and not of the true faith. They consider themselves as pure Orthodox Christians. One special reason that they dislike the evangelists is because they say it is wrong to drink or smoke, and try to prevent them from worshipping the Saints, saying that Jesus Christ is the only one to believe in, according to Luis S.

The priest strongly believes that the evangelists have an ulterior motive other than just spreading their doctrine, and are agents for American commercial enterprises, which of course is not the true situation.

The Ixil region was initially converted in part in the 16th century shortly after the conquest. Las Casas founded the church of Sacapulas just below the Ixil region, and the Dominican fathers were sent all through the region as missionaries. They amalgamated many groups of scattered rural districts and formed the present towns of Nebaj, Chajul, and Cotzal on their old town sites, and later large and impressive churches were built in each town. The earliest parish register in the district now in existence is dated 1676. There must have been a long period when the priests did not visit the region or when their influence was slight, because Father Valdivia wrote on the covers of the oldest Chajul register in the middle 19th century:

"Que aguanten los misioneros apostólicos en estas poblaciones, que después de trescientos años de evangelizadas se hallan en peor estado que en el primer siglo marchando atrás hasta la antigua barbarie mezclada de los vicios e irreligión de otras castas".

The church building and convent of Nebaj, rebuilt in 1850 and added to 10 years ago, at the present time belong to the municipio. The priest's main assistants are the fiscal who is his chief manager and mozo, and has charge of all the Padre's errands and the business of the church, and 6 sacristans who are more or less permanent. All of these are voluntary employees of the municipio who receive no pay. The fiscal gets payed and tipped by the priest for personal services to himself. None of these are mayordomos of the cofradías.

The cofradías are brotherhoods and sisterhoods, each one ~~is~~ in charge  
/.

of the image of some particular saint. The saint is kept at the cofradia clubhouse and brought to the church on that particular saint's day in the Roman Catholic calendar by the Mayordomos or members of the cofradia. After mass in the church on the day of fiesta, the saint is carried in procession back to the Cofradia house, accompanied by drum and chirimía, ~~a most plaintive~~ ive wooden flute or horn, and the sending up of rockets. The Mayordomos of whom there are 10 for each cofradia, ranking in order from first to 10th, have charge of all fiesta ceremonies and buy candles, rockets, incense and aguardiente for the processions and celebrations at the clubhouse. Mayordomos are elected by the members and change a few at a time every year. Each one is in office for a year only. Since there are 12 cofradias there are 120 Mayordomos, some of whom are women.

Besides their religious and ceremonial functions, the Mayordomos are called on to perform work on the highways and to act as mozos for the municipio. The cofradias only superficially resemble the purely catholic brotherhoods of the same name which are found in Seville and other parts of Spain. Throughout Guatemala they have many of the features of the primitive men's house, the clubhouse serving as a festive and recreational ceremonial centre for the men. At fiestas, ~~XXXXXX~~ and at planting and harvesting, dances with marimba are held in the clubhouse where the men dance with each other all night in a highly advanced state of drunkenness. **All** cofrades or members of the cofradias are Indians chosen from principal families with the exception of the single Cofradia de la Concepcion, which is all ladino.

Five of the twelve cofradias have women's branches with their own club houses and Mayordomos. These women are called cumale or comadre and all are wives of Mayordomos.

During a Saint's day after celebration of mass, the Saint is carried ceremonially in procession back to the Cofradia house. In the evening there is a big fiesta. The house is decorated with colored paper streamers, and bananas hung in strings. The Saint, gaudily dressed, is set up in a highly decorated shrine with many burning candles, and solo dances are performed in front of it, the dancer being literally "stewed to the gills". A marimba plays inside and the men all dance together in one room. The women remain in another room tending fires and preparing food. Crowds assemble in the grounds of the clubhouse consisting of guests and onlookers. Usually there is a celebration for only one night, but the highest ranking Cofradia, that of Santa Maria Virgen, with a women's branch, celebrates every night for two weeks before the big fiesta of August 15 which I witnessed.

The Cofradia de la Cruz which has a woman's branch with its own club house, ranks equally with the Cofradia de Santa Maria Virgen. The Mayordomos of both give the rules and tone for all the others. During the August 15 fiesta, I saw the women's branch of the Santa Maria Virgen Cofradia dressed in gorgeous ceremonial red and figured huipiles, in procession with marimba, drinking aguardiente ceremonially in the street, while handing the ceremonial bunches of rockets wrapped in figured hand-woven cloths which they were carrying, to the men to be sent up to the Virgin. Most of these women were howling drunk and some were ~~rolling~~ <sup>rolling</sup> in the street.

During the fiesta of August 15 the Baile de la Conquista and the Baile de los Toritos is given. The dancers<sup>are</sup> drawn from the populace at large and not from the Cofradias, <sup>and they</sup> dress in the usual Guatemalan costume of the Conquistadores with golden wigs and caricature masks of Alvarado and Cortez. Others <sup>were</sup> wore bull masks. They dance on and off, day and night, all over the town accompanied by a small processional marimba and at night with ocote

torches. To protect the costumes, which are rented from one of the big Indian costume houses at Totonicapan, they generally dance with umbrellas over their heads. The dance is an endless repetition of a kind of morris dance step, time being kept with gourd rattles which each dancer carries. Every day the costumes are taken up to a cross in the mountain, incense is burned and prayers said over them, and all the dancers take a temascal ceremonial and hygienic sweat bath.

The fiesta of Santa Maria Virgen begins on August 12 and culminates on the 15th. Gorgeous color marks the scene of the final day. Women from Cotzal and Chajul in their brilliant red and colored huipiles, Indians from Santa Maria Chiquimula in their long trailing blue striped skirts with black silk headdress and gold necklaces (really Czechoslovakian glass) and crowds of men and women from the monte make a brilliant and animated scene on the plaza and at the market. At night there are many marimbas and parties at the Cofradia houses, and a large public ball in a tent, at both of which only Indian men dance together. Occasionally wives or other women stand around to drag their men home in case they become so drunk that they cannot stand up. Large numbers of drunks are in evidence, including women and children, and many are rolling in the street roaring and yelling. Hovering over all like Zopilotes or vultures are the ladinos, some of them drunk, but most coining money <sup>by</sup> and selling drinks, rockets, candles, and incense to the Indians. Others, including the old style habilitador (one who rounds up labor for a finca), are advancing them money and drinks to get them into debt and waiting for the end of the fiesta when their money is all gone and they can ensnare them to distant fincas on the coast for work, although such activity is no longer allowed by law. The old custom prior to the law cancelling the Indian debt was to get them in debt and keep them there by new advances thus virtually forcing them into slavery. At present

only a small sum of money can be advanced to them and they cannot be forced to pay it back or to work if they do not want to. Many of them, however, will go to work on the fincas voluntarily in order to earn some cash, but probably would not do so if they hadn't first spent all their money at the fiesta.

In the church on the afternoon of this same fiesta day was a remarkable scene. Sacristans carrying beautifully wrought colonial silver crosses on staffs wrapped in red huipiles were tottering about the church dead drunk. Drunken Indians were praying out loud and falling about on the altar steps. In the front half of the church toward the altar were lined up all the images of the Saints dressed up in garish silk dresses and jewels, carried into the church by their respective Cofradia guardians. All the Cofradia women in magnificent ceremonial attire knelt in rows and were praying holding hundreds of lighted candles. In the other half of the church a marimba was playing while the conquistadores and toritos danced, most of them thoroughly drunk. One of them was so intoxicated that he was taken out by a tottering sacristan who reprimanded him for being drunk in the church. The whole scene was an astounding cultural hodgepodge showing a condensed history of Guatemala in a flash. The combination of Roman Catholic setting, pagan worship since they pray to their own native Gods as well, festive gaiety, drunkenness, a satire of the conquest by the dancers, and an expression of indestructible Indian religiosity, in the ardent prayers of the worshipers, was something to be remembered, especially impressed on the mind by the astounding beauty of color in the gorgeous red costumes.

In the morning the church was equally crowded and at all times not a ladino was present. Mass baptisms of babies went on practically all day, and when I entered the church, the women rushed up to me in droves bringing me their children to bless. I had a hard time dissuading them that I was not a priest.

NEBAJ (Parish Register) (Translation)

8th. Book - 1835-1856

"The first Baptism Book appearing in this Archive, which belongs to this church, begins on the year 1760. The previous ones are missing."

Baltazar Baldivia

p. 275

Costumbre for Holy Thursday

From the means<sup>1</sup> collected in the village for wax and expenses, they give 10 pesos to the priest to buy the food for the apostles, justicias, ires (?), mayordomos, prosecutor, singers, sexton, etc., which is cooked at the convent, 12 dishes for each one, and the priest pays mozos to go to Quezaltenango and Totonicapan to buy 1 arroba<sup>2</sup> of fish, rice, chickpeas and the rest he spends in (buying) dulce<sup>3</sup>, bread, pacayas, lard, etc., bringing new corn and beans. According to the quadrant (?) in possession of the Choir Master, the cofradias must give a contribution of 10 pesos on Holy Thursday; now they deny it and say that this 10 pesos are given by the village to buy food.

For the Holy Week celebrations all contributions amount to 24 pesos.

No alms are given for the adoration of the cross on Holy Friday.

12 Cofradias

Rosario winah  
Rosario ixo  
Santa Cruz winah  
Santa Cruz ixo  
Concepcion winah  
Concepcion ixo  
Ntra. Sra. de Guadalupe  
Jesus de la caida  
San Pedro Martyr  
San Sebastian Martyr  
San Antonio de Padua  
Retablo Todos Santos

Each one has its own book and is divided into two groups to facilitate the management and payment by the principales.

In every year's accounts 4 reales are entered, which are paid by the mayordomos leaving office and 4 reales paid by the ones taking office, as in Cotzal and Chaul.

<sup>1</sup> money.

<sup>2</sup> 25 pounds.

<sup>3</sup> candy. Also it may be rapadura or panela (molasses) which the Indians use to sweeten drinks.

Multiplying by 20 the mean figure (average) of the christenings performed during a period of five years, which is the lowest figure used by the statisticians to calculate the population of the countries when the increase is counteracted by several obstacles preventing longevity, such as are in those mountains the inclemency of the climate, the epidemic diseases, the lack of medicines, the abandonment of many families exposed to the dampness of the forests; all of which brings as a result the following number of souls:

Useful young and adult persons

Nebah - 3,220	800
Cotzal - 1,620	370
Chaul - 1,830	500

Total souls - 6,700  
Working men - 1670

Remains of ancient churches(found) in these territories.

In Zalquil 5 leagues, in Magdalena 6 leagues, in Acul 1 league, in Ahcana 2 leagues, in Chichel 4 leagues from Cotzal, in Iiom at three days on the road from Chaul, in the hot country, where once lived the old tribe which emigrated in two groups: one which came to Chaul and brought the Saviour's altar; the other one which went to Santa Eulalia and took along the bells.

Iiom is situated in a straight line with and nearer to Nebaj; some 12 leagues if the roads were strighter (L.D.M.G. aff.). Natives from Nebaj go as far as the Iiom hills to plant corn and they praise highly the roughness and distance (of the site).

At Cotzal and Chaul the Patron Saints John the Baptist and the Saint Kings have their respective cofradías, but at this end the Patron Mary S.S. (N.S.? Our Lady) of the Assumption has no cofradía and only the Mayordomo of the Men's Rosary (religious association) carries the Patron's silver bar and does not pay anything at the Titular to increase the show (?).

The natives call their village "Naba". The barrio of Zalquil is formed by the remains of the old people, and the 2nd. alcalde always comes from this barrio or from the other small village of Xolacul.

1853

(Signed)

Baltasar Baldivia

Copied by J. Steward Lincoln,  
Carnegie Institution of Washington,  
October 30, 1940

In the church archives is a 1702 edition of Nuñez de la Vega - Historia de Chiapas.

To return to the Cofradias, their names and dates of celebrations have not changed since 1730 according to a list given in an old Nebaj parish register and are as follows:

- Dec. 12 Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe with men's and women's branches.
- Jan. 20 San Sebastian
- Apr. 29 San Pedro Martyr
- May 3 De la Cruz - men  
De la Cruz - women
- June 13 San Antonio de Padua
- Aug. 15 Santa Maria Virgen - men
- Sept. 8 Natividad - Same men and organization as Santa Maria Virgen
- Oct. 1 Del Rosario - men  
Del Rosario - women
- Nov. 1 Santiago or Retablo Todos Santos - On all Saints Day, the fiesta de las animas y muertos.
- Dec. 8 Concepcion - men  
Concepcion - women

The ladinos have one cofradia of their own, that of the Concepcion which celebrates on Dec. 8. Prior to this is an evening novena (for nine nights) in the church with women singing. Their own image of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception is carried all over town in the evenings for two nights accompanied by marimba and sending off <sup>of</sup> rockets. The first night it is carried by young men and on the second night it is carried to the ladinos' temporary Cofradia house which changes every year, by girls who have just had their first communion and are dressed in white. Indians accompany the second procession with drum and chirimia. At the door of the house a young man gave an awkward speech saying that at this time we should all put our minds on spiritual things. Afterwards a rather sedate modern dance ~~take~~ place in the house with men and women dancing together in one room and the Virgin beautifully enthroned in another.

On the same day in the morning I saw the Indian procession carrying

their smaller and different image of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception back to their cofradia house. It was accompanied by sacristans burning incense, and drum and chirimia players. In the courtyard of the club house men and women knelt reverently to the image. There was much ceremonial greeting and drinking of aguardiente. Rockets were sent up.

During Maundy Thursday in Holy Week the priest in the church washes and kisses the feet of 12 Indian Mayordomos of Cofradias who have attended mass every day for a year kneeling. First the twelve representing the disciples warm their feet in front of a fire in the church. At night there is a torchlight procession around town with the image of the Christ carrying his cross. It stops at the seven stations of the cross. The torches are 15 feet high, consisting of a bundle of pine (ocote) splinters tied to a long bamboo pole.

On Good Friday a supposedly three hour service is held, but when I attended, the Padre talked for four hours until everyone dropped from exhaustion. The image of the Christ is nailed to the Cross in the church by Mayordomos dressed in white. Muffled wooden clapper bells are beaten from Thursday to the hour of glory on Saturday when the regular bells peal out again. After the Good Friday service there is a procession to the Galvario which carries a coffin with the clothes of the crucified Christ and wreaths. Underneath the coffin are 12 little children representing the twelve disciples with flower crowns. In the evening another torch procession wanders around town with the image of the Virgin. She is supposed to be looking for her lost son.

On Saturday Holy Office and Mass is performed, ending with the Hour of Glory when the bells peal out again. Drums and chirimias are played, and rockets are sent up. The priest is supposed to come out at this moment and bless the comunity and to turn the fountain into Holy Water. Crowds

of women had been waiting with their jars for several hours, but he refused to come out and uphold an old custom. The second year that I was there, however, he did so. In the afternoon was another procession to the Calvario with the Virgin and all the Saints.

On Easter Sunday morning at 4 A.M. two processions start out, one from the church with the Virgin, and one from the Calvario with the risen Christ. They meet and there is great rejoicing with drums, chirimia, marimbas, and rockets. Processions with all the Saints come in from other streets and join the culminating ceremony of Holy Week.

All during Easter Sunday there are many parties with marimbas and guitars at the Cofradia houses and much dancing and drinking of aguardiente. Throughout the whole of Holy Week practically no ladinos ~~take~~ part in any of the ceremonies except to attend mass on Good Friday. All ceremonies in the church, in the Calvario, in the cofradia houses, and in the processions ~~were~~ conducted entirely by Indians under the direction of the Mayordomos of the cofradias, and during the entire week even at the most sacred times, there was much consuming of aguardiente, to such an extent that the sacristans in the procession could hardly walk in a straight line.

Throughout the year each cofradia, in honor of the saint in its charge, must give a party with lots of tamales and aguardiente.

Mayordomos are chosen from the top families.

In the season before sowing the corn, only men dance together at cofradia parties; at other times men and women may dance together if they choose.

Indian cofradia houses change every year, because the principales like to have them in their houses in order to be able to sell liquor. Diego B who now has the only ladino cofradia in his house, used to get Indian ones for this purpose.

The Indians are past masters at conforming outwardly to the church ceremonies. All try to have their children baptized. A government birth certificate or boleta is first required. Baptism is merely the official entrance to the community at large; it is the acceptance of the temporal power of the church (see Bunzel). At mass and responses only Indians are present, with women predominating, and occasionally a ladino or two. Communion, confirmation, marriage, burial, and all other sacraments of the church are completely ignored. During Saint's days pertaining to the Cofradias, all go to mass paid by the Cofradias. The Indians pay about \$10 a month to the priest for masses. The only mass largely attended by ladines is on the day of the Concepcion on Dec. 8. Although a large number turned up they only paid \$ 1.00 between all of them.

In the outlying all Indian districts, the situation is different. Formerly there was a church at Ilom but for some reason several centuries ago it was abandoned and the bells and other parts were transferred to other villages. (See p. ) On an 11 day tour with the priest, who incidentally is very lenient about the price of baptism and mass, and often will accept the Indian's price which is below the official price, there was difficulty in raising money for mass, three dollars at Chel, and \$ 4.50 at Ilom. Only a few of the population attended and mostly women. The priest would baptize free only if the child was ill or in danger of dying. He says he is not permitted to do so by the church.

The Padre was furious because his Indian assistants wouldn't tell him what prayers are said at the church door outside. Are they pagan or Christian? Although they claim that they are pure Christians and have a loathing for evangelists, I believe that this is only partly sincere. In part it is a pose to fool the Padre about their native beliefs and practices. They accept outward Roman Catholic Christian form and faith as far as they

understand them , but I believe that they regard them mainly as an extension of their own native religion which centers around Dios Mundo, the Day Lords of their Sacred Calendar (See Ch. on Calendar), "Los Reyes", the corn as deity, the sacred mountains, the Sun, the Animas or souls of the dead, and the Gods of Los Antiguos as represented by stone idols, to which are added the Saints, Angels and Jesus Christ.

Gaspar C. asked me if in my religion the sun was just the sun or whether it was god as well. He also asked what God was called in my religion. I said that in my religion, God was called "luz del mundo"; and he replied, "That is just what we call him, Dios Mundo".

The natives feel comfortable in this amalgam of Christian and pagan, but will fight to the last any attempt to interfere with their natural ancient religion which comes first. Even the Padre's right hand assistant, Diego L. the fiscal, who attends all masses and church ceremonies, who knows all the responses in Latin, and who reads daily his breviary in Latin and Spanish, will not give the Padre any information about ~~the real~~ religious costumbre. Unless the Indians feel that a person is sympathetic towards their costumbre, they close up completely. All that can be got out of them is "A saber, no sé, no hay, quién sabe." Diego knows that sacrifices of animals are made at the mountain crosses but tells the Padre that they are made no longer.

### Crosses<sup>1</sup>

Cross in Nebaj is called taljunik. In Ilom the Santa Cruz is called tankojtechtlal, and the "Cruz en Su Gloria en el Mundo" is known as lutush. Only a few old men use the last two words.

In Nebaj, all the 105 crosses where religious rites are performed have names. These crosses are found throughout town, generally on the tops of

<sup>1</sup> In a prayer I recorded from Zotzil it is called tantechtial.

archaeological mounds, all through the milpas and on hill and mountain tops outside of town and scattered about the country side either at the bottom of a valley, near a sacred tree, in grottos, caves, or on important mountain passes. At these crosses prayers are said, incense burned, sacrifices of animals (chickens, turkeys and bulls)? are made and ceremonial events take place.

Of the main crosses, one of the most important is the one in a grotto called Vilajam, the first one encountered on the top of the cumbre or pass overlooking Nebaj on the long ride over from Sacapulas. Whenever any rite is performed at one of the crosses in or near town, a delegation of people make the steep climb up to Vilajam about 3 miles outside and pray with offerings of incense and rose leaves which are scattered at the foot of the cross. (Inf. Luis S.)

On December 9 I went with Diego L. the Fiscal of the church to look for ruins outside of town. There are many mounds with crosses on them. About 1 kilometre outside in a cornfield on the property of Gaspar C. is one of the important crosses or lugares de costumbre. Diego tells me that this is one of the four main crosses dedicated to the Alcaldes del Mundo or Year-bearer days of the year. This one was called Chaxbats, and the others Tiicajai, Tiicuishal and Koochoochim, the latter meaning "Donde se juntaron los Reyes de antes". Prayers are offered every five days at sundown when the native day enters at all these crosses when the Alcalde days turn up. Prayers are said at the crosses for Cubal (or Lord) Tje, Cubal E, Cubal Noj, and Cubal I'q the four Yearbearer days and an especially important ceremony is observed every 20 days when the Alcalde Mayor or main Year-bearer for the current year turns up. This also holds true at the beginning of the 260 day cycle.

Although I speak of each one of these sites as a cross they consist

often of two, three or more crosses, generally one large one and two smaller ones all in a row. They are usually made of wood, although occasionally one encounters stone ones. The crosses at the hamlet of Zotzil are all wrapped in banana leaves and I was not able to determine what the material was underneath. The three crosses in a row are of course the traditional highland crosses often referred to in the literature as brujos' crosses. The same wooden crosses are also found on the house altars of every single house in Nebaj and all the Ixil villages. At these also, prayers are offered and incense burned on the entry of each Yearbearer day.

While at the cross or crosses of Chaxbats with Diego discussing the prayer to Dios Mundo given to me at Zotzil, he told me a story which his uncle told him. Formerly, according to his uncle, next to Chaxbats grew a remarkable tree, which bore many different kinds of fruit, apples, oranges, bananas, guavas, and many other kinds, all on the same tree. If, however, a leaf blew away from this tree and fell on a distant village in Chiapas, all the inhabitants of that town would die. The people decided that the tree should be cut down, and many went and cut and chopped, but the tree would not be felled. Finally a mass had to be held at the tree before it was possible to cut it down. Afterwards the tree was felled with ease.

Diego swears that his uncle told him that this was a true story.

In corroboration of the story Gaspar C. later told me that when a leaf of the tree fell on the distant town in Chiapas, only one inhabitant of that town would die, not all the inhabitants. This apparently happened several times until people from Chiapas came to Nebaj to investigate. It was then decided to fell the tree.

~~In connection with religion,~~ there are supposed to be albino Indians born with white hair and blue eyes (not Germans) who are known as hijos or hijas del sol or meish in Ixil, and are treated with great veneration as semi-sacred persons. They are supposed to do no work and to remain virgins. All food is brought to them and their houses ~~is~~ built for them, and all the leading brujos and zahorins consult them on sacred matters.

The word of an hijo del sol is regarded as law not to be disobeyed.

I have not seen an hijo del sol but was told at a finca at Chamac near Ilom that there were two in the latter place, a brother and a sister who lived together. The wife of the finquero, a ladina from Quezaltenango told me that the woman of this couple guarded a cave full of old idols, gold, and jade at Las Pilas above Ilom, but I believe this to be largely fantasy<sup>1</sup>. She also told me that the young Germans who entered a sacred cave at Pie de Volcan about 10 years ago and were murdered, were killed at the orders of an hija del sol who was consulted by the brujos as to what should be done for the violation of their sacred customs.

