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**ETHNOGRAPHIC
MATERIALS
ON AGUA
ESCONDIDA**

**BY
R. REDFIELD**

ETHNOGRAPHIC MATERIALS ON AGUA ESCONDIDA

BY

ROBERT REDFIELD

MICROFILM COLLECTION OF
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ON
AGUA ESCONDIDA

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By

Robert Redfield

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NOTES ON AGUA ESCONDIDA, A LADINO COMMUNITY
IN THE MIDWEST HIGHLANDS OF GUATEMALA

These ~~ethnographic~~ data were collected during ~~three~~ three visits to ~~the~~ the village (aldea) of Agua Escondida, in the Departamento of Solola, on the highland above the east side of Lake Atitlan, east and above the Indian village of San Antonio Falopo. ~~For~~ About six weeks were spent in the settlement in the spring of 1937. On this occasion ~~my~~ my wife and one small child and I lived in a house in the south end of the village. The other two periods of residence, one in the autumn of 1938 and winter of 1939, and the other in the autumn of 1940 and winter of 1941, were ^{2 1/2} of four or five months of duration, and I then lived with my wife and three children in a house we had built just outside the village but within the natural community at the north end of the settlement. ^{All ~~most~~ of the first period, and a small part of the second, were spent on study of the community.} Relations with the ladinos, and the few Indians, of the settlement, were many, frequent and close. We participated in ^{most} of the activities of the community. ~~On~~ On various occasions ~~I~~ I worked in the fields with the men, attended meetings of the cofradia, ~~or~~ or accompanied men on their journeys about the community. My wife went on marketing expeditions, and ~~visits~~ visits to neighbors' houses were almost daily occurrences. I worked systematically with informants from time to time, especially with Tomas Alvarez, ~~Basilio~~ Basilio Santiso and Magdaleno Alvarez.

There follows a list of principal informants, with comment. Names marked with an asterisk indicate persons ~~who~~ who have died since I worked with them.

Materials marked "MPR" were collected by Margaret Park Redfield.

Romelia Alvarez. Young girl; worked in ~~Manor~~ house during second two visits to the community. A free-flowing source of information, gossip and point of view on every subject known to her! Occasionally unreliable as to fact, but a mirror of predominating attitudes. An excellent "revealing". Daughter of Magdaleno Alvarez.

#Magdaleno Alvarez. Father of above. Fair informant, reliable but not ~~inhibited~~ inhibited by strong sense of decorum,

Tomas Alvarez. Brother of above. A simple, straightforward reliable informant.

Inez Alvarez. Another brother. Quite trustworthy too, but value limited by a certain shyness.

#Basilio Santiso. ^{An old man} Used almost wholly for folktales. Probably not very good on other matters.

Salome Anleu. Wife of Magdaleno. Not easily communicative, but valuable.

~~MMM~~ Evaristo Herrera. (Later left the community) Not a native of the community; somewhat more "citified" than others in the village.

Horacio ^Mabrera. Youngish man; not fully reliable; gives more "citified" viewpoint.

#Lupario Miranda. An old man inclined to glorify the past and depreciate the present

Indians closest to Indian ~~to~~ tradition are not well represented in this respect the sampling of informants is defective.

SUMMARIES

AGUA ESCONDIDA

CULTURE + SOCIETY

IMPRESSIONS OF AGUA ESCONDIDA AFTER TWELVE DAYS
OF BUENOS-DIASING

The culture. The culture is, as we say, thin. There is no permanent political organization beyond that furnished by the auxiliaria, and this, for the ladinos, appears to be a sort of service bureau and potential police station, with which they have, in the ordinary run of things, little to do. The family organization seems much like our own. No voluntary organizations appear ~~MM~~ except the two cofradias; these function only for the fiestas. Public works are accomplished by informal assembly of able-bodied men, on instructions from the ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ auxiliaria. So far as I am yet informed, work exchange is ~~not~~ ^d not practiced; there is no group-agriculture. The only conspicuous ethnic or class differences are those with reference to the ladino-indian distinction: of which more later.

There is little ~~MMMM~~ "folklore", few beliefs. Juan Conejo stories are known, little told. Local legends, beliefs, etc., appear to be few. The ethnobotany is shallow, and deals chiefly with European plants. The hot-cold distinction is either absent, or very unimportant; so far I have drawn only blanks. Evil eye beliefs are general, but simpler than I have seen them elsewhere.

In a word, there is little "stuff" to collect and report. More fundamentally, the people appear to have no underlying system of ideas, no "ideology", in our jargon. In Dzitas, in Chan Kom more particularly, ideas, attitudes, institutions are linked into a mesh of thought, in which one can see the basic conceptual pattern. There is nothing like that here, or I miss my guess. More, people seem to feel no urge to have explanation for things, as is the case in the cultures I have known. Religious

beliefs are vague, and uncoordinated. I can get up no interest over the question why it is important that children be baptised-- in Yucatan this brought forth quite an elaborate story. So it goes. My general impression is, therefore, that there is no mental perspective to the operations of these people; they have conventional habits of action and attitude, but these lack "depth", "richness", "congruence"-- other terms we associate with "culture."

Related to this general observation (if it turns out to be valid) is the fact that the social system allows much room for individual action, independent of one's neighbors or one's kin. The girls next door operate little businesses of their own, and put the profits to their own use. They will ask their father to order rum for them, which each sells to Indians, to her own profit. Or they will retail bread, again as independent operators. I contrast this with Don Guillermo Tamay's household in Chan Kom, where the ~~MMMM~~ the old man told his ~~MM~~ married sons what work they should do for the household, ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ and where his wife allowed the daughter-in-law just so much money to buy just such a shirt for her husband. Is this individual economic freedom also characteristic of the Indians here?

Also may be cited the fact that out of thirty-three ladino households now mapped and "censused" (there are also ten Indian households) nine are anomalous in that no married couple is involved. The most anomalous is the household containing an old widower and his unmarried son; they keep house together and make their own tortillas. This sort of thing is impossible in Chan Kom, and very rare in Tepestlan. It suggests to me that the family is not so closely integrated into the system of moral values and is more of an economic and administrative convenience.

If it be true that the culture is thin, how does it happen? Is it because the Spanish peasants had little? Perhaps; but my guess is that the culture of these people has become thinned out in the migration and subsequent years. Is it because they are immigrants? The situation suggests that of our mountaineers. But then I think of the much deeper and somehow "tougher" culture of the immigrant French Canadians. There the church is more closely in control, and the priest's authority great in intimate matters; here it is not so. The difference in closeness and completeness of church control may be part of the explanation. Part of the explanation, Greta suggests, may be in the fact that the Indians are here, in numbers, with a culture well organized, in possession of the land, as it were. The ladinos do not seem so close to it; they still appear to be invaders, not quite rooted in.

Stability of the culture. If the culture is thin, nevertheless the society is in relative equilibrium. It is not oriented toward change, with a drive to the future, and changing rapidly, like Chan Kom. It is not disorganized, heterogeneous, and unsure of itself, like Dzitas. It is calm, even, homogeneous, slowly changing. People are of course aware of change; I suppose they are everywhere. But the changes reported are minor. Nor are they set on changing. They appear quite satisfied that things go along as at present. They would like to bring more water in, through a pipe. But I note no disposition to change the social habits, and no lamenting because they are changing. Further, my impression is that what one household does here is much like what another does. Some people are cleaner, more enterprising, than others, but I would guess that what goes on in one household is much like what goes on in another. The relative stability of the society is suggested by the fact that children are doing what their fathers are doing: they go to the

milpa, the boys; the girls work as their mothers work. I do not hear the older people complaining of the wild ways of the young folk, or of the lack of respect of younger people for older, or of Indians for ladinos, as was the case in Dzitas.

There appears little open personal conflict. Dzitas was always breaking out with pleitos y disgustos. Quarrels in the street were not uncommon. Agua Escondida is more like Chan Kom in this respect. Two family "feuds" have turned up so far; but quarreling I have not seen, and only once has it been alleged. I am impressed by the even amiability of the people. Part of the explanation for this may lie in their relative temperance; there is not much drinking. And partly I incline to associate this evenness with the equilibrium of the society: there are few inter-cultural conflict situations, little strain between the generations, or between groups within the community. I suppose the implicit, regularity and stability of the society to find reflection in personal security.

I should, I suppose, refer also to the fact that economic security is relatively high. Nearly all the family heads own enough arable land to support themselves and their families. (I exclude the six or seven Indian families who live as hire field hands. There is also one such ladino household; perhaps another)

The reasons for this stability are, I suppose, the obvious ones. The people, as you know, come chiefly from Tecpan (27 out of 34 ladino household heads). So they were relatively homogeneous as settlers. They are also homogeneous as to social class, and to a considerable extent, as to degree of education. Since the settlement began, it has been relatively isolated-- no, better to say that the degree of isolation, and the nature of the contacts, have not changed very greatly, or at least have not changed rapidly. People-- especially men-- have travelled about a good deal, but the amount of travel

the kinds of outside contacts, have not changed much. It is not like Chichicastenango, where a tourist boom has detached a small fringe of the Indians and made important changes in this small group, and it is less like Chen Kom, where many important, intentional and vigorous invading influences are producing extremely rapid social change.

The last sentence suggests the necessity of observing that the stability of Agua Escondida is to be understood as representing the relative stability of all of Guatemala. Mexico, with its social revolution, its schools, its pro-Indian policy, exhibits a national drive to social change. Guatemala is an old established society, regulated from the top. If social changes are delicately produced (and in minor regulations, like the outhouse and grinding-on-table laws, there are apparently many such), it is because las autoridades or el General unico say so; in Mexico the will to change has been created in the people; they begin to lead. Mexico begins to run like a man with a soul; it involves graft, violence, many mistakes; it is painful, but it is human. Guatemala, as a nation, runs like a sewing machine, or like a clock.

Can these societies be classified? Not by me, unless my understanding clarifies. But I can talk about the problem of classifying them. It is plain that several sets of characters are involved. The problem is to distinguish these definitively one from another, and then to investigate in what ways these characters tend to be related, or depend upon one another.

The ~~minimum~~ terms "culture" and "civilization" that I have used include, each, groups of characters (personal vs impersonal institutions; sacred vs secular; homogeneous vs heterogeneous, etc). These characters should be separated out, and societies be compar

origin, and if she has never taken part in a rain ceremony, at least she is apprehensive of the spirits of the bush. These Guatemalan ladinos live among the Indians, but ~~MMMM~~ there seems to have been little osmosis of ideas and beliefs, at least in the direction of the ladinos. The harvest and sowing offerings are, (as always, so far as I know), straight European. The ~~cofradia~~ organization is a simplified form of what I have seen in Mexico and Yucatan, and I take it to be European. The remedies so far collected, almost without exception deal with European plants. The weather signs are like something collected in Europe, and the All Saints celebration might come out of Chamber's Book of Days, except it is simpler, barer, less meaningful. When Chan Kom holds a novena, the prayers are from the liturgical manuals (although largely orally perpetuated, but afterwards the food is carried to homes of relatives, Indian fashion. Not so here. And so on.

This may be another early conclusion destined to be proved wrong. Assume it is so. How has it come about? You have pointed to the basic widespread Guatemalan notion that the culture of the next people, the next community, is presumably different from one's own, and have made the very plausible suggestion that this idea checks diffusion. Perhaps the idea also affects the ladinos. Perhaps, also there were important differences in the first contacts, between Yucatan and Guatemala. Perhaps the Spaniards kept themselves more separate, at first. Or perhaps ~~in this mannerly manner~~ the "Indianization" of the Spaniards in Yucatan is due chiefly to the fact that Yucatan housed only a single, and therefore a powerful, Indian ~~Indian~~ culture. As for the ladinos of Agua Escondida, they have presumably entered the highlands with their culture, chiefly Spanish, already "set,"

What are the situations which favor spread of Indian elements among the ladinos? The ladinos of Agua Escondida speak the Indian language, at least well enough to carry on any ordinary conversation. The commercial and other practical relations of the two groups are ~~MMMM~~ close. But it is not in such situations, but rather in inter-marriage, that we look for cultural interpenetration. I do not know the extent of ladino-Indian intermarriage in the Highlands. This is another matter concerning which you can inform me. In Agua Escondida there is one Indian living with a ladina as his wife; and one ladino living with an india as his wife. I suppose these represent situations met with elsewhere in the highlands. In the former of these two cases the Indian is a ladino-ized Maxeno. He has left the Santo Tomas culture, has seen military service, and speaks Spanish. I suppose there is not much he is likely to transmit to his children, brought up in a ladino community. Will the children be treated as ladinos? (There are no children yet). ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ In the other case, how will the children be treated? I would expect some infiltration of Indian notions to the ladino community to occur in the latter case, rather than in the former. But I suppose such cases are few.

Do the ladinos and Indians constitute social classes? In my present very unclear state of mind I am disposed to hedge, and say, Yes and also No. ~~MMM~~ It is clear that both groups very clearly recognize the distinctness of the two groups. (Leonzo Tsok ~~MMMMMM~~ always mentioned as a natural. How will his children be known? As I have had next to nothing to do with ladinos, I do not know anything about how the indios look upon the ladinos. The ladinos certainly regard the indians as a whole as a people inferior to them in certain desirable qualities--- intelligence, education, culture." ~~MMMM~~ In general ways they depreciate the Indian.

One ladino, quarreling with another, will call his adversary "India as a term of reproach. "Some people will not eat tortillas of black corn-- they say they are Indian tortillas." ~~MMMM~~ The ladinos speak disparagingly of Indian beliefs. It is taken for granted that the Indians will do the special work-tasks, and that no ladino may be called on to help the telegraph line foreman get the telegraph poles renewed. (It is explained that the ladinos have to do military service; these Indians, who have to do this work, do not).

On the other hand there is certainly no "race prejudice" in the attitudes. It is because of their different (and inferior) education and culture that the Indian is depreciated by the ladino. There is, so far as I can see, no unwillingness to sit with, play with, eat with the Indian. Are the Indians treated with equal politeness? I fancy that my ladino neighbors enter Indian houses with less formality than they do houses of ladinos? Is this fancy? My ladino neighbors will step aside to let Indians pass, just as they do ladinos. I am quite uncertain on the point.

What about intermarriage? The ladinos will declare, to a direct question, that intermarriage does not occur. Then you point to Leonzo, or some case of the sort, and they say that that is different, that is all right. So far I have detected no distaste, no depreciation, of Leonzo's marriage. That Pancho Miranda is living with an indita, however, is, to his neighbors, just another evidence that Pancho is a worthless fellow, a mula. "No other woman would live with him." This implies that an Indian would, would do what no ladina would, and this in turn carries the implication that you might expect an indita to live with a worthless fellow like Pancho. But, again, presumably because they are not so "civilized."

My notion of typical social classes is a ~~MEMORANDUM~~ classification of a society in terms of status, the members of

all the masses sharing the same culture-- the same essential attitudes, beliefs and institutions. This is not true of the Indian-ladino situation. To a considerable degree they are co-existent separate societies. Yet only to a degree. The interlacing of the two groups economically is intricate, and detailed and pervasive even in a small community such as this. Here the ladinos use only Indian parteras. And how odd that every ladino fiesta here should have to have its Indian chirimitero! And so on. Yet ~~the~~ the two groups do not share the same complete culture, as do, apparently, the classes in China, or did they in medieval France. On two counts, then-- that the status-relationship between the two groups is not definitely horizontally defined, and that the two groups are still separate society-cultures to a significant degree-- the ladino-Indians fail to represent typical classes. Yet, as there is some horizontal definition in terms of status, and some communality of culture, they tend to approach the condition of social classes. They are much nearer it than the Algonquin Indians and the Pilgrim fathers were.

COMMENTS FOR THE THIRTEENTH DAY

(Numbers refer to the paragraphs of your memorandum)....

1. You might say practically the same for the Indian groups here. The political organization (the juzgado) in Panajachel is also a service-bureau and police station; but it is traditionally the Indians' own, and they use it to settle their own disputes, quarrels, etc. familial, neighborly, and otherwise. If the ladinos of Agua Escondida make no use of the ~~auxiliaria~~ ~~auxilia~~ as a court of domestic relations, that is indeed a difference. In addition, all Indian communities have their Principales whose power and influence is great in some matters. Ladinos never (as far as I know) have principales; their organization is solely the governmental one juzgado). The anomalous situation in Agua Escondida seems to be that they have an outside juzgado thrust upon them; in other towns the ladinos have for alcalde (or Intendente) one of their own number, who will act for them in accordance with the law and the pressure of public opinion.

The family organization among Indians is also like our own; there are no voluntary organizations at all, unless the cofradias be considered voluntary. There is here no work exchange at all, nor any group agriculture except in the sense that a group of hired laborers constitutes it. Among Indians as in Agua Escondida the only class differences are ladino-Indian; as for ethnic distinctions in any one town, there are always "foreign" Indians, and the distinction between local and foreign Indians may be more important than the distinction between Tapanecos and others in Agua Escondida. Or it may not be.

2. There is folklore here, but it does not appear to be important in the culture. Stories I am now succeeding in getting (after how many years?) and I can separate myths and legends; but the stories seem to be haphazardly transmitted, being told usually only on the road when travelling, and do not seem to enter very seriously in the culture. There are plenty of beliefs here, however, and the ethnobotany covers about everything and is fairly "deep". The hot-cold distinction is present here, but I don't know if I should call it "important"; it seems to hold about the same place in this culture as our knowledge that too many green apples will cause a stomach ache -- but some boys can get away with more than can others -- does in ours. Is evil-eye more simple there than here, where the belief is that some people have blood so strong that their presence is enough to injure a small child?

3. The Indians here are more like Chan Kom or Dzitaz than they are like your ladinos. Except perhaps about the religious beliefs; the vagueness and ~~unclear~~ lack of co-ordination in Agua Escondida may be typical of Guatemala. You wouldn't get much here either on why children are baptised; they put things into religious terms (it's a "sin" to kill a cricket "because the cricket helped Christ", and mules and horses are beasts of burden properly because they wouldn't help the infant Jesus) but actually it is

not a sin to kill any insect that can hurt man, and it is not a sin to do anything really convenient. Catholicism has given the people a nice terminology and a few explanations for taboos, etc. but not much more. But if there are any really religious beliefs, I am quite sure they are sporadic and unorganized. I am almost certain that religion in any sense has practically no influence on social relations, ethics, and morals. Law, public opinion, and gossip are the real forces.

4. I could repeat this paragraph for the Indians here; yes, individual economic freedom is characteristic of the Indians, too--not only within the family, but in the community. It is everybody for himself. (Of course within the household there must be a certain amount of pooling of funds for the common kitchen; and traditionally when there is any doubt the father or grandfather or older brother is the boss. The thing is they don't think of doing very much bossing; it is pretty much like with us.)

5. In Panajachel there are but 14 Indian households involving no married couple (out of some 150), and none of these are very anomalous since all involve a widow. But there is every variety of household within certain limits, and it is just an accident that there isn't a widower making his tortillas. (As a matter of fact many men do grind when their wives get sick and they can get no help). I would, at any rate, conclude that the family here is as little integrated into the system of moral values as in A.E. I should probably say "almost".

6. If I am right in the preceding 5 paragraphs, your culture there is indeed thin, but thinner than that of the Indians here only in two respects: (a) they have no political organization of their own, and that may be attributed to recent factors, since your group is a colonial one, and a small one, and its government is after all a small part of a bigger one. But even with large and old ladino groups there may not be any real political organization (principales, and so on) because of the Guatemalan System. You are the lawyer, but may I suggest that government functions to keep law and order and settle disputes, and to manage community enterprises; and if that is the case, then the ladinos in the small communities don't need much more government than they have because Guatemala is strongly federalist and the national government paternal. Everything (for ladinos--Indians have their own costumbres to enforce and these are extra-legal--whose government the national one is) is taken care of from above, and the towns when they want some improvement appeal to Guatemala. As for law and order, local officials simply follow the rules and procedures laid down for them and local government becomes perfunctory, as it is in Agua Escondida. And you should remember that by long tradition and old law the Indians in any municipio were called upon to do the work, and it is not surprising that the ladinos in Agua Escondida should have very informal machinery to take care of communal necessities.

(b) they have little ethnobotany and explanatory beliefs about the things ~~about~~ around them, and for this your explanation -- that the ladinos are "not quite rooted in" -- is highly suggestive. Why does it take them so long? Or isn't it so long?

does the long of ...

And the question still remains as to why in certain respects the culture of both the ladinos and the Indians is so thin? Why is the family weak, individualism great, looseness and secularism present rather than the well-knit moral and sacred structures that are more common among primitive or folk people? Is there in these respects a lack of something or simply a different kind of something?

7. Ditto for Panajachel. You remember that I have made a point of this stability in the face of contacts.

8. I am not sure why the Indian communities are different in this respect. There are plenty of pleitos over one thing or another. I don't think that drinking has much to do with it; the women in Atitlán don't drink, yet are notorious quarrelers. Yet I don't think either that here the quarreling has anything to do with inter-cultural conflict-situations, strain between generations, or between groups within the community. Tentatively I am inclined to put petty quarreling down to a culture-pattern here; or perhaps there are no more conflicts here than anywhere else, but the pattern is to make each one public in the juzgado, so it seems as if there are more and one leads to another. Or something of the sort. The ladinos perhaps are not so sensitive, or they are more reticent about private affairs and keep their soiled laundry hanging in the basement even in the dry season.

9. The Indians aren't so fortunate, and some of them have to worry a lot about making a living. What that has to do with quarreling, etc., I don't know. You tie up the stability of A.E. with (among other things) economic security. We shall have to think about Indian towns in this connection.

10. No comment.

11. Right, I think. (Is there now a law ~~now~~ about grinding on tables? I haven't heard of it, I am shocked and surprised, I think it would be a good idea; but I have never seen it done.) (PS--I have just made inquiries and find that such a decree was ordained, for grinding-on-table and also having fire-in-stove; but nobody has gotten around to doing anything about it.)

12, 13, 14, 15. How about complicating matters a bit? Let "deep" refer to "roots ~~an~~ environment"; and let "bound" as opposed to "free" refer to a group that has strong family control and in which there is little economic freedom or diversity. Then, maybe:

1. Deep, bound, stable culture: Andamans; Tuzik

2. Deep, free, stable culture-civilization: Chichil., Panajachel.

3. Deep, bound, unstable culture: Chan Kom

4. ? ? unstable cul-civiliz: Daitas

5. Shallow, free, stable cul-civiliz: Agua Escondida.

16. I think you are justified. (add the rancho, my lunch for

caites, the temascal--or use of the sweat-bath, and I don't know what else. As for ideas and beliefs, maybe at the end of this season we can figure something out. My trouble now is that I don't know what is Spanish because of my ignorance of Spain. That's beside the question of what the ladinos have.

17. Isn't the problem more Yucatecan than Guatemalan? Not why didn't the Spanish in Guatemala take more, but why did the Spanish in Yucatan take so much? The Spaniards in both places presumably came with a ready-made culture furnishing them with answers to their problems, their fears, etc.; why should we expect the ladinos here to have Indian answers? Why should they take such a thing as the hetz-mek ceremony? A conquering people with a higher culture shouldn't be expected to take such things (except advantageous material things) from the conquered, should they? Or people with ready-made cultures, like Jews or Gypsies, don't go in for substituting much for what they already have. It seems to me (and please excuse it) that you have to worry most about Yucatan and other places like it. Is it possible that your non-Indians in Merida are really Indians and don't know it? By that I mean that there has been enough intermarriage all through the centuries to bring in and keep up Indian traditions through actually-Indian mothers. In Guatemala there must always have been intermarriage, too, but in this section, where there is a live Indian culture, it is now very rare and may always have been very sporadic and relatively unimportant. And there is another factor in the looseness of family life; there may have been Indian-ladino mixtures, but the parents may well have separated--if indeed they ever lived together--soon enough in most cases that the child was brought up and absorbed as an Indian or as a ladino, depending on where he finally ended. Thus no cultural amalgamation.

18. I have answered this somewhat above. Cases of intermarriage are quite rare in my experience. I might say that that your case of the ladinoized Indian marrying the ladina is the most common type (another case of which is Juan Rosales), and the children are thorough ladinos. In the case of the ladino-Indian marriage (and I don't know ~~XXXXXX~~ any such around here) my guess is that if the children are brought up ~~xx~~ pretty much as Indians (costume, language, beliefs) they will go back to the Indians; if brought up as ladinos, they will so stay. In either case, not much chance for culture-interchange that lasts.

19. Leonzo Tzok's children will be Indians or ladinos depending on how they are brought up (language mostly) and who and where they happen to marry. In intelligence and education (which are confused by ladinos and Indians as well as most of us) the Indians recognize the superiority of the ladinos. But I don't think your classes go very much farther (as you say yourself). How disparaging is it to call black tortillas "Indian tortillas" when you don't like them when it is a fact that Indians only eat them and ladinos prefer white maize. I suppose it depends on the tone of voice, and I didn't hear that and you did. But in any case ethnocentricity doesn't mean social classes. The Indians don't like white maize as well as yellow, and they think

--TO BE CONTINUED IN OUR NEXT INSTALLMENT

Paragraph 1 (In re thinness of culture, simplicity of structure)
 No further comment, except to express the impression that there is some difference here between the San Antonio Indians resident here and the other Indian residents, in that the former are ~~MMMMMMMM~~ on land of ladinos, ~~MMMMMMMM~~ whereas the others are (mostly, but not all) land-owners.

2. I have not heard it said here that some people have blood so ~~MM~~ strong that their presence is enough to injure a child, and would guess that the ladinos do not feel that strongly about evil eye.

In re hot-cold. In Yucatan (Dzitas as well as Chan Kom), it will be a cause for great alarm should a careless or uninstructed person, not after ironing, attempt to drink lemonade-- people would cry out to stop ~~thm~~. It is told that a woman, delicada after childbirth became very sick just from stepping on lime-peel (very "cold"). Does that suggest that the hot-cold business is more important in Yucatan than in Panajachel?

3. Your remark that "Catholicism" has given the people a nice terminology and a few explanation for taboos, etc., but not much more" suggests that I express the view that it is characteristic of cultures that there is some explanation for most things, some story or reason, or saying to which to tie conventional action. What I note in Agua Escondida, as compared with Chan Kom, is the relative ~~MMMMMMMM~~ scarceness of such explanations or saying, etc., and the disinterest of the people in the question whether there are any. Don Bus in Chan Kom, or the equivalent in Tepoztlan, would want to provide a conventional "tag", and appear to feel worried if none were immediately forthcoming.

This is apart from the matter of religion. This character, I have just mentioned, may (and does) exist in societies where religious impulses are few and weak, and religious sanctions unimportant.

4. Why the economic and individual freedom, both of Indians and ladinos? I would imagine the Catholic Spanish peasant heritage to be one which would subordinate children, economically and otherwise, to parents. Why don't we know more about Spain?

5. I agree to the comparison with Panajachel, provided the "almost" is ~~MMMM~~ made a generous limitation. Less than one out of ten Indian households in Panajachel do not include married couples; more than one out of four ladino households in Agua Escondida are of this sort. That is quite a difference. In Chan Kom, out of about fifty households, there were two or three households of widows with children, but no households of widowers, let alone households of two unrelated men, or of father and son, as here. In Chan Kom widowers get a new woman promptly. and would not themselves grind.

6. I agree that the simple political organization here is

be expected in a small colonial settlement, especially in Guatemala where the functions of government are as you state them. Two of the settlers here have said that they left Patzún because the ~~MM~~ government was too bothersome-- ~~MM~~ the ladinos had to do public service, as foremen of Indian gangs, for one thing

On the "not quite rooted in" suggestion, in re A.M. ladinos: Yes, I think it does take time-- quite a lot of time. The third-generation German immigrants who live near us in the country, northwest of Chicago, have almost complete ignorance of the local flora. These ladinos here are much less ignorant, but they fall far short of Chan Kom, where the native can say something about almost any plant or tree.

There is one point on which I would like to be more certain. The first ladinos we have asked said that no, the Indians have no remedies. They were a little scornful. Recently Juan Sentiso has told me about the remedy his Indian neighbor showed him for snakebite (a tree with an Indian name), and praises the remedy. How ~~MM~~ extensive is the Indian medical ethnobotany? Do the ladinos underestimate it?

In commenting on this same paragraph you raise again the important question-- almost central in our investigations-- Why (both among ladinos and Indians) is the family weak, individualism great, looseness and secularism present, rather than the well-knit moral and sacred structures that are more common among primitive or folk peoples?

One satisfaction I have experienced since coming down: that attending the conviction that the difference in this respect reported for Chan Kom (by me) and for Chichicastenango and Panajachel (by you) is not simply a difference in the intellectual predilections of the reporters. This conviction arises from the fact that I too find Agua Escondida as you have reported other places in Guatemala. I had feared that a large part of the alleged difference might lie in a possible disposition on my part to bend the facts to fit "culture," and in a certain extra-hardheadedness on your part. This seems to me now much less likely.

It will take much more study to answer this question. As I guess easily, I will guess twice: One: the ancient Indian organization, having developed the extended and complicated trade system, and a complex political system including a privileged ruling class with esoteric knowledge, that controlled from above and imposed labor- and other requirements on the common people, had arrived, before the Conquest, at a "free", individualistic, secular type of society. Two, the colonial system of administration, by remote control, imposed on the natives, conveniently fitted with and continued this type of society.

But then, one asks, how did West Africa develop similar economic and political systems and yet retain a more sacred, familial type of society? At this point I relapse into silence.

And then one asks also: Why then is Chan Kom a more sacred, familial "culture" society? Here I rally a little, and suggest that the isolated villages reverted to this after (and even before) the Conquest. When the Conquerors reached Yucatan the more or less unified government

had broken down into almost twenty little "caciquezgos". Further, Yucatan was cut off from Guatemala, and the uniformity of the environment did not favor the maintenance of the trade system and regional specialization of production. Further, race wars sharply cut off

The way the Passion story has been taken up in Chan Kom and Tuzil modified, elaborated, tied in many little points to rituals, some Christian, some pagan, is an example of the operation of this "active" character. I feel this lacking in A.E. This sounds pretty vague, I admit, but I believe it could be made definitive.

16. Nothing more to add-- yet. Ranchos and temazcal-- yes.

17. Perhaps it is better to put the question the other way, and ask to explain Yucatan. Still, I was brought up to expect a conquering people to take over many ways from the natives they conquer, when the natives are numerous, sedentary and well-organized, and when the conquerors are at first mostly males and live with native women. The Jews and Gypsies are different-- they have complete societies, women and all. Why shouldn't the hutz-mek ceremony be practiced in Merida? The Spanish child's nurse was probably an Indian, or her nurse was. It is through mothers and nurses that these elements work their way into the lives of the conquerors. I met many men, all white and upper- or upper-middle class, in Merida, who learned to speak Maya before they learned to speak Spanish. Because the servants, including their nurses, spoke it. What happened in this regard in Guatemala?

You say: "Is it possible that your non-Indians in Merida are really Indians and don't know it?" Under what circumstances could this question receive an affirmative answer? The actual circumstances are these: The hutz-mek-performing cook I had in mind speaks Spanish, by preference; she also speaks Maya, but probably not as well. She is at least half white by blood. She was born in the city; perhaps her father was. She has a Spanish surname. She does not think of herself as an Indian; she would be offended if you used the term toward her. She will tell you that the Indians are "out in the country." She is well habituated to the city; and is on to its ways. If this person is "really an Indian", then so are the ladinos of Agua Escondida really Indians-- in fact, being rural, they are nearer to being Indians than is my case.

18. Since writing you I have found another ladino who is living with an india. Neither of these ladinos has a child yet, by the indita. Informants differ as to what is likely to happen to such children, if they appear. (By the way, correction: the ~~Mexican~~ ~~Indian~~ ~~indio~~ ~~here~~ living with a ladina is an ex-ranajacheleno, not an ex-maxeno.)

19, 20 and 21. I agree that when the ladino speaks, with a depreciating tone, of "Indian tortillas" it merely indicates that he depreciates both that tortilla and the Indian. It does not show that there is a class structure. In the Old South, a white person might speak scornfully of hoe cake; but so might the negro servant, if the hoe cake were offered to his master-- "that food ain't fitten for you"-- while he would eat it himself. For this remark to show class structure, it would have to appear that the Indian, while accepting the black maize as his, would regard it as not good enough for the ladino.

On the other hand, when you say that in intelligence and education, the Indians recognize the superiority of the Indian, do you not concede the existence of some of the elements of class structure? Apparently the Indians and ladinos both value intelligence and education, and the Indians, in this regard, look up to the ladinos, and, in this regard, the ladinos look down upon the Indians.

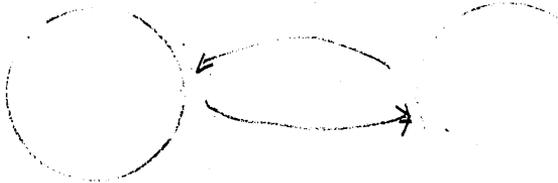
With regard to tipping the hat, is not the question to be asked: When the Indian tips his hat to a ladino, does he recognize that to the ladino this is an act expressing respect, and that the act is expected of him to the ladino, but is not given by the ladino him?

Perhaps another diagram would help to clarify this class problem. Let the form of a circle represent "society" (I am thinking of more than R-B's any body of social relations, as a society; I am thinking of social groups united by common basic understandings--non-instrumental, moral, "cultural", if you will. "Societies characterize by culture", if you will)

Let differences in the kind (content) of cultures, in the case of societies in culture contact, be indicated by different colored pencils.

Let economic relations, simply, be indicated by lead pencil.

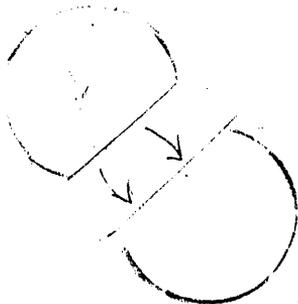
Then the relations between, let us say, Hawaiian natives and the first whites to come among them might be indicated as follows:



Whereas the relations between the Negroes and the whites in the Old South, say just before the ~~MMM~~ Civil War, might be diagrammed as follows:



Then I would diagram the relation between Indians and ladinos here like this:



SYNOPSIS OF NON-MATERIAL CULTURE TRAITS CHARACTERIZING
THE LADINOS OF AGUA ESCONDIDA, WESTERN HIGHLANDS, GUATEMALA

Division of labor between the sexes. To the general rule that men work in the fields and women in the house (but women not infrequently help to bring in smaller crops), there are occasional exceptions in the person of a man who makes tortillas or a woman who plants beans. These receive comment but no condemnation. No case is reported of a man who uses the metate, or of a woman who works with a hoe. Women carry water jugs and baskets on their heads; men carry their burdens on their backs (with or without the mecapal). No exceptions have been noted. To the rule that women, girls and boys fetch water, there are not infrequent exceptions; but only the most economically depressed (and wifeless) man will carry water from the spring on his own back. Story-telling, singing and playing all musical instruments are activities associated with men; but exceptional women who carry on these activities, even in public, do occur, and such proficiency is applauded, not condemned.

Property; inheritance; labor. All land, except the cemetery, is owned individually. It is usual for a man with considerable property, even if he is illiterate, to make a will. Usually land, cattle and money are left to children, including daughters, and the widow in equal shares. Individual economic enterprise, as by buying and selling, is characteristic, even within the small family, and between members of it; grown children buy and sell on their own account; a man pays for labor furnished by his brother; a son may employ his father. Labor exchange is rare; the only instance approaching communal labor reported occurred when the chapel was built; and then the

labor was strictly not communal, but voluntary by individuals. Collective enterprise (as work on the cemetery, or driving away locusts) is brought about by orders, issued to individuals, under threat of fine, by the intendencia.

The family. The individual parental ("small") family pattern has many exceptional or anomalous forms, as of un-remarried widows or widowers; many cases of such occur who bring up small children without finding another spouse. Relatively many adults do not marry, or marry late. Therefore many household groups without married couples exist; i.e., no emphatic sanction conduces to maintenance of the married state. Within the small family leadership is with the father, but the mother's authority is not small; the obedience expected of children is moderate; individual economic and social enterprise is not discouraged.

The extended family ("grossfamilie") tends to be emphasized patrilineally, as marriage is prevailingly patrilocal and men are dominant. The extended family has marked solidarity; the community is composed of several such families (father and married sons; married brothers); the households composing these extended families exhibit much mutual intimacy; the not infrequent enduring quarrels between individuals are not within these groups, but across them, and do not disrupt them.

Kinship. Nevertheless kinship is bilaterally recognized. Father, mother grandparent, grandchild, brother-and sister-in-law and parent-in-law terms are used as with us (there are alternative terms from Cakchiquel- or Nahuaroots, for father, mother, grandfather and grandmother, respectively: tata,

nana, tatanoy, nanoya); the brother and sister diminutives imply affection at least as much as relative age, and may be used for older siblings as well as for younger). "Cousin" is applied to parent's sibling's child (distinguished as primo hermano), to grandparent's sibling's child's child and to children of these on down. "Uncle" and "aunt" are applied to siblings of parents, to siblings of grandparents, and on up, and to first cousins (primos hermanos) of parents (But no farther -- not to children of grandparent's first cousins). By extension ("politico") these terms may be applied to spouses of the parent's siblings, very rarely to spouses of other "uncles" and "aunts". "Nephew" and "niece" are applied to children of siblings, and to their children on down, to children of parent's sibling's children, and their children on down. These terms are not extended to the spouses. In the case of all terms for consanguine relatives, half-blood and illegitimacy are recognized, i.e., the terms apply.

Theoretically marriage is not allowed with any person called by any of the terms for consanguine relatives. There are, however, cases of such marriages, even with first cousins; no organized or vigorous sanction operates against them. There is an inhibition against marriage with a deceased spouse's sibling; yet one such marriage is reported from the neighborhood. Similar occasional exceptions occur to the rule that compadres, and their descendants should not marry.

Respect is expected by older people of younger (Indian older people included, in diminished degree); this is manifest in terms of address and in obedience; it is, however, not strongly marked. For a son to strike

a father or deny a mother something is regarded as a serious moral wrong. But as long as a parent can work to support himself, the son or daughter who makes no contribution to the parent's support is not condemned. Respect, diminishing with the distance, is expected by "uncles" and "aunts" of "nephews" and "nieces"; the violations here are many, so that only a trace of theoretical respect exists between distant uncle-nephew pairs.

The padrino-ahijado relationship is a strongly marked symmetrical relationship of respect-affection; godchildren do not, however, kiss the hands of their godparents (nor does the child's father kiss his compadre's hand). The compadre relationship is one of mutual, but asymmetrical respect and affection. At least so far as the godchild is concerned, the relationship is more genuinely freighted with these sentiments in the case of padrinos by baptism than in the cases of the other two kinds of padrinos (by marriage; by Evangelios); a corresponding statement can be made as to the compadre relationships brought about in these three ways.

The village. Ties between kin (married brothers; parents-children) within the region of easy walking distance are stronger than between fellow-villagers who are unrelated; the sense of village solidarity is weak. The two confradías constitute the only intra-village organizations, and the only voluntary organizations; these function only at the times of the two corresponding fiestas, and have no segmental consequence. Public order and public works are regulated and achieved through the formal governmental organization, which is largely imposed from without. Service as intendente or regidor in the municipal government of the pueblo by ladinos of the aldea is recent (before that only Indians of the pueblo took part -- except for

The name is theoretically taken from the name of the saint of the day of birth, but in about half the cases the name given is at the pleasure of the parents; either the name of a relative, or a name chosen simply because it is liked. Most given names are abbreviated in use; descriptive nicknames are not uncommon. (Dogs are nearly always named; horses occasionally, goats and cats still less often; "Christian" names are not given to animals.)

Baptism is regarded as highly important, but supporting myths or beliefs are vague; it is practiced by all save Evangelistas (and a very few "Masons.") Godparents are selected, after the birth, from respected friends, rarely from the child's grandparents; cousins, uncles or aunts occasionally; usually the same godparents of the baptism serve for successive children; different sponsors are always chosen for marriage and Evangelios.

The forty-day "churching" ceremony is unknown.

There are strong taboos on the discussion or observation of sex matters. In the presence of members of the same sex, when naked, adults cover private parts (women include the breasts). Sex information is not given to children. After menstruation girls are given moderate supervision; they move only in groups any distance from home. Nevertheless social relations between the sexes are easy and frequent; young people of opposite sexes talk and joke together. Chastity before marriage is expected, and in most cases probably realized. Illegitimate children, not very rare, are probably not discriminated against (they are frankly described as bastard), but to bear an illegitimate child is very shame-

ful, and makes formal marriage (but not juntando) impossible. A child is "illegitimate" only if born when the mother is not living openly with the father, (who of course must not be living openly with any other woman if he is living openly with her).

Marriage. The age of marriage is highly variable for both sexes. The choice of spouse is limited by bonds of kinship (see above). The initiative in choosing a wife lies with the boy; usually an understanding has been reached between the couple before the parents act. Most first marriages are by civil ceremony, and a few by church ceremony also, but a large minority of first marriages, and most (but not quite all) re-marriages are without ceremony ("juntarse"). There is little difference in status between the two kinds of union, once achieved. In the case of formal marriage sponsors (padrinos) are selected by the boy's parents; these accompany the couple to the church or to the civil registry; in the case of church ceremony the sponsors have the duty of instructing the couple on the prayers and catechismal knowledge that will be expected of them by the priest. The church marriage is the ring-chain ceremony. Returning from the registry or church, in a "proper" wedding, the couple are greeted with rockets, seated under a decorated canopy (sitial -- this is omitted in the case of re-marriage), and are formally blessed by both pairs of parents. The wedding celebration includes marimba and dancing.

The boy's father is expected to pay all expenses of the wedding, to provide the trousseau, and to set the couple up with housekeeping equipment. If the boy's father is dead, or is unable, the girl's father may give the wedding and pay these costs. Special circumstances may provide exceptions to the general rule of patrilocal residence.

Death and burial. The corpse is prepared for burial by either kinsmen or friends. It is not washed; the jaw is bound; it is dressed in good clothes of ordinary sort, and extended on a table under a sheet, with four candles burning. It is attended during a 24-hour wake. During this the prayers for the dead are recited by rezadoras. The people tell stories and riddles, and play such games as Compadres and Plaza (see below). The coffin, if painted, is painted white for children (and unmarried persons without children), black for other adults. Pillow and pad are placed in the coffin, nothing else. It is attended by a procession to the cemetery; the rezadoras chant the prayers (Salve for all, with Creed and Our Father; in addition to alabado, if a child). The grave is dug by friends or paid mozos. No ritual attends interment, except it is usual to kiss the first handfuls of earth tossed upon the coffin.

During nine days following death, when the soul is supposed to stay near the body, a candle is lighted every night in the house of the deceased; on the last night prayers are again said; on this ninth night (as immediately after interment) the grave is decorated with flowers and wreaths. Thereafter no prayers are held for the dead until the first anniversary of the death, when another period of nine days is observed, with prayers on the last day.

Theoretically mourning (black dress for woman; black ribbon on coat for man) is worn for six months following the death of spouse, parent or adult child; half mourning (white and black) for second six months (shorter period for brother or sister) but this usage is very imperfectly realized. At the novena of the anniversary mourning is again worn for that

period. A godchild is supposed to put on mourning for six months for his godparent (but not the reverse); no mourning is worn for compadres.

Religion; saints; saint's days; sofradías. From those "who have faith" are distinguished the Evangelistas, who do not believe in the saints, or in the Virgin, and who forbid smoking and drinking, and the Masons, who believe in nothing. But these latter are evil. All in the community are believers, except a few Indians, and a very few doubtful, possibly "Mason" ladinos. Religious beliefs recognize Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, the intermediacy of the saints. Some of the stories of Genesis are known, and those of the birth of Christ, his persecution "by the Jews", and his crucifixion and resurrection.

Taboos exist against working on principal saints' days. Important are Christmas, Holy Week, All Saints, Day of the Cross, St. John's Day, Corpus Christi, the day the Señor of Esquipulas, Candlemas, and Ascension Thursday. Less important are Saint Isidore's and Saint Martin's Days. Nearly everyone abstains from hard work on the days in the first group.

"True" or "appeared" or "live" saints are recognized in ancient images to which much miraculous power attaches; these were directly created by God and placed on earth. (There can be several of these "true" saints bearing the same name). Lesser and more recent images are copies of "true" saints. Most important are the Señor of Esquipulas, the Niño Dios (not individualized as in any one or few "true" images), the Candelaria of Chantal, Saint Philip of Antigua, Saint Francis of Tecpan, Saint Anthony of Las Flores. Certain of the saints (by name) are associated with activities or places (Saint Isidore of agriculture; Saint Martin of the woods),

or with certain kinds of help (Saint Anthony for finding lost objects).

The saints are addressed in prayer; candles and incense are burned before them (never copal, which is associated with witchcraft). Attachment to the saint is personal; not communal; the local patron, Saint Francis, receives moderate or little attention; members of the same great family may have quite different saints. The vow is much used; characteristically a vow is made to a certain saint to make a pilgrimage to his shrine if the miracle of recovery from an illness is granted. Most adults have made one or more pilgrimages following such vows. (It is asserted that the Indians do likewise). In times of crisis (e.g., drought), the local village saints are carried in procession with prayers through the village (rogation).

Ritual worship of the two saints with local images collectively owned (Niño Dios and Saint Francis) is maintained by two corresponding cofradías, with familiar pattern of annual celebration, formal shift of custody of image and leadership of the cofradia each year at the conclusion of the festival; image kept at the house of the current leader (alcaldez); (except where provided with own chapel) chirimia playing during fiesta to accompany image; preparation and consumption of special festival foods; distribution of work and participation among subordinate volunteer members. The burden of the cofradia-leadership is supported by a combination of piety and pride.

Christmas is observed by a novena, a combite (a sort of street carnival with a clown, representation of the Three Kings, and masked dancing);

at least formerly, posadas; occasionally a short miracle play. The Niño Dios is "dressed" on January first; this is the occasion of a smaller fiesta. Saint Francis' day is celebrated by a novena, shirimia, serving of food, and marimba. On the Day of the Cross crosses are decorated in houses, and tamales are eaten. Holy Week is little observed; except for important work taboos; but is more important festival in neighboring settlement of Panibaj. On All Souls' Day the domestic altars are decorated; special ritual foods are set on the altars; a calabash "skull" is carried about the village and "almas" (food and money) collected; with this men spend the night merrymaking in the cemetery.

There appear to be no religious rites in connection with agriculture except that at sowing time a candle may be lighted on the domestic altar; at harvest, fruit, atole and tamales are placed there (and later eaten); without prayers; atole and a lighted candle may also be placed in the granary.

Sickness and its treatment. Colds, smallpox, measles, chickenpox, giote(?), mumps, dysentery, malaria, pneumonia and many minor ailments are distinguished and regarded as naturally caused. (The first three--among others-- are regarded as not contagious). Goiter is thought to occur especially where there are anona trees. Aire is occasioned by exposure to wind or cool air, especially when hot; its diagnostic feature is twisting of the muscles, especially those of the face. Aire is treated with heating drinks, inhalations and potions. Sometimes air is swallowed, forming a ball, this may be serious. Evil eye is caused by certain adults (not by animals) to children and young animals. A red cord around the neck protects the animals. Children

may be cured by a raw egg, and rue- and chile-crosses placed under bed or garments; egg "draws out" the evil; by wrapping child in a garment of the causer and putting the causer's spittle behind the ears; by a bath of rue, oil and urine; or getting three unmarried girls to step over the child. Fright (susto) is treated by taking the child to a priest to have him read "the Evangels" over a child; for this a special padrino or madrina (reverse of sex of child) is necessary (what Catholic rite is this?). As a result of fright, or sometimes of indigestion, yellow spines (kixhui?) come out on the scalp; lard is combed through the hair for this. For serious "sadness" of a child, the treatment is to allow the child to watch flower petals carried away by the current of a river, thrown in on Tuesday or Friday.

Many foods and many plants are classified as "hot" or "cold" (some intermediate as "regular"); foods regarded as easy to eat, when in normal condition, tend to be "hot"; those difficult or dangerous to eat as "cold". But with foods so classified, and more clearly with herbal remedies, the value of the substance depends on the condition of the person taking it; i.e., for chills and weakness, etc., "hot" foods and remedies are appropriate; for fever, "cold" remedies (and certain fruits as lime may then be remedies).

Patent and standard medicines, bought in the towns, are much used, and doctors are consulted when available and within financial reach. There is also considerable herbal medicine: a very large majority of the plants used are known in Europe. The temazcal is used not uncommonly to treat

sickness, especially malaria or persistent pains; it is not used for mere cleanliness. Bloodletting of horses is much practiced, occasionally but rarely for ailments of human beings; the latter use is attributed to the Indians. Cupping appears not to be known.

Witchcraft. To certain of the Indian brujos (ah-tsaí), especially in certain villages on the coast, and less markedly to certain of these men in Panajachel and San Lucas, and elsewhere, is attributed power to do black magic and to divine. The first activity is regarded as sinful, the second as innocent. It is thought that the Indians make great and frequent use of black magic against one another and occasionally against ladinos. The ladinos believe in the existence of these powers. They have occasional recourse to certain of these practitioners to find lost objects. It is not unlikely that they also occasionally ask these practitioners to do black magic for them; only one reliable case of the sort has yet been secured. But it is safe to say that witchcraft is neither a reputable nor a usual method of dealing with disputes. The ladinos have little knowledge as to the manner of these magical rites. It is also believed by many (but doubted by some) that some men (ladinos as well as Indians) can assume the forms of animals. All such persons are associated with the devil and regarded as sinful.

Various folklore. It is regarded as injurious to crops, especially maize, and chile, for women (after puberty) to walk over the plants; the taboo is not strictly observed. Similarly, fruit trees may be ruined if women climb them; horses, if they are mounted; dogs, if they are stepped over; horses and cattle if a woman steps over a rope by which they are or have been tied.

No one, man or woman, should approach ripening watermelon when he or she is heated, or when the day is hot; nor should one who has recently eaten fish approach ripening chile. It is vaguely thought wrong to kill locusts, but this does not prevent the men from driving them off. Animal lore is scanty, and superficial. Snakes are associated with the devil and evil. Eating food dropped by a parrot is a cure for retarded speech. There is much ill-defined weather lore. With the waxing and the waning of the moon are associated the wise and unwise times for sowing, the increase and decrease of disease, the strength or weakness of children born at these times. Omens as to disease, death, trouble and wealth are read from dreams. An owl's cry and a ball of fire are death omens. A flame is seen over buried money. The duende is a small mischievous spirit that teases women with long hair and rides horses by night, tangling their manes. The sirena is a long-haired female spirit, associated with water, and dangerous to men. The sadejo (characotal) is a supernatural shaggy dog that comes out at night to frighten; it has hooves and a chain. Ghosts are not infrequently seen or heard. Obsidian flakes are thunderstones, formed in the sky during storm. Eclipses are times of danger for pregnant women; if they go out, they will abort, or the child will be born a monster.

Stories; games; music. The prevailing formalized traditional tales told for amusement, characteristically at wakes, but also at other occasional gatherings (which may include both sexes) are fairy stories of the Grimm and Arabian Nights sort, and animal stories, many of which are the well-known Rabbit stories, and a cycle of picaresque tales. More casually, and

with no pretense at deliberate entertainment by one assuming the role of story-teller, are exciting and uncanny episodes; these last are told as true; the former not. Pious people, especially older people will tell moral stories, regarded as true, to support a traditional attitude or action. At wakes it is usual to play games, especially partner-seeking, forfeit-paying games such as are played with us at children's parties (Plaza; Compadres); competitive games of chance are also sometimes then played (chonete; rarely, dice). Cera, a competitive and gambling game played with wax disks, is played exclusively just before and during Holy Week. Then also other similar games are played (but these may also be played at other times): knucklebones, chonete (toss of four marked hemi-spheres, twenty-five grain counters moved, similar to backgammon), dice. Cards are known, but not played. Secular songs for entertainment are sentimental, sometimes narrative; some are old; some very recent. These are sung chiefly by young men, but some girls and women know them. Alabados, some taken from printed books, others written down and committed to memory, are used in novenas, at Christmas, funerals, etc. Riddles are not infrequently asked. Proverbs and string figures appear to be unknown, but it is likely that a more thorough investigation would discover both.

Division of labor between the sexes. A.E.'s general rules are typical of ladinos here (unless I use the term Chances, ladino and Obrero are synonymous). Ladino men here are not known ever to make a tortilla, however, and this is probably because it is never really necessary, for tortillas can always be bought through regular channels. Furthermore, there is no question of a man's carrying water here, since water is so easily available it presents no problem.

A more general rule, for Indians at least, is that if the work is physically very strenuous, or if it involves going a long distance, men alone do it; if it is kitchen-work, or weaving, women alone do it. But there is a lot of work that men and women both do. Thus all work in tablones (vegetable-growing) except the hardest (such as making the tablones) is done by either women or men; light harvesting in the milpa is often done by women. ~~When~~ Women here used to cut all the firewood (using the machete or even the axe) and now men are collecting perhaps a quarter of it; but note S. Pedro, where firewood is out of town, and only men get it. In ~~these~~ these towns women only get water (which is close) but in many places in the cantones of Chichicastenango men or women go to get it, the latter with small jugs, the latter with very large ones which they carry on their backs. I might add that Indian women here don't object even to using hoes, although they usually choose one of their husbands' smaller ones.

Obrero boys often go around selling their mothers' baked goods ~~or sweets~~ or sweets, and then they carry them in baskets on their heads; men would never carry that way, however.

Your rule holds for Indians too, pretty well; but in fiestas the mayordomos often have to carry huge baskets full of food, and they put them on their heads; they are not ashamed because everybody understands it is part of their servicio. The rule about women does not, of course, hold for babies; and it is a fact also that women here may and do carry other things on their backs, but only in perrajes. Indian women elsewhere (Totonicapan, and the aldea Patanatic here; and many towns around Quezaltenango) actually use mecapales. (re the fiesta carrying in baskets, I might note that in S. Pedro the men employes, during fiestas, carry water from the lake themselves, otherwise strictly women's work.)

You refer to singing; you might note that here all ladinos, male

and female alike whistle.

Indian women sing at their work in the house; they never whistle and would be criticised if they did. They not only do not play musical instruments, but there is a belief that if a woman beats a tambor her tortillas and tamales will never cook.

Property; inheritance; labor. As far as I know there is no such thing anywhere as communal land for ladinos. And the general ladino practice, here as in A.E., is to make written wills if there is anything to leave.

Indians only very rarely make written wills; in a few cases here his property is divided before a man dies. This, Rosales says, is the general practice in S. Pedro, and it is not uncommon in Chichicastenango. In Panajachel, however, it is much more usual to make a verbal will before one's family on one's deathbed.

Among Chancles here and in Solola, sons are left more land, widow and daughters more money, etc. Among Obreros the same holds, but there isn't so much choice. The idea is to give equal value to all the children (and a bit more to the widow than to any one child) but the distribution is practical. In any case if there is no will the law takes its course, and as I understand it the law here provides half to widow, half to children.

Among Indians the women are left the lands closer-in, the men those farther away. The widow gets the house (and land) in which the family is living, and when she dies the younger children who aren't ready to make their own homes stay there. All of the children, good or bad, usually get something. Those who are staying at home, or near by, at the time of death get the better breaks in distribution.

What you say about individual economic enterprise in the family holds for Indians and ladinos here too. If anything I should judge that the ladinos here are freer than those of A.E., but I don't know an awful lot about it.

About Indians here: they start when children to swap things and to do a little trading. As they grow older, they continue, for higher stakes; then, since the father would have to pay

the losses, the young people usually consult him beforehand. Profits are individual, however, but a good son is expected to give half to his parents. The notion here is that parents can never expect children to pay board, even if they are earning; but they do expect them to buy their own clothes.

As for paying wages within the family, the distinction must be made that within the Household money is rarely exchanged, but when brothers or father and son are living apart they might almost be non-relatives. In the latter cases money is always offered, but sometimes it is not accepted (although the relative-mozo is always given his food anyway); a son especially should never accept cash from his father. Among women, too (such as sisters) the problem arises, since women have their own plots of land which they cultivate and in which they sometimes require help. The solution is about the same.

Among relatives and close friends, only when jobs have to be done in a hurry and there is no cash available, arrangements may be made to exchange labor. Otherwise everything is done on a money basis.

A lot of communal work is done in Panajachel, of course, and theoretically all people, Indians and ladinos, should contribute. Actually, ladinos almost all get out of it, and although the Indians realize an injustice is being done, they would rather go ahead and do the work than fight about it. Until fairly recently the Indian alcalde or the principales took charge of communal work; now the Intendente is the only person who has the right to direct such enterprises. He should make the ladinos work or contribute mozos from other places; but, like the Indians, he follows the course of least resistance.

The Family. Among chancles, bachelor men are criticized, but old maids are looked up to for their chastity (even if joked about). There are probably less atypical households among obreros here than there are in A.E.; but at the same time I feel sure there is a lot more sexual looseness. I wouldn't be at all surprised if there were many more half-siblings here than full siblings. Among Indians things are more normal. Leadership in the simple family among obreros and Indians both here is pretty

much like that in A.E. The extended family here ~~six~~ is pretty bilateral among ladinos, relatively patrilocal among Indians. But I think it is much less "tight" here among the obreros and even looser among Indians--so much so that when brothers separate the families ties are almost forgotten, and in another generation are forgotten. I have already mentioned to you that the suffixes "noy" and "noya" as used in grandparent terms in A.E. are unknown here, but they are Indian words.

As I understand it, Guatemalan law forbids the marriage even of second cousins; a case of a local ladino pair of first cousins (married in another town) is on record. As for less formal marriages, there are worse cases; one famous case of incest of father-daughter occurred a few years ago in Sololá. Sororate-Levirate practices are frowned upon by ladinos and Indians alike, but there are cases; one Indian is called a "pig" because he has had, in turn, three sisters.

As I wrote you, there is a similarity in what you report for relationship-behavior (respect for elders, parents, etc.) to what is taught in school here as moral; the general setup that you describe holds for obreros here too. Chancles are notoriously ignorant (as the others say) of such niceties.

Among Indians, of course, the behavior patterns in the family are somewhat different; just as the kinship terminology drops off with first cousins (and incest regulations as well), so the behavior-pattern don't extend very far. But from grandparents to grandchildren, and collaterally to uncles and aunts, the patterns are definite, and somewhat patrilineal and dependent on actual and relative age.

Among ladinos the compadre relationship is symmetrical, but the baptism brings the families much closer together; the relationship between god-child and godfather is pretty much like that of child and father. As in A.E., evangelios and marriage-padrinos don't

mean very much.

Among Indians the compadre relationship is more important than among ladinos, and it is strictly asymmetrical, the madrina and padrino being formally respected by the child's parents. At the same time (as one would expect) the ahijado "respects" his padrino more than he does his own father, though in a different way. Perhaps 50% of Indian children who live long enough are Evangelized, and the relations of the compadres, etc. is about the same as for baptism. Marriage padrinos properly accompany only church marriages, which are almost non-existent now. The custom is sometimes taken over for civil marriages, which are also very rare. Two sets of such padrinos are not unknown, one set for the boy and one for the girl; in such cases each has 2 padrinos and 2 madrinás; such padrinos have about the same behavior-patterns toward their ahijados as do baptism-padrinos. (There are very few cases by which to judge, however).

The town. The few Chancle families associate with each other pretty much exclusively, and their connection with their kind in other towns and in the Capital is fairly close. The Obreros may be arbitrarily ~~xxxxxx~~ separated into six "neighborhoods" on the basis of physical boundaries; although there are usually at least a pair of related families in each neighborhood, one cannot say that they constitute the core of that neighborhood; actually, intra-neighborhood connections are fragile, and the people move around so freely that there is nothing permanent about the neighborhoods except their physical aspects.

The Indians are more like A.B. in this respect. Especially on our side of the river there are traditional family neighborhoods universally referred to by the name of the dominant families ("Donde los Canes", "Donde los Salpores", etc.). And such geographic-familial divisions go back to the beginning of known history. (The Canes don't all know of or recognize relationship; neither do the Salpores or the Quichés, etc.).

The Indians, of course, have cofradías, of a non-voluntary type; the ladinos here do not at all. Some of them have santos in their houses, and at least one has a fiesta for his santo once a year and the ladino-public attends. There are no voluntary or other organizations among ladinos except perhaps the recent Church-rebuilding committee. Juan says that in Sololá there are

three ladino cofradías, and although the cofrades are theoretically elected by the obreros (but they may choose chancles) they are in every sense voluntary. There are other societies in Sololá, such as athletic clubs, a political reform society with national interests, and a cultural society interested in the theater, social parties, etc.

Here in Panajachel the ladinos probably go to the juzgado with disputes less than do the Indians. Whether a person takes a quarrel to the authorities or not depends upon whether he is more angry or more ashamed. The ladinos have more inhibitions. Birth; baptism; childcare. That lime juice induces sterility in women is known to ladinos here, and some use it; it is not part of Indian practice, but some Indian servants in ladino homes use it. As in A.E., the ladinos here know that both men and women may be sterile; Indians don't think of such things and blame it all onto God. The ladinos in A.E. are more Indian in respect to the use of the temascal in childbirth than are the local or Sololá ladinos; even with an Indian midwife the local ladinos rarely use the temascal for this purpose (although they do occasionally for ~~many~~ ^{other} medicinal purposes--never for simple cleanliness). The Indian position in childbirth is standing with the legs spread, supported by husband or a hanging rope; I don't know the local ladino position. The Indians bury the placenta, or occasionally burn it; ladinos ditto. In larger cities ladinos (as well as Indians) burn it (probably because there is no convenient burial place). Indians place the umbilical cord of a female child in the thatch of the house, where it eventually sort of disappears; ladinos here do this with the cords of children of either sex. Indians take the ombligos of

male children to crosses in the monte. Indians and most ladinos give the breast to crying babies; Indians keep their babies nursing until a few months of the birth of the next child (and longer; I know of a five-year-old who still occasionally nurses). Ladinas feel that when pregnant their milk is no longer good, and they wean their babies then. (As a rule they begin to wean with atol and milk at from 6 to 8 months; Indians wean with bread after 6 months). Indians and ladinos alike are like A.E. in bladder and bowel control.

The notion that a ladino may or should discipline his shijado is strictly ladino here; among Indians the head of the house (often the grandfather) whips the child, or scolds him, makes him fast or do some disagreeable chore. Such punishments are also practiced by Obreros. Indians have been learning competitive games in school; their own games are chiefly play-acting of activities of adult life. There are the same Holy Week gambling games among Indians as among ladinos; lazy ladinos also know poker and other card games. Indians don't know your backgammon game, and as a matter of fact I've never seen or heard of any parlor games like that.

Naming is about like that in A.E., more or less after the saint of the day or the day after or after a relative. (How about surnames in A.E.? Among Indians the mothers name is often given if the parents aren't married; and sometimes if a child is named after somebody, he gets the surname as well.) Only ladinos have names for horses, and they are named for characteristics, as are dogs, who may also be called something like Lux, Otelo, Neron, etc., but never a Christian name. Ladinos always give cats Christian names, but never one of which there is a person in the

family. Indians name them as they do dogs, or give them Christian names.

What you say about baptism holds pretty well here too; among local ladinos, however, successive children very often have different padrinos; evangelios are done less by ladinos than by Indians.

As I wrote above, I think ladino sexual morality is considerably lower than that in A.E. Among Indians virginity is not valued extremely: some men prefer virgins, who are thought of as necessarily very young, while others prefer girls who are older and therefore necessarily not virgins. There are a few notoriously "bad" Indian girls, and they are not approved (by definition); an illegitimate child is not blamed, but the mother is. Among Obrero ladinos morality appears so broken down that (paradoxically) there are no illegitimate children, or else half of them are illegitimate.

"Modesty", etc., seems about the same here as in A.E. except that a woman's breasts, at least in nursing--and most always are nursing--don't count. Children, ladino and Indian, run around with just shirts, often in the streets.

Marriage. Ladino weddings are pretty much as you describe except for the sital. Juan has witnessed dozens of ladino weddings here and in Sololá and has never seen such a thing or heard the word. Here and in Sololá a boy would be very ashamed to have his father-in-law pay for the wedding; that happens almost only in shot-gun weddings. Ladinos are practically never matrilocal; about half the obreros are patrilocal, the other half independent. Chancles are almost always established independently. (Indians are often matrilocal, more often patrilocal, most often after a period at least independent).

Death and Burial. Most of what you report for A.E. checks with that for ladinos here. Here both Indians and ladinos use the phrase "washing the body" but few actually do it. Ladinos lay the body on a table or on a bed pushed to the center of the room. (Indians always on a mat on the floor). The wake is never 24 hours because the law says burial must be within 24 hours. In the procession to the cemetery, among ladinos only men go; the women stay home. (Indian women follow their dead). No chanting of prayers here, by Indians or ladinos. (Your people are better Catholics). Indians always dig ladino graves; if the family is rich, they hire mozos; otherwise the Indian mayordomos-of-cofradías have that job. Indians, but very rarely ladinos, kiss the earth that they toss into the grave. Indians, as I think I told you, stay in the grave to pack down the earth; don't your ladinos?

The belief around here is that the soul stays near where he died (rather than near the body) after death. The nine days is all right with ladinos, but Indians' ghosts give up after three days. Ladinos here adorn the grave during the morning, not the night, of the ninth day. The mourning period for ladinos here is technically two years, not well observed. Indians don't mourn formally. Nobody mourns a padrino.

Religion; saints; saint's days; cofradías. Religious knowledge and beliefs are about the same here, but among Indians vaguer on the one hand and with a lot extra on the other. In your principle saint's days you left out S. Francisco. The main ones here are New Year's, Thursday and Good Friday, Ascensión, S. Francisco (patron), Conception, Christmas day, All Saints, and Santa Cruz. Corpus is pretty important too.

The most important saints recognized here are Señor de Esquipulas, Niño Dios, S. Felipe de Antigua, and the generalized Virgin de Concepción. Check: Incense for things catholic (saints, etc.) and pom for things pagan, thus Indian. Pilgrimages are rare among ladinos here (they aren't as religious as yours, don't often make vows and probably don't always keep them if they do) but Indians make them, mostly to neighboring towns.

Rogation by Indians, not ladinos here. Cofradías Indian only here (but contrast Sololá) and probably much more set and formalized (and of course compulsory and tied up with Principales and the political organization) than in A.E.

A conbite is held here (by ladinos) Concepción rather than Christmas (same in Chichicastenango); on Christmas, here and in Sololá, posadas. There are few crosses in homes here, so the day of the cross doesn't mean much; nor are tamales eaten then. On All ^{Souls} ~~Saints~~ day the Indians here celebrate much as do the A.E. ladinos; the local ladinos do practically nothing about it. People go individually to the cemetery, and not at night; neither is your tecomate-skull passed around. At night the people go around scaring others in Halloween fashion (but on the night of Nov. 1st). Your agricultural rites are like those of Indians here (except that here atol is not put in the troje); ladinos do nothing of all this.

Sickness and its treatment. Goiter around here is not connected with anonas; Indians believe it caused by drinking out of a pot or carrying too great a load; ladinos don't believe these explanations, but have none better. A knee-swelling is caused by teasing dogs with food. Aire here isn't the same thing as in A.E. Exposure to cold air when hot makes the muscles sore,

and they are cured by massage or temascal treatment. At the same time face-twisting comes from speaking ill of the wind. Men, women, ~~whirls~~ dogs can give evil eye to children and (in slightly different way) to young dogs and other animals. Some obreros put a red cord around animals' neck; Indian children wear red cords around wrists or ankles, and some adults wear white ones. Indians also use the t/int/iy (a bundle) which they buy in the market. The Indian cure is much like that reported for A.E.: the child is wrapped in a perraje, and over a palangana of water, rue and chile-crosses ~~xxx~~ help an egg to get out the evil. Also, the causer's underwear (not just any clothes) can be used to cure; or if the causer not around the underwear of any grown person in the family can be used. The three-girl cure is not known around here (that I know of).

The fright disease is well known here among all; Juan has heard, vaguely, about the Priestly cure, but he doesn't remember where. I never had it volunteered to me. k'ifwi' (as it is in lengua) is cured with a purgative and with half-cooked beans mashed and placed on the scalp. Tirisia is a special sadness induced when the child is removed from loved ones; if possible a reunion is arranged; if not, your flower-petal cure is used, but it doesn't matter on what day.

Blood-letting (sangrar) is done by specialists, who are Indians (I know of only one here); the young people don't believe in it. Cupping is not only known but is quite common among Indians and ladinos, here, Sololá, and (says Juan) every other place that he knows. All curanderos know how to do it. It is done with a jicara among Indians or with a glass or cup among ladinos; in any case cotton is placed in the cup, aguardiente is sprinkled in,

and set afire; the cup is applied after an incision, to draw out the blood, or without an incision to pull up the flesh. The word ventosa is used, and Juan thinks should be recognized in A.E.

Folklore. Except where otherwise specified below, your folklore is typical. The watermelon (if watermelon is sandilla) business is unknown here; but all calabazas, when the fruit is young, cannot be looked at; if one inadvertently looks at them, spitting will set aside the bad results. When chile or pepino is flowering it is ruined by passing nearby after eating fish or crabs. They kill chapulines here by the thousands when they shoo them away; the killing may be incidental to the shooing, but it is not thought bad. In planting the moon is not taken into account; a full moon (either waxing or waning) is preferred in harvesting. In plants, animals, and men the blood is stronger when the moon is waning, weak when waxing. ~~Chikranxharn~~ Lumber for orcones is therefore cut when the moon is waning, for it is then stronger. Children born in a waxing moon will be weak in blood for life. (Even Juan, who claims he doesn't believe anything, takes all this as Science, learned by experience; and he says the Indians know about these things more than do the ladinos).

Belief in dreams stronger among Indians than among ladinos, but in general bad dreams (bad omens) concern snakes, tecolotes, lechuzas (are they both owls, or what?) cats, zopilotes, blood, lice, barranco, drowning, a dead person, fire, etc. And almost sure signs of death or bad sickness are an owl (lechuza) crying, eating raw meat, and falling teeth.

Ladinos and Indians alike believe in the flame-over-money business; the belief is that he who sees the flame has to dig

out the money in person or he will die; anybody else who tries to dig it out will find something worthless instead. (Juan has seen such flames, which he attributes to phosphorous, since the flame is usually in the cemetery).

Duendes (sunuk) are of the cerro, and molest people who are bound on bad errands (thievery, love-affairs); they go fast and have lantern-like eyes; they twist the manes of the horses they ride to use as frenos. One morning a horse of ours had a twisted mane, but I still have a few doubts.... The Indians say that sirenas are ~~half~~ half snake, half woman; ^{they} ~~it~~ lives in the river rather than in the lake, and are dangerous to both men and women. There is a name for them in lengua, too. People here haven't heard of the chain element in characoteles; they suggest that perhaps in A.E. you see them at closer range. Both ladinos here and Indians strongly believe in the danger of the eclipse to the borning child. Juan's wife, when in Sololá was cured of the evil consequences to his first-born by a complex ladino medicine administered by her mother. In an eclipse the sun and the moon are fighting. ~~Chonete~~

Chonete (called maula here) is played only by Indians, not ladinos. String-figures are well known to ladinos here and in Sololá; Indians don't know them, and they are probably part of civilization.

I still don't know much about ladino stories.

~~MEMORANDUM~~

REPLIES TO QUESTIONS CONTAINED OR IMPLIED IN YOUR RECENT
MEMORANDUM SUMMARIZING PANAJACHEL CULTURE, AND SOME MORE
QUESTIONS

1. The notion that parents never expect children to pay board, even if they are earning, but do expect them to buy their own clothes, holds for ladinos here also.
2. "I wouldn't be at all surprised if there were many more half-siblings here than full siblings." This is certainly not the case in A.E.
3. "The extended family here is pretty bilateral among ladinos." Here it is certainly patrilineal, because of the strong tendency for marriage to be patrilocal (not in same house; but on same or adjacent site). Why the difference?
4. "Among Indians the kinship terminology drops off with first cousins." Do you have handy a summary of the P. Indian kinship terminology?
5. Do you suppose the P. ladinos make use of the far-reaching and consistent kinship terminology which I reported to you in my previous memo for the A.E. ladinos?
6. From where did the P. ladinos come? Did they used to have cofradias?
7. I note offhand the following features in which the A.E. ladinos are like your Indians, but unlike your Indians: Residence relatively patrilocal; persistence of patrilineal great families and their identification with neighborhoods; cofradias; use of temazcal regular for childbirth; women follow boy to cemetery; pilgrimages and vows common; crosses usual in homes (?); celebration of All Souls Day; harvest and sowing offerings before domestic altar; cure of evil eye with rue, egg and garment of causer; playing of ohonete. All this suggests that the A.E. ladinos represent an older, more peasantish, more Catholic and pious culture; in which Indians also shared; your ladinos are probably more mobilized, civilized.
8. You ask about surnames in A.E. If the parents are living together as man and wife, whether married or not, the father almost invariably registers the birth of the child, giving it his surname. If the child is born of a woman who was not living with the man openly (or of a man already married, or the woman already married,) the father does not register or publicly acknowledge the child, and the child bears the mother's surname. No case is known here of a surname given a child as ~~MMMMM~~ baptismal name. When you say "among Indians the mother's name is often given if the ~~MMMMMM~~ parents aren't married," do you mean such is the case if the parents are living together, but not formally married?
9. When you say "among obrero ladinos morality appears to broken down that (paradoxically) there are no illegitimate children, or else half of them are legitimate" you say something that I am sure could not be said of A.E. There are illegitimate children here; there is adultery; both these are certainly exceptional.
10. The exception as to exposure of breasts during nursing of course prevails not only here. but among our lower classes, and lots of other places

11. The absence of the sitial in P. is a little surprising, because it was present (according to eye witness accounts) at every wedding ~~MMMMM~~ at all recent among these particular residents, ~~MM~~ is described as a general custom, and is described as used in Tecpan also before they left.
12. I have no case where the bride's father paid all the wedding expenses; but at a recent wedding he paid for the party, which took place at his house; the groom paid the juzgado fees, and paid the marimbistas.
13. I stated the wake situation correctly; the body is attended during the night following death; the wake is never longer than and usually not so long as 24 hours.
14. The attending the funeral procession by women and the chanting of prayers are usual customs here (provided, of course, that women who know the prayers are available)
15. I'm not sure I know what you mean when you ask about staying in the grave to pack down the earth. At the funeral I witnessed here, some (ladinos) shoveled in the earth; others hopped in and out, packing it down with hands, feet and hoe.
16. The theoretical custom here (I'm not sure how closely observed) is for the cumpleanos decoration of the grave to take place at the hour when the death occurred.
17. The mourning period here may be technically two years; but people are very vague about the idea, let alone the practice.
18. San Francisco should have been included among important saint's days; he is the theoretical patron of the aldea, not strongly respected.
19. The notion that Tuesday and Friday should be used in flower cure for tirisia (that name is known here too, but the cause need not be separation from loved one), is probably related to the fact that Indian diviners prefer to do their tricks on these days; for all secretos (ways of solving problems by set acts which operate in ways not thought to be understandable), such as this cure, there is probably a disposition to use these same appropriate days.
20. Is kishwi recognized there by both Indians and ladinos?
21. You are right: cupping is known and practiced here. The reason why I did not get it is that I assumed it was used in connection with blood-letting, as it almost invariably is in Ghan Kom. It turns out that the people here do not associate it with blood-letting at all. It is a cure for that form of aire in which the wind is supposed to have gotten inside one, and must be drawn out. The usual method here is with a coin and a candle end-- no rum
22. Yes, water melon is sandia. The "delicacy" of watermelons is widely appreciated here.
- 23; Do Indians think it bad to kill locusts? Do Indians take the moon into account in planting? (As our ladinos do) You say: Children born in a ~~MMMMM~~ waxing moon will be weak; here

it is just the reverse. Sicknes waxes with a waxing moon; it is better to plant and to be born when the moon is on the upgrade, so to speak. Are you sure your report represents the prevailing view, among ladinos, or Indians?

24. "Lechuza" is used for one of the two common owls here. It is the general Spanish word for owl. Tecolote is Nahuatl, of course.

25. ~~MMMMMMMMMM~~ What you say about duendes and sirena-- does that apply to Indians or ladinos? I guess the former, and suppose the Indians have modified some European notions.

26. Will go after proverbs.

RR 253

AGUA ESCONDIDA ON THE FORTY-EIGHTH DAY

1. In my Twelfth-Day memorandum I said, "The culture is, as we say, thin." I still think it is. I see nothing that needs to be changed in the first paragraph of that memorandum.
2. This paragraph requires modification. I know many more "believers" than I did then. But they have no strong conviction, no moral push, behind them. They tend to trend to and the merely superstitious. If one is violated, or disregarded - well, what of it. So even with the ~~MMMMM~~ rules that might be thought more serious: such as restrictions on a choice of spouse.

"Juan Conejo stories are known, little told." They are in fact rather frequently told, and in addition there are the fairy tales, much told. People also tell history, some of which is genuine, some of which is legend; they also tell exciting or uncanny anecdotes. But both these last are distinguished from casos.

"Local legends appear to be few." No change.

"The ethnobotany is shallow, and deals chiefly with European plants." We have more ethnobotany now; there are not a few exceptions in favor of native plants, but the generalization holds.

"The hot-cold distinction is either absent, or very unimportant." Wrong; it is present, and much referred to. But it also, has no strong compulsive character, and certainly is not integrate with the religion, as at Chan Kom.
3. "The people appear to have no underlying system of ideas." I stick by this.
4. As to the individualism of the society, I still think so.
7. I retain the impression expressed in this paragraph.

8. It is still true that we have seen no open quarreling. But there are more old disgrustos and lios than we first realized; there are as many old-standing situations of bad feeling, residues of old disputes; inter-family dislikes, as one would expect to find in any small settlement. Nevertheless, they still seem more amiable to me than most people I have been with.

9-15. This still looks to me like a "shallow, stable, cult re-civilization"

16. The Indians have contributed more to the ladino culture than I first supposed. The list of traits I sent you should be compared with the Indian culture of Panajachel-- to suggest points of diffusion, and then the whole matter really studied in a single community.

What now seems to me worth studying is ~~MMM~~ (1) the precise frontier between Indian and ladino culture, i.e., just what ideas are shared, which are not; (2) the situations in which an idea of one group is accepted by the other, or, in a situation in which it might be accepted, it is not accepted. How did it happen that the A.E. ladinos have worked beside the San Antoneros for so many years without learning why the Indians brought their hoes to the eating place? When Magdaleno Alvarez laughed at a ceremony of the Indians in which the forest-god was thanked for a deer killed, how was it that nevertheless certain evidence presented to him by the Indians persuaded him that such a spiritual being existed?

19.-21. On the Indian-ladino relations I have sent special notes.

On this subject I have many more facts than I had when I set down the earlier speculations. But the situation is still evasive, equivocal. I think it will always remain so. That the Indians are generally depreciated by the ladinos is certain. That in theory the ladinos think it best for each people to go its own way, ~~MM~~ until the Indian wishes to become like a ladino, is almost sure. But the exceptions cause little or no ~~in~~ conflict or distress.

INDIANS OF QUETZALTENANGO

Andresana ?

JUAN ESTACUV + DEMETRIAS ARIKKA

ladina
Ariz

PEDRO + ladina
San Andres

CEFERINO + ladina
San Andres

DOLORES + ladina
Las Guapas

VITELIO + ladina
San Andres

PEDRO +
Emilia Estacuv

ERNESTINO +

- I. THE ETHNIC FRONTIER IN GUATEMALA
- II. THE MUNICIPIO OF SAN ANTONIO PALOPO
- III. RELATIONS OF INDIANS AND LADINOS IN WORK AND TRADE
- IV. PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS OF INDIANS AND LADINOS
- V. PERSONAL RELATIONS OF INDIANS AND LADINOS
- VI. WHAT EACH GROUP KNOWS AND HAS: LANGUAGE, ~~MAN~~ TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES
- VII. WHAT EACH GROUP KNOWS AND DOES: FAMILY LIFE AND PRIVATE RITUAL
- VIII. SERVICIO AND COFRADIA: PUBLIC ORGANIZATION, SEPARATE AND JOINT
- IX. SHAMAN AND PRIEST: THE SUPERNATURAL AND ITS CULTS
- X. WORLD VIEW AND LORE
- XI. THE ATTITUDES OF INDIANS AND LADINOS TOWARD EACH OTHER
- XII. BECOMING A LADINO

CHAPTER I. THE ETHNIC FRONTIER IN GUATEMALA. The historical and social background against which must be set the local study of the Agua Escondida region.

Guatemala a bi-ethnic community: consisting of Indians and ladinos.

Formal recognition of the two ethnic groups: ethnic composition of the ^{national} population according to the census of 1941. (Formal recognition in other official records and documents?) Interpretation of these formal data: how "ladino" and "Indian" are to be understood. Informal recognition of the two groups: meanings of the terms "Indian" and "ladino" to rural and urban individuals representing both ethnic groups.

The history of ethnic contact ^{in Guatemala} ~~in Guatemala~~

The relative proportion of Indian and Spanish blood in the early population of Guatemala. The policy and practice with regard to racial intermixture in Colonial and republican times. Evidence (such as it is) for the trends of intermixture and relative ~~growth~~ growth of the two groups: early censuses and estimates of population classified ethnically; recent censuses. ~~Masses of~~ ^{ethnic groups}

The history of ethnic categories in Guatemala. The meaning of the term "Ladino" to the early sixteenth century Spaniard. Appearance of the term in early documents: its reference to Spanish-speaking Indians. Early recognition of ethnic castas, taking ^c account of tri-racial intermixture. Use of "Indian" to denote also declassified Spaniards and mixed-bloods. Change in the meaning of "ladino" to include mixed-bloods, and ultimately all persons of Spanish language and culture.

The spatial distribution throughout the republic of Indians and

ladinos. A map showing the relative number of ladinos and Indians by municipios for the republic, according to the census of 1941. Another map showing the trends in relative proportion of Indians and ladinos, since 1893, by municipios. The areas of Indian concentration: the western highlands; the eastern highlands. The correspondence of Indian population with altitude. The ~~MMMMM~~ highlands: Indian country in ~~the~~ which the ladino is an invader. The lowlands: country of plantation ^{and} occupation by white people, in which the Indian is an imported laborer. Intermediate types of communities.

The ~~MMMMM~~ economic and social roles of the two groups, generally ~~existing in Guatemala~~, in the life of the nation:

The ladino as a town-dwelling, business-conducting literate; the Indian as a rural, agricultural illiterate. The social and economic classes among the ladinos. The margins of contact between Indian and ladino: ^{where inter-ethnic rivalry are closest} the principal frontier ^{is} between rural agricultural ladino and rural Indian: on this frontier the ethnic groups meet ~~MMMMM~~ as competitors carrying on the same techniques of maintenance; and the groups that meet here have heritages less dissimilar than is the case where urban ladinos are involved. The history and distribution of the rural agricultural ladino, i.e., the occurrence of this frontier,

the view of the educated urbanite upon the Indian; Indians and ladinos in Indian communities where only commercial (middle class) ladinos are present

CHAPTER II. THE MUNICIPIO OF SAN ANTONIO PALOPO. The location, geographic features, and population of the community which is the subject of this study.

The municipio as a natural community. The ~~municipio~~¹ of the midwestern highlands, ~~according to~~ ~~the~~, as a natural community characterized by local Indian culture. The effect of migration in modifying the cultural distinctness of the municipios: the history and consequences of dispersion of Indian groups outside their municipios; and the history and consequences of dispersion of ladinos into the highlands. The ~~MMMMMMMM~~ role played by plantation development in the dispersion of Indians; the role played by commerce and other economic opportunities in the dispersion of both Indians and ladinos.

The geography of the municipio of San Antonio Palopo. The general character of the municipios around the lake: a lake-side Indian village as nucleus, with an ethnically more heterogeneous hinterland; San Antonio conforms to the type. This municipio ~~is~~ consists of a north-south hilly ridge, ~~and~~ the two longitudinal margins of this ridge: the escarpments of the lake, and the gorges which drop ~~down~~^{rapidly} down to the Rio de los Molinos. Hence the predominant north-south axis of the municipio: communication southward to the coast and northward to the towns and cities of the highlands; the small part played by transverse (east-west) communication and transportation. Differences of altitude within the municipio, and corresponding differences of land-use. The degree to which ~~this~~^{this} municipio corresponds with a natural community: dependence on communities outside of the municipio.

The forms of settlement and history within the municipio. (1) The pueblo of San Antonio: an ancient settlement of aborigines. ~~Appearance~~ ^{Entry} of ladinos in the pueblo: the roles of liquor, labor and government, ^{church,}

in the introduction of ~~ladinos~~ to the pueblo. Substantial depopulation of the village during the period of forced labor on plantations; re-population. Dispersion of pueblo Indians in rural areas. The few cases of settlement of San Antonio Indians in other villages of the lake, and the few cases of settlement of foreign Indians in the village of San Antonio. (2) Ladino settlements: (a) the "business-corner" of Godinez, a stopping-point on a trade route; (b) the rural agricultural settlement of Agua Escondida; ~~forming~~ a farming community founded by purchase of rural ladino immigrants from Indian owners. (3) Fincas, in every case ~~ladino-owned~~: the warm-country small fincas of coffee and sugar, ~~El Paraiso~~, El Rosario, San Petey; the cool country small finca of El Lucha. The relatively small role of the finca in this municipio. The uncertain borderline between the small farmer and the finquero. (4) ~~Small rural settlements~~: their distribution, dependence on water and good land; influence of kinship in forming these ~~clusters~~; influence of large land-holding, through employment of resident laborers.

of relations settlements ethnic

The ~~ethnic~~ composition of the population of the municipio and its spatial distribution. The population may be treated under three heads: San Antoneros, foreign Indians and ladinos. The census figures and their interpretation. A revised estimate as to the ~~numbers~~ of each ~~ethnic group~~ ethnic group present in the municipio. The San Antoneros: concentrated in the pueblo, with a moderate dispersion into ladino settlements and into small independent rural settlements. The ladinos: ~~rural dwellers~~ rural dwellers and farmers living in their own settlements; a few depending on business in Godinez; a few small finqueros and independent proprietors living outside of settlements. The foreign Indians: in small numbers present in every type of settlement; the dependence of the foreign Indians on ladino or San Antonio

social organization (the Totonicapeno cofradia a small exception).
The contact ~~ME~~ had by residents of the municipio through travel
and commerce with representatives of other communities. 60

CHAPTER III. ~~THE~~ RELATIONS OF INDIANS ^{AND} ~~THE~~ LADINOS IN WORK AND TRADE. Showing
how traditional differences in the division of labor are with no
great difficulty ^{opportunities and} overborne by the effects of economic competition.

The Indian is by tradition a farmer and travelling merchant, but
ladinos ^{enter into} both these ^{occupations} activities. The techniques of
farming are shared by both groups, although there may be a ten-
dency for ladinos to grow proportionately more wheat than do
Indians. The recent rapid introduction of "ladino" crops (anise,
certain vegetables and fruits) among Indians. The simultaneous and
competitive carrying on of agriculture by Indians and ladinos.
The doubtful question as to whether differences in tradition
affect the fact that animal husbandry is more ~~extensively~~
carried on by ladinos than by Indians (with exception of
turkey-raising) .

The role of Indian and ladino in trade and markets. The Indian
carries agricultural produce and articles of handicraft in a
carrying-frame; while the ladino carries factory-made goods
with the use of ~~MMM~~ a pack-animal; exceptions; use of the
carrying-frame by an occasional ladino. Participation in the
same markets and in door-to-door trade. ~~Attitude~~ of the ladino
toward the Indian's ability to bear loads; ~~MMMMMMMMMM~~ something
distinguishing the Indian; the difference likewise recognized by
the Indian. Money and bargaining: it is doubtful if there are
significant differences in this regard between the two groups.
(Bun-ol control for Chichastonango).

The ladino is by tradition a storekeeper, ~~MMM~~ and store-keeping remains largely in the hands of the ladinos. Stores opened in the municipio have all been owned and operated by ladinos, with small exception. The ladino pattern of the ~~MMMMMMMMMM~~ tiny store on the highway. Is the social opportunity of store-keeping more consistent with ladino tradition than with Indian tradition? Occasional tiny stores operated by Indians. The roadside stand. Eggs and fowl: pin-money for both Indian and ladina women.

The strongly prevalent form of employer-employee relationship in which the Indian is the employee, has not infrequent exceptions

The general expectancy^{is} that Indian works for ladino, and not the other way. The resident mozo^{or} ~~MMMM~~ caretaker is almost invariably an Indian: "the mozo of Don Max" implies an Indian. Yet there are many cases in which ladinos ~~MMM~~ work for hire for Indian employers: this pattern is occasional, and not thought of as a stable arrangement for ladinos, ^{as the reciprocal arrangement} ~~as it~~ is for Indians. Domestic servants: common in ladino households of even small means, and these servants may be Indians or ladinos. Rare cases of Indian employers of ladina house-servants. Side-by-side manual labor in which Indians and ladinos participate: on public and private construction. Absence of any taboo against such sharing of manual toil. Application of the vagrancy laws and of road-tax laws ^{to} ~~on~~ both Indians and ladinos.

Specialized arts and professions represent ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ ~~MMMMMMMM~~ in varying degree differences in ethnic heritage, none, or almost none ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ of these ethnic specialties shows resistance, imposed by mere tradition, to invasion by the other group. The highly literate professions, such as the law, medicine and teaching, are an exceptional

the chief officer of the board is an Indian; there is a ladino secretary. The school teacher is a ladino (but, as in San Lucas, may as well be an educated Indian). In the ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Godinez and Agua Escondida schools ladino children and Indian children are ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ taught together without discrimination and play together, as personal inclination suggests. In the "an Antonio school, the two(?) ladino children attend the otherwise all-Indian school.

V. PERSONAL RELATIONS OF INDIANS AND LADINOS

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

In this municipio, Indian and ladino share the land as opportunity and interest suggest, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ without customary or legal restraint upon either group as such; the resulting close physical proximity results in relations of personal intimacy, or does not so result; the generally accepted pattern of acceptance of impersonal contacts, and the differences in education and culture ~~XXXXXX~~ between Indian and ladino, ^{do not favor and probably limit} ~~XXXXXX cases~~ the development of inter-ethnic personal relations; yet such relations do develop, ^{apparently} and are unaffected by ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ racial prejudice.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Physical propinquity or ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ arrangements of convenience or utility between Indian and ladino are frequent and varied; they seem ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ neither to lead, characteristically, to good or bad feelings between Indian and ladino; the point may be illustrated from ~~XXXXXX~~ situation of commercial relations, from adjacent residence in the same settlement; from sharing the same burying ground, from the custom of leaving goods depositado (of which ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ storing grain in another man's yard is an example), from the custom of podada ,

MM This is a small community with a high degree of specialization of labor MM in proportion to the simplicity of the technology and the lack of industrialization and MM relative MM non-use of literacy. Individuals, Indians and ladinos, are in frequent practical association with one another. It does not appear that personal friendships and personal MM dislikes develop MM more or less frequently between Indian and ladino than would be supposed, taking into account only the differences in interest, MM education and general culture between the two groups.

I. Social geography of the town and the municipio.

In Bar's classification, a town nucleus municipio, containing a small close-knit town of Indians, a smaller settlement chiefly of Ladinos, and a scattered country population, chiefly of Indians (total population 600)

The geographic setting of San Antonio, A.R., and the scattered country dwellers in relation to the lake, to creek lands and to roads.

Composition of AR: Ladinos and Indians. Origin of each of these. History of the settlement.

The physical proximity of Indians and Ladinos in AR. Joint use of public facilities, of many yards, and of a few houses. Association in the fields.

II. The extent to which custom and knowledge are common or distinct.

Agricultural, architectural and domestic techniques about the same. Share common ideas and practices as to commerce. Share some formal government, practices and some understandings as to church, baptism, godparenthood, death customs, etc.

Limits to common understanding: The use of the *tanaxal*. Religious-magical conceptions inside San Antonio. Residence rules. The case of Totonicapan marriage. The Festival of the Hoos. The question of folktales and myths. The linguistic situation.

III. Economic relations and the division of labor.

Trade. The Ladino tends to have a store, the Indian to be a traveling merchant. Land. The Ladinos are invading purchasers. Indian and Ladino field-hands; domestic servants. Expression of attitude on these relationships: the *Ladino* should be the employer, but the exceptions break no moral rule.

The *libretos*: Ladino laborers thus associated with Indians without stigma.

Public labor: the equivalence of public manual labor and military service. Joint obligation to labor in emergencies.

Special cases of inter-ethnic division of labor:

Adventitious: Indian midwives

Traditional, or associated with culture differences:

Indian chirimiteros, weavers, scribes.

The special question of the role of Indians (especially distant Indians) as black magicians.

IV. Political and public relations

Government is not an expression of group sentiments, but a system of regulations and obligations imposed from the outside to which it is understood both Indians and ladinos must conform. The municipal government (intendencia) has both Indian and ladino personnel. The extension of ladino personnel into the government is not welcomed by the Indians, nor is the fact that the auxiliaria (AE branch of the municipal government) includes only Indians, resented. Government office is a task, not a prerogative.

The school: Indian participation so far as Indians are inclined.

V. Associations.

The cult of the saints is maintained chiefly by two cofrades, composed normally entirely of ladinos. On one occasion an ambitious Indian applied for the headship of the organization and was given the post as a matter of course. Ladino and Indian only rarely worship as individuals before the patron saint. In the public festivals, ladinos take the lead and Indians occupy secondary positions. As in other situations, participation by Indians waits only on their will and ability.

VI. Marriage.

The ladino is apt to reply to direct question that intermarriage does not take place.

Cases of intermarriages:

Educated Indians with ladinos

Ladinoized Indians with disadvantaged ladinos.

Ladinos with "de tribalized" Indian women: less socially recognized unions. Denial of kinship terms to such partners by the man's kin. (but granted to informal ladino partners).

The very exceptional case of Pancho Miranda: a ladino tending to identify himself with his Indian partner's people.

These intermarried households have marginal positions in the community. It is unlikely that any such partnership would assume

a leading position. On the other hand the partners are judged individually and the intermarriage is not a serious disadvantage, i.e., the people who make these unions would not be leaders any way, or, if leaders, are not disadvantaged by the union.

VII. Godparental relations.

Ladinos act as godparents for Indians, but not the reverse. The genuineness of the obligation assumed. Use of compadre terms.

VIII. Etiquette and forms of address.

Four forms of address in Spanish; two in Cakchiquel. In speaking Spanish, the most respectful form is used by ladinos to certain educated Indians (men -- no corresponding Indian women are present), but a somewhat greater reason for the appropriateness of a respect term is required in the case of an Indian than in that of a ladino, e.g., a somewhat older, but not old, ladino is addressed by the term of second-degree of respect, but an Indian of the same relative age position is addressed by the third term.

The use of "my son" for Indians of equal or even greater age by older ladinos.

The removal of the hat: an Indian respect gesture, not necessarily an admission of inferior station.

Absence of commensal or other taboos.

Expression of general attitude by ladinos toward Indians:
 Depreciation as ignorant, or uncouth or unclean
 Welcoming disposition of Indian to be like ladino.
 One standard of excellence applied by the ladino to both ladino and Indian.

IX. What is an Indian? The problem of "passing"

The categorical difference represented by costume and language. Exceptions (in one direction only): ladinoized Indians. The Indian may become a part of an all-ladino sub-society: "detrribalized" Indian house servants and household members. Yet the ladinoized Indian is still an Indian: educated Indians; Indians adopted in infancy. "Mistakes" by ladinos as to whether certain individuals are Indians. Doubtful cases: marginal individuals. Completely "passed" Indians: Indian surnames come to be regarded as Spanish.

HISTORY

HISTORY

The first to come to Agua Escondida were three families: those of Felipe Juarez, of the brother of this man, and of Jose Miranda, father of Don Lupario. Don Lupario says that when he came he was married, and was "almost thirty years old." As he was born in 1866 (by the baptismal certificate he showed me), the settlement must have occurred in about 1895. The Miranda family left Tecpan after some difficulty about the title of their land there, in the course of which they lost it, or part of it. When they came to Agua Escondida, it already had this name among ladinos, but to the Indians was known as Chuinimache. There was nothing there but a stopping place ~~MMM~~ (a ~~shelter~~ shelter by the roadside) for travellers. The road was for animals and foot travellers only. The Mirandas built their house on the high ground where Lupario still lives. All the land about was owned by ~~MMMMMMMM~~ San Antonio Indians; from them the settlers bought land. For about the first ten years the settlers buried their dead in the San Antonio cemetery, but then Lupario and some others got permission from the jefatura to make their own cemetery, which they did on the hill that now divides the settlement in half

NEIGHBORHOOD
AND
VILLAGE

The village. Ties between kin (married brothers; parents-children)

- 1 within the region of easy walking distance are stronger than between
2 fellow-villagers who are unrelated; the sense of village solidarity is
3 weak. The two cofrirdias constitute the only intra-village organizations,
4 and the only voluntary organizations; these function only at the times
5 of the two corresponding fiestas, and have no segmental consequence.
6 Public order and public works are regulated and achieved through the
7 formal governmental organizations, which is largely imposed from
8 without. Service as intendente or regidor in the municipal government
9 of the pueblo by Ladinos of the aldea is recent (before that only
Indians of the pueblo took part -- except for the secretary, sent in
from the outside); such service is an annoying task imposed by outside author-
ity, and carried on because inescapable. Until about ten years ago the
auxiliar of the aldea was a ladino; now he is always an Indian.
- 7 Gossip and quarreling are moderate;
8 people carry only the most serious disputes to the government tribunals.
9 Natural barriers divide the village into three or four vague neighborhoods;
as the residence is chiefly patrilocal, extended families tend to con-
stitute the cores of these neighborhoods.

4-8 see notes on "government" and on "gossip, quarrels and social control".

1 ~~2~~ 9 "Ties between kin (marriedbrothers; parents-children) within the region of easy walking distance are stronger than between fellow-villagers who are unrelated. . . . Natural barriers divide the village into three or four vague neighborhoods; as the residence is chiefly patrilocal, extended families tend to constitute the cores of these neighborhoods."

This first sentence might be revised. In some cases (e.g., Alvarez kin at Panibaj) the kin-ties are stronger than neighborhood ties. But not in every case. ~~MMMMMMMM~~ The south end of the village is also a little neighborhood, including Carmen Tui, Mariano's family, and the Alvarezes. The second sentence seems valid. Early settlers occupied natural regions: the south end of town (Alvarez), the north slope of the cemetery-hill (Mirandas); the plain north of that (Santisos); the height north of the ^Y~~A~~ cross-roads (Juarez). Each of these natural regions thus had ^S also some unity in kinship. Later comers, even though related, have had to scatter more in settling (The Morales live in separate parts of the periphery) The north end of town has only contiguity to hold it together, not kinship: the Baker, Luis Perez who does not get on with the baker; Lucia and her two Morales sons; ~~three~~ Indian families. ~~MM~~ There are no definite names for these neighborhoods. but people will say "up with the Juarezes", and they distinguish arriba from ~~a~~ abajá-- the division being the cemetery hill. But there are no occasions, fiestas or otherwise, in which any of these neighborhoods self-consciously functions as a unit. ~~MM~~ Furthermore, disgustos are not uncommon within neighborhoods (Jesus Salgado does not speak with the Alvarez although living near by; Pancho Miranda beat up his neighbor Enrique because Enriwue slept with Jesus; Luis Perez is disliked by his nextdoor neighbor, the Nina Antonia). The neighborhood is a loose, uncertain unit, like the others .

April 28
Romelia

75 P. R.

Community Relations.

When we say "we" it means all the people down below the bluff .(Answer to direct question.) Dona Cresencia too. Down there they are all good but up there they treat us badly. They are dirty in their houses too. I have never been in the kitchen to help make tamales for the Noche Buena. My papa doesn't let me. Well, they don't invite us. It is the people of arriba who run the cofradia. (Remelia included her aunt Monica, Don Felipe Juarez, and Don Gorgonio's household as people who were all right arriba.)

The only one who is not nice down here is that Jesus (Jesus Salgado.) When I was going by with you in the car she made remarks about how I would never have had a chance to ride in a car except for you. She spits at us. She is an ladina but an Indita who took the name of her patron and dressed herself like a ladina. But she is very close to my tia politica, Margarita (Miranda). Margarita does not speak to us either. But my uncle does.

Salome

There are many here who do not speak to us, like that Jesus.Perhaps the gente de arriba use the brupria of the Indians. There is none of it among us.

2-3

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

38

76

The weakness of village solidarity is exhibited in: (1) the failure to observe the festival of the patron as the paramount festival and to maintain the cofradia of the patron ~~and to~~, as is done in many communities; (2) the almost complete absence of competitive institutions the relatively mild and of comment about the aldeas in comparison with others; the fact ~~that~~ that there are no stories about the miraculousness of the patron---- "foreign" santos are much more preferred as objects of vows and candles; the absence of any permanent village organizations

Still, the patron is worshipped; people do burn candles there (on the week-day appropriate chiefly); the festival of the patron is celebrated by a novena in the church .

Corrections: There are not now, at least, two cofradias: ~~in~~ Sⁿ Francisco is honored with a novena held in the church; the image is not passed around.

The cofradia of the Nino has recently come to have some segmental significance in that the Santos have become excluded from it and set up a rival festival at Christmas.

LAND
AND
INHERITANCE

1937:

7

1 All land, except the cemetery, is owned individually. It is
2 usual for a man with considerable property, even if he is
3 illiterate, to make a will. Usually land, cattle and money are
left to children, including daughters, and the widow in
equal shares.

1. still appears to be true
2. see case of Lupario Moranda
3. see case of Lupario Moranda; from this it appears that distribution may be uneven.

LAND--INHERTANCE

Don Magdaleno has seven or eight tracts of land. This includes some mountain land (with trees for leña; he says he and Gorgonio Urrea are the only ones who own timber land). Most of these tracts he inherited from his father, but one or two he has bought himself. ~~MMMMM~~
 Practically all the changes in land ownership are ~~from~~ ^{to} ladinos to ~~from~~ ^{to} indios. *Both ways: Mariano M. his father some Salaficus have bought land have secretly Many ladino-ladino sales*
 He plants about thirty cords of maize a year; this is sufficient for domestic needs, and if the harvest is good, there is some left over to sell. He plants a few cords of anise, and a few of beans; these are money crops.

He says his father left a will, indicating which parcel of his land should go to which child. Apparently all pieces of land are individually owned; I have yet to find a piece as to which joint ownership is asserted. Don. M. says he is going to make his ~~MMM~~ own will, and that he will divide his land equally among his children; his daughters will have equal shares, even if they have married and moved away-- "their husbands can work it for them, or they can sell it." Some men just point out which pieces they want to go to whom. If no will is made, then "one has to go to a lawyer." He is unclear about the law as to inheritance by intestacy; apparently he does not know its substance.

He ~~MMMM~~ declares that every landowner works his own land, or hires somebody to do; that there is no exchange of labor, or joint ~~MMMM~~ labor parties, either among ladinos or Indians. If a man does not work his land, he may give someone else the right to do so, exacting, usually, work on an equivalent amount of land, i. e., for every cord of land "rented," one cord of other land of the renter must be cleared, planted and cultivated.

Armas
~~Armas~~ Armas is working as mozo on ladino land. He gets 12 of fifteen cents for each cord he hoes; he hoes one two cords a day.

LAND--PROPERTY-INHERITANCE-CUSTODY OF CHILDREN

~~MMMMM~~ One should make a will leaving one's property to just the people one wants. Don Magdaleno's father, when he was sick and going to die, made his will. A representative of the intendente came to his house and wrote it down there for him. Or one may go to the intendencia and do it. One copy is kept by the family and one by the intendencia. Don Magdaleno has not yet made his will, but he is going to. Don Felipe Juarez has made his.

In one dâes without a will, then the intendencia makes the widow intestado. She keeps the property and divides it equally when the children are grown. If they are already grown then it is divided equally among children and widow, the widow getting equal share with each child. Brothers of the deceased get no share.

If two people who have been married or living together separate, the man keeps whatever he has paid for. If she brought her metate and other kitchen equipment with her, she may take it with her; as she may take the clothes she brought with her, or that he bought for her. It is expected that the woman will take the small daughters and the man the small sons, but there are exceptions where it is differently arranged, or where the one spouse goes off and leaves the other.

WILLS-INHERITANCE

When Lupario Miranda died he left a will in which he gave the largest share of his land to Adolfo, "as the only one remaining in his house" (R). To Margarita M. he gave a piece, and another, larger, to Heroulano, "because he had so little", and nothing to Mariano, because this eldest son had already received much land from his father. I have heard no criticism of this distribution.

When another son of Lupario, Arcadio, died five years ago, he died having lived for some time, unmarried, with Monica A. Legally she was entitled to no share in his land, but the brothers and D. Lupario let her have quite a large tract "because she had comported herself well with Arcadio."

ECONOMIC
ACTIVITY

INDIVIDUAL AND
JOINT LABOR

- 1937: Individual economic enterprise, as by buying and selling, is characteristic, even within the small family, and between
1. members of it; grown children buy and sell on their own
 2. account; a man pays for labor furnished by his brother; a
 3. son may employ his father. Labor exchange is rare; the only instance approaching communal labor reported occurred when the chapel was built; and then the labor was strictly not communal; but voluntary by individuals. Collective enterprise
 4. (as work on the cemetery, or driving away locusts) is brought about by orders, issued to individuals, under threat of fine, by the intendencia.

1. In 1937 Salvistro hired his father to help him build his house. It is usual to ask how much you owe for almost any service rendered or article loaned. Yet Tomas has lived for years on land of his sister, Monica, without paying rent. Adolfo M. pays his maternal aunt for making his tortillas and washing his clothes.
4. At fiestas much labor is pooled, in building enramada, fetching putting up decorations (man) making festal food (women). Some of this is part of the ostensible pledges to the saint, some is just neighborly good will, eg. Pancha? Indian, came and worked for three days for nothing helping Magd. with Xmas preparations. But there is no collective, unpaid, unforced work on public improvements.

Trade.

Dionysia regularly sells pan dulce and bananas , also matches. She buys the bread either here from t e Nina Antonia or in San Lucas but prefers San Lucas because they give more ganacia. The bananas she buys in San Lucas.

Both Dona Isabel and Salome make cigarettes of tobacco they have bought.*

Romelia asked for one of our glass jars in which to put the caramelos which she made to sell. They are made of sugar, miel blanco, and limon.

1938: Entel - cig. influence now a government monopoly.

DIVISION OF LABOR

AMONG MEN:

MILPA WORK

DIVISION OF LABOR, SPECIALIZATION

Every able-bodied man in the aldea works in a milpa (usually his own) except Don Gorgonio Urrea and Don Felipe Juarez*. These two employ mozos, but do not work themselves. Don Felipe used to. So far as Tomas knows, Don Gorgonio never has.

Don Tomas is a sort of rough carpenter, self-taught. There is no other in the aldea. There is no mason, no ironworker, no professional barber (some men have scissors and clippers and cut their friends' hair on request).

There are two midwives, achirimitero, three or four women serve as rezadoras.

There is one butcher; other men butcher hogs occasionally and sell the meat. There is one baker, with license to sell, and who does; two or three other people have ovens. (In some cases these are small, ** solely for domestic use, as the oven of Jose Inez Alvarez-- out of town).

1938

* These are exceptions made possible by unusual resources. There are other exceptions from other causes, Basilio Santiso, nor any of his four sons, make milpa, though they and their families are almost without clothing. B. has sold or lost through mortgage almost all his land; the little piece he has left he rents on crop-shares to Indians. These men do not work because lazy or because they prefer trading and scheming.

Enrique de Leon? Yes

Benjamin? Yes

Luis Perez? Yes

all these
work for

Juan Santiso has a license and now sells legally. Several people have stores, or buy in the town market and sell locally. (see separate sheet)

TECHNOLOGY
AND
FOOD

Dona Salome
Mayy4

Food.

Pistones--slightly thicker tortillas used to take out tok the milpa.
Dona Salome was making them for Sylvestre.

Pulique -- Carne de coche, epazote, ajo, pimienta, tomate, chile. Acote is added to give a red color. Masa is added for thickening.
Dona Salome was cooking this.

Enamarillo-- either gallina or carne de coche cooked with canela, pimienta, tomate, cebolla, clavos. Thickened with flour or frances.
Ma. put carrots or pot toes on top.

Rice is cooked with saffron, garlic, tomato, pepper. May add fideos revueltos.

Jocotenango -- carne de coche, culantro, frances tostado, pimienta chepa.

Conserva de garbanzos-- for la Semana Santa. Cook garbanzos with lechía de ceniza. Wash in pila (for it takes much water) to get off cascaras. Cook again to get rid of agua de ceniza.
Add brown sugar and cinnamon.

Garbanzos are also eaten cooked in caldo.

Estofado -- for the Noche Buena. Cut up a whole goat and put in a large epastle with plenty of manteca. Add pimienta, clavo, canela, tomate, cebolla, ajo. For the cofradia sometimes two goats and a pig are killed.

Seasonings. Tomillo (thyme) used with chicken

Culantro (coriander) with caldo.

Epazote (chencopodium) with beans.

Pimienta de castillo

Pimienta de chepa -- larger than ordinary pepper.

Saffron, not used with chicken but often with tamales con carne de coche.

Atoles -- Atole de elote
Atole sencilla
Atole de ceniza --the corn is cooked with ashes instead of with lime. Used for festal occasions, offering on Dia de los Santos , also for sowing and harvest offering.

Jocom -- pollito, tomate, chile verde, manteca , masa, pimiento .

Frijol-- frijol blanco, negro, colorado, y frijol de milpa.
Small legume called lantejas ,not real lentil eaten.

Vegetables.

Guisquil plain or rolled in beaten egg and fried.

Potatoes, green beans, c rrots, cabbage, onions, tomatoes and
chila, colin abo, beets, aguacate.

Tomatoes served raw cut up wit. onion

~~Cakimaha~~, bledos, quilete are greens which are eaten
Mushrooms-- several varieties found in woods. Hongos de San Juan much
liked.

Watercress is known and eaten.

Milk is liked but is scarce and expensive. Dona Sebastiana buys it now and
then for the children, s.e says.

Cornstarch is liked, particularly for the sick.

Totopostle-- a thick tortillas which is toasted well in the oven.
This is usually ground up into a powder and then it
is called birin . The powder is stirred into coffee.
This is given to the men when the go to the coast.
Nothing with manteca in is given, because it spoils in the
hot weather on the coast. Large round tamales, shaped like
a loaf of bread are also given travelers. These they slice
and warm.

Food.

May 5
Donx Tomas
Dona Isabel

Turkeys may be eaten at any time, when they are full grown. "Just as tomorrow is a day of fiesta(Assumption Day) we might eat one if we had one that is ready. But they are still small." They are popular in tamales for the Noche Buena, and also at the ninth night of the novena for el Senor de Esquipulas, on January 15th.

Food

Gallina relleno . Pork is put with the chicken, which is taken off the bones and finely cut. Potatoes, carrots, green beans --- and if they can be obtained, olives , and "those raisins which come in boxes " are put in a pan and fried --then added to the meat which is seasoned with wine (also if it can be obtained), sugar, cánnamon, pepper, and clove. This is usually made in a less complicated way but this is the full recipe. Turkey may be cooked in the same way.

Gallina may be roasted in an oven or steamed.

Chiles rellenos -- Chiles, the large ones are stuffed with fried verduras and pork.

Chile pepper may be soaked to make it less picante. Do this before adding it to eggs.

Chile uac -- is a large chile which is less picante. The red chile u c is very good for tamales. It is used with the miltomate for tamales don carne coch .

Plain atole is often used at midday. It is not served in the morning. The tendrils and young leaves of the gusquil are eaten, dipped in egg and fried.

Wild Plants Eaten.

Verdolaga--(purslane) used fried

Bledo --(wild amaranta ?).

Flor de isote-- a flower resembling the flower of the yucca. These
are rolled in egg, made into tortitas, and fried.

Jucuyulo

Coquitos -- a small nodule on the root of a grass like plant

Lechuga --not the extranjera lettuce but one which grows wild, has
espigas Probably dandelion.

The stems and young leaves of the

TREES AND PLANTS

The best trees for orcones are guachipilin, taray, tacisco, oak, sarro and madre de cacao. Oak, madre de cacao and guachipilin do not rot in the ground; tacisco rots a little, Madre de cacao, guavipilin and chioaroc are good for axe handles. The best firewood is encino, but also one may use guacipilin, taray, tacisco, madron, sarro, madre de cacao, pine, kaxkix, barretto, ~~MMMMMM~~^{twigs} of guachipilin, boiled, make an infusion good for horses when they have tabardillo. The same infusion, with bitter coffee, is a remedy for snakebite. You take a glass every four or five hours; the inflammation goes down. Tary leaves make an infusion taken internally for inflammation of the stomach. Pine is good for beams and boards. ~~MMMMMM~~ Cedar is used for boards, furniture, coffins, It is rare here now. The bark makes an infusion ~~MMM~~ with which one bathes swellings, Cipres is used for ciffins, Isote is good only for walls. pito is firewood, if dry. The ~~MMMMMM~~ bark is used in infusion for swellings, Mescal bark is used for tying straw on a roof, also para masas de carretas. Capulin bark may also be used for tying. Chocom has no use. Bretonica leaves make an infusion, used as a poultice for swellings, Also internally for cough ~~Artichok~~ makes a remedy good for the kidneys, also for malaria-- the leaves, cooked, are eaten before meals. Pericon, boiled leaves, is taken for stomach ache. Manzanilla is a remedy for fever, Itamoreal is a wild plant, for strong fevers, such as smallpox and masles-- with marley. Rue is used against evil eye-- it is the only plant that is a secreto. Mint is mixed with hog's blood for sausages; infusion is a vermifuge. Palo jiote: bark infusion for fevers. Madre de maiz is eaten, when maize is scarce.

Encino is the best wood for firewood. It is not good for ~~MMMMMM~~ houseposts and it is no good for making santos. The best woods for houseposts and tool-handles are guachipilin, taray and roble. Guachipilin is the best of all. For making charcoal one uses encino or roble. The bark of the encino is used in tanning, and an infusion is put on the jaw to cure toothache. The chicharra is also used for handles. The ~~MMMMMM~~ chaperna is not good for posts. The mescal is a good tree for use in building. (The ts'unux and the wit he never heard of) (Nor did he ever hear that girls should not play with acorn cups.)

The cajete is very poor firewood. The cedar is the one good tree for making santos. The bark of the zope is used, soaked in water, to remove ticks and lice from horses. The wood is used as firewood. The wood of the sapodilla is used as firewood; it is no good for posts. The leaves of the nogal are used in an infusion to reduce fevers; this is good in malaria. The wood is no good for housebuilding. The fruit of the jaboncillo is used for a sort of soap; this is much done in Panibaj. Children play with the little round fruit. The bark of the capulin serves as a kind of soap; the wood may be burned, but is no good for building. The pito bark makes an infusion that is good for swellings. The soft wood is used for making masks. Diviners among the Indians use the seeds. (Never heard of staff of pito as protection against werewolves). ~~MMMM~~ A bath of jiote bark is very fresco; it reduces inflammations. There is no connection between the tree and the disease of the same name. The isote is used chiefly as a fence. (Never heard of wrapping tamales in leaves). Sometimes one puts an isote leaf on the temple to cure headache. The fiber serves to tie up bundles of anis. Of the roots ~~MMMM~~ brushes are made

for brushing horses,. The flowers are sometimes boiled and eaten. Tachsco is a good wood for posts and for handles, sometimes the branches with twigs are used as hangers. Amate is just a fine shade tree. ^{The wood} AM has no uses. (Never heard of reluctance to cut it down; nor of connection with sorcerers). It is a "very hot tree"-- it kills other trees planted near it by wrapping its roots around them.

The milk is a remedy for goiter. On the coast they use ceiba wood to make up the fires in th sugarmills. The hilamo is used for firewood. The fruit, chewed, is remedy for wounds.

DIVISION
OF
LABOR
BETWEEN
SEXES

1937:

- "To the general rule that men work in the fields and women in the house (but women not infrequently help to bring in smaller crops), there are occasional exceptions
1. in the person of a man who makes tortillas or even washes his own clothes, or a woman who plants beans. These receive
 2. comment but no condemnation. No case is reported of a woman
 3. who works with a hoe. Women carry water jugs and baskets on their heads; man carry their burdens on their backs (with or without the mecapal). No exceptions have been noted. To the rule that
 4. women, girls and boys fetch water, there are not infrequent exceptions; but only the most economically depressed (and wifeless) man will carry water from the spring on his own back. Story-
 5. telling, singing and playing all musical instruments are activities associated with men; but exceptional women who carry on these activities, even in public, do occur, and such proficiency is applauded, not condemned."

1. o.k. see cases this folder

2. o.k.

3. "on their heads" when full. o.k.

4. "fetch water for domestic purposes. The second part of this sentence is wrong. There are not a few cases of men who carry water from the well, in tinajas, for their wives. It is commoner among Indians, but Ladinos do also. Marcelo A. still does. Magdalena A. used to, Juan Santiso sometimes does. What is fixed is not the attitudes toward water-carrying but the technique of it. Men always use macapal (unless using a horse). Women put the jar on their heads. To this I have no exception. Manuel, Indian h. of Nolberta, regularly carries water from well for his wife.

5. O.K. Dona Matilde's knowledge of old songs is appreciated. In San Andres there is a female marimba. (but so far as I can determine, these girls do not play for pay at fiestas).

When Lupario Miranda was alive, he and his unmarried son Adolfo often made tortillas, grinding the corn on a handmill.

This year Armando Armas, during a period while separated from ~~his~~ his wife, made his own tortillas, using a handmill, "and even washed his own clothes". Romelia was a little sorry for him, that was all.

~~When the average was on the road on Alvarez, when the average was three~~
 meamago

GOSSIP
QUARRELING
AND
SOCIAL CONTROL

1-2 Gossiping and quarreling are moderate; people carry only the most serious disputes to the governmental tribunals.

1-2 Needs revision. see new memorandum

"No hats"

Romelia
Dionysia
May 17

M.P.R.

102

People.

Jesus Salgado is the one woman who is bad in our village. Her daughter was working in San Lucas and she got sick and had a baby. Jesus said that our brother Peuro was the father, and she tried to get my father to make him marry her. He wouldn't do it and she took it to Salda. My father had to spend a lot of money for a lawyer but at last it was settled that Peuro had nothing to do with it. The girl died three years ago, and so did the baby. But Jesus is always saying bad things about us. She says we ~~are~~ coquetas and like to put on powder and paint. And she says we are very proud now because we are working for you, and that you fixed the house up for us all for nothing. Her daughter Laura is one of the same sort. She doesn't want to let us get water when she is at the pila.

Saxlome
May 13th

Arcadia de Leon's sister went to work in San Lucas and she got sick and had a baby without any husband. The baby died and she is still very sick. Santos Calavay and that Totoniccena (midwife) took care of her and now they are trying to get a midwife from San Lucas to give her some other remedio. She is staying in Godinez.

Family Relations.

Marcelo Alvarez went to the Fair in Guatemala City, taking his daughter Angela, who is about six years old and leaving his wife behind. He left her because they had quarrelled. She thought Angela had spilled coffee in the house (but she hadn't) and struck her . On this account the father got angry .

Martina's affair . "How could she meet the young man. Figúrese. At night I was doing some officios in the kitchen and she went out, saying she was going to my tia's Sebastiana ." When it became clear that something was wrong, M. would not admit what it was , " she told lies, she said it was a detencion . My father took her to Tecpan. He spent much money on doctors for her. My father was made poor through her . " When she found out what the trouble was, "le pegaban mucho. They told her she must not have anything to do with that boy. I. wanted to marry her but my father does not like him. He does not work much, only at times and M. is not strong enough to take care of a house. "

Enrique De L. has been sleeping with his neighbor Jesus Salgada. His wife Chabela is very angry with him about it and Jesus' husband came home and caught them once and beat up Enrique. "When things like this happen people cannot do anything. They just talk. "

R. and A. "I am afraid to go alone on the street because people talk. They say you are going to meet a man. People in this town have a very bad tongue. "

" When a man has a child like that (casually) he does not do anything for it usually. The child usually calls someone else father. "

* every east country

NO HAELA

Several years ago Marciano, small son of Vicenta Morales and Emilo Estacuy, was playing with Everilde, small son of Alejandro Morales and Sara Juarez. Marciano pushed Everilde down so he fell and hurt himself. Then Lucia Archila, mother of Vicenta and Alejandro, spanked Marciano for what he had done. Vicenta grew very angry and a family quarrel resulted. The other brothers of Vicenta more or less sided with their mother. Now Vicenta does not speak to her mother, or, if she can help it, to her brothers.

GOSSIP, QUARRELS, SOCIAL CONTROL

1-2

I do not know just what is defined by "moderate" in connection with quarreling and gossiping, but it seems to me as I read these words that they underestimate the facts. Begin with gossip. When Nicha or Flora or some other person well known to Romelia comes up here, in the first few minutes the visitor is apt to tell R. something of a personal nature that has occurred in the village: Arm ndo Armas wife is back; Eñestina did not tell her husband that a dog took her shoe; Don Felipe has or has not given permission to Genaro Santiso to hold a dam e in his house. My impression is that people are, as usually, intensely interested in the private lives of their neighbors and soon ~~erase~~ remove much of the privacy. Furthermore, people are not slow to suggest that some one else in the community, especially someone not liked, is doing something wrong. R. tells us that M.M. 's sleeping with Arcadia. She tells it as something generally known. The extra-marital delinquencies of so many people are so generally known that it appears that these events are hard to conceal and are much talked of. Also, people, especially women, are afraid that gossip will accuse them of misconduct, especially ^{sexual} misconduct. "People have had tongues," they say. This is the chief reason why women hesitate to go unattended on unfrequented roads or away from roads. People are careful about being seen, unattended, with persons of the opposite sex. This is true, especially if the case of women, still more especially in the case of young women, and in the case of Indians more than ladinos. Mariano has never accompanied Romelia to the village, or back, alone, although these have been mahy opportunities for it. Mariano, asked by Romelia to give a

letter to Andrea to take to San Lucas, gave it to Dona Caya instead, and told R frankly that he "wasn't going to talk to Andrea." It is, says R., partly because Ramos might not like it chiefly and ~~because~~ because Andrea is engaged to be married to a Totoncapeno. R. herself, talking about this, says "peor, si ~~es~~ es indita." ~~Magdaleno~~ Magdaleno arranges to have some one come with R. or with Nicha, and the young girls who come to the house come in pairs or groups, or with a brother.

~~It~~ It is prudence, in wishing not to become subject to gossip, that is involved, and not shyness. My impression is that the sexes are not at all shy in the presence of each other. R. and Mariano are on the friendliest and most natural of terms; Nicha or R. will talk without evidence of embarrassment with Francisco Santiso or ~~other~~ other young caller. My first impression was that the sexes associated with great freedom. I now would put it; they associate with great naturalness and without embarrassment provided the place and time of their meeting makes them secure from the suspicion of gossip.

On the other hand, ~~the~~ the fear of gossip is not a very powerful instrument of social control. If it were, people would be slower about doing the things gossip suspects them of doing. There are a good many cases of adultery. But there are no ~~heavy~~ heavy sanctions to fall upon an adulterer. I have not yet heard of anybody being put in jail for it. And the diffuse social sanctions are certainly not heavy. The adulterers are admitted to people's houses; they marry, or stay married, and support the cofradia, and have fun. They even are forgiven by the injured spouse, although not in all cases. Gossip is a deterrent. But what keeps people from doing what they know they shouldn't is what will happen afterwards: Will they feel very

offended. Women do not tear each other's hair, and I have yet to see a man with a machete wound caused by another man. Even the quarreling takes place in the house, not on the street, ~~MMMM~~ The people exhibit a ~~MMMMMMMM~~ a placid, unexcited and amiable manner to one another as to outsiders.

Yet there are more than a few quarrels. Looking over the cases, I see that for two-thirds of the ladino households I have no knowledge of serious quarrels with other households-- these people are apparently on speaking terms with everybody (I except the recent Bernardo Santiso affair). If in one-third of the households one or more of the principal people are not on speaking terms with at least one person in the village, how does this compare with what one would find in Glenview or Mineville or Freeport?

The causes of quarrels are-- as probably in our own society-- chiefly infringements on sex-rights or property-rights. are the cases:
 Here ~~MMMMMMMM~~: because the other woman committed adultery with her husband (two cases); because she thought he did (one case); because she accused the other's son of having got her with child; because a man took for his own a piece of land claimed by another; because pigs got over and ate the other's guisquiles; because of trespass by hens; because ~~MM~~ a man eloped with the other's daughter; because a ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ woman took it on herself to punish her daughter's child; ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ because a young man got another's daughter with child. Of course the general state of relations between people is important: if people are very friendly, the ~~MM~~ hens of one may dig up the young beans of the other and no offense is taken. But a serious wrong committed-- like the Bernardo Santiso act-- ruptures close friendships.

"People carry only the most serious disputes to the

governmental tribunals." I think this conveys the wrong impression. A dispute is serious if the injured person takes offense, and this he may do even if the trespass is slight

^{Tui}
 'The ~~MM~~ pig ate vegetables of the Taxes; the latter complained to the juzgado; the Tuís took great offense at this; now the two families do not speak. To take an offense to the juzgado is to show you wish punishment for the man who has injured you, or whom you think has injured you: you are ~~MMMM~~ vengeful, and being vengeful is itself a serious cause for taking offense. The juzgado is a weapon in the hands of a man with ~~MM~~ a grievance; if the other man thinks it was not quite reasonable or fair to use the weapon, then ~~MMM~~ he too has a grievance. So a matter that gets as far as the juzgado is necessarily a serious matter, whatever the original dispute or trespass, and it results, ordinarily, in "not speaking." Magdaleno threatened to take the stealing of the Nino to the juzgado, though it was done according to custom, when he suspected the Santisos of having done the deed. ~~MMMM~~ That was because he was already at serious odds with the Santisos. Where a Kentucky mountaineer would have gone gunning for anybody with the name Santsio, Magdaleno would complain to the (Indian) intendente. Magdalen took the seduction of his daughter to the intendente.

It seems to me that people go rather readily to the juzgado in cases where they know that the juzgado will offer a remedy. And yet the decision of the tribunal is not a final settlement; it is, as I have said, a blow struck by an injured party against his injurer. They do not then kiss and make up. The local society does not provide any neighborhood or family institutions for the composing of disputes. You do not call in the clan-members and negotiate for a settlement. If you can't call in the juzgado, or don't, there ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

or even if you or the other fellow has done so, there is nothing much to do about it, except get mad. One might regard "not speaking" as itself the characteristic institution whereby conflicts are traditionally handled. There are certain elements of convention in it. You continue to say Good Day; you participate with the other person in joint activities which custom or necessity dictates-- if ~~MMM~~ pledged to the cofradia you both take part, of as a part of the convite you enter the ~~MM~~ other's house. After the anger has cooled it requires at least the shaking of hands to compose the matter, but once the hands have been shaken the matter is regarded as at an end. There is, in other words, a recognized moment when the hatchet is buried. A woman, thinking she is about to die, asks the woman who committed adultery with her husband to come to her bedside and be forgiven (Sara Juarez). At the funeral of Mariano Miranda's father, Magdaleno extended his hand to Mariano and said he wished by-gones to be by-gones. But if this is to be recognized ~~mm~~ as combining with formal authority as the institution for ~~mmx~~ dealing with conflict, it will be noted again that it is an institution which involves the individuals concerned, and not their great-families, or the neighborhood, or the village as an organization.

QUARELS- SORCERY

The bad feeling between Jesus Salgado and the Alvarez girls has last for many years, ever since the original Pedro affair. During all this time they have not been "speaking." R. says also MM that Jesus makes evil remarks about them, to others, and in their presence. When R put on shoes she told her it must have been that she had sold her favors to men for the shoes. She calls Martina "maneta?" because she does not walk well, and calls R. "galletareta" because she is "dried up." MMM Although she has not been speaking to the Alvarezs, during this Christmas time when the nacimiento was in the Alvarez house she several times sent over her little girl with candles to burn before the Nino. MM R thinks she may be working bad magic. The candles are cebo not beeswax. Chabela, Enrique's wife (who has her own reason to hate Jesus) tells R. that Jesus burns nine cebo candles before the image of the Senir of Esquipulas that she has in her house. It is Chabela who suggests to R and Nicha that Jesus is doing magic. R. seems very uncertain as to how it is done. Chabela says the candles are not offered to the Senor really. but to some other santo that she has hidden.

A few weeks ago Martina and Jesus had an altercation on the path to the well, Martina accused J. of crowding her deliberately, and said something. J. complained against her before the intendente, but the intendente put J.. not M. in jail for a day.

J. has always "talked" with Reina. So when, for the fiesta of the Senor of Esquipulus, R butchered ahog, and sold the meat. Jesus came to the house and bought meet. Now just yesterday she came to the Alvarez house agdn, just for a visit, and spoke in firnedly fashion to Nicha and the others. N. did not like it; she is much exercised, and wrote R a letter about it.

FAMILY DISPUTES-- FORMAL CONTROLS

Some years ago her uncle Marcelo went to work in Panibaj. He spent much time with his brother Ricardo and MM Ricardo's family. Marcelo's wife, Margarita, noted for her jealousy, began saying around that her husband, Marcelo, was having a love affair with Ricardo's daughter, Eulalia. The allegation was of course all the worse because the girl is his nieces. When Ricardo heard of what Margarita was saying, he went and complained to the intendente, MM and had Margarita rrested and put in jail for two weeks for slander. Since then Margarita and Ricard no se hablan.

It is usual to leave a copy of one's will at the intendencia.

When Dona Gaya found a dead new-born baby in her pig-yard, she called her brother Enriwue who reported the event at once to the intendencia.

When Magdaleno found Isidro in his house to ask for M8s hand, after getting her with child, he summoned the police from the intendencia. (auxiliaria) . Ernestina E's father also brought charges through the intendencia against Silvestre

QUARRELS-- THE LAW

Recently (Dec, 40)

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Margarito Juarez was harvesting beans from a field of

his. His boy was with him. He had not taken all the beans from the field, but most of them, when, while he had left the field for a short time, Angel Santiso, on some errand or other, came down and tied his horse in the field. Fearing that the horse would eat the beans that were left, Margarito, from a distance, sent his small son to tell Angel to take his horse out of the field. Angel cursed Margarito to his son. Margarito, hearing the voices, came up, and began speaking with heat to Angel the two men spoke abuses at each other. Later Margarito went to SA and lodged a complaint against Angel. At the trial, Angel was fined two quetzals, Margarito nothing; it was judged Angel was in the wrong in putting his horse in anotherman's field, where there were beans. It was also found that Angel had not paid for any of his tickets; he was given a certain amount of time to pay for them.

Yesterday Francisca, the wife of Andres Squina, complained to the auxiliaria (and then to the intendencia). She said Andres had become angry with her because she had dulled a knife; he threw the knife in the yard, whereupon she threw a dish of chil mole in his face. She declared she would not live with him again; and she went to the Alvarez house, as she has neither father nor mother. At the intendencia they were each fined a quetzal-- she because she threw the chil mole at him. Cruz thinks that Andres was to blame; that he has often beaten her; and that the judgment was not fair.

Last summer(?) Romelia got into difficulties with Oscar Tobias. He said slanderous things about her, or joked about her, and she heard of it. When she met him in the road they wuarreled loudly. At first Romelia's father did not want her to make complaint against Oscar, but at last he agreed, and she did. Each of them was

QUARRELS-- LAND

Herculano Mtanda and Mariano Miranda appeared today in SA to meet Francisco Corzo, a lawyer from Solola, and their sister, Margarita, with her husband, Marcelo, so as to draw up and sign a settlement of their long-standing quarrel about land. Most of the day was taken in effecting this, with much ill-tempered discussion in the juzgado, the lawyer pacifying and persuading the parties to a settlement: Mariano was too drunk to talk intelligibly about the matter to me, although he entered into the argument, but Herculano's story was as follows:

When his father Lupario died he left a will, describing the portion of land to go to each child. ~~MMMMMMMM~~ Adolfo had the will; it was never presented. Adolfo continued to farm his father's land, as he had farmed it with his father before his father's death. For most of the last year of Adolfo's life, he lived with Margarita. While he was quite sick, Marcelo and ~~MMMMMMMM~~ ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ Margarita had someone write out a will for Adolfo ~~MMMMMM~~ leaving his property to Margarita. They had Adolfo sign it when he was too sick to understand it. After Adolfo's death, having this will, they ~~MMMM~~ began to make use of Adolfo's (Lupario's) land. They sold the house-site (which, by the way, Lupario clearly had intended for Adolfo, to Monica and Benjamin; they sold Adolfo's four horses. For months, since Adolfo's death and before, Herculano and Mariano had been angry with their sister about this. Herculano said Inez and Marcelo had gone to Solola to see the lawyer and had improperly influenced him.

H. complained also with great bitterness that Margarita had had him put in jail Oct. 9th last. He said he was telling his wife and child about how Margarita and Marcelo were robbing him,

and Monica, who lived adjacent to his house, overheard him. She sent a child to tell Sebastiana. Sebastiana lodged the complaint, and he said Tana went along, and added a complaint that H. had taken hold of Tacha's face while in her house. He was bitter that the intendente had held the matter against him. He had told the intendente that a man should have a right to talk to his own family in his own home. H. was also angry with Alejandro Morales, who was then in the juzgado, being regidor, because, he said, Alejandro had told the intendente that H. had spoken ill of him the intendente. H. was in jail for a day, and forced to pay a fine of 1 quetzal.

In composing the dispute-- if it is composed-- the lawyer referred to the rightness of treating a sister with special consideration and to the care she had given Adolfo.

H. also spoke with scorn of the marriage of Marcelo and Sebastiana recently. First he said they did this so that before the law they would be in a better position both of them to take the property that was rightfully Herculano's. When I pointed out that they were already legally married by civil registry and that marriage by the priest would not affect this, H. said they got married just because it did not cost anything. "And they in mourning too!" He thought it was indecent.