Gaspar C. says that there is an hija del sol at Chajul and he knows of the couple at Ilom whom he says are married and are not brother and sister. He is inclined to scoff at the idea that there is anything sacred or special about them, but I think that there is more to the subject than he will admit. All other Indians whom I consulted, however, claim that such sacred persons exist and are called meish as well, and of course the fair haired Spanish conquistadores were known as hijos del sol.

Note. An amusing example of hasty and inaccurate ethnological field work occurs in Stoll (p.78 ) in connection with the word meish. It is very difficult to get a list of pronouns from the Ixil as I can testify along with Padre Jordan Fernandez who has tried repeatedly and always gets a different list. In Stoll's vocabulary a list of personal pronouns is given and when he gets to vosotros or "you" (plural) he gives the Ixil word meish which means hijo del sol. It would seem, therefore, that Stoll and his companions must have been fair-haired "Nordics", and when they were taking down the Ixil vocabulary they asked "What is "You" in your language?" and the answer must have been, "You are meish" or fair haired hijos del sol. Hence he records the word meish for the 2nd/ person plural pronoun "you".  
*Stoll Records 6Pells word "mae'x":*

<sup>1</sup> Other ladinos say that this is where the hidden treasure of Utatlan is buried.

Part IV Land, Occupation, Economic Status, Family Life.

- A. Occupation, and Economic Status Illustrated by Visits to Aldeas.
- B. Education, Hygiene, and Justice.
- C. Family Life; Birth, Marriage, and Death.

Life in the Aldeas. A Visit to Sumal.

Aldea Sumal -198 families- 1310 inhab.

On April 15 I left for a three days visit to the all-Indian aldea of Sumal with the aim of looking over the landscape on the slopes of the mountain of Sumal Grande from which, Indians of Chajul still believe, a view of the aforementioned, white towered, pre-Columbian city is visible. I rode for five and a half hours over steep mountain trails accompanied by Jacinto T., the 2nd. Regidor of Sumal, as mozo. Before leaving Nebaj, I had been warned at the Intendencia that it was impossible to reach the summit of Sumal; there were no trails; and I would have to go for at least two days on foot through virgin forest and climb an unscalable rim rock. Termer, in his travels through this region, made several attempts to climb Sumal from different directions but each attempt was defeated by either bad weather, superstition or desertion of Indians!

After a long descent to cross the Rio Chel there was a three hours' ascent to the top of the divide. Across a valley on the way up we could see the caserio of Cotz<sup>o</sup>l which consisted of a few thatched roofed farms with surrounding milpas. Near the top of the divide which leads on up to the mountain of Sumal, we turned off to the house of the Mayor who assisted Jacinto in his duties as Regidor. He invited us into his pathetic dirty, little, thatched-roofed house to eat our lunch. Inside were his wife and three filthy children wrapped in rags and torn shawls over their naked bodies. Both the Mayor and his wife were extremely hospitable, and offered us atole to drink out of a gourd and tortillas. Before eating, a cup of dirty water was passed around for us all to wash out our mouths and to pour over our hands. We all ate in silence. Afterwards each one in turn said "tantix" or "thanks" to the host and the cup of muddy water was again passed around.

<sup>1</sup> Termer, cit. p. 13, Note 1.

Under the raised wooden bed on which the children sat huddled together I found what I first thought was a bull roarer<sup>1</sup> made of an armadillo shell with a pita string attached. I bought it for five cents, although the host wanted to give it to me. No one would say for what it was used. Later when I showed it to Jacinto T's father, he crossed himself, and said "Jesus, Maria". I found out afterwards that the larger sized ones were used as bolsas or containers for sowing corn.

The house was typical of all houses in the rural districts with open board and pole walls, an upper loft, and a house altar with flowers and a pottery censor.

After lunch we continued to the top of the cumbre or divide and climbed down on the other side for an hour on foot, ~~leading my mule~~, until we reached Jacinto T's own house, which was larger and cleaner than the preceding one. We went in and sat down on little wooden stools while his wife was preparing atole, greens, tamales, and tortillas squatting on the floor next to the open fire. Although Jacinto had been away from home for a week or more there was no greeting or effusiveness of any kind between him and his wife. Even his five children seemed only mildly interested in his return. Without a word his wife set to work feeding us. She brought a gourd bowl of warm water to pour over our hands, and a cup of clean water to wash out our mouths. We again ate in complete silence except when Jacinto complained to his wife that there were no poxwoles<sup>2</sup> to eat.

<sup>1</sup> See Don Gh.'s story about bull roarer noises in the woods. Chap. on Folklore.

<sup>2</sup> A dish consisting of a thin layer of chopped meat wrapped in a kind of spinach leaf envelope, all boiled together and served with hot chile sauce. A usual dish much liked.

In a few minutes in came four mozos and the first Regidor of Sumal, Jacinto M. . All bowed formally to me and to Jacinto and sat down. The Regidor was fed first and the mozos in turn. They ate in silence and when finished each said "tantix" to the wife, to Jacinto, and to me, and went out.

All the Indians went into a huddle to discuss getting mozos for me to climb Sumal in a day or two. Jacinto explained to them that it was the Comandante's orders. He suddenly asked me if I would like to spend a day at his father's house and attend the corn sowing celebrations in the house and at the milpa. I accepted with great pleasure and we started off almost immediately on a very difficult foot trail down a steep slope to his father's house. The houses and milpas of the aldea of Sumal are scattered over steep slopes with only foot trails connecting them. It was very difficult to even lead a mule through them. There are absolutely no ladinos in this section of the aldea.

The Regidor's father was also Jacinto T, and he greeted me in Spanish outside his unusually large, one-roomed, thatched house, very kindly, but with surprise. He exclaimed how exhausted I must be after travelling across so much rough country, and said I was welcome to his house although most naturales would not allow ladinos or foreigners to stay in their houses. He said that to reach the top of Sumal it would take two days hard climbing on foot, and the country was full of mala gente. These were Indians hiding because of non-payment of road taxes or other offenses. There was a large colony of them, he said, who would cut my throat if given a chance. He wanted to know why I was travelling alone. I explained to him that I was a writer, studying native costumbre, and began to recite to him the count of days. He seemed quite surprised and worried and hoped that I did not talk to the Comandante of Nebaj about what I knew, because people believe that he will kill them if they burn pom

and candles at mountain crosses. I told him that the Comandante had no official right to suppress native custom, and to write directly to the Jefe Politico or the President if the Comandante should interfere with it.

He also asked me if I would like to join the fiesta for the sowing of the milpa.

His house was very large and all one room. Inside was a big fire in the centre surrounded by numerous cooking pots. There was the usual upper loft for storage. The thatched roof was very high and although there was a lot of smoke it all went to the top of the roof and the room below was left with pleasant air and no insects. About 12 women were grinding corn on stone metates in preparation for the feast. Over the fire was stretched a long pole with strips of meat hung over it being smoked. Along the sides of the walls were 6 large double or triple raised board beds covered with reed petates and woolen blankets. The altar had a large cross, a pottery censor and many flowers. Many pots were on the fire and others were hung up on poles. In the corner was a wooden trough into which all the water for cooking and washing was poured from jars brought up by the women from a small water hole way down in the bottom of a steep barranco.

I was given a wooden bed in one corner all to myself after it had first been swept and all objects had been removed.

In the house lived Jacinto T----- and his wife, four of his sons with their wives and five children. One son Juan seemed to be particularly fond of his baby about a year old and kept playing with him and throwing him around all the time.

At meal time was the usual hand and mouth washing ceremony. All but the women grinding (many of whom were relatives and friends called in to

prepare for the feast), sat around the fire on little stools, and we were offered hot meat soup full of kidneys and other internal organs and very strong chili, fat corn mash tamales with no meat in them, gourds of atole, and coffee with chili in it. Out of politeness I tried to eat as much as I could, which was not much. Courtesy and concern for my welfare marked every gesture of my hosts.

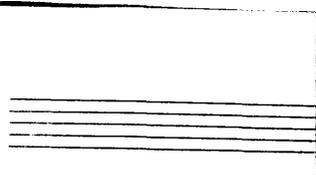
After dinner I talked for a while with the father of the house and went to my bed in the corner very early because the trip over had tired me considerably. My host came over to me and said he hoped that I would feel perfectly at home, that this was my house and everything would be provided for me. Would I mind if they played the chirimia for the fiesta or would it disturb me? A woman would be provided for me if I wanted one. I expressed appreciation for the latter courtesy, but excused myself on the grounds of being married.

The events of the night were interesting but not conducive to sleep. At least 15 women all dressed in their best ceremonial red huipiles and skirts rhythmically ground corn the whole night. The plaintive chirimia played on and off until dawn. Candles and incense were burned at the altar and the head of the house prayed from time to time. Children went to sleep and got up alternately all night. People sat around the fire and ate snacks whenever the spirit moved them. Through it all the chirimia accompanied by drum played air after air including the one so often heard in ceremonial processions in Nebaj!

I actually dozed off and woke up at 5.30 and found everyone ready to leave for the milpa. About 25 men among the neighbours had come over and joined the men of the house. We all started off for the milpa, which turned out to be at least an hour's walk away, down and up a steep barranco

1 Allegro *Chirimia most often used in*

*♩. = 76*



along a new trail, cut through first growth forest. The milpa was a newly cleared and burned piece of land about 10 acres in area, covered with fallen charred trees, which were left where they had fallen. On arrival at the field the men went off into the woods and cut themselves wooden poles with their machetes and sharpened the ends to a long point. All lined up at the top of the field, and each one poked a hole in the ground with the pole and dropped in 7 grains of corn and one frijol which they took from pita bags slung on their shoulders. They worked across the field and back again with great speed dropping their equally spaced grains of seed and pressing them down in the ground with bare feet. The whole ten acres field was planted by one o'clock.

In the middle of the field an altar of stones covered with red geranium petals was set up and green boughs were strewn on it. Copal was burned and Jacinto Jr. who is a rezador as well as a Regidor prayed for most of the time the planting went on. One of the prayers he said was similar to the one I had collected at Zotzil and included invocations to the local Mountain and Day deities, as well as to the World, the Sun, the Corn, Jesus Christ, Saints and Angels.

Towards the bottom of the field a bough rancho or shelter had been erected, and two women, who had ground corn all night in the house, one of whom carried a baby on her back, had walked over from the house with heavy pots of water on their heads carrying bags of corn masa to this shelter. They lit a fire and started boiling water and putting the masa in it until a large pot of atole was ready.

At noon the men who had worked down to the shelter were served the atole.

Still being exhausted after the day before and the festive night, I went back to the house. There I found fifteen or more women still grinding. They were getting ready to feed the 30 or more men when they came in from the communal planting. Only women and children were left in the house.

The children were all very respectful and polite with me, quite in contrast to the fresh, jeering ways of the ladino children of Nebaj, and ran up addressing me with chalaxi pap (buenos dias to principales and elders) and put their heads down to be blessed. The women were most reserved and courteous and offered me food all the time, and were very worried if I did not accept it.

I tried to rest a bit on my bed in the corner and observe what was going on, but the yelping half-starved dogs who kept rushing in one of the two doors to be hit on the head with a stick of wood made any repose impossible. I began thinking about the economic status of these people. Although this was the house of the former Regidor who was father of the present Regidor they were all poor except in food. The father had told me that the annual corn planting feast was always given in his house and the food was all contributed by himself although the neighbours assisted in the work both in the milpa and in the house. The day before the feast all the men were engaged in mending their newly washed shirts which were torn and ragged. Many of them laughed and said they had no others. I gave Jacinto Jr. an old tennis shirt of mine which made him the envy of his brothers. Corn was the one thing of which there was an abundance. Everything centres around corn, their religion, their ceremonies, their communal assistance in planting and harvesting. These people are made of corn and no wonder corn is worshipped along with the earth as a deity. Their entire subsistence is based on it; people break contracts, run away from fincas in order to be home for planting the corn. People will go to jail and die for corn, and the ladinos and finqueros have no understanding whatsoever of this trait of the Indians.

On this day I cooked my own food and pretended to have a stomach ache in order not to have to eat any more of my hosts' food. About two

o'clock all the men came in from the milpa and in a short time they had eaten up all the tamales and meat over which the women had been working for so many days. Many were curious about me and some worried whether I was in league with the Comandante. I gave presents of pom and aguardiente which seemed to allay their suspicions and they shortly left for their homes.

One noticeable feature of this feast was the complete absence of drinking, quite in contrast to most feasts given in Nebaj. Jacinto Sr. who sat down to talk with me after the men had gone home, told me how poor they were, and could no longer afford to buy drink for the feast. There no longer was any opportunity to earn any extra cash for clothes and aguardiente which they need to perform "costumbre". He told me that two old zahorines or calendar priests lived nearby but at present were in town. I asked if the turkey being fattened was to be eaten on the celebration of the Main Yearbearer day 7 Noj which would occur the following Sunday, and he answered, "Talvez, si". He said that all the people from the aldea who could, were going in on Saturday to worship at the first Alcalde cross of Cajal, and asked me if it was good or bad for Christians to burn pom and sacrifice turkeys.

In the evening we all felt very much at home with one another. I offered them a cooked chicken which I had kept in reserve and was given any of their food that I wanted. All decided to go to bed early. The women stopped grinding and cleaned up the house, and prepared the temascal sweat bath whose entrance was on one side from within the house. A fire was lit to heat the rocks and was eventually put out with water which caused clouds of steam to arise and come into the room. First the women started to undress in the open. They took off their huipiles but crawled into the opening of the sweat bath with their skirts on and threw them out the door afterwards. Two or three went in at a time taking babies and children who

screamed and cried a lot beforehand and when inside. They were obviously terrified of the bath. I have been told that children often die from being exposed to cold air after one of these sweat baths. A few men went in with the women. They removed their trousers inside and threw them out the door. The whole performance was done with perfect modesty which is a characteristic of Indians at all times. While the bath was going on the chirimía and drum played and candles and pom was burned at the house altar. After all had emerged and sat around the fire drying themselves they went to their beds. Jacinto Sr. got into bed with two women and others doubled and tripled up around the room. Jacinto Jr., whose wife was at his house asked if one of the women present was going to sleep with him or with one of the other boys. In no time, all had fallen asleep, exhausted from the day's work and many were snoring.

I was up at sunrise and my mule was fed corn and watered. I asked the head of the house how much I owed him for my lodging. He was very offended and said that we were all Christians and it was not his modo to ask guests to pay. He said, "The World carries us and why should we make one another pay? The World doesn't charge". I offered him a half a litre of aguardiente and some packages of pom incense and invited him to come and see me in Nebaj on Saturday and I would give him a new shirt which he wanted very much. He said he wished I would stay longer. The attempt to ascend Sumal on this occasion was abandoned partly because of bad weather and partly because I did not feel up to walking for two days through very rough country.

Jacinto Jr. accompanied me carrying my baggage back to Nebaj. On the way over the top of the divide I noticed again how in all these remoter aldeas a profusion of red geraniums, blue hydrangeas, and roses were grown around the houses to be used for ceremonial offerings at the house and outdoor crosses.

Visit to Diego S--'s Rancho in caserio of Vikucham in aldea of Xonca

Aldea Xonca - 141 families, 811 inhabitants.

On July 12 I rode from Nebaj 4 leagues to stay with Diego S-- who had invited me to visit his Monte and see a sacred cave where he often went to pray. I started off with one of Diego's sons as mozo on the old road to Chajul and branched off to the left beyond the fork to Xonca and Chajul. We went on narrow trails through milpas, past a small colony of Santa María Chiquimula, up a steep hill where there was a magnificent view of the mountain of Sumal, across a green sheep pasture, and down through a piece of first growth forest to Diego's land.

His milpa consisting of about 20 acres of land was on a steep slope near the top of the mountain and his house was small with open board walls and a special shingled roof, hand carved by himself. Next to it was the pole frame work of a new larger house with outside verandah, partially shingled with his own handiwork. Besides being a zahorin he is an expert carpenter and house builder. The old smaller house was shortly to be converted into a special kitchen separate from the new living quarters. The temascal was in a separate outhouse, and there was another small corn storage house with an upper loft. During the corn planting, and harvesting seasons as well as in the cultivating summer season, Diego, his wife, and over half of his 12 children live for many months at a time at this farm and don't return to his large house in town.

Diego arrived on foot from Nebaj about a half an hour after we arrived, carrying a cacaxte containing a baby and a turkey crowded together. The baby had an ulcer on its head, and Diego said his little girl had sores on her leg, his son Cristobal had a sore toe, and Diego had a bad headache. I prescribed aspirin and iodex and treated them all.

Diego, his wife, and 8 of his children were living at that time in

the old small house in which was only one board bed , and the usual fire in the centre, grinding stones, and pots. Their hospitality to me was more than generous and the formalities before and after each meal were the same as described for other houses. There were five daughters aged, 16, 14, 6, 4, and 2, and three sons which included my mozo who came over with me, and two boys aged 3, and 1. They were all there at this season in order to weed and clean the milpa and to continue the construction of the new house. Diego was planning to stay there until the August 15 annual fiesta to return to town only once beforehand on July 29 for the next Yearbearer celebration at Cajal, but a call from the Intendencia four days later forced him to return to town to round up road labor. As soon as this task was accomplished he returned straight to his country house. Three of his sons in the meanwhile were living in his large town house.

I put up my hammock on the framework of the new house, and while the little girl, dressed exactly like her mother in red huipil and skirt , cleared the ground with a machete in a skillful and masterful way, and the girl aged six looked after the other younger children, Diego sat down and conversed and imparted much information of which the high points were as follows:

1) There is intra-family confession of sins on the days of the main Yearbearer, he thought about 12 times a year.

2) Previously he had <sup>admitted</sup> that there were sacrifices of animals on Alcalde days, but he now said that meat was only bought or killed in the house and eaten on days of celebration. He said that real sacrifice was done only by brujos and he never had witnessed such an event. He said it was done in other villages. Again he brought up how frightened the Indians were of <sup>the</sup>ladino attitude at the Intendencia towards costumbre, which they persist in calling brujeria.

3) There were only three official cantones to the pueblo of Nebaj. <sup>The year</sup>  
called calpul <sup>and</sup> which are in a ranked order, the first being Vitzal, the  
second Batzbaca, and the third Salquilito, (or Xo- Salchil in native  
language), <sup>the</sup> ~~other~~ subdivisions of these <sup>also</sup> ~~have been~~ added.

4) He did not know anything of a former caste division of society or  
if the calpules formerly had chiefs.

5) The planting and harvesting rites and techniques in Nebaj, Chajul,  
and Cotzal are the same. Prayers in Chajul generally omit the Christian  
Doctrina which is always included in Nebaj.

6) Marriage and courting customs differ in Chajul. There a zahorin  
appears at a little window especially made for the purpose in the houses,  
and negotiates with the woman.

7) He refused to admit the knowledge of a nagual animal being given  
to a child after birth.

8) He said there were <sup>apt</sup> to be disputes about land among sons whose  
father had not divided the land before his death.

9) There are no official women rezadores.

10) Regidores may or may not be rezadores. There is no fixed rule  
about this.

11) The government formerly had first and second alcaldes and 12  
Regidores, all of whom were Indians. Later the ~~First~~ Alcalde was a ladino.

12) Again he told me that Gaspar performed all worship in substitute,  
but hid his activities from the ladinos. Five years ago Gaspar had joined  
with the priest and the Comandante in the removal of the great cross at  
which Zahorines worshipped in front of the church.

13) He said he lived in his country house just as much as in town,  
but was in the country mainly for planting, weeding, and harvesting, and <sup>at</sup>  
other times to worship at the local caves and shrines.

14) His grown up sons won't work for him unless they want to and he cannot force them to do so. They have their own milpas and loaned lands which they work.

Within the family group there is no atmosphere of tenseness, yet politeness and formality ~~enter in~~ <sup>is a fact</sup> in all their relations. There was much joking and laughing among themselves especially in the evening when they jointly with all the children took temascal baths.

During this three days' visit Diego took me over to visit a 100 year old calendar priest where we collected more information on the month names, and on the next day we went to pray at a sacred cave. We walked for about two hours down to the bottom of a barranco to a hidden cave near the river. Within the cave was an altar made of natural limestone formation draped with the usual sacred plants of Ek and alamek. I offered candles and pom incense while Diego prayed and made offerings in my name. His prayer in the main was similar to the one we had previously written down which included the General confession, the Christian Doctrina, the mountain-Lords, the day-Lords, Saints, Angels, prayer for all members of his family by name, and the teachers who had taught him to pray. The cave was called Coxtum Campanil because of the bell shaped, natural, watermade holes in the ceiling.

Climbing from the cave to the top of the hill of the same name we came to a cross and sat down and Diego recited in Spanish the story of the origin of the Tachbal amak or month names of the native calendar. <sup>(see p. 22)</sup> This had been told to us the day before in native language by Nicolas B the old calendar priest who was reputed to be a hundred years old. The story is a naive, Christianized, fantasy rationalization of the origin of the centuries old Uinals.

Before leaving I gave Diego presents of aguardiente, pom, and candles,

and \$ 1.00 which he accepted gladly. Again as in Sumal the poverty in cash was evident with no extra money for clothes, although as in nearly all the houses I have visited there is an abundance of food. This was partially explainable because Diego was a heavy drinker and spent most of what he earned on drink which was not always for ceremonial occasions. Diego had formerly been Alcalde in the Government at the time when Don Pancho (Spaniard) was First Alcalde. He was an expert carpenter and a man of considerable property, a principal and a zahorin. While Alcalde, he stole some money from the town treasury and served a term in jail.

## LAND, FOOD, OCCUPATION, ECONOMIC STATUS, EDUCATION, HYGIENE, JUSTICE.

The main source of Ixil subsistence is the land which is owned individually not only by the male heads of families but by every son when the father is well off and has divided his lands among his sons. Land formerly descended to the elder son but now is divided equally between sons and daughters (Gaspar). In prayer the Holy Earth is petitioned directly. (Santa Rey Tierra). Corn is the main staple and nearly every family has its milpa in their own sitio in town if not in the monte as well. Beans, squash of various kinds, apples which are the main export product of Nebaj, bananas, oranges, coffee, panela, ejotes and chiles comprise the chief products raised on the land.

Chickens, turkeys, ducks, pigs, sheep and cattle are raised in large quantities.

The market is a regular biweekly event in Nebaj. The Cotzal Sat<sup>urday</sup> market only began a year ago, but the Nebaj Sunday market has been going for 15 years. The big annual fiesta market on August 15 has probably been in existence a long time. It is the only other occasion, with the Chajul pilgrimage, when Indians come from other regions. Most visitors at this time are from the Quiche towns of Momostenango, San Francisco El Alto, Sacapulas and Cunen, and many from Santa Maria Chiquimula, whose women seem to be great travellers and marry into foreign villages, although there are some from Aguacatan, and San Miguel Uspantan.

The Ixil, prior to the coming of ladinos in the last 25 years, must have been largely self-sufficient and raised all their own food and were not much dependent on the outside world; otherwise the market would have been in existence long before. Under Barrios and Cabrera, the leading Indian principal was Diego de L. He had such power and prestige that he had an arrangement with the President for Nebaj not to pay tribute to the govern-

ment, although he collected personal tribute for himself from the natives, and he also had the privilege of bringing in contraband goods from Mexico. Today they export their apples, carrying them on their backs to Coban, Quiché, and Huehuetenango. Pita nets from Cotzal I saw at the fiesta of Santo Tomas at Chichicastenango. Salt is imported from the ancient Indian salt works at Sacapulas, blankets from Momostenango, and earthenware red pots from San Pedro Jocopilas. No pottery is made in the region today, although fragments abound in the archaeological sites of the region. Women's cofradia white shawls with bird designs come from Totonicapán, their foot loomed red skirts with yellow stripes from Huehuetenango, and the cotton thread and silk for weaving huipiles, fajas, and cintas are imported machine made goods. With a good food supply, a fairly healthy climate, a little land, and a house, an Indian in this district can be practically self-sufficient, and his needs are very little until he gets used to aguardiente, and is required to earn extra cash in order to buy it.

For several months after the apple picking season large numbers liked to go to the coast to work on the fincas ~~for several months~~, where most finqueros say that they make the most inefficient and stubborn laborers (one finquero of the district says that they are excellent workers). At present many prefer to work on the coast rather than at Don Pedro B.'s finca near Cotzal because they pay more cash on the coast, although he gives more in land, housing, and produce from the finca provided they settle down and live there permanently.

Many work as mozos or porters and carry up to one quintal, or 100 pound loads, on their backs with a tump line strap around their foreheads, up and down the steep mountain trails for days on end. Often when riding a fast mule, my mozo with a heavy load would arrive ahead of me.

Indian principales employ mozos and labor and do not work manually

themselves.

Contrary to expectations, I find that the natives of Nebaj are all extremely money conscious. They are always discussing the price of everything. Centavo and medio centavo are words constantly heard. Most of the time they say that they have no pisto or change, yet there generally seems to be an abundance of corn, tortillas, coffee, eggs and more than a minimum subsistence worth of food. The only thing that they have to buy is cotton thread for weaving their clothes and a few cents worth of pottery and paraphernalia for prayer - rockets, pom, and candles. When they do earn any extra cash they generally spend it on aguardiente. Still many say, "Yo soy pobre", and complaints are heard all the time. Though poor in cash there is an abundance of food, yet it is rare to hear a conversation without a mention of the need to "buscar la comida". In conversation, in prayer, and in stories, looking for food plays a large part. "Mira al pájaro que busca la comida"; "Trece Reyes que buscan la comida"; "No dan de comer", are typical phrases in speech, story, and prayer. None of this seems to bear any relation to the reality of the food supply which appears abundant in the region, and fairly evenly divided among the population, although there are a certain number of rich principales with lots of land, small panela fincas, tiendas, and several houses in town and in the monte (Gaspar).

In Chajul there is much resistance to selling huipiles, food or anything else. Here and in the outlying hamlets of Ilom and Chel, even visiting Indians of their own language but from other towns, have a difficult time buying food to eat. In these places there is no interest in making money especially among the women who don't want to part with their handiwork.

In Cotzal where the best weaving is done, they have become tourist conscious and prices are exorbitant.

With regard to food and price, Luis S. says that the exorbitant price of marriage is enhanced by having to give at least 130 tamales with meat to the bride's family and guests. This brings the price up to \$ 30. On a week's trip to San Miguel Uspantan with the Padre, Luis kept complaining of not being given enough food, especially in ladino houses. This was not entirely true because I generally saw to it that enough was given. Without this pressure, however, ladinos are stingy to mozos and <sup>Indians</sup>~~ladinos~~ in general, and have no consideration for a mozo who has been carrying heavy loads all day over steep mountain trails.

Possibly the money consciousness comes from the influence of the ladinos who have encouraged it through stimulating a desire for aguardiente, and from working on fincas where sometimes they earn up to 25 cents a day on special jobs.

The food preoccupation is a separate trait, and since it is reflected in prayers to the corn and the earth, its source is much deeper than an immediate economic lack or ladino influence. This may turn out to be an important clue in understanding their cultural dynamics.

In spite of the constant preoccupation of the Ixil Indian with money, and with food, his hospitality in his own house once his confidence is won, is generous and unlimited. I have tried to bring this out in the first part of this chapter, when relating my experience in the aldea of Sumal.

#### Money consciousness

I met an Indian at the cross of Vilajam who said the antiguos whose ruined buildings are found all around, must have been very rich to have built such large places.

The commercial spirit is one of the most marked characteristics of Indians as well as ladinos. With Indians it is especially noticeable in the constant bargaining and bickering about prices. It is also carried into

prayers which are often a kind of business deal with the World God. You pay for candles, pom, ~~and~~ aguardiente, ~~and~~ rockets, and prayermakers, and you get so much return in corn and produce provided you have done nothing bad.

The commercial spirit is not in evidence at first with the most generous Indian hospitality, but Jacinto T. my host at Sumal, when he refused payment for lodging said, "Who knows when some day I might want to stay in your house". There is always the expectancy of return for value given, if not at present, in the future. This spirit is not I think caused entirely by ladinos. Ladinos merely have increased or accentuated what may turn out to be a native Guatemalan Indian trait.

Indians are bargainers, traders, salesmen. Even Gaspar on occasions tried to overcharge me for a horse and saddle and for a bag of coffee. Gaspar fits in with exploiting ladino ways. Does that trait apply mostly to principales?, and is this an easy channel of acculturation for them? Is it religion which is the main division between ladinos and Indians? Other Indian classes do not become ladinoized, although intensive commercialism seems to have permeated all classes of Indian in the Quiché village of Santa Maria Chiquimula.

Nebaj does not fit exactly into the categories of vacant town, town nucleus or combination types of municipios. The pueblo itself is never vacant of its Indian population, and at the same time, three quarters of the inhabitants of the municipio are permanent rural dwellers with no houses in town.

It has a permanent Indian urban population of approximately 725 households, and a permanent rural Indian population of 1,660 households or families scattered among 8 aldeas which contain 69 caserios. This means an urban population of 3,500 and a rural population of approx. 9,300

excluding ladinos, who number about 500, all of whom, with a few individual exceptions, live in town.

The urban Indian inhabitants have, 1) milpas in town, 2) milpas just outside town, 3) milpas further afield in aldeas.

Those with milpas in and near town, have their houses and live entirely in town; those further afield have milpas and real farms with ranchos in which they may occasionally spend a night, but generally they return every night to their town houses; those still further afield have real houses in aldeas in which they may live almost as much as in town. The latter spend months at a time in the country, returning to town for market, and on Yearbearer days, but their main house is in town and they are classified in the census as urban and not rural dwellers.

The permanent rural inhabitants have their houses in which they live exclusively in aldeas, which are fairly closely assembled and fenced groups of farms, centring around a town hall (and one with a church, Salquil Grande) or in caserios which are more scattered groups of farms subsidiary to aldeas. (Three aldeas of Chajul are really small villages). A few rich Indians have large houses in two or three aldeas, as well as in town, but the great majority of the inhabitants of the aldeas and caserios live rural-ly and only go to town for market, Yearbearer ceremonies, to serve at the intendencia, for road service, and for fiestas, and they have no houses in town in which to stay.

Nebaj is the bi-weekly (Th., Sun) market nucleus for the municipios of Chajul and Cotzal, although Cotzal started a Saturday market a year ago. There is no market in Chajul. The August 15 fiesta in Nebaj is the fiesta nucleus for all three municipios.

Chajul is a pilgrimmage nucleus the 2nd. Friday in Lent for the whole region, and at all times of year at the most sacred shrine of Huy1.

### Education

Very few Indians from Nebaj and the aldeas are able to read or write. Even Gaspar C. the richest and most influential principal, can only sign his name and cannot read. Diego B. can read and write but though classed as a natural, he is largely ladinoized, has a ladino wife and several ladino mistresses, and moreover everything he says is highly unreliable. I know of one important zahorin who can read and write, both lengua and Spanish, and several of the younger men such as Gaspar's son and Diego the fiscal, are educated in this respect. There is a ladino school with a ladino schoolmaster at Nebaj to which all the ladino children and a few Indians go, whereas in Chichicastenango there is a ladino school and an Indian school with an Indian master quite distinct from the former. Gaspar C. says that the schools in the region at Chajul and at Cotzal are very bad and nobody learns anything. The schoolmaster whom I met at Chajul is constantly drunk and rarely shows up for classes. Gaspar says that the principales are very anxious for their children to attend school and to learn to write and read, and want good teachers to be sent to them or to have some of themselves trained to be teachers.

At Chel, the Indian regidor said about the inhabitants of his village, "son todos puros tontos, no saben nada aqui". Here and in the hamlets of Zotzil and Ilom there are no schools.

### Hygiene

Sanitary conditions are bad. The streets are much used as toilets although a few Indian houses have excusados. Where there is no excusado, the sitio or cornfield is used. Women and children are often seen performing natural functions in the street. I saw a little girl, aged 2 run to the sitio and she screamed and waved to me while performing.

There is no knowledge at all about contagion or infection. Fleas and lice in the hair are prevalent. Clean pine needle floors are often swept and changed but instantly all is spoiled by spitting on the floor. Bare feet are the rule, and people walk about through manure and muddy streets.

Worms, and goitre seem to be prevailing diseases. There is no malaria unless brought back from the coast, until you get to the low lying hamlet of Chel. There are a fair number of crippled and deformed people and a number of dwarves.

There is a constant craving for medicines, and the Indians will take anything as long as it is a pill, and regard all medicines as cure-alls regardless of ailment. "Mi hijo come tierra, Mi niño no quiere comer, etc."

Clothes are often dirty and in rags and clean ones will be put on over the dirty ones. Some say that a temascal sweat bath is taken every day, and some say only every eight days. All have an aversion to bathing in rivers or cold water. I finally made Luis scrub with soap in the river, and he afterwards said that it made him feel much better.

### Epidemics

Every day for weeks the bell at the church tolled for one or more deaths. An epidemic had been going on for some time and I had thought it was a kind of severe flu. Two of Diego C's sons, Jacinto, and Felipe de L. were all down with it. All had high fevers, aches and pains but took no care of themselves, and went out to work in the fields every day. I visited them and gave them all aspirin, a laxative, and lemon juice, and advised them to stay in bed for a week. Jacinto was afraid he was going to die. I gave him three "entoral" tablets, an oral inoculation against pneumococcus, streptococcus, and other influenza germs. After a week in bed he recovered.

Dr. G. from Quiche was summoned by the Intendente, and I took him

around to the houses where I knew there were cases of illness. He diagnosed the disease as typhus (tifus not tifoidea) and said I had better leave the district because no white man ever recovered if they once got it. It was carried by lice and fleas.

Later when in Guatemala, I reported the epidemic to the Sanidad. They sent up two men to investigate who decided that it was not typhus, and was subsiding. For a while an isolation hospital was set up and the numerous cases cared for there. When the disease was receding in intensity and the number of new cases became fewer, this project was abandoned. At the height of the epidemic, so many deaths occurred daily, that it was forbidden to toll the church bell for a death.

#### Administration of Justice

Three scenes which I witnessed illustrate the administration of justice in the remoter villages of the Ixil region. At Chajul I went into the ladino intendente's office with Gaspar C., leading principal from Wehaj who was travelling with me. An Indian was standing in front of the intendente's desk guarded by two soldiers. He was talking and gesticulating wildly in a high pitched voice. The intendente explained to us that the Indian had sold some land belonging to a boy 18 years old for \$ 20, and had kept the money. The Intendente who is also Judge, had ordered him to get off the land and to return the money. Since he had spent the money and had nothing else, the intendente ordered the man to be kept in jail until an investigation could be made to determine what property of his was on hand that could be used to repay the victim for the theft. Gaspar C., who was pure Indian, praised the intendente, a ladino from Guatemala City, for his action, and told him that that was what he was there for, to see that order and justice was maintained and that he had done very well.

At Chel, a pure Indian hamlet with only a single ladino, a husband and

wife had been quarrelling, because the husband had been going around with other women. They began hitting each other with fire wood. The neighbours reported this to the juzgado (town hall with jail attached where officials and regidores have their headquarters) and man and woman were thrown into jail in separate jails for 24 hours to give them time to cool off. Relatives and friends came to talk with them all day through the wooden grills.

At Ilo, a long day's ride beyond Chajul a woman was robbed in her house and severely cut up with a machete by an Indian who worked on a nearby finca. The man was thrown in jail by the Indian regidores; the military captain at the next village of Zotzil rode over as soon as informed to report on the situation; a messenger was sent to report the situation to the Intendente of Chajul who took the long ride over in person through the mud and rain accompanied by a secretary and an armed soldier, arriving 24 hours later. An official investigation was made, the secretary typed an official report; and official photographs of the woman, the criminal, the machete, and all the government representatives present were taken by myself. The following morning the prisoner, shaking all over from head to foot, was marched off guarded by the armed soldier to walk the two or three days journey to Santa Cruz Quiché and eventually on to Guatemala City where he would either be shot if the woman died, or get ten years in prison if she lived. Although this incident has already been related at length in the introduction, it demonstrates the speed and efficiency with which justice was administered even in this remote town.

Elections for the national legislative assembly were held in Nebaj while I was there and all Indians were entitled to vote for two deputies from the Departamento de Quiché, although most of them can neither read nor write, and do not know anything about the deputies or have any clear idea as to their functions. I told Diego about the elections and he said

that maybe he would go to the intendencia to vote just for the fun of it, but he had no idea as to who or what to vote for.

Family life, children, birth, marriage, death.

~~Dec. 4.~~ Diego L., the Padre's fiscal. A fiscal is a voluntary office which is officially under the municipio but receives no pay. The duties of the job are to act as mozo to the priest and to learn all the rites of the church in order to assist the priest as altar boy or a kind of emergency sacristan.

Diego reads and writes Spanish, knows his Latin breviary and is educated above the average Indian or natural as they prefer to be called. His appearance is not that of a pure Indian, but he is definitely not a ladino. Diego though probably of mixed blood, is an Indian culturally, because his life since birth has been conditioned entirely by present day Indian culture.<sup>1</sup>

Although he is more educated than other naturales and is quick and astute in learning the teachings of the church, he, nevertheless, guards his Indian costumbre and beliefs tightly. When in his house I bought from him a small ~~4~~ faced idol from his house altar. He readily agreed to sell it, but had a sudden fit of conscience and said that maybe it was wrong to sell it because it might be a god of "los antiguos".

His house, built by himself, which is typical of <sup>many</sup> Nebaj Indian houses, has two rooms, a tiled roof, board walls with open cracks between the boards which are not lime plastered and whitewashed as are many Nebaj and Chajul houses. In one room is an upper loft stretching half way across the room used as a kind of storage attic. On the altar are a small image of

<sup>1</sup> According to his statement he has never been further away from the Ixil region than Santa Cruz Quiché. He is about 27 years old.

the black Saint of Esquipulas, a couple of small pottery idols, 3 modern vases filled with pine branches, a pottery censor, some candles and knick-knacks. Whenever a guest comes into the house, anything of value that he brings such as a flashlight or a thermos bottle is placed on the altar for safety. In back of the altar are 3 small wooden crosses placed in the same way as the ones in the outdoor places of worship. In one corner of the room is a raised wooden bed covered with petates and blankets (from Momostenango), and several home woven woman's huipiles. Other articles in the room are two stone metates, a hand loom, a pita hammock, a rough wooden bench and a table, several large full red clay water jars, a turkey in a nest under the bench sitting on 14 eggs. The dirt floor was strewn with fresh aromatic pine needles. A basket of yellow corn kernels, a small wooden chest with iron bars with lock and key for valuables, a set of modern carpentry tools and a locally made pottery brazier made up the remaining items. This room was used as a dining, sitting, and sleeping room.

The second room which had an entrance only from the outside was used as a kitchen. It contained a stone metate for grinding corn, a comal or pottery griddle for cooking tortillas, many ollas and tinajas or water jars, corn in baskets, a few modern pots and a frying pan. The fire was in the middle of the floor, there was no smoke hole, and one half of the room was taken up by a large temascal for taking steam sweat baths.

Outside was an overhanging porch with a pile of cut wood. Beyond the house was a clean W.C. outhouse which is unusual for an Indian house, the sitio or cornfield in back of the house generally being the family dump for all purposes. Wandering about outside are turkeys, chickens, 1 small pig, and a dog. Some of the livestock belongs to Diego and some to his wife. He says that a woman's property is rigidly hers and the husband has

no rights over it, which is quite distinct from the statement of Gaspar C who maintains that husband and wife own all property jointly. Gaspar told me that in the old days only sons inherited land and property, but today all sons and daughters inherit equally. He has 15 children 9 of whom are sons and he will leave his property to them equally divided. The old idea was that a woman did not need to inherit land, because when she married she would go to her husband's land which he had inherited, and there was no need for both to have land.

Outside is a wooden work bench with a wooden screw vice. The sitio or land belonging to the property consists of about 20 cuerdas<sup>1</sup> of mostly milpa where corn is grown.<sup>2</sup> Vegetables such as huisquiles and chilacayote squashes are also grown. The whole property is fenced with a wooden bar fence.

Water is carried from a natural spring pila across the road. Wood is cut by Diego and brought in from outside town every few days.

His wife is pretty and pale skinned, and was dressed in a beautiful white huipil with purple animal designs, woven by herself, a red and white faja or sash 4 inches wide around her waist, and a similarly colored cinta or band wound in coronet fashion through her hair, both home woven. Her wrap-around skirt, manufactured in Huehuetenango and bought in the market, is the conventional tomato red one with yellow stripes, as worn by all Nebaj women.

There are three little girls aged 3 years, 2 years, and 6 months, all dressed exactly like their mother. They are very sweet and friendly. The baby sits in a little home made high chair with table attached. She has a rash on her forehead for which I prescribe camphor ice. Diego thinks she has worms which is a common Nebaj complaint, since the children often eat dirt. The baby cries a lot and teets on a hard ear of yellow corn. Flies

1

A cuerda is about 1200 sq. yards. They vary in size - cuerdas of 30 and 40 varas square. A vara is 2.8 feet.

2 Corn fields of milpas are all through the town with each house having its own field.

on her face are not brushed off. She is afraid of me at first but gets used to me after the first few visits. The father is very affectionate with her. He and I both feed her bits of boiled green huisquil (a type of squash). I advise garlic boiled in milk for worms. Diego says that up until a few days ago she had had only mother's milk, but is now getting raw cow's milk in addition to being nursed by the mother.

While Diego and I discuss the functions of the Cofradias, his wife makes coffee and boils huisquiles for us. Before eating, a cup of water is brought to pour over our hands.

The little girl, aged 2, Juana, is particularly sweet and friendly. She looks after and kisses the baby. She talks a lot to her father and calls him tata. She calls to him to look when the turkey sitting on the 14 eggs, walks out of the room to take the air for a while. The mother goes off with the oldest girl, aged 3, on errands and leaves us. We leave Juana, aged 2, to guard the baby, aged 6 months, while we go across the street to see the water spring and talk to an old man about the Tachbal amak or months of the calendar. When we return, Juana is standing up by the gate singing to herself, perfectly self-reliant, and not at all afraid to be alone. She throws acorns at me and smiles sweetly.

The oldest girl looks very husky and strong. She has the beginnings of a coin necklace around her neck, like an "add-a-pearl" necklace given to young girls at home. Diego has added to several old Spanish silver reales, two lead discs from my film cases which I had thrown away on our trip with the Padre. This girl, aged 3, takes her father's cigarette and draws in 2 or 3 strong puffs of smoke and spits on the floor very professionally. Her father says she likes to take swigs of aguardiente, which he apparently has no objection to. These seemed to me rather startling habits for such a polite and otherwise well-mannered little girl, at least accord-

ing to the mores of our own undoubtedly irrational culture. Aguardiente is drunk by assembled relatives shortly after the birth of a child.

The wife says that for a dollar (Quetzal) she will buy cotton thread and weave me a huipil for my daughter aged 2 and a half.

I noticed that Nebaj children are in general very uninhibited. They are constantly in evidence running and playing with loud screams of laughter. They are often seen playing urinating and defecating games together in the middle of the street.

Diego has no mother or father who are living. From his uncle he inherited his breviary which he uses constantly in his office of fiscal for the church. He is always seen praying and chanting in processions. His wife has a living mother and a father, as well as a young brother and sister. When Diego is away on trips with the priest, the wife's younger brother looks after her so that she will not be alone. She is afraid to stay alone in the house, which is not to be wondered at, after ~~the~~ disc-overing the ways of the ladinos of Nebaj, who spend a large part of their time visiting the Indian women when their husbands are away. Many boast of being able to get an Indian woman any time they want for 10 cents.

Diego says that when a baby is about to be born, a midwife comes in to help, and gets paid 25 cents.<sup>1</sup>

We talk about how angry the Padre is because no one gets married in the church, neither naturales nor ladinos. He says that the reason the former do not marry in the church is because it costs \$ 3.00 as well as an extra sum for obtaining a civil certificate from the intendencia. This adds up because the Indians have their own elaborate ceremonies for marrying which cost the groom or his father at least \$ 15 which must be

<sup>1</sup> According to Diego and Gaspar. There is the ceremony of finding out the child's nagual. Don Q. says that a zahorin is called in for the naming.

paid to the bride's father.

Gaspar C., who has had two or more wives and 15 children told me that he saw no reason for marrying in the church because if you wanted to separate or change wives later on, the church would not allow it.

Luis S. whose father is a zahorin, yet has been married in the church, said that the exorbitant price of marriage is enhanced by having to give at least 130 tamales with meat in them to the bride's family and guests. This would bring the price up to \$ 30 for the bride.

In Nebaj when a young man wants to marry a girl he grabs the corner of her rebozo. If she dislikes him she breaks away from him, but if she likes him she will only pretend to do so. He puts a few pesos down her neck. If she refuses him, the money is returned by her father to the man's father. If she accepts him, she keeps the money and in a few days a zahorin calls as matchmaker to arrange the details of the marriage. According to the economic status of the parties involved, feasting and presents are exchanged back and forth between the families and proceedings may go on for several months. Payment is made to the bride's father and the zahorin is paid one quetzal for every conference or visit. On the wedding day the groom arrives at the bride's father's house with presents of clothes for her. There is much feasting, drinking of aguardiente and marimba playing. The couple go home afterwards to live either in their own house or else at the groom's father's.

If a couple are very poor they may merely start living together without any ceremonies or payments of any kind.

The bride can leave and return to her parents any time she feels like it, but in that case the bride price and all presents must be returned to the groom's family. The price is to enable her to make and purchase a trousseaux which she must supply.

In Zotzil and Iloom, aldeas of Chajul, courtin: custom differs. The young man when he is courting stands outside the girl's house at night and plays a plaintive little tune by blowing through a piece of banana leaf (Tocar la hoja). It sounds very much like the monotonous airs played on the ceremonial chirimia. If the girl likes the man she may invite him into the house.