Romelia says she didn't know anything about Herculano's incarceration-- she was working here at the time-- until some days afterward when the Nina Antonia came and told her. She says from her she learned that Herculano had been saying that Margarita had sold the housesite for Q50, which was just like giving it away, because if a tourist saw it he would pay Q200. H. had also been saying that Sebastiana had no business getting into the affair-- it was something brothers ought to arrange. She understands H. spent a day and a night in jail.

STORIES, GAMES
AND
RIDDLES

upbringing in the Old Times. Ejemplos.

In the old times the old people used to give much advice to the young. They told them the things that their parents had taught to them. One thing they taught them was that when they passed an old person on the street they should kiss his feet and his hands. And then the bell for la oracion tolled in the evening at six oclock, they should kiss the hands and feet of their parents. Now times have changed. People always used to call their compadres ^{compadres Comadres} a ja b' or kumalej. Now they just say compadre. Marta tries to teach her grandchildren as she was taught herself. In the old times all were taught to be good to the poor, to give charity to orphans and others of that sort. That is the teaching of Jesu Cristo. It was a sin not to give a poor person food when they asked for. Now it is all very different. If someone comes to ask for good they are often just ill treated.

Marta's grandfather told her this story of why one should always be charitable. Once there was a senora living with her husband. They had just killed a hen when her old mother started to come to see her. "Hide the food quickly," said the husband. The mother asked her daughter if she would just give her a little corn. "No, I cannot," said the daughter, altho she had a whole troje full. But at last she did consent, and gave her a little. The mother went away giving her her blessing for the good. Afterwards grasshoppers came and not only ate up all the corn but the husband as well.

Romelia remembers another ejemplo very similar to this, in which food was also refused. In this case grasshoppers came which were as big as a horse, and the man and wife were turned into grasshoppers of this size also. "Then they stood at their doorway weeping because they said, 'No one comes to see us.' And no one gave them any food, and they couldn't eat anyway."

Marta's parents taught her that animals called Xunitsethi Kok would come and eat children if they did not do as their parents told them

Ejemplos.

Romelia's grandmother Martina used to tell the children ejemplos but she does not remember many. One was about badly brought up children. There was once a mother with a son and daughter. The daughter was good, she stayed in the house and worked. But the son was very badly behaved. When he went out to work in the fields he just ate up his food and did not do any work. But his mother didn't say anything to him, she just let him go on. One day when he had gotten grown-up he went out into the monte with his mother. They came to a tree which was all bent over. The son said to his mother, "Straighten up that tree." She tried and tried but it was all grown over and large and heavy and she could not do so. Because she couldn't straighten it out, her son killed her and took out her heart and liver. He took them home and gave them to his sister and told her to cook them. She did so, not knowing what they were. Then the heart spoke out, saying to her, "Do not cut me, daughter." And she was very frightened. (R. does not remember the end of the story.)

Story

One time the king ordered Bertholdo to bow when he came into his presence. Bertholdo never would do so. To force him to do so, the king had the entrance to his room made with a doorway so low that Bertholdo would have to bend his head when he entered. So Bertholdo entered the door backwards, presenting his posterior to the king.

To punish Bertholdo, the king had one of his vassals cut off the ears of Bertholdo's mule. The mule was kept in the pasture with the king's stallions. When Bertholdo saw what had been done to his mule, he cut off the upper lip of all the king's stallions. Then he asked the king to go with him to the pasture. The king thought he was going to show him what had happened to his mule. But when they came to the pasture he saw his stallions. "What is the matter with my stallions!" he exclaimed. "They are laughing at what happened to my mule" said Bertholdo.

The king wished to punish Bertholdo. He knew that Bertholdo lived in a fine house, beautifully clean. He sent a vassal to dirty Bertholdo's bed, by defecating in it. When the vassal arrived and stated his business, Bertholdo said. "Very well. But have you a written order?" The vassal said, No. "Go back and get a written order," said Bertholdo. So the ~~man~~ vassal went away and came back with a written order from the king: "This is the certify that the bearer may ~~defecate~~ defecate in Bertholdo's bed." "All right," said Bertholdo, "Go ahead." He drew his pistol. "But if you urinate, I shall shoot you."

The king ordered his men to hang Bertholdo. Bertholdo begged a last boon, as should be granted to the condemned. The king granted his petition. Bertholdo claimed the boon of ~~being~~ ^{being} the tree from which he should be hanged, and the king granted it. So Bertholdo set off, with all the king's men, looking for the tree. Bertholdo hunted and hunted

all day. When they came back at night,MMM he reproted to the king that he was very sorry, but although he had been looking all day , as the king had allowed him to, he had not found it.

The king gave a banquet and invited everybody but Bertholdo. But Bertholdo came anyway, Whole stuffed hens were served to everybody. Bertholdo sat down in front of one. The king was angry, and said that whatever Bertholdo should do to the hen, he woulddo to Bertholdo. Everyone waited to see Bertholdo out up the men, as then he would be out up. But Bertholdo only reached into the hen and ate it from the inside. And this the king couldnot do to Bertholdo.

with

(We had been talking of the manufacturing, and iron, etc., in the end of States) They say that it is up there in your country where you have done a great deal about (about 1840). "That is why, when we went away, we left all the knowledge (ciencia) up there.

The others expressed their assent, murmuring approval. "That is how it is." It seems to satisfy.



Marchemos compañeros
 Marchemos sin tardar
 Que nos sean placenteros
 in ci paso mititor
 rata pláin pláin ~~pláin~~ pláin
 rata pláin ~~pláin~~ pláin pláin
 Fochitas mis minutas
 Nojéin el compás
 Procarren in puntitas
 in ci paso mititor
 rata pláin pláin pláin
 rata pláin pláin pláin
 Fin

Salve oh Martín
 Que sígas tu hambo
 Embriandote la diecha y la luz
 dispreciando los gozes del cielo
 Por llevar de maestro a la cauz

Aunque indignos. salves de elevarte
 Nuestra voz en grato momento
 Nos lo inspira un filial sentimiento
 Nos lo manda un grado deber

Fue mas gris por fira por el campo
 Mas espléndido y exmoso fe cuando
 Eres tu nuestro padre seguro
 Eres tu nuestro padre menton

Oh Maestro bendita la mano
 Que impulsada por santo cariño
 Asegura los pasos del niño
 y en la senda difícil del bien

Fin

121 Cántico al niño Jesús

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A lo rro' rro' Niño
A lo rro' rro' rro'
Duermate bien mio
Duermate mi amor

En lecho de frujas
Desnudito está
Biendo las estrellas
y a sus pies brincar

Desnudo en las frujas
El lactito está
Esorando de frío
Que frío tendría

Y su Madre hermosa
Cantando está
Morá tambien
Al bearlo Morar

Noche venturasa
Noche de alegría

Bendita la dulce

Divina Maria

Caros celestiales

Con sus dulces asientos

Cantan la ventura

De este matrimonio

De los soberanos

En el mundo y Señor

Naces entre papas

Solo por mi amor

Cándido Cordero

Celestial pichón

Se ofresce al abispo

De mi corazón

Los amantes bonzos

De una virgen Santa

Por los que te serben

De primera cama

Duerme niño amado / Piélate de luna

Duerme tierno niño / Mi filia (carino)

Sierra esos apitos
 We color de cielo
 Que sirva de los hombres
 Amparo y consuelo

Salve niño amante
 Que con tierra celo
 A salvar al hombre
 Bajaste al cielo

Wichoso mil heces el y
 Pueblo cristiano
 Que te reconose
 Por su saberano

Humilde se acerca
 Un tiucto rapaz
 Que las aguas puras
 Bebió del jordan

Humilde se postea / y un blando cordero
 Al rey de judá / Principia abalar

Los reyes de oriente
Vienen a donar
Al rey de los cielos
Que en la tierra está
Con alma y vida
Bebidos allá
Que un vaso más
Y pobre nos acogará

Adios reina del cielo Mi delicia y amor
 Madre del Salvador Adios ho madre mia!
 Dulce prenda dorada Adios adios adios ! :!
 De mi ~~sisa~~ ^{coro} amor

Dejarte ho Maria
 No arista el corazon
 La belleza al dejar Te lo entogo Señora
 Permitame que vuelva Warme tu bendiccion
 Las plantas abrir

Adios ^{Madre} ch virgen
 Mas pura que la luz
 Embrazado con tu divino amor jamas jamas me olvides
 Invidate a dios Señora delante de jesus
 Warme tu bendiccion

Adios reina del cielo
 Dulce prenda de amor
 Adios hijo del padre!
 Adios Madre amorosa
 Adios adios adios
 Del espirito santo
 Oh casta esposa adios
 Fin

Adios del cielo en canto

Wulcima virgen
Del cielo adelicia
En flor que te ofreseo
Recibe propicia

Benéfico hierre
Luminico rayo
Del sol que engalana
Las flores de mayo

Los prados semejan
Amenas jardines
Sembreados de rosas
y suaves jamine

y penas se abren
El calis aroma
Regala el ambiente
Balsámico aroma

Orien su manera
Breando del cielo

El dueño bendisen
Que abita en el cielo

Oh candidas flores
De tinas tozanos
De ofrenda sea vidua
Cruel a mis cananos

Mostrad haora juntas
Mayer los ama
En e va redimirmos
la virgema Maria

Mei apeto sencillo
Recibe devora
Mei frente en el pólvra
Se engalra y te adora

Piadoso tu cielo
Abis nec eos atunde
y admitta avorosa
tu seno mi ofrenda

En rostro divino
Mi vista desembra
Y tanto ho felice
Su manto me cubra

STORIES-HISTORY-MYTHS

On May 20th I read stories Nos. 1,4,5,10,11, 12, 39 of the Panajachel collection to the following: Benjamin Hieron, born and brought up in A.E., about 24 yrs old, parents from Tecpan; Magdaleno Alvarez, 49, from Tecpan, lived most of life in A.E.; his wife, Salome Anleu, from Sochela; Hieronimo Juarez, about 55, from Tecpan.

Except that Benjamin said that he had been told once that the naturales believed that ~~MMM~~ once the work of the fields had been done by the hoes, all four of these listeners said they had never before heard any of the stories I read. ~~MMM~~ All the stories were received with the greatest interest and attention, at times approaching excitement. There were frequent interruptions of interest, approval, or --in the case of No. 10-- horror. Story No. 1 was read to Benjamin alone before the others had assembled; his comment was that certainly that was a good story because it was true that the naturales thought it bad to laugh in their dance costumes. The other six stories were read to all four of the persons mentioned.

Don Magdaleno, after I had read No. 4, at once exclaimed that that story was muy cierto. "Esto no es caso; es historia." "You can see the two hills there today. And it is true that the ancients could do great things. Once, Don Roberto, there were no ladinos here, only Indians, thousands of them; so many they could do great works. It is ^{that} in the Bible what great works the ancients could do. Once, after the flood, some of the people started to build a tower, so high the next flood could not reach them. They built it straight up, almost high enough to reach Heaven. But Jesus Christ did not want them to reach heaven, so he stopped the work-- he changed the language, or something. Yes, certainly that is true, that story." He likewise pronounced No. 5 to be true. "But, those naturales; they are muy listos;

they have been here long; so they know many things." Hieronimo spoke up in agreement. Benjamin did not speak at once; I asked him what he thought he expressed his agreement. It was not possible to determine to what extent his assent was induced by the quite genuine belief of the others.

No. 10 received especial interest. They began to remind one another, with a great air of excitement, that it was the fact that the old church was still standing there. Don Magdaleno, Don Hieronimo and Doña Salome, at least, regarded the story of the crucifixion with the resulting punishment, as true. When I ~~reached~~ read No. 12, they began to laugh at the ^{point} where the grandmother scolds the lazy brothers. When I reached the tamales, they interrupted to exclaim, "It is true! We see them ~~make~~ bringing the ~~tambes~~ But we never knew why they made them!" And the statement that the San Antoneros "used to put the hoe in front of them while they ate" induced more exclamation. Don Magdaleno: "They do today! They always bring their hoes with them when they go to the tree, or place where they eat lunh-- we always leave our hoes where we were working. We never knew before why the S n Antoneros always take their hoes along; now we know." But they were doubtful that the story that the hoes once worked was true-- they were uncertain, tending to think that mere nonsense of the Indians.

With the reading of No. 11, there was a sharp change in the manner of reception. Don Magdaleno hastened to explain: "Eso es no mas caso; no es historia." They all laughed heartily at the conflict between the grandmother and the twelve young men. No. 39 was also at once labeled a caso--- neither mentira, nor historia (cierto), but just a caso, such as they so often tell themselves.

On May 22 I read Nos. 4, 5, ^{and 15} and 11 to Basilio Santiso, about 60 year old, from Teopan; lived in A.E. most of his life. He is a less pious, less believing person than Magdaleno and Hieronimo, but is illiterate as they are. He laughed at 4 and 5, which the others had believed in, saying they were "just nonse^s (chiles) of the Indians." No. 11 he treated as had the

others-- a caso, such as those he tells himself. But he said he had **137** not heard before any of these three stories. However, the story about the lake cause him to tell me some things about the lake, which he declared to be cierto: " Melesio Recinos, of Solola, came (about twenty years ago) to visit his son who was secretary at Santa Catarina. One morning he got up very early and he saw a great white horse, much taller than our horses, standing by the shore. Its mane reached almost to the ground, and shone like silver. While Melesio stood there, afraid, the horse turned and entered the water; it disappeared under the water. No, I do not think anyone has seen it since. But this is true. . . . There are alligators (lagartos) in this lake, Only about six years ago some people at San Lucas caught one. I did not see it, but I was told about it. And once in a long while they catch a fish as big as a barrel. . . . Some years ago the government sent out to sailors to find out how deep the lake was. They put on those things (diving suits), One said, 'This is no lake-- this is only a puddle'. You should see the sea.' He mocked at the lake. He never came up! The other one did, but not the one who had mocked at the lake. For this lake is not like other lakes; it is alive..... But the Indians tell all sorts of nonsense about the lake-- how there is a church under it. How could there be a church under it?"

I said: "Here is something about San Jeronimo el Ingenio. Do you know that place?" "Yes," he said. "I will tell you something I was told about that place by my uncle, who learned it from his grandfathers. Once the pueblo of Santa Barbara was there where the finca is now. But the Indians in it were bad men. They used, all of them, to change themselves into tigers and other wild animals, and go out to prey on the people living around. So the government made them move their pueblo down below where it is now. They say those Indians still are a bad lot."

(This led to discussion about men changing themselves into animals. He denied that any could nowadays, but later admitted that Quiche could and did, and had been put into jail for it.)

When I read No. 15 (El tigre de la costa y el gato) he said,
"Well it is true that the cat is king over the tiger. The cat can al-
ways win over the tiger. It is smaller, but it is cleverer (mas manoso)
Have you seen that when you drop a cat, it always lights on its feet?
There used to be many tigers around here. Also rats. But the cats have
got rid of them"

Romelia
May 14

Lullaby.

Ru, ru, ru, ru, ru, ru ,
Dormete, niñito ,
Que tengo que hacer,
A lavar tus pañales
Y sentarme a coser.

also sing the first verse of the song for
putting the Nino Dios to bed.

A la ro ro nino,
A lo ro ro ro.
Duermete bien mio,
Duermete mi amor.

Children's Singles and Games.

Mish, mish,
Mishito mio,
Caza ratones
por los rincones.

Ojala yo fuera el gato
Para entrar a tu losa,
Para coger a la niña
Mas hermosa.

Parchitos blancos,
Parchitos negros,
Por las costillas.

Perrico.

This is a game in which all the children take hands and form a circle. All are given names of birds except one, who steps outside the circle and the perrico.

~~Que xxxkixn (fr xxx xans xoutsid xxx xxxkaxk~~
Child outside circle says: Perrico ligero.

Child who is perrico answers: Que manda, mi rey señor ?

Question : Donde fuistes?

Perrico : Al campo .

Q : Que vistas?

P. : Un ave

Q. : Que clase de ave

P. : Una shara .

The child who has been given the name of shara then leaves the circle and goes through the same formula, naming in his turn another bird, and so on. While giving question and answer the children chase each other around the circle but do not try to catch one another.

- 1) Little doubt remains in my mind but that the tales I have collected here are a fair sample of what is told in A.E. This doubt can be resolved by a little more work before I go.
- 2) You raise the question: If the difference between A.E. ladino tales and Panajachel ladino tales is real, is this difference a local difference or a ladino-Indian difference? Your experience with the San Pedroano suggests the possibility that it might be at least in part local. In the first place it would be well to find out what tales Panajachel ladinos know and tell. In the second, as you propose, it would be well to study folktales among ladinos and among Indians in Tecpan. In fact, for several reasons I am now inclined to the usefulness of doing some work in Tecpan, among both Indians and ladinos.
- 3) It is probable that the riddle only rarely is taken over by Indians. Mrs. Parsons stated flatly that riddles were not transmissible between Spanish and Indian, partly because of linguistic reasons (rhyme, etc). She found that the Oaxaca Indians had no riddles. Then I told her that riddles pass back and forth between Indians (in Maya) and vecinos in Yucatan. Again it seems that Yucatan is the exception. Why? (1) In general, as I have emphasized, there has been closer interpenetration of Indian and Spanish cultures there. (2) It is possible that the "mystical" catechisms" such as are included in the Chilam Balam books were aboriginal, and that thus the Yucatan Maya had a sort of riddle before the Spaniards came.
- 4) I still am surprised not to find proverbs among the ladinos. What about Spain?
- 5) Are the witchcraft stories included in your collection stories that are pretty generally known and that may be told, in fairly stable form, when stories are told among Indians? I have found none such here; the dialog I reported was, as you saw, very casual and unformulated; the tellers did not feel they were telling casos; they were just gossiping. The whole atmosphere changed when they got on that theme; before that, virtuosos or amateurs in the story-telling art had been putting on appreciated numbers; after that, it was just interesting talk.
- 6) I have doubts that the Nahuala Indians composed the song attributed to them. Perhaps the road corporal himself composed it. Anyway, I have no way of knowing.
- 7) Apparently real is the difference in the prevailing situations in which stories are told: Among ladinos, characteristically at wakes; also, at any casual gathering where time is to be killed. Among Indians, around the fire on the road. Of course the ladinos do not so often travel, in company. But why don't the Indians tell stories at wakes? To the ladino, the wake is a time for stylized play; then too they play a number of well-known games.
- 8) It seems to me that if a story is true, and its content is relevant to a matter of social judgment, then ipso facto it is to some degree a myth. If an atrocity story is told during a war, perhaps to shock or interest, nevertheless it also expresses wish or fear, and is a myth. My guess is that

among the Indians, as among the ladinos, such folk myths as I sent you are told, upon appropriate occasion as myths.

9) Were your stories told in lengua? Some in Spanish? All in Spanish?

10) What do you think is the implication of the phrase "muy de confianza el ladron por que el otro era indigena" in your story No. 52?

among the Indians, as among the Ladinos, such few myths as I sent you are told, upon appropriate occasions as myths.

9) Were your stories told in lengua? Some in Spanish? All in Spanish?

10) What do you think is the implication of the phrase "myy de confianza el ladron porque el otro era indigena" in your story No. 52?

Romelia
May 19

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El Huerfano

Yo soy el hijo prodigo,
Nacido del puro amor,
Por el desobediente de mis padres
Me castigó el Creador.

Yo le dije a mi papa
Que me partiera mi herencia,
Que me partiera mi herencia
Para tomar mi camino.

Y me dijo mi papa,
"No sea insensato.
Toma la parte de tu herencia!
Anda con Dios, hijo ingrato!"

En la mejor ocasion
Quise aprender a robar,
Y luego cayó prisionero
En un valle militar.

El juez que me sentenció
En la mayor tyrannia
Me puse en un calabozo
Donde sufrí noche y dia.

A los quince años me fui
A los veinte volvi.
No encontré padre ni madre.
Hay, desgraciado de mí!

Por el amor de una ingrata
Abandone a mis padres,
Y como estaba tan lejos
Ni el perdón alcanze.

Yo le digo a mis amigos
A los que estamos aqui,
No abandona a sus padres
Por lo que a mí me pasó.

GAMES

About a month before Holy Week the boys and girls begin to play cera (throwing down disks of wild black beeswax, one side marked to distinguish winning from losing side). This game is much played in Holy Week, by young and old, and both sexes. So also is knucklebones then played, and dice; but the last game is the only one of the three played by older people. All these games are played for money. "San Simon, who sold Jesus for money, gambled with the money; that is why we play these games in Holy Week."

Chonete is also played at this time: Four small bone hemispheres are thrown: the throws with all faces up or with all faces down are the significant throws. These games are not played at wakes. At wakes people play Compadre: One leader tells the ^{women} ~~Man~~ in advance which of the women is to be his comadre. Then one by one the men go forward and try to guess which is their comadre, by so addressing one woman. If she turns away, he has guessed wrong, and it is the next man's turn. This continues till all have secured their comadres. Also then is played Plaza: a game in which they pretend to sell articles sold at a market; this game involves "forfeits" (penitencias), in which losers are made to do ridiculous things.

Meanwhile, to happier subjects. I have read with interest your comments on our folk tales here, and I am herewith returning the stories, riddles, etc. that you got in Agua Escondida. I may say at once that I have found no riddles or proverbs here in Panajachel. Spanish riddles are known to the ladinos (of course) and some to the few Indians who know enough Spanish to understand them. The same can be said about proverbs. But thus far I have failed to find anything of the sort in lengua. There may be some, but they are probably not important. I have not investigated except very casually, but I don't believe either proverbs or riddles are at all important among the local ladinos; a few are known, but they are not bandied about.

Your Locusts-moral tale is not known to the Indians I have mentioned it to. However, I talked to a lad from San Pedro la laguna, and he knew a slight variant of it, with additional details, and says that everybody in San Pedro knows it. It was opined that perhaps the story is unknown here because milpa, and locusts, are unimportant in Panajachel. It may be of interest that when I got on the subject of stories with the Pedrano he reeled off a long one that he said he had heard often in San Pedro in lengua; and this story is entirely unlike any I have heard here, and quite like yours in Agua Escondida. It is almost entirely Spanish, with kings, princesses, changing into a bird, having tasks to do, poor boy marrying king's daughter, etc., etc. San Pedro is, as you know, a pure Indian village; ladinos have presumably never lived there, yet the Indians show a lot of white blood.

Your witchcraft dialog is pretty much what one gets here except that the Indians are if anything more credulous. That about Santiago Quiché is interesting because he is the most notorious brujo and charactotel in Panajachel; strange that Horacio mentioned his experience with Chivalán (that's how that name is spelled) and didn't talk about Quiché's own propensities....

I am fairly sure that there are no Indian songs here; I have never heard any (although most of the men whistle tunes often enough) by Indians, drunk or sober, or on any of a large variety of occasions. Furthermore I have asked and was told always that there are none. I do know, however, that in prison the men sing, and occasionally ~~make~~ make up triste verses. Your Santa Lucia song, learned from a Nahualeño, could hardly be corrected by Rosales unless he hears it, since those two towns are Quiché.

I have now collected over 100 stories, and I should be surprised to find that they are not a representative collection. The reason for this is that I have been hearing stories casually told (at my prompting, however) and they always are the same as, or fit into ~~them~~ one of the types of, the stories I have. Therefore, if your stories are representative of Agua Escondida, and I have a feeling they are, we are indeed faced with a great separation of folklores. However, even assuming that

our facts are right, we can't really draw a significant conclusion until we know something about ladino folklore in Panjachale and/or Indian folklore in Tecpán. What if we found that the Tecpán Indians have the same stories as the Agua Escondida ladinos? (I doubt it very much, but it is a possibility; and if it becomes a point of importance I can find means before we leave here of doing some checking on the point). I shall try to do something about ladino stories here.

I cannot yet give a decent answer as to when stories, of various types, are told. I think I have mentioned that at wakes the conversation takes any turn--gossip, agriculture, etc. among the Indians; whereas among ladinos here stories are told. Rosales points this out as a definite contrast. I have attended only one Indian wake and have heard none of the stories that are now written. Our boy Julian knows a lot of these stories (of all the types) and he has heard some from his father, others from his mother, others around; his sister Maria knows some, and she has heard them variously from father, mother, and other sources. As I told you, men on the road, when they sit around by the fire in the evening after eating and before going to sleep, customarily exchange stories. I have never heard a real story told in justification of a belief; I have heard such things as this; when I say "pobres" in reference to my horses, my Julian catches me up and says that I shouldn't say that because it is said that horses refused to help Dios (referring to Christ in the manger) and if I show sympathy ~~with~~ for horses, I shall have to pay for the horses' sin in the next world. However, I am pretty sure that some of these stories are occasionally told to justify a belief or action; the point only is that that isn't their chief function, or an important one. The stories are above all told for amusement; since they are true, they are like gossip in this respect. I hope to get more insight in this matter in the next weeks.

I shall send you copies of more local stories by the next messenger. As soon as milpa-planting lets up a bit, I am going to check up with some entirely different informants....

I have been thinking, worrying, and trying to get pertinent information on the ladino-Indian business. I hope to have something to say again shortly.

If Dr. Hanke wants to take ^{la} launch trip around the lake, I suggest (I mentioned it to him) that the launch might meet him below Agua Escondida. He has invited us to come along, and although time is short, we might accept, ~~ix~~ thus get away from things here. Perhaps you ~~will~~ would be interested too? We could have an outing and get in some conversation at the same time.

Anyway, if Mr. Hanke wants to come down that way, I shall be glad to make arrangements on this end. I shall have to know exactly when and where...

Best regards, Sol

In re STORIES

I have read your Boccaccio Outdone. ^{It} They form an unusually interesting collections of folktales, and should be published, with as much discussion and comment as can be provided.

Here are a few stories from Agua Escondida. With one exception, I have not taken them down in text; to do so takes very much more time, and I do not have much time. We need to explore more fully the situations in which stories are naturally told before we can make a satisfactory comparison both as to content and as to function. It may be that either your collection, or my very small one, or both, represent only one or part of the kinds of conventional narrative which exist among the peoples we are studying-- that for one reason or another my collection has started on one track, and yours on another. Always making such reservations, here some first comments to start the comparison.

1) The distinctness of the two collections. Striking is the fact that no story in either collection is to be found in the other collection. One of your stories (No. 41) was told me here; I have not included it; it was told very briefly, and (as stated again below) most explicitly as a myth. In Yucatan, though some stories were told in Chan Kom which were not told in Dzitas or in Merida, there were others, notably the Brer Rabbit stories, which flourished throughout; in Chan Kom, in Maya, in Merida, in Spanish; and in Dzitas, interchangeably in Maya or Spanish. A story would in Dzitas be told by an Indian in Maya and next day re-told by vecinos (approximately ladinos) in Spanish. Does the distinctness of these two collections of ours represent the relative distinctness of the ladino and Indian cultures here? Or is there significantly more overlapping than these two samples suggest?

2. The NNNNNNNNNNNN definitely European fairytales of the A.E. collection are practically lacking in the P' collection. The A.E. stories are chiefly either Brer Rabbit stories (or very similar other animal tales), or they are Grimm's märchen. The stories of both these classes preserve their original formal completeness; i.e., they are intact as to plot and episode, or relatively so. In Dzitas the European episodes tend to be jumbled; episodes would attach themselves to different stories; stories were rambling and less explicitly formal (See publication of MPR) This fact, as to the A.E. stories, is probably partly due to the (probable but not certain) fact that the literate people of A.E. occasionally read these stories in books; the oral transmission is held to the "original" to some extent by some use of books. Yet there was at least as much literacy in Dzitas. And No. 15, A.E. collection, was learned by Magdaleno from his aged grand-uncle, described to me as non-literate; and that story is as true to the European model as any.

The P. stories include not a single recognizable Brer Rabbit or Grimm's märchen story. A few approximate the latter type (e.g., your No. 20). And occasional episodes look like borrowings from European marchen of the Grimm type, as the changing of human beings into doves.

We might have a careful analysis made of the episodic content of these two collections, and we might include Dzitas, NNNNN Harriet Smith, under Andrade, has improved Smith Thompson's ^{is} method of breaking tales into elements; perhaps she could handle the Spanish-- or someone else could.

It is at least obvious that the P. stories are far more remote from European sources.

3. The P. stories are chiefly accounts of what happens to NNNNNN local, named, people and places; these are few in the P. collection. The P. stories deal with interesting, often marvelous, events, described as happening to so-and-so, or such and such a Maxeno, in such and such a

sheet, and your No. 41 (not included in sheets sent you). Both these were told me as myths; the narrators had become interested, respectively in urging upon me the sinfulness of killing locusts and the sinfulness of working on Thursday of the Ascension, and bolstered up their declarations with the anecdotes-- both regarded as true, and neither, certainly, to be thought of as a case. In Dzitas these two would be called ejemplos, and sharply distinguished from cuéntos (here casos). Are there more of these myths in A.? Very likely.

5. The frequency of sex episodes in the P collection; their absence in the A.E. collection. Are the A.E. people sparing me offense to my delicacy? Perhaps. HMM I am getting stories from the more fastidious in A.E. Perhaps if I were up the street with Pancho "Recolote", who is a bruto, I might get such as you are getting. Quien sabe!

6. Riddles. The A.E. people are very fond of riddles, and tell them much. What about the P. Indians?

7. Proverbs Why no proverbs here? I would have expected them.

8. Sex-differences as to stories. Here they will tell you that men tell stories, women do not; lists of good story-tellers are all men. The stories are told at wakes; the men gather separately, pretty much. The girls here will occasionally tell stories; but I have yet to hear one do so in a gathering of any size, with men-story-tellers present. Yet Romelia made a try at playing the marimba, in a large mixed gathering. What about the Indians of P?

Please return carbons of my stories when you are through with them; I take it you want yours back too

DICHOS, DADOS-PROVERBIOS-ADAGIOS-REFRANES-

- 1-Golpe dado no hay quite.
- 2-Jamás se muere la hoja del árbol sin la voluntad de Dios.
- 3-Mas vale que dure y no que madure,
- 4-Mas vale una continua goberna y no un repentino aguacero.
- 5-Mas vale ponerse una vez colorado y no cien veces descolorido,-
- 6-Machete estate en tu vaina y salí cuando haya ocasión.
- 7-Entre el perdón y la ofensa hay una larga distancia. Se perdonará la ofensa pero olvidarse nunca.
- 8-Agua que no has de tomar, déjala correr bien.
- 9-Olla que no has de comer, déjala hervir bien.
- 10-El que come mucho parece matate de limosnero (Nunca se llena).
- 11-La cáscara guarda al palo.
- 12-Quien no te conoce que te compre.
- 13-Por la pluma se conoce el pájaro.
- 14-La vara con que se mide con esa se vuelve ser medida y con otra pulgada mas.
- 15-La dicha es para quien es y no para quien la busca.
- 16-Antes que te cases mira lo que haces.
- 17-Lunes y martes no te cases ni te embarques.
- 18-Al bagazo poco caso y a la basura un escobazo.
- 19-Muerto el perro acabó la rabia.
- 20-Coche muerto no siente agua caliente.
- 21-A todo coche se le llega su sábado.
- 22-Barriga llena corazón contento,-
- 23-El que nació para ser panzón, aunque lo fajen.
- 24-El que nació para ser trbste, ni boño ha de ser alegre y bajo la marimba se duerme.
- 25-Que importa lo chato en resollando.
- 26-No te cases por vengarte, que el vengarte es un momento y el casarse hasta la muerte.
- 27-Lo que con una mano se hace con la otra se paga.
- 28-Amor con amor se paga. Agrado quiere agrado.
- 29-Después de un buen servicio un mal paga.
- 30-Así paga el diablo a quien bien le sirve.
- 31-El que es apvenido no es combatido.
- 32-Un año solo no arde.
- 33-Quien habla mal de su rancho aunque le esté cayendo encima.
- 34- San Diego, que se ahogue luego. San Blas, que se ahogue mañ.
- 35-Pescado grande se come al chiquito.
- 36-Perro que ladra no muerde.
- 37-Con paciencia y con saliva se come un elefante a una hormiga.
- 38-El que piensa mal, mal vive.
- 39-A la vález vruela.
- 40-ya llueve sobre mojado.
- 41-Tantas veces va el cántaro al agua que al fin se quiebra.
- 42-El amor va donde quiere y no donde lo busquen.
- 43-El amor y el interés fueron al campo un día; pudo mas el interés que el amor que le tenia.
- 44-Cada cabeza es un mundo.
- 45-Hasta no ver no creer.
- 46- No hay que creer ni dejar de creer.

- 47-A echar pulgas a otra parte.
 48-A gompes se hacen los santos.
 49-No hay mas pariente que una tortilla en el diente.
 50-Mas vale lo viejo conocido que lo nuevo por conocerse.
 51-Poco a poco se anda mucho.
 52-Arrieros somos y en el mismo camino andamos.
 53-Nunca falta un zapato roto para un pie podrido.
 54-Nunca falta un pelo en la comida.
 55-Lo dudo y hasta lo sueño.
 56-Mas vale tarde que nunca.
 57-Mas vale llegara a tiempo que ser convidado.
 58-Son de empeñar y no sacar.
 59-Del lobo un pelo.
 60-Sa doy, pierdo la ganancia de hoy; si fío, pierdo lo que no es mio. Para no ver gestos, ni fío no presto.
 61-El crédito murrió, mala paga lo mató.
 62-A saber que pata puso ese huevo.
 63-Dios tarda pero no olvida, y si olvida no es para siempre.
 64-A Dios se dejan las cosas y al tiempo las esperanzas.
 65-No hay palo que no tenga sombra en verano, ni muchacha que no caiga tarde o temprano.
 66-Dios tan grande y poderoso y yo tan chiquito y mañoso.
 67-La pregunta del sastre me gusta, si le pone mangas al chaleco.
 68-No hay bolo que busque la puerta de la cárcel.
 69-El pez por su boca muere.
 70-Si no hubiera Dios fuéramos machos los dos.
 71-Viví feliz en la oscuridad de un engaño y ahora estoy en la luz de un desengaño.
 72-Cada oveja busca su pareja.
 73-Quien no ve chico no ve grande.
 74-El león piensa que todos son de la misma opinión.
 75-No es el león como lo pintan.
 76-A veces se da con una piedra en los dientes.
 77-La mona aunque se vista de seda, mona se queda.
 78-No hay gavilán que ande gordo.
 79-No quiero, no quiero, échame al sombrero.
 80-Lo que no nos cuesta hagámoslo fiesta.
 81-De ofrecer a cumplir hay mucha diferencia.
 82-Ay Jodido dado, tan bien tirado y tan mal pagado.
 83- Ay! Huan, que se anda el rancho.
 84- Con ese manto al fin se va a misa
 85-El que busca encuentra.
 86-De grano en grano se llena el buche de la gallina.
 87-Al entendido por señas y al rústico a palos.
 88-El que quiere celeste que le cueste.
 89-No hay que sonar tusa donde hay ganado flaco.
 90-Unos lavan la lana y otros cargan la fama.
 91-Ya te conozco pepita desde antes que fueras melón.
 92-En lo que el mal mio es viejo, el de otro será nuevo.
 93-Atájenme que me pierdo.
 94-El que por su gusto se muere aunque lo entierren parado.
 95-Nada quiere el zapo que lo echen al agua.
 96-Dios saba por que tiene los zapos bajo las piedras.
 97- El muerto cuando hay quien lo cargue mas pesado se pone.

- 98-Entre menos bulto mas claridad.-
 99-Un pan mas una cagada menos.
 100-En gustos se rompen géneros.
 101-Si no hubieran malos gustos, no se vendiera la jerga,
 102-Bueno, le dice la mula al freno, que todo entre mas días mas bueno.
 103-Mío, dice el gato cuando está en su garabato, y no saben qué^{son} hijos de la patria.
- 104-Un diablo se parece a otro.
 105-Un convidado convida a otro.
 106-Paciencia piojo que la noche es larga.
 107-Arbarda sobre aparejo.
 108-El mejor escribano echa su borrón.
 109-El que no se lleva de consejos no llega a viejo.
 110-Desde lejos se miran los toros.
 111-Ná de cerca que se queme, ni de lejos que se enfrie.
 112-Pan, pan; vino, vino; derecho su camino .
 113-Cada quien que mire el derecho de su nariz.
 114-Quien te empachó que te cure.
 115-El Cura manda al chajal y el chajal manda al sacristán.
 116-Al que le caiga la sentencia que se libre de ella.
 117-Hay que sembrar para cosechar.
 118-Nadie sabe para quien trabaja.
 119-Pan para hoy y hambre para mañana.
 120-Cuando Dios quiere, santos no pueden.
 121-De un tropezón que yo dí, todo el mundo se admirá; todos tropiezan y caén, y de eso nada digo yo.
 122- Echale mais a la pava, que entre mas come mas caga.
 123- Un bien con un mal se paga.
 124- De ladrón a ladrón hay perdón.

arrives. no. to kill him. Put him in bag. would kill near river.
bag with him in bag; Pedro got lost, - his skull with the bag.

Does not say cables, s. free

Key gave P. work. P. put on the hair with things; cut off
ears of his horse. Pedro saw it, cut lips of key horse, you horse
are hanging to see by horse without ears. Key says, where horse
buried.

The Pedro on slope, not free has below Pedro got lost, went
off. Buried slope. "ya is guano P" after you. P. came back
Bought a hen. Made load of work, went as usual, made fire in field
hang horse, i. killed hen, small needles for
John Pedro out and lost him. Had no gun but s. to bear
you shot. "Set food in my camp again!"

Ordered him to stay. Born of looking for tree or what to hang.
Did not send. "Gustala"

Kobuqa.

Basco de la Sierra. S. Pedro back to from Heaven. Quer
arrived de la Sierra. got an "O que more" Changed to the. But
with eyes

Juan Sumicedo

left him. 7:30

went everywhere
No fear. Cura need for him. Skulls below
Ucoyo. Moly. Melates got skull.

Are skulls?

To reach future Porada for night - All who sleep in that
house die. Español much. Indolente = got capt. regular
algunos P. led cables, went to bed. Carth blew, not at cables
Bachonner - much more in it = more. "Que es" "y ay"
Speak to me? Speak up. Spent: we are over, supply for this more
follow: quiet, shows when gets sudden all given to Juan

Other mad due of fear ^{since close} David dress put it on 155
mom
Kicks on door answer alive Open door. Dances up and
down. ~~They~~ ~~are~~ away. Care less, I am as hungry.
Alive? no it is wrong. Took out paper.

Call them histories

Now changed
But do

Juan Cerezo
Brazil, sindical, Rabbit's only there, under, Wax doll.
Rabbit spoke to it. Saw which. Tied him to pillar. Queen's al
also at accident. Coyote in cage, Eat hen, you eat her in my
place. How big is coyote. Burrows coyote instead.
Coyote might rabbit to eat him. Coyote in rapotol.
Now, I'll eat you. Give you a rope rapotol.
Open mouth. A green one, like tooth, rabbit ran

Off. Rabbit - rousing (wasp) filled jar with wasps.
Coyote tunnels. likes to eat. I'll give them to you.
You care for it. I'll get a cheese. a hen.
Rabbit want off. Coyote took off cage, wasps sting him.
Well, eating in. Cheese in water. Dried all week, get
hen (mom) Rabbit off, coyote dying.
Coyote ~~got~~ played violin. Mamma hen, hen, etc -
got food. Spent up when bombas. On arms canal.
Came back like child. Coyote killed.

STORIES

(Bernardo, son of Don Basilio, lives now in Solola. He drives a camion between Solola and Guatemala City. He has something of a reputation as a story-teller, and enjoys telling stories. He says he gets most of his stories from novelas he has read)

(He first told a long story about Sabio Salomon. The chief character is a man who understands the languages of the animals. The story is crowded with fantastic episodes, in the Grimm and Arabian Nights manner. The "plot" is the attempt of the hero to get the reliquary of a giant; the giant's life is kept there; the reliquary once opened, the giant dies)

He then told story No. 4 (May first-- told by Basilio). He told this much better than did his father, with much better understanding of it, and ending it, properly, with the departure of the man leaving all his property to the hero.

He then told No 5. also told me by his father, and better than had his father.

Finally he told the story abstracted below

16

A young man sees three girls bathing. When they come out, they turn into doves and fly off. The young man hides the clothing of the youngest, when she comes out the other two fly off, but she cannot. When he gives her back her clothes, she too flies off, saying, "Look for me at the White Rocks in the Happy Mountains." The young man goes on a long search for this place. In the house of an old woman he asks for shelter. She hides him, just as her twelve sons, buzzards, return home. Each says he smells human flesh. The mother says No, and asks each where are the White Rocks in the Happy Mountains. Eleven say they do not know; the twelfth, coming in late, says he is about to go there. The young man comes out, and gets the twelfth buzzard to agree to take him there. The young man is to kill a steer, cook a leg, and ride on the buzzard's back, feeding him a slice of meat every time the buzzard turns his head. This is done; the young man almost fails to arrive because the meat runs out. Where they land, three men are quarreling over the ownership of a chair, a dagger and a little blanket. The young man sends the three quarrelers on a race, and himself takes the ~~three~~

three magic articles. The chair carries him at once to the palace in **157**
the White Rocks in the Happy Mountains. The blanket changes him into
a number of ants that creep into the palace. (The use of the dagger was
not explained) Beside the bedside of the princess the young man turns him-
self back and forth from his own form to that of the ants. As himself, he
touches the sleeping princess. She cries out to her father. When she learns
who he is, she betrays him. He is tied up; the men of the household are
told to pick out the slices of him they want to eat. He is killed, and
the princess flees in remorse.

(Don Magdaleno learned this story, fMMMMMMMMMM when he was a boy, from hearing his granduncle, Rafael Santiso, an old man, tell it)

Eran dos amigos que hicieron un viaje muy largo; se llaman Hazbien e Hazmal. Entonces dijeron entre ellos que Hazbien lleve el saco de tamales y que Hazmal lleve el saco de pan. Pues, dispusieron en el camino primera coman una parte, despues coman la otra, que primero coman los tamales, al terminar, comienzan el pan de Hazmal. Pues, habiendo terminado los tamales, entonces Hazbien dijo que comienzan la parte de el. Cuando le dijo que comenzaron, le contesto ^{si} le MMMMMMMM sacara un ojo, le diere un pan. Siguieron caminando. Cuando Hazbien ~~a dar~~ ^{volvio a tener} hambre, le pidio otro pan a Hazmal. Entonces le contesto ^{si} le dejara sacar otro ojo, le diera otro pan. Y asi hicieron. Cuando llevaban ese camino Hazbien y Hazmal encontraron muchas hormigas en el camino que no encontraron de comer. Entonces Hazbien dijo, ---Estas hormiguitas, pobrecitas, les voy a dar un pan para que comieran.--- Entonces dijo una de las hormigas que no tiene con que gratificarle el favor, y se quito ^{patita} una MMMMM de ella, y le dio a Hazbien, y le dijo ~~me~~ ⁻⁻⁻ que un dia le pasara algo que el dijera no mas que "Dios y la hormiga" que pronto estaremos con Ud--- Mas delante encontraron una bestia muerta, y los zopés de MMMMMMM dejaban comer un aguilucho. Entonces dijo Hazbien,--- Probrecito, este animal no ha comido; he voy a dar yo de comer.--- Le contesto el aguilucho a Hazbien,--Que algun dia le pasara algo que contara con el, y que no tenga mas que decir "Dios e aguilucho" que pronto estaria con el. Mas delante encontraron una paloma herida por un tirador. Entonces dijo Hazbien--Probrecita, esta paloma la voy a curar yo--- Y la MMM curo. Le dijo entom es la paloma-- Hazbien, que algun dia le pasara algo me dijera mas que "Dios y paloma"--que pronto estaria con el.

Viendose Hazbien ya sin ojos, lo dejo Hazmal abandonado. Entonces

Hazbien agarro su camino ya ciego y encontro en el camino un viejito y le dijo---Hijo, para donde vas?--- Entonces le dijo Hazbien lo que Hazmal le habia hecho que por dos panes le habia sacado los ojos. Entonces le dijo ~~MMMMMM~~ el viejito que mañ delante tenia que encontrar un rillito y cuando llegara a ese rillito que se sentara y buscara en la orilla el monte que hubiera allí y con ese montecito se fomentaran de sus ojos. --Muy bien-- dijo Hazbien y siguió caminando. A lo poco andar encontro el rillito y hizo lo que le dijo el viejito. Tan pronto como haber comenzado fomentando los ojos volvió a mirar y le quedaron los ojos como los habia tenido antes. Entonces dijo Hazbien---El viejito que encontré es Dios---

Entonces siguió Hazbien contento con sus ojos y acabó de algunas días se encontraron con Hazmal. Entonces dijo Hazmal---Esto es brujo, porque ya tiene los ojos habiéndose que los sacaba yo--- Vino Hazmal, paso con el rey y le dijo que habia un brujo. Inmediatamente el rey mandó a traer a Hazbien, y le dijo de que habia sabido de que el era brujo. Entonces le dijo el rey a Hazbien-- Te voy a probar si sáis brujo--- y le dió una noche nada mas de tiempo y le mandó a poner un quintal de ajónjoli y un quintal de semilla de mostaza y se revolviéron bien revueltos, y a otro día al amanecer tiene que estar cada cosa en su lugar. Entonces dijo Hazbien--Solo las hormigas me pueden sacar de este caso tan terrible-- Y dijo "Dios y hormiga." Pronto estaban las hormigas con Hazbien y le dijeron--Que te pase, Hazbien? No tengas penas, acostarte a dormir que nosotros vamos a hacer ese trabajo que a la amanecer ya este todo dividido--- Otro día cuando llegó el rey estaba todo ya como el lo habia ordenado. Entonces ~~MMMMMM~~ dijo el rey---Ciertamente este es brujo--- Entonces le dijo el rey-- Ya vamos a ver si sois brujo. Pues, mañana temprano quiero que ese cerro que está en frente de mi palacio amanezca blanca de huevos.--- Entonces le dijo Hazbien que estaba bueno. Entonces no dijo mas Hazbien que "Dios y paloma". Pronto estaban todas las palomas y le dijeron a Hazbien

--Que te pase? No tengas pena, acostarte a dormir que nosotros vamos a hacer todo ese trabajo--- Otro día al amanecer vio el rey el cerro blanqueado de huevos. Entonces el rey mas se preocupó en que de veras era brujo. Entonces le dijo el rey por tercera vez---Si me vas a traer a mi princesa a tal nación, entonces vos seres esposo de una de mis princesas-- Le dijo Hazbien, "Dios e aguilucho!" Pronto estaba el aguilucho con Hazbien y le dijo-- Que te pase, hazbien? No tengas pena, aquí estoy yo; en que te pueda servir?--- Le dijo Hazbien al aguilucho que el rey quería que fuera traerla a su princesa a una nación. Le contesto el aguilucho que pronto la va a traerla--- Montala en mi y te llevo a donde sea-- y se ~~fuere~~ fue a traer la princesa, y se pusieron el rey en su ~~palacio~~ palacio. Entonces Hazbien fue esposo de una de las princesas del rey. Entonces Hazbien le dijo al rey de donde había prevenido todo. Entonces el rey mando traer a Haznal y confeso las ingratitudes que le había hecho con Hazbien. Y le mando a quemar.

RIDDLES

(in the discussion it appeared that there are at least two printed "lists" of riddles in the community)

Un aposento oscuro, lleno de mil embarazos, y de consigue, lleva
a la muerte en brazos.

--- La escopeta

Fui hija, ahora soy madre, criando hijo ajeno, marido de mi madre.

(Riddle occurring in a story in which a woman nourishes her father, in jail and condemned to die by starvation, by giving him milk from her breast)

En caballo vengo que no han nacido, en las manos traigo a la madre que ha sido.

-- he rides a colt taken by operation from the womb of the mare after her death, the hide of the mare being used for the reins with which he rides.

Un arbol de doce ramas, cada rama tiene un nido, cada nido tiene siete pajaros, y cada su apellido.

-- El ano

Blanca como la nieve, y negra como la peste, no tiene pies y anda, no tiene boca y habla.

-- La carta

SONG

Five years ago Cupertino C. de Leon, of Santa Lucia, came to Agua Escondida for a few days and stayed with Magdalena Alvarez. While he was there he sang a song with lengua words, which Benjamin Hieron learned and now sings. Cupertino was caporal de camino. He said he learned the song from Nahualeño mozos working in his road gang. Translation follows:

Apureense, muchachos,
Arrancan la pajenar,
Busquen la direccion del camino,
No dejen hoyos en el camino,
Solo empajonar trabajamos,
Que no les pagan el dia.
Asi ~~yo~~ dicen a mi,
"Buen camino," nos dicen a nosotros,
Asi lo dejamos
Es para automobiles estan haciendo,
Vamos a ver si por eso es.

May 6th

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SONG

Benjamin Hieron sings a song with the following words, which he learned while in jail in Solola. It is much admired.

En diez y siete de octubre
Presente le tengo yo
En este baile existia
Rosita Viles murio.
Rosita Viles murio.

Entro Polita al baile
Y a la Rosa se dirigió,
Como era la mas hermosa.
Rosita lo desprecio
"Rosita, no me desprecie
La gente lo den notar,"
"Senor, no es que le desprecio,
SiMM mas que no se bailar."
Hecho mano a su bolsillo
Como al panuelo a sacar

Tico huij in pan ah chiz
Apurcuse muchachos

Tihuclizaj pa lu xol e him
Arvanqura la pajonar

Tacaj ~~resurrej~~ ^{resurrej} ~~sucive~~
Busquen la direccion del camino

Mandayagay xihul
No dejen hoyos en el camino

Solo eicim citij riachiaj
Solo empajonar trabajadores

Manticituj e
Que no les pagan el dia

Celan ~~di~~ ^{di} ~~huxch~~ ^{huxch}
Asi me dicen a mi

Yalan ehual yibe
Buon camino nos dicen a nosotros

nezan can by
Asi lo dejamos

Chimac tomal ^{divix chade}
Es para ~~autos~~ ^{autos} ~~estran~~ ^{estran} ~~mercado~~

calaj cari uecal or
Yanus a vor si por eso es

Apuerlino C. 164

do loon,
now if Santa Lucia

Nahualcoas

Santa Lucia
Road

SONG

Benjamin Hieron sings a song, much admired, which he learned while in jail in Solola. The words follow

En diez y siete de octubre,
Presente le tengo yo,
En este baile existia
Rosita Viles murio.
Rosita Vile murio.

Entro Polito al baile
Y a la Rosa se dirigio,
Como era la mas hermosa.
"Rosita, no me desprecie,
La gente lo den notar."
"Senor, no es que le desprecio,
Si mas que no se bailar,
Si mas que no se bailar."

Hecho mano a su bolsille
Como al pañuelo a sacar,
Hecho mano a su cintura
Y la pistola saco.
No mas dos tiros le dio,
No mas dos tiros le dio.

Salio el padre de Rosa
Como queriendo llorar,
"Rosita, que te ha sucedido,
Te estoy oyendo quejar,
Te estoy oyendo quejar."

Rosita esta en el cielo
Dando el cuento al Criador.
Polita esta en el juzgado,
Dando su declaracion,
Dando su declaracion.

EL CASO DE GENOVEVA

There was a king who wanted to take a wife. One day when he was out in an aldea he saw a girl whom he liked very much. She was very poor; she lived in a little house with a grass roof. The next day the king came back with his friends. He found the girl without shoes, wearing a hat of squirrel skin, sitting on a little wooden bench. The king asked the father for her in marriage. But her father did not want her to marry the king, because he was so poor and the king so rich. But the king commanded that it be so, and they were married.

After six months there came a war. The king, ^{Dagoberto,} went off to the war and left his brother Celefredo to rule in his place. Celefredo ^{love to} tried to make Geneveva, but she would not have him. Then Celefredo became angry and he had Geneveva put in jail in Bartolina. While she was in jail her child, the son of the king, was born. She was naked; so was the child; she gave him the name Desdichado. After a time Celefredo ordered Geneveva to leave the jail and go away. She refused. Then he ordered her eyes to be put out. The slaves, or vassals, of ~~him~~ Celefredo took her into the woods, there to put out her eyes. A dog came by, and the men instead took out its eyes and brought them to Celefredo. They told Geneveva to go off by herself.

Geneveva lived in the woods by eating roots and fruit. After a time she came to a cave by the sea; she began living in the cave. A she-goat appeared; Geneveva and her child drank its milk. Soon the goat had two kids, and then more kids. So they lived on the meat and milk of the goats. Desdichado grew to be eight years old. Geneveva fell sick; Desdichado herded the goats and fed his mother their milk.

Dagoberto was out hunting, very sad. His dogs came upon the goats and chased them into the cave. Some of the king's men followed.

"There is a woman here! And a boy!" one exclaimed. Then they recognized ¹⁶⁷ Genoveva and all knelt before her. "Forgive me," said the king, and he led Genoveva out of the cave, putting his coat on her to cover her. "I am your father!" he said to Desdichado. But the boy did not know his father and was afraid to go to him,-- he preferred to go with the goats. The king took them all back; ~~MMMM~~ the goats too, and he had Celefredo killed.

STORY

One time the rabbit wanted to have his ears shortened. He said his ears were too long; all the other animals had short ears. So he went to God and asked him to shorten his ears. God said, "First bring me three repentant sinners (tres penitentes). So the rabbit went and found the tiger. He got the tiger to agree to let him shave him, and while he was shaving the tiger, he cut off his head. Then he went to the monkey, and said, "Let us swing toge her". So he swung the monkey in a vine, and tumbled him off onto the ground and so killed him. And he took his head. Then he went to the crocodile, and got the crocodile to play marbles with him. While they were playing he tripped him and killed him and took his head. The rabbit took the three heads to God and said, "here are the three penitents" And @od was annoyed becaus e the rabbit was so picaro and he pulled his ears and made them longer than ever.

climbed up and went to sleep, with the tigers down below.

The tigers were afraid to sleep, and so was the sheep. At last the sheep wanted to go out and urinate. But he was afraid to go down among the tigers. So the rabbit said he would hold him up so he could urinate up there. But while he was trying to do so, he lost his balance and the rabbit and the sheep fell down among the tigers. This so frightened the tigers that they all ran off.

The rabbit and the sheep sat by the fire. The sheep's head nodded against the rabbit's shoulder, and the rabbit's ears kept twitching back and forth as he watched. By and by the tigers kept back. They looked and saw the sheep's head moving back and forth, and the rabbit's long ears moving over him, and one said, "He is scolding the sheep for not killing us, and the sheep is saying, Yes, Yes, Yes. So they all ran off again.

EL CASO DE LOS TRES CONSEJOS

There were three young men, brothers, who were supporting their old parents. There came a time when they had no work. The oldest said: We must go and earn some money. So their parents gave them their blessing, and they went off. ~~MMMM~~ The sun was strong and they came to a tree under the shade of which an old man was resting. "Good day," said the old man. "Good day," said they. "Where are you going?" asked the old man. "We are going to wandervabout," they replied. "Come with me," said the old man; "I will give you work." "all right," said the young men, "Let us go." "First you must shut your eyes," said the old man. They did so, and when they opened them again they found themselves in a great house. The old man gave a task to each of the three young men: the first had to wash a burro, the second to work in a flower garden, and the third had to wash a cudgel. They all found their work very easy, and they ate very well. But after a time they said, "What use is this work? Let us go home to our parents." So they went to the old man and said, "Master, tomorrow we are going home. Pay us our money." So the old man took out their money and put it into three piles, one for each young man. Then he said, "Before you go, you must go ~~MMMMM~~ on an errand. Ride on the burro out in that direction till you come to a house, and deliver the letter there."

The oldest son went off first. He went past a pasture where the grass was thick and plentiful; yet the cattle were thin and wasting away. Then he passed another pasture, rocky and bare, without a blade of grass. Here the cattle were dying because they were too fat. Next he passed a human skull; a fly went in one eye and came out at an ear. After this he crossed a river of blood, then a river of milk, and then a third river, perfectly clear, by the banks of which a woman sat dying of thirst. "Why don't you drink?" he asked her. "I cannot,"

she answered. At last he came to two rocks, like walls, that crashed together and separated again. The young man was afraid to pass through these, and so he returned to his master's house. "Why did you return?" asked his master. The young man told him about the rocks. "All right," said his master, "you were afraid. So the second young man set out. He saw the same sights that the first young man had seen, and when he came to the crashing rocks he too was afraid to pass, and he returned to his master.

Then the youngest son set out. He saw what the other two had seen. But when he came to the crashing rocks he said, "I can get through here, and quick he rode through on the burro. Beyond he found two roads, one wide, and filled with flowers, and the other narrow and thorny. But he remembered that he should not take the easiest way, and so he rode along the thorny path. At the end of this path he found a house, and knocking at the door he met a lady to whom he delivered the letter. She told him to wait while he prepared the answer. The lady told him to sit down, and asked him if he was hungry. He replied that he was. The lady put before him a small piece of bread and a little piece of chocolate. "What!" he cried, "is that enough ~~MMM~~ when I am so hungry?" But when he began to eat he found that there was always more bread to bite off, and always more chocolate in the pitcher. After a while he fell asleep. When he awoke he found that he had grown a beard. "What is this?" he said to the lady. She told him not to be afraid but to return to his master. He went back and delivered the letter. His master asked him what he had seen, and the young man told him. Then his master said, "I will explain what you saw. The first pasture is we poor workers, hungry and miserable, among plenty. The second pasture is we poor workers as God keeps us, even in poverty. The skull means those who refuse to take advice. The river of blood means the blood our mothers shed when we are born. The river of milk means the

At last the young man reached his home. When he reached his house he looked in the window and saw his wife with a priest. In anger he raised his gun to fire, but then he thought he should not (apparently the third advice should come in here; Don Basilio did not properly remember the last part of this story). So he put down his gun and went in, as the priest went out. He asked his wife, "Who was that priest?" "Did you not know your own son? He was a baby when you left; now he has grown up to be a priest. So then he summoned the priest. When the priest came he in turn looked in the window and saw the strange man with his mother, and he too raised his gun to shoot, but did not. Then they were all brought together, including the old parents, now very old, and the young man got home in time to bury them.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

When I was a boy there were very few marimbas, and those that ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ did exist were only up in the Highlands here. Only recently has the marimba come into the Capital. In those days only the Indians had marimbas. The marimbas were of tecomates; the cajones came later. I think it must have been invented in Totonacapan. Now the ladinos have learned to play marimbas. In those days the guitar was mostly played.

There are several guitars in Agua Escondida; one of the Indians plays a guitar, and one of them plays an accordeon, but not very well.

CASOS

(Told at my request, with much enthusiasm and some art, to the interest of a grandson and two grown daughters who stayed to listen)

1

A hunter in the woods finds a tiger tangled in vines so that he cannot get free. The tiger begs the hunter to release him. The hunter does so. The tiger then declares he will eat the hunter. The hunter ~~MMMM~~ declares that is no way to treat one who has just done him a service, and induces the tiger to go with him to some judge to decide the case. The first judge is an ox. The hunter presents the case to him, and the ox says: "I worked faithfully for many years for my master and now he is going to kill me for food-- what was the service at the cart worth? A good deed is repaid by a bad; it is right that the tiger eat you." The hunter persuades the tiger to go before a second judge. The second judge, a horse, says that after serving his master well for years, he is left to be eaten by buzzards. A good deed is repaid by a bad; it is right that the tiger eat you." The hunter induces the tiger to present the case to a third judge, the rabbit. The rabbit is found in a bunch of grass (paja). He says that he cannot decide the case until he sees just what the situation was. Therefore he induces the tiger to get himself tied up in the vines as he was before. The rabbit then asks the hunter, "Is this the way the tiger was when you found him?" When the hunter says yes, the rabbit says, "All right, then you can go ahead and shoot him"

2

The armadillos went to see their king to report that the armadillos were being killed off by the tigers-- only shells were to

be found lying about. The armadillo king says that they must go see the rabbit king. The rabbit king is told about their trouble. He tells them to bring all their people to him next morning. So all the armadillos are assembled next day, and so are all the rabbits. The rabbit king tells the armadillos to form in ranks, and has the rabbits do likewise. Then he tells the armadillos that they are to be the mules, and the rabbits the rifers. The rabbits mount the armadillos, and so their forces advance on the tigers. The rabbit king addresses the tiger king, "What are you doing?" "Nothing-- just walking about. And what are you doing?" The rabbit king answers, "Oh, yesterday I had to go to the juzgado." "And why was that?" "Why, I was informed that tomorrow a great wind is coming that will blow everything and everybody away unless it is tied down. ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ So I was collecting some vines to ~~tie~~^{tie} myself and my people down with." "Really!" said the tiger, "then tie me first." So the rabbit king ties the tiger tight to a tree. "Are you tied quite tight now?" "Yes". "Then don't eat anymore armadillo" And the rabbits rode off.

A week later a group of monkeys came by. The tiger begs to be released. But the monkeys say, "No, you'll eat us up." And they go off. A week later a man monkey and his wife come by. The tiger persuades the monkey to ~~MM~~ untie him. The tiger seizes the woman-monkey; he is so thirsty he carries her down to the water to drink before beginning to eat her. But the rabbit is ready for him. He has covered himself with honey and leaves, so he cannot be recognized. He calls to the tiger, ordering him to drop what he is carrying. The tiger, frightened by this strange figure, drops the monkey and she runs off.

3.

The tiger went to a horse corral where two young mules were about to be killed. The tiger says, "Why do you let yourselves be killed - men are so small." The mules explain that they cannot help themselves; although man is small he has ropes and whips and

other tools. The tiger then says he would like to get to know this creature man. So the mules tell him to come tomorrow. When the tiger comes the next days, the mules tell him that the man is over there cutting wood. The tiger goes over to where the man is cutting wood, and asks what he is doing. The man explains. The tiger says that he wants to try it. So the man says alright, the tiger may help him. The man splits the log a little way, and tells the tiger to put in his paws and help widen the split. When the tiger does so, the man withdraws the axe and the tiger is a prisoner. The tiger shrieks-- now you've killed me. He jerks out his paws and rushes off. He knocks over a woman drawing water from a well; she falls in. As she tries to pull herself out, she cries that the tiger tried to eat her.....

RIDDLES

- Mi madre es tartamuda, mi papa es cantador. --- El huevo.
- Una senora de cabeza blanca, de cuerpo verde. --- La cebolla.
- Chaves Baraves, manajo de llaves, salta paredes, escomia
mujeres. --- El carcel.
- Un cuento redondo que tiene tres trancas atras. -- El nance(?)
- Ciel arriba, ciel abajo, mar en medio. --- El coco
- Caballito de banda, banda, que no bebe ni anda. --- El puente

STORIES AND GAMES

At velorios it is customary to tell stories (casos; cuentos). Don Tomas says he does not know any, but that his older brother Sotero does. So also do Miguel Perez, the baker, Armando Armas and Gabino Alvarez. When I mentioned Juan Conejo, he said some of the the stories were about him. Women, he says, do not tell the stories; and he says the naturales do not know them.

People here do not play cards, "because we do not know how. But ~~MMMMMMMM~~ there are people in San Lucas who do." A game played here (at wakes, etc) is chonete-- played with four marked grains of corn, ~~MMMM~~ or beans, and with five little sticks to each player/ The sticks are won by the throw of the beans. Knucklebones are also played, and sometimes dice. But the two last, as gambling games, are now against the law. Chonete is "just for fun-- if one plays for money, it is for a centavo or two."

Sometimes riddles are asked.

May sixth

I have asked several people for proverbs, under that name; ~~MMMM~~ I have also translated several of our proverbs, and explained their nature-- always without result. They appear never to have heard of such repeated traditional sententious utterances.

Cockfighting used to be practiced; it is now prohibited by law, and takes place only illicitly, probably seldom

STORIES

(The day has been one of fiesta; the men did not go to the fields to work; the women visited about. ~~IMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ There has been talk of stories; an interest has developed in letting us know ~~MMMM~~ some good stories. We assemble in Salome's kitchen: Isabel, Salome, Martina, ~~MMMMM~~ Romelia, Horacio Cabrera, his nephew Oscar Armas, and we. Horacio begins)

I

One time the tiger went climbing in some vines and got himself so entangled that he could not get out. He began to cry out for aid. A hunter came by, and the tiger asked him to release him. So the hunter loosened the vines and released the tiger. Then the tiger said, "A good deed is to be paid with a bad one. Now I am going to eat you." But the hunter objected, and said that the tiger was not right. Finally they agreed to go seek justice. So off they went together. But the tiger did not want to go ~~MMMM~~ in front of the hunter because the hunter had a gun, and the hunter did not want to go in front of the tiger for fear the tiger would eat him. At last they came to a mule, terribly thin. "What has happened here?" asked the tiger, "What are you doing here?" The mule replied, "After many years of work, now they are going to get rid of me. ~~MMMMMMMMMM~~ Good is repaid with evil". But the hunter was not satisfied, and they went on to seek other justice. They came to an ox, standing thin and dry. The tiger asked the ox what he was doing there, and the ox said that as he could not work any more his master was leaving him there to die. "Good is repaid with evil." But still the hunter was not satisfied, and they went on to seek other justice. They came to a river. But the tiger did not want to go in front lest the hunter shoot him, and the mule, the ox and the hunter did not want to go in front lest the tiger eat them. At last the ox went ahead, then the tiger and the hunter, and then the mule. They came to a plain, and there they met a rabbit. But the rabbit was afraid of the hunter's gun, and ran off. The hunter and

the tiger and the mule and the ox ran after the rabbit, calling, "Uncle Rabbit, stop, stop." At last he stopped, and they explained the whole case and that they wanted justice. The rabbit said, "Very well, I will do justice. But first I must see just how the tiger was situated when the hunter released him" So they all travelled back till they came to the vines where the tiger had been tied. The rabbit tied the tiger up, just as he was before. Then he said, "all right, now let him have it." And the hunter shot the tiger.

No me toques, no me toques, ni me dejes a tocar; mis hermanitos me han matado por la flor de Aguilar

Oscare told the next story:

II

There was a king who had three ~~sons~~ sons, and he became sick. He sent his three sons to find the flower of Aguilar. The youngest son found the flower. When the others saw this, they killed him, and buried him in a patch of cane. Their father asked them where the other son was, and they said he was still looking for the flower of Aguilar. Some muleteers came by the ~~MMMM~~ patch of canes, and one of them cut a cane and made a whistle. But when he started to blow the whistle, it spoke, saying, "Do not play me, do not play me, ~~MMMM~~ my brothers killed me looking for the flower of Aguilar." The king heard this, and he had the whistle brought him. But when he started to play it, the whistle spoke, "Papa do not play me, do not play me, I am looking for the flower of Aguilar." Then the king sent for the other sons, and told them to play the whistle. But again the whistle spoke: "Brothers, do not play me, do not play me, I am looking for the flower of Aguilar." The king sent some one to look in the canebrake, and when ~~MMMMMMMM~~ there they found the youngest son, alive again. The king had the other two sons shot, and he went on living.

Horacio then ~~told a long story of~~ asked if we knew that it was possible for a ~~THE TEXT~~ pupil to learn more than his master could teach him. He said he had a story to ~~MMMM~~ prove it, and proceeded to tell

THE STORY OF THE ~~THREE~~ THIEVES

There was a woman who had three sons. Two of them learned good trades (oficios). The third son found no trade to suit him. They asked him, "What trade will you learn?" But no trade pleased him. Finally he said he would learn the trade of thievery. "All right," they said, and gave him over to a band of thieves. Under his master the third son did some robberies, stealing some money here, some there. At last the master-thief said he was going to rob the king. "No, I will rob him," said the young man. "You cannot; I will rob him," said the master-thief. "No," said the young man, "I will rob the king. But first you must ^{buy} ~~give~~ me good clothes." So the master-thief bought the young man new clothes, and when he was dressed he went to talk to the king. "The king said, "There is much thievery here, and I am afraid that my money will be stolen." "And what do you propose to do?" asked the young man. The king answered, "I am disposed to arrange a tank of water, so that if anyone enters by that door, where I have my money, the water will fall on him." The young man reported this to his master, and told him not to enter by that door of the king's house. So the master entered by another door and robbed the king. The next day the young man went to the king and asked how matters had gone. "Badly," said the king, "I have been robbed." "Now what do you propose to do?" asked the young man. The king said, "I am disposed to arrange knives so that anyone who enters by that door will be cut to pieces." This also the young man reported to the master-thief, and warned him not to enter by that door. But the master forgot, and when he entered the king's house that night, the knives cut off his head. The next day the young man went to the king's house and asked him how matters had gone. "Very well," said the king, "last night a thief tried to come in, and the knives cut his head off. Only we do not know who he is; the face is so cut up." "Now what are you going to do?" asked the young man.

"I am going to put the head on exhibition," said the king. Whoever weeps when he sees the head will be the thief's relatives, and we will catch them." The young man told this to the master's widow, and warned her not to weep if she saw the head. The king put a guard to watch the head. But the young man was still thinking. He went and bought two ~~MM~~ higs. Then he got a coach, painted it black, hitched the hogs to it, and put two lamps on it. At night he drove down the street to the king's house. ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ The guard were frightened and ran off, and the young man took up the head and carried it off. So they buried it.

Next day he went again to see the king. "How did it go last night?" "Badly," answered the king. "The thieves came and carried off the head." "Now what are you going to do about the body?" asked the young man. "Are you going to put it on exhibition?" "No," said the king, "I will put it in a box of glass and have it carried through the city. Whoever dries will be the relatives of the thief, and we shall catch them." ~~MM~~ The young man told the widow to be careful, not to cry, to keep her doors shut. But when the glass box passed her house, she looked out, saw the body, and cried out. Quickly the young man then cut off a finger from her child's hand, and when the guard came to see who had cried out, it appeared that the woman had cried because her child's finger had been cut off. So she escaped.

The next day the young man went to the king and asked how matters had gone. "Badly," said the king, "~~MMMM~~ "one woman cried out but it was only because her child's finger had been cut off." "Now what are you going to do?" asked the young man. "I am going to put the body on exhibition," said the king, "with a strong guard around it." The young man now thought how he might steal the body. He bought a hog, and taught it to eat only meat. To do this he went and found a child that nobody wanted, and bought it and killed it and fed it to the hog, when the pig was almost dying of hunger. Then he went to the king and said,

"The trouble is that the mourners of the thief are satisfied. They see the body placed in a glass coffin and paraded through the city. What you should do is throw the body in the street. Then they will be sad, and cry out." "You are right," said the king, and he had it done. Then the young man drove by, with the hog concealed in the coach. When they came to the body the higg rushed out and dragged ~~MMMM~~ it off. And the young man took it and buried it.

(By this time Horacio was well warmed up. He proceeded to tell the following story)

IV

One time the tiger heard about man. He wanted to know more about him. So he went about asking as to man. Where is he? What is he like? Man is small, they told him. But stronger than I? Yes, they said, he is stronger than you. The tiger met the tapir. Are you man? he asked. No, said the tapir. So then the tiger would not eat the tapir but went on looking for man. At last he met man; he was ~~MMMMMMMM~~ splitting firewood. The tiger said, How little? Are you man? Yes, said the man. Are you stronger than I? A little, said the man. Then let us have a test of strength, said the tiger. "All right, said the man, but first help me split this wood. All right, said the tiger. So the man split a log of wood, but only part way, and he told the tiger to help him pull it apart. The tiger put in his paws, and the man pulled out the axe, and the tiger was caught. Now are you convinced that I am stronger? asked the man. Yes, said the tiger.

(Horacio went on to tell the story of)

THE TWO COMPADRES

There was a man so poor that all his family had to eat out of was one porringer. The food was put in this and they all ate out of it. One day the family was sitting down to eat when the man's compadre

came in. So the man offered him food, but as it was all in one dish the compadre thought it was all for him. He began to eat, and as he was a great eater, the food was rapidly disappearing. The family sat around and watched their dinner go, and ~~MMMM~~ tried to think what to do to save some of it. At last the father whispered to his wife, "Go get a jug of water. If he takes a drink of water, he will be finished with his meal." So she brought him water. The compadre took a great drink, said, "Thank you. I always take a drink of water in the middle of my meal," and went ahead and ate up the rest of the food.

(This story was more painful than amusing to some of the ~~MMMM~~ hearers, who exclaimed "Pobres", and whose faces showed their concern). Horacio continued:)

VI

There was a man who made a pair of sandals out of the skin of a coyote. With these he could travel fast, because the coyote goes so fast. One day someone in his house was sick and he needed medicine. He wanted to go to Patulul. But he went so fast in his sandals that first thing he knew he saw the railroad and he was already at Cocales. So he started back to Patulul, and took off his sandals before he got there and walked in barefoot. Then, on his way home, he went so fast that in a moment he was in the lake up to his chest.

(This was told amid much merriment; Romelia had her version which got the man to Chimaltenango when he wanted to go to Tecpan. It was strongly asserted that these stories were "just lies," and reference was made to some man in Santa Lucia ~~MM~~ who tells many such "lies". The talk then went on to extraordinary episodes that were true, beginning with those about the phantom hens -- filed under "Folklore".

A little later Horacio told the story of the rabbit who wanted a tail:

VII

The rabbit went to Tata Dios and said that he wanted a tail. God said, "All right, but on one condition: bring me the tears of the tiger and the tooth (colmillo) of the crocodile. The rabbit went to a milpa and found a great many gourds (tecomates). He opened them

FOLKLORE

Pek '

Tomasa Cuk' 's second son Vicente had three little tails of hair about four inches long. at the back of his head. These are called pek' (no word for them in Spanish) and Romelia said that she knew they said it was peado to cut them but did not know why. They come from the snarls which develop because a child lies in the hammock a great deal and also because they do not comb the hair. When we asked Secundina Ariaga, ladina, who lives at Ojo de Agua, if she knew why it was bad to cut the pekes, she did not know. Then we asked Tomasa, the mother. She said that if left to herself that she would cut them off but that ~~Quiririno Morrales had told her that it was a sign of good luck for the child and indicated that there might~~ her mother believed it was very bad to touch them and scolded her if she tried to. She added that Quiririno Morrales had told them that the Pekes were a sign of good fortune, and indicated that she thought there might be something in it. When Tomasa's mother Marta came home we asked her why it was bad to cut the Pek'. She said that if it were done the child might get sick and die. She said that Tomasa had had some as a child and that once a woman came and ^{just} touched them, and immediately Tomasa got sick with fever and diarrhea.

Espantos.

April 21

"Over in Patzun an espanto put out the candle on one of the nine nights when they were praying over a dead person. One must burn candles for nine nights, if not it is a sin. "

I said that in the United States ghosts ~~walked~~ were said to walk at midnight in the ~~demeteries~~. R. replied, "Perhaps they do here but as we never go there at that time, we don't know. In Patzun the children played a lot in the cemetery. Then Death the calavera - she explained ~~further~~ further) raised up and came at them. The children began to vomit and died. "

"An espanto appeared once to Don Tomas out in the milpa. It was all in white, with long hair. It told him to dig in a certain place and he would find money. He was afraid to dig but Don Margerito did and found money. I did not see the money. He took it to Guatemala to have it changed. "

April 23

"Santa Rosalia is the santo which is used to make people die right away (i.e. that is used when it is feared that an espanto is hovering around. The idea seems to be of the spirit of the dying person hanging between heaven and earth, so acting as an espanto.)

ESPANTOS

Yes, here too there are espantos. (I mentioned the cemetery). No, here they come out in the streets. Usually one does not see them, one only hears them, crying and lamenting -- ai, ai! They are the souls of people, I suppose. Sometimes they throw a little earth at one; all one feels is the earth falling on one's shoes. Down by the shores of the lake there are espantos too. If you have to pass the night there you may hear them crying-- they are the souls of those who drowned in the lake. ~~MMMMMM~~ Once in a while one sees them too-- just the form, a sort of dark shape. One time David Miranda went to ~~MMMMMM~~ Chuacacay, where the mounds of the antiguos are, and on the mounds he saw the figure of a woman, dressed in white. She called to him to come, but he was afraid to come. She was the soul of her who is buried in the mound, and she wanted to show him something that was buried there-- gold maybe.

WEATHER LORE--ANIMAL LORE

When hawks fly in groups northward it is a sign that the rains will soon begin, especially if they are flying low. When they are seen flying southward, it is a sign the rains will soon stop.

When birds sing in the evening, it is a sign it will rain the next day.

Maize and beans should be planted when moon waxes; for other crops it does not matter.

If a child is slow to speak, or cannot, it may be cured by giving it food dropped by a parrot, when the parrot is eating. Then the parrot will lose its power of speech, and the child will talk well. (To direct question): if a person who speaks well eats what the parrot drops, it does not hurt him any.

It is usual to give dogs names, but never (says Tomas) names that are given to people (I suppose because animals do not have souls; they should not have saints' names). His two dogs are named Roldan and Vale. He says he called the one dog Vale, because that "is what Mexicans say to one another." (Two of the Alvaréz dogs are named Jazmin and Figaro.

Apr 22. Boys

Dogs in the aldea are named: Revoltosa, Yanque, Neron, Turco, Tutiraiz, Tix, Polco, Mister, Cuba, Palomo, Culebra, Envidiosa, Guasapita, Pezpita, Payaso, Tiburon, Cantinera, Porfin, Americano, Cuto.

They tell me horses are not named, nor cats. In Godinez, where there are bulls, some bulls are named.

Apr. 28. Tomas Alvarez

Some men do not name their horses; some do. Horses I have had were named Gama, Morena, El Quetzal, La Tortolita, El Venado

TWINS- MONSTROSITIES--ECLIPSES

(twins)

Some extended conversation on this subject produced no beliefs or practices on the subject. The general feeling toward twins is not unfavorable-- "it is the work of God. Some people say that twins are stars (luceros). When three are born, they say they are the Three Kings" (three bright stars go by this name.) (The word used for twins is cuaches (from Nahuatl cuatli) "Triplets ("tres cuaches") were born to the wife of the druggist in Solola. General Ubico is their godfather. They look just alike. People like to see them " (It came out that Don Tomas had never heard of the Dionne quintuplets, but had heard that somewhere in Guatemala six children had been born ~~MMMM~~ at one time to a woman-- his knowledge was extremely vague. Dioncia is a twin)

Eclipses (whether of sun or moon) are very dangerous times for pregnant women. They should not go out of doors then; if they do, the child will be born a monster, or with divided lips, or will abort. Or if such a woman goes out, she must fasten needles on her clothes, or wear scissors fastened under her blouse. The steel ~~MM~~ will protect her.

FOLKLORE--VARIOUS

No, of course we do not sit on grinding stones. When it has been used, it is washed and set on end. ~~MM~~ It must be kept clean. No one sits on it.

If a triple ear of corn is found, we do not do anything about it. I have ~~MMMMM~~ ^{seen} the naturales ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ break up such an ear; they say it "is the pigs that would come and eat the corn." But we don't believe anything like that.

Tomas says he never heard of any fiesta in San Antonio, or anywhere else, having to do with the hoes.

CADEJO- ESPANTOS

Characotel is what some call cadejo. It is like a dog, but it is not a dog. It has long hair, and red eyes. It comes out at night. It does not hurt people, but it does not let them pass. I have never seen it. I never see such things-- I have never seen ghosts either. But my sons have seen the cadejo-- lots of people have seen it. It used to come out right up there where the rock over hangs the road, and also down where Carmen de Tui lives.

If one thinks only of God, one isn't troubled by such things.

CADEJO

(We were talking about words in local usage, and I asked the meaning of "characotel") Characotel is something that is seen by people of little faith. If you think only in God you never see it. It is like a dog, but dark, with red eyes, it drags a piece of chain, fastened to its neck, and it has hooves, so that you hear its feet rattling (To my question) No, it doesn't do any harm. It only comes out at night and stands in front of one as if to stop one's way. But one just takes off one's hat and holds it in front of one (down by the knees), and it goes off (His daughter-in-law assented to all this, participating in the hat-explanation). It comes down from the cemetery, along the road that leads down to the town. I saw it once right there. But if you keep good thoughts in your mind, it does not bother you. At night the dogs rush out and bark at it. Bite it? How can you bite something that is just air? No, they just bark at it. But it is no danger; it does nothing.

CHARACOTEL

Characotel is what the naturales call cadejo ("with tangled hair." The cadejo is a kind of spirit-- it is aire. It has the form of an animal-- something like a dog, or a ~~MMMM~~ goat, or a sheep. Sometimes it is black, sometimes white. It comes out at night, and frightens people. No, it does not do harm, but it is a bother, people are afraid to go in the street. I have seen it several times, Once I through a little gravel at it, and it ran off. No, it is not any person changed into that form. It is a spirit, that is all. There used to be a cadejo that came out often, up by Don Gorgonio's house, and then came down our way. It was so troublesome that at last they put up a wooden cross at the cross roads, by Don Gorgonio's house. After that it didn't bother us any more.

COMPARISON OF PANAJACHEL INDIAN CREENCIAS
WITH SIMILAR MATERIAL FROM AGUA ESCONDIDA
LADINOS

198

THE MATERIALS. From the three chapters you sent me I took
122 ~~MM~~ items, 50 from the Chapter on the World, 30 from that on the
Kitchen, and 42 from that on Animals. To these I added a few
similar items which appear in my AE materials and which are not
represented in the three chapters you sent me. This makes a total of
137 items. I tried to select items representing non-rational beliefs,
but an occasional item may turn out in fact to be a piece of
rationally verifiable technical practice, as, for example, the
usage whereby new metates are roughened only in the sun. It is here
said that the pieces do not come off ~~properly~~ unless the stone is sun-
warmed.

Some questions arise as to the comparability of the materials and
as to how each group of materials is to be separately interpreted
in coming to understand the society from which that body of materials
was derived:

1. The Agua Escondida materials were derived from two individuals.
I know both well, and see them and talk with them so frequently that I
have a pretty good idea of the range of their knowledge of such matters,
and also of the role many of these beliefs play in their own particular
lives. What is represented by the chapters from Panajachel? Is this
the knowledge and viewpoint of one person, several, or many? If the
materials have been derived from more than one individual, how have they
been combined? One could take everything one had heard from all the
informants in a community and put it all together in an orderly
fashion. In this case one would get something larger than the world-view

of any individual. I think it probable that the beliefs of the "average" AE ladino are fewer and less well interrelated and mutually explained than are those of a corresponding Panajackel Indian, but this conclusion cannot be regarded as proved until materials compared are brought into approximate equivalence. This may be said another way by saying that even if the conclusion I have just set down is true, it might be possible to make the ~~opposite~~ opposite appear to be true by interviewing scores of AE ladinos, accumulating all the knowledge of all of them, and writing it down together.

Of the questions bearing on the interpretation of each body of materials in reference to the group from which it has been derived, I think it of importance to distinguish the beliefs which play a large part in the life of the people from those that may be rarely referred to. Two beliefs may be equally credited, and yet be very different in importance. It appears that in ~~MMM~~ Agua Escondida the ladinos (at least many of them) believe that ~~MM~~ meteors turn into worms when they fall. But people do not very often find the worms, and the belief, though real enough, does not make much difference. On the other hand the general idea that terrestrial bodies, especially living things, ~~are~~ ^{exhibit} a softening and hardening, a waxing and waning, obedient to those changes in the moon, is not only generally believed, but is a belief with a great many subdivisions or applications, and these ~~subdivisions~~ ^{subdivisions} are so closely related to everyday conduct as to shape the acts of most of the people a great part of the time. The general notion that a woman's essential nature is of such a sort that it may cause strong or masculine things to lose their different sort of strength or potency is another such general idea with wide ramifications entering constantly into conduct. It seems to be wise to put such ideas into places of prominence, to show the relations of the subdivisions to the master-idea, so to speak, and to subordinate to such ideas the more trifling beliefs.

3. A related but distinguishable point has to do with what one might recognize as qualitative differences among the beliefs. Certainly there is a difference between that AE "belief" that if one points at a rainbow, one's finger withers, and that belief that a woman should not step over a metate. Everyone here I have yet asked on the point has heard that if one points at a rainbow one's finger withers, yet everyone points freely at rainbows and indeed all I have talked to on the subject say, Yes, that is what people say but it can't be true because we all point at rainbows. On the other hand I think it would not be ~~uncommon~~ easy to persuade Romelia or women like her to walk on a metate, and I am sure she would feel very uncomfortable if she did so. In the tabular summary that follows I have in black pencil suggested some of these qualitative differences by marking some of the beliefs, as they appear to me to be regarded by Romelia, with "1" or "2" or # "3", corresponding with categories indicated below. I do not suppose these categories to be anything but relative differences; cases grade along between categories and the meaning of a belief no doubt varies between individuals and in the same individual at different times.

- (1) "Things said." Items traditionally declared; but people do not modify their acts in accordance with what is suggested by the declaration. I have also included here things said on which people could hardly take any action, as the fact that here people see a woman in the moon where we see a man.
- (2) "Morally neutral beliefs which are the basis of action." In this class the belief is genuine tested by the fact that people alter their conduct in accordance with it. But the supporting feeling is simply one of practical advantage or expediency. The moon-waning beliefs are obvious examples of this class. Most in AE are of this sort. "Secretos" belong here.
- (3) "Morally supported beliefs." "Morally" is perhaps too strong. "Pecado" as we have said covers a wide range of negative customs. But in the best examples of the class there is an over-plus of vague apprehension about doing what the custom says you shouldn't do. I would call these taboos; I would not call negative practices in class 2 by this word. The not-standing on the metate belongs here.

I think it is important to distinguish at least the principal beliefs one from another with regard to this qualitative difference. I think it is hard to assure oneself in this matter, however. It is particularly ~~MMMM~~ difficult in such a culture as this of AE, where nothing is taken intensely hard, and where deviation from almost any custom excites nothing very strong. Yet even here there are very real differences. It would certainly ~~MMMMM~~ make my friends here very uncomfortable if someone should deliberately throw a measure of maize in the flames, but if someone neglects to bathe his baby turkey in rue, why that is just his ~~MMM~~ carelessness of stupidity. I think it is on the frontiers of this question that it is worth while to do a good deal of work. I doubt if safe conclusions can be reached ~~MMMMMM~~ until one has seen the belief in question appear a good many times in the conversation and actions of individuals of the community.

THE COMPARISON. A ~~MMMM~~ dependable comparison of Indian beliefs in Panajachel with corresponding beliefs from Agua Escondida ladinos awaits better understanding of some of the matters discussed in the foregoing paragraphs. The following conclusions are merely suggested by the tabular summary I have made. They involve the assumption that what I have secured here ~~MMMM~~ principally from two informants is a comparable sample with what appears in your chapters.

- 1). ~~MM~~ P believes more things about the objects around them than does AE. Or put it this way: Generally speaking, there are more non-technological connotations to ~~MMM~~ objects in P than in AE.
- 2) The beliefs in P. have more explanations and interrelations. In many instances the P. materials give a reason for ~~some~~^{the} thing done. The same thing is done in AE but no reason is given for it.
- 3) AE and P are most closely alike in regard to non-rational

supplements of the technology. A great many of the secretos and other magical ways of getting things done or of keeping unwanted things from happening, are shared by both groups of people. The important group of beliefs as to the effects of the changes in the moon occur in both cultures. Probably the AE notion of virtue-lost-to-a-strong-or-masculine-thing^{by resigning over by a woman} is also important in P.

4) The most striking difference occurs in the area of interpretation of nature. P. has many more beliefs about sky, heavens, mountains, etc., than does A.E. The important group of beliefs about "the hill" are lacking in AE.

5) Closely related is the apparent fact that P. treats nature much more personally than does AE. AE has a very non-personal interpretation of nature, in contrast.

6) Beliefs as to supernatural ~~MMMMMMMM~~ beings, though in part shared by AE ladinos (werewolves, sirens, etc), play a larger role in the lives of P Indians. The greater body of anecdotal stories about such beings is an evidence.

7) Sorcery and sorcerers and related notions ~~MM~~ play a larger role in P.

8) It is probable that there is much more lore about snakes and snake-like beings in P.

9) In some of the differences mentioned above differences between native Indian and European tradition are probably to be discovered.

EVIL EYE

Seeing a red cloth tied around the neck of a young colt, I asked about it and was told that it was "to keep people from doing harm to it." Salome explained that otherwise it might die from "ojo." She said it was usual to put a small bag containing rue around small children's necks to prevent hurt from evil eye. It must be red; "that has more strength." If a child suffers from evil eye one knows it because they cry and cry, and put their heads back. Such a child may be cured by gathing it with an infusion of rue to which ~~MM~~ are added a little oil, a little rum, and a little urine from a male child. Her son got sick once; first Salome thought it had stomach trouble, but then she recognized that an aunt, coming to visit, had caused ojo. Salome cured the child this way. I asked if animals, such as parrots, could cause ojo. The idea was new to her. She said not all people caused ojo, but especially those who came, "with hot eye", as from the hills, sweating.

After telling me this, an indita standing by, she said "these people believe all the time that sickness is from evil eye"-- a little disparagingly.

ECLIPSES

Conversation with Alfonso Villa brought out that these men understand in a general way that two motions of the earth produce the diurnal and seasonal alternations. The nature of the eclipse is not understood. "When the moon is waning, it is still there; only the light goes. But when there is an eclipse, part of the moon or the sun goes away. Who knows where? It is bad. The people run out and beat on hoes, or cans, "to save the moon." Some people are very frightened." The suggestion that something might be eating the moon was novel to them.

EVIL EYE

Yes, there is ojo here, and it is serious. If you do not treat a child quickly, it will die. You know it has ojo, because the palms of its hands get hot, it twists about, and throws its head back. But there is a good way to treat it. You take an egg, and break it, raw, into a plate. With it you put some pieces of rue in the shape of a cross, and two chiles, and two pieces of pitchpine. You put the dish under the bed where the child sleeps. The egg draws the sickness down into it; when you see that the egg is cooked from the sickness it drew into it, you know the child had ojo. Not everybody can give ojo. You can tell those who may cause ojo, from the fact that they have a mark (lunar) in their own eye. And then they can cause ojo only when they come with "ojo caliente" (after they have been working, or are otherwise heated). There are a few people in the aldea who can give ojo, but only a few. Only children are affected; by the time a child is five or six years old it is no longer susceptible.

LA SIRENA

There is an espiritu in the form of a woman, dressed all in white, with long hair. She comes out where there is water-- from barrancas or pozos. They say one dies if one talks to her. Onee, when I was a young men, I as staying with a frãnd. I got up at three o'clock, because I was going to get a girl with whom I was having relations (apretando). When I went out on the street-- it was right above where I live now-- I saw this espiritu coming toward me. Her hair febl to her ankles, and was thrown forward, so that her face was hidden. As she came nearer I saw she was walking on the air. I walked back ard, always keeping my eyes on her. She looked like the girl I was going to visit. When I got back to the house, I dashed inside and slammed the door. I looked out over the cane of the door, and saw her still there. Then she disappeared. I went on to the house of my girl.

Saint John's Day (Romelia)

On June 24th (Saint John's Day). it is customary for everyone to bathe, either in the lake, or the pila. You must bathe early; if you bathe late the buzzards will drop their excrement on you.

Locusts (Don Magdaleno)

In other towns the people, both Indians and ladinos, burn incense and beat on a drum, "to please the locusts", when they come in swarms. Here nobody ^{does} comes; but if the swarm is serious, the people get together and drive the locusts down the slopes.

LOCUSTS-MORAL TALE

(A subject of much talk today was the locusts, descending in a swarm upon the fields, but not yet in such numbers as to constitute a serious threat) I asked if anything could be done to get rid of them) Nothing. We can get together and tr. to drive them away. But it is better to burn incense (in incense-burners) Then the odor of the incense quiets them, and they are satisfied, and go away. It is not good to kill them. That is a sin. Some people do so, but it is bad. One time, up above, the locusts came, and some of the people started fires and burned some of the locusts. But we did nothing. The locusts left our fields, but they only attacked the harder the fields of the others.

For the locust is maize. (I expressed astonishment, and called for an explanation.) Yes, the locust is maize. I will tell you. Once there was a man who had plenty of maize in his granary. But none of the other people had any maize. His own mother came to him, and asked to buy maize; she asked to buy it on credit. But he refused to give her maize on credit. He told her to get the money. She went and borrowed a peso, and brought it to him. ~~MMMMM~~ He took it and went to open his granary to get the maize. But all the maize had turned to locusts; they swarmed out and ate up all his fields, and ate him too. It was because of his sin, denying his mother. So the locust is maize; it is God's punishment; we must all suffer it for the wrong he did. If you look at the locust, you can see it has the mark of a grain of maize ~~on~~ on its front.

EVIL EYE

If one knows that he has caused evil eye to some child, he may cure it by taking some garment he has worn, such as a man's belt, or coat, or a woman's shawl, and wrap it around the child; also one puts some of one's saliva behind the child's ears. (This Tomas called a secreto; when I asked for other secretos, he said he did not know any)

WOMEN-- TABOO WITH RESPECT TO CROPS

It is bad for a woman to cross over ^wgrowing maize plants. If she does, the maize will not bear. She may walk along the ~~rows~~ rows, but ~~not~~ must not step over them. ~~MMM~~ It is especially bad if she is menstruating. ~~MMMMM~~ Young girls cause no harm, but once a woman is twelve or fourteen years old, she may do harm. "La mujer tiene fuerza." After a woman has passed the menopause, still she may do harm. Men do not sleep with their wives when they are menstruating.

A woman should not come near ripening crops; she will ruin the harvest. This is true for chile~~s~~, ayote and watermelons. But tomatoes are not injured. Nor should a woman climb a fruit tree; once a fruit tree has been climbed by a woman, it will not bear properly.

Don Tomas pointed out an orange tree that had been climbed by a woman, and said that ever since it has born only small sour fruit. A woman climbed an avocado tree in Tomas' yard; the fruit became bitter, and has remained so ever since. If a woman comes near chile ripening in Tomas' field, he sees to it that they do not come too close. I mentioned lime-burnings, and he said that near Tecpan, where they burn lime, they do not let women sit on the kiln; if one did, the lime would not burn.

Women do similar harm to dogs and horses. Tomas had a good hunting dog; a woman stepped over it once, and it was no good for hunting after that; it became dull and fretful. So too ~~MMMMM~~ a horse that has been ridden by a woman becomes dull and stupid. The same is true of a mule.

MMMM
CROPS-TABOOS WITH RESPECT TO WOMEN

The discussion dealing with crops and the best way to plant, I asked about women coming to the cornfield. "It does no harm-- why not, -- if they just come out and walk about. No, it is all right." I asked if it were all right if they stepped over the young maize. " That is not good. Es pecado". No more could be got from him on the subject.

EVIL EYE

Why, here we cure ojo with rue. You bathe the child with it. It is also good ~~MMMMMMMM~~ for the child to drink some. Then too we put an egg (raw, whole) inside the child's coat, where it will not be broken, while the child is sleeping. The egg gets warm. It draws the mal out of the child. But the best way, if you know who caused it, is to take the man's coat, or some other piece of clothing if it was a woman, and wrap it around the child. Quickly it gets well.

No, ojo is not one's fault. How can one help it? One is born that way. But not many. Some people are that way so much that even if they pass by a child they can ~~MMMMMMMM~~ make it sick. Their blood is so strong. Enrique de Leon once killed a child that way-- my son Arcadio's child. It came by, and he picked it up and played with it, and next day it was sick, and it soon died. But Enrique did not know it was going to happen.

(He had never heard of any animal causing ojo. Only children are susceptible)

NATURE KNOWLEDGE--WEATHER LORE

Yes, we have earthquakes here. There was a little one in the evening last week-- did you feel it? There used to be very serious ones. (Account of Quezaltenango earthquake). Earthquakes are connected with the mountains. When the mountains are full, and try to get rid of what they have, there are earthquakes. It is the ash from the colcanoes that has spoiled our land. We used to get good crops from the lands here--- three arrobas of anise from a cord of land-- now we are lucky if we get one. The ash fell on the land and ruined it.

~~MMMMM~~Yes, sometimes there are eclipses here. It is when the sun collides with the moon, or with a star-- quien sabe, what it is they say about it. (Description) People ring the bells, and some pray, to save the moon. The moon is very important. It draws, and it carries away--it does that to everything, including people. That is why you should plant crops when the moon is growing; then the crops will grow too. So it is with sicknesses; when the moon wanes, then so does the sickness. (I described tides; he had apparently never heard of them) The lake here sometimes rises and falls-- we do not know why. There are two outlets two rivers out of which the lake water flows.

(People often say that the weather will change, "when the moon changes" Any change is apparently considered. Don Magdaleno's pains change, "when the moon changes.")

ANIMALS-- LORE

Persistent questioning led to only one non-practical conventional attitude as to birds and animals: I suggested that rattlesnake's rattles might have some use. Don Magdaleno said they might be tied to a guitar, to use as a musical rattle. "But that is a sin. The snake is the devil (demonio)" I asked why. He said only that the demonio took the form of a snake. "Or of an animal," he added. "Or sometimes of a man."

They say it is prohibited by law to kill buzzards, because they are scavengers, and quetzals, because they are the national bird. But any other bird or animal may be killed.

Folk Lore .

"We cook the chickens legs and claws with the chicken and give them to the small children to eat, because it makes them run faster. "

The flint knives one finds are "what fall out of the sky when the lightening flashes. "

"There is a black circle around the sun . That shows it is going to rain. "

May 6
Romelia
Dona Paula

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Dreams.

If you dream that a member of the family is sick, it means that they are in good health. But if you dream that they were very well, having fiestas and so on, it means that they are sick.

If you dream of money, it means you are going to be poorer. "But no es cierto", Romelia quickly added. "I had a dream that I was going down a road past a house where a woman was dying. There were many people there and they asked me to come in and pray, but I was afraid to. That means there will be a death in the family. ^{Of course} But it is not certain. My grandmother is sick with her bad foot. The only thing which means death in the family certainly is when an owl cries over the house. That happened when the indita (the Indian girl who died recently) died. " (R.)

ANIMAL LORE--MYTH--SNAKES

(We were talking about remedies. Don Lupario had never heard of huachipilin as a remedy for snakebite) I'll tell what is the best remedy for snakebite. It is to seize the snake that bit you and bite it--hard. Then ~~MMMMMMMM~~ you get well, and the snake dies. Because man's blood has more power than the snake's. But you have to bite it when it is still alive. My son Mariano did that once; he was bitten by a poisonous snake; he did that, and got well quickly. (Talk about the various dangerous kinds of snakes) I have been bitten only once by a snake, although I have killed more than two hundred. When that happened, without thinking, I cut the snake to pieces with my machete. The leg swelled up terribly.

Yes, snakes are bad. I will tell you why they are bad. God was putting out (echando) creatures with his breath. He put out only saints; they fell around--everywhere just saints. We are from them, and so are the children of God. The Devil wanted to do it, and God said, All right, he might. But the Devil put forward only the bad ~~MMMMMM~~ creatures, snakes and lizards and such.

The snake is bad because he crawls, without legs. People say ~~kn~~ that ~~MM~~ once the snake had legs, and lifted himself up on them. But he met the Virgin, and she curse him, and condemned him always to crawl. The snake really has legs still, inside him, but you cannot see them. They say that if a bad person meets a snake, he will see its legs.

CROP TABOOS

(After repeating what he had said before concerning the effect of women upon ripening crops, fruit, horses and dogs)

The watermelon is very delicada. So one who has a hot look (vista caliente) should not approach ripening melons. If one such does, h they will fall off the vine. Before the fruit come, and after they are ripe, it does not matter, but when they are ripening it is best to work among the watermelons in the early morning when it is fresh and cool, or in the evening, but not in the middle of the day when the sun is very hot. It does not matter whether it is a man or a woman who comes-- that is something different (I suggested it was because watermelons are helada-- he appeared to reject this. I mentioned cucumbers). No, it does not matter with cucumbers. They are not delicada. Nor does it matter with tomatoes. But uicoy are delicada, and so also are ayotes and tecomates. With all these one should not work among them when they are ripening when one is very hot. With yucca it does not matter.

Another thing. When one has just eaten fish, one should not approach chiles before they are ripe. If one does they rot on the vines and the two eyes of the fish appear on each chile. This is true; I have seen it. It is only with chile-- with other plants it does not matter. It does not matter whether it is a man or a woman who comes.

(Along with this information Don Tomas explained that it was necessary to give coffee trees shade only where the land is not moist and the sun is very hot, and other practical information as to planting)

Misc. FOLKLORE

It is said that where the rianbow begins, there deer are being born. Inez has also heard that money is buried at the rainbow's end.

It is not know why the flower-cure for sadness has to be on a Tuesday or a Friday. "It is secreto."

Sometimes a ball of fire is seen at night, moving up and down, over a place where money is buried. If you dig there, you can find it.

TAE00S CROPS-WOMEN

Yes, I know women should not walk over maize. Or beans either. Chile-- worse. Yes, tomatoes, too-- any crops when they are growing. Yes, sometimes one does it anyway. But when my father is there he scolds me. Sometimes we (girls) like to play in the cornfield- but we try to go along the sides of the field. Yes, sometimes we do step over. But we aren't supposed to. And I never climb fruit trees- only the men. It spoils the fruit. And it is bad also to walk over a rope that a horse has been tied with, even if it is lying on the road. Worse, if it is tied to a horse.

Daughter-in-law of Basilio Santiso, May 22

(The talk turning to crops, I said it was thought bad for a woman to pass over maize or other growing crops) On the coast one must be very careful about watermelons. If a woman goes close to the vines with her hair unbraided, the vines shrivel up. But it does not matter if her hair is braided. That is true-- I have seen watermelons wither because of it. But here it is not so. Here nothing happens.

Romelia, May 21

Coming to a horse tied by a rope, the rope extending across the road and almost touching the ground: I rode over the rope; Romelia picked it up and passed herself and MPR under it

BUENO D L MONTE-DUENDE

The dueno del monte is true. It is a spirit in the form of a man. Sometimes one may see it in the wood, if one has that luck. An indita who lives down there (naming her) one day came upon him. He had on a wide hat; he had no clothes on, but was covered with black hair. He was ~~settled~~ on a bunch of grass, taking fleas off of himself. The indita ran to tell her husband; when he came back the dueno was gone, but you could see where he had been sitting on the bunch of grass. The woman got sick from having seen the dueno.

The duende is different. It is a little spirit, like a child; it is just mischievous. It plays guitars by night, and plays other tricks. It likes to play with the long hair of women. Once the duende carried off the wife of Desiderio Cruz, when she was a little girl. He took her off to the mountains; after some days they found her there; but she could not speak; she was half out of her mind. But she recovered; she is all right now.

ANIMAL LORE

Tomas Alvarez corroborated by Magdaleno Alvarez

The micoleon must be shot at the first shot; otherwise one can never shoot it. The same is true of monkeys, The reason lies in the fact that these animal have certain leaves-- unknown to men-- with which they rub the wound made by a bullet; it straght-way heals. We have seen them take a leaf of some sort and rub it on the wound.

The woodpecker has its own kind of plant do, with which it can ~~MM~~ make even the hardest wood yield. It simply rubs the leaf on the tree and then it opens to its beak. Some men, who wish to be thieves, get these leaves and with them open any locked building. A man known to us in Tecpan tried it on the church there; he rubbed the leaf on the locked door; there was a groaning, and the doors began to ppen. Afraid, he ran away.

The coral snake has its own leaf with which it joins together the severed pieces of itself. If the head be lopped off, the head alone will go get the leaf and bring it back and rub the pieces so that they ~~join~~.

~~MM~~ Some deer have within them stones (either in the buche or the memollo?). These stones have the outline of a deer marked on them. I have seen them. If a hunter hets one of these, he wil, be very lucky, Some horses have these stones in them too-- I found four in a hñse that died with us.

Toads send out a very poisonous substance from their skins. If a dog bites a toad, it surely dies. I have seen it happen. It is very dangerous for a person to touch a toad. If this happens, we give curarina, just as for snakebite.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS
MIRACLES
SAINTS
DREAMS

Romelia made a vow to make the pilgrimage to Esquipulas when her father was sick. In spite of the fact that her father died, in conformity with custom, she regards the obligation as remaining. There was discussion this year as to whether they might go this year. Nicha wants to accompany her, but Nicha gets violently car sick. Romelia is willing to go at least part way by bus. After talking it over, both seemed to accept the suggestion one of them made that they go on foot and ask Señor when there to free Nicha of carsickness. They would then return by bus.

Later, Romelia said that she thought that they would go to San Felipe and Antigua instead. "It is the same saint" she said. This substitution apparently did not meet the approval of Nazario Perez to whom I reported it.

Stories about the Virgen.

In the old times , when the Virgen was still a soltera she used to dance to the marimba, especially on the Fiesta Titular on the 15th of August in Solola. But afterwards , when she had many children, she did not go out to dance any more. Marta says that when she was young ,she was very fond of dancing to the marimbas, at the fiestas and that afterwards when she had many children and could not go to the fiestas, she complained. That was when they told her this about the Virgen.

Traditional Beliefs and Stories about Holy Figures.

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In Santa Lucia which is in the Departamento de Juliapa there is a very ancient church with a Virgen in it who is called la reinita. It is said that she is alive, or at least she must be so for she is said to bathe herself every day. Friends of R.'s went there once to see the Virgen. They came at six in the morning. The ~~old~~ woman who watches the church said that they could not get yet because the Virgen was bathing. She said that they might take the key, which was a huge ancient one, and see if they could unlock the door. They tried to do so but it would not budge. They tried again at seven, at eight, at nine, and finally at ten the lock turned and they were able to go in. They found the Virgen all wet, water dripping from her hair. Later the father of R.'s friend, who was a very pious man, went down to pozo and there he found the marks of her foot print and he took the sand up and carried it home.

Once there was a boy of the village of Santa Lucia who came to the pozo and saw bathing there a most beautiful girl. "This girl I must marry," he said to himself. So he bought a candle and burned it before the Virgen in the church and prayed that she might grant to him the favor of allowing him to marry the beautiful girl he had seen bathing. The Virgen spoke and answered him saying, "You may marry me. But it must be forever." And straightway the boy fell dead. So he ~~attained~~ attained his wish. He was buried in the church, and his tomb can be seen there today below the altar of the Virgen.

San Antonio , and local trad ions.

Walking over to Ojo de Agua Romelia began to talk about the old times . On the land where we were walking there was anciently a city, for bits of cement and masonry have been dug up there. But when her grandfather, her father's father first came to Agua Escondida it was puro cerro . Then it was very dangerous for the Indians killed traveling merchants. They killed them and put the bones in pots . Pots with bones inside have been dug up near the pozo . They say that the image of San Antonio was first where Godinez is now. But it was not happy there and by itself it moved and went down to the lake where the pueblo is now. It put itself up in the rocks, and so that was where the church had to be built.

Influence of San Antonio.

Marta was working in the house of Don Policarpo Jimenez , and her future husband Vicente ^{a Sololaleteco} was working here also as a mozo. He asked her to become his wife but she did not care for him . Later on she did juntar with him. Then he said to her, "Do you know why you came to me? Because I went to your pueblo to Llamar you . " Vicente had gone and burned four candles to San Antonio in the pueblo , because she was a San Antonera. And this was successful. That explains why a San Antonia woman married a Sololaleteco.

Sunday, April 10th

(Armando Armas)

Don Madaleno, Boz, and a third (indito-- who took no part in the conversation), seated on the ground, looking at a Revista which Alfonso left them. As it is Sunday, there is a feeling of leisure. Don Madaleno is waiting for his wife to get ready the clothes she is going to take along to the lake to wash. Their primary intention there is to bathe. After looking for a long time at photographs of a gorilla, and discussing the strength and dangerousness of the creature, they look at the pictures on the page "Extrano pero Cierto". Reading is difficult, but possible, for both Boz and Don Madaleno; chiefly they look at the pictures and admire them. The conversation ~~MMMM~~ turns to religion.

Boz: There are many different religions in the ~~MMMM~~ world. There are the Catholics, the Evangelicos, the Protestants, the Espiritistas, and-- (after some difficulty)-- the Masons."

I: Are there Evangelicos here? (They reply that there are none in the aldea, but there are some in Panajachel~~MM~~ . I ask about the Espiritistas. Don Madaleno tells me that they call the spirits. I ask if that is possible. Don Madaleno says he does not know, perhaps it is.)

Boz: The souls of the dead do not go to Gloria. They are born ~~again~~ again in other bodies. (This troubles Don Madaleno. He does not agree. He says there is a Gloria, and the souls of the dead go there.)

Boz: Yes, there is a Gloria-- but it is for Jesus. It is not for us. (Producing an argument triumphantly)-- how could so many souls be in one place? It is impossible. Gloria for Jesus only. (Madaleno repeats his belief that the souls of the dead go to Heaven. He begins to talk about sins)

Don M: God pardons the little sins, but the bad sins are not pardoned. If I should kill one of you, clearly that would not be pardoned. (I ask if there is a Hell. MM Don Madaleno says that we do not know that.)

Don Madal: That Arturo, who lives arriba, does not believe in anything. He is not Catholic, he is not ~~MMMMMM~~ Evangelico, he is not anything. (Don M. is sincerely troubled by Arturo ~~MM~~ Boz, who apparently feels he has gone far enough with his ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ somewhat skeptical views, joins in condemning Arturo. Boz says Arturo lives like a beast, he is "a horse."

Don. Madaleno: (to me) I have a world geography. I will show it to you. It tells about America, about Africa, about all the world. It tells there that the antiguos believed that the sun was a god, that there was a god of the land, a god of the earth. (I suggest that they also believed in something. I am asked directly if I am Catholic or Evagelista; I give an equivocal answer, stressing the necessity to believe in something. Don Madaleno is quite satisfied. He says that to believe in God, to have a good heart, is the only important thing. It does not matter if you go to church.

Boz: (reverting to his independent skepticism) Yes, but one should see what everything is like. If there is an ~~MMM~~ oratorio, one should go into it. If there is a capilla of the Evangelicos, one should see what that is like.

(Don Madaleno's wife calls that she is ready, and the group breaks up)

SOWING AND HARVEST OFFERINGS

In May, when the principle planting of maize and beans occurs, it is customary to light a candle and burn some incense in front of the santo of the house. No prayers are said, and nothing is done in the fields. This may be done before the sowing begins, or when it is complete. "Everybody does it. It is to assure good crops. The offering is to God."

When the harvest is in (usually in January) fruits of various sorts (lemons, oranges, coconuts, etc) and placed on the domestic altar. Little tamales, and atole are made and also set on the altar. A candle is lighted, and incense burned. No prayers are said. After the atole and tamales have been there for a day, they are eaten. After four or five days the fruit may be eaten. This is an offering "to thank God for the harvest."

It is also customary to put a bowl of atole in the granary, and to burn a candle and some incense there.

"Everybody does this." These offerings are made only in connection with maize and beans.

Nothing is placed in front of the patron of the village.

Milagros

Agua Escondida had no patron until some one gave it the San Francisco (the patron of Tecpan from which place most of the colonists came) twelve years ago. San Francisco is milagroso but there seem to be few or no stories about him. "But we owe an romeria to San Jorge, to la Virgen de las Affliciones. When Martina was about twelve years old she went in to a ver ^{cold} ~~tax~~ river when she had a fever. She was struck with what the doctors in Panajachel called paralysis. She could not feed herself or stand. Many doctors in Panajachel looked at her, but they all said she would die. We ^wbrought her home and bathed her with herbs boiled in water. We vowed candles to la Virgen de las Affliciones --her grand mother said to. Martina got well. At first she had to learn to walk like a baby, then she walked with a cane. She limps a little now. She should make a pilgrimage to the Virgen but has never done so. "

"El Senor de Escapulas is very milagroso. Some people were going on a pilgrimage there, and they complained, saying that it was very far. They were turned in to stones. The same thing happened to some people who were dancing el baile de la Conquista. They began to dance before they had gone to look at el Senor and were turned into stones. The same thing happened to some compadres who sinned on the road to the shrine. These things happened years ago. I have never been to the shrine but my comadre has been several times and she has told me about them. Some people now do not believe these things."

MAIZE

(Following the story of the locusts, I suggested that maize had to be treated with respect) He at once assented-- Maize and wheat are sacred, because they are ~~MMM~~ our food. Beans, no, when may eat some beans, But maize and wheat-- by them we live. Do it is bad to throw away maize or wheat.

RELIGION-- BELIEFS-ESPANTOS

(Following the conversation of the characotel, he said:) There is no reason to be afraid of any of those things. Ghosts? There are no ghosts. I would go sleep in the cemetery any time. Yes, I would. I am not afraid. Go put something there, and tonight at midnight I will get it for you. Once I slept all night in a cemetery-- soundly. No, there are no ghosts. (I asked what happens to the souls of the dead) Who knows-- they disappear in the lake, perhaps. (After a moment) Or God collects them and puts them off somewhere. Hell? The only hell there is the one right here on earth-- we go about, each day, working, enduring-- that is our punishment. Hell is what we make here. There isn't any other. (I mentioned Gloria). Yes, Gloria is for God-- the souls don't go there. No, we do not have to worry about ghosts, It is only when a person is dying that his soul is about. That is certain. Listen, I will tell you something. Some years ago my nephew was dying. It took a long time; he lay on his bed; and already his mind was not all there; he talked, but you could not understand it. One night I looked out there behind the rancho, and I saw two figures in the moonlight. One was a neighbor, and the other was my nephew. I could see him plainly; he had on his hat. I went to speak to my daughter, and I said, What, is he up and walking around? No, she said, he is where he always was. I went, and there he was, as usual, lying in the bed. When a person is going to die, his soul begins to wander, But once he is dead, it is over.

No, there are no ghosts. But I will tell you something else that happened to me. One time I was living back here in the country. There had been staying with us a small boy-- he was a lovely boy, He got sick and died. And the next night, I woke up,

woke up and heard voices, far off, singing the salve. They were coming to take the boy's soul. I could see nothing, just hear the distant singing, as they moved along. It was beautiful, beautiful (with feeling).

May 1
Dona Isabel

M. 218
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Dreams.

Last n. ght I dreamed that the mother of my son Magdaleno came and asked me for a tortilla. So I am burning a candle for her soul, just for one ^{night} ~~day~~. it is our custom.

The Future Life.

Calling on Dona Sebastiana, she spoke of a dream she had had night before in which appeared both her brother Magdaleno and her little boy Candido, both recently deceased. She said that Candido was playing with the sand , heaping up the earth and Magdaleno said that he was all right. Some remark was made to the effect that it was a dream but might be true all the same. "If there is a future life"one of the company remarked, leaving the matter open.

RELIGION-RITUAL

Today is a day when we should not work. Nor should we work in Holy Week. Those who observe it most do not work any day that week, but one should most respect Thursday, Friday and Saturday. Next Thursday (May sixth) is also a day of fiesta. It is Ascension ~~MMMMMM~~ ^{It is really a part of Holy Week.} Thursday. ~~It is the day when the ox spoke.~~ There was a finquero who told his mozos to take the ox to the field and work. Then the ox spoke, and said, "Today no, tomorrow, yes." That is all he said, but it was ^{This happened. It is true.} enough. The ~~MMMMM~~ ox spoke because it is a sin to work on that day. It is an important day; it has two crosses in the almanac. Corpus is also an important day. It is the day when ~~Me~~ Jesus came to take a body (incorporarse) with us. (I asked what Ascension Thursday meant). Who knows? The Pope, or the Bishop told us to respect it.

SUICIDE

On this they were very vague. The could not mention a case by name. "Aroundhere it does not happen." I suggsted it was a sin. "Yes, it is a great sin to kill another." Tommy question both replied that a suicide would be buried in the cemetery like anybody else

Religion

M. P. R
Dona Salome
Dona Isabel
May 3
Romelia

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Monday is el dia de los almas.

Tuesday is el día de San Antonio

Wednesday-- did not know what day it was.

Thursday-- el dia de la Santissima (Romelia when asked later first said it was el dia de Corazon de Jesus.)

Friday-- el dia del Señor de Esquipulas.

Saturday -- el dia de la Virgen.

Sunday-- el dia del Niño Dios.

This subject came up when I asked on el Dia de la Santa Cruz whether they would pray for the souls today. Salome said, "Yes, it is Monday, dia de los almas." When asked about what was the day for San Francisco Sunday was also named, but he is evidently not popular. San Jose has only one day in the year, Santa Rosalia is prayed to only with the dead or dying (to avert ghosts). Other saints prayed to occasionally -- only on their "day" are Santa Marta and Santa Magdalena. Santa Lucia is supposed to be helpful in curing eye troubles. San Antonio del Monte is prayed to when something has been lost. If one is "unfortunate", one prays to the Corazon de Jesus.

In the house of Dona Isabel there is a large cross, also en cuadro a Niño Dios, a Señor De Esquipulas, and a Virgen (?). In the house of Dona Sebastiana is a large Virgen, a Santa Rosalia en cuadro

en cuadro
In the house of Don Tomas is a Señor de Esquipulas, a large cross

Romelia says they have a Santa Cruz made but it has not been blessed yet. When they come back to this house they will set it up. Romelia does not think that the Señor de Esquipulas is a different person from the Jesus in other places. "There is only one Virgen, all the Virgins of different

places are the same person. " But Salome told the following story. "Near Patzicia there was a San Antonio, a very fine one in a box, with a beautiful face and his trees all around him. He was very miraculous. I once made a romeria there and burned a candle to him . But exangelistos lived near by and the came and took him away. They dont know where he is now , so they had to put another one there. This one is not as good. It was a sin what they did. "

RELIGION--BAPTISM

(Chiefly expressed by Magdaleno, but Tomas entirely concurring)

Oh, Yes, all of Sebastiana's children have been baptized, even Piedad. No time is to be lost in getting the child baptized; it is a great sin not to baptize one's children. (Vigorous assent from Tomas). Yes, that is a serious matter. (To my question) yes, Armando Armas' children have not been baptized. He does not believe in anything. He is not good-- I do not like him to come ~~MMMM~~ among us. His brother (Horacio) is good. (Story of how Horacio's wife left him while he was working as a chauffeur in Guatemala City, taking their two children). Juana Galindo's (Miranda's?) children have not been baptized, nor have those of Herlinda Miranda and Oscar Tobias (Tobias is working on a finca). They don't believe. It is very bad. When Oscar said he did not believe any more, I asked him for a Bible he had, and he gave it to me. I have it, but I have lent it to Silvestre. I will show it to you. It has many goodthings in it-- it is entirely a thing of God. It tells there how the Flood came and it rained for forty days and forty nights. And God told Noah to build the ark. Noah went into it, and his family, and nobody else. The others came and asked to come in, but Noah told them God had said only he should go. The animals went to, of each kind; so they occupied the earth again. The water went down everywhere, and the Ark was left on land. It is there still-- the say you can still see it, -- in France, or somewhere.

For thus we believe-- Jesus made the earth and everything in it. It is not good ~~MMMMMMMMMM~~ not to believe as those do not

BAPTISM-HOLY WATER- RELIGION

When people go to Mass, the priest blesses the water, and then sometimes some of the women ask the priest for a little of the holy water. There are some people here who have some. It is good to have, because if a child is dying unbaptized, the father or mother can baptize it by sprinkling some of the holy water on it and saying, "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, I baptize thee." Those words are sacred. But only if one is dying can some one do it but the priest.

There are three places: Heaven (Gloria) and Hell and Purgatory. If the soul goes to hell, it goes forever. But Purgatory is different; it is a punishment; after a while the soul can go to heaven. A baptized ~~and~~ child is a little angel; it goes to Heaven. That is why it is so important to baptize them. (I asked what happened to the souls of children who died unbaptized children) It seems they go to Imbo (sic). Imbo is different from purgatory. I guess it is just darkness.

I ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ asked if holy water were put in the grave before the grave is covered. He said no, but thought it would be a good idea.

RELIGION--SANTOS

~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ Are there Evangelistas up in your country? (Assent)
 They are not good. They make life sad. They tell what is not true.
~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ It is not right that we should ourselves speak to
 God; so He left the santos for us to speak to. When we speak to the
 santo, we speak to God. I am old,--would not change-- even if I were
 young, I would not. The Evangelistas, many have come, from your country.
 from Germany; they got people together and deceived them. I will tell
 you something true that happened. About five years ago there was a meeting
 of evangelistas in Godiñz. They were talking, and talking; it was late;
 and there arrived two strangers. They came on horseback, chilin, chilin.
 They came in and sat down with the others. They had been riding fast; they
 were hot. One took off his hat and fanned himself. And underneath his
 hat the others could see two little horns. The other man moved his coat,
 and you could see his tail. The others quickly got out of there. Many
 repented after that-- many repented, and went back to the saints.

Look what happened to Don Gorgonio. He was a poor man; he
 married his first wife, from Patzun. She was rich; she paid for everything.
 (Story of cause of his separation from her) One time he arranged his
 altar-- he had a beautiful saint; it was put in a little house, with many
 flowers-- he called us to admire it. And right after he became an
 Evangelista! It happened because his son, Gorgonito (he had five children
 by his first wife-- herself a widow with children) had a friend who
 was Evangelista. The son taught the father, and the father taught his
 wife. So they all became Evangelistas. But after that came this disgusto
 with his wife. And two of his mules, and two of his horses died. We went
 to him and we said, You see, you have left the religion-- no wonder
 this happened. Later he repented somewhat. He does not go with the
 Evangelistas any more. Nor does he take part in the fiestas of the
 saints. He is nothing-- he is not Catholic, he is not Evangelistas.

he is not Catholic

(I admired the Senor de Esquipulas on his domestic altar. He told me he bought it years ago from an Indian who passed with several to sell. This was after he had made the pilgrimage to Esquipulas. The image is provided with a strand of hair, out of which curly hair for the figure should be made-- but no one has done it for Lupario.) I asked which were miraculous santos) The Senor of Esquipulas is very miraculous-- you should see the original at Esquipulas-- it is that high. That is the true saint (el mero santo); it is an apparition (aparecido)-- it hears, it even moves sometimes; only it does not speak. (I asked if the San Antonio in the pueblo was aparecido) So they say. ~~MMMM~~ I think it is. I will tell which are aparecido-- The San Antonio de las Flores is el mero santo. San Antonio de las Flores is a little settlement. One time the people of Tecpan decided to bring the ^{santo} ~~MMMM~~ to the church at Tecpan, the better there to honor it. So they brought it with a procession. Next day it was gone from the church. And when they went back to San Antonio, there the saint was again in his place. He did not want to go to Tecpan. They say that in Guatemala there is a Virgen, the Virgen of Lourdes, that is aparecido. (I asked about San Francisco, patron of A.E.) No, that is only a copy, just as this Senor de Esquipulas on my table is a copy. There are three aparecidos: the San Franciscos of Panajachel, of Guatemala and of Tecpan. The Virgen of the Candelaria in Chantla is aparecida. (I asked where the mero Nino Dios was). He thought a moment, then said) The Nino Dios is in Heaven of course. That is His place. But God breathed out (echo) the santos, and left them all for us-- the aparecidos. The Devil, as I was telling you the other day, could only put out the evil creatures.

San Antonio is wonderful for lost things (Long story about how Lupario lost a horse by theft; he traced it to Santo Tomas; in Santo Tomas was advised to burn a borrowed candle-end before S. Antoni; how he burned it before San Antonio in the cofradia of the Maxenos; how meanwhile a woman acquaintance burned another candle before her own S. Antonio; the candle flame pointed in the direction L. was to look; there he found the horse.)

MYTH

Everything is in its decline (en su mengua). Everything is decaying. When we came here, we could get large crops from the land-- now we get half, a third, what we used to. So it was with animals. My father had a tall horse; it could carry twelve arrobas. My mase can carry eight. In the old days the horses were large; so were the mules; now one can get only small horses. I will tell you-- once each grain of wheat was so long (about two inches); the ear was as large as a mazorca. Now see how small the wheat ~~MMMM~~ is! I will tell you a true story. Once there was a boy, son of a king. His father left all his wealth to him. But he just gave him the keys to the rooms where it was locked up; and said he could open it when he was grown. When he grew up he took the keys and began to open the doors. In one room he found silver piled from ceiling to floor. Another room was filled with gold. In a third room there was only a table and on the table a single grain. He did not know what it was. He took it to the oldest ^{he knew} man there, who should know what it was. He was old and bent. He looked at the grain, and said he did not know what it was. But, he told the boy, my father is still living-- he will know. So they went to the old man's father. And the old man's father was still straight and tall. He took the grain, and said it was a grain of wheat, such as wheat used to be.

So with people. Men used to live to be a hundred or a hundred and fifty (Lupario told of two men he knew, one of whom lived to be a hundred and twenty) But now adays, if one lives to be fifty it is something, and ten, twenty at the very most thirty years more is all that one may live.

RELIGION

(He asks what I think of the Evangelistas. I answer, vaguely depreciating) ~~MMMMMM~~ No, they are not good. Some of their ideas are good, but many are bad. Their culto is sad. They take the joy from living. It is not a sin to smoke, or to take a drink. To get drunk is wrong-- then one does much harm. (I ask if there are Evangelistas here). Don Gorgonio is one. He never gives anything to the fiestas; he just stands apart. (I ask what a Mason is) The Masons don't believe in anything. There are none here (I mention Armando Armas) Yes, he is a Mason, or almost a Mason, because he talks against believing. (I ask why Don Gorgonio is an Evangelist, have you been in his house? There is no canto. (It comes out that his first wife, now living in Patzun, was an Evangelista) ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ It is admitted that Don Gorgonio never goes to Evangelist meetings) But Armando is a Mason, because he does not believe in anything.

SAINTS-SAINTS' DAYS

Yes, Saturday (Ma. 15) was San Isidro's day. Some people worked, some didnot. We (his sons) didnot work. It is not good to work then, because San Isidro is saint of agriculture. Sa Martin is the saint of the woods (monte). But these days are not grande, like Corpus. C ndlemas is grande too; we do not work then. And Ascension is grande; so is San Juan. And of course the Noche Buena and Semana Semanta-- then it is worst of all to work.

If you work on these days, it is bad. Something is likely to happen to you-- you will have a fall, or the crop will fail, Once I went out to cut some beams on San Isidro's day. I was not even working, just going along to get the beams, when that snake bit me I told you about, Better not work on these days-- what is one day?

(To question) ~~THAT~~ Some of the Indians work on these days, and some do not. You know, they are ignorant; and believe in all sorts of things.

RELIGION--VOWS

Vows are very common. Almost all of us have made a vow to some saint to make a pilgrimage (to the place where the mero santo is) because we fell sick, or some member of our family has fallen sick. You burn a candle before the saint, if you have an image; if not, you can make the vow anyway. The most miraculous are the Senor of Esquipulas, the Candelaria of Chantal, and ~~MM~~San Felipe in Antigua:

But there are many others; some go to San Antonio, in the pueblo, ^{San Bernardino in Patzun} some to San Francisco in Tecpan, some to San Jorge at Solola. Inez has made pilgrimages, following vows, to Esquipulas and Antigua; Magdalena to Antigua/ It is customary to celebrate the return from a pilgrimage with a fiesta in one's house-- cohetes, etc.

The Indians make pilgrimages too, just as much. They never heard, they said, of an Indian vowing to dance.

RELIGION-MEXICAN-INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS

Don Tomas: (I asked what was meant by el dueno del monte) San Diego Martin is the dueno del monte. All the wild animals are under his care. That is why this day (Nov. 11) is delicado; one should not go to the monte that day, or only with his permission. Hunters burn a candle to San Diego Martin when they want to get a deer; ladinos do it; it can be done anywhere-- in the wood. He is the patron of the pueblo of San Martin. (I mentioned that the Maxenos called the dueno del monte to them, and offered cigarettes for him. Tomas evidently knew about the Valentina Estrada case. He said all such things were of the devil).

San Bernardino is the sun. No, (to my suggestion), he is not the patron of the sun; he ~~is~~ the sun itself. (Don Lupario had said the same). The Concepcion is the patron of the moon; she has the moon at her foot. San Bernardino has the sun behind his head. (I asked him who were the patrons of the rains, of the maize. He thought, said, Just a minute, but gave no answer).

Neither he, nor Magdaleno, nor Pancho Miranda, asked separately, could give the meaning of ~~calbucote~~^{calbucote}. When I described the double-headed bird, Pancho and Tomas said they had seen it on the textiles, and "at Luis Escobar's finca", but had no name for it. Nor did any of the three have any explanation for bajadores de las lluvias, or for Votan; all said they had never heard these terms. Tomas and Magdaleno had apparently never heard of the pagan calendar 'Santo Tomas, Momosetanango and elsewhere. Pancho had never heard any story about San Jeronimo el Ingenio, but Tomas said his father told him once there had been a pueblo there, but the tigers came and ate the people. The story (No. 11) they thought probably true. Tomas said once he talked with an old San Antonero about these things from ancient times. The S.A. told him that in olden times the kings had great power and the punishments were cruel, "They sometimes put a man to death by putting him ~~MM~~ astride a blade, and splitting hi apart"

* Nor did Don Basilio, nor Arnaldo Armas

R. - 38

Santos.

Shrines which are very miraculous are that of San Felipe, about a kilometre outside of Antigua , el Senor de Esquipulas , and that of la virgen de Chankla . Her fiesta is on the 2nd of February. † Ixxxix
"The Virgen is very miraculous and they sell such good baskets there , and beaters of wood. "

" San Felipe is very miraculous for there have been several miracles happened in the last few years . Not ten years ago a man fell into a barranca , he called on San Felipe and saw the image plainly on a stone and he was saved. Also Daniel, son of Felipe Juarez had a miracle performed by San Felipe, about two years ago. He married very young and had a wife and children early. but when his mother died he did not care to live any more. (supposedly asked to be released from life) He made a pilgrimage to San Felipe, and on the way back he got ill. They said it was from the eight days of travel but no one knew what kind of sickness it was . When he got home his father called in doctors and they did all they could but he never got well. It was a kind of illness that made his leg twisted, so that they could hardly get him into the coffin. "

PILGRIMAGES

Isidro Higueros, Marcelo Alvarez and Perez, have left for Esquipulas. They are going in a bus to Jutiapa, and from there on foot. It is customary to go all the way on foot, the first time one goes; Isidro is going the first time. But as he found no other person who was going on foot, he went with the others in the bus. Isidro went because when his mother was sick he called upon the Senor of Esquipulas (clamo). Although his mother did not get well, he is supposed to make the pilgrimage anyway ("It is not the fault of the saint, is it?"). Marcelo and Perez are going because they enjoy it. Marcelo has been four or five times.

Sotero, Evaristo, Jose Maria Santoso, and others agreed to go together to Esquipulas after they were released from custody in the Bernardo affair. They would have gone this year, only the illness of Sotero's wife prevented.

When Martina was sick, ~~MMM~~ her grandmother and grandmother appealed to the Virgin of the Afflicted in San Jorge. So Martina now she is well should make the pilgrimage there. But as she now has a baby and does not walk easily she hasn't gone. But her grandmother went and lit a candle ~~MMMMMM~~ Martina had sent.

Romelia, Nicha, Salome and Magdaleno all went on a pilgrimage to Antigua. There was no especial occasion for this. They just wanted to "know" the Senor Sepulcrao de San Felipe (barrio). Many miracles are attributed to this santo.

When Daniel Juarez was sick, his mother having died recently, he said he did not want to live any more and he made a pilgrimage, though sick, to Esquipulas, asking that the Senor let him die. He was unable to return on foot, and was brought home to die. As he himself had made the pilgrimage, no one went after his death.

Lupario died almost a year ago. No one has gone to Esquipulas yet, but Gonzalo told R. he was going. But he has no money this year and is suffering with toothache.

Don Tomas has never gone to Esquipulas though he has a Senor de Esquipulas in his house. He has a Candelaria, and has gone several times to Chantla (Candelaria there). He will probably go to Chantla again on account of the recent death of Veranda.

Sofia, the infant daughter of Enrique de Leon, died over a year ago. Last Feb. 20, fiesta of San Jorge, Enrique and Chabela and a number of friends went to the fiesta to burn a candle before the Virgin of the Afflicted "and to enjoy the fiesta."

When the prisoners were taken in the Bernardo affair, the Alvarez made a novena to the Niño in their house to get help of the Niño for them. The niño is the guardian of prisoners. (Lines to this effect in the novena.) Monica, Sebastiana, Chomo, Enrique de Leon, came. "On the day after the novena ended they were released. The Niño can do much."

In Esquipulas it is customary to enter singing the alabado for the Senor de Esquipulas. Marcelo knows it well. Isidro knows the tune, and he can read it. The pilgrims go first to the shrine, with their loads, singing and put their candles on the altar. Then they go ask for lodging. Next day they return and sing the alabado complete. They bring rockets, and the people of the village also make fiesta on the fifteenth. But there are no dances, or sarabandas.

When the pilgrims come back it is customary to go meet them on foot.

When Evaristo and Sotero and ? were in jail in Guatemala, frightened for their lives, in the Bernardo affair, Sotero said, "The minute we get out of here. let us all go and visit all the churches in Guatemala City. What do you say? And everyone at once agreed. This they did, on foot; it took all day. They agreed to finish this act of thankfulness by making the pilgrimage to Esquipulas-- now delayed.

Antonio Cruz went once to Esquipulas, to buy tobacco. He has never made a pilgrimage. He told me about the retablos there. One shows a man saved from death after a loaded ox cart had passed over his body. Antonio showed me this must have been a miracle; the cart contained a load of twenty quintals.

It is customary for pilgrims to return in time to spend the day of the fiesta in their homes, celebrating the completion of the pilgrimage. The people who make the festival on the day are people who live near Esquipulas.

RELIGION* INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS-MASS

The mass held yesterday (Nov. 4) was a mass for the souls of the dead. Or at least so said Pedro and Don Juan. According to their account Don Magdaleno, almost two years ago, suggested bringing the priest to hold mass in the aldea. No mass had been held right in the aldea for many years. It is probably that Magdaleno was thinking of a mass in the fields, with blessing of the sown fields. After his death his son and sister (Tana) probably had some feeling of obligation or propriety to carry out the wish of Magdaleno, and his death provided a different meaning for the proposed mass: it might commemorate the dead, and so Magdaleno himself. I have not found out who first suggested holding the mass in the cemetery. It may have come with the tentative fixing of the date for the mass on All Souls' Day, or the idea of holding the mass as a service for the departed may have indicated the appropriate date. Pedro says the mass was discussed by him and Juan Santiso sometime last summer. The proposal became generally known, or at least enough known so that Nazario Perez, San Antonio Indian who has lived for many years on the outskirts of the village, came to Pedro and Juan and said he and some of his friends would like to take part. I don't know if he at once made it known that he and his friends would bring a zajerin, but it is probable that they understood this at once. At any rate a marimba was mentioned directly. Among the ladinos I heard frequent mention of the dos contribuciones -- one for the mass, the other for the marimba. So far as I have been able to learn, the chief or only contributors to the contribution for the marimba and mass were Nazario Perez, Santos Siocay and Ramos Perez. The latter two live in the pueblo. The contributors to the mass were many, but most of the contributions were of only a few cents; apparently a large share of the cost, perhaps half, fell on Pedro and Juan. Pedro provided the food for the priest, and paid for the

rockets. I am told that the priest charged 6 quetzals for the missa cantada and that the ~~MMMMMM~~ marimba cost Q2. I have not found out what was paid the zajorin.