In Chajul the suitor, when courting, will go with his zahorin and cry in front of the girl's house until she lets them in.

#### Marriage (Gh.)

After a girl has accepted a suitor for marriage, he must go to a zahorin and learn a formal petition which he must repeat to the bride's parents at their house. On some occasions the man must work for a period of time at her father's house to prove himself. The bride must work in return, at his father's house, and must go through the ordeal of taking tamales out of boiling water without burning herself.

On the wedding day the man and woman must drink a special posole without spilling a drop. If they don't spill, it means good augury for their future life together; if a drop or two is spilled it means their marriage will be a failure.

Petition of a suitor said to his fiancée's father after she has indicated that she was willing to accept him.

(July 25, 1940 Nebaj, Informant Sebastian R, a zahorin and a specialist in marriage ceremonies and matchmaking. He speaks very little Spanish. Vicente C, mestizo in blood, but culturally a complete Indian acted as interpreter. He writes in lengua and Spanish. He wrote down the petition in Ixil as Sebastian spoke, and afterward translated it into Spanish and wrote it below the native language).

If the woman keeps the money which the suitor has dropped down the back of her neck, indicating that she is willing to accept him, he learns the following petition from a specialist and goes to the girl's father's house and says it to her parents. He does this three times before he gets a reply.

PEDIDO DEL PRETENDIENTE OR PAJOM TI CONSIERTA

ULIN SAXE CHUH TUCÓZOZ<sup>1</sup>

Vengo hacer un mandado a Usted en nuestra casa

XEPAS CHEALE TU CÔZOZE

Ante su padre en nuestra casa

IN ACÓL CHUMUN CAT OKÚLIN

Yo vengo a ponerle una tristeza cuando yo vengo

IN CAY BISANAL CAT OKÚLIN

Yo vengo con una palabra amarga (cuando entro en la casa)

CAN CAT BILOKZAN ABAK CAT BILOKZAN

Porque vi a una niña y vine a verla

CA'N CAJÍX SAJ CAJÍX

A una guacamaya amarilla, a una guacamaya blanca

CA'N PARÓYAX, SAJ PARÓYAX

A una paloma amarilla, a una paloma blanca

EX COLMÚLE UOCO

Por eso vine a buscarla

ATCAN TIAL KES-CURAL, TUC KES-KOOCHOCCH

Siempre handejado la semilla nuestros abuelos y abuelas

LOCOLCÓJBETIN TZALCÓJBETIN

Aquí que me hiciera favor de recibirme bien

CAT UNCHIELA CHEL ELLEN BET

Aquí me voy a pasar la vida y morir en poder de Usted

IZBA ZIZÁ ELLEN BET 'ACAXTICHILE

Aquí voy a vivir y aquí voy a acabar

BIÁBOJ BIÁCAP, CAT TAL CRISTO

En tus pies, en tus manos, como ordenó Cristo

UMBAL XAC UMBAL VUAC, CAT TAL CRISTO

Un hombre y una mujer, como ordenó Cristo

English translation

I come to make a request to you in this our house, before our father  
in this house.

I come to bring you tidings of sadness when I come;

I come with bitter words when I enter this house.

Because I saw a maiden, I have come to seek her,

A yellow macaw, a white macaw,

<sup>1</sup> Ó like Irish brogue.

A yellow dove, a white dove,

For this I have come to seek her.

Always my fathers and mothers have sown their seed.

Here may you grant me the favor of receiving me well,

Here shall I pass my life, and here in your power shall I die;

Here shall I live, and here shall I end my days.

At thy feet and at thy hands, as Christ hath commanded,

One man and one woman, as Christ hath commanded.

Rearing and Treatment of Children. (From O.M.) and Marriage Customs

After a child is born, for four days it is fed by the comadrona or midwife with honey, maizena and atol ralo before it is put to the mother's breast.

It is nursed by the mother for 6 months and nursed whenever it cries. At 6 months it is given atol and frijoles along with its nursing. It is nursed until it is 2 or until another child is born. Other foods are given to it and it is weaned gradually.

Observation of three or four families and the opinion of an intelligent ladino woman who often looks after Indian children, shows no evidence of finger or hand sucking at any age. Children are often seen teething on on ears of hard roasted corn.

A baby is often put in a hammock to sleep and is carried everywhere on its mother's back. For many years parents and children sleep in the same bed unless they belong to one of a few well off principal families. Babies sleep on their mother's backs. When a baby can sit up, it sleeps generally only at night.

After birth, a child is washed and never bathed again except for pouring water on its hands and face occasionally before eating, until it is five years old. Young babies are often taken into the temascal sweat baths with

their parents. They are generally greatly afraid of this and scream a great deal before being taken in and when inside.

No attention is paid to a girl's looks until she is at least 15 years old.

As soon as a child can walk, boys and girls are dressed like their parents. Clothes are only occasionally removed and washed.

A child is never coerced to eat. When it won't eat <sup>it is</sup> they take ~~it~~ to a shop for medicine, generally a worm medicine.

<sup>children</sup> They learn to walk by <sup>being</sup> putting ~~them~~ in a caña carrizo walkers ( a home made article very like the modern walkers. They learn at about a year and a half.

There is no baby talk. Parents talk to children like adults. They rear with laughter at them if they mispronounce a word or are frightened.

Play is not organized by elders. Children play together.<sup>1</sup>

When really annoyed at the children, which is seldom, parents have been known to whip them with chichicastes or switches which have thorns.

At 7 years old or even younger, children are made to work. Boys carry small loads of wood, and the girls little jars of water. Both are sent out to tend sheep and often play games together in the pastures. Play is mostly after work.

The native name and nagual animal is given by a zahorin at birth. He makes a mark on the back with a piece of charred ocote, or pine, the animal that the design resembles is the child's nagual or animal double. (Gaspar). The Christian name <sup>is</sup> given at baptism as soon as a priest can be found. The child is generally brought into the church for this purpose.

Girls of 13 are taught to weave. Children are taught pita making in Cotzal.

<sup>1</sup> In the aldea of Sumal - J.T's house, a boy about 5 carried about and looked after a baby about 2. If the baby cries he amused him by rolling a stick down hill. The baby grabbed and refused to return it.

Children don't fight with each other.

Pain and injury are ignored by parents. No treatment is given.

Indian children generally don't lie.

Their manners are respectful and deferent towards elders and foreign visitors which cannot be said for ladino children.

If children climb a tree or are in danger they may be beaten.

If a child is very ill the parents tell him that he will probably die.

Children are forbidden to attend mountain crosses for rites. Babies are taken to church on their mothers' backs, and later accompany parents to all church ceremonies.

### Death<sup>1</sup>

When a person dies, relatives shave and wash the body. The body is put in a coffin and carried to each of the four cardinal points and turned around, to keep the spirit from following.

Women wailing ceremonially, follow the corpse to the cemetery. The relatives all get drunk, starting before going to the cemetery, and continuing afterwards. Formerly relatives had a marimba at the house, but now this is regarded as "mala costumbre". For three days after burial, prayers are said, and copal incense burned, and ceremonial acts performed in the house, in the church, and in the monte, to set the spirit on the right road and keep it from hanging around.

When a death occurs, the bell is tolled at the church, and as soon as possible the body is taken to the cemetery. A burial takes place with great speed. At many that I have witnessed, no ceremony occurs at the cemetery at the time of burial, but afterwards relatives come out, light candles and burn pom before the small wooden grave crosses. Small adobe, whitewashed oven or cradle shaped constructions, <sup>are</sup> built on the graves in

<sup>1</sup> Have as yet little information on the Animas cult which contains more than the catholic cult of the same name.

which the incense is burned. Before these, professional prayermakers come to perform their rites and cult of "las ánimas" or departed spirits. The priest is rarely at the cemetery at the time of burial, although he often goes later and says responses at the request of relatives who pay him a few cents.

During an epidemic of typhus and flu which broke out in Nebaj and several aldeas, four or five deaths occurred daily. In the midst of this epidemic I accompanied the priest to his annual mass at the aldea of Acul. During the previous months, many deaths had occurred in this rural district, and all had been buried without the assistance of the priest. After mass he marched to the cemetery accompanied by drum and chirimia for the purpose of saying responses over the graves, and the following scene took place.

About 80 or more people dressed in their best coloured huipils and red jackets were scattered in groups around the cemetery engaged in a variety of activities. In the centre, was a group crowded near the main pagan cross listening to two men playing the guitar. Several groups of women and children were lighting candles and putting red geraniums and red gladioli on grave crosses. The Padre was in one corner dressed in full mass regalia saying responses at graves at a cost of two cents per person. In another section the drum and chirimia were playing. Many men and women were kneeling and crying at graves. A marimba struck up in another corner. Nearby, an Indian and one of the three ladinos of the aldea were discussing a business contract about building a house, completely oblivious to their surroundings. Two little girls whose father had just died came up and asked the ladino and myself to come and look at their father's grave. We went over, took off our hats while the girls giggled then cried. Two young drunks staggered about, holding hands with their eyes full of tears. The

Padre waved at us and called out that he would soon join us for lunch. An old Indian came to me and said he would come to see me in Nebaj the next day for some eye medicine and offered me 10 cents. After an hour or so of this mixed scene of grief, festivity, and utilitarianism, in which death was taken in its stride as part of the day's work, I rode back to Nebaj.

Appendix .Native Prayers; Texts in Ixil, Spanish,  
and English.

*Folklore notes*

a as in father  
 ǎ as in French la  
 ɛ̃ as in French tête  
 ɛ̄ as in English met  
 E as in French je  
 † as in French il  
 ȳ as in English it  
 o as in French donne  
 ö as in German ö  
 ˙o as in Irish brogue  
 oo as in English boot  
 u as in Spanish tu  
 ŭ as in English up  
 ü as in German ü  
 ñ as in Spanish or French gn  
 h as in English hat  
 j as in Spanish reloj  
 x same as sh  
 tz as in German zu  
 ' glottal stop  
 n over a vowel nasal as French un  
 w as in water  
 / over a letter accent  
ch as in German Ich  
 ch as in English chap

Prayer in Spanish of Tomas, a Brujo from Nebaj who lives on the Finca San Francisco, and has lived there for 30 years.

Salvador mundo. Ay Dios, mi Padre, Jesu-Cristo. Como soy pobre. Aquí estoy en el mundo, en el San Francisco estoy, comiendo con los mis familias. Que lo regala en mi bastimiento. Ay Dios Mundo me arrepiento en mi castigos. Sobre mí con mis coches, con mis gallinas siembre. Me arrepiento que voy morir. Regale mis días. Siembre, voy a morir hasta que llegue a mis tiempos. Señor Angel Josefino, Señor Angel, San Miguel Angel y San Rafael Angel, Angel San Feline, Angel Maestro, Maestro San Pedro, Maestro San Miguel Angel. Avasallar de ami con los mundos porque soy sucio. Aquí estoy en el Mundo que me busque solo por mis vidas porque estoy atento y arrepentido y voy a contar unas malas. Ay Dios que me lo pide, me presentes Señor Huyl<sup>1</sup>, Señor Andres. quemo, pido, Señor Andrés, es que me pido mis vidas, porque me arrepiento me voy a hachar mis canillas. Es mejor no Señor Mundo, porque aquí hay todo gente en todo justicia, por aquí están todas cosas. Es mejor me das conmigo, como soy pobre.

Literal translation.

Saviour world. Oh, God, <sup>my</sup> Father, Jesus Christ. ~~As~~ I am poor. Here I am in the world, in it, Saint Francis I am, eating with my family. May I be presented with my food. O, God World I repent in my punishments. Over me with my pigs, with my chickens, always. I repent because I am going to die. May he present me with my days. Always, I am going to die until my time comes. Lord Angel Joseph~~ine~~, Lord Angel, Saint Michael Angel and Saint Raphael Angel, Angel Saint Phillip, Master Angel, Master Saint Peter, Master Saint Michael Angel. Enslaved must I be to the world because I am filthy. Here I am in the World and may they look for me only for my <sup>lives</sup> because I am attentive and repented and I am going to count some ~~bad ones~~<sup>bad ones</sup>. O, Lord who asks me, may Thou present me Lord Huyl<sup>1</sup>, Lord Andrew. I burn, I beg, Lord Andrew, it is that I beg my lives, because I repent I am going to strike my legs with an axe. It is best not to, Lord World, because here ~~there is~~<sup>all</sup> people in all justice <sup>FOR</sup> around here are all things. It is best you give me ~~with me~~<sup>with you</sup>, as I am poor.

<sup>1</sup> Huyl is the same name as the Cumbre de Huyl, a mountain near Chajul which is a main centre of costumbre.

Nebaj. March 7, 1940

Prayer in Diego S's Note Book. He is a zahorin.

Perdone mi alma yo soy pobre, el que estoy en el mundo, no me dejas por el mal. Siempre me depientes por el malo por que yo soy pobre Señor San Serrafina, San roresefina y San Sevastian pabvian gloria. Siempre me ayudarme por la pobresco, Señor San Pedro rum San Pedro ortimal para que me reponesla caña de mi Siembra, mientras no me dejas rola, me paboresca dela anga de mi Santa Maiz, Solo hesolnos Jesucristo, San Gaspar Rey. Si tenos mal Suerto pero me perdone Señor Huy1.<sup>1</sup>

Literal translation (the Spanish text is very awkward and the words are sometimes unrecognizable).

Forgive my soul I am poor, ~~the one I am~~ <sup>I am here in the</sup> in the world, do not leave me to the evil. Thou always defendest me from the evil because I am poor Lord San Serrafina, San Roresefina and Saint Sebastian pabvian <sup>gloria</sup> glory. Always help me in my poverty, Lord Saint Peter ~~rum~~ <sup>liberal</sup> Saint Peter ortimal <sup>who rises</sup> may the cane in my sown land be replaced, do not leave me alone, and may I be favoured with the water on my Holy Corn. Only ~~hesolnos~~ <sup>our dress</sup> Jesus Christ, San Gaspar King. If we have bad luck, ~~but~~ may we be forgiven by Lord Huy1.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Huy1 is the cumbre outside Chajul. Diego says it is Huy1 that holds all the world together. This cumbre is the centre for all the most important costumbre of the Ixil region.

## IXIL, SPANISH AND ENGLISH TEXTS

## Costumbre versions of the Lords Prayer

CUBAL ALMICA TZAICO SHATILÁ C'AVISANCO  
 Padre del Cielo, siempre estoy aquí a pedir.  
 Father of Heaven, I am always here to beg.

BANLISAOM SIVATZ CHAVA NIKIBANLE ALMICA  
 Hací favor de ser bueno aquí en el mundo como está en el Cielo.  
 Please be as good here in the world as in Heaven.

TAJAK TZANKOJSKE CONCHIL CHIX  
 No nos hace mal al maíz, a la comida.  
 Do not do any evil to corn nor food.

KATZOTZBE CAPAB CASA CHILO TULPAV  
 Perdoname de pecado y de mal  
 Forgive me for my sin and evil

CHATZIBALPAV Y CÔLÔKÔ CHIMANE JESUS  
 Tengo pecado. Defendéme y perdonáme Jesus. Amén.  
 I have sin. Defend me and forgive me, Jesus. Amen.

CUBAL ALMICA ESHETILA BANIKO ISAOM TZAICO BALAL SOTZVILPAV  
 Padre del Cielo venga a nos tu reina  
 Father of Heaven, may your Queen come to us

COLOKO TULPAV ECHOSITCHI. AMEN JESUS.

IXIL, SPANISH AND ENGLISH TEXTS - PRAYER TO DIOS MUNDO AND DAY LORDS

Chajul dialect.

SANTA CRUZ, HOY COLOKO ESH CABALAL, CRISTO MUNDO  
Santa Cruz, por la señal de la Cruz, Cristo Mundo  
Holy Cross, by the sign of the Cross, God World.

EL COSTUMBRE, DIOS MUNDO ESH DIOS MUNDO, ILOX (Nombre de Cerros)  
El costumbre, Dios Mundo a Dios Mundo, Dios  
The costumbre, God World to God World, God

GLORIA, GLORIA DEL CIELO Y DEL MUNDO, ANGEL DEL MUNDO  
Gloria, Gloria del Cielo y del Mundo, Angel del Mundo  
Glory, Glory of Heaven and of the World, Angel of the World

CUBAL CRISTO TZÉJOL, BITOL ITZIABÁL IEATZIBÁL  
Dueño Cristo (mode of address ) representante de Dios  
(a los pies y manos)  
Master Christ (mode of address ) representative of God.  
(Our Father) (at thy hands and feet)

CRUZ PASIÓN, CUBAL JESU CRISTO TZÉJOL BÍTOL  
Cruz Pasión, Dueño Jesucristo (mode of address)  
Cross Passion, Master Jesus Christ (mode of address)  
(Our Father)

ACHÉLA AKLECENCIA CUBAK KOOCHOCH JESU CRISTO ECHKOJI 'BÉNA  
Ahora nos das licencia Padre-Madre Jesu Cristo, si quieres así se fuera  
Now Thou givest/your permission Our Father-Our Mother, if thou wishest it so.  
us

TZAJBIKA U'KA'KA TZAJBIKA  
Y hablarás y contestarás a este poco costumbre  
And Thou shalt speak and reply to this little costumbre.  
(answer)

ACHELA AKBAANIL TCHÉICHIL, CUBAL CRISTO, AKBAANIL UVITZIL CU'CHAKALAL  
Ahora háganos favor y bondad Padre Cristo, háganos favor nuestro Monte y  
la Joya.  
Now do us the favor and the kindness Our Father Christ, bestow thy favours  
(upon our) Mountain and the Joya (small valley or river bank).

TIIMUJBAL TZIJBAL TITÓJ TICAB  
Donde se esconden, donde se pierden, de sus pies y manos  
Where they hide, where they get lost, from his (Thy?) feet and hands.

AKBÁANIL TCHÉICHIL KANLASSAKBAY SAKLASSAKBAY  
Háganos favor y bondad Maíz Amarillo y Maíz Blanco  
Bestow favor and goodness upon us, Yellow Corn and White Corn.

K'ÁANICH TÍLULU EÁANIL I'KOÉLUL TU CUEMBAL  
Como nos hace favor. Saquele de tu cofre.  
As Thou dost us favor. Take it out from thy chest(trunk).

K'ÁANICH TILULU BÁANIL, K'ÁANICH TELULI BÁANIL ESHIKONILULI DIOSHIL  
Como nos hace favor Como nos has de socorrer Dios de donde viene la  
vida de corazón.

As Thou shaltst favour us As Thou shaltst help us God where the  
life of the heart comes from

SAJ RATON HUPEMBAL

Que los ratones no entren a la troja  
May the mice ~~do~~ not enter the barn

SAJ LA NEGRO CAJ LA NEGRO VALEJUAN

Que dejan los cuervos y el gato de monte  
Which the crows and the fox leave

OXLAVAL REY TICHÉSHCHISH AY TZIMOL CUBAL REY MUNDO

Trece Reyes que buscan la comida, Compañero Padre Rey Mundo  
Thirteen kings looking for food, Companion Our Father King World

UPANZURUK KAMINCHA'KAM UPANZURUK (Upanturuk in Nebaj)

Pájaro Carpintero, que me vas a regalar, Pájaro Carpintero.  
Woodpecker, what art Thou going to give me, Woodpecker

AJCHA'CAM CAJ SOMBRERO SAJ SOMBRERO

Que te voy a regalar un sombrero colorado o blanco  
Because I am going to give thee a red or white hat

ASHTOKTZAN U ANGEL SAN MIGUEL PUJPAKPUKWHOI

Por eso vino el Angel de San Miguel para abrir la troja  
That is why Saint Michael's Angel came to open the barn

ACHÉLA CAT AKBAANIL TETZMÉAL TETZKAUL

Ahora le da favor a los hijos y hijas  
Now he bestows favors upon the sons and daughters

AKBÁANIL TCHÉ ICHIL TITCJ TICAB SOLOL NATZOL Y CUEBAL IJAIBAL

Hagame el favor Día Tche en los manos y en los pies, donde se siembra el  
tamo de maiz y Santa Rey Tierra donde le levantaron  
Do me the favor Day Tche in the hands and in the feet, where the corn is  
planted and Saint King Earth where it was ~~listad~~ *planted*

I'IG ACHÉLA TOK ICUCHUNSA UMWAL CANDELA EL KAUL

Día I'ig ahora va a mostrar una candela el hijo  
Day I'ig now the son is going to show a candle

ESH UMWAL KAN ESH KAWAL KAMEL (Ixil text lacking)

Es el día 1 Kan, es el día 2 Kamel. A ustedes dos días te vengo a regalar  
It is the day 1 Kan, it is the day 2 Kamel. To you two days I come to bring  
a present.

ACHÉLA KOOI SOTZENPAV TREICHILA TOOCH MÉAL KAUL

Ahora perdóneme Monte Sotzempav perdone a todos mis hijos y hijas  
Now forgive me Mount Sotzempav forgive all my sons and daughters

ACHÉLA TOKA'KAP CUBAL REY MONTE (Ixil text not given)  
 Ahora te vengo a adorarte Padre Rey Monte, te vengo a dejar un ramo de flores  
 a tus pies Padre Rey Monte.  
 Now I come to worship thee Father King Mountain, I come to place a bouquet  
 of flowers at thy feet Father King Mountain.

ACHELA TOK MÜNOK KAUL MEAL (Ixil lacking)  
 Ahora vamos a sembrar el maíz para el Hijo (Cristo y San José)  
 Now we are going to plant the corn for the Son (Christ and Saint Joseph).

ACHELA TOKBAK UMWAL CANDELA  
 Ahora te voy a rezar y ofrir una candela  
 Now I am going to pray to Thee and to offer a candle

ECHKOKATZAJBE VE CÚBAL REY AJ BÁANIL  
 Gracias a Usted perdóneme Padre Rey AJ, Hágame favor.  
 Thanks to You, forgive me Father King AJ, do me the favour.

KOoya Achéla TOK MÜNOK KU KAUL MÉAL  
 Perdóneme ahora va a sembrar nuestros hijos y hijas.  
 Forgive me now our sons and daughters are going to sow.

CHEL QUI (Kool) KAWAL A'MAK UVITZIL ZOTZIL  
 Hoy el día 2 A'mak en el monte de Zotzil (voy a rezar)  
 Today (is) the day 2 A'mak in the Zotzil Mountain (I am going to pray).