Pedro and Juan tell me that the first mention to the priest occurred in September when Nazario Perez went to Solola and asked the priest if he could come. The priest agreed to come on or about All Souls's Day, but no definite date was fixed. Pedro and Juan think it very probable that on the same day Nazario made arrangements with the zajorin. They do not know much of the details of these arrangements; they plainly thought it not their affair. Later, in October, Juan Santiso went again to Solola and made definite arrangements with the priest.

The enramada was built in the cemetery chiefly by Indians; a few ladinos helped. ^{Ramos} ~~MMMMMM~~ Perez met the zajorin (a Sololateco) in San Antonio, and brought him up to the aldea. He went to the cemetery, but soon returned with several Indians to SA and brought back several of the saints from the confradias-- a San Nicolas, a Christ, one or two others I did not recognize. Soon after dark the zajorin began preparing the altar, a table set at one end of the enramada. When we arrived matters were at a standstill, apparently because ~~MMMMMM~~ no lights had been provided, or had failed for some other reason. ~~MMM~~ A single small candle was burning. At last a small kerosene ~~MMMMM~~ lamp was brought, and the zajorin began disposing the wandles-- 36 of them-- on the altar. He set them in pairs, a pair of small ones beside a pair of large ones, and rested the largest against the cases containing the saints. Incense was brought, and a clay incense burner. By seven-thirty he was seated at the altar, and praying. He prayed with few interruptions during the two hours I was there, keeping his gaze toward the altar. Occasionally he incensed the altar. At intervals he would take out a rocket, incense it, and pass it outside to be discharged. I asked several people about the prayers.

They said that as the Solola language is "different" they could not understand much of what the zajorin said, but that he was praying for good harvests. This I could make out myself. If he prayed to the souls of the dead, I did not know it.

No one paid any particular attention to what the zajorin was doing except Nazario Perez, who bustled about handing him candles or incense or trying to be helpful; and Nazario certainly made no effort to attend to the low quick speech of the zajorin. Practically all the others paid almost no attention to the zajorin. In ~~MM~~ one corner Francisco Sanchez, Indian, the other Indian musician, Pedro and Fabian Miranda, ladino, laughed and talked. In the opposite corners sat the mayordomos of the two SA cofrades, wearing their headcloths; they sat silent but took no active part. About fifty other people, of whom almost half were ladinos, including girls and small boys, sat or stood, talking, joking, acting in a generally merry and even occasionally rowdy manner. ~~MMMMMMMMMM~~ When a rocket was passed out, a ladino as often discharged it as did an Indian. Nazario made a certain show of being host, welcoming me; otherwise the group was without leader or organization. The marimba and the two strings played frequently, drowning out the low prayers of the zajorin, and apparently playing with out reference to each other.

I am told that the zajorin prayed all night, and that a number of Indians stayed with him. No ladino I have spoken to stayed all night.

The mass next day took place at about ten. The same altar was used, but the SA santos had been removed; and the santos now on the altar were borrowed from ladino houses of the village. The same ears of corn were on the altar. The rockets paid for by Pedro and brought from Panajachel, 3 dozen, were used in part on this morning during the mass, and in part the previous

Milagros.

At the novena for the Señor of Esquipulas I asked Nycha why the Señor was the dark color he was. She said it was from the blood which came out when he was crucified. She also told me about a miracle told to her ~~about~~ by her uncle Sotero. Some years ago the President, Sr. Ubico, thought that El Señor de Esquipulas was dark because he was dirty, and he sent some workmen down to clean the image. When they began to work on the image, blood started to come out showing that it was alive, Naturally they stopped working. Since that time Ubico has been very attached to El Señor de E. because he recognizes its very miraculous character, and he makes a pilgrimage to the shrine every year.

On the way home from the Novena, Romelia told me some more milgros. One time her father made ~~an~~ ^{altar at the} model of an airplane for the Posada. Tia Sebastiana made fun of the airplane, saying that the Niño would ride off in it. This was a sin, and as a result soon after all the bedclothes on Sebastiana's bed burned up, no one knowing how they caught fire.

One time Señor Gabino refused to have the posada at his house, saying the doorway was too narrow for the andas to enter. Shortly after his bake ~~was~~ ^{oven} burned down.

One time Don Chomo did not want to accept the bread which is given out by the Cofradia of San Antonio, for the fiesta of San Antonio, and which is distributed to the houses on the Thursday of the Ascension, forty days after Easter and for which each person is expected to contribute ten centavos limosna. Shortly after this Don Chomo's horse, which was out in the monte, fell and broke its left.

The Entrego del Niño 1941.

Romelia and I went down about four oclock on the 14th of January. The rockets had already gone off at Ojo de Agua anno ncing they were ready for to the house of Margarito Juarez where the Niño was. (Romelia later told me that the Niño. Margarito and his wife Mercedes had slandered her to her father, while she was in Panajachel, ~~and that~~ so that he was very angry with her, and that Margarito also said bad things to the father and mother of the young man in San Lucas who wished to marry her, this being the reason he married some one else, and as a result Romelia was not on speaking terms with M. Juarez and his wife. But at the time of the novena for the Niño she began to speak again since this was a matter of the santo.) A number of people were sittig around waiting, mostly the younger element, tho Don Chomo and the Nina Matilda were there also. After about a half hour's wait the procession began to form. Since the Holy Family could not be carried in the andas, the figures were to be carried ^{without}. Antonina, Delipina, and Priscila (Armas) dressed in colored tissue paper capes with gilt crowns an their heads, each took one of the figures. Romelia said that they were the "three princesses", and that it was their own idea to dress up so. Four years ago when the Niño was passing from the Santiso house to the Alvarez', it was decided, for no special reason but that it seemed a nice thing, to carry the Holy Family on horseback instead of in the andas. Three men representing the three Kings each carried one of the figures. Don Magdaleno hearing how this was to be arranged, thought it would be nice to have the three girls, Martina, Nycha, and Romelia come forth to meet the three Kings ~~represent~~ dressed to represent the three Queens. So they did so, dressed in white, with paper capes and gilt crowns. (For the convite of this year Don Magdaleno had thought it would be nice if the three Queens should appear again, but not Martina since she now has a child. It would have been Romelia, Nycha, and their cousin Rosenda. With the death of Magdaleno, this could not be carried out but the "three princesses" were an echo of this intention.) Next year Romelia, as a member of the Convite committee hopes to have some girls added to the group as in former

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times girls dressed as naturales used to go out with the convite . ²⁶³ But now many of the girls have married and the others have not wanted to go to the trouble.)

The procession moved along singing the usual alabadas up to the turn of the road and part way beyond, but since it was felt that the singing could not be kept up the whole way, and as much of the walking had to be in single file, as soon as they struck across country, they soon stopped^{singing}. An effort was made to go along as fast as possible, instead of at the usual slow pace, and when the Niña Matilda slowed things up a bit, some comment was made. On a ~~pro~~aching Ojo de Agua the path had been somewhat enlarged and smoothed out, and the group reformed somewhat and began to sing. Secundina, wife of Romaldo, came out to meet us with the incense, and we marched in to the house where the altar had been prepared with carnations and white flowers stuck in the pillars offered with cypress. Margarito announced that Oscar Tobias would speak for him, and so the latter made the formal speech of presentation to Romalda and wife who were standing by the altar. These responded with a simple Muchas Gracias, and those outside shouted Viva El Niño Dios ! But before the rockets were set off the Niña Matilda, who had taken her place on the other side of the altar, stopped the proceedings and made in her turn a formal speech of acceptance for the household. She followed the rockets, and Secundina turned to the Niña Matilda and asked her if she wouldn't pray. All the women knelt and said the briefest of prayers and then sung the same alabada they had sung approaching the house. (Romelia turned to me and asked me whether I thought they should sing it, as they had already done so. Since some sort of ceremonial seemed to be wanted, I assented.) Following this, while we seated ourselves about the room, ^{Instantly then} a clean mat was brought in and laid on the pine needles of the floor, and on top of this was placed a clean cloth. Those who were helping served then placed two plates of bread on the center of the cloth and a dozen china cups laid out around the edge. Romalda then with a little ~~gax~~ formal phrase invited all the women to serve them-

selves.

Insert p. 2. Juan Estacuy , who was helping , then brought out a bottle of juaro and gave each one present a trago, beginning with the Niña Matilda and working down to the girls. (Vitalina who was sitting on Romelia's lap asked for some and so R. gave it to her. She took a large gulp, then ~~almost~~ choked very hard and almost threw up but did not cry.)
 most
 All seated themselves about the mat , altho those who were farther away did not try to squeeze up as there was not room for everyone. Twelve cups ~~was~~ ^{were} not nearly enough to go around. However, the children helped themselves by dipping their bread into their mother's coffee and some shared their coffee with others . All seemed to be served eventually , or at least when Juan Estacuy and those helping him removed the cups and asked if all had been served, no one spoke up. I do not know whether the men were served later in this same way as we had then to leave but that evening after the novena at Tomasa's house tamales and coffee were served in this same way, first to the women, then to the men. Romelia says that at the Mejía house they always serve that way and that it was the old custom.

While still at the Juarez house there was some discussion between Romelia and Margarito . It turned out to be on the matter of the clothing for the Niño. M. wanted all the clothing for the Niño to go along while R. thought that some that she had made herself she would keep until the wish came to her to go and change the Niño's clothes. She did keep out one suit, the one she had made most recently but all the other clothes were sent along. It turned out that the Niña Antonia had been hoarding for as much as ten years clothes of the Niño's . She had admitted to Filomena that she had some clothes belonging to the Niño. It turned out that there was a great deal of stuff, much of which had been ruined by being eaten by the mice. She did not like to part with any of it.

Sacred Objects.

Romelia heard that when Mercedes, wife of Margarito Juarez, dressed the Niño Jesus and set him up on New Year's eve (should have been performed at ~~night~~ midnight but actually was done at about seven in the evening) they put on the gorra or bonnet instead of the halo. R. was very indignant at this, for she said that the Niño was not a doll but a santo , that the cap was not supposed to be put on but just put on the side with the other clothes which are prepared symbolically and never put on. She said that she was going down and see that it be changed. On New Year's afternoon we went down to the chapel and there was the Niño still with the gorra on . Few people were there but they included Mercedes and children, her mother Maria, and Dona Chabela , mother-in-law of Tomasa. Romelia spoke out about the gorra 's being a pecado very improper to put on. She also told a story about a miracle which took place at one of her uncle's. They had a Niño, a very large one about life -size, and they dressed it up with a bonnet on. But the bonnet would never stay on. Every time they looked the bonnet would be off. This showed that the image was not happy with the bonnet on. This was all there was to the miracle, and no one suffered any harm from having done wrong . In spite of Romelia's words, no action was taken to change the bonnet for halo and R. herself did not want to do so for fear of giving offense. After going through some prayers we left the Chapel. R. then sent a little boy back to see if the señoras were still there or if she could sneak back and make the change. They were reported to be still there so she went on. We stopped on at Chabela Mejia's house and there the conversation still continued about its being a sin to put on the bonnet. Chabela showed her tiny Niño with its halo on. R. said that one time a movy came to the village, not a talking one just pictures, and that showed Jesus going about as a carpenter and doing all sorts of things, and always with his halo on .That proved her point.

Fiestas
Coferadias

COFRADIAS-- MUNICIPIO SA

There is a cofradia of San Antonio which has existed for many years, at least to the time of Leonzo's granfather, here in the countryside of the municipio. It has no relation to the system of services of the village, and it takes no part in the festival in the village. It celebrates the festival of San Antonio by sending around a marimba with rockets to play at the houses of all who have contributed to the cost. The cofradia consists ~~MMMMMMMM~~ of a cofrade and three interesados. The interesados are now: Miguel Garcia of Naranjo, Pacho Tax of Tzanpetey, and Cruz Batz of Ojo de Agua. All are Totonicapenos, and Leonzo thinks ~~MMMMMM~~ the interesados have always been Totonicapenos and that the cofradia was started here by some early Totonicapenos who settled here. The cofrade is Alberto Barreno, a Totonicapena who lives in Chuiquestel. Last year it was Jose Tui, a Sololateco. Leonzo thinks it usual not to have a Totonicapeno. The interesados serve for life, and they ~~slx~~ choose their own successors. The cofrade serves for a year, and is picked by the interesados; someone may volunteer. On Jueves de la Asuncion, these men go around the municipio offering bread and a sweetened liquid. They offer it at all the houses. If one takes five centavos worth of bread, one must return ~~MMM~~ ten cents worth (and so in proportion), usually in cash, on the eleventh or 12th of June, when the festival of San Antonio occurs. With the money collected the cofrade and interesados pay for the marimba and rockets. Such money as is left over is loaned out ~~MMMMMM~~ by the interesados at 20% annual interest. Quite a number of local people, needing money, borrow from the cofradia. There are some that cannot pay their debt on the day of the fiesta; then they pay just the interest and the debt goes over to the next fiesta.

COFRADIAS

Years ago, in Agua Escondida, "when there was money", the fiestas were more alegre, and the cofradías were better organized. There were then: an alcadez, and his wife. These two were the heads, responsible for collecting all the food and other materials, and for making the arrangements. Under these two were the mayordomos, consisting of all men who wanted to participate. Each would say what his contribution would be. Then there were the capitanas. These were women; some would be charged with decorating the house of the cofradia and the santo; some would cook the food. Then there were ^{also} the ^{two} boys who would run errands and do other work. After the fiesta, there was a procession, and the santo would be left in the house of the man who had agreed to be alcadez for the next year. He would keep the santo till then. Hernando ^{Sant. 1.3.3} Miranda, butcher, is alcadez of the nino Jesus for the next fiesta; the image is in his house. The indios do not take part in these cofradías; only the ladinos.

*Contributed by
Lator. Magdaleno?*

April 18
Don Tomas

On the day after the (second) day of the fiesta of the Nino Jesus, that is, on December 26th, the men ^{and women} of the cofradia meet in the house of the M alcalde (head) of the cofradia for the year just ending to choose his successor. The choice is by vote. If someone volunteers, he may be chosen by acclamation; if no one does, the man elected must serve. The alcade and his wife are in general charge; the santo remains in their keeping for one year. It is regarded as an honorable and praiseworthy thing to serve as alcalde.

Other men who wish to participate at this same time indicate the contribution they will be willing to make next year-- so many rockets, so much money, so much maize, etc. A secretary is chosen; he

writes down these pledges. The men who offer to make contributions become mayordomos. This occasion is called eleccion.

The image has been "put to bed" at midnight on the 24th. On January first the alcalde and his wife dress the figure in new clothes. (Nothing is done February second-- consistent with the fact that the sacamisa is not observed in A.E.). On January sixth (Los Reyes) the people of the confradia meet again in the house of the (retiring) alcalde. There is usually a marimba, and aguardiente is served by the alcalde, but no dinner is served. A procession is formed, of the members of the confradia, attended with cohetes, marimba, tambor and chirimia, and the image is escorted to the house of the incoming alcalde and left in his house, where it will remain for a year.

On November first (All Saints) there is an occasion called simply junta (cf. recordatorio in Tepoztlan and similar occasion in Dzitaa) when the mayordomos meet at the house of the new alcalde. Nothing is served; there are no cohetes. The list of pledges is read, and their reliability canvassed. If substitutions of mayordomos must be made, now arrangements are made. After this date the promised contributions are delivered, at the convenience of the mayordomo, to the alcalde.

About a week before December 24th they meet once more, again without ceremony, to perfect plans. A sort of budget is drawn, and the resources apportioned-- for the cohetes, the marimba, the candles, the incense, and the decorations of the house. The alcalde must supply a pig, for meat for the tamales; he may raise the pig, or buy it.

A novena precedes the night of the fiesta. Day and evening of each of the nine nights, tambor and chirimia play in the street outside the house where the image is kept (And in the procession, accompany the image, playing always where it is). All fiestas of santos, indian or ladino, include chirimia and tambor. No ladinos can play it; Indians are secured for ladino fiestas. Here ~~Jose M. Cruz~~ ^{Jose M. Cruz} and his son Cruz serve.

Each night of the novena prayers are said in the house before the image. The prayers are said by rezadoras. (Martina and Romelia know the prayers; they learned them from a woman in Godinez who lived here for a time. The wife of the baker, who comes from Guatemala, also knows them.) All who wish to burn candles before the sint during the novena. Some of the candles are provided out of the funds of the confradia.

The novena is divided among the mayordomos of the confradia and their wives. If there are more than nine mayordomos (and there usually are) a night may be divided among several. who share the expense. On each of these nights punche (of banana and other fruits) and bread are served.

On the night of the 24th there are many cohetes, a marimba plays, the image is carried on a decorated andas through the street, and the child "is put to bed," by the alcalde. This accomplished, many cohetes are discharged, the marimba (usually hired from Totonicpan) plays, and there is dancing (sones, waltz, etc) until late.

Don Tomas says that if any inditos wish to take part as mayordomos they are welcomed, and that some do occasionally take part.

San Francisco has a similar fiesta.

NOCHE BUENA

On December 24th they hold what is called combite. Anyone who wishes puts on a costume. Men dress as women, and women as men. Masks are worn; usually people rent or borrow the masks used in the bailes of the Iñians, from San Andres or from San Antonio. Three ~~MMM~~ small boys are chosen to act the part of the Three Kings. They wear cape, short red trousers, shoes and a crown of painted cardboard. One is colored white with lime, and her red with achiote, and a third black with soot. They do not dance, but ~~sit together~~ ^{ride out on horseback} while the others dance. The dances-- sones, etc, as usual-- take place in the various houses, as the marimba moves from house to house. One of the dancers carries a "standard", a silk banner with a representation of a sleeping child. One man is the clown; he should have red trousers, and a tall cap; ^{comes out first, rides through the town & announces the combite. Later he} his face is painted. He [^] makes jokes at people (Genaro Santiso and Pancho Miranda have been clowns). The Indians, says Don M. do not take part. (So also says Basilio Santiso)

In the evening posadas are held-- or at least the three Alvarez girls, who know the music of the posadas, and claim to be the only ones who do, go from door to door carrying San Jose and the Virgin, on an andas, and asking shelter with the posada song. (They remember piñatas)

Also in the evening sometimes they have a loga, or an entremes, short miracle plays dealing with the Niño. Young people learn the parts, and recite them. Don Magdaleno has the texts of some of these.

On January first, when the Niño is taken up and dressed (by a young girl chosen by the alcalde of the cofradia), the Alvarez girls went out dressed in Indian costumes borrowed from Indians round about. This, they say, was not customary; it was their idea.

NATIONAL HOLIDAYS

On March 15 () and on September 15 (anniversary of independence) the celebration is only by las autoridades. The national flag is raised at the juzgado, where there are troops, they parade with drums; the juzgado is decorated with branches. Nothing is done in the houses.

DAY OF THE CROSS (MAY THIRD)

It is customary to decorate the little cross most people have in their houses on the domestic altar, with colored paper, or with flowers, and to burn a candle before it. Some people make square tamales. Men do not work in the fields; they may go hunting.

Fiestas.

On the Sabado de Gloria cock fights are sometimes held here.

Dia de la Santa Cruz. All the crosses throughout the village were decorated with colored paper. An ~~Indian~~ woman brought her cross to Dona Sebastiana for her to trim it for her. Dona Isabel burned a candle before her cross the night before and during the day of the Holy Cross. But if prayers for the souls of the dead were said it was in a most inconspicuous way. Romelia stated that they always went up to the cemetery on this day and reburished the family tomb with new pine. She spoke about going the day before but on the ^{actual} day was tired from the fiesta of the day before and didnot go--tho wnen it was mentioned she offered to, "if I w2shed." A large part ofthe day however was spent in going calling and admiring the various crosses. visits were made to the house of Donx Tomas, of Enrique de Leon, of Dona Monica, Don Felipe and of Don Gorgonio Juarez. At the house ofGennaro Santiso a small "chapel" or shrine had been made with branches outside the house. Practically all the houses had fresh pine needles on the floor. A the Juarez place the crosses, one large and one small (this seems rather a common custom) had been taken into the oratorio which was also spread with pine needles. There was some discussion during the day whether a procession could not be made with the crosses, this originating with the Niña Antonia, the baker's wife. however, nothing was done. The Juarez family suggested that since there was no very large Santa Cruz in the village San Francisco might be brought out instead. But this suggestion was not taken up by the others. Some families, according to Romelia, had made tamales con carne, some of those arriba, but the Alvarez family, altho it usually did so, did not this year. The fiesta the day before was perhaps respon- sible for t is lack also. In the evening, instead of prayers, we gathered in the kitchen to hear casos told. The fiesta spirit was

it was customary among them, ~~MMMM~~ at least as personal household devotion, to celebrate the fiesta of the Nino Dios. One Miguel Santiso, brother of Basilio, owned as his domestic santo the Nino Dios now belonging to the cofradia, and early ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ led the organization of a cofradia of the santo. Before he died, he expressed his wish that th aldea own the image; it is now regarded as belonging to the aldea. "his children have no rights in it." This cofradia is probably the most vigorous, in that a sense of participation extends most widely and probably deeply among the inhabitants. This year Genaro Santiso and Enrique de Leon divide the alcalde-ship; the image is in Genaro's house, with the marimba. (The marimba is there simply because Genaro happens to be its owner). Last year the alcalde was Felipe J.arez. Others who have been alcalde are: Mariano Miranda, Sotero Alvarez, Lupario Miranda, Miguel Perez (These are community leaders, and, except Enrique de Leon, persons of some property). Once a natural was alcalde of the cofradia: one Nazario Perez, of San Antonio, who now lives at San Gabriel, two kilometers south of the aldea. This happened six years ago. Nazario dresses in Indian dress, had an all-Indian family. He speaks Spanish, has not been to school, but is "quite sensible" (muy racional). "He is one who likes to get close to (se roza a) the ladinos." "It was his wish (voluntad; se esperaba). It worked out well. That year we all went to his house for the fiesta."

In this cofradia (as in the others led by ladinos) it is customary for one who wishes to take the image the following year to send a letter expressing his wish to the incumbent alcalde. Don Magdalena will probably do this this year. If another, ignorant of the first letter, sends also a letter, the alcalde replies in writing that he is too late. If no one volunteers, the election of next alcalde takes place at the meeting following the fiesta.

Cofradia of San Francisco. There was, ~~MM~~ twenty years ago, still no patron image of the aldea. Most of the settlers were from Tecpan; the ~~image~~ patron there is San Francisco. The settlers did not feel that San Antonio, patron of the municipio in which the natives were naturales, was their patron. The Nino Dios was (as it still is) the fiesta most celebrated. Then one Jesus Barrios of Solola gave an image of San Francisco to the aldea. Members of the aldea had expressed their wish to have a San Francisco; he knew about this; and when he fell very sick and thought he might die, he gave the image to the aldea. He was a friend, but no relations, of the A.E. people. Don Felipe Juarez ~~MMMMMMMM~~ provided the piece of land. ~~MMM MMMMM~~ ~~MMMMMMMMMM~~ The chapel was built with the labor and contributions of all of the aldea. Don Felipe has been alcalde of this cofradia for the past five years. It is customary to concede to the incumbent alcalde the first right to retain the image, even though others may be willing to take it; in accordance with this custom Felipe has retained the alcaldship. Others who have been alcaldes of this cofradia are Nicolas de Leon, his brother Genaro de Leon (now both moved back to Tecpan), Hiernomio Juarez, and Aparicio Santiso. No natural has been alcalde. The naturales occasionally, but very rarely, take part in the cofradias of San Francisco and of the Nino Jesus. (The case of Nazario Perez has been mentioned). Diego Tui (who is shirimitero) not infrequently offers twenty-five centavos, more or less, and is thus a mayordomo. The Tax family, the Perez and Sicay families arriba, do not take part; the auxiliar and his neighbor are Evangelistas.

Cofradia of the Senor de Esquipulas (Jan. 15) Some years ago Petronilio Juarez organized a cofradia of the Senor de Esquipulas. But the cofradia languished and died. Tomas says the reason is that Petronilio would not let the image "go out from" his house, i.e., it remained his personal image. Thus it remained essentially a personal devotion, such as many, Don Tomas included, offer to this saint (Tomas has an Esquipulas in his house). But the San Francisco was given to the aldea, as was

also the Nino Dios.

In A.E. the fiesta of the Nino Dios is regarded by the Alvarez family at least, as the most alegre fiesta. It may be noted that the alcalde-ship of the cofradia of San Francisco has remained with small exceptionarriba. It may be that the Juarez family ~~MMMMMMMM~~ have a certain special control over the fiesta, as the image does not "go from house to house" (as does the Nino Dios), but remains in the chapel which stands on Juarez land. But the essential fact may be that the fiesta of San Francisco takes place in October, during the rainy season; the fiesta of the Nino Dios in the dry season, when the enramada may be built outside, and when the festal ~~MMN~~ pleasures may take place day and night in the open air.

Participation of A.E. in the San Antonio pueblo fiestas. The chief fiesta in the pueblo of San Antonio is that of the patron, on June 12. Of somewhat less importance is the fiesta of San Nicolas, in September; this image also is kept in the church. At the former a baile is danced, in alternate years Torito and Moros. At both fiestas there are masses-- sometimes as many as three. Many, but probably not most, of the A.E. people attend these fiestas, "because they are alegre." They watch the dance, attend the mass, and usually burn a candle before the saint honored. They never participate in the pueblo cofradias (entirely of naturales) that organize the fiesta. Tomas seems to know nothing about the organization of these cofradias.

Addenda:

Jose Tui is chirimitero for all the A.E. fiestas. His son plays the drum. The chirrimia plays every day during the novena, often afterwards till the 26th, and again on Jan. 1st when the image is dressed. ~~MMN~~ Tui is paid five centavos a night for playing; this includes the drum. The mayordomo responsible for the night (at whose house for that night is the image) pays the cost for that night. Tui's participation is simply that of a hired professional.

When the alcade is chosen, it is expected that his wife will act as hostess on the day of fiesta-- receive visitors from outside, attend to the marimvistas, etc. She selects a cook. Usually on the third day before the day of the fiesta, at the conclusion of the novena of that night, she asks the women to come at a certain time next day to help the condenera prepare the food for the fiesta. All the women are expected to come. (I asked if Carmen would be expected. Tomas said no, but that the alcaidesa might send Carmen a tamal, or some tamales, and that when the marimba was playing, Carmen might be expected to come sit with the others and listen to the music. She does not know the prayers; and of course does not dance.

COFRADIAS

I have paid by obligations to God-- I have had the misterio ~~MAM~~ (cofradia of the Nino Dios) seven times. So have my sons-- even Herculano, he is poor; but he has had it twice. Mariano has had it three times; and my other son, that died, had it three times. Don Felipe is very pious; he has had it sevela times; and has had San Francisco many times. I was the one that was willing (had voluntad) to bring San Francisco from Tacpan down to my house. Don Miguel Perez has had it four times. There are some who do not do it. Enrique de Leon-- he has his share(of money), but he has never had the cofradia. Oh! once-- in the meeting it was suggested that he take the cofradia next; he said, All right, if I would be his assistant. It turned out that I had to spend more money than he-- I was ashamed at how meanly he was doing it; so I bought what was necessary. The Alvarez do not do their part either; when their father was alive, he had the cofradia, but the sons don't. As for Basilio-- he is a ----.

Romelia.
Salome.

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Fiestas.

La Noche Buena is the only fiesta that is much celebrated now. The people celebrate El Nino Dios is kept at the home of the cofradia. ~~They used to have~~ posadas of nine nights, (like those in Mexico, from the description) but now people do not care about those things. When there was money they even had a pinata. Also formerly they had log pastores, with boys marching with torchlight processions. The Indians never had posadas. But both ladinos and Inditos joined in the ceremony in the oratorio of putting the Niño Dios to bed. Romelia has a small note book full of alabanzas which she learned from an old lady living in Godinez. Among these are the lullaby for the Noche Buena (A la ro ro nino, a lo ro ro ro, Duermete be mio, Duermete mi amor) which she knows how to sing as well as a number of verses of the pastores.

San Francisco is the patron but his day is not celebrated. He simply has a novena (prayers read for nine nights.) The fiesta of San Antonio, tho not held here, seems to have more importance for the people. At that time the priest comes and baptizes all the children who have been born since his last coming.

El Dia de la Santa Cruz in May is celebrated by all, Indians and ladinos. Tamales con carne are eaten and it is muy alegre. No ~~are~~ ~~words~~

The Indians on the first of May make tortillas with frijol. Then they sow, but not before doing so. The ladinos make atole de ceniza (an atole made with water in which ashes have been put) and put this on the altar with corn before sowing and before harvesting. The atole is also eaten.

El Dia de Todos Santos also called el Dia de los Muertos ladinos decorate their altars with flowers, pray, burn candles, and put atole de ceniza and the tamales called chuchitos on the altar. They do not eat the food. The Indians set a table with food

and eat the food after the candles have burned down. All the boys of the place, ladinos and Indians, join in making a skull (like a jack o lantern) out of tecomate, putting red paper in the eyes, nose and mouth and a candle inside. Then they go with this from house to house asking alms of food. They are give all sorts of food such as atole, Quisquill, squahes, and ejotes, and take t e food to the cemetery to eat. They stay there till midnight *.

Those who have santos in their homes make novenas of them of nine nights (or theoretically do) and on the last n ght serve food. They do not have novenas when a person is sick but do for the dead.

April 16 RR-- Mariano Miranda

Boys and men go about with the tecomate collecting the food, cigarettes, etc., which is called the limosna. Women as well as men go to the cemtery, and eat the food there. The marimba is brought up there, and they stay part of the night. The tecomate, which is a skull, is also called marljuana.

* Basilio Sanchez (Apr. 28). Only men and boys go to the cemetery. Usually they stay till dawn, drinking, telling stories, playing dice. The marimba is not brought up, but accordion and guitar are played. Some Indians go along. Candles and pins needles are put by the graves by delinquent.

May 16th
 Romelia
 Maximina Hernandez

fiestas.

At San Panibaj has only twelve ladino households, fiestas are celebrated there almost more than in San Escudida. The celebration of Noche Buena and of Holy Friday in the Semana Santa center is Sotero's house. There is a very large altar where is arranged the Nacimiento. At this time it was not particularly fixed up but still had some of the most decorations from Christmas and the figures of the Niño Dios, the Virgen and San Jose. San Jose was disguised however by having a crown of thorns and a purple tissue paper robe over his usual costume, ~~xxxxxx~~ for he had been dressed this way in order to represent Jesus in the Semana Santa procession. At the time of the Noche Buena the altar is arranged far more elaborately, with figures of tigres, lueys, small wooden houses, and a mule which had to carry the tecomatillo of the Virgen, her cups for drinking coffee, her mill for grinding coffee and all these things. During each of the nine nights of the novena, the Virgen asks for something for the Niño, ^{one night} ~~xxxxxxx~~ for a shirt, ^{one night} ~~xxxxxxx~~ for a diaper, one night for a bonnet and so on. These are provided by the different households who attend the posadas. At Panibaj all the ladinos come to Sotero's house and many others from outside the settlement. Varied refreshments are served, sometimes fruit drinks, sometimes coffee and bread, sometimes tamales. Paper fables with candles inside are carried during the procession.

At Sotero's house there is a separate small altar for the Santa Cruz, of which he owns three. He also had white crosses painted on his doors, decoration for el día de la Santa Cruz.

Panibaj had a procession for Semana Santa (on

Viernes Santo) altho they had none at Agua Escondida. But "somos de una voz. " The procession started at Sotero's house, with the transformed San Jose acting as Jesus, and "altho the road is narrow " went a out to where ~~xx~~ small chapels had been built in order to make the stations of the cross.

Panibaj also has a fiesta on the 8th of December (?) for the Virgen de la Concepcion which is in the house of Jovita and is very old -- about three hundred years, Romelia thinks-- as well as very miraculous.

Dionysia

The finest celebration of Semana Santa is in Antigua. There they have both Judios , in their red robes, and cucuruchos (Dionysia does not know what these are, but ^{the name ~~andxxxxxxxxxxxx~~} has heard ~~ofxxxxxxx~~) It is very impressive in Antigua . "Ever one is silent. They eat very little but they are not hungry because of the alegria . " Crowds of people come from all around. In San Lucas there is a prett good celebration of Semana Santa. But in Agua Escondida all that is done is for the men to play dice (dados) and another game called cera ~~(?)~~.

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observed during the day mainly by the fact that little work was done,
much of the time being spent in standing or sitting about talking.

Forty day after Holy Thursday is "little Semana Santa" or Assumption
Day. "We buy bread and eat it, and put pine on the floor. Do we eat
fish? There is none to be had." (Romelia.)

THE CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL

Form of the fiesta. Apparently the elements of the festival that appeared this year have been fairly constant for a good many years. They include: the meeting on All Saints' Day to perfect the organization; the nine posadas; dressing of the Nino by some voluntary; selection of padrinos for the Nino; calling for Mary and Joseph ~~MMMMMMMM~~ at each house where previous posada was held and singing of songs of delivery and reception; decorated anda and tissue paper lanterns; meeting each posada with incense; punch served after each posada; on ~~MMMMMM~~ Christmas Eve last procession from ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ house of preceding posada to house of "dresser"; last entry to house of alcaidez, this time with Niño, and depositing on altar, followed by last novena; rockets or bombas discharged when each entry effected and at conclusion of novena; custom that anyone may try to "steal" the Nino while it is on altar in house of alcaidez, the Niño to be returned before Jan. first with marimba; three days' of dancing; ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ election of day after Christmas with formal speaking by selected orator, calling for contributions; and preparation of a formal document (acta) recording promises made; usual to write down pledges in name of child of pledgor (but as many exceptions).

The participants felt that this year the festival was better than last chiefly because better arrangements were made for dancing, ~~MMM~~ better decorations (enramada, kip leaves, etc) were provided, and, although many got drunk, there were no quarrels. Last year, at Genaro Santiso's, there was small space for dancing, no kip leaves, and the enramada was of cornstalks only. The Alvarez family have more solidarity, more wealth, and more wish to ~~MM~~ "do the right thing" than do the Santisos. On the whole, one feels that there is not much disposition to vary the traditional, and that most of the elements are repeated. It is usual for the convite to include a clown, and Three Kings. ^{In} The election this year ~~MM~~ Juan Santiso

THE CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL

Form of the fiesta. This year, TH as compared with last, the festival was more fully celebrated in that more traditional elements were included.

There were: convite; loa; all posadas

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to heavy noise and low contrast. It appears to be a detailed description of the festival's activities, possibly including the structure of the 'posadas' and the 'loa' (prayer or song).]

spoke up offering to take charge of the convite, and proposed that ~~MMMM~~ men instead of boys be the Kings, and that cloth instead of paper costumes be provided. Oscar Tobias had his name set down as undertaking to be the clown. The sorts of differences that are matters of discussion are these: Have the Kings men instead of boys (felt better); have a good costume for the clown; have a good marimba (this one, from San Andres, is generally felt satisfactory and will be rehired); There is interest and expectancy in seeing how each posada host prepares his altar to receive Mary and Joseph, and especially how the ~~MMMMMMMM~~ nacimiento will be prepared in the house of the alcaidez. It is a nice thing if a loa be included, if there are girls with interest and enterprise to put it on. It is ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ recalled that when rum was not so expensive they used to put rum in the punch served at ~~MMM~~ posadas, but it is not expected now that this will be done. Apparently every posada host served about the same sort of fruit punch. The fire^{works} are matters of much discussion and importance: to get the loudest, brightest fireworks possible for the money. It is doubtful if any alcaidez would shorten the three-day period of the dancing; the young people especially expect this, and three days of festal excitement is what the community feels it has a right to expect

The formal organization of the cofradia is recognized as in some decline: there used to be a more complete hierarchy of members, with capitanes set down under the alcaidez, and capitanas listed as the organization of women preparing the food. This year at the election there was some disposition to reproduce such a structure; some women volunteered as first and second capitanas (or their husbands for them), ~~MM~~ but no capitanes were set down. During the election a few women were present, but said nothing. After discussion among the principales, the speaker (Oscar) invited women to come forward and express the promises they might be willing to make for the following year. Several came forward, and offered their ~~servi~~ services as capitanas, some adding ~~MMM~~ promises of materials (wax,) or

or a little money. This is also apparently usual. The election is thought to have gone off very well; last year, at the Santiso's, so many were drunk that the arrangements for next year were hardly accomplished.

Social organization. The principal change this year resulted from the development of a rival faction, due to the Bernardo Santiso episode. Since that episode the Alvarezes and their friends have had little to do with the Santisos. They peak to them when they pass, but do not go into their houses, nor do the Santisos come to them. Feeling has been strong against them. But certain men of the community are friends with the Santisos: the ~~MMMMMMMM~~ secretary of San Antonio, Carlos Velasquez, Armando Armas. The teacher's family are often seen talking with them, and not rarely Antonio Cruz. Armas, Velasquez and Genaro organized a rival fiesta, without cofradia and posadas, a ~~MMMMMM~~ corrida de sorpresas, and a dance with rival marimba. (From San Lucas). The people associated in this venture almost without exception had had differences with the Alvarez and so, ~~MMMM~~ by these reasons unable, or almost unable, to come to the Alvarez fiesta, went to this rival group:

Genaro Santiso . Brother of Bernardo, distrusted on many grounds by the Alvarez, a drinker, and a quarrelsome person.

Armando Armas. He "talks" with Magdalena. but M. does not like him because he scoffs at religion.

Carlos Velasquez M

Francisco Villagran, Overheard with Carlos Velasquez, "saying things" about Magdalena-- criticizing them for being "mozos of the gringes", etc. Magdalena spoke bitterly in his defense against F.V.

Eaura, daughter of Jesus Salgado, with whom the Alvarez do not speak because she accused Pedro of being the father of her child. She came to dance/

Jesus Alvarez, daughter of Gabino A. She was Isidro's novia, and when he took up with ~~she~~

Martina she quarreled with her, and ceased to speak to the Alvarez-- especially after the baby.

The teachers from San Antonio. Came with Carlos Velasquez.

Gabino A and Creencia let the group have their house because, apparently, their daughter wanted it, and because they took money for its use.

So there were only four women dancing here. The group was definitely anti- the cofradia, and there was considerable talk at the Alvarez end about ~~MMM~~ what a poor party the other group ~~MMM~~ were having.

Nevertheless the separation of these two groups is not complete, and the fact of the festival serves to bring together, at least temporarily, people who have quarreled. Genaro Santiso, at the election last year, promised to undertake the convite. So he did so this year, thus contributing to Magdaleno's party as a part of the cofradia. He came to M's house with the convite and was given refreshments. (But he did not attend this year's election, and this year no Santiso was present). After Armando Armas got thoroughly drunk, he came to the Alvarez and danced with Salome. Later M' himself danced with him to get him away from his wife. The teachers from S Antonio and Francisco Villagran, in spite of the bad feeling, came to dance for a while at the Alvarez. Interesting is the case of Isidro Higueros. A formal document was drawn forbidding him to come to Magdaleno's house because he got Martina with child. He ~~MMMMM~~ had agreed, however, to help Genaro's convite as clown, and so attired danced at Magdaleno's house and in it. Later, in ordinary dress, he came to the house again on the second day of the fiesta, and M, "as it was fiesta and the Nino would not like him to hold bitterness", invited him in. So he danced. Later he danced with Maryina! This made Salome angry, and R. thought it also very bad conduct. M scolded Martina. But Isidro stayed, dancing with others,

The cofradia, as reorganized at this year's election, includes a large part of the ladino population of the aldea, entering around the Alvarez family, but excludes a large minority. The minority is made up of (1) people at outs with the Alvarazes, chiefly the Santisos and a few other people with whom the Alvarazes are not speaking; (2) people who by mere temperament and inclination do not salir; Petronilo Juarez and his family. The Alvarazes like them. Simply they do not go out to fiestas and do not take part. Gabino A. and Crececia, ^(but they attend our fiestas) who also by habit do not take part, (and whose daughter has quarreled with Martina). At the election, the following were all inscribed as making contributions: Alejandro Morales, Carmen Tui, D. Chomo, M. Alvarez, Juan Santiso, S. Miranda, Tomas Alvarez, Enrique de Leon, Juan Estacuy, Mariano Miranda, Benajmin Hieron, Juan Galindo, Santos Galavay, Ernesto Juarez, Miguel Perez, Feliz Morales, Macario Morales Nicolas de Leon, In addition the following ~~MMMMMMMM~~ later sent word they would contribute, or else it is fully expected that they will: Enlilio Estacuy, Arcadia de Leon, Marcelo Alvarez, Herculano Miranda, Martin Santiso, Felipe Juarez,, Margarito Juarez, Luis Perez, Victor Fausto Miranda. The people who do not, then, make up the festal community, are (1) the Santisos and two or three other people at serious outs with the Alvarazes; (2) Gorgonio and his daughter, as Evangelistas; (3) people of some consequence who by temperament do not take part (Gabino A and Petronilo Juarez) (4) very peripheral people, most of the Indians, Adolfo M, who is not "all there".

The re-assignment of the cofradia to Magdaleno was evidently arranged in advance. After Oscar T. had made his speech inviting volunteers, Enrique de Leon spoke, urging that the cofradia be returned to M, and urging the help of all present. Juan S had indicated to M. his decision to take the convite; this was known at least to D. Miguel and D. Magdaleno in advance. Enrique de Leon and Mariano Mariano talked together during the meeting about providing the ~~MMMMM~~ marimba, and got a fourth, Juan

Estacuy, to agree to join them, while the meeting was proceeding. The smaller contributions were probably unknown to the leaders until the contributors actually stepped forward.

The usual peripheral position of the Indians is again illustrated. The two who indicated their promises at the election and whose names were inscribed were two women most friendly with the Alvarozes: Carmen Tui and Santos Calavay. ~~No Indian danced at the festival.~~ It was a disappointment that Cruz ? ~~MMMMMM~~ was unwilling to play the Cirimia.

Sacred and secular. There is a good deal of talk about offering this and that to the Nino. "The Nino will reward you." "What you do for the Nino is well done". Those who have the effigy in ~~MMMMMM~~ their keeping, at least the Alvarozes, apparently feel a satisfaction that is not wholly a result of the social distinction attendant upon assumption of the major responsibility for the major event in the annual round of the community life; it is partly a feeling of having an appreciated and power-possessing symbol with one. "My daughter loves the Nino very much and wants to have him with us next year too." The actual festival centers ~~xxx~~ around the Nino; the culmination is the placing of the image on the prepare altar; he is born; most rockets are then set off. The story of the Birth is well known and the more pious or interested will tell episodes from it occasionally. Walking in the procession in the last posada, Magdaleno and Evaristo talked about Silvestre Miranda. Some days ago a ~~MMMM~~ bull of his died; that morning he had been fined three quetzales because his cows had done injury to somebody's corn. Both agreed that it was the punishment of God on him for what he done with Ernestina Estacuy. "It all comes from God."

On the other hand the sacredness appears neither dominant nor deep. I heard nothing about miracles performed by the Nino, or by other saints. During one posada, while the men were talking outside, the talk between Magdaleno and D. Miguel fell upon saints. Each told stories of supernatural

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MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM acts of santos: how this santo had gone swimming in the lake and appeared in the morning wete with lake water; how that one went from one church to another. There were no stories of waht a santo had done for some person. And the talk went on to treat of whether certain santos were aparac**bdoss** or not (D. Miguel quoted a book he had once seen to the effect that the Senor of Esquipuls was not aparac**ádós**, Magd. contra, until this evidence was brought forward. and from there went on to other marvels, such as motion pictures-- "it is electricyt makes it." Practically all the talk is quite profane, at the posadas, among the men, as elsewhere.

The effigy of the Nino has some sacredness. Last year Aparacio Santiso, according to custom, "stole" the effigy and hid it. He hid the effigy in a box in the kitchen. R says it was pecado", on two counts: because he put it in the kitchen and because he put it in the same house where it was already, in the nacimamiento. The second, a breech of custom and reasonableness, was also a "sin." The Nino is not so sacred that ~~MM~~some of th ^{may not} men park their hats on the nacimineto. The nac, itself has no religious figures except the Nino; it is, in fact, merely a pretty and interesting background for the Nino; it includes Max Indian figures and toy trains. The festival has no religious elements beyond the recitation of the novena and the figure of the Nino itself. Nicha, daughter of the alcaaldez, sets up a refreshment table and sells cakes and drinks to the mbres of the cofradia and to all comers. Generally speaking, the festival appears as a traditionally defined way in which the village organizes itself for an annual period of entertainment and play. The festal spirit mitigates personal animosities, while not quite overcoming them; the Nino is a ~~MMMMMM~~ personalized symbol of partly, community feeling, and partly, supe natural power. The cønnection with moral judgments is not strong, and there are few connections with individual religious experience.

Note on participation of the Indians

Generally speaking, the Indians hung around the edges of the fiesta, said little, were seldom offered food, sat on the floor rather than on seats, nursed their children during the dancing, and took no active part. But on the second day Magdaleno invited some of them to dance and soon many of them were dancing: Carmen Tui, Andrea Tui, Santos Calavay, several Totonicapenas, and several Antoneras. More Indian men than women danced. At one time there were so many Indians dancing that Silvestre suggested that the ladinos go dance in the enramada. But it was not done. The Indians all danced son, not waltz, and only subtos, not abrasados. "Andrea peer, como esta pedida." R. says the only Indian woman here who dances abrasada is Leandra, Pancho Tecolote's woman (Also her daughter, Catarina, not here now). It is rather admired that these two can. This dancing by the Indians in the ladino festivals is new; a few years ago none did, and few came to look on. "Es porque ahora estan instruidos."

"RACE"
RELATIONS

INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS. SUMMARY

1. Groups involved. This comparison has reference to the Ladinos of Agua Escondida and the Indians among whom they live. The Indians are chiefly from San Antonio Palopó, but there are a good many Sololtecos in the neighborhood, a number of Maxenos, and a few Totonicapenos. The Ladinos also see frequently Indians from San Lucas, San Andres and Patzún. The Ladinos are almost without exception rural agriculturalists; a majority are without shoes; a large minority have shoes. To complete the picture of ethnic relations it would be necessary to set the following statement into a wider framework including the Ladinos of superior social position. I think it probable that as one ascends the social scale one will find that the Ladinos tend increasingly to depreciate the Indians, while at the same time they tend increasingly to identify the lower-class Ladinos with the Indians. "The Ladinos? Why they are just the same as the Indians", said the President of Guatemala, thinking of these same Ladinos of Agua Escondida and their like.

I think, as a further matter of probability, that the "objective" or "real" differences between Indians and Ladinos, and the relationships between the two groups to correspond, will be found to differ notably in different parts of Guatemala. Ladinos are probably most clearly distinguishable from Indians in communities where the Indians retain a very conservative and "primitive" tradition and where the Ladinos are commercial chancles rather than agricultural obrerros. Thus the Ladino-Indian difference is greater in Chichicastenango than in Agua Escondida. In Chichicastenango the Ladinos, chiefly chancles, are sharply distinct from

the Indians, do not marry with them, and in very few cases speak their language. The difference is probably greater in Agua Escondida than in communities east of Guatemala City. A comparison of local differences in this regard should give us information on the characteristics of assimilation and amalgamation in Guatemala.

2. The nature of the differences between Indian and Ladino cultures in Agua Escondida.

(a) The differences between Indian ways of life and Ladino ways of life are great enough to allow us to recognize two readily distinguishable cultures. The Ladinos speak Spanish; the Indians speak other languages. The Ladinos, men and women, wear one kind of costume; most of the Indians (but not all) wear very different costumes. The Indian women weave on hand-loom and the men carry loads in carrying-frames; the Ladinos do not do these things. Indians play the chirimia; Ladinos do not. Indians wash the bodies of their dead and place in the coffins articles representing the activities of the deceased when alive; Ladinos do not wash the bodies of their dead, and place only keepsakes and articles intimately associated with the dead in the coffins. The Indians have a conception of the sky, the heavenly bodies, the earth and especially the hills and the volcanoes which involves a great many beliefs and customs in which the Ladinos have little common understanding. The Indians maintain a special group of divinatory and ritual-performing specialists of which they make use in many sorts of situations; the Ladinos do not. The Indians have characteristics of intonation, gesture, manners and bodily habits which can be distinguished from those of the Ladinos. Not in Agua Escondida,

but in many communities in which there are both Indians and Ladinos, the Indians have a politico-religious organization independent of that of the Ladinos. This separate organization brings with it many customs, e.g., the utilization of respect-terms dependent upon length of service, in which Ladinos have no part. The outsider soon discovers the existence of two kinds of people in the community, and quickly adopts the terms and habits of distinguishing them; and the native, Indian and Ladino, often distinguishes the two kinds of people.

(b) But many elements of traditional living characterize Ladinos and Indians equally, or almost equally. They farm by using the same techniques. You may watch Indian and Ladino, in adjacent fields preparing the ground for corn, or planting beans, and discover no significant technological difference. They build houses in the same general way. The preparation of the basic foodstuffs, and the use of the principal kitchen tools, are the same in the cases of both Indians and Ladinos. The men of the two groups cut and haul firewood in the same manner, and when the Indian men and Ladina women go to the well to fetch water or to wash clothes, they follow the same practical habits.

(c) In the cases of many customs, there are differences only of degree. There are customs which are shared by both groups, but in which the importance or the meanings differ in part. Both groups know the sweat-house (temazcal) and both regard it as a useful device for bathing purposes. But while most Indians build their own temazcals, only a few Ladinos do, and a Ladino will more often than not borrow an Indian temazcal when he wishes to take a sweat-bath. Furthermore, the Indians bathe in the temazcal as an

ordinary method of getting clean, whereas Ladinos are apt to make use of the temazcal only for therapeutic purposes. There are important areas of belief in which the Indians have "more" of the belief than have the Ladinos; yet into the lives of both the fundamental common conception plays a significant part. People of both groups fear the evil eye, but the notion plays a larger role in the lives of the Indians than in that of the Ladinos. The Indians place greater faith in witchcraft than do the Ladinos and are much more likely to attribute death to sorcery; yet Ladinos also believe in the existence of witchcraft, and probably once in a while practice it. But it is an exceptional death among Ladinos that is regarded as the result of sorcery. The Ladinos have many of the same beliefs in omens that the Indians have, but the Indians are certainly more attentive to omens than are the Ladinos.

Indian men often squat, and Indian women kneel, while Ladinos of both sexes sit. Yet Indians not infrequently sit, and Ladina women sometimes kneel; indeed some of them kneel habitually in grinding; and a Ladino man may occasionally squat. One recognizes in Indians a reluctance to make bodily contact: if they shake hands they tend just to touch the fingers; they do not practice the abrazo. Yet some Indians shake hands as do Ladinos; and the abrazo is not entirely unknown among Indians of this neighborhood. One young Indian woman, wearing the Indian costume, dances abrazada at Ladina dances. Pointing with the lips may be recognized as an Indian characteristic, but I have seen Ladinos do it. But they are less apt to do it, and in a less marked way.

Some Indian customs are much more closely restricted to the Indians, and yet occasional Ladino examples may be noted. The masked dance is clearly a part of Indian culture, and not of that of the Ladinos. Ladinos do not expect to perform a Conquista when they celebrate a saint. Yet there have been cases in recent years, both in Tecpan and in San Lucas, where Ladinos performed a Conquista, in just the same manner as do usually Indians, on the festival of the patron, and renting costumes from Totonicapan. I have never heard of a Ladino who could play a chirimia, but I shall not be much surprised if I find one. The carrying-frame is so strongly an Indian trait that to see a man using one is to feel oneself safe in taking him for an Indian. Yet one young Ladino here for years carried goods to Godinez in a cacaste.

(d) This last assertion (that in certain areas Indian belief is "more" than Ladino belief) leads to the suggestion, for which full proof is not yet available to me, that the Indian culture is "deeper" than that of the Ladinos. By this I mean that in the case of the Indians acts and objects have relatively more connotations, and that these connotations tend to fit in with one another and so to reinforce one another. This statement is based on very little knowledge of the Indian societies. It rests chiefly on materials shown me from Panajachel. In support of it I would point to the following: (1) In the beliefs as to world, kitchen and animals from Panajachel there are many more elements of belief than I have been able to find from many informants among the Ladinos of Agua Escondida. (2) In these same Panajachel materials in many cases reasons or explanations for customs are given; the corresponding belief or custom is present in Agua Escondida

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but without the explanation. (3) The Ladinos appear to be without, or largely without, important beliefs as to the personal and socio-religious nature of nature -- heavenly bodies, earth, water, rain and especially that complex of beliefs about "the hill" -- which the Panajachel Indians have. Scattering information from San Antonio indicates that the Indians of that village have these beliefs too. (3) The stories told among the Ladinos of Agua Escondida are very predominately European fairy stories that have small connection with the lives of the Ladinos; whereas in Panajachel a great number of stories and anecdotes are told which are believed to be true and which reflect and express experiences and beliefs of the Indians. (4) Samples indicate that the ethnobotanical knowledge is greater than that of Ladinos.¹

(e) Some of the differences that in this community exist between Indians and Ladinos are probably not differences in other communities. Indians in other communities will be found to be doing what the Ladinos of that community are doing, although here in Agua Escondida there is a difference in this respect. For example, although here the Indians do not have posadas (at the most occasional Indians will attend a posada given by Ladinos), I am told that in Patzun the Indians have posadas and organize them just as do the Ladinos. (It is likely that it is only the town-Indians, perhaps Ladino-ized, that have them). Conversely it is probable that in certain communities Ladinos will be found to be doing what is ordinarily to be associated with Indians. In Agua Escondida no Ladina knows how to weave

1. Tax suggests (1) maybe in a Ladino community as large as Panajachel the (average?) beliefs may be as great; (2) perhaps the Panajachel Indians have an unusual interest in finding reasons.

on an Indian loom and probably none ever seriously considers taking up the practice. But I am told that in Quetzaltenango many Ladina women have learned to weave belts and do so. This is hearsay, and may not be true. This fact -- if it is a fact -- that what appears to be a strictly ethnic difference, in a larger setting takes on the character of a local difference, probably contributes to bringing about the "neutral" character of ethnic differences in terms of status or prejudice. In this country of multiple local differences the Ladino culture tends to be regarded much as another Indian culture might be regarded. It is another Indian culture, so to speak, but less localized.

(f) There are wide areas of fundamental view on life which are held largely in common by Indians and Ladinos. The Indians and Ladinos, different though they are in many customs, have much the same ethos. In many spheres of activity they can meet on common ground, knowing that each will understand the other and respond similarly to situations. In supporting this assertion one may well put first the commercial habit of mind. The market system, the customs of bargaining, the willingness to discuss value and price, the interest in entering upon a business transaction, the freedom of the individual to go into such transactions independently of his family -- all these belong to both Indians and Ladinos. Secondly may be put the individualistic character of societies both Indian and Ladino. The acts of the individual do not to any great degree involve his kindred. Conversely there are, neither in the case of the Ladinos nor of the Indians, no well-defined social groups that play important roles in the society. Each individual, each household, goes very much its own way. People are free to settle where they will, to go into businesses as their knowledge

and opportunity permit. In third place one might refer to the fact that Indian and Ladino alike are subject to and well used to a system of formal governmental controls, exterior to the local society, and coercive upon the individuals. Of these exteriorly applied authorities individuals of both groups make free use. Whether a quarrel is between two Indians, or between two Ladinos, or between an Indian and a Ladino, one party or the other is likely to bring the matter to the intendencia to get vengeance or satisfaction.

There are also large groups of customs and institutions in which the Indian ways and the Ladino ways are so much alike that each recognizes himself in the actions of the other. Much of the practices and beliefs derived from Catholic instruction are of this sort: the saints; candles, masses, processions, incensing and a great many elements of cult; baptism and compadres; pilgrimages and vows. Mention has already been made of areas of folk belief -- the evil eye is one and notions as to the effects of the moon's waxing and waning on human activities is another -- in which there is close correspondence between Indian and Ladino conceptions.

It turns out not infrequently that an observed difference in custom between Indian and Ladino is, on closer inspection, a difference that is external rather than deeply significant. The Indian habits of mind are often clothed in a different costume, so to speak, than are the Ladino habits of mind, but the two habits of mind are not very different. If one goes to the cemetery in Agua Escondida on All Souls' Day one finds Indians and Ladinos both present, decorating the graves of their dead and spending a pleasant morning of recreation. The Indian and Ladino groups present

striking differences in appearance: the Indians with their very different garb, their graves hung with boughs to protect the flames of the candles, adorned with fruits, and provided with burning incense. The Ladinos use paper ornaments to adorn their graves, do not burn candles or incense, and do not decorate the graves with fruit. Yet I have been unable to discover any important difference of attitude underlying these two different ways of commemorating the dead members of the family.

Nevertheless we may not conclude that the world-views of Indians and Ladinos are alike throughout. The Panajachel materials, already referred to, suggest that to the Indians conceptions of the supernatural are notably different and more important. It may be that knowledge of the Indians would show that what they think in the cemetery is notably different from what Ladinos think.

3. The roles of Indians and of Ladinos in the division of labor of the total society.

With regard to the basic maintenance technology there is no division of labor along ethnic lines. What is not true is that Indians produce essential commodities upon which Ladinos depend. What is true is that Ladinos both farm, raise money- and subsistence crops, raise cattle for sale and for local consumption, and keep bees and produce honey. So far as Agua Escondida is concerned it may be said not merely that neither ethnic group has a monopoly of any of these modes of production, but also that there is no notable concentration in the one ethnic group rather than the other. The Indians are neither more nor less farmers than the Ladinos, or bee-keepers, or cattle-raisers. It may be shown (although I do not

have the facts to show it) that the per capita Ladino ownership of cattle is greater than the per capita ownership of cattle by Indians. But if this is true it is partly an aspect of the fact that the average wealth of the Ladino is greater than that of the Indian. Information from other communities indicates that by tradition Indians are less inclined to cattle-raising than are Ladinos. But in Agua Escondida the influence of this tradition is hard to detect. Some Indians have cattle. Agua Escondida is, on the whole, a community of farmers; some of these farmers are Indians and some are Ladinos.

The converse may be stated, but not quite so emphatically. Ladinos do not produce any essential commodity upon which Indians depend, but it is true that most of the stores upon which farmers, both Indians and Ladinos depend are owned by Ladinos. This statement has reference to the town stores. In the area generally, Indians are less inclined to keep stores than are Ladinos. But there are exceptions: stores owned by Indians. So also there are stores owned by Germans. This difference, like that with respect to cattle-raising, though influenced in the first place by tradition, is also an aspect of relative economic knowledge and relative wealth. If an Indian gets enough money and enough knowledge, there is no prejudice to prevent him from becoming a storekeeper.

In the village there are a half a dozen tiny stores; most of these are kept by Ladinos, but one or two are kept by Indians. The number of cases of Indian-ownership is proportionate to the relative number of Indians in the community. The principal Indian-kept store is frequented more by Indians.

than by Ladinos, probably because the Indian owner has closer connections with Indians than with Ladinos, but Ladinos trade there too.

In the lake region the skilled trades and crafts are generally carried on by Ladinos, but some of the most-used skilled craftsmen are Indians from Totonicapan, and in the immediate neighborhood of Agua Escondida there are instances of carpenters and masons who are Indians. Many of the Indians who practice skilled trades are Ladineized, but there are also many instances in San Pedro, Panajachel and elsewhere of Indians who practice skilled trades while retaining Indian customs and manner of life. If an Indian does acquire one of these trades, there is nothing in social usage to prevent him from being hired by Ladinos as freely as by Indians.

There are a few specialized occupations which have, or which might appear to have, ethnic connections and which therefore deserve special mention. Both Ladinos and Indians are professional musicians in that there are Ladino marimba-players and Indian marimba-players. Those with greatest prestige in Guatemala as a whole, and in the middle and upper class of Ladinos, are Ladino marimberos. That is because Ladinos, as a part of their general much greater familiarity with the ways of the city, provide the excelling musicians. But locally, in the Agua Escondida region, there are both Ladino and Indian sets of musicians that are about equally appreciated. Ladinos commonly employ Indian marimberos to supply the music for their festivals. But it does not follow that they associate the ethnic group with the service. If a Ladino group is better, or cheaper, it will be hired. The reverse situation of employment also occurs: Ladino marimberos are not infrequently employed by Indians.

In Agua Escondida the two women who serve as midwives are Indians. They serve both Indians and Ladinos. There is no tradition of ethnic role in the division of labor here, however. There used to be a Ladino midwife; and if there were now, and she were thought to be better than the Indians, the Ladinos would employ her. So, I think, would the Indians, if they found her not too expensive and if family connections did not draw them to one of the Indian midwives.

In the local community I can find only one activity which seems to be invariably associated with the Indians. As already stated, there are no Ladinos who know how to play the chirimia. Both Indians and Ladinos have the custom whereby at certain religious festivals, the chirimia should be played. The Indians play the chirimia for pagan-Christian ceremonies which the Ladinos do not share, and the Ladinos are used to have a chirimia play in the processions of the posadas, a ritual practice which the (local) Indians lack. But as the Ladinos have among their number no chirimiteros, they always hire Indian chirimiteros. The Indian does it because he is paid, as a job. So far as I can discover, the Indians feel no great sense of office in the community in this respect; recently the local chirimiteros went out of the village at Christas, or refused the employment.

In cases where a Ladino wishes to do magic, white or black, he has a choice of Ladino or of Indian specialists. The practice of magic, professionally, is more generally associated with Indians than with Ladinos. The Ladinos will often comment on the evil and pagan magic done by certain groups or villages of Indians. Also a majority of the locally known practitioners of divination and finding lost objects -- the chief forms of

white magic -- are Indians. But there are also, in San Lucas and in San Andres, some Ladino practitioners of white magic, and the accusation of sorcery, though more commonly than not directed against an Indian, occasionally finds its target in a Ladino.

Employment relationships. The Ladinos are on the whole wealthier than the Indians. On the average they own more land, have more cattle, and own more valuable personal property. The explanation probably lies in the economic advantage given the Ladinos by the fact that most of their ancestors were conquerors of the Indians and in the greater knowledge and skill for wealth-getting which on the average Ladinos have as compared with Indians. Therefore most Indians are laborers, and many Ladinos are entrepreneurs. In the Agua Escondida community the Ladinos present are samples of those, among Ladinos, at the bottom of the economic scales. Yet here too, as already stated, the Ladinos are wealthier than the Indians. It follows that proportionately more Indians work as field hands than do Ladinos. Yet a not inconsiderable minority of Ladinos are landless and similarly work as field hands. The wage paid to a worker bears no relation to his ethnic connections. Furthermore, Indians and Ladinos are employed by the same owner to work side by side, and still further it is not at all rare for a relatively wealthy Indian to employ Ladino field hands. About one third of the Ladino men of Agua Escondida have at one time or another worked for an Indian employer.

A similar situation exists with regard to domestic employment of women, although here the exceptional cases of Ladina employees are not so many. It is common in Agua Escondida to employ a servant girl. Even people

with very little money will do so. As Indians are cheaper, most of these servants are Indians. But there are a few cases of Ladina women and girls working in the village as house servants, and of course employment of village Ladinias by townspeople is very common. Cases of employment of Ladina house servants by Indians are much rarer than cases of employment of Ladino field hands by Indian land owners; none exists in the village nor is likely to develop so long as there is no wealthy Indian in the community. But two such cases, of employment by an Indian housewife who wears Indian costume of a Ladina house servant are reported to me for villages or towns in this part of the highland area.

What is to be declared, then, is that the original economic disadvantage of the Indian and his relative ignorance of ways of getting wealth bring it about that the Indians tend to occupy the lowest economic positions and the Ladinos the highest. But exceptional Indians in high economic positions and Ladinos in low positions occur. And -- as will be taken up later -- there is little or no ethnic prejudice to enforce a division of labor along ethnic lines.

The Indians do the work on the roads, while the Ladinos do military service. But this also is a distinction that is not absolute, and that is derived from the differences in knowledge and skill between the average Indian and the average Ladino. Only Indians who can speak Spanish and read a little enter the army. Those who do not pay their tax are required to work it out on the roads. The people who cannot pay their tax are in a large majority of cases Indians and therefore the roadworkers are nearly all

Indians. But in Agua Escondida an occasional Ladino works with the Indians on the road, working out his tax. I should add that I suspect here an element of traditional support of a division along ethnic lines; that is, both Ladinos and Indians regard it as customary for Indians to do the road work and not Ladinos. If you ask a Ladino on the point, he will tell you that it is the Indians who do the road work. And so they do -- with an occasional exception.

Neither ethnic group competes, as such, with the other ethnic group. This statement is a corollary of the proposition to the effect that economic activities are, in the case of both Indians and Ladinos, carried on by individuals, not by groups. There are no tribal, village, clan or associational farms, or hunting parties, or cattle cooperatives. There is nothing in the economic organization to set a body of Indians against a body of Ladinos. The nearest approach to such a situation is provided by the fact that the pueblo of San Antonio includes all Indians, and the aldea of Agua Escondida includes chiefly Ladinos. As the Indians of the pueblo maintain the greater power in the government of the municipio, the Indian authorities of the pueblo once prevented Ladinos from Agua Escondida from securing the right to bring water to the aldea from a spring. This did for a time give rise to angry statements by Agua Escondida people against the Indian officials of the village. But apparently the general patterns are too individualistic to allow this incident to become the basis for any enduring ethnic solidarity. I do not have the facts on the point, but I guess that during this controversy Indians of Agua Escondida were to be found on the side of the Ladinos of Agua Escondida rather than with the Indians.

Self-interest, if not local solidarity, is apt to be stronger than ethnic solidarity.

4. The attitudes of the Ladinos toward the Indians. (on the subject of the attitudes of the Indians toward the Ladinos I do not have enough data to allow me to offer definite conclusions).

That there are two different kinds of people in the community, Indians and Ladinos, is something of which Ladinos are fully and constantly aware. In spite of the many resemblances between the Indians and the Ladinos which certain of the foregoing paragraphs have emphasized, the differences between them make them, on the whole, two plainly distinguishable kinds of people. Ladinos characterize individuals in ethnic terms very frequently. "An Indian came here this morning." "Oh, we don't do that -- only Indians do." "In San Lucas the fiesta is among the Ladinos only." "So and so is the only Ladino living in Ojo de Agua." The Ladinos are willing to talk of differences in customs between Indians and themselves, and have much the same interest in the subject that they have in differences in customs between one local community and another. Some of the differences in custom which the Ladinos note between themselves and Indians are simply interesting to the Ladinos because they are differences; comment upon the difference does not involve appreciation or depreciation. The Indians of the Agua Escondida region call January sixth "the day of San Gaspar," whereas the Ladinos call it "the day of the Kings." The Ladinos speak of the difference (which may be true only very locally), and with the accompanying fact that the Indian boys born on that day are regularly named Gaspar, while a Ladino male child has four saint's names (Gaspar, Melchior, Malthasar, Reyes) to draw upon. But the difference is just a difference, and the Indian

way is not particularly depreciated by the Ladinos. The different ways of decorating the graves on All Souls' Day, already noted, is a difference of this character. So far as I have discovered the custom of sweeping tired legs with little grass brooms and leaving the brooms -- and the fatigue -- at the foot of a roadside cross, is confined to Indians. The Ladinos, however, appear not to regard this Indian custom as absurd, or unwise, or childish, or anything else that would suggest depreciation. The Ladinos I have spoken to treat the custom soberly and are inclined to regard it as efficacious. Yet they don't do it themselves.

Nevertheless, there are many customs of the Indians which the Ladinos depreciate. It is very generally believed by Ladinos that Indians practice black magic much ^{more}/freely than do Ladinos. Black magic is one of the most strongly condemned kinds of behavior. Frequently, in discussion of magic, Ladinos will tell you that the Indians generally, or Indians of certain villages, do much sorcery. The costumbres of the Maxeños are regarded as black magic and regarded with genuine, if mild, horror by any or most Ladinos (as they are by Indians in other villages). Cases of black magic which are told one involve Indians more commonly than Ladinos, and Indians are correspondingly condemned. The greater tendency of the Indians to drunkenness is another difference that is condemned. The difference may only be one of degree, but the Ladino feels that the Indian oversteps the limits of good taste or decency. "When Indians go to ask for the hand of a girl, they bring a great deal of rum and everybody gets drunk -- terrible. When my brother got married my father brought only two bottles and only Don Felipe (the girl's father) got drunk." Some of the Indians' customs with regard to sex-relations are also regarded with, at least, strong distaste.

It is apparently a custom of Indians in Totonicapan for the sponsors of a wedding to escort the married couple to their room and see that they get in bed together. Two Ladinos, unknowing this custom, agreed to act as sponsors for a Totonicapeno wedding; their feelings when they discovered what was expected of them are narrated with embarrassment and disgust.

Many of the differences of which the Ladino takes notice and condemns are illustrations of the general backwardness or ignorance which the Ladino attributes to the Indian. This is probably the predominating quality of the Ladinos' attitude toward Indians as a class of people: they think of the Indians as less enlightened, less Catholic, less fastidious than themselves. Ladinos speak with regret of the ill manners and ignorance exhibited by Indians who run away and hide at the sight of a stranger. The shy ways of Indians, and their customs of a sort which Ladinos might call superstitions, if they used such a word, are associated with their general lack of education and of opportunities for advancement. Laughter is heard in an Indian's house soon after the death of a member of the family; Ladinos comment unfavorably, adding that it shows how "uncultivated" Indians are. "The Indians easily become Protestants because they are so ignorant they can be made to believe anything." Ladinos will laugh among themselves at ignorance displayed by some Indian. Indians will do things which Ladinos would not do, because, Ladinos think, doing the thing they would not do is to lack in fastidiousness, to be crude. The "best" families of Agua Escondida, Ladinos, eat skunks with relish, but will not eat cats. Humbler Ladinos

eat cats. But none of the Ladinos will eat snakes, while (the Ladinos tell me) local Indians not infrequently do. This in brief represents the situation. The ignorant and uncouth Ladino is looked down on by the superior Ladino in just the same way, although not so far, as the same Ladino looks down on ignorant Indians. Indians are simply the most ignorant ^{and uncultivated} of the ignorant and uncultivated.

Corresponding to this prevailing attitude, the Ladinos as a whole look down upon the Indians as a whole. They regard them as much like themselves, but as less commendable, less socially valuable. You do not have to pay as much attention or show as much respect to an Indian. The Indians are not so often or so formally invited to participate in Ladinos' activities. They tend to remain on the fringes of festivals conducted by Ladinos. If someone comes to the house and it turns out to be an unknown Ladino, you treat him with politeness and invite him in; you can be much more casual about it if it turns out to be only an Indian. Partly spoiled food can be offered to an Indian. "We won't have to wash these glasses now, because only the Indians remain to be served." The difference in respect is expressed in the use of respect terms. A Ladino will call an Indian much older than himself by his first name, while that same Ladino will use "Señor" for Ladinos he knows equally well if they belong to a generation above him. A strange Indian, passing by may be hailed without terms of courtesy or preliminary greeting; a Ladino will not be so hailed. Older Ladinos, meeting Indians slightly known, will address them as "my son." There are several diminutive terms used by Ladinos for Indians. In fact the attitude of Ladinos toward Indians (the large majority of good and ignorant Indians) suggests the attitude of adults toward children; it is kindly but patronizing.

I think the Indians tend to accept this valuation of themselves. There is evidence that the generally inferior social position of the Indians is an established part of the total social structure. I have never heard an Indian in Agua Escondida express resentment toward Ladinos, nor have I heard a Ladino tell of such a case. The Indians are probably on the whole contented to remain as they are, but insofar as either Indian or Ladino wishes to change, it is the Indian who seeks to become like the Ladino, and who does. Indians ask Ladinos frequently to become godparents, but I have yet to hear of a Ladino who asked an Indian to be his compadre. Indians sometimes change their Indian surnames to Spanish surnames, but the reverse does not occur. Indians with Indian surnames that have absurd Spanish meanings will conceal these surnames. A Ladino son of an Indian father uses his mother's surname, although his father was a good man, and lived long with his mother, recognizing his son. This boy's playmates use as a nickname his Indian father's surname; this is humorously derogatory.

This social inferiority of Indians in the eyes of Ladinos is further evidenced by the fact that to call another person an Indian is to say something unpleasant about him. In quarrels the word may be used from one Ladino to another. A woman who has a long-standing quarrel with another tells third persons that she thinks her enemy is really an Indian but is concealing her origin. This accusation amounts to saying that the woman makes social pretensions; it is like saying, "Her mother was a washerwoman but she never mentions it." It is not like saying that a man "is really a nigger." On this point a statement will be made below.

In spite of the depreciative attitude which Ladinos maintain toward Indians, there is no race prejudice against Indians and no disposition of the

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Ladinos to keep Indians in a position of social inferiority. The inferiority which attaches to Indians is related to their cultural backwardness, not to their ancestry or blood. If an Indian overcomes the cultural backwardness, he enters the Ladino group. In this case, when his ancestry is remembered, he will be called an Indian, but when his manner of life is immediately of interest, he will be called a Ladino. So it will be said of a man who speaks Spanish well, dresses in European clothes and follows the manner of life of Ladinos, but who is known to have had parents who lived as Indians and were known as Indians: "That Ladino is an Indian." "When I went to that dance at the Molino de la Sierra I saw many young ladies whom I took to be Ladinas. It was only when I danced with them and spoke with them that I discovered they were really Indians. You can't always tell."

The Ladinos welcome the attempts of Indians to take on the ways of Ladinos. If an Indian learns to speak Spanish, to read and to write, and assumes the manners of Ladinos, he is commended by Ladinos. (I know nothing to make me think he is not also commended by Indians. But on this point I do not have full knowledge). "That Indian writes very well. Isn't that fine!" An Indian of the pueblo had a Ladino father who got the child casually by his Indian house servant. He speaks Spanish well and has been urged by Ladino acquaintances to put on Ladino attire. It is thought an excellent thing that the government is now causing the Indians who live in the remoter settlements to come to the aldea ^{and} attend school, even if adults, because they are learning to speak Spanish and to become more civilized. When, at the Christmas festival, some Indians were persuaded by Ladino hosts to take part in the dancing, the Indians were applauded.

The Ladinos show not the slightest reluctance to eat, play, work or associate generally with Indians. The Indians live scattered about in the settlement among Ladinos. There is nothing which tends to segregate them. If an Indian family comes to settle, they build their house where they find it convenient to acquire land, and I can discover no reluctance on the part of Ladinos to sell to Indians or to have Indians live near them. One of the two or three Ladinos of highest social status has chiefly Indian immediate neighbors. Indians and Ladinos maintain a number of characteristic relationships which bring them frequently together. As the pueblo Indians wish to avoid the trouble of carrying down to the pueblo the maize they harvest on lands up on the hill near the aldea, they frequently ask permission of householders in the aldea, generally Ladinos, to erect granaries in their yards and leave their corn there. I have not heard of a refusal. Travellers frequently ask leave to sleep in a house in the aldea, and travellers who make regular trips establish regular arrangements to sleep always in the house of someone when passing through. Not a few Ladinos thus give regular lodging to Indian travellers. Indian and Ladino villagers associate with great intimacy. An Indian youth and a Ladino youth will go calling together, the one to sing to mouth organ music played by the other. A few years ago a young married Indian, who had worked on the coast for several years, asked and obtained permission of a Ladino to sleep in the latter's kitchen and to use the kitchen as such. For many months this arrangement persisted. First the Ladino made her husband's tortillas, and then the Indian woman, using the same fire, made tortillas for her husband. Meantime there was amiable conversation among the four.

As already remarked, the midwives used by Ladinas in the aldea are Indians. Many Ladinos have Indian godchildren. The sense of obligation toward Indian godchildren may not be as strong as toward Ladino godchildren, partly at least because the godparent looks to Indian relatives of the child to take care of it, yet the obligation is realized: there are several cases in the community of Indian children reared by Ladino godparents. In these cases the child naturally learns Spanish and is provided with European clothes. He becomes one of those individuals who is at once a Ladino by habit but an Indian by ancestry. Ladinos who are related to Indians show little or no reluctance to conceal the fact. A youth in the village is the son of an Indian father, dead many years. His mother is Ladina, and he has a number of half-brothers whose fathers were Ladinos. He plays chiefly with Ladinos, and he sees relatives of his father rarely. But he has one paternal aunt who lives in San Lucas. She wears Indian clothes and is culturally Indian. He refers to her as "my Aunt Tina" with entire freedom. On the other hand it is to be reported that young Ladina girls do not call the Indian woman who for several years has lived with their uncle, long widowed, "aunt." But I doubt if they would use the kinship term toward a Ladina woman of comparable education with whom their somewhat distant uncle had rather recently come to live. The principal factor is that they were not brought up to address this woman by a kinship term; she is a newcomer.

In the school there is no segregation of Indians. As fast as they learn the predominating ways of Ladinos, they begin to play with the Ladinos. Anyone is free to bury his dead where he can afford to pay for burial lots in the cemetery. The Indian lots are on the outside, generally speaking, but that is because they have bought cheaper lots. The

cofradia that maintains the cult of the Niño is in the hands of Ladinos. The Indians of the neighborhood do not traditionally maintain the cult of the Niño in the manner and in the degree that Ladinos do. But some years ago an Indian of the community, somewhat Ladino-ized but still Indian-speaking and dressed as an Indian, came to the meeting at which plans for the fiesta for next year are made, and offered to take the chief position in the cofradia. His offer was soon accepted. So he became, next Christmas, the chief host and leader of the festal arrangements. This is the only instance reported when an Indian has taken a chief part. But an occasional Indian man will make a contribution, of rockets, for instance, and an occasional Indian woman has her name put down to come and give her labor in preparing the festal food.

The transition from Indian to Ladino. It has already been indicated that an Indian becomes a Ladino by assuming the ways of the Ladino. He retains his genealogical character as Indian, however, for those who remember the ethnic character of his parents. Some of the cases of transition result from adoption by Ladinos of Indian children. Others result from the acquisition of Ladino ways through education by Indians raised by Indian parents. If an Indian takes on Ladino ways and raises his children as Ladinos, the outsider may not suspect that the children are (genealogically) Indians until the point is raised. Then, if one asks directly, the answer will be given directly depending on the knowledge of the person asked. "Emilio Estacuy? Why, he is an Indian. His cousin Ernestina is half-Indian." "No," another Ladino present will enter a correction: "Ernestina is all Indian -- I remember her mother; she wore huipil and corte and spoke

Indian." So if attention is brought to bear on the matter of ancestry, almost everyone in the community can be classified genealogically as Ladino, Indian, or half-Indian. There is little occasion to become interested in the point, however, and no disposition to make finer genealogical distinctions. The only cases of persons hard to classify to the native are those older people whose manner of speech or manner of deportment suggest that they may have been Indians, but whose ancestry is not known. The surname is of some significance, but is not relied upon. Many surnames of Spanish origin occur both in Indians and in Ladinos. There are also a few surnames of Indian origin which are regarded as belonging to either Indian or Ladino families. "There are Ladino Yoxones and there are Indian Yoxones." It is probable that some originally Indian families of this name became entirely Ladino-ized long enough ago for knowledge of their Indian ancestry to have been lost.

The prestige and practical advantages of the ways of Ladinos as compared with Indians, as well as the policy of government, bring it about that Indians become Ladinos but Ladinos do not become Indians. Marginal individuals, people who wear European clothes and do not live in the Indian pueblos but in the aldea, yet who do not speak Spanish as well as the Ladinos, are correctly assumed to be genealogical Indians on the way to becoming Ladinos, even if one knows nothing about one's ancestry. The trend of change is to eliminate the Indians and make the country one of Ladinos. At the same time ways of the Indians are still being communicated to the Ladinos. It would be interesting to investigate this margin of assimilation. The sample of materials on folk beliefs suggest that a simple magical practice of the Indians -- let us say that by which

one secures fowl of a desired color by putting a correspondingly colored object under the nest -- may be very recently communicated to Ladinos of the community and that it stands a chance of adoption. Ladinos report recent experiences in going hunting with Indians, and being shown by Indians how certain spirits of the wood have nicked the ears of squirrels. These experiences and demonstrations induced these particular Ladinos to believe that indeed the spirits must exist. So it is probable that although the general direction of culture change in the area tends to reduce the belief in the supernatural and to eliminate the pagan element, at the same time there is something of a reverse current: the intercourse of Indians and Ladinos causes some Indian elements to become more generally present and to come to characterize Ladinos also.

It is probably rare for a Ladino to assume the ways of Indians consciously, or for a Ladino to come to be regarded by his fellows as Indianized. In my materials there is only one such instance. A Ladino of the community, very low in the social scale, joined up informally with an Indian woman while working near her in a rural settlement, and later brought her and her Indian children by a former marriage to the aldea. His wife's Indian daughter was sought in marriage by an Indian of the pueblo. The Ladino step-father assumed the role of an Indian father in the circumstances, negotiated with the representatives of the boy, and made as a condition of the marriage that the boy live in his household. This behavior was commented on, with amusement, by the man's Ladino neighbors.

5. Amalgamation.

The cultural difference between Indians and Ladinos is sufficiently great to cause the Ladinos to say, if one asks them, that

Ladinos do not marry with Indians. The average Indian is an uncouth and uneducated person. A Ladino, at least those of any social position, will therefore deny that he or his kind would marry an Indian. If then you point to the neighbor Ladino who has in fact lived as man and wife with an Indian woman for many years, the Ladino is likely to say, "Well, Pancho is so uncouth that he can't get anybody but an Indian to live with him." Which is probably the fact. Ladinos, in discussing this matter, will make general statements to the effect that it is not right to mix with Indians; Ladinos and Indians should each stick to his kind.

Tax tells me that the feeling against intermarriage is at least as strong on the side of the Indians: Indian women who have affairs with Ladinos are "bad women;" there are myths telling what happens to them.

Nevertheless Indian-Ladino amalgamation goes on at a moderate rate. The amalgamation occurs in a variety of situations and results in several types of unions. Casual sexual relations, both pre-marital and adulterous, are common in the community. A Ladino man will in most cases have such an affair with a Ladina woman; they are more like him and more attractive to him. But casual unions with Indian women are not uncommon; they may come about because the Ladino is himself unattractive and cannot obtain the consent of a Ladina. At least five children in the community are known to have resulted from casual unions of this sort. There are also occasional cases of Ladino men who have children by Indian house servants, even though they have Ladina wives, or could have Ladina wives. I know of no case in the community of casual children of Ladina women by Indian fathers. I do not know to what extent the Indian culture in Agua Escondida

restricts such unions. On the side of the Ladina there would be a disinclination, because the Indians, as ignorant and uncouth, are on the whole, less attractive to her. No case of rape involving any ethnic combination has been reported to me.

Established conjugal relations between Indian woman and Ladino man are not very rare, nor are they very common. Of fifty households in the community, there is only one such. Another occurs in Panibaj, and there are others in San Lucas and Godinez. Of the cases known to me, most are second unions on the part at least of the Ladino man, but the case of Pancho, here in the aldea, is one in which the Ladino man never lived before with a woman and has taken an Indian widow with her children to live with him. This household belongs in the lower social levels of the local society, but neither man nor wife is under any negative social sanction by reason of the marriage; people are friendly to them both.

So far as my materials go, it appears that established unions between Ladino men and Indian women are commoner than those between Indian men and Ladina women. There is one case of a union of the latter sort in the aldea. In this case the Ladina woman was arrested for soliciting in a town, and while in jail a Ladino-ized Indian agreed to marry her. He did so; they live here now, and have a child. He works lands she inherited; she does not go out much, but I do not know of anything to show she is under any strong social disfavor for any reason. Two other cases of permanent unions between Indian men and Ladina women are known to me from the neighborhood. It is to be noted in these cases the Indian is much Ladino-ized;

while in the reverse kind of union commonly the Indian women retains her costume and in several cases speaks the Indian tongue to the children. But I do not know of any case in which children of a Ladino father and an Indian mother learned only the Indian tongue, nor would such a case be expected. The children of all-Ladino unions learn to speak both languages too.

So far as the cases I have indicated, formal marriage (by civil registry now) will occur in the cases of mixed unions if the other circumstances are such that a formal marriage would take place if the parties belonged to the same ethnic group. From what has been said it should appear that many mixed unions are second unions, or develop from casual intercourse, or involve socially peripheral individuals. All-Ladino unions involving these factors are usually without formal sanction too. There are instances, not in the aldea but in neighboring towns, of formal marriages between Ladino men and Indian women (the women retaining Indian costume and manner). There are several of the sort which occurred in San Lucas.

6. Conclusion.

The Ladinos and Indians of the Agua Escondida region have at one and the same time characteristics of distinct cultural groups in process of assimilation, and also of social classes. They are distinct cultural groups in that differences in customs as in language are notorious, and in that the few individuals who are not readily assignable to one group rather than to the other are in passage from the one group to the other. To this

extent they are like any native people in process of assimilation into the culture of a dominating invading people. On the other hand they are status groups in the same society, for in fundamentals of custom and attitude Ladinos and Indians are very much alike, while the Ladinos look down upon Indians and (so far as the little I know goes) Indians tend to accept this evaluation of themselves. Castes they are certainly not, for it is far from true that individuals born in the lower group must remain in that group; on the contrary the superior group encourages members of the lower to become like themselves. Nor is there any hereditary occupational characteristic of either group. And certainly the groups are not sociological races, in the sense of groups identified in biological terms. "Blood" plays practically no part in the definition of one's membership in either group, and there is no prejudice from the Ladinos against persons with real or supposed biological characteristics. The Ladinos, of the kind with which this memorandum deals, do not stand for white superiority. Nor is any Indian I have met interested in helping his "race." What is striking about the behavior of Indians and Ladinos both is that what either does has little effect on the ethnic group to which he belongs. If an Indian learns to play an accordeon, that is something which Ladinos will applaud as well as Indians. They will applaud it because playing an accordeon is a desirable accomplishment in any man, and his ethnic affiliations make no difference. The Ladinos do not feel the Indian has presumed above his station, nor on the other hand has that particular Indian "raised his race" by acquiring the accomplishment. It is just Pedro Sicay or Jose Churruel who is pretty good on the accordeon, isn't that fine. This individualistic character of life, in that what one

does has little consequences for one's group, is true of ethnic groups as it is of great families or of villages in this part of the world.

What we are likely to discover, as we go further into this matter, is that the remote rural Indian does not accept the depreciation accorded him by the Ladino, while as the Indian comes into closer association and communication with the Ladino, he comes to accept it. This, in a very limited way, represents the change from tribe to class.

Guatemala City
February 24, 1941

Dear Sol:

Enclosed you will find some sheets representing information supplied by another San Antonio informant on the tabular creencias. I believe you have a copy of this table; the new sheets are to be pasted on the right-hand side.

I have gone over this table once more, and with greater care than before. There follow some observations following from this going-over. No observation is both new and important; the general result amplifies tentative conclusions already made.

The elements of belief and practice represented in the table may be grouped under three heads.

I. BELIEFS CHARACTERIZING BOTH INDIANS AND LADINOS. There are many conceptions and practices which appear to be shared generally by Indians of all three communities and by Agua Escondida ladinos. The data we have indicate that most adults have knowledge-and-belief on these general conceptions, without regard to the locality or the ethnic group. Of course we expect differences, certainly as among individuals and probably as among communities or ethnic groups, as to sub-elements, or more particular items of knowledge and belief subsumable under the more general conception. In the following paragraph items which are marked with an asterisk are not known to exist in San Pedro on the basis of the table; they may nevertheless exist there.

A first group of elements under this heading is made up of certain basic conceptions of the world or as to conduct with regard to the world; the effect of the moon on living and growing things; the weakening or gentling influence of women over things strong and masculine; the classification of foods, remedies and perhaps diseases into "cold" and "hot"-- and as a widespread illustrative special belief, the notion that cow's meat is "colder" than steer's meat; the idea of the evil eye, with the conception that the resulting sickness may be cured by contagious magic with the person of the causer of the sickness; respect for fire, maize and the metate. To be mentioned in a second breath, because of the somewhat less broad application and importance of the conceptions listed, are the ideas that there is danger to unborn child and pregnant woman during an eclipse; that domestic animals are unfavorably affected if man and wife quarrel; that lightning kills evil animals and people, and that during a storm one should not carry with one sharp metal, and perhaps also jewelry; that the wind brings sickness; that dogs should not be teased or maltreated, and that they should be given bread in Holy Week; that money used to appear where stars fell;* that if you point at a rainbow harm may come to the finger; that San Bernardino is the patron of, or perhaps

is, the sun; that an eclipse is a bad omen; that when it drizzles, deer are born; that San Lazaro is the patron of dogs*; that cats fighting at night are a bad omen; that it is dangerous or wrong to sit on a tenemaste; that a crowing hen is somehow uncanny or unlucky and should be killed; and (probably-- the information from ladinos is inconclusive) that the breaking of metate or mano is a bad omen.

A second group of elements generally shared by all is made up of practical ways of getting useful things done. One might mention here a great body of genuinely adaptive technological behavior. Confining the list to those more magical procedures mentioned in the table, one may note: that a dog may be made brave by feeding it chile*; that to make a dog stay at home you put some of its hairs under a tenemaste; that a dog's cough may be cured by hanging a purple corn cob around its neck; that the "spiny head" disease may be cured with cow's excrement; that black hens are especially effective remedies or nourishment; that a split hen or vulture may be tied to the soul's of the feet to bring down a high fever; that young turkeys may be made less delicate by bathing them in rue; that honey is a remedy for burns; that children backward in talking may be cured by giving them droppings from the parrot's food.

The readiness with which informants look favorably on many suggestions for such practical magic as are proposed to them for the first time suggests that this sort of element moves easily from one local group to another and from one ethnic group to another. In contrast, ladino informants show resistance to acceptance of "primitive" views of the world such as many Indians have. I ask: Is there any corresponding resistance on the part of Indians to accept a more "scientific" world-view, or is it simply ignorance of such a view that prevents Indians from adopting it. What is your opinion?

With respect to some of the elements mentioned above, and with respect to others that have not yet been mentioned, it may be said that although all the people of the communities under discussion share common ideas, nevertheless as to these same elements there are differences as between Indians and ladinos. Indian and ladino meet on a common ground of understanding as to the belief, yet part of the ground on which the belief rests is characteristic of the one group but not of the other.

In certain cases Indian and ladino are in agreement as to the conception in its general outlines, but the connections or connotations of the conception run in one direction with the Indians, and in another with the ladinos. For example, while both groups have the idea of punishment of the soul in purgatorial fires, the notion that this punishment may occur inside the hill or a volcano is absent in the case of the ladinos, while among Panajachel Indians it is apparent[ly] clear, and it is vaguely recognized by one San Antonio informant. In San Pedro it appears that there is a notion of a hill-world independent of purgatorial fires, and traces

of this conception appear in the other Indian communities. The data are few, but they suggest a historical syncretism. Another such syncretism is suggested in the case of the belief in a female supernatural being in or under the lake. The ladinos think of this being as a temptress of men, a siren lovely in appearance. The Indians tend to think of her as a supernatural ruler of a subaqueous world, complete with spiritual equipment. The Indians emphasize the idea that drowned persons' souls may go to her; to the ladinos she is a special sort of espanto, who may frighten or lure men. A third illustration is to be found in the fact that ladino informants, while agreeing with the Indians that one should respect the fire and the metate, emphasized that women should not step over either lest its strength be affected; the statements from Indians suggest that for them the paramount connection of the belief is with the general respect due from everyone to those semi-personified forces of nature and to essential tools and substances.

A more specific difference between ladino and Indians with respect to these same "common" beliefs exists in the greater disposition of Indians to regard nature or inanimate objects as persons. It is the Indian who thinks-- not always with clear definition-- of the fire and the wind as supernatural beings; it is the Indians who report themselves as addressing the maize as "senora;" it is the Indian who may say that the sun is God (P only?), or that San Bernardino is not merely the patron of the sun, but is the sun. It is the Indian who says the comal should not be left on the fire after it has been used for toasting tortillas, because it is tired after it has worked for you; and it is the Indian who declares that the hand-stone should not be separated from the metate any more than the arm should leave its body.

A third difference between Indian and ladino, notable even with regard to these "common" beliefs, is the apparent fact that the Indian is more disposed than the ladino to give "reasons" or explanations for the belief. As communication between ethnologist and informant is easier in the case of ladinos, this difference can hardly be put down to ethnologists' error. Examples are the following: bats are of the devil-- they bring the blood they suck to be cooked for the devil. You should treat digs well-- because they help the souls of men across a river in the after-life. The corn cob cure for dogs' coughs works-- because the cough passes to him who laughs at the dog. You should kill a crowing cock-- because its crowing is like the last trump. The ladino informants gave no reasons, or uncertain, tentative reasons, for these beliefs.

The tendency of the Indians to personify nature may also be regarded from the point of view of this last noted difference, for considering wind, fire or maize as a sort of person, who is to be respected or propitiated, is to have a kind of reason or explanation for the conduct sanctioned.

II. BELIEFS CHARACTERIZING EITHER INDIANS OR LADINOS, BUT NOT BOTH

The list of elements derived from the table which appear to be shared by Indians of all three communities (with some qualifications noted) is long, whereas the table provides more than two beliefs characterizing the ladinos but not the Indians. One explanation for this difference is to be found in the fact that the list was made up out of materials collected from Indians, at least in the first place. Another lies in the natural tendency of the ethnologists who made the list to pick out to them odd or unfamiliar customs.

The duende is surely a notion of European origin, characterizing ladinos rather than Indians. This Puck-like sprite who plays pranks, especially on women, is obsessed by long hair, and makes elf-locks in the manes of horses, is not reported by any of the Indian informants, although the word "duende" has apparently come into use in some places in Guatemala for other beings present in Indian lore. Panajachel informants blamed tangled locks on the characotel, and SA informants regard these tangles, and long, tangled locks in boys, as signs of strength, and as locks not to be cut-- a notion irrelevant to or inconsistent with the ladino duende belief.

In my opinion another belief characterizing ladinos but not Indians, and present in the table, is the cabanuelas. Because I had encountered reports of the cabanuelas in parts of the New World where Indian influence is slight (Santo Domingo, Costa Rica), I had come to think of this notion as European in origin. Yet when you reported it as a "common belief" among Indians of Panajachel, I was not surprised, for I had seen it well established among Maya Indians of Yucatan. On the other hand, when the San Antonio Indians apparently did not know it, I began to wonder about your report. Now I read that installment of your diary which indicates that apparently most San Antonio Indians do not know of it. I think that the belief is Spanish in origin; that we shall find that it has reached Indians in a spotty and exceptional way; and that the most isolated Guatemalan Indian communities will be found to be without it.

Before turning to elements which characterize Indians but not ladinos, I should like to raise a question. Consider the Indian beliefs apparently lacking in the case of ladinos. In a good many of these cases would it not be difficult to show that the ladinos have some additional element of knowledge or belief with regard to the object around which the belief centered and element unknown to Indians, which makes up to the ladinos so to speak, for their ignorance or disregard of the element known to the Indians? This is that old doubt as to whether the Indians have "more" culture, or whether the culture is "richer" in certain segments of experience. The point cannot be established without more work. If the Indians think an unsold hog should be washed with cold water, while the ladinos don't, what do ladinos know or think about hogs that the Indians don't know or think? The ladinos and Indians I know in AE appear to have about equal knowledge about the care of hens and their use. In addition, the Indians recognize certain taboos on the

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eating of certain parts of hens. What do ladinos have that Indians don't, that has to do with hens? Could it be established that there is more knowledge and belief with regard to the immediate environment in the case of Indians than in the case of ladinos? I raise the question; I don't answer it. In certain areas of experience (e.g., knowledge of the city, the wide world, and history, the ladinos on the whole have more knowledge and belief than do the Indians. Or do they? One must remember the greater amount of traditional lore and mythology had by the Indians. The average Indian I know can tell me more about men came to be, and the lake, and the pueblo, than can the average AE ladino. It is of course irrelevant that what the ladino tells me will be more nearly true.

Let us now pass to those elements which the table shows to characterize Indians but not ladinos. Many of these again illustrate the greater disposition of Indians to treat nature personally; the conception of the world within the hill, already mentioned (present in SP and P; in P associated with hell; very vague so far as SA materials go); the deification of the sun, already mentioned; the notion that the eclipse is a fight; that one should not speak ill of the wind, and that the wind inspects the person and carries a report to God; that a whirlwind can carry one off (ladinos could only say that a whirlwind was vaguely dangerous). Some of the Indian ideas people the universe with beings, without precisely personifying and single element in nature: the belief in the twelve rain-makers-- a sort of divine servicio; the notion that somewhere between sea and sky there is a queer, dwarf-like race (some individuals in at least P and SA have the notion that twice a day the sun eats one of these; in SA the attributes of these beings are very vague; one informant said they had no bones; another that they did not eat); the one-eyed condition of the moon as a result of a blow dealt her by the sun; the belief in the bush-haired terrestrial dwarves. Other beliefs illustrate the greater tendency of the Indians to recognize the unluckiness or wrongfulness of doing something which might symbolically involve a bad outcome: one should not sleep with the head to the west; butchers are punished after death with suffering like that which they caused the animals they killed; one may brush fatigue away from one's legs-- the last is a positive notion corresponding with the other beliefs. Considering this category even more broadly, one might add the Indian taboo against marrying one's midwife's daughter or son.

Some of the elements characterizing Indians but not ladinos do not readily fall into the categories just stated. All that occurs to me to say about them is that they indicate the separateness of Indian and ladino traditions, to some degree; the difference may not be between aboriginal and European heritage in all or most cases, but may be a difference between two lines of tradition both of which are European in origin, or both of which became established in America. Ladinos refer to the morning star as la nixtamalera; Indians tend to speak of it as Santiago. It is Indians, probably, who call the Milky Way "the cold road;" Indians know about tobacco to quiet snakes; it is probably Indians who character-

istically name eggs or chickens to be hatched, or already hatched for members of the family so as to divide them among the members. Some of these elements, as the last two, being little practical matters, one might expect to find among ladinos too, and perhaps we shall. Maybe some ladinos pour cold water over hogs that have been almost but not quite sold; maybe some ladinos keep their ~~hogs~~ from eating tunas and certain other foods for fear of the disease called sarna-- but so far these elements have been reported only from Indians, and from Indians in all three communities. The ladinos I have interogated said they did not know these elements. So too it is the Indians who tell about how when the judgment came, by flood or fire, people tried vainly to save themselves and were turned into animals.

One belief that deserves special mention is that having to do with the "mala hora"-- the conception that evil or dangerous influences are abroad on certain days of the week. This appears to be Indian, and not ladino, in spite of its connection with the Christian calendar. One ladino informant said "he had heard that Tuesday and Friday were bad days, but paid no attention to it." Another denied that Friday was a bad day, and said it was especially sacred because the Lord died on that day. The Friday-feeling-- Friday as unlucky-- appears to put North Americans and Indians together as contrasted with ladinos! And why are there two schools of thought among the Indians? SA informants declare for Tuesday and Friday as bad days; P informants say Monday and Friday, and so does Mariano Perez, who was brought up on a finca chiefly among San Andres Indians. In Yucatan it was clearly Tuesday and Friday, and the belief characterized ladinos (vecinos) as well as Indians.

III. BELIEFS NOT SHOWN BY THE TABLE TO CHARACTERIZE LADINOS OR INDIANS OR TO CHARACTERIZE BOTH GROUPS GENERALLY.

In looking over the remaining elements, one notices at once the large number of items which are reported from Panajachel and not from any other community. That it is Panajachel rather than San Antonio or San Pedro which furnishes these specialties, is of course in part due to the fact that the list was made from Panajachel notes. If it had been made from San Antonio materials, it is probable that there would have been a large number of San Antonio specialties.

A rapid examination of the San Antonio notes reveals the following, among others, some of which I recall as reported from Panajachel or San Pedro-- although of course they may be in one or both communities: A new metate should be washed in a certain kind of atole before it is used; to cure snakebite, rub the wound with the brains of the snake; pricks with porcupine quills cure cramps; the animal called is a rat that sometimes changes into a taltuza; the powdered bones of the road-runner () constitute a love-charm; the best cure for the disease, fright, is to frighten the

afflicted person again at the place where the fright occurred (there are also several oostumbre cures by gajorines); a goiter may be treated by touching it with the staff or sandal of someone who has just returned from a journey; human excrement in atole is a remedy for the bite of the oasampulga; a remedy for scorpion bite is to take hold of the testicles of another man; the cicada has the evil eye, and so it is bad for children to make a bullroarer of one; if the walkingstick insect bites one, one gets as thin as it is thin, and at last dies; red ears of maize are a sign of thieves in the milpa, for the blood of what one tries to steal goes into the thing stolen; some people eat only eggs and ohile before sowing pepinos that the pepinos come nice and round, like eggs; one may eat crabs before planting wheat so that the ears will have many grains as the crab's claws have many knobs.

Yet the large number of elements reported from only one community (in the present case, Panajaohel), leaves an important question unanswered. In the case of the elements indicated below with the sign #, the SA informants (and possibly the SP informants?) denied the existence of the element in their own knowledge. Therefore one wants to know if these elements are of general or widespread knowledge in Panajaohel, or if they represent an occasional individual viewpoint or speculation. If they are the former, then we have some local differences. This, I understand, is one matter on which you have been working.

Here is the list: the sky is separated from the earth by pillars#; if one dies innocent by the act of another, he cannot go to Heaven until the killer comes with him; the sun is covered by four curtains of glass#; the eclipse is caused by the sun and moon fighting; the stars are the souls of the dead#; Mars is the star of thieves#; Jupiter is the star of horses#; if one watches while a star falls, one's life is shortened; drizzle is the urine of God#; San Sebastian is lord of the wind#; the snakes are owners of the roads#; sorcers work at crossroads#; where there is a ball of fire, there money is buried (I suspect this is European and ladino; the ladinos of AE are familiar with it, but not the Indian informants); you shouldn't have two fires lighted in the house#; when a fire oraokles, it is a sign a snake is in it#; boys should not eat eggs that are infertile; the stump of a cut-down fruit tree should be covered#; The notion that certain lands don't like dogs is vaguely suggested from SA, but is clear from P.

I recognize that more investigation may turn up any of these among SA Indians or ladinos. The present situation calls for investigation: a few informants from each group (AE ladinos and SA Indians) deny knowledge of the elements specially designated above and no informant from those group says the contrary; and the items are apparently absent from SP materials.

One of these Panajachel elements in particular attracts my attention. You report that "when a woman dies, pieces of a metate are put in the coffin." Three SA informants deny such a practice there, but these three informants tell me that there it is the custom to put a piece of metate or mano into the coffin of a child (may even be a young person) so that the soul will not be born in the next child, but a stronger soul instead. Is there a local difference here, or have the P. informants been misunderstood?

A few elements are reported from the AE ladinos and the SA Indians, but not from P or SP. I don't know if anything can be made of these. They are: If one cannot stand the smoke from a fire, it is a sign one is jealous; sweepings should not be taken out of the house at midday or after nightfall; if a pot breaks on the fire, it is a sign of impending quarrel; the principal tenemaste should not be moved.

Only the ladinos of AE give the following: there is a rhyme said to the azacuanes as they migrate, for causing chicks yet to hatch to have feathered feet; for snakebite, bite the snake; if you sweep over a person's feet, he or she will marry far off.

The following elements are so reported in the available materials as to make it impossible to suggest any conclusions as to whether local or ethnic differences exist. They are mostly elements of small importance, and one can imagine that most of them may be passed around almost anywhere according to the accidents of interest or communication: to cure a frightened or air-struck chick, put it under a pan and strike the pan (L), or put it under a pot (P), or hold it over moistened lime (SA). Cure rabies by cutting the dog's ear or tail (P), or bury it up to the neck (P,L), or just say there isn't any remedy (SA,SP). Eat a cat's head to get powers of sorcery (SP,P), or eat it to prevent a sorcerer's power from affecting you (SA), or take a cat's bone out a pot in which a cat is boiling, to get powers of sorcery. Eat a mouse, unbeknownst, to cure mange (some Indians, some ladinos). One should not put a tortilla on a tenemaste, or eat one that has been put there (some ladinos, some Indians).

And here I have nothing more to say on the subject.

Sincerely,

FURTHER NOTES ON LADINO-INDIAN UNIONS

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1. Two years ago Leonzo Tzoc separated from the ladina woman with whom he had for several years been living, and began to live with an Indian woman with whom he has since separated. The ladina has begun to live, in Godinez, with Emilio Estacuy, who had been living with Vicenta Morales.
2. Romaldo Estacuy is known to be an Indian, from Quezaltenango. "In Quezaltenango the Indian men are very ladinoized. But the women continue to wear the Indian skirt." Romaldo has long been joined with a ladina woman, strictly ladina, from Santa Lucia. This year the headship of the ladino cofradia of the Nino was given to Romaldo; he did not ask for it, but the other men decided he should have it.
3. Aparicio Miranda is from Chaliaj, near Patzun, as are the other Mirandas. For years he has been living with Patro ~~re~~ ian an Indian woman from Patzun. She is ladinoized; wears ladino clothes.
4. Ricardo Alvarez, R's uncle, lived not with one Indian woman, but at the same time with two, in Panibaj. One has now died; he still lives with the other, a Patzunera. Magdaleno, his brother, would not recognize her and always avoided her. She does not come to AE. Romelia still avoids her. Ricardo wanted R; she wouldn't "work for that indita."
5. Daniel Santiso, the Indian boy who was brought up as hijo de casa by Micaela Benevante, has now juntado, (socially recognized) with Teresa, eldest daughter of Sptero Alvarez, and lives in Panibaj.
6. Cruz Archila, another Indian brought up as a ladino, is caretaker for the Patzun woman who has lands at Chicamang; he has never joined up with a woman.

CHAPTER V. THE INDIAN AND THE LADINO: TWO MODES OF LIVING ~~MM~~ The Indian and the ladino are recognizably different in that ~~MMMMMMMM~~ they live enough differently that an Indian is notably different from ~~MMMMMMMM~~ a ladino and not easily is the one mistaken for the other. Nevertheless the differences are accompanied by many great similarities.

INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS--BAPTISM

Micaela Santiso de Penavente was asked to be godmother of an Indian baby. ~~IMMENSE MIMMIO~~ His father was Jose Yos, a Patzunero. The child's father and mother both died. So Macaela took the child and raised it. It was her duty: the priest always tells us when he takes a child to baptism, "Do you know what it is to be godparent-- you must take care of the child if its parents die." ~~MMMM~~ He is called Daniel Santiso. He calls Micaela "mother." He talks Spanish, and dresses and lives like a ladino. He has lived in her house ever since. Yes, I think he knows Micaela is not really his mother. He lives in Panibaj. Oh, he is a natural. Both his parents were. But of course to people that don't know about it, he is a ladino.

I am godparent of ~~MMM~~ four children of Josefa Tax. The father has died. If the mother died, and the other relatives did not want the children, it would be my duty to take them and raise them. Yes, it would be expensive. But it is the duty of a godfather.

May 15 Don Tomas

Daniel is a natural. But he speaks Spanish very well; his mother has given him good clothes; he lives only with ladinos. Away, where they do not know about his history, he will be a ladino. If he marries? Well, I suppose he will have to find a wife among the ladinos because he is like them.* His children will be ladinos.

He has done servicio in Solola.

* Three yrs later:

Daniel has quizado with
2 ladinas of Panibaj

Your summary seems to me so good and complete that, for the ground covered, there is nothing left to say. Since, however, I expect that I am not paid to pass out orchids, I have read and reread the paper with a critical eye to see if I couldn't dig out of my different experiences enough additions, subtractions, and suggestions and questions to make it seem that I am still functioning. I follow your numbering:

1. First paragraph. In the recent fiesta in Chichicastenango there were three dance-halls: one patronized by educated, sophisticated, wealthy, well-dressed ladinos and their ladies; the second by less educated, less sophisticated, less wealthy, less well-dressed ladinos; the third by Indians, including ladinoized Indians such as the servant group, and a sprinkling of the lowest class of ladinos. Here in Chichicastenango there is a strict line between ladinos and Indians; and that is because there are no rural ~~Indian~~ ladinos comparable to those found in A.E. or Panajachel. There are poor ladinos aplenty, but they are more averse to doing common labor than to begging; they all wear shoes, ragged as they may be. The Chichicastenango ladinos are a social class in contrast to Indians, grading imperceptibly among themselves. You remember that after a season in Chichicastenango I had no idea that there is a distinction to be made in the ladino group; Chitatal excited me, for I had never seen rural ladinos, and I mistakenly supposed that they represented a freak situation something like the mountaineer Kentuckians. Now that I have been elsewhere and return here, I am more than ever impressed (by contrast) that all the ladinos align themselves with a class that in Panajachel is identified with education and wealth. In general, and in agreement with your point, these people depreciate Indians more than A.E. ladinos do and are more socially distant from them; ^{Here} there is an intermediate class that in the lake region would be socially very close to the rural ladinos--and that is the class of "foreign Indians" plus ladinoized ~~Indian~~ maxefios--that ~~are~~ culturally as close to the poor ladinos as ~~they are~~ to the monte maxefios.

In Panajachel this question can be judged a little better than in Chichicastenango, because after all even other Indians depreciate the backward maxefios. In Panajachel the chancles as a whole depreciate the Indians as a whole more than do the A.E. people; but not much more and in some cases no more. The chancles who have stores and depend upon ~~ladino~~ trade do not depreciate Indians nearly as much as those whose chief relations with Indians are as patrón-mozo; but there is condescension in all cases, and in some cases "tolerance" ("After all, aren't we all Indians?" as Patrocínio once said). At the same time nobody would think of calling rich, sober, 1st Principál Miguel Yach--an old line Indian-- "hijo". As the cultural gap between Indian and ladino widens (as it is wider between chancles and Indians than it is between obreros and Indians) the social relations shift radically; there is no longer the question

of attending the same ground are too different don't have the same kind of instances. To make Chancle and Indian as and Indian, I might do not know the ladino castenango are equally--by the way the rich rather than the ignorant

Second paragraph. Community doesn't seem chancles live a different kind of background (The ancestors of the time immemorial in I Quiché, Huehuetenango, connected with the Indians around the big-towns like that ways coming to town the chancles more in castenango they brought than did the A. E. I suppose they must have isn't as important as

As to conservatism all right when you Totoncapán where I any in this region? ized, they are still the ladinos are (in if there are any obtheless, I think they they will will be more where Indians are present

2.a. Not in A.E. politico-religious of the ladinos (to kind. This organization of life (for Indians are applied la important distinguish the same time, one land--Indians take opposed to the Indian

2.b, c. I have just a bit. Of course do is question: don't do Indians (as land more; don't there do too)? The houses, and so on complex, for example may be the same, but than Indians--wealth different non-basically

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 ground are too different, and indeed the two kinds of people
 don't have the same kinds of social affairs except in marginal
 instances. To make clear the fundamental break between the
 Chancle and Indian as opposed to the gradation between Obrero
 and Indian, I might point out that the chancles of Panajachel
 do not know the Indian language, and that the ladinos of Chichi-
 castenango are equally ignorant of it (so that the few who do
 --by the way the rich rather than the poor ones--the educated
 rather than the ignorant--make a fuss about it).

Second paragraph. The fact of being newcomers to the com-
 munity doesn't seem to me to be the essential factor. The ~~xxxxxxxx~~
 chancles live a different kind of life, and come from a different
 kind of background (in general) from the obrero or rural ladinos.
 The ancestors of the Chichicastenango ladinos have lived from
 time immemorial in Indian communities -- Totonicapán, Sololá,
 Quiché, Huehuetenango, etc. -- but were always in town, in bus-
 iness, connected with Guatemala City and Europe rather than with
 the Indians around them except in purely business relations. In
 big-towns like that there is a fringe of Indian population al-
 ways coming to town and becoming ladinoized but they don't make
 the chancles more Indian; so that when the ladinos came to Chichi-
 castenango they brought a different pattern and relation-to-Indian
 than did the A. E. ladinos when they came from rural Tecpán, as I
 suppose they must have if they are farmers. So time of residence
 isn't as important kind of relations.

As to conservatism of the Indian community, the point holds
 all right when you think of Chichicastenango; but what about
 Totonicapán where I think the Indians are least conservative of
 any in this region? Even though the Indians are partly ladino-
 ized, they are still easily distinguishable from ladinos, because
 the ladinos are (insofar as they are chancles--and I don't know
 if there are any obreros or rural Indians) so very different. Never-
 theless, I think the point is well-taken: ladinos being the same,
 they will be more clearly distinguishable in communities
 where Indians are primitive.

2.a. Not in A.E., of course, but in general Indians have a
 politico-religious organization of their own independent from that
 of the ladinos (to a large extent) and differing pretty much in
 kind. This organization, having ramifications in many of the
 ways of life (for example, respectful terms of address among Ind-
 ians are applied largely on the basis of servicios done) is an
 important distinguishing mark of Indian and ladino. It is, at
 the same time, one that makes uprooted--i.e., away from the home-
 land--Indians take on many of the characteristics of ladinos as
 opposed to the Indians among whom they live.

2.b, c. I have a feeling that you are stretching similarities
 just a bit. Of course I don't know A.E. very well, so all I can
 do is question: don't ladinos grow a bigger proportion of wheat
 than do Indians (as opposed to maize); don't they fertilize the
 land more; don't they know how to thresh (maybe the Indians up
 there do too)? They build ranchos as the Indians do, and adobe
 houses, and so on -- but aren't there differences in the window
 complex, for example, and in plastering? The use of kitchen tools
 may be the same, but don't ladinos use a larger variety of food
 than Indians--wealth equal--and don't the two groups have many
 different non-basic foods? Don't ladinos eat more bread and rice?

Your phrase "only of degree" ~~seems to apply~~ seems to me to apply so unequally to your examples as to make your examples different in kind. I would say that ~~that~~ the temazcal is in the culture of both groups, and the differences in its use aren't as important as the commonality of meaning it has for both groups (the Indians also bathing usually for health purposes). But to put this example in the same paragraph with use of the cacaste, kneeling instead of sitting, and so on, as well as costume dances, seems to me a case of stretching. If an occasional exception or a few marginal cases changes a difference of kind into one of degree, everything is just a matter of degree--even the difference, say, between animal and vegetable. If 99% of Indians kneel and 2% of ladinas kneel some of the time, that doesn't seem to me to be profitably called a difference only of degree. But of course the text furnishes the data to judge the heading, so nobody need be confused; and of course in A.E. there may be more similarity between the two peoples than I imagine.

I wouldn't be too sure that witchcraft plays a more important in Indian life than in ladino. The ladinos may ^{of} the school that believes the Indians "characteristically express their vengeance" by witchcraft; and indeed there are many cases of witchcraft with Indian principals talked about. But as you know the Indians run to the intendencia before they do to the brujo, and it may be pointed out that one reason why you may have more witchcraft cases recorded concerning Indians than concerning ladinos is that there in the world of the midwestern highlands there are more than ten Indians to every ladino. I do agree, on the other hand, that witchcraft is more important in Indian belief (if not practice) than in ladino belief. When somebody dies in Panajachel the chances are pretty good that people will start wondering if he was done wrong by, and if so, by whom; and there are signs (body too long for grave, etc.) that it was or was not "his time" to die. Marcelino Castro insisted to me one day that all deaths are done by witchcraft; but I don't take that notion to be typical.

2 d. I haven't yet studied the lists of beliefs, and I have to do some work in Panajachel beliefs to be able to give a better idea of how common they are in Panajachel. I think your point that that are fewer elements of belief among A.E. ladinos than in Panajachel is probably right; but I am ready to wager not-too-much that a ladino community comparable to A.E. but three or four times as large will have many more beliefs than A.E. and perhaps almost as many as Panajachel. You have seen in A.E. that education destroys some beliefs or makes them impossible of adoption; and since ladinos tend to be better educated than Indians, I don't expect a ladino community will have as many beliefs as an Indian community. But you have also seen that in realms of belief where the ladino's poor education doesn't conflict, there is readiness to adopt an idea; I think we shall all agree that that is generally true around here, among Indians and ladinos, and perhaps all over the world. I suggest that A.E. has relatively few beliefs because (a) it is a new colony and settled by few grandmothers (is this true?) and (b) population and relative number of contacts with outsiders is small so that new ~~ones~~ ^{beliefs} aren't invented or imported as fast as they might be.

As for the presence of many explanations going with beliefs in Panajachel, I have a very daring hunch that I beg you not to breathe to a soul. It is that the Panajachel Indians are very smart, or that their minds run towards explanations or something. They are serious and intellectual in their own way and bother to think about these things; therefore they are not satisfied with just a belief but have to rationalize it. As people, I contrast Panajacheños with Catarinecos and Maxeños, and the discussions I have participated in seem to me quite different. Examples of what I mean -- mostly from Panajachel because my evidence in other places is negative -- will be forthcoming some time. The point is that maybe it is not A.E. vs. Indian, but A.E. vs. Panajachel in this respect. A long maybe, of course....

I have nothing to say about the other points except that all Panajachel stories are "believed to be true" (I find this hard to believe myself, but I couldn't find a dissenting voice among the Indians and I argued to no avail) including those that ~~that~~ have little connection with experience and belief, such as your European fairy stories. Panajachel Indians may not "believe" these stories in the sense that we believe things; there may be a confusion in communication between the Indians and me (in which case the confusion includes Rosales) or something of the sort. I've always been worried on the point. As for the ethnobotany, I have a question: in Panajachel most of the ethnobotanical knowledge is ethno- rather than -botanical; it concerns uses for the plants, medicinal, food, and miscellaneous. If you should take my material and talk to the A.E. people about it, won't they know about most of the plants that are common to their region and to Panajachel and won't they have a pretty fair knowledge of their uses? Or don't they use folk-remedies much? Certainly they use things like bejucos and know which kinds are best, for various purposes, don't they? Or can't they identify the little plants around by name (not everybody all plants, of course; some Indians in Panajachel are almost as bad as I am with our flowers and trees)?

2 e. I think the point is very well taken, but I shudder a trifle over the Agua Escondida versions of Guatemalan ethnology. If the Indians have posadas in Patzún (and I know Patzún less than your informants, of course) I am willing to bet the custom is confined to the town community (since you can't drag santos through the hills very easily) and that the town Indians involved are ladinoized and perhaps even "foreign" Indians. That sort of thing doesn't go with a vacant-town setup, unless the posadas were in the cofradía houses -- unlikely -- or unless a special Indian servicio were involved -- still more unlikely. As for Quezaltenango, ~~some~~ Indian women do not weave in Quezaltenango (or Totonicapán) and the reference must be to the belt industry which is present in both those places. (By belts I mean the narrow fajas, and include head-bands and so on). This weaving it is true is not done on a footloom, and the loom is something like the backstrap kind that Indian women use--I don't remember it exactly--but the point is that, like foot-looms, it is part of a ladinoized complex. Indian men (as well as women) do this sort of weaving and it is not surprising that ladinos do it too, just as they work on footlooms. I think this is also a prison industry, but I'm not sure. (a belt-loom is owned, I understand, by one of the Chichicastenango totonicapeños; if you are interested in further description, I'll go to see the man.)

talking about
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2 the Indians, it
3 information have
P. ladinos?

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27 in cattle-raising.

I will change the text to take account of this probability.

(second) as for storekeeping, you are again probably right for the whole region, but I doubt if it would be possible to show it in AE. One of the liveliest little stores is kept by an Indian woman who can speak no Spanish. She supports herself from it

5-6. Your correction on the association of skilled trades with ladino dress, etc., is a valued one. Noted. I will make proper change.

Thanks for further dope on chirimias. The principal factor is that learning to play one is difficult and time-consuming and not worth most people's time and effort; the Indians have the tradition of it to keep the art alive with them.

6 (p.11-12) My cases (two of them) of Indian housewives with ladina servants are both of Indians married or juntado with ladino husbands.

6 (12) I am not sure the law requires military service of literate youths. Therefore I will change these lines. People around here say that when an Indian learns to speak Spanish and write a little, then he is the kind of Indian the government takes for service.

Nor do I know vialidad should be called poll-tax. What would you call it and what would you call ornato?

Ladinos here, a few of them, work off their tax on the road. Nobody ostracizes them for it.

6 (4) Local difference on L's "eyes" noted.

7. I agree with top paragraph.

Several ladinos have told me that several of the San Antonio Indians living in town (and possibly a Sololalteco) eat masacuate snakes when they get them. I believe ME it to be true,

7 (p. 17) Here I encounter some real surprises. I repeat that it is usual here, I might almost say invariable, for native AE ladinos to use "senor" toward native ladinos of a generation older than themselves. To persons who come from outside (with whom they did not associate in childhood), they use "Don." Why the great difference in P? That P. obrero ladinos respect certain Indians as much as they do equivalent obrero ladinos is not so surprising, because in P. they have chances to really look up to. In AE there is no really rich Indian. So I can't say what the ladinos would do to him, (I am thinking of Indian-Indians-- of course a really ladinoized Indians is a "senor" or a "Don" just as an all-ladino would be) The distinction is in part linguistic here, but certainly not entirely so, in view of the cases I have of ladinos speaking Spanish to older Indians and calling them by their first names, while to equivalent ladinos they say "senor."

8. Here another surprise, where you say "I know of no permanent unions of Indian girls and ladinos, and ... I don't think we shall see one." Yet in San Lucas a man has lived for thirty years with a native San Lucas Indian woman who wears the costume and speaks lengua to her man. She was a servant in a ladino house and had learned much about cooking and ironing. In another case the woman is a Totonicapan; I don't know

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how she learned ironing, etc., but they tell me she has. She still wears her costume. In the Pancho Miranda case here in AE, the woman cooks and irons for her man too. I think, but I don't know, that he got one of his kinswomn to show her after he joined up with her. Her daughter dances, abrazada, ay bailes, although in Indian costume. There are two other cases of "permanent" Indian women with ladino men at Panibaj; I do not know the households well enough to give comparable data. All in all, it appears that intermarriage, not merely intermixture, is more common here than in P and in Chi. You write as if a case of such a marriage is hardly thinkable. Yet I can give the names and information ~~ME~~ about seven such cases: two in San Lucas, ~~MM~~ in Godiez, two in Panibaj, one in AE, and one in another small settlement east of here. Comment?

Agree as to ladinoized Indians being like ladinos as to marriage

Agree on paragraph at bottom of this page.

1. I shall of course have to investigate more fully the marginal cases in Indian-ladino relations. There is certainly a relatively strict line between ladinos and Indians here, and a very strict one between normal maxefios and ladinos. Between foreign and somewhat ladinoized maxefios on the one hand and normal maxefios on the other, there is probably no clear line; nor between ladinos and the foreign and ladinoized maxefios, but I judge the line here to be stricter. The whole question is still to be investigated however, and I hope soon to be able to answer your point about the presence of some ladinos in the Indian dance--which, by the way, surprised our boy Juan.

Chancle was first used by a poor ladino (Nemesio Tobias, our launch driver) in talking about the rich and well-dressed ladinos of Panajachel. I then tried the word out any number of times in Panajachel, and I can say it (and its opposite, obrero) are used so commonly that they can be called class terms. Asking for lists of chancles, would usually bring up the same rich people. I never heard the term in Chichicastenango, but this season have several times brought it up, both to rich and poor ladinos. The response was negative; I think the word is vaguely known as a descriptive term, but certainly around here it is not a class-designation. Further study here may, of course, change my mind; in general I keep a very open mind about the whole class situation in Chichicastenango, and all that I wrote you should be considered very tentative.

I did not mention in my comment -- but you cannot have forgotten -- the fact that in Chichicastenango ladinoization takes two directions: literacy-spanish speaking, with no other ladinoization, and Spanish-speaking with changed clothes in the servant-class.

2. The Indians have a separate politico-religious organization in every municipio I know of in this region; that is, where there are any ladinos at all besides school teachers and such. The kind of separateness differs to some extent, but the pattern is there uniformly.
3. In Panajachel the only Indian house that is plastered is that of old Julián Rosales (Juan's father) and he also wears shoes on occasion. In Chichicastenango rich and literate Tomás Gonzales last year built a house which he has plastered. These are the only two cases I know of where Indians live in plastered houses. On the other hand among ladinos those who can afford to normally live in plastered houses. Among Indians it is a matter of tradition; among ladinos of economics. Doesn't this apply to AE? The matter of windows follows the same pattern.

You mean that as many as 30% of Indian women sit? I am prepared to accept Indian sitting by men (they do it commonly in Panajachel and Chichicastenango both, and in fact always in the cofradías) but I am surprised if AE indias sit so much of the time.

Your questions about witchcraft in Panajachel will have to be treated separately.

- 6 (p.12) What your ladinos say about military service is probably true in practice. They don't seem to draft real mente Indians, and Spanish speaking does have something to do with it. I think I shall enquire at the local comandancia for some information, and will let you know.

I call vialidad "road tax", and ornato "poll tax" -- but I don't know if I am justified. The ornato apparently goes for municipal public works, at least in part. That I can verify at the local Treasury office.

- 7 (p.17) I have just asked Juan here how he greets our landlord on the street. He replies "Buenos dias, don Abel." Further questioning brings out that "Buenos dias, Señor" is used around here only when the first name is not known, or not known well. This was my experience in Panajachel. Here I am almost always greeted by ladinos as "Buenos dias, Doctor" because for some reason people haven't caught onto my first name here. In Panajachel I am almost universally called "don Sol", and so greeted by Indians and ladinos alike. Why Agua Ascendida has the different linguistic habit, I have no idea. (This is beside the main point of your original paper, of course).

8. I cannot of course argue against your cases; but I can repeat what I said about Panajachel. I can also say that with the exception of your two S. Lucas cases, the Indian women are apparently not parts of Indian communities--and I think that may be the important difference. Indians away from home tend, as you know, to become ladinoized, so that from the practical point of view intermarriage is easier; also, away from the homeland, there is probably less public opinion and so on to keep Indians from intermarriage.

Actually, I have three Panajachel cases of ladino-India unions. In two cases the Indias are from S. Andrés, in the third the India is of Panajachel ancestry, but was brought up in a ladino household and has always worn ladina clothes.

Why S. Andrés and S. Lucas women break away and Panajachel women not, I don't know. I have a rather wild hypothesis in this connection, however: the use of the Totonicapán tie-dyed skirt is for a woman what the use of trousers is for a man; in individual cases, I see that there is a lot of truth in it--to change to a totonicapán skirt (from maxefio or P., for example) is to become a little ladinoized, and the change often accompanies others in the direction of ladinoization. But my hypothesis now is that towns around here that use this skirt as the regular costume, are more ladinoized than towns that don't. Every case I think of pffhand fits the hypothesis in a very general way: Totonicapán, Quezaltenango, Quiché, and so on. San Lucas uses this skirt and P. does not; S. Andrés women often wear this skirt rather than the reddish one. S. Pedro la Laguna wears this skirt--the only lake town that does; I shall have to study the situation there as a test of the hypothesis, for I don't quite see how it can be made to fit.

Indians from Patzun and Tecpan go to the shrine of el Senor de Escapulas. Otherwise it is just ladinos. Indians go on Santo Domingo to Santiago at Atitlan. They go there from all parts, as far away as Guatemala City.

The ladinas praying before the Virgen at San Jorge were not of that place. No ladinos live at San Jorge except the school teacher. These women came from Solola. It is not a cofradia but they take care of the Virgen because the Indians do not know how to dress her. The Virgen is there in San Jorge because Indians found her ^{there} looking up at San Jorge.

We do not believe in those things the Indians do with their zahorines, and their cuentos and all. Only God our Lord can cause people to die, or give sickness. But there are some ladinos who have a magic which the devil gives them, (that one with horns and a tail) He sticks it in their body, in their arm, or in their back or leg. There was a man came here

who had this power. This has effect because it comes from the devil. But we are not bothered with such things here. We do not have bad sicknesses. Only my husband has a trouble which comes on him with the moon. It is because just he and another man together lifted some very heavy planks.

LADINO-INDIAN INTERMARRIAGE

(I mentioned the cases of Pancho Miranda and Nolberta Miranda, also of Leonzo Tzok) Ricardo Alvarez has an Indian mujer He was married to a ladina, and left her; now he lives with this Indian woman. She was a servant in a finca; she came from Patzun. (To my questions he indicated that Ricardo's brothers would like it better if he were living with a ladina, but "everyone must choose for himself." Juan and Tomas agree that there are no cases known to them of ladinos married by church or state to Indians, "solamente se juntan.")

Juan says that the children of Leonzo Tzok will be known as mezclados, or cruzados. I asked what their children would be called, and he said the same.

He says that Don Lupario is well satisfied that ~~MMM~~ Pancho is living with an indita, because "then there is someone to make tortillas." He says Pancho speaks only Spanish in the house, so that if there be children, they will learn only the father's ways. "The father sees to it that they do not learn Indian customs."

Practically all the ladinos learn to speak lenguaje. Juan says this is a very good and useful knowledge.

BAPTISMS** INDIANS-LADINOS

~~MMM~~ It is customary to have one pair of padrinos serve for all one's children. "But if there is sickness ^{or} of other bad luck, sometimes ^{or} changes padrinos." Don Madaleno's elder brother Ricardo is padrino of his children. He replied that it was quite all right to ask a younger brother to be padrino. I asked about using one's own parents. After discussion between the two, two cases where the grandparents acted as padrinos were cited, but both agreed the practice was uncommon.

One pays a call on the person one selects, and asks him politely to serve as godfather. It is a sin to refuse. The godparent pays the priest (seventy-five centavos?). Baptisms have to wait until the priest from Solola comes to San Antonio to say mass. When one goes to ask one to act as godparent one does not bring presents. After the baptism one should serve refreshments to the godparent.

The Indians always bring presents when they ask someone to act as godparent, usually when they make the request, sometimes later. Indians often ask ladinos to act as godparents, but never the reverse. Don Madaleno has several Indian ahijados. ~~MM~~ To direct question he replied that sometimes these ahijados came for advice, and that he felt responsible for them should they get into any trouble. When I asked why Indians asked ladinos to be godparents in many cases, he said it was because the ladinos are intelligent, and the Indians like to have intelligent compadres. Don Madaleno calls his Indian compadres by that title. I mentioned Leonzo Tzoc; both agreed he was intelligent and a good man. I suggested that maybe it would ~~MM~~ come out all right if he were asked to be godparent. They reflected and moment and agreed that it would probably be all right. But neither could think of a case where a ladino had asked an indio to act.

It is customary for the godparent of sex opposite to that of the child to carry it to the font.

Don Madaleno, calling in the evening, conversed chiefly on agricultural practices, ~~MMMMMM~~ comparing those of this place with what I had to report from the United States. Referring to this part of Guatemala, Don Madaleno said that there were only a few ~~MMMMMM~~ ladinos, but many Indians. When I asked how that was, he said:

Well, when Christopher Columbus came here he found this country with only inditos. He told the king about it, and the king sent Alvarado to conquer the country, and he did. Then ~~MMM~~ we came in. So there are not so many of us. The Indians multiply (se propagan) so much.

(He then began to speak of the Indians of the Lake, and said that the San Pedro people were the best people. He said the Antoneros were bad; they would not do one a favor; if you asked for lodging there, you would be refused. The Atitecos, he said, were much like the Antoneros, but the Panajachalenos were good. He then spoke of the Lacandones, as had Armando Armas and another the day preceding, describing them as savages, with long hair, not Cristianos, using bow and arrow, living in caves in the ground, "in medio" de Mexico, Guatemala, and the United States." At another time he said they lived in the Peten. Armando Armas described them similarly, but added that they wore feathers on their heads.

To direct question, he replied that the naturales here/ are Christians "just like us". After a little he said, "most of them," and began to speak of the zajorines. He said they were always fighting with witchcraft among themselves. "If an Indian dies, it is not because of the will of God, but because someone killed him with witchcraft. That is a sin." Amphatically he denied any witchcraft among ladinos, or that inditos ever practiced witchcraft against ladinos.

Mariano Máranda, met by the roadside near the cemetery, engaged in discussion. The talk turned to questions of water supply. He said that the Agua Escondida people had been trying for some time to get the Presidente to help them to bring water ~~by~~ through iron pipes from a source up in the hills, so as to provide the community with abundant water right at hand. He said the inditos of San Antonio were opposed to this, and went around lying that to bring in that water would be to take it away from people in outlying ranchos who were using it. This, said Don Mariano, was not true. He said the Antoneros were bad folk, de mala fe., that they did not want Agua Escondida to become a pueblo. He said they were ignorant and deceitful. I asked about the autoridades, and he said usually the intendente was a ladino (as, he said, are the regidores); but that the present intendente is a natural. "They have fixed it somehow among themselves... There are more of them than of us."

I asked about the granaries of San Antonio Indians that are to be found in many of the yards of ladinos, put there with the permission of the ladino landowners. He also said that no charge was made for this. I asked about San Antoneros living in Agua Escondida. He said that the only ones living here are those who are mozos in ladino houses. He said Don Gorgonio (best house in town) has three San Antonio mozos living in town here and working for him (Are some house servants?). To my direct questions, he replied that there are some ladinos in town that work as mozos for other ladinos, and that although in Agua Escondida there are no ladinos working as mozos for Indios, ("we have our land here"), in some other communities ladinos are to be found working as mozos for Indios.

INDIANS-LADINOS

Don Madaleno, Don Hieronimo and the telegrapher-foreman in ~~whom~~ charge of the work gang engaged in replacing worn telegraph posts, met in casual conversation in the house of the second. The topics were: the strength and usefulness of cedar; the ~~MMM~~ decree of some years ago requiring everyone who cut one tree to plant five (very casually complied with); the charm of a certain place on the shore of the lake called Las Cristalinas; fishing for mojarras, and the deliciousness of this fish; hunting by night (recommended by the foreman) for armadillo, tepezcuinte and another furbearing nocturnal animal; the delicado position of a government employee, who "may be put in jail if they find a half-centavo short in the accounts, even if you make it up out of your pocket"; the change from More to Intern ~~MMM~~ tional code (Don Madleno and Don H. did not follow this); and then the workgang and its work.