VITZ MUNDO CALVARIO TZAKBIN  
 Monte Mundo Calvario contéstame  
 World Calvary Mountain answer me

CUBAL VITZIL SHETCHEVETCH, CUBAL SHATSVITZ, CUBAL SHEKASH  
 Padre Monte Shetchevetch, Padre Shatsvitz, Padre Shekash  
 Father Mount Shetchevetch, Father Shatsvitz, Father Shekash (pine tree).  
*mt.*

CUBAL SHEKAJTZE, CUBAL JAKTENAM, REY VICOMA  
 Padre Shekajtze, Padre Jaktenam, Rey Vicoma  
 Father Shekajtze (red tree), Father Jaktenam (mountain near Zotzil), King  
 Vicoma (*mt.*)

ACHELA CUBAL OXLAWAL I'X, UMWAL TZIKIN, KAWAL AMAK, OXWAL NOJ  
 Ahora Padres Trece I'x, uno Tzikin, dos amak, tres noj  
 Now Fathers Thirteen I'x, one Tzikin, two amak, three noj

KÁJWAL TIJAX, ÓWAL KAÜÖK, VAJÍL HUNÁHPU, BÚJWAL IMUX, VASHAKÍL I'Q  
 cuatro tijax, cinco kaüök, seis hunáhpu, siete imux, ocho I'q  
 four tijax, five kaüök, six hunáhpu, seven imux, eight I'q

BELÚWAL AKBAL, LÁWAL KATCH, HUNLÁWAL KAN, KAPLÁWAL KAMEL, OXLÁWAL TCHÉ  
 nueve Akbal, diez Katch, once Kan, doce Kamél, trece Tché  
 nine Akbal, ten Katch, eleven Kan, twelve Kamél, thirteen Tché

AKLECENCIA OXLAWAL REY TICHEISHCHISH  
Te pido licencia trece Reyes que buscan la comida  
 I request thy permission thirteen Kings looking for the food.

AJ, TODOS SANTOS, CUBAL CRISTO, ECHKOKULATA  
Aj, Todos Santos, Padre Cristo, así nos vinieras a dejar  
Aj, All Saints, Father Christ, may Thou bring us

KUKANÉBAL KUNDIOSHIVAL CUBAL CRISTO  
Así nos prestaras candelas y Copal a Dios  
May Thou lend us candles and copal ~~For~~ God

CUBAL CRISTO AJMUKCHI KITZLEBAL SOLOL MATZOL  
Perdóneme Padre Cristo, nunca te vaya a esconder nuestra comida y tamo de maíz  
Forgive me Father Christ, may I never hide from you our food and ~~corn~~ <sup>(?)</sup>  
*Particles of corn.*

Y CUEVAL IJAEVAL  
Y donde estaba y donde le levantaron  
And where he was and where he was lifted

'KI, ACHELA TZAKBEN, CRUZ PASION, ACHELA ITZIARAL IBATZIBAL  
Sol, ahora contestame, Cruz Pasión, Ahora (Rey) Representante de Dios  
(orilla y imagen)?  
Sun, now answer me, Cross Passion, Now (King) Representative of God  
(~~edge~~ and image)?  
*(imit)*

TOJBABEN ITZIABAL IBATZIBAL, CUBAL CRISTO  
Te voy a mandar, representante de Dios, Padre Cristo  
I am going to send Thee, representative of God, Father Christ.

TOJBABEN DIOSHIL TZACBAMBE TU ALMICA  
Te voy a mandar, Dios, cohuete colorado al Cielo  
I am going to send Thee, God, red rocket to Heaven, ~~(the sky?)~~

GLORIA, GLORIA DEL CIELO, CUBAL CRISTO  
Gloria, Gloria del Cielo, Padre Cristo  
Glory, Glory of Heaven, Father Christ

TU MUNDO, TU GLORIA, ACHELA KATMOCHLA COSTUMBRE  
Tu Mundo, tu Gloria, ahora se acabó el costumbre (a rezar)  
Thy World, thy Glory, now the costumbre is ended. (to pray)

TOKIÑASA A DIOSHIL AVINKILAL  
Pecador de Dios, voy a terminar los 20 días  
God's sinner, I am going to end the 20 days

CUBAL CRISTO, TANTECHTLAL, HOY COLOKO TULIK AP INDIVILIOSH BALASHI  
Padre Cristo, Santa Cruz, por la señal de la Santa Cruz, Tu Gloria.  
Father Christ, Holy Cross, by the sign of the Holy Cross, Thy Glory.

KATMOCHLA BATSKUNIMABAL INDIVILIOSHBALASHI INDIVILIOSH KAULASHI  
Se acabó nuestra costumbre, Padre Sanctissimo. Dios Padre, Dios hijo. Amén.  
Our costumbre is ended, Most Holy Father, God the Father, God the Son. Amen.

Texts in Ixil and Spanish written by Diego B, ladinoized principal of Nebaj. Prayers and petition from Pedro B, zahorin.

LORD'S PRAYER

CUBAL ALMICA EXATILÁ CAHIZANKÓJ TZAIKO IBALINKÓ IZAHOM  
Padre del cielo que estás, vénganos echar tu vendición  
Our Father in Heaven who art, come to give us thy blessing

BATZCHABA CONCHA IL CHIX TULCHAJCHIBAL PAB COLOCO ECHA UMENA JESUS  
En la tierra y darnos nuestra tortilla perdonanos nuestros pecados,  
Amén Jesús.  
On the Earth and to give us our tortilla, forgive our sins, Amen, Jesus.

EXNIMBLAJ SANTA MARIA EX NONALE GRACIA EXATILA YIOX  
Usted poderosa Santa María yena eres de gracia que estás con Dios  
You Almighty Saint Mary, full art Thou of grace because Thou art with God

EXICAX CONALE SANTA MARIÁ ES NIMBLÁ BALE EX IXOJ  
Piadosísima Santa María toda poderosa entre las mujeres  
Most Pious Saint Mary almighty amongst the women

EXYJLANOPOJ EX CHUCHÚ YIOX KILAKÓ YIOX SICLEKÓJ YIOX  
Así verdadera Virgen y madre de Dios te ruego Dios, te pido Dios  
So, true Virgin and mother of God I beg thee God, I ask thee God

CAHI HO APAB ECHA UMENA JESUS  
por nuestros pecados. Amen Jesus.  
for our sins. Amen Jesus.

EX NIMALE CHUCHU EX CACHUPE EX OTAL EX EVAN  
Tu eres nuestra madre, nuestra abogada, existes desde nuestra madre Eva;  
Thou art our mother, our mediatrix, thou exists since our mother Eve;

NICUCHUMCHUCHÉ NICUTZIKINÉ CHAVIL OKEL ABANTEZ  
vivimos tristes vivimos llorando en este valle de lágrimas, cuidas  
we live sad, we live weeping in this valley of tears, Thou protectst

CABAJ KILABATZKÓ HA ALLA A MALLÍ EXCHÍ EX BUCÚ nuestra esperanza  
nuestras siembras, cuidas nuestras familias porque eres nuestra dulsura/  
our sown fields, thou protectest our families because Thou art our sweetness,  
our hope;

EXCUCHUCH EX SANTA MARLLA TALEKÓ CUBALAL JESUCRISTO  
eres nuestra madre Santa María, madre de nuestro Señor Jesucristo  
Thou art our mother Saint Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ

ECHA UMENA JESUS  
Amén Jesus.  
Amen Jesus.

NIMLA APAB SULBANCUL SAN PEDRO, SAN PABLÚ, SANTO DOMINGO  
Grandes pecados manifestamos a San Pedro, a San Pablo, a Santo Domingo,  
Great sins we confess to Saint Peter, to Saint Paul, to Saint Domingo,

SAN FRANCISCO CAJALLIL EX PECHICA EX CHEJEMPALTEZ UMBI  
A San Francisco y a todos los Santos le pedimos perdón en nuestro nombre  
To Saint Francis and to all the Saints we ask forgiveness in our behalf

UNPAB UN P NETENCIA TAXCOJBEJ NIM SACHIXCOJ MOI UNPAB  
por nuestra culpa hacemos nuestra penitencia para santificar mi nombre  
y mis pecados  
for our guilt; we are doing penance to sanctify my name and my sins.

TANTIOX CAJILLILA NIMA SULPA UNCUL SIBATZ PADRE  
Ante Dios todos nosotros nos confesamos ante el padre  
Before God we all confess before the priest

EX CHEXEL YIOX NI VOCTZA SANTA IGLESIA COOJ ECHA UМЕНА JESUS  
Que está por Dios en la Santa Iglesia Católica por los siglos, Amén Jesús.  
Who is by God in the Holy Catholic Church for all the centuries, Amen Jesus.

VOCTZA YIOX BALAXI BANITZANTEZ ALMICA ATI ALANTEZ a  
Creo en Dios padre creador del cielo hay quien dio/luz  
I believe in God the Father creator of Heaven to which He gave <sup>to</sup> light,

MAL ICAHOL TIOX CACHIOL IBANIL ESPIRITU SANTO CONCELA  
un hijo de Dios por obra del Espíritu Santo y fué  
a son of God by means of the Holy Ghost and was

TZA SIVATZ CRUZ TAN ETZI PONCIO PILATO CAMI MUJLI  
crucificado en la Cruz por orden de Poncio Pilato, murió, le sepultaron,  
crucified on the Cross under orders of Pontius Pilatus, died, was buried,

TAXKI ISLELE SIXOL TZACHIL TEZ CHULLULTZI NI VACTZA  
al tercer día resucitó entre los muertos y alabo  
the third day he ~~resusc~~ <sup>rose</sup> from the dead and I praise

SANTA IGLESIA CATOLICA COOJ ECHAMENA JESUS  
Santa Iglesia Católica de los siglos, Amén Jesús.  
Holy Catholic Church for all the centuries, Amen Jesus.

The following according to Diego B is a long petition learned by the bridegroom and said on his wedding before the assembled families. I believe, however, it is also said on other occasions.

Pedida y están de pie  
Petitibn. Standing up.

CUMPALE ECHCOJ TZAI ECHCOJ ULI OXVAL INIMAL OXVAL  
Compadre así traiga así venga tres personas tres  
Compadre may they bring, may they come, three persons three

BALAL OXVAL CACAL OXVAL TE E INYIOX BALAXI INYIOX KAULAXI. AMEN  
Padres, tres favores, tres pedidos, Dios Padre, Dios hijo, Amen.  
Fathers, three favours, three petitions, God the Father, God the son. Amen.

Ahora se sienta en la sala  
Now he sits in the living room

CUMPALE YIOX COJ BAN ATINE TU SANTOS SILLA SANTOS  
Compadre Dios quiera estés bien en tu Santa Silla tu Santa  
Compadre May God wish Thou art well of Thy holy Chair, thy Holy

MESA YIOX COJ AKILA UIOX COJ ASICLE ECHCOJ XEBANE  
mesa en nombre de Dios te hablo, en nombre de Dios te llamo que así sea  
table in the name of God I speak to thee, in the name of God I call thee,  
may it be

ECHCOJ XUBINE UN JAJUL UN CAMABAL SIBATZ  
que así logre una parte mi deseo. Ante  
may I so attain a part of my wish. Before

LOCOLAHAMA UMCAMABAL PAXAJCOJTZITZA SIBATZ  
Usted a proponerle aquí y ante  
You, to propose here and before

CRISTO CABAJCOJ SIBATZ ALOCOLAHAMA CUMPALE HAY YIOX  
Cristo ojalá que ante Usted compadre hoy (ay! ?) Dios.  
Christ I hope that you compadre today ~~and~~ oh God

CUMPALE MA TIJCHAJLE MA PAMPOCHNAJLE ALLA MALLI  
Compadre estás bueno estás sin novedad con vuestros hijos  
Compadre Thou art well, thou are all right with thy children

SHUN SACRAMENTO MA ATBANI KITZEL MA ATBANI CALEL YIJLATZI  
con vuestra señora porque hay quien nos amare hay quien nos castigue. Es  
cierto  
with thy wife, because there is somebody to love us, there is somebody to  
punish us. It is true

YIJLAYAL YECOTZA CAT TZANACAT MANDAMIENTO TAN CRISTO  
o es falso no sabemos de donde vienen los mandamientos de Cristo.  
or it is false we do not know where the commandments of Christ come from.

TAN YIJLATZI JUNPACH JUN CABAL CATINE JUN PATRON  
Es cierto que en cada rancho en cada casa estamos como patron  
It is true that in every rancho (thatched roofed house) in every house we  
are the masters

CATINT A TUC LOCALAHAMA LOCOLA GRACIA HOY YIOX  
en esta con Ustedes por la gracia hoy Dios.  
in this one with You by the grace ~~today~~ God Today.

MOJ MAT HORA MOJ CABAT HORA TOC IBATZIBAL SANTO PURGATORIO  
Entre de una hora o entre dos horas entrará la noche (image of the holy  
purgatory)  
Within one hour or within two hours night will come

AJ CAHLABAL HORA AJ VINAJCAL HORA CATPAL  
o entre doce horas o veinticuatro horas pasa a  
or within twelve hours or twenty-four hours it passes *uati*

TILBATO NIMAL BALAL AJ CAHLABAT HORA AJ VINAJCAT HORA  
vemos el padre eterno (Sol) cada doce horas cada veinticuatro horas  
we see the eternal father (Sun) every twelve hours every twenty-four hours

CATBAL TIBATOJ (CANTO PURGATORIO) ETZAMAL CHAJANIMIAL TICHAJIL  
Nos pasa a ver la Santa Noche estamos esperando nuestro bien  
The Holy Night comes to see us we are waiting for our welfare

BAMBOCHIL HAY YIOX  
y tu voluntad hay Dios.  
and thy goodwill today God.

UAT COL HORA TELCATCHUL NIMAL BALAL OXVAL COL MOJ  
Talvez dentro una hora saldrá a iluminarnos el Sol (Padre eterno) como tres o  
Perhaps within one hour the Sun (eternal father) will come out to illuminate  
us like three or

CAJVAL ANGEL, CHI, CATBEX, JELEN TZULIN NIMAL BALAL ATCAJ  
cuatro angeles. Dicen que fueron (a) abrazarte, alabarte, Padre Eterno  
(Sol), no hay embrace  
four angels. They say they went to ~~ing~~ thee, to praise thee, Eternal Father  
(Sun), there is no

YECAT ILONCAT AT COL YECAT APONICAT CHALACHAIXIKIN  
lugar que no alumbres, no hay lugar donde no llegues en los oídos  
place that Thou dost not light, there is no place Thou dost not reach  
*with your ears*

AMAC, CUMPALE ATCOL UNATE BAXACUCHUCH BAXA CUBAL  
de los cerros. Compadre hay otra que es nuestra primera madre, nuestro  
primer padre,  
~~on~~ the hills. Compadre there is another one who is our first mother, our  
first father,

SAJVI SAJ JOLOM NACHALTETZ CRISTO CAT TALA LABALTAXCAL  
blanca faz, blanca cabeza nos acordamos Cristo que crío cincuenta  
white face, white head, we remember Christ who created fifty

SANTOS MIXTERIO.  
Santos misterios.  
Holy ~~m~~ysteries.

NIMLAJ CAJALLILOSTE TUCUPALSA TICUL TIXEB CUMPALE

Millares de nosotros pasamos por tu cuerpo por tu aliento compadre  
Thousands of us pass through thy body through thy breath compadre

JITCUXO CAT CUMALO AYOCHITA MIL HACIENTO TEXCHAJ

no salv nosotros compadramos. Tambien mil haciendas de nuestro  
~~to save us,~~ we became godfathers. Also a thousand farms of our

CUBAL ANGEL COC TZIKIN COC CHOCOP CAMCATICANA

padre angel breves pajaros breves animales que fue los que toco  
father angel, brief birds, brief animals were what he touched

ILEJCHIX CAT ILEJCHABAL CHALAJULVITZ CHAXLACHALCHO

que encontró espinas encontró espíritus, verdes cimmas del cerro, (montañas)  
verdes valles  
~~that~~ found thorns, found spirits, green tops of the hill, (mountains)  
green valleys

CHAXLABEYÁ

verde camino de agua.  
green road of water.

CUMPALE ATZA IPALKI UCU VIRGEN UCU CONFESOR TAN CAT BALKI

Compadre cuando pasó el día de la virgen de nuestro confesor y cuando pasó  
el (padre) día  
Compadre when the day of the virgin of our confessor had passed and when  
the (father) day

SAN SEBASTIAN PABIAN GLORIA ANEJ CALABATCHANKI IPALKI

de San Sebastian Favian Gloria entonces a los doce días de haber pasado  
el día  
of San Sebastian Favian Glory had passed, then twelve days after the day

CANDELARIA DE CHIANTAN ATCOJ YECAT ONCAT ULAVINAJ (Ula= Chiquimula?)  
de Candelaria de Chiantla acaso no llegaron de Chiquimula hombres  
of Candlemas of Chiantla had passed, did not Chiquimula men

ULAIXOJ BEX TAC TALITZI TALIBATZ AX UN APARCO ACOTZI J

de Chiquimula mujeres, a dejar agua de su vaca (boca?), lágrimas de sus  
ojos con incensio y copal  
and Chiquimula women come to bring water from their cow (mouth?), tears  
from their eyes with incense and copal?

CATPALCHAN KI CANDELARIA DE CHIANTAN AXCHAN IPALKI

cuando pasó el día de Candelaria de Chiantla y cuando pasó ese día  
when the day of Candlemas of Chiantla had passed and when that day had  
passed

LA BANCHICATOJ SEÑAL TAN CRISTO CAT KIKO CUTZAIL

nos hacen la señal de Cristo fuimos a traer nuestra senisa  
they make on us the sign of Christ, we went to bring our ashes,

CAT KIKO CUPOJOIL TAN POJOX TINALO CAT TAL YIOX

fuimos a traer nuestro polvo porque somos de polvo porque así dijo Dios,  
we went to bring our dust because we are made of dust because God said so,

TAN CAT TALNIMBLABALE CAT TAL YIOX ECHCABI MAL

porque así dijo el padre eterno y así dijo Dios como pasado mañana un  
because the eternal father said so and God said so, as the day after tomorrow

VERNIX VUJBAL TAXCALKI VUJBAL VERNIX CATIJELE

Viernes y a lo(s) 47 días son siete Viernes entonces abrazo  
(is) Friday and after 47 days seven Fridays will have passed then I embrace

CUBAL NASARENO ICRUZ CAT OC SANTOS LA CURASMA  
padre nasareno tu Cruz entró la Santa Cuaresma  
father Nazarene thy Cross, the Holy Lent (began) came,

CAT OC PAXION KI CAT OC PAXION TZAJ VUJLABAT KI  
entró pasión día entró pasión tiempo a los 17 días  
passion day, came, passion time came after 17 days.

CAT CUGEPI CABLAVAL SANTOS APOSTOL SATI CUYA IPUCHUL  
prepararon doce santos apostales aguantaron sufrimientos  
Twelve saints apostles were prepared; they endured sufferings

CAXCOL DOMINGO RAMUX, DOMINGO DOLOR LUNEX SANTO  
y penas domingo de Ramos, domingo de Dolor, lunes Santo,  
and punishments; Palm Sunday, Pain Sunday, Holy Monday,

MARTIX SANTO, MIERCOLIX SANTO JUEVIS SANTO VERNIX SANTO  
Martes santo, Miércoles Santo, Jueves Santo, Viernes Santo,  
Holy Tuesday, Holy Wednesday, Holy Thursday, Holy Friday,

CABLAVAL COL HORA TELCHUL NIMAL BALAL CATCHAKEPI  
de doce horas saldrá nuestro Sol (great father) lo subiran  
at the twelfth hour our Sun will come out. He will be raised

ALABANA CRUZ TINKAJ SABTA IGLESIA ANE CAT ELCHUL  
a la divina Cruz en dedio de la Santa Iglesia entonces saldrá  
upon the Divine Cross in middle of the Holy Church; then will go out

CUBALAL TUBATZ ICAXAJIL TUBATZ IMUCANIL PITZAMAL  
nuestro señor en su caja y lo llevaron a su tumba con alabanzas  
Our Lord in His coffin, and ~~was~~<sup>will be</sup> taken to His tomb with praises

TELCHUL TANCHAJ MESTRO CORO MESTRO FISCAL CAT JALTO  
sale por los maestros de corro maestros fiscales fueron abiertos sus pies  
He goes out (is carried out?) by the choir masters and the fiscal masters.  
His feet were ~~opened~~ {wounded}.

CAT JALIKAP CAT OC ISANTO CLAVO CAT OC ISANTO POTENTE  
sus manos le pusieron Santo clabos le pusieron la santa corona  
His hands, they nail Him with holy nails, they put the holy crown

TUL IVI TUL IJOLOM CAT COCCOPILI TAN MARTILLO GLORIA  
en su cabeza, on sus oídos le pegaron con martillo gloria  
on His head, on His ears; they stroke Him with a hammer. glory

ECHCOL MAT HORA CHEBEL ICUCHUL TAN CABLAVAL APOSTOL  
como dentro de una hora esperan bajar con doce apóstoles  
as within one hour they expect to descend with twelve apostles

CAT CUTIIBATZ ICAXIL CAT BEX ECHBACHILOJI IMUJLE  
le pusieron en su caja que le fueron amenazar en su sepulcro  
~~They~~ laid Him in His coffin which they went to menace, to his sepulchre

VI MUNDO CALVARIO YATEBAL VIRGEN CABLABAT ANXEL  
en el monte calvario terminación de la virgen y doce angeles  
in the Calvary Mountain, ~~ending of~~ the Virgin and twelve angels

CAT LEJEN CAT PACUN CAT CALASUCHILI TU CU TENAM  
lo levantaron lo llevaron lo pasearon en el pueblo  
raised Him, carried Him and walked up and down the village

TICCU CIDADAD CAMTZIQUE CAT IMACHU CAMTZIQUE CAT TELCA  
y nuestra ciudad. que fue lo que tocó que fue lo que robó  
and our city. ~~which was~~ what He touched, ~~what~~ He stole ~~FFF~~

SIBATZ CYCOL BEXE BATZ USUBAL, BATZ UMAOL, SABADO GLORIA  
ante nuestra defensa ante los espiritus ante los malvados. Sabado de Gloria  
before our defense, before the spirits, before the wicked. Glory Saturday

CAT PIRCUCUTZI CAT PIRCUCUBATZ CAT PANCHU PARTIR  
nos libraron nuestra voca nos libraron nuestra casa entonces se partieron  
our mouth was saved our house was saved. Then parted

TINCAJ VIRGENE VAJIL CAT CAICAN TU SANTA IGLESIA  
todas las vírgenes seis se quedaron en la Santa Iglesia  
all the virgins, six remained in the Holy Church

VAJIL VI MUNDO CALVARIO ECHCOL MAT HORA ECHCOL  
y seis en el monte calvario como a la hora o como  
and six in the Calvary Mountain. After one hour or after

CAT HORA TELCHUL NIMAL BALAL CAT TINCAT DOMINGO DE PASCUA  
a las dos horas salió nuestro grande redentor entonces sonó el Domingo  
de Pascua  
two hours our great redeemer went out, then Easter Sunday sounded.

Prayers from Vicente C, written by him about 1880 and given to him by an old rezador now dead. They are mostly for the purpose of defending oneself from enemies, mad dogs, and pestilence.

Santa Isabel Señor a mi favor y ampara Madre atiende mis enemigos me de puede alabarse del nombre de María ni corre de son ~~celebre~~ noche y día; nuestro nombre es del cielo prometido pero ig supremo en todo escogido. Gloria al Padre eterno por siglos infinitos Gloria al Espiritu Santo. Amen Jesus María Y José.