To my question the foreman replied that all his nine laborers are inditos from the aldea. He went to the Intendente, made known his needs, and the intendente gave orders to the aguaziles, who supplied the mozos. It was explained that this work was in addition to the roadwork (polltax)

~~MMMM~~

I: The Indians know they have to go?

Answer: Yes.

I: They know too that the ladinos don't have to go?

Laughter and assent.

Don H: Yes, certainly, it is not voluntary work, but forced. They know only they have to go.

Don M: A while ago, there was an intendente here, (San An) from Solola, a ladino named Antonio Merida. He came here, and gave an order that the ladinos should provide mozos to work on the telegraph line. Not one of us went. Nothing happend. Later the Indians complained against him and he went to jail. (To my question) It was not the custom; so of course we did not ~~MMMM~~ go.

INDIANS-LADINOS

Indians in the more "civilized" Indian towns, such as Totonicapan, perform military service, as do the ladinos, and according to Don Madaleno are treated without distinction, being put in the same companies with ladinos, given the same tasks and food. Pedro's company contains many Indians. But in the lake towns, and in Santo Tomas, where the Indians are less "civilized," and do not speak Spanish, military service is not required of them. Instead, they are required to do two days of public labor a year. (This is in addition to labor performed to work out the 2 quetzals a year poll tax, to which both ladinos and Indians are liable.) Thus it comes about, as also by general understanding and custom, that when there is work to be done in these western highlands, as in the case of the telephone line, Indians mozos are obtained, and not ladinos. I asked about the Spanish-speaking, ~~MMMMMM~~ dark-trouser wearing Indian who lives just outside of town and who fixed our fence. Don M. said he was liable to do mozo service; then, remembering that he had done military service, said that he would therefore be exempt; "but if he hadn't done servicio militar, he would have to do it." When I spoke of Leozo Tzok, he said he would not have to do the mozo service. "The authorities know when they should make distinctions."

When I raised the matter of ladino-Indian marriage, he stated flatly that it never happened. Then I mentioned Leonzo again. He immediately recognized that this was a special case, "well, if the woman (ladina) is willing, it is all right." But it is very rare." Then I ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ suggested that it does more often happen that a ladino lives with an indita without marrying her. He readily admitted it, but said "not in Agua Escondida ." I

mentioned Pancho Miranda. He readily said ~~MMMM~~ yes, Pancho was living with Leandra Jochola, an indita. He added, very depreciatively, that Pancho was a mula, and no other woman would live with him

Relations with Indians.

Martina .

"How can they (los inditos) carry such heavy loads. " (While watching some of the Indian pedlars.) They know how. We do not." Romelia, Dionysia, their grandmother all agree that the Inditos do not know remdios . "When they are sick they have to come to us, or go to Solola. That is why they die so much. Sometimes we die too, when we do not know a medicine. Some Indians know remdios, " it was added later. "The Indians of San Antonio put people in the temazcal to make them sweat. "(This seems a funny idea, not a good one,)"We just wash with water. "

Magdaleno.

"The Indians ask us to be padrinos. I have many compadres in neighboring villages. We dont ask them. My daughters have a ladino for padrino. "

Romelia.

"Ladinos do not marry Inditos, nunca . " Later she admitted that some Indians are different, almost like ladinos. "In San Antonio there are many like that. " In speaking about the ^{and son} ~~carpenter~~ who worked on our house she said, "El tiene su mujer ladina. "

Even in this village there seems to be some feeling about manual labor .Romelia said," We always buy our lena. It is dear, it costs five centavos a bundle. " In explanation she added, "My father has a trouble, rupture, which keeps him from carrying heavy loads. " But when asked if Jose ever went to get wood, she laughed and said, "No, he never goes for it. "

Dona Isabel, the grandmother , was discussing Jamie s propensity for eating all sorts of things. I said,"Even things picked off the ground. " She pointed to an Indian girl and said, "They

2.

eat things they pick up. " We agreed it was dangerous to do so. 378

Dona Sebastiana corroborates the fact that both midwives here are Indians. The fact does not bother her. She says that they are also Indians in Solola.

Romelia
April 28 379

Indio-Ladino Relations.

In San Lucas only the Indians make the fiesta in the church. They make the paper decorations and dress the santos. The ladinos just have dances with the marimba. The same is true for the Semana Santa. Very few ladinos do anything in the church. On the Sabado de Gloria they have dances. But the Noche Buena, which is held in private houses, the ladinos do celebrate. For the fiesta of San Lucas Indians come from all over. (Romelia has only attended the ~~fiesta~~ of San Lucas. She has never been in Sololá at the time of a fiesta, tho it is noted for its celebration of the Semana Santa. Dona Isabel said she wished to go to Sololá for ~~the~~ Semana Santa this year but her son Magdaleno dissuaded her " as it was better for them all to stay together. " Romelia did not know that a fiesta, that of Pedro Martir, was going on at Santa Catarina until told. ,

There is only one ladino family in Santa Catarina. They are friends of ours and sometimes come and stay with us when there is a fiesta here. (Noche Buena ?) Why dont they get lonesome, just living with Indians --- they are used to it. Besides, the wife of Don is an Indian, but she is very nice, very castellana.

The ladinas at the fiesta of San Jorge all came from Sololá. They dress the Virgen "because the Indians do not know how. "

INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS

Last night died the grown daughter of the Sololateco who settled here recently. Magdaleno brought them a wax candle to burn by the body. He told me that she had died through ignorance, "The Indians, they do not try to cure their sick. They just do things among themselves, without using the good remedies that there are." Later he heard voices inside the house, and said the family were laughing. "It is rare you see an Indian grieving. For us it is a most lamentable thing, a death. Not for them".

"The Indians have curious customs. They change their names. When you meet an Indian boy, and ask him his name, sometimes he says, "I have no name." His father has told him to say that. They change their names and call them ~~to~~ "dog" or "mule."

Once Tomas and Sebastiana were asked to be godparents of the wedding of the Tax daughter to another Indian. When they went to the wedding, what was their embarrassment to learn that as godparents of the wedding they were supposed to see to it that the bride and groom were undressed and shut up naked together in a room. They did not know what to do. No, they ~~did not~~ do it, they excused themselves.

M. speaks to old Indians, such as Bernardino Tui, with "Nata", and Bernardino replies to him with the same respectful term. But to travelling merchants and other ignorant Indians, not old, he uses "vos". The Indian replies in the same fashion to him, or in lengua, without respect. So M. uses to him the same address he will get in return.

Pancro Miranda used to live in Panibaj, where he worked the land Don Gorgonio owns there. He was unmarried. Nearby lived a Santa Catarina Indian, and his wife, also Santa Catarineca, Leandra

Jochola. The Indian died; Pancho took ~~Mrs~~ Leandra and her children to live with him out there; and later moved with them all to A.E.

It is said that Nolberta Miranda, when she worked as a servant in Solola, "went into the street with men." She was arrested, and fined twenty quetzals. While she was in jail, unable to pay the fine, the ladinoized Indian from Panjachel, whom she had known, said he would pay her fine if she would live with him. She accepted. Nolberta was born in A.E.

M: "It rarely happens. Better that one should stick to one's own kind." (In telling about this, M. made no mention of his brother Ricardo, to whose house we were going, who for five years, since the death of his wife, has been living in Panibaj with an Indian woman. During Ricardo's sickness, one daughter attended him; the Indian woman was not present.

INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS

They agree, in general terms, that to be a ladino it is only necessary to speak Spanish well, leave the customs of the naturales, and comport oneself as do ladinos. ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ When they have said this, I mention Leonzo Tzok; they say he is an Indian, "because he still talks lengua". His children, they say, will be cruzados. I mention Juan Rosales. They agree that he has left the ways of the Indians, is well educated, speaks Spanish well, and lives entirely as a ladino (with a ladina wife). I say: "Then he is a ladino." They immediately deny this, saying he is a natural. I ask why. They say, "Because both his parents were naturales. Now his children will be cruzados, because only one of their parents is a ladino" They add that if they go to Guatemala, they can become ladinos, "because people there will not know that their father was a natural." Evaristó tells me about some Indian girls at Molina de los Cerros: how they have been taught in the colegio of the evangelistas, so that now they have learned everything that ladinos know, dress well, speak correctly, "so unless one knows they are naturales, one would take them for ladinos." It is easy sometimes to make such mistakes. You may see a senorita, go up to her and speak to her as such, and from the way she answers discover she is really an indita."

It thus appears that a Indian may fully become a ladino only if his Indian ancestry is not known.

~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ I say that it seems to me that Pancho Miranda, among the ladinos here, most associates with the naturales. They agree, and say he has an Indian wife. Then Evaristo tells Juan and me a story Enrique de Leon told them about Pancho: An Indian from San Antonio came to ask for the hand of Laura, daughter of Leandra, the indita with whom Pancho is living. The point of the story is that Pancho, stepfather, assumed the role of an Indian father-- he received the petidores without asking Laura about it, assuming to settle it without her, and further, gave his

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consent to the marriage but upon the condition that the young man come and live for six months or a year with his household, working for his prospective stepfather-in-law, to show that he was a good worker-- an Indian custom. Further, when Laura first was unwilling to marry the applicant, Pancho insisted that she should. Later, when the girl was willing, the applicant changed his mind and went off, leaving Pancho holding the bag, so to speak. Evaristo and Juan thought this extremely amusing.--- amusing that Pancho should assume Indian customs, and then get stuck.

They tell me that "most of the men of Agua Escondida except themselves and Juan's brothers-in-law (the Alvarez) ~~MMMMM~~ either now do work or have worked as fieldhands for Indians. Enrique de Leon used to; when he came here he had no land; now he owns land and works his own land, except that he also works as a fieldhand for a ladino occasionally. Benjamin Hieron, Pancho Miranda. David Miranda ~~AMM~~ Ernesto Juarez and Feliz and Macario Morales all now work (part of their time) for San Antonio Indians. Evaristo said about this: "That is not natural (disconsonante)-- that people should go out of their place (no se dan en su lugar)-- that one should so humble oneself (rebajarse).

Evaristo then told how once he stopped for a glass of milk at the house of a German, one Juan Bock, at La Concha, near San Pedro ~~MMMM~~ Yepocapa. A ladina servant came to the door; when he asked for a glass of milk, she said she would call the senora. As Evaristo was expecting a ~~MMMMMMMM~~ German woman, "or at least a ladina", an Indian woman, dressed as such, came in and announced herself as the senora. The ladina worked ^{as} her house servant. Juan Santiso said he knew of such a case: that of Cipriano Alvarado, of Godinez. Now Cipriano has a ladina wife, but formally he lived with an indita, who bossed a ladina house servant, there in Godines. Both men thought these cases remarkable.

(Juan says that there are very few Enangelistas among the ladinos, but many more among the naturales, "because the inditos are ignorant and can be taught anything."

INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS

Leonzo Tzok is an Indian. His father and his mother were Indians. Yes, he has a ladina mujer. And he dresses like a ladino, and has learned much. But he is a natural. Juan Rosales is a natural too. I knew his father. His father dressed like a ladino too, but his mother dressed like an Indian-- skirt and everything. Yes, Juan Rosales lives like a ladino, and he was teacher, and knows much. But he will always be a natural. His children? (I said I understood his wife was a ladina) Well, ~~MM~~ they will grow up speaking only Spanish, and having nothing to do with the Indians, and their mother is a ladina-- they will be ladinos. It is whether ~~MMMM~~ the man is known or not, isn't it-- if one does not know that Juan Rosales is really an Indian, then one may think him a ladino.

INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS - STORIES

Horacio, ladino, was born and brought up in Panajachel. He lived there, or near there, until he was twenty-four. Then he went to Guatemala and lived there for twelve years. He had a job as a chauffeur there. When he returned, he came to Agua E condida with his brother; for three years his mother had been teacher there. Before he went to Guatemala he lived for short periods in Santa Cruz, San~~t~~ Pablo and San Antonio. He was Secretary in Santa Cruz for three months. He told ~~MM~~ how one night he found himself all alone in Santa Cruz; he rang for an alguacil and asked where ever body was. He said they were "fixing Judas." He said he wanted to go see, but the alguacil said it was a sin. Nevertheless he went, and found the men off by themselves putting clothes on the figure of Judas. Horacio then went on to tell what they did with the figure, and how differently it was done in San Antoni; He also described how in a certain pueblo they left the body of dead persons in the church, without a velorio. He told several other things he had seen of Indian customs-- all very exterior, and with no apparent understanding of what any of them meant to the Indians. He evinces no more understanding of the Indians than a land agent recently sent to one of our Indian reservations would have.

Horacio says he never heard ~~MM~~ any caso or story dealing with the mountains, or the lake, or the volcanoes, or the rivers around here. Tomas says he never did either. So also Magdaleno.

Today occurred the funeral of Maria, an indita, who lived with the family of Jose Inez Alvarez. Born illegitimate, she was first a servant in the house of Inez' father, and after his death, came to his house as a servant. Her uncle also lived with them, as a field mozo. She was a dwarf. At her death she was about twenty-two years old.

Those I asked could not say from what pueblo she had come; they thought, Sololá. The funeral was entirely a family and neighborhood affair; it could in no way be called an Indian affair, or a ladino affair; the ethnic groups played no part. When news of the death was brought to the aldea, Juan Santiso, and Evaristo Herrera went to Tepaya, "to velar a little." So also did Tomas Alvarez. ~~MMMMM~~ This morning, while Tomas and Inez made the coffin at Tepaya, Juan and Evaristo dug the grave. The grave was in the aldea cemetery; all people of the village, Indians or ladinos, are buried there. Except for lots pagado, such as that bought by ~~MMM~~ some of the Alvarez brothers, one may bury anywhere in the cemetery. naturally, near the graves of relatives of the deceased. Fees must be paid to the autoridades.

In the procession walked Evaristo, Juan, Venanciana, Sebastiana, the children of these, Romelia and her sisters- ourselves--- these, as dolientes, presumably. The deceased's uncle, only surviving relative, (he wears ladino clothes) also came. There were also the auxiliary and two alcaldes, in their official capacity, Don Mariano and Don Lupario Miranda-- these last apparently for general interest. Leandra Jochola joined the procession and her daughter; these were the only other Indians. Romelia, ^Martina, Sebastiana and Sara sang the Salve during the procession. The coffin was carried by mozos secured through the auxiliaria, with some help from Juan Santiso (It is usual for relatives to carry it) No ritual occurred in the cemetery, except that the man

who threw in the first handfulls of earth, kissed them before he threw them in.

Jose Inez came to see that the grave was as it should be, but didnot attend the interment. Nor did his wife; but their children did, weeping a little.

INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS-- FIESTAS

About fifteen years ago one Angel Pistola in Tecpan organized a group of ladinos to give the Conquista dance. A similar thing happened about eleven years ago in San Lucas. In neither case was the novelty repeated. Don Magdaleno made a great deal of the alleged fact that in each case this was done to show how the dance should properly be given, with all the lines properly spoken, and the dramatic action properly presented. The leader drilled the others until they knew their parts perfectly.

"The Indians do it badly; they cannot speak the lines; they only dance around a little." Don M. explained the plot to me, and the nature of the different roles. He said they built a volcano of wood, to represent the volcano where Tecun Uman lived.

INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS-- CREENCIAS

I spoke of the Fiesta of the Hoes, in San Antonio. He had apparently never heard of it. I told the myth; it was apparently quite new to him. He then volunteered that a curious custom of the San Antoneros was to do no work on May first-- "quien sabe porque."

When I asked if it was bad to sit on the grinding stone, he said. "Of course it is bad. One must keep the stone very clean, so as not to dirty the food. As soon as it has been used, we wash it carefully, and stand it up. Then it is always clean. None of us would think of sitting on it-- I don't know what the Indians in San Antonio do-- some of them are dirty."

I asked about wild plants, if any were good to eat, or as medicines. He mentioned quilete, which is good to eat, and then said, "Colinabo is good too; they grow that in Patzun."

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

WITCHCRAFT--INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS

Don M. told me about how an Indian from San Pedro told him that in Atitlan there was an Indian who spoke with a spirit he called up. You could not see the spirit he was talking to, but he was there. The Indian said it was bad, and they were trying to do something about it. I asked Don M. what he thought of it. andhe said, "Well, those things like that are all bad-- we have nothing to do with them. Things happen only by the will of God."

INDIANS-LADINOS-- CREENCIAS

"Yes, we always whistle while we grind. Sometimes one sings, but usually we whistle. The Indians more so. They Indians say it frightens away the rats. Or that by whistling it makes much masa. Ys, it is true-- see how the masa becomes much."

LADINO-INDIAN RELATIONSHIPS

Candido Cabrera, who now lives in Santa Barbara, was some years ago appointed secretary of San Antonio. While living in the pueblo he had as houseservant a Tenecawoman who was "dumb" and spoke no Spanish. By her he had a son, Francisco ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Sanchez, who this year, though a young man, has been chosen and appointed intendente. The ladinos of the village like him, and Magdaleno has urged him to put on ladino dress. "No," he says, "I like this better." He speaks Spanish very well.

RACES

The Chinese are good people. There are many of them here. They are hard workers. They marry ladinas, and take good care of them. Yes, they are Catholics. I have observed: they always close their stores on feast days. And they go to church. No, santos they do not have in their houses, but I have seen them, all go to church and hear Mass. They are all storekeepers and merchants. They sell things very cheap. The women do not. I have met only one Chinese woman; I thought she was a ladina, but when I spoke to her she only laughed-- she could not understand me. She looked just like a Guatemalan.

There are also Turcos (Syrians) here. They are also good people. They are Catholics too. Recently the daughter of the cashier in a Turco's store in Chimaltenango married the son of the owner. So now she is owner too. Her parents ~~MMM~~ are Evangelistas, but she never became an Evangelista, and when she was married to the Turco, they were married by the priest.

Only the Ethiopians are not so good (We call them Ethiopians because that is the name of the capital of their country). There are many of them on the coast, and there are some of them in Guatemala. They are very strong; they can pick up an iron beam that it takes four of us to lift. They use only Negroes on steel work, such as bridges. I do not know whether they are Catholics or not. It seems they do not have much goodness of heart. They are proud, and selfish. They do not marry; they just live with one woman, and then with another. Yes, ladina women-- their women do not come. They just deceive women-- they do not marry.

Gypsies (Hungaros) there are too. The men trade horses and the women tell fortunes (Anecdotes on this point)

INDIAN-LADINO UNIONS

Demetrio Ordenez, of San Lucas, has only juntado with the San Lucas Indian, Irena, with whom he has lived for many years. Before he was juntado with a ladina, but he abandoned her. He had had no children by her. He liked better his Indian house servant, Irene, and she has become the woman of the house. She keeps her Indian clothes; they have grown children now.

But Francisco Mejia actually married, by law and church, the Indian woman who is still his wife (Dona Juana, who has the store in Francisco's house in San Lucas) told R this). The wife does not go out much. She wears huipil, corte, and shoes. R thinks that is funny, but says she has seen quite a number of Indian women who live on a finca south of San Lucas who wear shoes.

R, after some thought, remembered another case where a ladino man is married to an Indian woman: Romoldo Estacuy, who lives in Ojo de Agua, is a Quetzaltenango Indian. "When he is drunk he says it himself 'soy puro indio, pero no cruzado'. He does not speak Spanish very well" He has married Secundina Arriaga, from Santa Lucia Utatlan, and is the father of Juan Estacuy,

R. says that in Quetzaltenango many ladinos have married, by law, Indian wives, "because the Indians are very rich."

INDIANS-LADINOS

The ladinos call Jan. 6th the Dia de los Reyes; the Indians call it the day of San Gaspar. A ladino ^{boy} ~~MMMM~~ born on that day may well be named Gaspar (two cases known) or ~~MM~~ Baltasar (one case in San Lucas) or Melchior (R. thinks of no case), or simply Reyes (for girls also). "The Indians always name a ^{boy} ~~MMMM~~ born on that day, Gaspar". The Indian egg-woman confirms this.

A girl may be named, both by Indians and Ladinos, Reyes. But the Indians do not use the other ~~two~~ kings' names, and always refer to the day as that of San Gaspar.

M ARRIABE-INDIAN-LADINO---FAMILY

When Monica was eighteen Juan Estacuy, wealthy ladino-sized Quetzaltenango Indian, MMMM wanted her for his "wife." It is not clear why he did not propose to marry her; R. says he had many successive women, and it is possible he had a legal wife living. Monica's parents were dead. Sotero, her elder brother, with the knowledge of Tomas, urged Monica to join up with Juan. She did not wish to because he was so much older. Then Sotero took money from Estacuy to compound a capture. When Estacuy came to ~~MMMMMM~~ P nibaj, where Monica was then staying, Sotero left her alone with him, only a little servant girl being present, and Estacuy took her to San Andres by force. She left him, but he came and got her again. The second time she stayed about two months, and left him again, not returning. Flora is his child. Flora knows it, but Estacuy denies the parentage, so Flora does not call him "father." Monica (or her brothers?) once wrote a letter to Estacuy asking him if he would not give part of her "inheritance" to Flora, but he refused, saying Flora was not his.

Monica's "joining" with Arcadio Santiso followed this.

INDIAN-LADINO

When I asked directly whether Emilio Estacuy was Indian or ladino, they both promptly said ~~ladino~~^{Indian}, and named his two Indian parents. When I then asked about Ernestina Estacuy, E, said Indian too, but Tomas said, No, her mother was a ladina-- he remembered her and the clothes she wore-. So they agreed she was cruzada.

When I placed the problem of why Calixtro had the legal surname of his mother instead of Churunel, his father, ~~MMMMMMMM~~ they said it was because his father had not been married to his mother. Then I cited many cases in the village in which children are registered by their father's surname although the parents are not married. Tomas added his own case. Then they said they didn't know why. I then offered my own explanation: That as Churunel had been an Indian, but one much ladinoized, he had preferred that the children have a ladino surname, especially as he wasn't married to their mother. They agreed this was probably the explanation.

All Calixtro's playmates call him "Churunel" instead of Calixtro.

DANCES-- INDIAN-LADINO

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Miguel Tzoc, father of Leonzo, Tontonicapeno, has lived for about thirty years in Xequestel, near Godinez. About nine years ago he organized the Baile de la Conquista, and as first dancer paid much of the cost. ~~MM~~ The other participants in the dance were Indians living in the surrounding rural region- some were Tontonicapenas, some Antoneros. He repeated the dance in the following year, and again a few years later. Each time the occasion for the dance was provided by the fiesta of San Antonio, and the dancers danced in the village as well as ~~MMMMMM~~ at neighboring houses. On the last of the three occasions the other participants were San Antonio dwellers, at least in part. Miguel Tzoc has never lived in the village of San Antonio. This year he "has the confradia" of the Nino, an otherwise ^{ladino} all-~~MMMMMM~~ confradia of Godinez.

Ernesto Cabrera, blonde ladino of Godinez, native of Solola, 25 years ago led in the organization of an all-ladino Conquista. This was held on the principal festival day of Solola. ~~MMMMMMMM~~ He says the interprete was a ladino who knew the dance well and had the text. Don Ernesto has photographs of the dance in his house, and speaks with great pride of the occasion. The Christians were mounted on horseback.

Nolberta Miranda is living with Manuel ?, a ladinoized Panajacheleno.

~~Manuel~~. He has only recently come to A.E. Don Tomas says it is quite all right for a ladina woman to live as the wife of an Indian, "if he is the one she wants to live with." They are people just like us." Pressed, he said some people said it was a bad thing for the ladinos and Indians to mix. Certainly Tomas has little or no feeling about it.

Manuel dresses as does a ladino, and speaks Spanish, but not very well. As a ladinoized Indian he did military service and so is not liable to special servicio, as are other Indians.

Don Juan Santiso-Apr 22

Manuel is very ladinoized because he was a servant for rich people in Panajachel. Nolberta worked as a house servant in Solola. They met in Panajachel. Manuel has no property here, but works land Nolberta inherited.

FURTHER NOTES ON LADINO-INDIAN UNIONS

1. Two years ago Leonzo Tzoo separated from the ladina woman with whom he had for several years been living, and began to live with an Indian woman with whom he has since separated. The ladina has begun to live, in Godinez, with Emilio Estacuy, who had been living with Vicenta Morales.
2. Romaldo Estacuy is known to be an Indian, from Quezaltenango. "In Quezaltenango the Indian men are very ladinoized. But the women continue to wear the Indian skirt," Romaldo has long been just as well with a ladina woman, strictly ladina, from Santa Lucia. This year the headship of the ladino cofradia of the Nino was given to Romaldo; he did not ask for it, but the other men decided he should have it.
3. Aparicio Miranda is from Challa, near Patzun, as are the other Mirandas. For years he has been living with Patro, an Indian woman from Patzun. She is ladinoized; wears ladino clothes.
4. Ricardo Alvarez, R's uncle, lived not with one Indian woman, but at the same time with two, in Panibaj. One has now died; he still lives with the other, a Patzunera. Magdalena, his brother's wife would not recognize her and always avoided her. She does not come to AE. Romelia still avoids her. Ricardo wanted R; she wouldn't "work for that indita."
5. Daniel Santiso, the Indian boy who was brought up as hijo de casa by Micaela Benevante, has now juntado, (socially recognized) with Teresa, eldest daughter of Sptere Alvarez, and lives in Panibaj.
6. Cruz Archila, another Indian brought up as a ladino, is caretaker for the Patzun woman who has lands at Chicamang; he has never joined up with a woman.

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FAMILY

HOUSE SITES--- SOUTH END

1937

June 2
402

- YES
- A. 1. Dormitory and
2. Granary of Alejandro Morales (native of San Julian on the costa; his father was from Patzun; came to Agua Escondida about twenty years ago.) His wife, Sara Miranda (native) and their three children, Everilde (14), Simona (10) and Augusto (3).
- * NOT B. 1. Kitchen Pablo Tax of Totonicapan (came about twenty years ago) his wife, Francisca Garcia of ? and their children: ^{Jose, Nicolas, Juan, Cipriano, Josefa, (Miranda)} Bernardino Tui
- * NOT C. 1. Kitchen Diego Tui of Solola and his wife Gamen ?, also her father, and their two sons and three daughters. Came about twenty-five years ago. ^{Rosa, Santiago, Andres, Felipe, Felize} _(Solola) + ^{Miranda Tax}
2. Dormitory
3. Dormitory
4. Dormitory
5. Beehives
6. Fowlpen
7. Privy
+ Lauriana ? (de San Lucas-Solulon)
Fidel ?
- NOT D. 1. Dormitory Hieronimo Juarez (from Tecpan) and his wife, Isabel Leja (of Solola), and her granddaughter and his step-granddaughter, Dionisia Alvarez, daughter of Madaleno Alvarez. Isabel's former marriage was to one Anleu
4. Granary of Agustin Perez, indio of San Antonio (Permission given
5. " " Vitoriano " " " " by Hieronimo
6. " " Gregorio " " " " to these indios
7. " " Miguel " " " " to put their granaries in his yard for safety)
- YES E. 1. Dormitory Madaleno Alvarez (from Tecpan) and his wife, Salome Anlye (from Solola), their daughters Romelia and Martina, and their sons Jose and Pedro. _(Solola - service)
- * F. 1. Dormitory and kitchen Property of Monica Alvarez (sister of Madaleno), who used to live here (when previously married?) She now lives in
2. Storeroom
3. Granary of Mariano ~~in~~ the north end, having married Arcadio Miranda, since died. F. 1. is occupied by Xamos (surname not reported), india of San Antonio, her husband, Mariano Perez, and their small child. Monica allows this (charging no rent); the indios protect the property and feed Tomas Alvarez, who sleeps in K.1. ^{Margarito Procopio}

* of San Antonio; mozo, without land.

B. 1937

- G.1. Dormitory Juan Santiso (of Patzun) and wife, Sebastiana
- 2. Kitchen Alvarez, their daughters Anastacia, Lucinda, Bauvilia and Piedad.
- 3. Granary of Mateo Xuc of San Antonio
- 4. Granary of Antonio Xuc of San Antonio

- (of Tecpan)
- H. 1. Dormitory of Marcelo Alvarez, and Margarita Miranda, and their
 - 2. Kitchen daughter Angela.

- (from Tecpan)
- I. 1. Dormitory of Silvestre Miranda, bachelor, Capezal de Camino (takes his meals with his father, David Miranda, in J.2, Div Magdalena)

- (from Tecpan)
- J.1. Dormitory of David Miranda and his wife Jesus Salgado.
 - 2. Kitchen Laura, daughter of Jesus (Marcelo), and of David. Eduardo, hijo de los dos (18) Carmelo, of both (10) (from Tecpan)

- NO
- K.1 Dormitory of Tomas Alvarez, (separated from his wife, Venancia de Leon eats in F1) Occupied also, frequently, by Evaristo Herrera, leatherworker, who comes from Chimaltenang, and while in Agua Escondida, eats in J2. Also, Matillo Alvarez, son of Tomas, Venancia

- (from Tecpan)
- L.1. Dormitory of Enrique de Leon, ~~and~~ his wife Isabel ~~Miranda~~
 - 2. Granary and fowlpens Miranda, their children, ~~Flodia~~, Flodia, ?
 - 3. Kitchen ? (sister of David) Ruben, Emilia, Josefa and Sofia
 - 4. Granary

- (from Tecpan) (sister of Enrique)
- M.1. Dormitory of Arcadia de Leon (widow) and her child,
 - 2. Kitchen Benjamin Hieron (23), Soltoro, Calistro (13)
 - 3. Fowlpen Vicente, Juan, Jose

- (from Tecpan)
- N.1. Dormitory of Gabino Alvarez, (not related to other Alvarez)
 - 2. Kitchen his wife, Crecencia (Rosa), and their
 - 3. T. mazcal female child, Jesus. (Two daughters, Jesus and Julia, are married, and two also alive)
 - 4. Oven
 - 5. Fowlpen

- (from Tecpan) (continued)
- * / O Dormitory and kitchen of Francisco Miranda, and his wife, #
 - NO Lourdes Jodala (Dilda) — Catalina Jodala (of Antonio Jodala) (from San Antonio)

- YES
- P.1. Dormitory and kitchen of Juan Estacuy, and his wife, Carlota Miranda (no children)

one small child

Falls from Santa Lucia

AA.1. House and kitchen of

(from Terpan, Mava de Santiso)
Leonzo Santiso and his wife, Feliza
Barrameda (patron)

- 2. Fowlpen
- 3. Ruinedhouse of

(from Terpan - brother of Leonzo)

YES

- 4. ~~Ruined~~ House of Martin Santiso + Feliza Barrameda (and ~~children~~)
one adopted child (nd of either parents)

BB.1 Dormitory and other rooms of the teacher, Maria Esther Vasquez
father Miguel Vasquez + ~~her~~ Feliza (sister
one small boy)

- 2. Kitchen

- CC. 1. Unfinished adobe house
- 2. Dormitory
- 3. Kitchen
- 4. Granary

(from Patzun)
Maria Urrea, widow (deceased
husband, Arturo Santiso, and
her daughter, Albertina Santiso, soltera)

NO

- DD 1. House
- 2. ~~Open~~
- 3. ~~Open~~
- 4. ~~Open~~
- 5. ~~had~~
- 6. ~~from~~

(case from Patzun, 20 yrs ago)
Borgonio Urrea, and the woman with
whom he lives, Paula Flores. Don Gorgonio
is separated from his wife, Valentina
Estrada, who now lives in ~~Guatemala~~ Patzun.
son, Humberto, another son ~~son~~
3 chivos, several (units of
San Antonio)

NO *

- EE. 1. House and kitchen
- 2. Fowlpen

Don Gorgonio + Ana Secay
mozos of
San Antonio

NO *

- FF. 1. Dormitory
- 2. Kitchen
- 3.

son-in-law of Santos Celery
~~Patzun~~
mozos of Don Gorgonio
(San Antonio)

- GG. 1. ~~Domestic~~
- 2. ~~Kitchen~~
- 3. ~~Open~~
- 4. ~~Open~~
- 5. ~~Open Kitchen~~
- 6. ~~Open~~
- 7. ~~Open~~
- 8. ~~Open~~
- 9. ~~Open~~
- 10.

Felipe Juarez (widower), his daughter, Jesus
Chris Juarez (widow), her three
children, and his ~~unmarried~~ daughter
Reina, (husband was Daniel)
Jesus Alvarez (daughter of
his widowed daughter-in-law
Crocencia)

NO

- HH. 1. ~~hobby~~
- 2. ~~hobby~~
- 3. ~~hobby~~
- 4. ~~hobby~~
- 5.

Petronilo Juarez (cousin of Felipe),
his wife, Isabel Mejia, no children,
and his daughter-in-law, ~~his son~~
Alvaro Juarez + his wife, Pama and their
three children
relatives, not brothers

NO *

- II. 1. Dormitory kitchen
- 2. Fowlpen

Jose Tui (landowner) and his wife, Cruz
and children. From Solola. Cousins of
Diego Tui
Cruz + ~~her~~
Cruz (40 yrs)

(Toopan)

- Q. 1 Dormitory
 - 2. Kitchen
 - 3. Granary
 - 4. Cattle shelter
- YES
- R. 1. Dormitory
 - 2. Kitchen
 - 3. Granary

Don Mariano Miranda, his wife Brigida Juarés, and their daughter's youngest child, Berta ("because they have no children of their own left at home," daughter Jose Maria Sud & daughter Maria)

Don Lupario Miranda, Adolfo Miranda, (his son).
Keep house themselves

- S. 1. Dormitory
- 2. Kitchen
- 3.

Monica Alvarez, widow
her daughter, Flora

- T. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
 - 1. House and kitchen
- YES

Herculano Miranda, his wife, Toribia Guy, children, Rowel, Luis, Jose, ?

- U. House and kitchen

owned by Carlos Velasquez, who is now in Antigua. It is occupied (no rent paid?) by ~~Hernando~~ Armas, his wife Amelia, ~~and~~ their children, and his brother Horacio. Hernando is working as a fieldhand.

- V. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Armando Galindo (w/?)
Juan Miranda (has six 15 Godinez) and her son's child, Esmeralda

- W. 1. The school
- 2. The auxiliaria
- 3. Kitchen of the auxiliaria

Oscar Pricila Solis

- X. 1. Dormitory
 - 2. Storeroom
 - 3. Kitchen
- YES

Genaro of Basilio Santiso (father of Hernando) + Damiana de Leon, his wife. Julio Solis
YES A parvula Santiso his wife, Julia Alvarez their four children. (The girls, there say)
Aparicio also has a woman in Godinez + Isabel + Oscar Tobias of his wife

- Y. 1. Butchershop
 - 2. Dormitory of
- YES

Genaro of Hernando Santiso and his wife Felipa Estacuy and their four children

- Z. 1. House under construction
- 2. Shed
- 3. Shed
- 4. Oven

Leonzo of ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Santiso, (priests), his mother, ~~brother of Hernando~~ (not now occy prod)

Armas y familia

JK. Horna Kitchen

Ernesto Juarez and his wife, ⁴⁰⁶
Filomena Santiso (sister of Louzo),
their three children

KK. 1.
2.

Manuel [?] and Nolbista Miranda
niece of Lupario, daughter of
Reymundo Miranda, deceased. Not
married)

LL. 1. Dornely
2. Felice

Margarito Juarez (brother of Felipe)
and his wife, Mercedes Santiso (sister of
Louzo), their four children: Pedro,
Delfino, Evelyn and Carlota

MM. 1. Dornely
2. Felice
3. Germany

Felipe Sicay + wife and children
Eugenia Sique and (San Antonio)
(prop. party owner)

NN. 1. Dorn
2. Felice
3. Germany
4.
5.

Jose Maria Tui (father of other Tuís)
+ ?

OO. 1. Dornely
2. Felice
3. Germany
4. Bakery
5. Shop Germany

Maria
Miguel Perez, (from Guatemala) and
his wife, Antonia Galindo, Baker
~~their children~~, and another child:
Flora de Leon (daughter
of
Vicente
de Leon,
Tepic)

PP. 1. Dornely
2. Shop
3.
4.
5.

Luis Perez, his wife, Rosa?
~~his children~~ small
(recently arrived) child

QQ. 1. Kit Man
2. Dornely
3. Felice
4. Germany

Sicay (widow)
Toribia ~~Sicay~~, mother of the Siques
- her daughter-in-law and
the latter's children (San Antonio)

RR. 1.
2.
3.

Felipe
Macano Morales
Felix Morales and his wife, Valentin
Perez + ? his mother
Lucy Archela

SS. 1.
2/
3.

Sicay
Pedro Sique (auxiliar) + family
(San Antonio)

TT. 1.
2.
3.

Diego Perez (indio) and family
(San Antonio)

VV. 1. Horna + Emilio Estarroy +
Vicente
2. Juan 33 1. Manuel
2. Julia

Victor Miranda (brother of Juan +
with band
+ Luis Morales
(San Antonio)
hijo [Andrés +]
[Lucy]

b NOT

(Pepa)

Torico

Vicente de Leon, Tepic

Archela

1/2

3

3

3

3

posts driven into the floor; but the "good" house has a hard floor into which posts cannot be driven.) But Dionicia will stay with her grandmother; she "belongs" to her.

Kitchens, as elsewhere, are the centers of interest and activity. Magdaleno's kitchen, or rather Salome's, is almost always occupied.

~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ There Magdaleno, Salome, Martina, Romelia and Jose take their meals. The fire is made on a built-up stove, as it is in the ~~MM~~ kitchens of all but the poorest or least fastidious ladinos; the grindstones, when in use, stand on low tables at the other side of the room. There is no chimney. There are several small benches. The women of this household prepare the food for themselves, and also for their father's mozo (Magdaleno has recently employed an Indian, who stopped in the aldea looking for work; he sleeps in the kitchen, as to occasional

passing Indians known to Magdaleno), and furthermore for the road-foreman (Silvestre Miranda) and his road-gang of six Indian mozos. One of these mozos comes every morning to call for the food for that day, which he carries ~~back~~ back to the road-camp.

~~MMM~~ As appears from these facts, the first and intimate household of Romelia is that represented by the group that cook and eat together: her father, mother, sister and brother. But with her grandmother and her other sister Dionicia she is almost as intimate; the girls run in and out of the two houses and two kitchens readily; the buildings occupy a single uninterrupted small lot. ^{"It is all one house", says the grandmother. These women} They are likely to go together to wash clothes or to bathe at the pila; or to market together. Nevertheless, Dionicia stands somewhat apart; she has her separate domestic tasks; it is understood that her first duty is to her grandmother's house.

Probably Magdaleno has the decisive voice in family matters; he is respected by the other members of the family. Salome's role is not so clear; my guess is that Magdaleno consults with her on many matters. Isabel says she is "only the abuelita"; she does not appear to have

much influence outside her own small household.

Now that her daughters are grown, Salome does no more grinding. ^{When there is much to be done, and they can afford to spend the centavos, Salome hires an Indian to help.}
 Martina and Romelia do the grinding; sometimes, when tortillas have to be prepared for the road-gang and the mozo, they rise as early as four o'clock to do this. Salome and Romelia make the tortillas; Martina was sick for a year; they say the sickness left her with something wrong with her hands so that she cannot properly form tortillas. Salome washes the clothes for the household, usually. Anyone of the three women may go fetch water from the spring, but when the family has money, they hire Margarito Procopio to do it.

Apparently the girls do much as their mother asks them, with regard to domestic duties. Yet sometimes, Romelia says, when there is much grinding to do, Salome will give one girl or another a centavo to induce more work.

The three grown girls are, however, ^{approach economic independence} almost ~~independent~~ economically. Though they are fed by their father, and are provided by him with clothes and other necessaries when they are unable to do so themselves, ~~MMM~~ at least Romelia and Dionidia earn and spend their own money. Dionidia buys bread, ^{usually in sacks, and bananas, and needles} ~~from the baker at the other end of town,~~ and sells it in smaller quantities, ~~MM~~ partly to people of the town, but chiefly to travelers. Both girls will also occasionally invest in fruit, and similarly sell it; they used to retail rum. ~~It turns out that~~ ^{the} small quantities of goods exposed for sale outside either Isabel's house or Salome's represent the independent individual economic enterprise of one or another of the women of the family-- most frequently the grandmother or Dionidia, less often Romelia or Martina. ~~SMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ In such profits other members of the family have no share. Last year Romelia says she made two quetzals; with this she bought herself an entire new Easter outfit.

~~Then~~

During the day a continuous trickle of economic activity comes ~~MMMMMMMM~~ into this family compound--- neighbors coming to buy a little bread or a few bananas, ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ an occasional traveller stopping to buy and eat beans and tortillas, or even to buy lodging for the night. Twenty Maxeno Indians have the habit each year, on their way to the coast to buy cattle, to stop and sleep in the Alvarez house (now occupied by gringos) , each paying Magdaleno one penny.

Jose does no hard work in the fields (The custom, among the ladinos, is for such work to begin at about twelve years of age.) Nor does he, as other ladino boys of his age sometimes do, haul water. He runs errands, plays around the house at his pleasure, and sometimes accompanies his father to the fields, where he may help him with small tasks; if his father brings back a load of bunch grass, he will bring a small one. But, when school is not in session, most of his time is in play. ~~MM~~ There is, however, no formalized play in which he may engage; he, and neighboring children, play small manipulative plays in the dust, or with sticks, or play with a wooden cart or a few other toys; or he plays his mouth organ.

The next most intimate connection had by Romelia and her ^{Sebastiana,} ~~MMMM~~ own family is had with ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ Magdaleno's sister, ^{her} husband Juan Santiso, and their four little girls (the oldest eleven), Anastacia, Lucinda, Pauvilia and Piedad. This family lives just north of the houses of the people already mentioned, except for two intervening structures (6 and 7) of which mention will be made below. No fence separates (except a small half-fence recently put up by the gringos) the Santiso house from the houses of Magdaleno and his wife's mother; they are also on the same general house-lot and appear to form a part of the same group of structures. Sebastiana is not constantly associating with Romelia and her mother, as are Dionicia and ~~MMM~~ Isabel; she comes over, however, ^{every day, once or several times.} ~~probably every day.~~ The little girls ~~play~~ are almost constantly together; they play, usually, near their

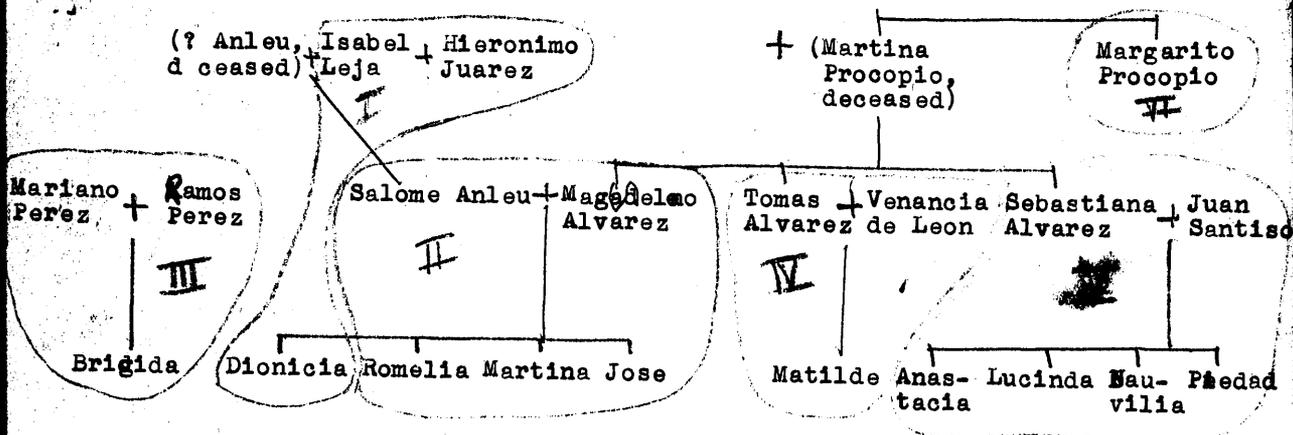
they share Venanciana's metate; but Venanciana uses it first. Venanciana also first makes her tortillas and serves Tomas; meanwhile Ramos waits, usually sitting in the kitchen to one side. If Mariano is there, he waits too. Then Ramos makes tortillas for Mariano. Ramos and Mariano sleep in the kitchen. They both speak Spanish, but not well. When Tomas and Venanciana are with them, there is a good deal of conversation among the four, but more usually Tomas talks with visiting friends of matters of interest to him, while Mariano ~~MMMMMMMM~~ says little, sitting to one side of such conversations, ~~as it were.~~ ~~MMMMMMMM~~

Ramos and ~~Tomas~~ ^{Mariano}, as is characteristic with the un-ladinoized poor Indian, in this community, live in the midst of but do not fully participate in the life of the ladinos about them. Their orbit of movement is more circumscribed; they talk less to and have less to do with the ladinos, among whom physically they are closely at hand, than do other ladinos. Ramos goes about the business of her day, remaining in or near the kitchen, except for the trips to fetch water, and a few other errands. She does not enter the other houses of the group unless some business brings her, and then very seldom. She will stand at the door of our house, if there is a fiesta, but not otherwise. When she weaves, ~~then~~ she sets up her loom at the ~~o~~ or of the kitchen that is her home; the ladinos of the house-group move about her; there is no trace of show of dislike of her, or disinclination to have her near; it is merely that she is shy, that her ways are different; that she ^{is, quite as likely, that she does not want to go where ways are different.} does not think of presuming to intrude where she is not expected, Her husband's position is similar; he will stand in the shadow, outside the fence, while members of the Alvarez family and their friends are gathered under our gasoline lamp in the back corredor, but he takes no part in the conversation, and he does not cross the fence and stand inside the yard.

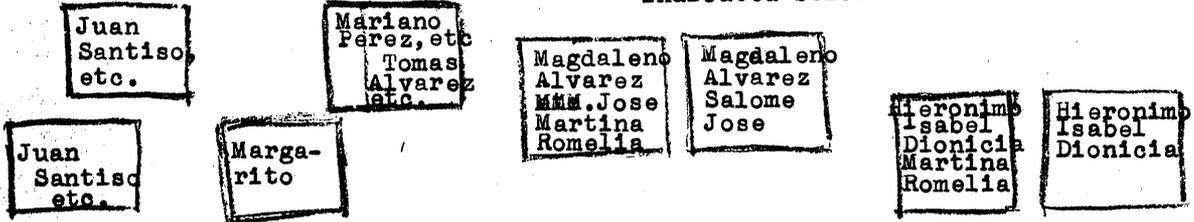
Beside the kitchen that serves this double establishment, also on land belonging to Monica Alvarez and controlled by Tomas is a ~~MM~~ large structure in great disrepair. A small corredor is used by Sebastiana as a small store (she sells fruit, sometimes matches, and, illicitly, liquor). The structure itself is used by Tomas as a shed; he is a carpenter of sorts. He also keeps his agricultural tools there. In it also dwells Martiniano Procopio. Martiniano is old, deaf, landless and very poor. He is ~~MMMMMMMM~~ ~~MMMMMMMM~~ the maternal uncle of Tomas, Magdalena and Sebastiana. Nevertheless the only gratuitous aid ~~he~~ receives from his kin is the shelter offered by the half-ruined shed. He sleeps here on a mat. He buys his tortillas either from Magdaleno, from David Miranda (a neighbor up the street), or ~~MMMMMMMM~~ from Venanciana. He earns the money for his tortills, a centavo or two at a time, by hauling wood and water. He is the only man I have seen in the aldea hauling water in a ~~MM~~ jug, on his back. This water and wood he sells often to Magdaleno, less often to Tomas. When Magdaleno's family has ready cash, they buy their water; ~~else~~ the women of the household fetch it. Martiniano, shut off from the others by his deafness and perhaps also his odd personality, lives physically in the midst of this family compound, but in other respects solitary and apart; he eats always by himself; he rarely talks to others.

There are thus five households (or six, if Margarito's living arrangements be so designated) that compose the primary neighborhood for the twenty-one persons who make it up. The genealogical relationship of these persons is indicated in the following diagram, and the composition of the households, assuming common kitchen and eating-together to constitute a household. In fact there are two special arrangements: (1) Martina and Romelia sleep in their grandmother's house but eat in their father's; ⁽²⁾ the Indian family Perez share a kitchen with Tomas' family, and also sleep there.

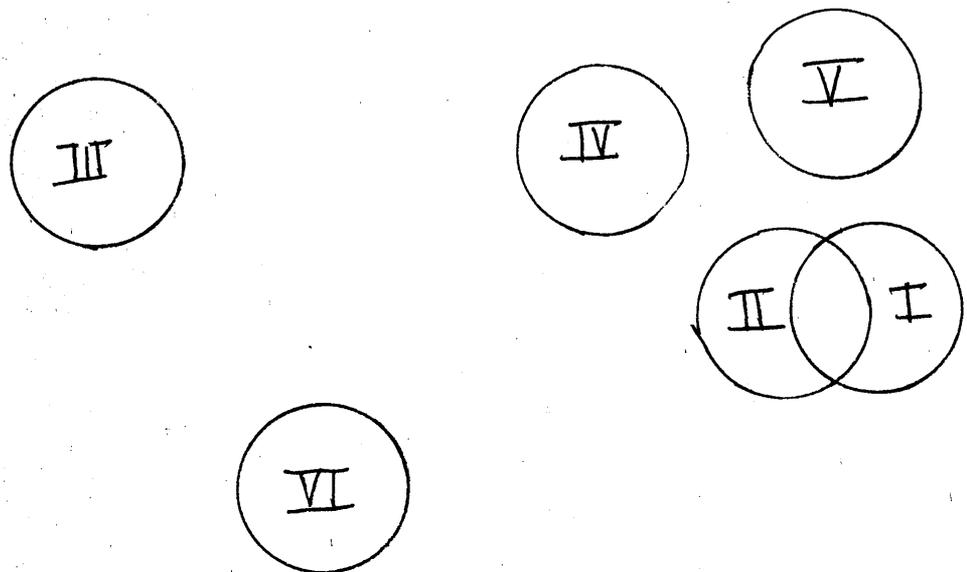
at M₂u. others



The relative spatial positions of the kitchens (red) and the dormitories (blue) that are occupied by these six households **MMM** are indicated below



The relative intimacy of the six households (numbered as in the diagram at the top of the page), as expressed in frequency of sympathetic association and participation in interests and activities of the others, is indicated by the following diagram



1. Santiago Tui m. Micaela Tax.

Santiago and his brother Rosa work their mothers lands. Carmen makes all expenditures. There is one kitchen. Micaela does what her mother-in-law directs. There is no division. But Carmen's sister, having many sons, has divided the lands among them

2. Pedro Alvarez m. ~~Augusta~~ Reina Juarez 1938

Helps father, common milpa, common treasury, common kitchen. But in 1939 will make own house and father says he will give him his own lands.

3. Silvestre Miranda. Had a job anyway, works his wife's lands; his father hadn't any.

4. Aterio Juarez, although married eight or nine years, still lives with his father, common kitchen, treasury, milpa. Peaceful household.

1 The family. The individual parental ("small") family pattern
2 has many exceptional or anomalous forms, as of un-remarried widows or
3 widowers; many cases of such occur who bring up small children
4 without find another spouse. Relatively many adults do not
5 marry or marry late. Therefore many household groups without
6 married couples exist; i.e., no emphatic sanction conduces to
maintainance of the married state. Within the small family
leadership is with the father, but the mother's authority is
not small; the obedience expected of children is moderate;
individual economic and social enterprise is not discouraged.

7 The extended family ("grossfamilie") tends to be emphasized
8 patrilineally, as marriage is prevailingly patrilocal and
9 men are dominant. The extended family has marked solidarity;
the community is composed of several such families
father and married sons; married brothers; the households
composing these extended families exhibit much mutual intimacy
the not infrequent enduring quarrels between individuals are not
within these groups, but across them, and do not disrupt them.

4 see new document so numbered. This is on the whole correct, but requires
supplementing

5-6 no new data

7-9 some correction needed. see new document, correspondingly numbered

THE HOUSEHOLD AND THE SMALL FAMILY

It is true that although the individual parental family, based on a pair of spouses, is usual, there are ~~MMMM~~ relatively many cases of households not organized around such couples, and furthermore there are relatively many households which include adult unmarried persons, or children who lack one or both parents. Of 48 households, 9 (20%) are without married couples. Of these nine, three are men living alone, (or in one case, two of them). Six households include no ~~MMMM~~ adult men.

Some of the circumstances which bring about these conditions are the following:

1) The economic independence of women. A woman can live without a man because it is usual for a woman to work or to be in business for herself. Maria Urrea lives alone, farming land she owns by hiring help. Arcadia de Leon and Juana Galindo live by buying and selling, or working for hire, supporting small children that live with them. Eugenia Perez (Indian) also lives by keeping store. Monica Alvarez used similarly to live alone and keep store. Maria Batiso used to live with her minor children, helped by her married son The teacher lives with his sister.

2) Late marriage, especially for men, or no marriage at all. A man can always buy his tortillas and get a kinswoman, or some other woman, to wash his clothes, often for pay. "No emphatic sanction conduces to the married state." True. Yet it must be recognized that when a man is ~~MM~~ without a woman, and has small children in the house, he looks about for another woman and says so. D. Tomas says he is going to look for another woman (His "wife" died just a year ago). D. Felipe lived for a good many years after his wife died, bringing up his children, but then he tried two other women before settling down with a fourth. The men that stay unmarried are those that are so poor

and Unattractive that they cannot keep women. Claudio has no land, and is personally very unattractive. He lives with his aunt. Humberto Urrea and Adolfo Miranda are mentally defective; Adolfo has never lived for long with any woman.

3. The frequency of casual children out of marital union This results in a number of households in which children are without social fathers. Although the parentage is usually recognized, it is ~~MM~~ rather uncommon for the father to support the child, and he certainly does not live with the child or act as father in the home.

4. In remarriages, step-children and ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ step-parents are taken into the home.

5. Servants In spite of the poverty of the people, it is not rare to employ a servant. At least ten households have servants. In less than half the cases the servants are Indians; the ladina servants are ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ of course women without ~~MMMMMMMM~~ consorts, usually elderly, or ~~MMMMMM~~ young girls. Often they are family connections.

Pepes and niños regalados. A child is an economic asset; the cost of raising one is small in proportion to the work they perform. Yet to have too many small children is difficult. It is common to give away a child to a relative who needs one, or to some friend who does. Thus it is exceptional for a household ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ in which ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ housework is done, to be long without a child. There are very few childless couples in AE. Gabina Alvarez and Crecencia have been without a child since, a few years ago, their second daughter married Aparicio Santiso. (The first is a widow living with her father-in-law, D. Felipe). But Julia lives very near and spends much time with her mother, (her husband mistreating her). ~~-----~~

~~Urrea lives alone now, but it is very recently that her daughter~~
~~has ^{been} ~~gone to her job~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~city~~ ~~and~~ ~~there~~ ~~appear~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~the~~ ~~only~~~~
instance.

One reason why a child, especially a daughter, is a convenience, almost a necessity, ~~MMMMMMMM~~ arises from the custom whereby a woman, when she goes any distance from her house, likes to go with another woman or a child. If she does not, people will develop gossip about her. If she has a daughter who can go with her to the well or to town, she is provided with a degree of protection against such gossip.

Apparently the ninios regalados are really given. In none of the cases reported was the child returned to the original home nor is there apparently any expectation that she will be. In every case the child is a girl. The feeling is that a woman needs a ~~MMMMMMMM~~ house-helper and a companion-chaperon.

1. Nicha Alvarez was "given" (they say) to her grandmother. She has always lived there. But ~~MMM~~ her father's house is immediately adjacent and she is equally intimate with her parents and sisters and ~~MMMMMM~~ brothers.

2. Jose Inez gave his third(?) child, Berta, to his wife's father and mother, because at that time they had no children in the house. She has always lived there. Recently Mariano Miranda has [^] taken in, with the status of servant, his cousin's child, Virginia Miranda.

3. Juana Galindo's daughter, married, with several children, gave her one daughter, Rosmunda, because her ^{mother} had no children in the house. She has lived with Juana ever since.

4. Martina Santiso and Feliza Benevente, after several years of marriage, had no children. While this couple were living in San Lucas they made the acquaintance of Pancho Molina and his

wife, poor, with many children, They gave Feliza one, Rosa.

She knows her true parents, sees them rarely, but calls MM Feliza and Martin father and mother.

5. The baker and his wife took a child (source unknown) many years ago, When she grew up, she married, and, having children, gave one to her foster parents as a replacement.

6. A year ago Maria Urtiza (now living with her grown daughter) took in an orphan Indian girl, Maria, who is now "daughter of the house"

Thus, there are both women and men who have no definite home but who make their residence, temporarily, where convenience of kinship connection suggests. But there are more MMM such men than women because men have greater freedom from gossip and from economic independence. Yet the freedom is only relatively greater.

MMMMMMMMMM Such women are: Matilde Cabrera, Margarita Yoxon and her granddaughter.

Such men are: Evaristo Herrera, Antonio Cabrera (Alvarez),

~~257~~

M.P. R.

Salome

419-A

Family Relations--Independence.

No, Martina does not buy her own clothes. Her father buys them for her, and her shoes (she is the only one in the family who wears shoes.) She sells her bananas but she uses that money to buy her earrings, and her ribbons.

Martina says that she has to go every week to San Lucas to get bananas to sell but the true of the matter is that she never goes (or has not since we have been here) but instead gets Dionysia to buy them for her. Romelia confirms this. She says Martina can not walk as fast as they can, since she has a slight limp since her illness as a child. (But when it is a matter of going off to have a good time Martina always manages to go.) Romelia and Dionysia buy all or almost all their own clothes, however.

brothers tend to live near one another rather than sisters. The sisters are apt to ~~MMMM~~ live near their husbands. But if the sisters do not marry out of the community of neighborhood, they and their husbands form parts of the great family too (Sebastiana Alvarez and Juan Santiso; ~~MMMMM~~Monica Alvarez and Benjamin Hieron) If both spouses are from the same village and personal relations are friendly ~~WMM~~ between both families, the spouses may tend to belong ~~MM~~ each to his own great family and to that of his or her spouse (Luisa Morales, Reina Juarez)

~~MMMMMM~~

"The extended family has marked solidarity, etc." The solidarity exists in the tendency for sentiments of confidence and trust and affection to prevail among brothers, among sisters, between parents and children. Where members of a great family ~~MMMMM~~ live near together, and the personal relations among members have not been disrupted by quarrels, one recognizes a ~~MMMMMM~~ patrilineal family, in terms of the surname. The Alavrezes are a family, and not infrequently speak of the mutual esteem existing among them. There is a good deal of visit ng about among them, and when the confradia is in charge of Magdaleno, one is not surprised to see that his bré hers and sister help him. The Santisos are also spoken of as a group; many of them live near together; they associate frequently There are six Morales sisters and brothers living in the community, but they do not associate as closely; they take no leadership in anything; and are much less of a family. One ~~NN~~ can hardly recognize the De Leons, ~~MMMMM~~The Mirandas, many of them living close together, ave recognizable as a family, but again ~~MMMMMM~~ it is hard to name an occasion in which their solidarity, such as it is, is apparent. The Juarez relatives, Felipe, Petronilo, Margarito and Ernesto, although living near together, have still less solidarity. Felipe alone tends the chapel; Petronilo seldom goes out and takes no part in the

cofradia, while the others do. Ernesto has little more to do with Petronilo and Felipe than he has with any other friendly neighbor. In reviewing the cases it seems to me that the solidarity is dependent upon being brought up together and upon the accidents of ~~MMMMMM~~ ~~MMMMMM~~ personal relationships, rather than upon any traditions of mutual solidarity or upon and particular great-familial customs or institutions.

There are no lineage ceremonies. Santos do not appear to stand for family lines. "Don Tomas has a Señor de Esquipulas" They do not say that Don Tomas cherishes his ancestral effigy. There are no novenas in honor of the family-dead --- the All Saints Day customs involve decorating the graves of one's nearest dead, but they have no clan-character.

~~MMMMM~~ The lineage has to a very small degree the character of a clan. Quarrels may occur between certain members of great-family A and certain members of B, without involving everyone with surname A or B. Magdaleono and his daughters think that Basilio's brother Gonzalo, and his son, are very good people. In short, there are no feuds. ~~MMM~~ An Alvarez is not against every Santiso, just because he is one of the enemy.

Conversely the solidarity of the family is not strong enough to prevent enduring quarrels between siblings or between parents and offspring. Even the Alvarez family, stronger than most, has experienced one serious quarrel within it when Salome accused Margarita Miranda, her ~~NNNNN~~ husband's brother's ~~MMMMMM~~ wife, of an affair with her husband. As a result Margarita's husband has continued to occupy a somewhat detached position from the Alvarez family. Vicente Morales quarreled with her mother and brothers, and does not speak to them. Yet it is true that quarrels occur more readily between persons not closely related.

I think therefore that the original statement over-emphasizes the solidarity of the great family. It is not a clan society. It is a society of individuals, also of ~~MMMMMM~~ small families, brittle and variable in form, and of loose, widely varying great-families that have some cohesion but no traditionally set functions or modes of expression.

confradia, while the others do. Ernesto has little more to do with Petronilo and Felipe than he has with any other friendly neighbor. In reviewing the cases it seems to me that the solidarity is dependent upon being brought up together and the accidents of personal relationships, and depends very little on any traditions of family strength or on particular great-familial customs of institutions.

There are no ~~MMMMMM~~ lineage ceremonies. There is nothing like clan-responsibility. One tends to support one's closest kin, but one's quarrels tend to be with individuals, not with families. Even the current Santiso-Alvarez feud does not prevent the Alvarez from speaking, without any hard feeling, of "my aunt Damiana" or "my cousin Damiana." A quarrel may occur between two members of a great family; their little attempt by the family, as such, to compose it. It is the affair of the individuals. M

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION, 1938

A household is one or more people sleeping habitually in a single residence.

425

<u>Households including adult couples</u>	Ladino	Indian	Total
Man, wife and children	18	3	21
(of these four households include children of one spouse by another marriage, one a casual child of the woman, and two only adopted children.)			
Man and wife, no children	1		1
Man, wife and one or more married sons	3	1	4
Man, wife and married daughter		1	1
Man, wife, married son and married daughter		2	2
Man, wife, grandchild	1		1
Man, wife, his stepchildren, unrelated boarder	1		1
Man, wife, one son, granddaughter <u>regalada</u> , servant	1		1
Man, wife, her aunt, one child	1		1
Man, wife, children, unmarried brother	1		1
Man, wife, his mother-in-law and his stepchildren	1		1
Two married brothers and their mother	1		1
Man, wife, children and casual children of a daughter	1		1
Man, wife, his mother, her other casual children	1		1
<u>Households without adult males</u>			
Woman and her children	1		1
Woman and her granddaughter	1		1
Woman and her daughter, adult		1	1
Two unmarried sisters (teacher)	1		1
Woman alone	1	1	2
<u>Households without adult females</u>			
Single man	3		3
Two single men, unrelated	1		1

120

1937

SUMMARY OF HOUSEHOLDS (45 households represented on the map, including all houses on the road and those on the adjoining paths, but not including the ranchitos out in the fields distant from the town)

Ladino households	343	37
Indian households	10	10
Ladino living with Indian woman.	1	1
Indian living with ladina woman	1	1
	45	

Pueblos of origin of heads of households:
(or of their fathers, if born in Agua Escondida)

<u>Ladinos</u>	
Tecpan.	23
Patzun.	5
Guatemala ,	1
San Jose	1
Saragoza	1
<i>Pan = Jacol</i>	2
<u>Indios</u>	
San Antonio	7
Solola	2
Totonicapan	1
Santo-Tomas	1

To be added:

~~Juan Estacoy~~
~~Hernando Armas~~
~~Manuel ? (Norberta Miranda)~~

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS (ladinos only; All the indio households are husband-wife households)

I. Including married couple (not always formally married).

1. Man, wife, children, if any (in one of these households the only child is stepchild of one parent; in another one of the two children is stepchild).... 19
2. Man, wife, children, one grandparent 1
3. Man, wife, children, man's unmarried brother. 1
4. Man, wife, married son, his wife, and their children 2
5. Man, wife, grandchild. 2

25

II. Not including married couple

1. Bachelor living alone (but eating in father's house) 1
2. Two unrelated men living together (eating with india) 1
3. Father and son, keeping house together--cooking too 1
4. Widow and child 3
5. Unmarried man and his mother..... 1
6. Widow and granddaughter 1
7. Widower, daughter, daughter-in-law and her children .. 1

9

427

GOVERNMENT

Public order and public works are regulated and achieved through the formal governmental organization, which is largely imposed from without. Service as intendent or regidor in the municipal government of the pueblo by ladinos of the aldea is recent (before that only Indians of the pueblo took part -- except for the secretary, sent in from outside); such service is an annoying task imposed by outside authority, and carried on because inescapable. Until about ten years ago the auxiliar of the aldea was a ladino; now he is always an Indian.

1. o.k. examples:

1. all road repair done through national road organization (because AE road a highway), by mozos required to serve as payment of polltax; thus they are paid, but obligated either to work or pay; the organization is heirarchical with head in the city. People of the village don't bet together to make public repairs.

2. The cemetery is maintained by the intendencia --similar service

3. when plague locusts came, the intendencia conscripted men to drive them away.

2. not entirely correct: a generation ago the chief pueblo officers were ladinos. see new notes

3

4 O.K. see new notes.

5. o.k.

When R. was a little girl the principal pueblo officers were ladinos. Her grandfather, Pedro Alvarez, was alcalde (then there was no intendente) At that time ladinos and Indians came once a year to talk over whom they wanted for alcalde. Then the Government began putting in Indian ~~MMMMMM~~ intendentes. They have been Indians since, except for an interval (about 1933-37) when the Government put in ladino intendentes. They were failures, for one reason or another. In very recent years they have been Indians again. The Indians come together and elect someone, telling the Jefe Político whom they want. He has usually confirmed their choice. The present incumbent is Francisco Sanchez, whose father was ladino secretary of the village some years ago.

For ~~a good many~~ ^{Several} years the Jefe has appointed two ladino regidores, two Indians. After Felipe Juarez and Marcelo Alvarez, came Cophomo Juarez and Maragarito Juarez, then, this year, Juan Estacuy and Eleuterio Juarez. It continues to be a burden and a misfortune. Juan Estacuy told the Alvarezes that the jefatura was looking around for likely successors and was going to pick Pedro Alvarez for one, Magdaleno says he is going to Solola to beg off for his son on the ground he, Magdaleno, is not well enough to work alone in the milpa.

The ~~alguaciles~~ are impressed into service. The ronda (regidores and alguaciles) go around in the country seizing upon likely Indian youths; if they object, they are thrown into jail.

None of the municipal officers except the secretary is paid.