Translation (The Spanish is very awkward and sometimes it does not make any sense.Hence the translation was done literally).

Saint Isobel Lord ~~of~~ my favour and protect~~ed~~ Mother, pay attention to my enemies ~~so that~~ the name of Mary can be praised, ~~Celebre~~ night and day; ~~our~~ name is ~~promised~~ heaven ~~and~~ ... is supreme ~~of~~ all<sup>the</sup> chosen. Glory to the Eternal Father for infinite centuries, Glory to the Holy Ghost. Amen Jesus Mary and Joseph.

Para pelear

Ella padre mío Santiago dar me valor aunque venga aquel gran atredebimiento muy ignosado salgan luego en bocas me acompañe a Ud. Puede ser you primero para más Sangre.

Ella Padre mío Santiago así que mueves que me pasas una cama tendido a Dios misano rispreso si una mar estare en el cuerpo donde Santiago a Cristo es ti a vino Santiste y ~~de~~ dice asiste nombre nuestra animales rabiosos desearlos venir que viene con los ojos debendosa los abrazos ellas tazos las piernas ellas tazos el que venció y vencerá a mi Santicimo Cruz. Yo le defendere sea a de Padua. El Santisimo Sacramento del Altar.

Translation.

When fighting.

~~This~~ my Father Saint James give me courage even though that great audacity comes ~~secretly~~ ignored they <sup>come</sup> out at once ~~of~~ mouths - may you accompany me. I may be first for more Sangre (blood?).

~~This~~ my Father Saint James thus Thou movest; thou passest a bed God <sup>to lie</sup> ~~to lie~~ down. ~~Mass. Refers to~~ a sea were in the body where Saint James to Christ it is to you wine..... and he says assist <sup>to him</sup> our mad animals to wish them to come because he comes with the eyes blindfold; the embraces she ~~affairs~~ the legs she ~~approach~~ the one that vanquished and shall vanquish my Most Holy Cross. I will defend him Saint Anthony (?) of Padua. The Most Holy Sacrement of the Altar.

Para abrir las puertas del cielo.

Señor San Antonio Paduano Ella Rey Amante Gloriocisimo Señor San Antonio ven conmigo, holle (oye) las plegarias de mi corazón Colaba Santa conbensistez las puertas fernaes con esa misma benisais las puertas de estas casas or carceles donde entre mi cuerpo y salga libremente sin que ninguno me sientan ni las de adentro ni las de afuera sus cuerpos van difuntos y sea perdurable la Santicima Trinidad me acompañe y me faboresca ye dormesca a todos estos perros y los que adentro para que ningun me siente ni los d adentro sus cuerpos sea difuntos ~~y~~ sea perdurable ye algunos viniere furiosamente para contra mi sea vencido y en torpecido por divino Santicimo Sacramento Amen. Jesus.

Translation.

To open the gates of heaven.

Lord Saint Anthony the Paduan, ~~The~~ Loving King, Most Glorious Lord ~~fe~~  
Saint Anthony come with me, listen to the prayers of my heart ~~Coll. 6. 6. 2. fe~~ Saint -  
Thou convinceth the infernal gates with that same one. ~~may~~ Thou bless (?)  
the doors of these houses or prisons where my body may come in and go out  
freely without anybody noticing from inside nor from outside. Their bodies  
are dead and may it be everlasting, may the Most Holy Trinity accompany me  
and favour me and may she put to sleep all these dogs and those from inside,  
so that no one notices me, nor those from inside their bodies be dead and  
may it be everlasting, and if anybody comes furiously against me, may he be  
vanquished and benumbed by the divine Most Holy Sacrement. Amen Jesus.

Oración de la mágica blanca.

Oración de la mágica jesucristo en vida y en vida jesucristo Jesucristo  
en muerte Jesucristo crucificado en el gran poder de Dios y San Cornelio mi  
cuerpos sea librado o divina hostia Santicisma lo justo amo y mi Señor Jesu-  
cristo illa (ya) es tiempo ya en hora ya en hora que vases del cielo a la  
tierra a favor ser este desventurada cuerpo o que furiosas vienen mis enemi-  
gos aunque espada y lasos trajen para apareacionar me premita El Santicimo  
Sacramento del Altar y San Cornelio que con ellos mismos Sanctissima Maria,  
Sacrosanto relicario con umildad te ofrecemos el rosario Santo vendigo ye  
tu Sagrario toca que con tus sanos misterios no debo de ser condenado  
dichoso de aquel lugar donde rezan el rosario huye (hulle) el demonio cuatro  
estado se refunde

Translation

Prayer of the white magic

Prayer of the white magic Jesus Christ alive and living Jesus Christ,  
dead Jesus Christ, crucified Jesus Christ, by the great might of God and  
Saint Cornelius may my body be saved O Most Holy and Divine Wafer the just ~~the~~  
I love. It is time, it is the hour, it is the hour for you to descend from  
Heaven to the Earth, to favour this unfortunate body and if my furious  
enemies come, even if they bring swords and ropes to take me prisoner, may  
the Most Holy Sacrement of the Altar and Saint Cornelius permit and with  
them Most Holy Mary, Sacrosanct Locket with great humbleness we offer Thee  
the Holy Rosary. I bless thy Sacrarium touch with thy sane mysteries I must  
not be condemned ~~to the~~ lucky place, that one where they pray the rosary; the demon  
flees; four states ~~re~~ reunited.

Para quitar el mal que hacen los enemigos

Santísima Trinidad la sentencias de la dea hacer abogado la Cruz de  
Cristo en Peligro ye me hace puso en tigo de la virgen Maria de los pies  
y manos gobado y espinas coronado y librar mi alma del pecado por que es  
fuerte mi peligro ye fuerte mi enemigo pero mas fuerte es mi Dios. Amo  
a Dios espero en Dios, y me libra de todos peligros mas fuerte venis pero  
mas fuerte es mi Dios y la Santissima trinidad me libre de todo mal. Amen.

Translation.

Most Holy Trinity the verdicts of the <sup>Gods</sup> ~~dea~~ acting as mediator, the Cross of Christ in danger made me put on you ~~the~~ the Virgin Mary ~~the~~ the feet and hands ~~and~~ and thorns crowned; ~~and~~ save my soul from sin because it is strong my danger, and strong is my enemy, but God is stronger. I love God- I trust in God and He saves me from all danger, strong they come ~~but~~ but my God is stronger, and may the Most Holy Trinity save me from all evil. Amen.

Virgen encarnación Madre del Verbo Divino, échame tu gran bendición defenderme de este mi enemigo. Salgalo malo de aquí venga lo bueno y entre tu divina Majestad la Cruz de Cristo me valga y la Santicissima Trinidad el gran poder de Dios i la fuerza y la fe purificación de Maria me estierre de qui todo cuanto maligno hubiere tentador y esantador en el nombre del Padre en el nombre del hijo y en el nombre del espiritu Santo hablame con la grande fuerza de la fe me encomiendo a la grande fuerza de la fe i la purificación de Maria que cuando yo me encomiendo a todo genero humano. Me libre Jesús, Jeus que fuerte venis mas fuerte mi dios y la Santocoso , a tromodad , e ; onre de Vos para venser cuanto enemigo hayga. Amen Jesus Maria y Jose.

O, Virgin Incarnation of the Divine ~~Word~~, send Thy great benediction upon me, defend me from my enemy. May the evil go out of here and may the good come in, and may Thy divine majesty come in, may the Cross of Christ save me and the most Holy Trinity, all God's might and the strength and the faith, purification of Mary may banish all that is evil, tempting, and frightening; in the name of the Father, in the name of the son and in the name of the Holy Ghost speak to me with the great strength of faith. I commend myself to the great strength of faith and the purification of Mary that when I commend myself to all mankind. May Jesus save me, Jesus how mighty Thou comest, my God is mightier, and may the most Holy Trinity save me ~~from~~ Thee to conquer as many enemies as there may be. Amen Jesus, Mary and Joseph.

O Lord of Chajul save me from all evil from all the temptations from all my enemies who want to infect me with different things; may Thou defeat them and make them retreat in those moments of my dangers. Jesus and Most Holy Mary may save me.

Señor de Chajul librame de todo mal de todas las tentaciones de mis enemigos que quieren pegarme de distintas cosas los derrotais y los retirais en aquellos momentos de mis peligros. Jesús y María Santísima me libre.

Arcangel San Miguel defendednos en el combate y se ded nuestro amparo contra la maldad y asi chanzas del demonio que lo reprima Dios. Rogamos suplicantes y vos principe de la milicia celestial arrojad con el poder divino en el infierno a Satanás y de mas espíritus malignos que para perdicion de las almas discurren por el mundo. Amen.

O archangel Saint Michael defend us in the fight and be our protection against the evil and the waylaying of the devil, may God stop him. We supplicantly beg Thee O prince of the celestial army, with the Divine power throw Satan into Hell and with him the other evil spirits which for the ruin of the souls, ramble about in the world. Amen.

Oración a la Santísima Trinidad contra enemigos.

En el nombre de Dios Padre por la leche que mamaste en pecho Santo de Nuestra Madre Santísima Aunque venga la justicia contra mi todos dormidos y calambrados, sus armas sean cortas y romas, la mía sea larga y cortadora por el nombre de Dios y de la Santísima Trinidad en el nombre de Dios Todopoderoso que you pueda pasar contra mis enemigos, ojos tengan y no memiren, manos tengan y no me tienten, oídos tengan y no me oigan, pies tengan y no me alcancen por el nombre de Dios y la Santísima Trinidad, Chapa llave candado todo despedasado y que yo me

me vuelva polvo arenal o pajas por el nombre de Dios y la Santísima Trinidad, en el nombre de Dios y la Santísima Trinidad que yo pueda pasar contra mis enemigos vengan con armas de fuego o armas blancas, vengan palos o piedras contra mí, todo despedazado por el nombre de Dios y la Santísima Trinidad, que me ayude y acompañe hasta en la hora de mi muerte. Amen, Jesús.

PRAYER TO THE MOST HOLY TRINITY AGAINST ALL ENEMIES:

In the name of God Father and the milk which Thou sucketh from the holy breast of Our Most Holy Mother. Even if the justice (the police) should come against me may all fall asleep <sup>and</sup> cramped <sup>may</sup> their weapons be short and blunt and mine long and sharp in the name of God and the Most Holy Trinity. in the name of almighty God may I go through my enemies; may they have eyes and not see me; may they have hands and not touch me; may they have ears and not hear me; may they have feet and not reach me, in the name of God and the Most Holy Trinity. Lock key padlock all broken up may I turn into dust sand or straw in the name of God and the Most Holy Trinity; in the name of God and the Most Holy Trinity may I go through my enemies should they carry fire weapons or white weapons (knives), should there be sticks or stones being thrown against me, <sup>may they be</sup> all broken up; in the name of God and the Most Holy Trinity <sup>may</sup> help me and accompany me until the hour of my death. Amen. Jesús.

En lengua de Cotzal. Diciendo esto el enemigo se cae y muere, y se levanta solamente cuando se dice la oración que está escrita después.

"El idioma es muy delicado". (Tucu yolbal i caxcol)

Jesús María i Josefa y Balal almica i Balal  
 Jesús María i Josefa y Padre del cielo y de la

Chaba cajal toj cajal i kap  
 (tierra, sangre de tus pies y manos)

María Santísima ijtez belubal ich belubal chumil  
 (de María Santísima que carga nueve meses y nueve estrellas)

María Santísima at xamlel itzi  
 (María Santísima hay unos que hablan muy malos)

At xamlel i batz, oxwal vibinaj zaj vlnaj bit  
 (su cara, 3o cuando lo en penetraron bien)

un cul baziq coj xamleli xamlelibaz oxwal  
 (que no me vaye caer en los manos de él)

oxwal chel unbal caolamal  
 (3 hoy un hijo)

cuich coj un'quibalale ca  
(que no me vaye caer en las manos de el)

es chel oxwal chel  
(hoy otros tres)

mil animas bendito purgatorio  
(habra mil animas purgatorio)

Kan zutzcum, saj sutzcum, kaj zutzcum  
(Aires amarillo, aires blanco y colorado, aires amarillo, aires blanco y colorado)

se benbete sije cho  
(cuando se va por las orillas de la mar están Ustedes en su milagro)

sije palab, atexte puzil, te nabalil, te kajical  
(tienen sus aires y sus remolinos, remolinas amarillas, remolinas blanca, remolina colorado)

te suchcumil kansuchcum ell. Sajsuchcumell, kajsuchcumell,  
(te voy a necesitar el dia de su nacimiento, 3 paesencia, 3 antes su padre)

tuc un sab saex'ki estalale, oxwal nimal, oxwal balal  
tuc un bensa vip, oxwal kan zuz  
(me voy volver 3 nubes amarillos y nubes colorados en su vista)

Caj zuz tuc un iziambal y bazimibal  
(pongan cuidado descanza en su lugar, en su casa)

tuxo estile tu tilambal, tu tatimbal tixila  
(pongan cuidado descanza en su lugar en su casa y en su silla)

timesa laccoj demonio lac coj Diablo  
(en la mesa levante Demonio)  
tuc ben un choc tu bele chax  
(levante Diablo porque lo voy a mandar en el otro camino mal)

y por algo Mayor Diablo y Mayor demonio con todo el Diablo  
( " " )

con todo el demonio tuc un paxi ibaz  
(con todo el demonio te voy a romper su cara)

N.N. y N.N. tuc un paxi kan marco saj marco del Diablo marco del demonio  
(N.N. y N.N. voy a romper Marco amarillo, marco blanco del Diablo, marco del Demonio).

tuc un paxi izianibal ibazienibal  
(te voy a romper su vista y su cara nueve veces)

tuc un bele suti tuc boxla suti  
(lo chingo treces veces, lo sumbo nueve veces,

tuc bele a cuenllex cuellacat  
(lo meto el camalio a su vista y en su cara)

tu tilonibal tibazinibal tu coj ben ila noj unbal hora cabal hora  
(que vaya a descansar una hora, dos horas en S. purgatorio)

oxwal purgatorio tu silal i chibulal N.N.  
(va descansar N.N.)

intebal oxwal chel ey, kan caoj, saj caoj, kaj caoj,  
(Ahora 3 habrá truenos amarillos, truenos blancos, truenos colorados)

bele coquines el beleco'quin acat ell  
(nueve tortugas habro y nueve habraanimal que lo asusta)

ex chel abahiza aba coquines  
coquinacat bil bal um bazinibal  
(asustalo en su vista y en su cara)

\*\*\*\*\*

Para que el enemigo se levanta y no muere  
(la vulza tamina)

Madre Maria Sma. tuc bursa tanima  
(Gracia Madre Maria Sma. voy a levantar otra vez)

un pajte tuc bac cajicul ich  
(voy a dar dos laticos para levantar en su pellejo)

umbal uisap tanima  
(Ven su cuerpo, Gloria al padre, Gloria al Hijo, Gloria al Espiritu Santo)

ichioll un Dios balaxi  
un Dios cablaxi, un Dios Espiritu Santo.

English translation of prayer to call down the powers of evil and knock out an enemy either permanently or to be raised up later by saying a following prayer. To be said out loud at a house or, outdoor cross while burning pom and candles.

Jesus, Mary and Joseph and Father of Heaven and Earth. By the blood of your hands and feet. Holiest Mary who bears the nine moons and nine stars Holiest Mary there is one whose mouth burns like fire, who is talking very evilly. His face burns like fire. His mouth burns like fire. May I not fall into his hands. For three times twenty days the man has been talking against me. To today three times, but the father is greater he created the son. It is today, three times today. There are a thousand souls in purgatory. You are witnesses Oh! yellow winds, white winds, and red winds, white and red winds, when you go by the shores of the sea, there you are in your miraculous power. You have your winds and your whirlwinds, yellow whirlwinds, white whirlwinds, red whirlwinds. I shall call down the winds. I shall need the day of his birth. Three times, Great Father from whom cometh the Sun. First I shall wrap his vision in three yellow clouds and in red clouds. Place him carefully, let him rest in his place, in his house, in his chair, on his table. Raise up Oh! Demon! Raise up Oh! Devil! I am going to send him into another evil road. With all the demons I am going to smash his face.

N.N. I shall mark you with a yellow mark, with the white mark of the Devil, the mark of the Demon. I am going to smash your sight and your face nine times. I shit on you 13 times, I piss on you 9 times. I place a chamaeleon on your sight and face. Go and rest for an hour or two hours or three in purgatory. Go rest N.N. Now there are 3 there are yellow thunders, white thunders, red thunders. Now there are nine turtles and nine animals to terrify him in his sight and face.

In order that the enemy can get up and not die:

Thank you Holy Mother Mary. I shall raise him up again. I shall give him two blows to raise him up in his skin. May his body come up. Glory to the Father, to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

Folklore. Nagual dreams.

The following notes on folklore and dreams are very scanty and had just been begun. They are included because they shed a little more light on the Ixil psychology.

On the old road to Chajul are two man sized flat stones called "the compadres", and next to them is a shrine for burning pom. Their story is that two compadres, man and woman, sinned on this spot and for their sin they were turned into stone. Indians stop here and pray to avoid such a sin. Pilgrims on the way to Chajul all stop here.

Nobody should hunt animals on any mountain without first praying, making offerings, and asking permission of the mountain, otherwise the hunter will have no success. Besides it is a sacrilege to the mountain which is a God (G.G.).

Indians believe that the spirit of the village lives in a bird, a kind of a black swan (cisne). According to Don G. (ladino) there are supposed to be a few of these up in the mountains towards the cross of Vilajam<sup>1</sup>. He once decided to set out with some ladinos and a few Indians to look for these birds. The Indians were frightened and didn't want him to go. When they got up in the woods it got very dark and all through the woods in different directions loud roaring noises were heard, first on the right and then on the left. It sounded like trees rubbing together. The ground shook and the Indians prayed. Suddenly a large black animal emerged from the woods, Don G. shot in the general direction; there was a screech and a dog was found shot. The Indians stopped praying and were generally relieved and said, "Thank God", because something had to die

<sup>1</sup> I have heard these same woods full of the roars of saraguates or howling monkeys.

at this point to appease the offended spirit. All went home perfectly contented. Don G. trying to figure out the source of the roaring noises in the woods came to the conclusion that the Indians must have been using bull roarers, and mentioned a passage in Juarros which stated that the first conquistadores were very much puzzled by the roaring in the woods. I have not been able to find the passage.

Indians believe that before the new electric light plant can be installed in Nebaj somebody or something will have to die first. (P.B.)

After a bad hail and thunder storm on the way back to Nebaj from Tzalbal, I saw an Indian carrying a dead lamb over his shoulder which had been struck by lightning. He said he was going home to perform costumbre which was always done anyhow after a big storm.

Indians and a few lower grade ladinos believe in the evil eye. New babies are kept covered for 40 days when carried outside to prevent their being contaminated. To cure the evil eye, a whole egg is rubbed all over the child's body. The egg is broken into a basin of water containing an herb, yuda. The shell is thrown away. A basin is put under the bed and sleeping child. The child is left alone and is cured while it sleeps. When it awakes, the egg is thrown out on the street corner and the spirit has removed the evil eye. A bracelet with a pearl on it is put on the child to avert the disaster in the future.

The Pajaro Carpintero is an important spirit invoked in prayers. He is the llave del mundo. He carries in his beak a grain of yerba and wherever this falls abundance springs up. He symbolizes abundance and good luck. He was sent by God and Jesus Christ for increase and plenitude. He counteracts the evil influence of the Crow and the Gato de Monte who harm the milpas. (Also mentioned in Burkitt's "The Hill and the Corn"). (G.C.)

On April 8 at the Finca San Francisco de Gotzal occurred an eclipse of the sun. S.L. asked me if it really meant the end of the world as some thought. Was the Sun also a spirit in my country? During the day the Indians went through a day of

mild apprehension. After the eclipse was over rockets were sent up. S. thought that maybe it wouldn't rain anymore and nothing would grow.

While riding up in the mountain above San Francisco with S. we saw a red striped coral snake on the ground. We got off our horses to kill it. He advanced with our machetes to kill it, but suddenly it disappeared and we could not find it anywhere. He was astounded and said it was a brujo. He thought a minute and said that the day was Kan which means "snake", and therefore, it was a good sign.

On April 22 in Nebaj a full moon came up all red in a haze of smoke from the burning of milpas in all parts of the valley. Immediately Indians all over town began to beat on the bottom of gomas, on metal, on drums to keep the moon from going out. P.C. said that the clamour was to help the moon and to keep it from being burned.

Chajul Dec. 6.- G.C. who accompanied me to Chajul, where we stayed in an Indian house, at night burning candles and pom incense at the house altar crosses for the entry of Yearbearer Cubal I'a, believes that in a pure state of mind dreams can be a message from God. He says that he dreamed that it was all right for us to go on the trip, that the day was favorable. A god appeared and told him.

He says that bad brujos or naguales do a lot of harm exploiting people. He knows of one who draws blood from his arm, throws it in the air with his right hand, and instantly an animal, like a tiger or a wolf, appears and flees into the mountains. Nev. 27 Chel.

P.A. the mama or rezador who gave me 14 uinal or month names of the calendar believes that a person can be influenced by dreaming about them. He claims that when a man is learning to be a rezador or mama or studying the count of days, he will often get a dream that will tell him to pray to Dios Munde, to offer candles and burn incense. He himself had a dream while studying his profession in which a Spaniard or ladino appeared and offered him a vara or staff. This was the sign of office and meant he was to be an Alcalde.

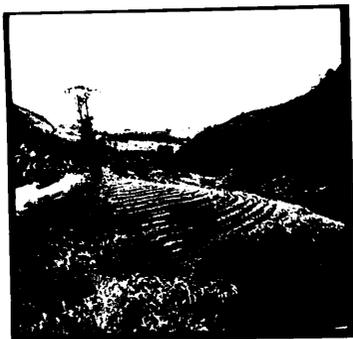
G.G. (ladino) says that there are lots of naguales in Nebaj who believe that they can change into animals at night. Only principales have higher animals such as

such as lions and tigers for their nagual animals. Lower classes have animals such as ant eaters or wild pigs. He told a story that an Indian had told him of a man who had a lion for a nagual, and another who had an ant eater. Both men changed into their respective animals and the lion chased the ant eater and wounded it with his claws. In the morning when both had changed back to their human selves one man had the marks of lion claws on him.

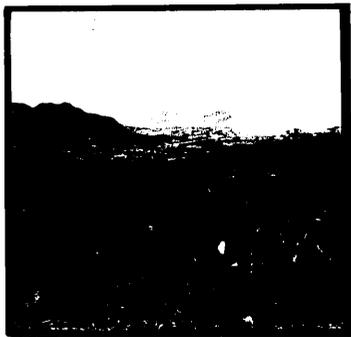
G.C. later confirmed to me on a trip to the hidden cave of Xetish near the aldea of Birramos that he did send his zahorin to this shrine on Main Yearbearer days.

Besides Huy1 (see p. ) the sacred crosses and shrines which I have visited are the Third ranking Yearbearer cross of Koochoolchim which has a special story about it, the most sacred all-Ixil shrine of Huy1 near Chajul, and another hidden cave called Cuxtum Campanil near the caserio of Tuchum.

At Koochoolchim Diego L. said he saw a great blue fire come out of the ground about 10 or 15 years ago. It burned the cross. At the spot are two charred crosses, the large one being only a charred upright pole with the burned cross piece on the ground beside it. Nearby in a little grotto were grouped together 12 to 14 little crosses about four inches high. The main crosses have never been repaired because the fire is regarded as a supernatural event according to Diego.



TERRACED FIELDS - Passed on The trail to NEBAT.



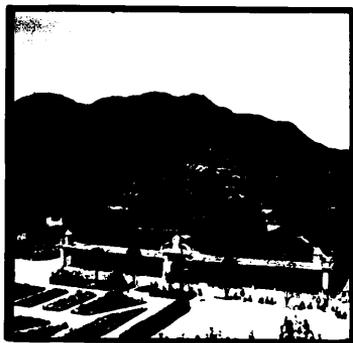
The FIRST glimpse of Nebat FROM The Pass.



CLOSER VIEWS OF NEBAT, coming down The Pass.



The Road into NEBA. The Pass or Cumbre is over The Mountains in The background.



The Intendencia

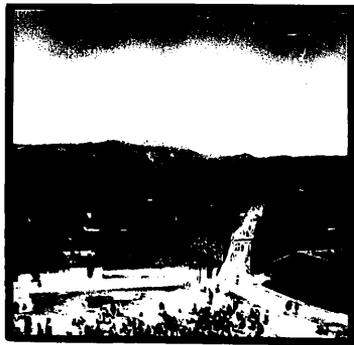
NEBA



The church



The Calvario



mountain sumit in The distance.

The Plaza - The Road leads to Cha-Tu!



The  
Nebarí  
MARKET. Held on  
Sundays.



COOKING & WATER POTS FROM  
SAN PEDRO TOCOPILAS.



COFFEE SELLERS

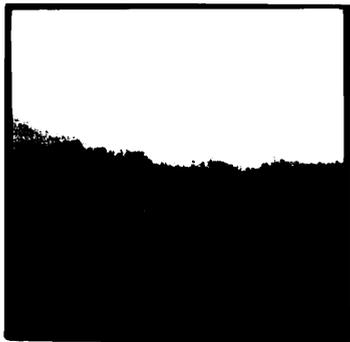




The road to market.



The neatly  
tilled milpas  
surrounding  
Nebaj





BURNING Virgin Forest on  
The steep mountain slopes  
in order to plant New milpas



Handing out The corn & Fertilizer  
seeds preparatory to planting  
The new milpa.



communal  
planting of  
The new milpa



Women bringing food to planters.



Weaving in  
Nebat





CoFRadia Women BEARING  
bundles of CEREMONIAL ROCKETS.



CoFRadia Women in white  
VEILS (FROM TotonicaPan)



PROCESSION LEAVING THE  
CHURCH. THIS PROCESSION  
WITH THE CHRIST, TAKES PLACE  
EVERY FRIDAY AFTERNOON IN LEAT  
AT 4 O'CLOCK.



LEAVING THE CHURCH



CoFRadia Women in PROCESSION.



ONE OF my CHIEF  
INFORMANTS - a ZAHORIN -  
LEAVING TO PERFORM  
"COSTUMED" at a  
MOUNTAIN CROSS, HE  
IS CARRYING ROCKETS,  
CANDLES, & POW  
INCENSE.



216  
Praying  
at a  
M.T. CROSS.



SECRET CROSSES



Praying at a group  
of crosses on a hill  
at Cha-Tul



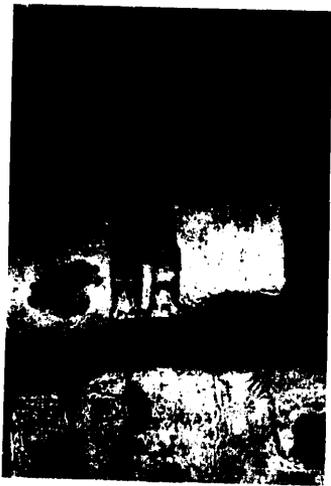
CROSSES NEAR ILOM

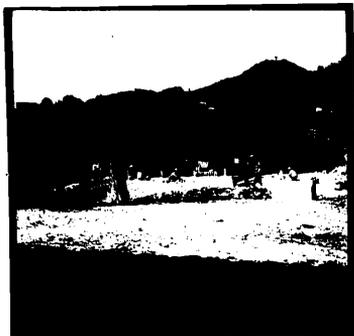


note SECRET PLANT - alomak - hanging above CROSSES



A secret cave 5 hours  
ride from Nubot,  
containing archaic  
altar with strange figures  
in bas-relief. This is  
an important place of  
native worship, completely  
unknown to ladinos of the  
region.





Typical house - white washed adobe  
Tiled roof - Ukandah



House in a caseo - made of  
logs with Thatched Roof.



Iloilo. The  
houses here  
are made  
of wood, the  
planks stuck  
up right in the  
ground, with  
wide cracks  
between. The  
roofs are  
all of  
thatch



The Fuzgado of Iloilo.



Going FOR water



The SPRING



PREPARING Peta FOR NETS and ROPE  
Products in CHO TUL and COTZAL



Peeling THE FINISHED Peta NETS.



There  
are several  
TILE MAKERS  
in NEBOT.



Church in Nebaj



Church in Chajul



Religious Procession  
Nebaj



Worship in the Church  
at Chajul



Kneeling in Prayer on the  
Church steps - Chajul.



- Small drum and Flute in Religious Procession



The Traditional large drum, chirimita used on all ceremonial occasions



In the aldeas + rural districts, a drum is beaten to call the men for communal work of any sort.



Neba J- dress hui Pi'l on THE  
woman - EVERY day hui Pi'l on  
THE girl



Neba J- EVERY day hui Pi'l



Cha Tul- EVERY day hui Pi'l - plain white.



Co Tlal - dress hui Pi'l

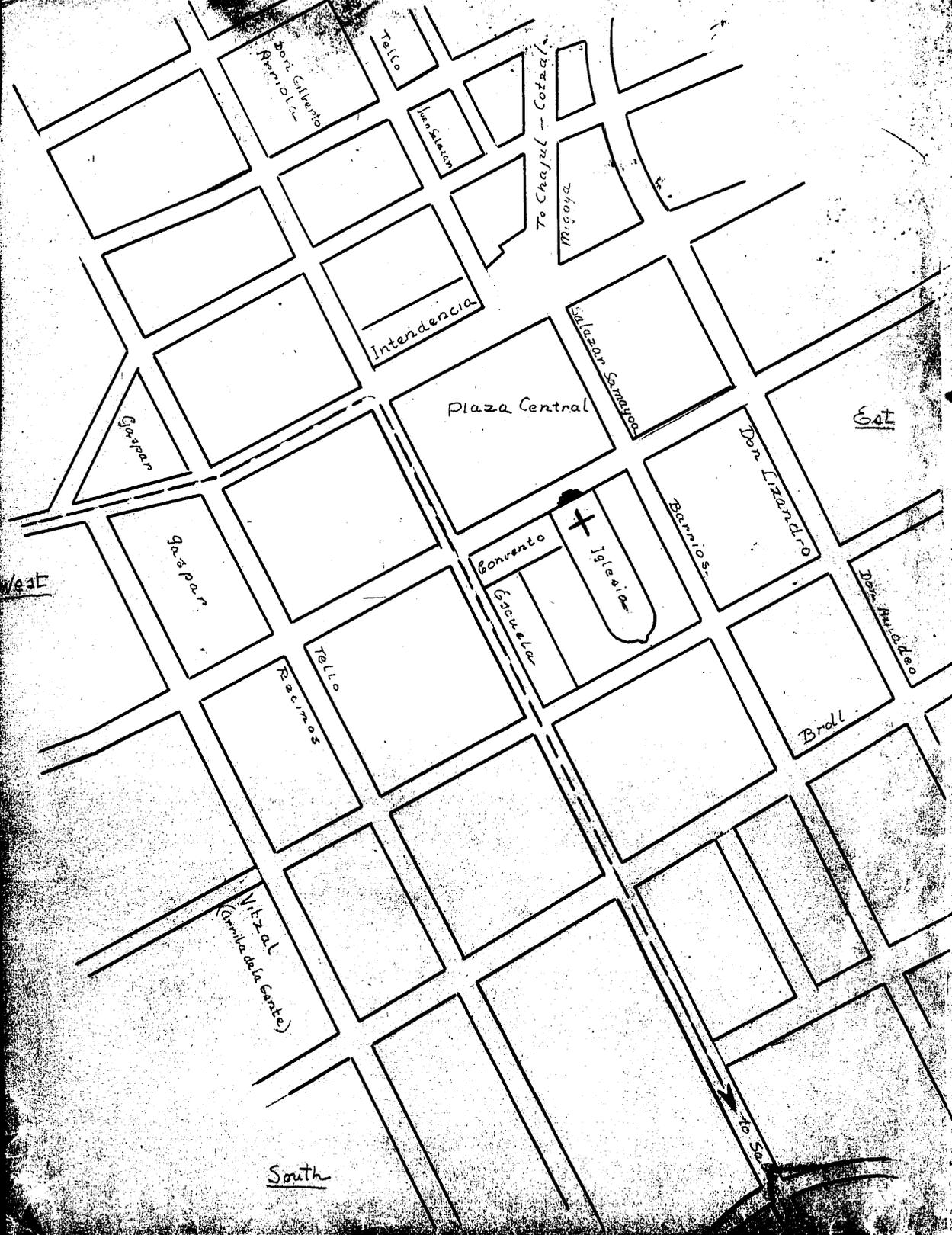


The girl babies  
of Neba are  
dressed exactly  
like their mothers  
As soon as they  
are able to walk.



North

40

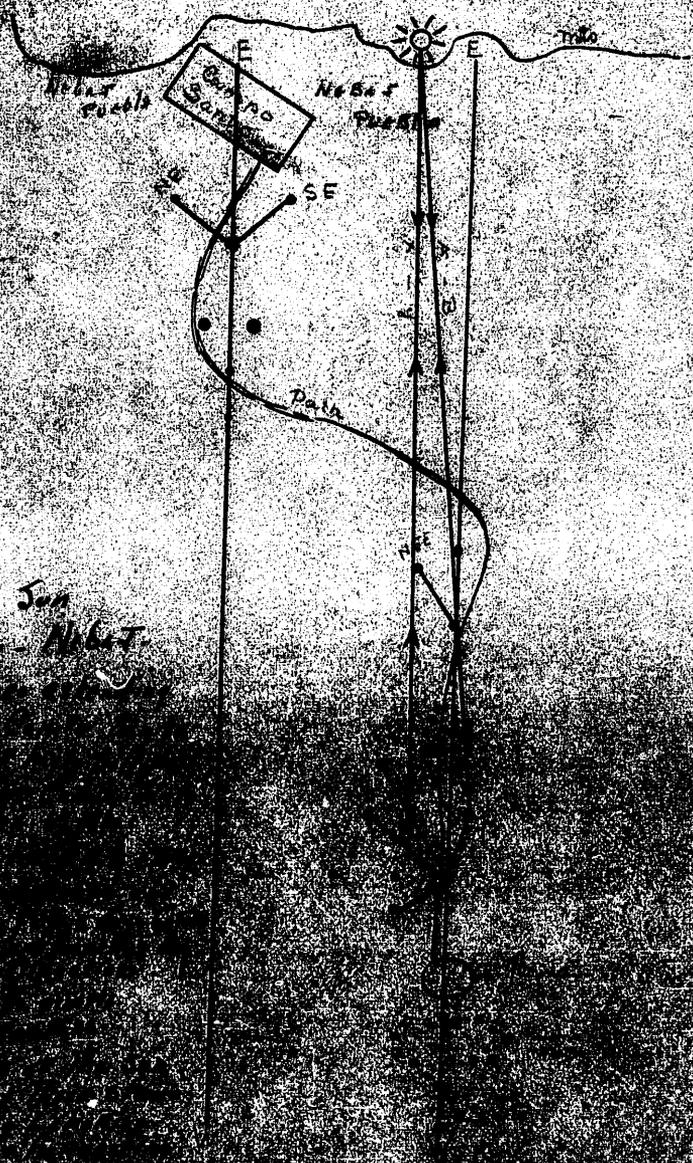


West

East

South

To So



Scattered Sun  
 ... ..  
 ... ..

April 5, 1940

226  
Chalet Elvira  
3a Calle de Tivoli  
7a Avenida Prolongacion  
Guatemala  
C.A.

Dr. Robert Redfield  
Dean of the Division of Social Sciences  
University of Chicago  
Illinois

april -

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Many thanks for your letter of March 12, and for the articles by you and Dr. Tax. I shall do my best to cover the points mentioned in the letter.

With regard to ladinos in Nebaj and Ixil speaking region, I have been covering this subject right along. Here it is relatively easy because the number of ladinos is proportionately small (500 to 13,000 Indians), and the first ones to come to Nebaj beginning in 1887 are still here and I have been getting the history of their activities since that time. Prior to their coming, the region had 3 municipios (Nebaj, Cotzal, Chajul) with many aldeas and caseríos. The municipios do not seem to be separate cultural units. Nebaj has always been the main market centre, Chajul the Indian "costumbre" centre, and Cotzal the handicraft centre for the entire Ixil speaking region.

The pueblos of the municipios, prior to the coming of ladinos, seem to have been Spanish colonial, ecclesiastical, political and social formations, founded on the sites of pre-Columbian ceremonial centres, as attested by the archaeological ruins at each town. According to early history Nebaj and Chajul were founded or reformed by Dominican missionaries just after their conquest as amalgamations of many small hamlets or caseríos scattered in the monte. At the time of the conquest in 1530 Nebaj, and Chajul are mentioned as towns already in existence, and many caseríos and hamlets today have the same names as first mentioned.

Today all of the three pueblos are of the same organization. They are mainly of the type where natives live in town and go out to the field every day for work, but they are of a mixed type of organization ~~of organization~~ if aldeas and caseríos are taken into consideration. Many natives own more or less distant montes in aldeas and the richer ones live in them as well as in town. There are also large groups who live in aldeas and caseríos who come into town only occasionally for market and fiesta.

If you equate folk and culture as opposed to city and civilization, it seems to me you would have to distinguish first between Spanish colonial, ecclesiastical city forms and modern ladino city. Nebaj was given its municipal form by Spanish colonial priests and army officers who left their mark in a new social organization, a church as religious centre, an initial and rudimentary conversion to Christianity, Spanish type houses, and official uniforms as men's costume. They apparently did not stay long in the region for there is no record of any but Ixil speaking Indians

living in the towns until 1887 when the first ladino settled in Nebaj. The ladino appears to me (at least in this region) as degenerated Spanish gone slightly machine age, and their influence on the municipio which they found in existence is not only parasitic but of quite a different and recent order from the older colonial forms.

Since the pre-ladino pueblo was entirely illiterate (with the exception of the priest) and all the inhabitants spoke only Ixil, traded mostly in the region (outside contacts being largely with Quiche speaking peoples. Ixil not great commercial travellers) and had a religion that was an incorporation of a few Christian elements into their own native Indian worship, it seems to me that from the post-conquest period to the coming of the ladinos in 1887 represented a definite "recent Indian culture" which includes both folk and municipio in a real cultural integration.

Possibly I view the situation wrongly and of course I need much more data, but it seems to me that the distinction between folk and city takes on a real opposition of simple culture versus machine age civilization with the recent coming of ladinos to this region. The opposition appears to be largely illiterate folk in a Spanish colonial municipio form as a long lived sociological integration, versus modern machine age ladino civilization which is ~~rather~~ forming a new integration at the expense of old and "recent Indian" elements.

These are just the ideas that come to me after hearing from you, and I hope to be able to develop them more fully by the time you get here in the fall.

I have written Dr. Benedict again to be sure to forward you the article on the Ixil calendar. In case she is not at Columbia it might be a good idea for you to write the Secretary of the Department to forward it to you.

Have been back in Nebaj another month and plan to be here for a three month stretch this time.

Please also thank Dr. Tax for me for sending his articles.

Yours very sincerely,

*[Handwritten signature]*

May 3, 1940

Dr. J. Steward Lincoln  
Chalet Elvira  
3a Calle de Tivoli  
7a Avenida Prolongacion  
Guatemala, C. A.

Dear Dr. Lincoln:

Tax and I were greatly interested by the letter which you wrote concerning the situation in the three Ixil communities. After talking it over with Tax, I asked him to prepare a memorandum expressing our understanding of your view of the situation and interpolating some questions as to matters which are not clear to us. I do not want to put you to too much trouble, but if the subject is at all on your mind, we should be helped in our work if you would look over our statement and tell us where we have misunderstood you or been misled.

Those paragraphs on the second page of your letter which deal with the folk-civilization distinction I find that I do not fully understand. Perhaps I could set down briefly what those words mean to me.

It seems to me that a small, isolated homogeneous community tends to have a well integrated, local culture. Such a society may be perhaps referred to as a folk society. It also seems to me that in a great many such societies, and probably in most of them, familial institutions are important, personal rather than impersonal controls are emphasized, and sacred sanctions are relatively effective as compared with secular and impersonal sanctions. This of course is the statement of an ideal situation which is more or less approximated in the communities we know. In so far as the opposite of these characteristics is present, we might speak of the situation as one in which civilization occurs. In fact what we probably will find is that there are various combinations of these and other characteristics of society, and matters for investigation are the extent to which certain of these characteristics tend to be normally or causally connected. My impression is that even before the Conquest, these Ixil communities represented some sort of departure from the theoretical ideal "folkness" in that there was probably a ceremonial center in which a specialized group carried on esoteric knowledge which not everybody fully shared, and in certain other respects.

You certainly make me feel that the invasion of the first conquerors, both military and clerical did not make a very great difference in the kind of society that characterized the region, and that the recent invasion of Ladinos is a more disorganizing influence. If I misunderstand you again, I should appreciate being corrected.

(over)

Dr. J. Steward Lincoln

page 2

May 3, 1940

Dr. Benedict wrote me sometime ago that she was returning to Columbia in May. I have never seen the article on the Ixil Calendar, and should like very much to see it.

It now seems that we are not likely to be able to bring together enough of the field workers in Guatemalan ethnology to justify a conference this spring. I am proposing, therefore, that those of us who are interested prepare a short paper or memorandum summarizing the state of knowledge or ignorance on some topic, and that these papers be distributed among us all to serve as a basis for a conference to be held later. If this would interest you, I should be glad to hear on what topic you will be willing to prepare such a paper.

Yours cordially,

RR:cl

Robert Redfield

This memorandum was prepared by Mr. Tex, at Mr. Redfield's request to express their understanding of Mr. Lincoln's views as represented in his letter of [April \_\_\_\_]. date not given] and interpolating some questions as to matters which are not clear to them.

At the time of the Conquest, there were three "ceremonial centers" at the sites of present-day Nebaj, Chajul and Cotzal; presumably the general population lived dispersed on their farms or in small settlements, and these were priestly (and governmental?) centers. The Dominicans came in in 1530 and (a) built churches in each of the three places, (b) drew in part of the scattered population to live in the towns, and (c) organized or helped the soldiers and administrators to organize the three towns as municipalities after the Spanish pattern. The Spanish priests and soldiers stayed long enough to convert the Indians to Christianity, to organize the towns, and to introduce changes in house-type and costume.

During the two or three centuries that elapsed from the time the priests and soldiers left to the time when the Ladinos came, in 1887, there were no non-Indians in the region except the priest (in which town?); (were there no Ladino secretaries?). The Indians were not literate (except for a few taught by the priest?). The Ladinos began to come into the region in 1887, establishing themselves as "parasites" (i.e., habilitadores and business men and land-owning non-laborers?). The census of 1893 gives

	Total	Ladino	Indian
Nebaj	5,945	66	5,879
Chajul	3,329	11	3,318
Cotzal	2,825	21	2,804

The census of 1921 gives

	Total	Ladino	Indian
Nebaj	10,857	421	10,436
Chajul	4,968	108	4,860
Cotzal	4,590	280	4,310

Today there are some 500 Ladinos and 13,000 Indians (In Nebaj, or among the three towns?). These presumably live in the towns and on the fincas, while the Indians live in the towns, on the fincas, and in the rural areas. In 1921 the whole population was distributed as follows according to the census:

	Total	Town	Aldeas- caseríos	Fincas
Nebaj	10,857	2,557	8,013	267
Chajul	4,968	1,678	3,142	148
Cotzal	4,590	1,249	1,289	2,052

It is apparent that from one-fourth to one-third of the Indians live in the towns, and the remainder in other parts of the municipios. Nebaj and Chajul, having fewer fincas, represent more typically pre-Ladino conditions, in which large majorities of the Indians lived in "aldeas" and "caseríos." (To what extent are aldeas and caseríos conglomerations of households, and to what extent are they comparable to cantones elsewhere, in which the households are separated and surrounded by their fields?). The Indians living in town are farmers whose fields are outside the town; those living rurally are farmers whose fields are near to or surrounding their houses; some of the latter also keep up houses in town (and some of the former have houses nearer their fields for temporary use?). Those who live outside the towns come

into them on occasion for markets and fiestas (and for servicio and political-business purposes?).

All of this sounds familiar enough to one knowing the region to the South. If the "caseríos" and "aldeas" are rural districts rather than towns, even if the rural districts occasionally have centers (such as has the aldea of Chimente of the municipio of Totonicapán), the Ixil municipios seem to be normal mixed-type municipios, as Lincoln indicates.

What may be peculiar of the three Ixil municipios, from the point of view of the Midwestern highlands, is the fact (?) that in some sense they are less independent of each other than are those to the south. "The municipios do not seem to be separate cultural units. Nebaj has always been the main market center, Chajul the Indian 'costumbre' center, and Cotzal the handicraft center for the entire Ixil speaking region." Questions: are the Indians of each municipio distinguished by costume? Do they intermarry in significant numbers? Do they all call themselves and each other Ixiles or are there separate names for each group, or if both, which names are more important? Do the Indians of these three municipios distinguish themselves from other municipios in any ways more than from one another? To what degree do the three municipios differ from each other in dialect, folklore and beliefs, and general cultural practices such as marriage customs, agricultural techniques and rites, etiquette, etc.?

Obviously there is no surprise occasioned by the statement that Nebaj is the market center; in every region reported, one or two towns are market centers for large areas. Nor is it surprising that Cotzal is the handicraft center. The latter statement suggests that the three municipios are to some extent economically specialized, and hence economically interdependent. (Question: taking the three Ixil municipios together, are they

relatively self-sufficient and hence independent of the rest of the country? If so, the situation is different from that elsewhere; it is probably not so, however, since Lincoln says that "outside contacts . . . (were) largely with Quiché. . .", even though outsiders came to the Ixil to trade rather than vice-versa.)

Especially noteworthy is the statement that Chajul is the Indian *costumbre* center. Does this mean that Chajul, perhaps, has a monopoly of shamans and/or of shrines? Or does it mean that there is only one ceremonial organization for the three municipios? If the first, that is nothing new in Guatemala, since shamans commonly practice inter-municipally and particular shrines are often used by Indians of different towns. If the second, or something like it, then the Ixiles certainly vary from the pattern obtaining among the Chorti, the Quiché-groups I know, and the Mam.

Apparently Lincoln has not caught the point of your folk-urban distinction, and its application to Guatemala. At least I cannot reconcile my understanding of the problem with his statement that the Indian culture "includes both folk and municipio in a real cultural integration"; in fact that doesn't make any kind of sense to me. The paragraph that follows makes sense, but the point seems to be a different one: that a second acculturation of the Indians is setting in with the recent contact with Ladinos.

Sol Tax.

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May 6, 1940

Chalet Elvira  
3a Calle de Tivoli  
7a Avenida Prolongacion  
Guatemala

Dr. Robert Redfield, Dean  
Division of the Social Sciences  
University of Chicago  
Chicago  
Illinois

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I have yours of May 3 with elaboration of my letter by Dr. Tax. I obviously had not clearly grasped your folk-urban distinction when I wrote the letter, and I am glad to get the clarification from you and I apologize for being so hasty. The letter was not intended to be more than an impression and was in no way a formal or final statement. Please realize that I am still in the process of collecting and revising my field material, and that nothing so far is completed or ready to be quoted.

I enclose Dr. Tax's memorandum and have added my revision based on latest field experience. I have numbered his paragraphs and those of my revision the same. These notes are subject to change as I get deeper in my field and are only preliminary.

From your definition of folk and civilization, the Ixil communities undoubtedly could be characterized as in part "civilized", both before the conquest, mere so with the coming of the Spaniards and throughout the period until the coming of the ladinos, and new in a new sense with a new type of civilized influence. It seems to me important to distinguish between 1) Pre-conquest Indian culture, 2) Post-conquest Indian culture, a new integration with incorporated Christian and Spanish elements, and 3) Present day Indian-Ladine culture dating from 1887. These distinctions appear to have a sound historical and functional basis

From your definition, in all three periods in different proportions, would be elements of both folk and civilization, of personal and impersonal controls. Hitherto I have not been used to thinking in terms of equating folk with culture, and urban with civilization. To me civilization has generally meant the urban and literate part of a culture which may also include a large folk element, a culture being the total traditional body of custom of a given social group.

I hope the above makes more sense than my last letter and I shall be grateful if you will correct me at all times.

With regard to the fourth paragraph of your letter, I should say on the basis of archaeological sites and a few brief statements of early history, that the first Spaniards changed the social organization to the extent of enlarging the urban centres, establishing a military government, adding elements of Christian religion to the native religion, and probably altering the form of the family system. What the Spaniards brought was in large part incorporated by the natives without altering a large part of native custom.

The present ladino invasion is I believe a different kind of influence. Though not based on initial violent conquest, its influence will eventually be completely disorganizing to the cultural compromise reached in the preceding period. In the Ixil region, there is definite hostility between the two groups and when acculturation takes place it means a total shift from one group to the other. For instance, when an Indian becomes ladino he drops all of his Indian costumbre and belief, acts ashamed of it, and tries to disown it completely. Two pure Indian principales of Nebaj who have changed to ladino ways even adopted ladino methods of getting away Indian lands, of habilitacion, and suppression of costumbre. Undoubtedly this was an easy pattern of behavior to adopt because they were descendants of the old Indian warrior caste who were used to treating their own people in a high-handed way. Until very recently and in some measure today the Indians were divided into strong castes of warriors, priests, traders, and workers. The aim of the ladino since his arrival in Nebaj, is to make money out of the Indians, to enslave him, and to get his lands away, and to make him feel an inferior being. In exchange no social benefits such as medicine, hygiene, or education are brought. His main contribution has been a few machine made goods and a certain amount of cash to spend when in good times they are needed as laborers on fincas.

I heard from Dr. Benedict and she said she would send you the calendar article. She was away on her sabbatical in California.

I should be glad to complete my paper on the Ixil calendar for your group. It seems to me an especially important feature of this region, and of historical interest as well. I have some new material not included in the article and I should be glad to have the copy back as soon as you have read it, because it is far from finished.

I have never received the literature on the Ixil language that you asked somebody to look up. I should be very grateful if I could have this.

Dr. Kidder tells me you will be down here in November, and I look forward to discussing my material with you.

Yours very sincerely,

*F. Steward Lincoln*

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May 10, 1940

Mr. Sol Tax

Anthropology

Robert Redfield

Division of the Social Sciences

May 6, 1940 letter from J. Steward Lincoln

Will you look this over and give me your advice before  
I answer it?

RR:cl

1) At the time of the Conquest there were at least two "ceremonial centres" at the sites of present day Nebaj in town, and at Chajul both in town and at the Cumbre de Huyl an hour's ride from Chajul. Huyl has well-preserved remains of pre-Conquest ceremonial site close to the present place of worship, which is considered the most sacred spot in the world by all Ixil speaking people. During the romeria the 2nd Thursday in lent to the Christ of Golgotha in the church at Chajul Indians come from all over Guatemala and even from Oaxaca and Salvador. Some ladinos attend the romeria at the church but only the Indians go on to worship at Huyl. In "costumbre" prayers from Nebaj, Chajul, and Cotzal, Angel Huyl is worshipped. "Huyl is what holds the world together".

I do not know if Cotzal was a ceremonial centre or town at the time of the Conquest. There is no literature that I know on the subject and I have not found any archaeological site.

I can find no record of non-Indians living in the region after the early priests and soldiers left to the time the first ladinos came in 1887. Only one came this year and a few others came in 1894

2) The resident priest lived in Nebaj and was priest for all three towns. According to Don P., 1st habilitador and now big finquero of the region, there were no ladino secretaries, only Indian alcaldes.

From my point of view, the first ladinos of this region, <sup>(with one exception)</sup> practically all of whom I knew, became decidedly parasites on the existant Indian body politic. They were habilitadores, land grabbers and estanco owners. The first group of Indians from Nebaj to be put in debt and sent to a finca as laborers went to the Finca Chocola in 1894. There is definite culture conflict and hostility between Indians and ladinos in this region.

3) The 1940 census of the region took place when I was in Nebaj and aldeas. Several caseríos were missed and many figures were guesses.

Preliminary figures prior to publication of census are as follows:

Nebaj: *area of municipio* 1228 caballerías  
25 manzanas  
Urban Population 1430 *villas Cuadradas*

Barrios Families Inhabitants

Batzbaca	134	597
Salquilito	190	941
Xolacul	205	988
Vitzal	128	624
Jactzal	<u>101</u>	<u>486</u>
Total	758	3,636

Rural Population Families Inhabitants

8 aldeas or hamlets who have jurisdiction over 69 caserios

1660 9,353

Fincas (of which there are only 9)

112 555

Total Nebaj population Urban and Rural with no distinction between Indian and Ladino is 2,530 families or 13, 552 inhabitants.

Figures for Chajul and Cotzal not yet available, but consensus of opinion at Nebaj intendencia are that there about 650 ladinos in Nebaj, 300 in Chajul, and 400 in Cotzal. Estimated population of Chajul 8,000, and Cotzal 6,000. Roughly the region has 25,000 Indians and 1200 ladinos.

4) Your figures for fincas taken from 1921 census are obviously wrong. There are only 9 in Nebaj, probably no more in Chajul, and nothing like the number given for Cotzal. I think these may be figures for numbers of families.

5) Aldeas are small towns or hamlets with juzgados and in one instance a church. (Salquil Grande)

Caseríos are scattered households surrounded by fields. Each aldea has jurisdiction over a certain number of caseríos. ~~ALL~~ are under the jurisdiction of municipio to which they belong.

6) Those living outside of town come in not only for market and fiesta, but for road service (except a colony of evaders who are hiding in the mountains) and occasional political business.

7) The municipios of Nebaj, Chajul and Cotzal are independent of each other as far as having separate Intendencias. The Commandancia has jurisdiction over all three towns and municipios. There is little intermarriage between the three. The costumes differ only slightly, but are variations of the same pattern. <sup>most</sup> ~~ALL~~ wear the same red with yellow vertical striped skirt. Workers caste in Nebaj and Cotzal wear a blue skirt. Some of the red animal<sup>s</sup> figured huipiles of Cotzal and Nebaj are almost identical, but Cotzal has 2 or 3 more kinds of huipiles. Their huipiles are more elaborate in design and richer. Chajul huipiles are simple white with a red vertical stripe and red collar band. They resemble the Nebaj working huipil. The men of all three towns wear the red black braided jacket copied from Spanish officers of the 17th century. In Chajul they occasionally add embroidered figures on the jacket. Aldeas and caseríos follow the costumes of the municipios to which they belong. Men in all three also wear broad brimmed straw Spanish hat.

All three towns regard their language as identical with slight local differences in vocabulary and intonation. All call the language "cuy olbal" or "mi lengua". None know the word Ixil as applied to their language. Ixil is what they call the shapes of their mountains

which in English might be described as sawtoothed. In Spanish they say Ixil means "barbas de chamara" or the <sup>fringe</sup>woolen surface of a <sup>woolen</sup>rough blanket.

Religious <sup>worship</sup> outside the churches centres around the local crosses on mounds and mountains. Each town has its own group where the professional prayermakers and those learning the profession go to pray. Nebaj has 105 crosses on mounds or mountains or passes which are called Angels and are worshipped as deities. Mountain worship is amalgamated with native calendar day worship. In the same prayer mountain and day deities are mentioned. This applies to all three towns. Huyl, the mountain near Chajul is worshipped by all three.

Nebaj, Chajul, and Cotzal, have the same religious calendar as the integrating factor of their lives, with same day names and Yearbearers. The cult of the main- Yearbearer (Alcalde Mayor) for a particular year every 20 days occurs in all three. The calendar for the whole region differs in its main features from all surrounding native calendars in the Cuchumatanes, and among present day Quiche and Kekchi Speaking peoples.

The three towns regard themselves as related to each other and and as jointly different from any surrounding peoples, although there are slight differences in marriage customs and etiquette.

(A man courting in Nebaj does not play a tune on a leaf (tocar la hoja) to call the attention of his girl as in Chajul and Ixil. In Chajul, a man will often go with the zahorin and cry ceremonially in front of the girl's house, which is not done in Nebaj)

Agricultural techniques and customs for planting and harvesting follow the same patterns in all three towns, according to Gaspar a leading Indian principal of Nebaj. (To be checked further) ?

8) The bi-weekly markets, (Sunday and Thursday) in Nebaj is a very recent institution. It has only been in existence for 15 years. When the first ladinos came the only market was the annual one on

August 15 fiesta. Chajul today has no market, and Cotzal has a Saturday market started a year ago.

Cotzal is the handicraft centre only for pita rope and nets which they sell in Nebaj and occasionally as far away as Chichicastenango. Their elaborate weaving of huipiles, fajas, cintas, etc. are is for local use and now occasional tourists. Nebaj has no crafts save tile making, house construction, and locally used pottery braziers, and weaving for home use.

Chajul has its own local mountain deities, but is costumbre centre for the Ixil region at the Cumbre de Huyl shrine at all times of the year, and for all <sup>Indian</sup> Guatemala at the pilgrimage to the Christ of Golgotha the 2nd Thursday in lent. Every 20 days on the recurrence of the Main Yearbearer for the current year, <sup>at other times</sup> those who can afford it in Nebaj send zahorines to worship for them at the Cumbre de Huyl next to Chajul.

The three Ixil municipios jointly were and are geographically set off, and are largely self-sufficient and independent of the rest of the country for food, clothing, and housing. Exceptions: Pottery from Rabinal, San Pedro Jocopilas, San Bartolome, and Huehuetenango. Imported red cotton thread through ladinos from Germany.

Exports are mainly pita and apples which go as far as Coban and Huehuetenango. These people do not seem to have been extensive commercial travellers, and seldom leave the region.

At the great annual market during the Fiesta of Santa Maria on August 15 there is a very small minority of natives from municipios outside of the region. Only a few from Sacapulas, Quiche, Santa maria Chiquimula, and Hue<sup>h</sup>uetenango. This same situation also applied to the annual market in the 1890<sup>s</sup> according to first ladinos.

2<sup>nd</sup> largest pilgrimage  
next to Escuintla -  
Pilgrimage with some new  
1918

From 1894 when the first group of laborers from Nebaj ever to work on a finca went to the finca choccala, until the recent slump in coffee, labor was the main product of the region. What with the new law and practically no labor going to the fincas, poverty in cash is very evident. Little money is available for fiestas, clothes or drink, but practically all have houses and the products of their lands to fall back on. The two primal factors of their life is a rich fertile corn, vegetable, and fruit land, and a strong religious life centred in the Sacred Calendar, mountain, corn and earth worship.

9) Chajul has no monopoly of shamans. It has its one great shrine of Huyl, an all Ixil deity and a place of worship for all highland Indians, both professionals and laymen.

Each Ixil municipio has its own shamans and ceremonial organization. Formerly professional prayermakers had strong influence in government. This situation is now broken up by the present government organization which consists of a mixed group of ladinos and Indians. The sphere of the zahorines or professional prayermakers is now relegated to purely Indian religious, family, social and economic (milpa and housebuilding) activities. In aldeas of both Nebaj and Chajul the Ist Regidor is still the Ist Rezador for the district, which is undoubtedly a survival of the old theocratic control of Government.

Each town has its set of cofradias honoring different Saints. People in aldeas ~~will~~ belong to cofradias pertaining to the main town of their municipio.

The religious organizations in each town appear to parallel each other.

10) I obviously misunderstood Dr. Redfield's folk-urban distinction. My letter was hastily written and in the phrase not understood, I meant to say that the Indian culture, "includes both folk and civilization in its cultural integration". By a slip I used the word "municipio". I am used to using the word "culture" in a sense that could include both folk and urban in the same given social unit.

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( The above notes drawn from my field material are merely in correction of Dr. Tax's memorandum. They are in no way final and are subject to revision. They are believed to be correct, but are not ready for quotation or any formal use. *They must wait until my work in the field is completed* J.S.LINCOLN,

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June 19, 1940

Mr. J. Steward Lincoln  
Chalet Elvira  
3a Calle de Tivoli  
Guatemala, C.A.

Dear Mr. Lincoln:

Tax and I have read with great interest your memorandum on the principales of Nebaj. The account of Gaspar C clears up the question we had in mind. Your earlier letter somehow gave us the impression that there was an Indian who had become a Ladino, while remaining a principal. This is of course not the case with Gaspar C, who remains a member of the Indian community and is still regarded as Indian. He has simply taken over some of the Ladino ways, apparently because of their practical advantage to him. Nevertheless Indians such as Gaspar C are not uncommon in the Lake Atitlan region.

We are wondering if we have understood correctly what you mean by the statement that "since the present administration has been in existence, the office of alcalde has been abolished and that of regidor substituted." To make this accord with the facts as we know them in our part of Guatemala, we will understand this to mean that "the functionary known as alcalde, according to the traditional governmental organization of Indians, is known as regidor by the formal Guatemalan government." I wonder if we have understood you?

There is a very interesting statement in the last paragraph of your memorandum on Gaspar and Diego. We are wondering what are the facts as to payment of tribute to the government by Indians, both formerly, and today. This is a subject on which we have no information from the Atitlan region, and we would be glad to learn something of it. I am still trying to find publications on the Ixil language to send you.

Yours sincerely,

RR:cl

Robert Redfield

May 13, 1940

Dr. J. Steward Lincoln  
Chalet Elvire  
3a Calle de Tivoli  
7a Avenida Prolongacion  
Guatemala, C.A.

Dear Dr. Lincoln:

Tax and I are greatly obliged to you for the pains you have taken in replying to our inquiries concerning your memorandum as to the social organization of the Ixil communities. You have made the situation much clearer to us. There are now so many special questions which could be pursued that I think it would become a great burden on you if I should attempt to do so by letter. I hope that I shall have an opportunity before too long to meet you and discuss the problems with you.

I venture, nevertheless, to write a little something here about what you have to say in your letter on the relations between the Indians and the Ladinos. You refer to two Indian principales of Nebaj who have changed to Ladino ways. I would like to know more about this, because in the part of Guatemala where I have been it is hard for me to to imagine a man who has attained the dignity of what it is there to be a Principal, becoming, late in life, a Ladino. I am wondering if the Principal in Nebaj is the important fellow in an Indian community that it is in that part of Guatemala that I know. I wonder just what was involved in the change to Ladino ways in these two cases. I am also interested in what you say about the probable influence of the patterns of behavior involved in the old ancient warrior castes on the recent situation. Your letter suggests that such castes are in existence or have been in existence so recently that tradition of them affects current behavior. I shall look forward to hearing what evidence you have as to the existence of these castes.

sent  
7/11/40

Within a few days I shall send you a copy of a memorandum I wrote on the Indian-Ladino relations in the settlement East of Lake Atitlan in which I lived last year. Perhaps you might find this useful for comparative purposes.

I am sorry that we have not yet sent you information on the publications in the Ixil language. The principal difficulty arises out of the recent death of Gates, the publisher of one of the publications you inquired about. I have not yet been able to find out who, since

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Dr. J. Steward Lincoln

page 2

June 13, 1940

his death, knows whether copies of this publication are still available for sale. I hope to write you later about this.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

May 22, 1940

Gaspar C.  
Principal

Dr. Robert Redfield, Dean  
Division of Social Science  
University of Chicago  
Chicago  
Illinois



Dear Dr. Redfield:

I enclose a copy of my notes on the two more or less ladinoized principales of Nebaj. The word principal is used for all Indians who have or have had a position of authority in the civil government such as all former Alcaldes and present and past Regidores. Of course since the present administration has been in existence the office of Alcalde has been abolished and that of Regidor substituted. A Zahorin, shaman or prayermaker may or may not be a principal, but only because of his government post and not because of his prestige as a zahorin. Formerly the zahorines had considerable control in government but this situation has been broken up by the admixture of ladinos who today are the controlling factor in the government, but there are several zahorines who today are regarded as principales because they had formerly been alcaldes.

With regard to the books on the Ixil language, I had thought that it might be possible for some library to lend them for a while to the office of the Carnegie Institution down here.

Yours very sincerely,

The enclosure referred  
to is included in pages  
87-101 of manuscript

*J. Steward Lincoln*  
J. Steward Lincoln

P.S. Although all my notes so far are provisional, you can use the enclosed for the group, provided you think them worth while.

June 20, 1940

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Chalet Elvira  
3a Calle de Tivoli  
Guatemala C.A.

*Hold*

Dr. Robert Redfield, Dean  
Division of Social Sciences  
University of Chicago  
Illinois

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Many thanks for your article on the ladines of Agua Escendida which I have read with the greatest care. I have just completed my preliminary draft of a chapter on the ladines of Nebaj in which I have compared my material with yours. Obviously the situation in my region is totally different. Here is one of the communities where the Indians retain more "primitive" traditions and the ladines are commercial chanceles rather than agricultural workers.

I happened to go through Agua Escendida the other day on the way to the Finca Panama, and it certainly looks like an ideal spot in which to work. Am planning to go back to my field in another fortnight for another two or three month's stretch. Hope to get more on the Indian social organization with whatever survivals of a caste system the old caste system there may be. Indians in this region are peculiarly reserved but I now have a few excellent informants. For the purely Indian side of things it is easier to work in the aldeas away from town and ladines. Indians are afraid to talk when the latter are around.

Yours very sincerely,

*J. Steward Lincoln*  
J. Steward Lincoln

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July 3, 1940

Dr. J. Steward Lincoln  
Chalet Elvira  
Tercera Calle de Tivoli  
Prolongacion 7a Avenida  
Guatemala, C.A.

Dear Dr. Lincoln:

I have read with a great deal of interest your paper on the Ixil Calendar. It has come to me from Dr. Banzel who says that Dr. Benedict has seen it, and as I see Eric Thompson's name on the first sheet, I am now sending it to him.

You are to be congratulated upon having secured these excellent data.

May I mention a trifling matter which occurred to me as I read page nine? You say that "The days with their respective numbers begin after sun-down of the preceding Gregorian day given in the list, since the natives count in elapsed time as did the Old Mayas." I wonder if the fact that they recognize the day as beginning after sundown comes from the old Maya custom of counting in elapsed time. Do the present-day Ixil count consistently in elapsed time? You probably know that the beginning of a religious day at vespers was characteristic of people of early/Catholic cultures. Doesn't it say in Genesis (1:5) "And the evening and the morning were the first day."?

Semitic and

Yours sincerely,

RR:el

Robert Redfield

7/1/40

July 21, 1940

Nebaj  
Quiché

Dr. Robert Redfield, Dean  
Division of Social Sciences  
University of Chicago  
Chicago  
Illinois

Dear Dr. Redfield:

In your letter of June 19 you bring up various questions about my notes on Nebaj principales. In reply to these I should say that Gaspar C. has partially become a ladino while remaining a principal and a member of the Indian community. Diego B. has become at least three quarters a ladino, yet still retains a foothold in the Indian community and costumbre.

The statement that reads, " since the present administration has been in existence, the office of alcalde has been abolished and that of regidor substituted", is a stupid slip. It should read, " and that of Intendente substituted". Formerly there were two <sup>Indians</sup> Alcaldes and six or more <sup>Fachon</sup> Regidores; today there is the ladino Intendente, and six <sup>only</sup> Regidores half of whom are Indians.

According to the statement of Joaquin Pardo of the Guatemalan National Archives, throughout Colonial times tributo was payed twice a year by all towns to the Royal government; this was payed in money and effective. In later times tributo was changed to impuestos or taxes, but remained practically the same thing. Today in Nebaj, Indians and some ladinos still refer to taxes as tributo.

In your letter of July 3, I think your ~~query~~ <sup>question</sup> whether the present day Ixil speaking people count consistently in elapsed time is quite justified. ~~They do not say so~~ <sup>They do not say so</sup> whether the counting of the day from sundown of the day before is old Maya or Catholic. They do not count in elapsed time for anything else that I am aware of. My hunch is, however, that although they

(over)

have no conception of elapsed time, the counting of the day from sundown of the day before is probably merely an additional survival from "old Maya" days, a merely routine repetition of the day count which has never been broken rather than a later catholic religious day beginning at vespers.

I am back in the field for another session and think I am making progress

I should like to know when you are planning to be down here in order that I can surely be in Guatemala when you arrive.

Yours, very sincerely,

P. S. Lincoln

[The remainder of the page contains extremely faint and mostly illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the document.]

**AN ETHNOLOGICAL  
STUDY ON THE IXIL  
INDIANS OF THE  
GUATEMALA  
HIGHLANDS**

**J. S. LINCOLN**

**MICROFILM COLLECTION  
OF MANUSCRIPTS ON  
MIDDLE AMERICAN  
CULTURAL  
ANTHROPOLOGY**

**MANUSCRIPT NO. 1**

**MICROFILM NEGATIVE**

**NO. 1694.1**

**END**