GOVERNMENT--INTENDENCIA

The intendencia in San Antonio is composed of the intendente, the sindico municipal (a sort of vice-intendente), four regidores, four auxiliaries, four mayores (serving in turns weekly), and twelve alguaciles (weekly also). In the auxiliaria there is a set of one auxiliar, one mayor, and three alguaciles; each of these serves for a year, alternately weeks. The two auxiliares are Indians resident here: Tomas Sicay and Pedro Sicay. The important and effective officer, and the only one paid, is the secretary. The present incumbent is a ladino from Santa Lucia Uttatlan. Traditionally the secretary has been a ladino; all the others naturales. The intendente, sindico, regidores and auxiliares are appointed by the jefe politico; so also the secretary. Recently the government has sought to put ladinos into the government. A recently appointed ladino intendente was much disliked by the Indians; they complained against him; he was jailed; ladinos do not want the job. Nor do they want any of the other jobs; there is no pay; it takes every other week for two years to be a regidor. For the first time, this year the government has appointed two ladinos regidores: Marcelo Alvarez and Felipe Juarez. These two men do not want to serve, but cannot help themselves. The other two regidores are naturales:

WITCHCRAFT
AND
DIVINATION

WITCHCRAFT

(Leading up to the subject by describing witchcraft in Yucatan)
There is no witchcraft here. Among the Indians, yes; they fight with witchcraft. But the ladinos have nothing to do with it. (I mentioned Solola). Yes, there are some in Solola who believe in that foolishness. But not here, and not in Patzun. It is foolishness, isn't it, Things just happene by the will of God.

Witchcraft. Characoteles. Espantos.

Romelia insists that there is no witchcraft here . "Only among the Indians. Yes, there is a great deal in Santo Tomas. There the Indians have altars up in the monte for their ceremonies. " When told that Don Sol said there was much witchcraft in Panajachel, and even among ladinos, she reflected and finally said, "Yes, there was a witch they found in Solola-- a ladino. They came on him with all his dolls and everything. He was put in jail. But people here would not go to such a man. It is bad, a sin. "

When asked about people who turn themselves into animals, characoteles, she said that there were none here. Then she spoke to Jose who ~~murmured~~ ^{murmured} something about coyote. Then she said, "There was a girl here who turned herself into a coyote. She liked a boy and he didn't like her so she turned herself into a coyote to annoy him. It was Morales, the sister of Alexander Morales. They put her in jail for fifteen days and she hasn't done it any more. It is a kind of magic they have. "

The subject of espantos was raised . Romelia says the people here turn into espantos not so much when they are dead as when they are dying. When a person is dying , the family hear a noise or a stone thrown and they know it is an espanto. To get rid of it, some one of the family-- the father is best--must cast a blessing. And they pray, and also put a santo at the head of the bed over the person. "

"They say if a person, say one's father, is dying and can't die if someone who doesn't know him comes and carries him around he will die. "

WITCHCRAFT

Don Lupario said that the people here did not believe in witchcraft. When I asked who was a good zajorin, he said Yes, there were a few good ones, but mostly they were fakers, deceiving the people. He mentioned a zajorin who lived at San Lucas; but added that he just fooled people. When I asked directly if there was any witchcraft in Agua Escondida, he said No, but after a little said that just once something had happened to him that was witchcraft. His son Adolfo some years ago got sick. Some great sores came out on his neck; after one had gone, then a whole lot more came. They put iodine on them, and tried to cure them. After a while they went away. But then he began to suffer from severe pains in the chest. He went to a doctor in Solola, and got some medicine. The pain went away, but reappeared, this time in his leg. It was so bad he could do no work. A North American helped him, by giving him some medicine to take for it. But then after this a great ~~MMMM~~ swelling appeared on his buttock. Don Lupario took a chay (piece of obsidian?) and opened it. Only blood came out. The sore did not get better. One day Adolfo said, "hat/ is this-- it feels like a stick inside me. Don Lupario dug into the sore with a needle and pulled out a piece of bone about an inch and a half long. "Then we knew it must have been witchcraft." He said they did not know who could have done it to them-- perhaps some zajorin.

When I brought the talk back to witchcraft, and suggested that there might be people in A.E. who went to zajorines, he said-- the only people here who might do it are those neighbors of mine, because they are bad people (Basilio Santiso and his sons). Many years ago my daughter-in-law (Maragarita Miranda-- no relation) got sick. She had a bad cough; it lasted two years. Nothing done for her helped

her. At last her brothers went to a zajorin (I asked where; he said he thought it was San Adres; he did his costumbres there. To my question he said he thought afterwards the zajorin came here to see the patient). The jajorin said she was sick because somebody was doing witchcraft against her. Who could it have been but those people? After a while she died, and then my son died.

THE SUPERNATURAL; WITCHCRAFT

(We have been telling stories, of Juan Conejo, and other entertaining tales, in Salome's kitchen. Horacio tells the story, ascribed to an unnamed man who lived here here and went to Fatulul on sandals made of coyote skin; these travelled so fast he went two leagues beyond his destination before he ~~MMMMMM~~ could stop. This story is received with merriment and there is a disposition to make plain incredulity. Romelia says it is a lie; her mother agrees; they ascribe the story to a man whom they name who lives on a finca, and who "tells many such lies.")

Horacio: But there are things that are true. I will tell you something that happened to me, really. I was coming back from San Lucas, and right there on the hill -- you know it-- in the road in front of us was a hen. It looked like any hen. I chased it down the road about thirty meters, and cut at it twice-- nothing happened. It went off into the trees. That is true; there were others with me.

Salome: It was the same in Solola, only there it was chickens-- they came out, but they were not chickens.

I: ~~MMM~~ It was no use to cut at it because it was--- like wind?

Horacio: Si, pues. (Shrug) What good to cut at it?

Oscar: It happened to us once when we were coming back from San Andres. It was a spotted hen. It went right in front of us, then disappeared.

Horacio: Once in Panajachel something happened to Santiago Quiche-- I think Don Sol knows him. He was married-- he had trouble with another man named Chibalam, or something like that. One night a black hog came into his yard and Santiago gave it two hard blows with his machete. Next day they found Chibalam lying dead with two butts in his head and neck. He changed himself back and forth, just like that.

All: Exclamations of interest and excitement.

Horacio: The characotel is true. I have seen it, but only from a distance. Once it frightened my horse, and he threw me off.

Simona: Formally there was more of that than now. Now there is not much.

Horacio: One time I had lost a machete and I went with some friends to a zajorin. He took out his cuenticid tos, his dolls, who knows what, and said prayers. Part of what he said stuck in my memory (Horacio recited a few lines of lengua). He told us that X (name not noted) had stolen the machete. We went there to ask for it, but we did not get it. He wasn't there-- who knows. (I asked who the zajorin was and how he happened to go to him) His name was Francisco

Velasquez. The people of San Andres knew about him. He looked in a piece of glass and said he could see there my machete, and the house where it was, and everything. I looked but I couldn't see anything. Nothing. Oh, nothing came of it.

(The audience was interested, but his remarks struck no responding anecdote, or assent. It was an ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ interesting story to them)

WITCHCRAFT

These two sharply distinguish the brujo (aj-tsay), who is a sorcerer, and evil, from a zajorin, who is a diviner, finder of lost objects. They told of the arrest, two weeks ago, at some place north of here of a brujo who had been practicing black magic. I asked about good zajorins. They said there were some at San Andres, but they didn't know anything. I asked if there were some at San Antonio, and they replied they guessed there were.

Incense is sharply distinguished from pom; the former "we use-- never pom." The brujos use pom. I asked if pom were used in San Antonio. "Yes." Tomas then asked, generally, if it were also used in the burch there. They apparently didnot know, but thought it not unlikely.

WITCHCRAFT-MAGIC

There are some who know how to divine. Santos ^{Calvey} ~~Sisay~~ (wife of one of Don Gorgonio's mozos; a partera) knows how. About two years ago my father lost an axe. He had been using it out in the monte. He went to Santos and she divined where it was with her stones, and munequitoes, and her other things. She told him a thief had taken it, but he had not taken it off, but put it into the trunk of a tree. She told him where the tree was, and my father went and found it there. Quien sabe how they know how to divine. (We asked is Santos were a zajorin-- expressing surprise that there could be a woman-zajorin). Yes, she is a zajorina. She also knows how to cure people with herbs.

No, that is not witchcraft. That is good. Yes, there was a witch. He lived near Godinez. His name was ~~MMMMMM~~ Teofilo de la Cruz. They took him away and put him in jail, because he was doing bad things to people. ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ He changed himself back and forth into a pig. ^{He had magic.} They say he had the devil painted on his back. He was a ladino.

(We raised again the case of Macario Morales) That happened when Macario was trying to get Nolberta Miranda to love him. But she wouldn't have him. So then Macario turned himself into a coyote to frighten her. (We asked how that was known) Why, Macario said so. He said he did it just to frighten her, because she wouldn't have him. They took him to San Antonio and put him in jail for I don't know-- some days. Now he is living up there with his brother Felix. He learned that skill on the coast-- by taking herbs, perhaps.

Jorge Perez in San Antonio knows how to divine, too. He is a zajorin. There are some here in Agua Escondida who can divine with cards-- I cannot remember who.

MIDWIVES-TEMAZCAL

WITCHCRAFT**INDIAN LADINO RELATIONS** ~~WITCHCRAFT~~

(I began by asking if Maria Urrea worked in the fields. They told me that since her husband's death she has worked the land he left her through mozos; that she helps them plant beans, and that sometimes she does some weeding by hand; but that she never works with a hoe. Then Magdaleno volunteered the story of her husband; the remaining material came out with a very little questioning from me)

Arturo, Maria's husband, was a fine man. He died of witchcraft. I will tell you how it was. He was a son of Miguel Santiso, brother of Basilio. It was about six years ago. He went down to the costa to work some lands. He went among the Indians of San Juan Batista. He ~~MMMM~~ borrowed 8000 pesos. The Indians became envious of him, so they killed him with witchcraft. A swelling came on his neck; he went to Guatemala to get it cured; then he came back here; it grew worse; he went again to Guatemala; finally the swelling was way down here and he died. No, it is not known how the Indians did the witchcraft. But surely it was witchcraft. Ordinary ~~dicknasses~~ ailments they ~~MM~~ cure in Guatemala. He was young; about as old as Luis Escohar when he died. The man of whom he had borrowed the money embargo his house; that is why Maria and her daughter live in that little house at the back.

It is sure that Arturo's trouble was not a mal de Dios. It was witchcraft of the Indians of San Juan.

All the Indians believe in witchcraft. Whenever anyone of them dies, they say it is witchcraft (Quoting lengua phrase-- "Someone did evil to him") Whoever dies, they say it is witchcraft. They do not believe in God, but in the sorcerers.

No, the San Antoneros do not work any witchcraft against us. They are afraid of us. But they do it all the time to each other. Look what happened to those two rich San Antoneros-- Antonio Zajbin and Antonio Cumis. They had so much land and money that the other San Antoneros grew envious of them, and killed them both with

May 17. When I asked Lupario how Arturo died, he described the (same) symptoms. He did not volunteer any other explanation. When I suggested witchcraft, the idea seemed to him possible, but there appeared to be nothing he knew of that would particularly recommend that cause to him for Arturo's case. He was indifferent to the suggestion.

with witchcraft. Antonio Zajbin vomited earth, nothing but earth. Then the same thing happened to Antonio Cumis. What was the name of the husband of Sebastiana -----? The brujos put bees in his head. Another br ujo took them out-- but he died. Oh, that was Miguel Pos-- he lived in San Andres. He was rich too.

But they are afraid of us. One time an Atiteco came to Margarito Juarez to buy a quintal of beans. He paid some money as a deposit, and said he would come back in a month and get the beans. He did not come back in a month, and so Margarito sold the beans to some one else. When the Atiteco came back after that he grew very angry, and he said to Margarito, "I'll do witchcraft against you." But Margarito said to him, "Listen here, if you start doing anything against me, I'll kill you. If my wife, or my children, or any of us get sick, I'll go after you with a gun." Then the Atiteco backed down and said he didn't mean it. If Margarito hadn't taken that tone, the Atiteco would have done it. They are bad ones (son fregados, ellos) ~~SMMMMDMMMM~~

Santo Domingo, beyond San Antonio Sacatepequez, is a pueblo of sorcerers. They are real witches there (brujos buenos). For a hundred pesos they will kill anybody. I will tell you something Mercedes So and So, ~~(SMMMMDMMMM)~~ a Solola man told a friend of his, who was sick, one Maximiliano Avria, that he was sick because somebody was doing witchcraft against him. So he went to San Antonio to get cured. Don Mercedes went with him; when they got to the pueblo, they asked for the curandero. When they got to the house they knocked, "Come in," said the Indian. "I already knew you were coming. You are Don Maximiliano Avria; you ~~SMMMMDMMMM~~ come so I can cure you. Underneath the church of the Conception you will find something buried. And behind your house you will find something buried (un entierro). Take them out, and you will get well." And this before

they had said anything about why they had come! Don Maximiliano went and found the two burials just where he had been told where he would find them. Oh, they were bones, and hair, and ^{needles,} things-- things such as the witches bury. They went at midnight to the church, and found one there, and the other under the granary at Don Maximiliano's house.

Yes, there is a ajorin in San Antonio-- Jorge Diaz. But he doesn't know much. He just deceives people. There used to be a good one in San Lucas, Juan Argito, now dead. But he was just a curandero.

Santos Calavay does not do sorcery. But she really knows ~~something~~ something about how to divine. I will tell you something that happened. Santos Calavay is a midwife, and there used to be here another midwife, Santos Garcia. She became jealous of Santos Calavay; they fought together a lot. Once when Santos Calavay was away some people came and stole her skirts and her huipil. Santos did her divination, and learned that her things had been buried in the cemetery, among the graves. She went up there at night with her son Esteban, and dug and found them. They had been cut into pieces with scissors. This is true. She told me about this herself.

One time I lost an axe for two months. I put it down when I was working, and when I came back it was not there. I thought it was stolen. I went to Santos Calavay, and she did her divination and she said I would find it at the top of a dead tree. She said it had not been stolen, but just hidden. A month went by. I did not believe in what she had said. I had no faith in it. But then one day I was out working in that region and I came on a dead pine tree. It was the only dead tree around. I thought of what Santos Calavay had said, and I climbed up the tree and there was the axe.

The business of the skirts is true too. She divined that. How could she do it? I am uncertain about the whole business. But

there are three things that I really know about Santos-- the matter of the skirts, that of my axe, and there was a business of a stolen metate. Santos divined where it was. A man from Chiquimula had stolen it, I was convinced by that axe. I did not believe in her before that.

(The talk changed to midwives) Yes, we use Santos Calaway. She has been midwife for Sebastiana ~~MMMMMM~~ when her children were born. There used to be a ladina midwife here-- Perfecta Alvarez, an aunt of mine. She was good. Ladinas are best. But the Indias do what they can, but not as well as ladinas. Emilia Recinos of Panajachel-- there is a good midwife for you. Yes, the ladina midwives also use the temazcal for mothers, because they are to chilled ~~MMMMMMMM~~ enhielada) after the birth. The temazcal is very good for necessary things like that. We don't use it so much; only when necessary. The Indians use it all the time-- they never bathe any other way. They don't get sick so much-- they get wet, carry heavy loads, still they don't get sick so much. Yes, I have been in the temazcal. That was when I got sick with hernia. I went four times in the temazcal. I used Jose Tui's temazcal. Sebastiana uses that one too when her children are born.

WITCHCRAFT

Why did Aparicio Santiso visit Hilario Churanel in Panajachel last week?

Tomas: Quien sabe?

Juan Santiso: Probably he went to ask him where he might find a job. Aparacio is looking for a job. He probably asked Hilario to divine.

Jose Inez: There are two possibilities: He might be asking Hilario to find something he has lost; or he might ask him to do some evil against some one. But people who would do this (the latter) are of no faith-- they are muy apartados-- the are bad.

Benjamin Hieron says he doesn't think any of the jajorines can really do anything; the Indians just believe they can. Basilio Santiso says he doesn't believe in Santos Calavay-- she has never done anything that would convince him. I spoke of Ilorio Churnael-- he said he was a friend of his. I mentioned Santiago Quiche. He said he was a bad one-- that he was often in trouble. that he could change himself into any animal, and once went to jail for it. He told of a ~~cat~~ cat that came into the house of another Indian, and started to get into his wife's bed. So the Indian hit it over the head; next day Santiago Quiche was found all battered around the head.

M.P.R.

Santos Calvary
May 22

Divination.

Santos Calvary when questioned at our house as to whether she could find ^{out about} ~~something~~ ^{which} which was lost in the United States said that she could. The days on which divining can be performed well are Tuesday and Friday. On a Friday afternoon Romelia and I went over to her house and found Santos in company with her daughter and two grandchildren preparing onions for reseeding. After finishing this work, she got ready to divine. On a small chair she laid her rebozo and on top of this a soft ^{dark} ~~dark~~ purple cloth. On this she laid six crystals. One was a round crystal on a little stand, two were glass marbles, one a glass bottle stopper (this Romelia afterwards said she "pointed toward the north where I lived"), on a glass ruby, and the other nondescript piece of glass. Santos knelt before these, crossed herself, touched the crystals to her lips, and prayed under her breath. This went on for some time. She then questioned me as to whether it was la mera casa that the watch had been lost. When it finally came out that the watch had probably put down when I was washing and that the house was rented, not our own, she ~~said~~ informed me that it was the owner of the house who had taken my watch and that I must go in and try to find it there. She asked the crystals three times who had taken the watch, and each time they answered the same. I expressed myself as satisfied and asked her price. She indicated that I should give whatever I wished, which was twenty-five centavos, and this satisfied her.

When asked how she had learned to divine, she said, "No one taught me. I learned of myself." When questioned further whether any spirit or any saint helped her she said, "God saw that I was poor and so he gave me this oficio, in order to help me." Romelia says that Santos sometimes prays in church with flowers petals and candles as do the zahorines do but this is aparte from the work.

November, 1938

Romelia

WITCHCRAFT

Just before we arrived Romelia says she came back from the spring and found her father and Don Tomas talking as they were cleaning our house in preparation for our coming. They were talking about the sickness of Maximina, wife of their brother Sotero, of Panibaj. They said that Sotero had gone to his (and their) friend Gonzalo Santiso, (cousin of Basilio Santiso and father of young Francisco Santiso,) in San Lucas for help in curing Maximina. ~~Maximino~~ Gonzalo, says R., is a zajorin, but not like the indio zajorines-- he cured with herbs. Gonzalo told Sotero that Maximina's sickness was due to ~~MMMM~~ witchcraft done against her by Quintero Morales, brother of Feliz, Macario and Alejandro. Quintero fell in love with daughter of Maximina. She would not have him, so he did witchcraft against her.

Gonzalo, it is said, learned his art when he went on a trip to the Peten with Emilio Crespo. Up there dwell the wild Indians, the Jicaques. He came to a cave where the Jicaques had all their arrows and bows and other things spread out. He dreamt that if he went to a certain rock he would find a book telling how to cure; he did go there and found it. And he has the book; Sotero has seen it. He also consults with "the spirits"-- he goes up to the cemetery to do it.

Silvestre Miranda also went to Gonzalo about three months ago when he fell so ~~thin~~ sick and grew so thin. Gonzalo told him witchcraft was ~~sant~~ against him by Silvestre's wife's brother because he and Silvestre had quarrelled about Silvestre's wife's land; the brother had wanted to take it away from her and give her another piece from the inheritance.

Romelia says she does not know how the witchcraft is done. Her aunt Tana knows. Meat is buried where the person will step over it. It is sure there is witchcraft, because last year when they tore down Don Tomas' old house they ~~fund~~ buried under the doorsill a small glass bottle, corked and

(over)



WITCHCRAFT- INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS

(I had been speaking, earlier in the day, of the fact that the Indians still killed hens and turkeys for their ceremonies. Magdaleno and Benjamin Hieron came in late that afternoon to talk and smoke. Magdaleno's mind evidently went back over our earlier conversation)

The customs of the Indians are very strange. They have some strange beliefs. When they kill a deer, they have to thank the dueno del monte for it. They do this by whistling, very loud three times. And when they bring the deer home, some of their women come out to meet the deer with flowers and talk to it, saying, "My husband, my husband" -- to the deer (This was amusing to him.) Once I was out hunting with my brother and such and such (ladino) and four Indians from Patzún. We killed a deer-- a big fellow. When we brought it into camp, one of the Indians said, "~~WOW~~" "Before we go we must take leave of the dueno del monte." We others felt foolish; none knew what to do. Then one of the Indians suddenly let out three piercingly loud whistles-- I jumped, I was so startled. That is the way they do it. And when we came to the house of one of the Indians, his wife came out to meet us, and walked in front of the deer, ~~MMM~~ sprinkling flower petals, and swinging a censer with pom, and praying out loud to the dueno of the monte. Very strange customs they have.

But there is a dueno del monte. That is very true, Don Roberto. (Benjamin nodded assent). We know there is a spirit in the woods. Do you know the armadillo? Well, sometimes we find armadillos with their ears cut sharp across, as if with a knife. That is the dueno del monte. And sometimes we find deer that have been castrated. So I know there is a dueno del monte. My old compadre Brigido Similaj (Indian) showed me a pair of deer's horns he had. There was a little short horn, growing backwards, and curved, and in this you could see the rubbed, ridgy places where the rope had been where it had been tied. That is quite true, Don Roberto. (Here Benjamin put in that some

times one finds the manes of horses tangled; Magdaleno quickly told him that this was not the dueno del monte, but the duende. Benjamin, corrected, subsided, caught in an error). But the dueno del monte is a spirit; it is like air. It is not the way the Indians think it is. They take food and cigarettes and things and leave them at their outdoor altars for the dueno del monte to take. How could it eat or smoke? When we find these things there, we just take them. Else they spoil out there. Do you know the place called Pulchich, at Santo Tomas? There is a big stone there, where the Maxes go to do custumbres. Once, many years ago we were up there, on orders from the government, looking for some revolutionaries that had escaped, and we came to this place. We took all the cigarettes and things that the Maxes had left there. Why not?

One time Valentina Estrada went up to Santo Tomas to seek the dueno del monte. Her husband, Don Gorgonio had left her; he had gone after another woman; and she wanted to do ~~him~~ something bad to him. She asked my brother Ricardo to go along. This was fifteen years ago or more. Ricardo was young then. He knows about it. You can ask him. They got up there in a room, are jammed with maxes, and their women and the men were praying out loud, just the way they do in the church. They were asking the dueno del monte to come. After a while one of them said that now they had to put out the lights, the dueno del monte was coming. So they did. And then there came a noise, a sort of roaring; it got louder and louder; it sounded in the tepanco, and then it came straight down, to the floor, a roaring like an enormous bat flying. Then one of the Maxes told Valentina that the dueno was there; she should say what she had to say, but she was paralyzed with fright; she hid her head in her shawl, and just shook. She could not say anything. And Ricardo was so frightened he couldn't say anything either. Then the Max explained to the dueno del monte that Valentina couldn't say

anything; so nothing could be done about it. That was a very great sin of Valentina to mix in such things. Those are things of the devil.

My father told me that once he was sent with some others to catch a general named Modinedo; this was when there was a war. He and the others came to this place Pulchich, and they rested there. But then suddenly they heard the sound of a bell. But there was no bell. And then they heard the sound of some one knocking on stones. But they could see nothing. They were frightened and ran away.

A custom the Maxes have is that they get money from the dueno del monte. A Max told me about that. He said ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ that the rich ones among them get their money that way. But they have to promise to pay the dueno by giving one of their children, or their wife, at the end of the time fixed by the dueno.

No, the San Antoneros don't do that. (Benjamin: That is only a custom of the Maxes)

But I will tell you something that that old man, the father of Antonia Tovar (San Antonero) did. He made a pact with the dueno del monte for a certain ~~MMMMMMMM~~ length of life. He died once, but he came alive again and walked about. He was seen dead, stretched out with the candles, but he came alive again and lived for another period. The dueno came to him and told him how much more he had to live: "Now is not the time; the time is such-and-such." And the old man knew on just what day he would die, and on that day he died. This is quite true.

(I asked about Teofilo de la Cruz-- ladino-- wasn't he jailed for sorcery?) No, that was something quite different. He shot and killed Adrian Marroqui; he was hired to do so by some enemies of Don Adrian. He is still alive. But they will shoot him-- he won't do such things any more. He was a bad one. He went about as a curandero-- he came here sometimes-- I knew him. He deceived the poor Indians. They are ignorant, you know, and believe in all sorts of nonsense. Teofilo is a big fellow,

with an important manner. He used to keep some dead lizards and snakes, and a dog bones and hair, and such things, in his pocket. When the poor Indian came to him, saying how sick he was, Teofilo would say he could cure him. He would give him a strong emetic, and when the Indian vomited he would produce one of these lizards, or something and say, Here is what was the matter with you. Then the Indian would thank him and pay him lots of money. Oh, he was a bad fellow-- a sinvergüenza-- deceiving the ignorant Indians that way. (Here Jose, who had come in, said, "And that time he changed himself into a bull--") M: Oh, that was just a lie they told about him. That is not true That is just foolishness people say-- like what the Indians believed about the lizards and snakes inside them.

WITCHCRAFT- INDIANS* IADINOS

D. Ernesto and Pedro and I were talking in D. Ernesto's house in Godinez. D. Ernesto began to talk about experiences when he was Secretary in SA. These recollections were suggested by his enquiry as to the health of D. Miguel Perez. Pedro described D. Pedro's condition, and said something which suggested the possibility of black magic-- I think in connection with the fact D. Miguel says he cannot swallow, because it feels as if he had a ball in his throat. D. Ernesto quickly denied any such possibility and ~~MMMM~~ Pedro followed his lead and repeated the denial. D. Ernesto then made a general remark to the effect that the Indians couldn't do witchcraft, but some of them were certainly good at poisons. He mentioned one old man (who Pedro had known as Lorenzo, but whom D. Ernesto said had another name) who lives at or near Xequetel. D. Ernesto then told of a time years ago when Leonzo Tzoc, being then married to his first wife, an Indian, brought a sweetheart up to Xequetel and hid her somewhere. Either the girl's father or someone else brought a complaint; Leonzo and the girl were arrested and put into jail. While the girl was in jail, Leonzo's wife went to an old Indian relative of hers and made certain arrangements. A bowl of atole was then sent to the girl-- D. Ernesto gave us to understand that Leonzo's wife had had it poisoned. When the girl was released from prison she was half deranged; her parents took her to Solola and to Guatemala, but could not effect a cure; and so she remained.

D. Ernesto also told of an occasion when two San Antonio Indians were contending with words, ~~MMM~~ each hating the other, and how one challenged the other to a contest: each was to drink a bowl of atole prepared by the other. "Let us see which of us is the stronger". The duel occurred; they sat insulting each other, sipping the poison. Then each went off and took a contra; both recovered.

BAPTISM
NAMING

1 Baptism is regarded as highly important, but supporting myths
 2 or beliefs are vague. It is practiced by all save Evangelistas
 3 (and a very few "masons"). Godparents are selected, after the birth,
 4 from respected friends, rarely from the child's grandparents; cousins,
 5 uncles or aunts occasionally; usually the same godparents of the
 6 baptism serve for successive children; different sponsors are always
 7 chosen for marriage and evangelios. The forty-day "churching"
 ceremony is unknown.

The name is theoretically taken from the name of the saint of
 the day of birth, but in about half the cases the name given is at the
 pleasure of the parents; either the name of a relative, or a name
 chosen simply because it is liked. Most given names are abbreviated
 in use; descriptive nicknames are not uncommon, (dogs are nearly
 always named; horses occasionally; goats and cats still less often;
 "Christian" names are not given to animals.)

1. o.k.

2. the only unbaptized children in the village are the children of
 Desirerio Alvarez and Juana Higueros, of Gorgonio Urrea and
 Paula Rosales, and Oscar, son of Armando Armas. In the first
 case the reasons are not well known; it is said that Desiderio,
 though not a Protestant, did not believe in the saints. Others
 say he is too stingy. In Gorgonio's case it is because he was
 (and perhaps is) a Protestant. His wife wants her children baptized
 but he won't have it. Armando Armas is a notorious unbeliever.
 His mother, Dona Matilde, has had Setla and Pricila baptized.

3. see notes on compadres.

4. o.k.

5. o.k. But two generations ago it was apparently customary for the
 midwife to lay the child (some days old) on the domestic altar, put
 flowers on it, burn incense and candle, and offer it to God, praying
 it might live. Lupario Miranda told me so. R. says her mother's first
 child was so treated (it was, as a result, "hit by the wind", and died).
 The Totonicapeno Indians around here still do it. Also, it
 is custom of these Indians not to let mother or child out of the house
 or to take out sweepings, for first two weeks).

6-7 see supp. note

NAMES

On the origins of personal names, he was vague. Martina is named for a grandmother, Pedro for a grandfather. He says Dose's name came from "the almanac", but it is not clear that ~~it~~ Jose was born on the day appropriate to the saint of that name (Jose says he was born on December 27th)

MMMMMMMMMMMM

NAMES

Luparios says "the real custom" is to give the child the name of the saint appropriate to the day of birth. He says all his children were so named; in one or two cases they took the name of the saint of the succeeding day, because they liked it better. All three of Genaro's children bear names, not of saints, chosen to the father's liking. "I found that one in a book." All of his brother's children (Aparaicio) bear the names of the saints of the days of birth.

Lupario says the Indians name the first-born child after the father, if a male, after the mother, if female, and the subsequent children after other relatives. Genaro says they come and ask ladinos to look in the almanac, and give the name so determined.

BIRTH, MIDWIVES, BAPTISM, MARRIAGE

Don Tomas was working in his milpa, hoeing. He is quite willing to talk about local customs, always expecting an exchange of information, so that I tell him what is done in my country.

Here in Agua Escondida there are two midwives, Santos Garcia and Santos Calavay, both inditas, patronized by both ~~INDIAN~~ indios and ladinos. He said that in other ladino ^{communities} ~~communities~~ there were ladina midwives, and indicated that if there were such here, the ladinos would use them. He was vague as to what was done by the midwives, saying only that they "cared for the mother and child." When I spoke of the temazcals owned by Dona Crecencia and by Dona Maria Luisa Miranda de Alvarez, he said yes, some ladinos used them, although they were more used by inditos. "All the naturales have temazcallis; only a few ladinos." His description indicated that the temazcal is used therapeutically; very incidentally to clean oneself; probably, among ladinos, not at all ritually. It is used before and after childbirth. When I said that in Mexico the midwife gets into the temazcal with the recent mother, he said here too, "to bathe her." Don T. himself bathes in it occasionally to relieve ~~MM~~ his respiratory(?) trouble. "Afterward one must keep warm, not go out, so that cold air ~~MM~~ does not strike one." When I spoke of the delicada condition of recent mothers, he agreed, said they should stay in bed about twelve days, and not work for a month. No magical or ritual element appeared from his remarks. Hints as to "evil winds" drew nothing; direct suggestion by reporting Yucatan beliefs brought only surprise.

I spoke of the sacamisa. This, after a little, brought assent, in that he reported the fact that the Indios, some time after the child is born, have a ceremony they call esanehat: they

make costumbres; all the clothing and bedding are shaken out; the ashes from the fire are taken outside. But ladinos do nothing of the sort, nor is there sacamisa. "Some parents lay the child in front of the imagen, if they have one in the house, and ask God to accept the child and make it live. You may burn a candle."

He said that all children are baptized-- all. I pointed out that not quite all could be, as the priest did not come to San Antonio more than two or three times a year. He said the unbaptized would be brought to the priest at the first opportunity. I asked why all children had to be baptized. He said it was a sin not. I asked what happened to the souls of children who were not baptized. He said, "quien sabe," it was apparently of no concern to him. When I spoke of Mexican beliefs, he was somewhat interested, but the notion of angeles, or other beliefs about baptized and unbaptized children are certainly not parts of his thinking.

As to marriage, he said the boy and girl come to an agreement, then the parents of the boy usually call on those of the girl. "Other people (relatives,) usually go along. They have to discuss things." I could not find out what is discussed, since he mentioned only the payment of the registry fee, fifty cents, which he declares the boy's parents always pay. He said there were usually three meetings. Then he said some made all arrangements in one meeting, or in two. The boy's father pays for the girl's wedding costume-- dress, earrings, ribbons, (etc teraf), and pays expenses of the fiesta. "This lasts one or two days, depending on how much money there is." There is always music, marimba, or that failing, guitar, and dancing. Food and drink is served to invited guests, and to others who may come. "Sometimes, if they have money, the couple may make a little paseo of a few days before they settle down." The boy's father is expected to set him up, with land, corn, beans, and all domestic equipment. If his own house is not ready, they usually live with his father.

Nearly all given names, both of men and women, are abbreviated and these customary abbreviations are used much more commonly than the full names. They are different from those used in Yucatan. They are chiefly phonetic simplifications--- simplifications such as a small child might make. A list is attached. Apparently there are Indian-ladino differences with regard to ~~MMMM~~ some of these (any Cipriana is ~~MMMM~~ Yana to a ladino, Pux to an Indian).

In addition, many men and some women have nicknames. Especially boys create and use them. They are derived from personal peculiarities, from the names of persons whom the nicknamed person resembles or is otherwise connected with, et c. Follows a partial list.

Oscar is Coco. Not clear why

Calixtro (who uses mother's surname) is Chumunel, his Indian father's surname.

Rosenda is Mamaita-- a term of endearment.

Macario Morales, because he talks so much, is Xinxí, which means "gizzard".

Alejandro Morales is Chijchok, which apparently means and refers to his blunted and deformed toes.

Benjamin Hieron is Torres, because he looks like a man of that name.

A child in the village is Uico, from Ubico, because he was born on a day when the President was being celebrated.

Claudio is Caxquiento, which R. says is Spanish(8) and which refers to his twisted feet.

Enriwue de Leon is Quichin, which refers to his lameness-- he has one "dry" leg, one fat one.

Heroulano Miranda is Ocurtente, because he has a way of saying unexpected things, or things he should not say

Adolfo, being so small, is either Pipiola or Pinineo

Pahscom
 Mad
 Solone
 Sebastian
 Mance
 Jovan
 Benjamin
 Edy
 Bern
 Gray
 Ricardo
~~Steno~~
 Ronda
 Maria
 Mark
 Ronda
 Jon
 Pedro
 Rana
 Margarita
 Eralt
 Alaka

Xino
 Malena
 Neca
 Jara
 Moco
 Mexico
 Mandy
 Lipo
 Chuy
 Cruz
 Cato

Clenda
 Mariana-Luca
 Jara
 Mela
 Chayo
 Barrucho-Lucho
 —

Marieta

Lita
 Chabely
 Loya

Brindley
 Luera
 Gonzalez
 Steve
 Eutagen
 Ignacio
 Melero
 Eduardo
 Oscar
 Calixto
 Arcadio
 Brecken
 Gabriel
 Andres
 Claudio
 Alejandro
 Sara
 Ercilla
 Susana
 Agustin

Uca
 Ucha
 Chalo
 Soto
 Jacobo
 Nardo
 Medo
 Uayo

Coco

Cherund

Caya
 Chirico
 —
 Chilo
 Caberto
 Jardo, Jardo
 —
 Uelo
 Monchy
 —

Salvador

~~Chito~~
Chinings

~~Chito~~

Donna

Nicho

Mariano

Yuro

Marcelo

Chelo

~~Marcelo~~

Angel

Angela

Felix

Amalia

Chelo

Luis

Ulla

Bauer

Pia

Prodad

Jeto

Evangelina

Arant

Isabel

Lofa

Alfonso

Uma

Tomás

Nery

Uly

Lota

Carlota

Li Pa

Isabela

Chelo

Concepción

Menchy

Clemencia

Horacio

Account
(may not be checked)

Papelo =
Puro =

small
don't
spil

Ralph
Francesca
Jose
Micaela
Nedas

Chica
Chefe
Quela

463

Juan
Cynthia
Santiago
Andrea
Alex Morel
Herminio
Macario

Yura (Pax)
=
=
=
Cayo

~~Al~~
Alejandro

Benjamin Hernandez
Jon Perez Salsos

Pedro

Claudio
Caya

Enrique

~~Xuxi~~
Xuxi (Mollaga)

Chiffa
Walter Torres
Jones (Lola)

El rey
Cachucha (gosa)

Carquisait
(Walter's feet)

Guichen
(one day, very fat leg)

BIRTH
AND
CHILD-CARE

Don Tomas
Don Magdaleno
May 5

465

BIRTH-

The midwife takes the placenta and burns it. The umbilical cord, when it drops off, is put away. It is not good to throw it away. You just put it up somewhere, after a while it gets lost. (He does not know where Jose's cord is-- it has long been lost).

Evry pueblo has its own customs. In Totonicapan they take the umbilical cords of the boys and hang them on trees on the Hill of Umbilical Cords. This is to make them merchants.

BIRTH-CONCEPTION-REMEDIES-

Some women have children every year, My wife (Salome) did. Some have them every two years, or at longer times. It is all according to the nature of the woman. Yes, there are some women who have no children at all. Dona Antonia, the baker's wife, never had any children, nor has Feliza, the wife of Martin Santiso. It is also according to the nature of the man, for there are some women who have children by one man but not by another. (To my question) No, there is nothing to do about it. If you want children, and you don't have them, there is no remedy . (After a little while). One thing I was told by my wife who learned it from Maria Luisa (wife of Magdaleno's brother Inez) . Maria Luisa was told that the wife of Emilio Crespo had a child, and then for fifteen years she didn't have another. She wanted another, and she then had one, after she ~~MM~~ ate some of the suchillo that is found in wild bee's nests. Suchillo is the white, sticky substance that is not honey but is found on the other side of the nest. It has all the fragrance of the flowers. Emilio's Crespo's wife was told about this by some naturales who were on the finca, El Paraiso, where she was staying.

(I then asked the opposite question) No, if you do not want children, and keep having them, there is nothing to be done . Oh, yes, there is one thing, but ~~MMMMMMMM~~ it makes the woman sick. The woman can take much lime juice. But this is very dangerous. That is why Leandra Jochola has had no children by Pancho Miranda, although she had children by her husband. But she is weak; her face is all marked with spots. The lime cuts the blood, it ruins the blood. It is a powerful medicine. We give it, but only a few drops in rum, for chills, or for fever. The lime juice cuts the fever. But too much is dangerous. Tiburcio Santiso died that way. There was a lime tree in his yard, and he ate them as one

would oranges. One day he plunged forward and fell like a stone, his arms tight, like this. He died soon after. Oranges are good. Limas are bad-- they contain much opium.

CHILDCARE- PUNISHMENT

Children are nursed until they are a year and a half old. But a boy child should be nursed for two years, because boys need more food. The Indians nurse their children longer. When we wean a child, we give it bread dipped in coffee, or tortilla soaked into bean broth so it makes a sort of soup. We may give rice. (I told about our "custom" to feed a nursing child at regular intervals) No, our custom is to give them the breast whenever they cry; when they cry it means that they are hungry. Sometimes the mother is very sleepy, but she has to get up when the baby cries.

(He made it clear that in his understanding no attempt was made to teach bladder or evacuation control) "until the child is old enough to understand. Jaime is old enough now. Piedad (almost three) has learned now to go outside when she wants to urinate, or to use a pot. Her mother began to teach her when she was two, or a little before. Before that we do not take them outside; if they have diapers, we change them"

I brought up Pedro without ever punishing him with a whipping. Only with words I punished him. There are those here who give their children whippings. Sometimes one has to, if the child behaves very badly. No, here it is not the custom to go to the juzgado about a child that is disobedient, or to ask the godparents to do anything about. It is the parent's affair.

Saldme
Romelia

Child Care.

If a mother dies leaving a very young child, the father gets a goat and gives it goat's milk diluted with barley water. Or he tries to get someone to nurse it.

Children among ladinos nurse up to one year or a year and a half. Among the Indians they nurse up to three years. They begin to eat tortillas at about eight months, when they have some teeth. They eat caldo de frijol until one year or more, then frijol. Boys do not begin to work in the milpa until they are twelve years old. Girls begin to learn to grind at seven, but they have much time to play.

Bank now paid - my J.
 to the of importance funding
 making bottles - then
 putting water - leaving to
 need clothes, sew
 Lucinda now paid well

Joe began painting
 cult. fields. 4-10

Prayers - heard by hearing

Don't know don't teach -

Just talk children of James die.

12 Miss Brown for Lashburn
 for El Niño Des. Council
 my love -

Cradle Songs--Ladino

Ru---ru---ru---
 Dormirte, niño
 Que tengo que hacer,
 Lavar tus pañales
 Y sentarme a coser.

Mish, mish, mishito mio.
 Caza ratones
 Por los rincones,
 Ojalá yo fuera tu mishito
 Para entrarme a tu hamaca
 Y sacarme con las unás
 A la niña mas hermosa.

These songs are known by all in the village. Indian women sing to their babies too but "not with words", they sing the pr-r-r-r with puckered lips in the same way that the chickens are called. While they are grinding the baby will be in the hammock which they keep in motion, sometimes by having a string tied around their waist tied to it.

R.'s grandmother sometimes told her ejemplos when she was little. When she was naughty and her mother threatened to punish (pegar) her she would run to her grandmother. Her grandmother told her she should not behave so because sometimes when children were naughty and did not obey their parents the earth opened up and swallowed them. R. has forgotten other ejemplos but remembers there were some.

Child Birth and Care.

Indian women use the temascal much more after childbirth than ladinas do. The sometimes go in the very day of the birth, and allise compenan . In one case an indian woman was a long time in giving birth and she went in the temascal and the baby was born there. Ladinas use the temascal only if things dont go just right. Salome went in the temascal after one of her children was born, but one month after, because she had not much milk. She went in "to warm the milk. " She went in three different times.

After the birth of a child the relatives all look after the mother and give her her food. And Indian woman is hired to do the grinding . The mother is given just caldo de gallina or atole de frances .

Only one of Salome's children was born dead, the twin of Dionysia. Salome thinks her first child , who died shortly after birth, in a very prolonged birth, may have swallowed the posada (after birth?) because he had foam in his mouth.

"If you are married and dont have children it gives you pains in the stomach. " S.

Doña Paula nursed Adalberto only about one year and three months because then she became pregnant again. She nursed Olivia about two years and a half.

Santos Calavey

May 21

Childbirth Remedies

Vervena, boiled , and given with a little aguardiente when the woman first goes to bed.

Other herbs used are comino, alucena --given separately but with a little aguardiente also , altamisa is given boiled with leaves of a wild plant called cauja (this was the only plant Romelia did not know).

Moliente , which is bought in the stores is used to rub the abdomen after the birth.

Salome
Isabel
May 23

Child birth.

Here most women give birth kneeling, sometimes on the bed, sometimes on a mat on the floor. But some women just lie and hold on to the head of the bedstead. Some may give birth seated. This is a sort of chair shaped like an excusado which serves for women in childbirth (but none here in gua Escondida.) If the birth is long in coming the woman may stand and hold on to a rope. Many women die in childbirth and many children are born dead (this "many " was very general . Only one case was mentioned .) A woman had a child and in three days of pains it was not born. It died inside the woman. There was a senora (a ladina partera) who came and operated on her. The child was dead but the woman got well. She is living now in godinz and has a husband. Then when she had the child she had none. The Indians parteras do not know so much. If everything goes well they are all right.

When Jose was born he was almost dead. He was purple in the face. Then the partera did not cut the cord right away but put it and the afterbirth in hot water with chile and rubbed the cord so that the heat would pass along it to the child. She also put some chile in his mouth. Then he yelled and he got all right.

Time: Late at night (9 o'clock)

Characters: Don Evaristo, Don David, Don Sylvestre

After a little preliminary warming up during which I explained that the boys in my family married in reverse order; i.e., I, the youngest married first, and the number of children varied in the same way, the following topics were discussed:

Age at marriage: There is no legal fix, just as in our country.

Children To have a good marriage, children are necessary. Evaristo told the story of a couple he knew who married about 20 years ago (at the time of the earthquake - the priest ran away as did they but the marriage went on as though all solemnities had been complied with). When no children came, both husband and wife began to drink, the husband raised up an illegitimate family, and there was continual bickering. Children are necessary for a good marriage.

Number of Children To use contraceptive devices is a sin (as Pedro said Sylvestre somewhat portentously) but when I explained that some married people used them to protect the woman's health (after she had borne several, for example) or to ensure the vigor of the children, all seemed to agree. Sylvestre said yes, he would rather have 4 or 5 stout offspring than a dozen weaklings. However, there are different opinions on this matter.

Contraceptive Devices None of them seemed to know anything much. Evaristo had heard it was bad (not in a moral sense) and Sylvestre had heard that pills were sometimes used but didn't specify who was to use the pills.

SEX
RELATIONS

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MARRIAGE - FORM

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WOMEN- CHASTITY

(i.e., formally married)

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* From 1948

Don Tomas, Don Inez-May 19

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May 16th 491

Wedding Ceremonial.

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We waited for some time to see if the wedding party would not arrive, sitting about and discussing quietly such matters as reminiscences of former weddings. It was agreed that such things always take longer than they should . At last we had to leave without seeing the young couple. The procedure , according to Romelia , is for the young couple to pass through the archway into the house and seat themselves in the sitial . The parents then give them their blessing. After this they go out to the enramada and all consume the refreshments. Rockets are set off when the bridal party arrives, and if there are enough, during the course of the evening. After the refreshments, the dancing begins. If the husband is not jealous, the bride may dance with other men. In the intervals between the dancing the ~~brk~~ newly wedded

pair always sit on the sitial.

Don Magdaleno and Salome do not know the formal words of blessing which are used on these occasions and will have to learn them, probably from Jovita, for Pedro's wedding. The padre does not teach them but they are learned from others who are experienced at weddings.

It appears that the bridal party did not arrive from Patzun until about nine in the evening, as rockets were heard here at that time. The marimberos did come, from ~~Kkzk~~ Patzun, and many guests. ~~Some of the guests were from Patzun, but not many people came from Patzun because it is so far. Even the padrinos of the wedding did not come, altho that is customary. The padrinos invited their friends to accompany them to the Jugado but do not invited people to the evening festivities.~~ Both the young man and the girl invited guests, but not many people came from Patzun because it is so far. Even the padrinos of the wedding did not come, altho that is customary. The padrinos invited their friends to accompany them to the Jugado but do not invited people to the evening festivities.

The young couple are to stay at the girl's parents' house for a time and then go out to a small settlement where the young man has a house.

INDIANS- MARRIAGE- ~~INDIAN~~ INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

Domnigo Tax, an older man, wanted to marry Andrea and according to Indian custom without speaking to her sent ~~petitioners~~ ~~petitioners~~ petitioners to ask for her hand. They brought rum; Carmen got drunk, and on the second visit promised to give Andrea. In between visits Carmen did not say anything to Andrea-- nor did custom require she should. But Andrea is "advanced"; and she refused to marry Domingo. ~~The tax Carmen asked for a pig, and when she heard~~ ~~the agreement~~ The Taxes had spent three quetzals on aguardiente de ~~the~~ olla, and when they heard that Andrea would not fulfill the agreement made by her parents, they went to the juzgado and lodged a complaint against the Tuis. Then Carmen sold her pig, and with the proceeds paid the juzgado three quetzals, the intendente passing the money on to the Taxes. Not long after Antonio Lopeze wanted to marry ~~the~~ Andrea, and his father and others came to ask for Andrea's hand. Again Carmen gave consent (on the second visit) and again Andrea refused to marry the accepted suitor. Then Carmen, having no more pig, told Andrea she would have to raise the money herself. So Andrea worked for a month for Ernestina Estacuy, grinding her corn and watching her goat, and earned two quetzales, which was enough to pay the Lopez claim. A third suitor, an Indian from Los Robles, sent Venacio Vocel his father(?) to ask for Andrea, but both Carmen and Andrea did not like him and he was turned down. Andrea meanwhile had had conversations at the spring with Francisco Garcia, ~~the~~ Tonicapeno, and they had reached an understanding. R. says this is very unusual among Indians and happened only because both Andrea and Francisco are "advanced." Then Francisco sent petitioners and was accepted. But now he has gone to military service and the marriage will have to wait a year.

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MARRIAGE

495

When Pedro's marriage was arranged those who went to ask for Reina's hand were Magdaleno, Salome, Sebastiana, Juan Santiso, Monica. "They brought only two bottles of rum because we do not do it the way the Indians do where everybody gets drunk. Only Don. Felipe got drunk. He said he would give his answer in a month, and after a month he said yes. It is customary to go as many times as you have to until the girl's parents say yes. Antonio Cabrera went along too; my father invited him because he knows how to talk so well and explain things." Before that, for three years, Reina and Pedro had been MM novias, i.e., had had an understanding between them. As, apparently, is customary, Pedro had asked Reina if she would have him, and she had said No. This meant he might ask her parents if he might "speak with her", i.e., court her. So Pedro asked Felipe if he might, and Felipe said Yes. Then followed the three years, MMMM (one of which was servicio), and then the asking-for-the-hand.

When we were here a year and a half ago, at the end of our stay, Romelia was being courted by Compcion Duarte, half brother of Luis Escobar. C.D. lives in Pochuta(?). "He knows how to work and dresses well, but he has a bad reputation for violence. Once he cut a girl across the cheek who refused him-- he has been in jail many times." Romelia's account of his courting is somewhat ambiguous: it is not clear whether she liked him or not. She says her father and mother would not have him, because he had a bad reputation. At any rate, he came to see her several times and told her he was coming to ask for her. He came one day, and no one told her MM he had

come. He went to see her father, but he, knowing what he had come for, hid, and could not be found. Then suddenly R. met Compcion on the road. He was riding a horse and he took her by the wrist and said he was going to carry her off. She cried out and Benjamin Hieron heard her and came to see what it was. Then R "told him I would run off with him in a week-- just lies, so as to get rid of him." And he rode off." Now, at this writing, her father has told her he is around here now, and that is why they are specially careful about her, and why yesterday when she was coming back to the house they went and found Jose and had him come along with her.

~~MMMMM~~

R. says a good deal about how she did not want to marry him because her parents ~~didn't~~ didn't want her too. "It will not come out right if your father and mother don't approve." I do not know how she really feels.

Francisco Santiso appears to be a suitor, accepted as such, but not accepted as a future husband. He asked R. some months ago if he might have her, and she said No, ~~MMMMM~~ according to rules, and so he asked Magdaleno if he might "speak with her," and M. said yes. Now he has told R. that in July he is coming to ask for her hand. "But now he has gone to Solola and he will look for another girl there." I asked if she liked him. "He is a good boy, and ~~knows~~ knows how to work. My father likes him, but my mother does not want me to marry him."

Apparently it is usual for the preliminary "asking" of the girl to take the form of a letter. Pedro sent a letter to Reina. She answered, No. Then Pedro, afraid his father would not approve, got his uncle Inez to go with him to ask for Reina. Inez made a first call of Felipe and then told Magdaleno, who

was quite willing and thereafter took charge of the negotiations. Evaristo has gone after Nicha, Romelia and Martina in succession and been refused by all three. Nicha refuses to consider marrying anyone. In each case Evaristo began by sending a letter to the girl saying that he cared for her and asking would she have him. Romelia quoted his letter to me -- a formal declaration of affection and an inquiry of the feeling were reciprocated. Romelia wrote an answer politely saying No. So did the other girls. R. says he is a good man but that two people can't live on the little he makes.

Martina has just told R. that her uncle Tomas is going after another woman. She does not know who it is, but thinks he has been sending letters to Godinez.

Antonio Cruz told Evaristo, and incidentally R. on our walk last Sunday that Jesus Juarez was his sweetheart. Nicha tells R. that Jesus won't have him-- he is old, and she has a private arrangement to juntar with Francisco Estacuy, brother of Felipa and Juan Estacuy. He lives in Ojo de Agua. He is now in servicio in Guatemala. R. has been told that he will take Jesus' three children too. He has no land, but is hardworking and by renting land will manage. R. was also told that old Don Tonoseized hold of Jesus Alvarez at the well, but she pushed him off.

MARRIAGE

When Juan Santiso came MM from Patzun to ask for the hand of Sebastiana, her mother, Martina Alvarez (her father being dead) told him he could take Sebastiana, but without marrying her. She told Juan that then if things did not go well, she, Martina, could take her daughter back and she would not have to spend an unhappy life. She also said that as he, Juan, did not have much money, it would be better if he spent the money that would otherwise go for a wedding on food. Ev. says Martina did not have full confidence in Juan, and did not know if the union would be happy. So she acted thus-- in spite of the fact that most members of her family had been legally married. In fact the marriage has turned out exceedingly well, as is generally realized. Ev. says it is the only couple he knows of in the village that live together in entire tranquility and full mutual confidence. Recently when a merchant came to buy the Santiso steer, he asked to see Juan. But Tana told him to talk to her, that there was no use bothering Juan, who was working in his milpa. The merchant demurred, but Tana insisted, and finally sold the steer for eight quetzals. They had paid five for it. When Juan came back he asked where the steer was. Tana said she had sold it for eight quetzals. "Good", said Juan and sat down to his dinner.

When Silvestre had been ~~MMMMMMMMMM~~ sleeping with Ernestina Estacuy and it was known she was about to have a child by him, her father, very angry, had Silvestre arrested. Then, in the intendencia, he forced Silvestre to marry her, on threat of sending him to jail if he didn't. Silvestre did not want to marry her. Now they live together, but are frequently quarreling. Ernestina is jealous, and Silvestre, who apparently does not much care for her, has his eye on other women. The episode of the shoe illustrates the situation. Having got Silvestre to buy her a pair of new shoes, Ernestina awoke one morning to find one of the shoes gone, a dog having apparently carried it off. For several days it was missing, until it was found in a milpa by Tacha Santiso. The whole neighborhood knew about it, and h^w Ernestina had been crying, but she did not tell Silvestre, and S. does not yet know of the event.

Isidro Higueros, child of Venancia with whom Don Tomas was more or less unhappily juntado till her death a year ago, was a friend of the Alvarez family as well as a family connection. ~~MM~~ As a landless orphan he was among the poorest of the young boys. He lived with his aunt, ~~CCCCCCCC~~ Arcadia de Leon. He began meeting Martina A. secretly, chiefly in the old abandoned carpenter shop of Tomas, between the Santiso house and the Alvarez house. M. would say she was going to her aunt Tana's. When Martina was with child she at first lied to her father. When the truth was discovered, M. was greatly ashamed and angered. Isidro got some San Lucas relatives to come with him to ask for Martina's hand. When they were in Magdaleno's house M. sent Don Chomo for help, locked the doors, and, when help came, arrested Isidro and took him to the intendencia where he preferred charges against him. The authorities told Magdaleno he had acted against the law in arresting Isidro in his own house, and when he was coming to offer a settlement in the form of marriage, and that if the affair went to Solola he, ~~MMMM~~ Chomo and Martina would have to go to jail too. So M. did not press the matter; Isidro received a fine, and nothing was pressed against Magdaleno. M. insisted on the preparation of a document, signed by Isidro in which ~~MM~~ I. relinquishes all rights to the baby and to Martina and agrees not to come near Martina again. He is not admitted to the house, and M. tries to avoid him. Romelia speaks to him easily enough when she meets him.

Ev. thinks that M. was right and that Ernestina's father was wrong. He argues principally on the unwisdom of committing oneself to marriage when one is young and does not know what one is about. He recognizes Martina's plight, and the fact that now she cannot get really married, only juntado, but he thinks Silvestre's situation is worse: as the couple do not trust each other there is only suspicion and quarreling. He says if he had been Ernestina's father he would have forced Silvestre to contribute to the upkeep of the child but would not have forced him to marry Ernestina.

1. CERTAIN GENERALIZATIONS MAY ~~NOT~~ RECEIVE QUANTITATIVE SUPPORT.
2. A PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH FEWER CASES GIVES A MORE VALID RESULT THAN GETTING LESS DEPENDABLE INFORMATION ON ALL THE CASES
3. ACQUAINTANCE WITH NEW THE CASES LEADS TO NEW GENERALIZATIONS RELATED TO AND INTERPRETING THE FIRST GENERALIZATION
4. ACQUAINTANCE WITH CASES IS PRODUCTIVE OF HYPOTHESES AS TO NEW RELATIONSHIPS

	BOTH	CIVIL ONLY	RETIRED
FIRST MARRIAGE	1 6	12	5
RE-MARRIAGE			10
33 cases			

FORMAL AND UNFORMAL UNIONS

and a few by church ceremony
 "Most first marriages are by civil ceremony also, but a large minority of first marriages, and most (but not quite all) remarriages are without ceremony (juntarse." This is correct, but it needs supplementing to make clear (1) the circumstances which lead to unions without formal ceremony; (2) the way in which public opinion accepts a variety of anomalous and individualistic ways of entering upon the married state.

First marriages (both parties) are usually formalized both by civil ceremony and by the familial festal recognition, including the appointments of matrimonial sponsors (padrinos) Alejandro Morales and Sara Juárez; Silvestre Miranda and Ernestina Estacuy; Juan Estacuy and Carlota Miranda; Jose Maria Santiso and Maria Miranda; Carlos Velasquez and Jesus Juarez; Aparacio Santiso and Julia Alvarez; Genaro Santiso and Felipe Estacuy; Ernesto Juarez and Filomena Santiso; Margarito Juarez and Mercedes Santiso; Pedro Alvarez and Reina Juarez. In the case of the Indians formal marriage is the exception, not the rule (Domingo Tax recently got married; neither of Carmen's sons is legally married; nor any of the Tuis who live next door to the baker) R. says with them the cost of the marriage fiesta is the chief limiting factor.

The above statement refers to marriages in recent years. The first marriages of the older people were by church as well as by state: Lupario Miranda and Guadalupe Yoxon; Magdaleno Alvarez and Salome Adieu; Marcelo Alvarez and Margarita Miranda; Gabino Alvarez and Crecencia Rangel; Felipe Juarez and Julia Santiso; Miguel Perez and Antonia Galindo. R. says that earlier the Church charged much less than it does now (eight quetzales?)

But some first marriages are without ceremony, among ladinos too, as will appear below.

The cases of unions not formalized by state or church, among ladinos, may be grouped with reference to what appear to have been the principal reasons why there was no solemnization:

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1. As divorce is rare and recent (Felipe's divorce of Soyla Armas the only one recorded here so far), and as unions are brittle, either spouse being under little pressure to remain and feeling fairly free to leave, the second union must in cases of separation dispense with formal sanction because neither state nor church would give it. These are the commonest cases of marriage without ceremony:

Isabel Leja and Hieronimo Juarez (her first husband was living-- he had never married before); Heroulano Miranda and Toribia Cuy (his legally married wife was living);

2. Age. People in middle age are not likely to go to any formality in marrying, whether for the second time (Petronilo Juarez and Isabel Mejia; Monica Alvarez and Benjamin Hieron) or even for the first time (Tomas Alvarez and Venancia de Leon--she had been married before). You take a second wife, or a second husband, casually, even if there is no legal impediment to marriage. And older people are not likely to have a wedding-- it would hardly appear seemly. The only case in my AE records of a formalized re-marriage is that of Felipe Juarez and Soyla Armas. And Soyla was a young girl. Yet the people tell of cases in San Lucas and other towns where widows re-married with ceremony.

3. Poverty? As stated above, this is a more important limiting factor in the case of Indians. Enrique de Leon never married Isabel Miranda. R. says it was because at the time he was very poor. Neither had had a spouse before. But she had had two casual children by two different fathers, and I think this alone would have made formal marriage doubtful.

4. Pre-marital child by another father. Informants emphatically state that this ~~IMM~~ prevents a woman from formal marriage with any other man. E^v.risto, for example, is sure Martina will now never marry, only juntar. It is true that of the women known to me to have had pre-marital children, two (Ernestina Estacuy and Agripina Crespo of San Lucas) married the child's father under parental pressure; ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ three (Martina, Soyla Vasquez and Eugenia Perez, India) have not married or juntado, and one (Isabel Miranda) junto with another man. It is clear that a pre-marital child makes formal marriage with another man difficult. But not impossible: Soyla Armas, after having a child by a man in Panajachel, married Felipe Juarez formally. But he was an elderly widower and she a young girl.

5. Elopement. Oscar Tobias asked ~~MMMM~~ Basilio Santiso for Herlinda. He refused to let him marry her. Oscar arranged to meet Herlinda at the well and they went off together to the costa. After a child had been born, Oscar brought Basilio rum and asked forgiveness. Basilio took the rum and gave forgiveness. They are friendly now. But there has been no marriage and is not likely to be.

6. Disinclination of the ~~MMMMMMMMMMMM~~ woman or of her parents to incur the more binding ties of formal marriage. The two cases which represent such a category are particularly interesting as demonstrating ~~MM~~ both the relative unimportance morally of formal marriage and the individualistic temper of the people. When Juan Santiso asked for the hand of Sebastiana Alvarez, her mother (the father being dead) said she could have her, but not marry her-- then she would feel freer to return if it did not work out (see separate note). When Arcadio Santiso asked Monica Alvarez to marry him, both his relatives and hers being willing, she refused, saying she would live him but not marry him-- then she could return more easily if she wanted. So, to

give the arrangement some public recognition, R. says Monica's relatives and his escorted the couple to the house where they were to live, Arcadio having bought new clothes for her. These cases are the more interesting as they occurred in one of the "best" families, other members of which had married formally.

7. Perhaps another category may be recognized in cases in which the parties, or one of them, have a special peripheral or lowly position. Pancho ~~MM~~ Miranda never married his Leandra Jochoha. Is it because she had had a husband and several children, or because she was an Indian, or because he ~~MMMM~~ was a poor and lowly person? We are not surprised that Nolberta Miranda merely junto with the Indian ~~MMMMM~~ Manuel when we are told that she was a street-walker in Solola and he took her out of jail to join up with her. It is not true that Indian-ladino marriages are not solemnized. They may be. Leonzo Tze and his ladina woman are not married-- but he was formally married before to an Indian. Nor is Valentin Mota married to his Sokealteca. But he was married before. Nor is Ricardo Alvarez married to his Indian-- but he was married before. On the other hand Demetrio Ordonez of San Lucas formally married Irena, Indian, who dresses Indian, and the owner of Dona Juana's store there. (name?) has formally married an Indian, who dresses Indian, but who, R. says. is "rica."

From these cases it appears that there is little disposition to "make an honest woman of her." Formal marriage is desirable; it is appreciated; it ensures property rights of the wife; it involves padrinos and the fiesta which help to establish one's social position. But not to be married carries practically no contumely; and in cases where the social position is already established, or could not consistently be signalled by marriage, ~~MMMMM~~ the union is likely to take place without it.

NAMES	APPROXIMATE DATE OF BIRTH	AGE AT DEATH	BOYS AT DEATH	HIS MARRITAL EXPERIENCE	HEIRS	HOW MARRIED	WHO PAID FOR WEDDING, WHETHER SETTLED	NO CHILDREN NO. AND
DEJANDRO IS MORALES SARA JUAREZ	1922	24	20 31	NONE	NONE	CIVIL	HIS MOTHER (FATHER DEAD)	5-5 17
MACDALENO ALVAREZ SALOME AMLEU	1911	22	17 31	NONE	NONE	CIVIL AND CHURCH	HIS FATHER PAID FOR IT	5-5 22
MARCELO ALVAREZ MARGARITA MIRANDA	1917	20	18 40	NONE	NONE	CIVIL AFTER JUDGEMENT OF IMMANUEL	HIS MOTHER (FATHER DEAD)	1-5 22
JUAN SANTISD SEBASTIANA ALVAREZ	1922	?	20 37	NONE	NONE	NOT AFTER THREATENED ELEMENT	NO WEDDING	5-6 17
SILVESTRE MIRANDA ERVESTINA ESTACUOY	1937	21	22 23	NONE	NONE	CIVIL, "SHOTGUN"	HE DID HIS FATHER'S STEPMOTHER GAVE THE BLESSING	1 1
TOMAS ALVAREZ VENANCHA BE LEON (DECEASED) 1931		36	32 6	NEVER MARRIED, HAD HAD CASUAL CHILD BY ISABEL MIRANDA	PREVIOUSLY MARRIED WITH MARGELMO HIGUERAS	NOT	NO WEDDING	1
ENRIQUE DE LEON ISABEL MIRANDA	1921	?	25 43	NONE	NEVER MARRIED BUT HAD HAD THREE CASUAL CHILDREN BY TWO DIFFERENT MEN	NOT	NO WEDDING	5-4 18
BERNARD ALVAREZ AND CERECILIA RIVALL AND AND		23?	21?	NONE	?	CIVIL AND CHURCH	?	2-0

JUAN ESTACON	23	20	NONE	NONE	CIVIL	HIS FRIEND	2-4
CRISTINA MIRANDA CS							
FRANCISCO MIRANDA	?	?	HE HAD A LADY WIFE WHO LEFT HIM	SHE WAS MARRIED TO AN INDIAN WHO DIED	NOT		
LEANDRO JOZOLK (INDIAN)							
MARIANO MIRANDA	18?	17?	NONE	NONE	CIVIL AND CHURCH		4-1
BRIGIDA JUAREZ							55
JOSE MARIA SANTISO	23	17	NONE	NONE	CIVIL	NO FIRST - JUST FOOD DIS SUTTER PUT IT	2-0 4
MARIA MIRANDA							
BENJAMIN HIERON							
MONICA ALVAREZ	29	30	HAD NEVER MARRIED BEFORE, BUT HAD A CASUAL CHILDREN IN INDIAN	HAD BEEN STOLEN BY ONE MAN; LATE & MARRIED ANOTHER, WHO DIED	NOT	NO WEDDING	-1 1
HERCULANO MIRANDA							
TORIBIA CUN	?	?	WAS MARRIED TO AN INDIAN WOMAN FROM WHOM HE SEPARATED	NONE	NOT 3	NO WEDDING	4-4 16
CARLOS VELASQUEZ							
JESUS JUAREZ	27	25	NONE	NONE	CIVIL	HIS PARENTS DEAD; HE PAID FOR WEDDING; ALVAREZ FAMILY ACTED FOR HIM	1 1
ARMANDO ARMAS							
AURELIA CELADA	22?	24?	HE HAD LIVED WITH WIFE SINCE 1930	NONE	NOT	NO WEDDING	3-2 22

AGES OF FIRST MARRIAGES

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	HE	SHE	SHE	HE
1.	24	20	17 - 3	20 - 1
2.	22	17	18 - 2	21 - 1
3.	20	18	14 - 0	22 - 4
4.	21	22	20 - 2	23 - 2
5.	?	25	21 - 0	24 - 1
6.	23	20	22 - 2	25 - 0
7.	23	17	23 - 1	26 - 0
8.	27	25	24 - 0	27 - 1
9.	22	18	25 - 2	28 - 0
10.	30	23		29 - 0
11.	22	17		30 - 1
12.	22	22		

NO. OF YEARS MARRIED AND
NO. OF CHILDREN LIVING AND DEAD

NO. OF CASE	YRS. MD.	CHILD LIVING	CHILD DEAD	TOTAL CHILD	WIDOWED 95	NO. OF CASE	YRS. MD.	CHILD LIVING	CH. DEAD	TOTAL	WIDOWED 95
1.	17	5	5	10		21	30	0	0	0	✓
2.	22	5	5	10	✓	22	13	3	2	5	
3.	22	1	5	6		23	9	3	1	4	
4.	17	5	0	5		24	3	1	0	1	
5.	1	1	0	1		25	15	4	2	6	
6.	8	1	0	1		26	40	0	0	0	✓
7.	18	5	4	9		27	8	2	1	3	
8.	30	2	0	2	✓	28	16	4	0	4	
9.	5	2	1	3		24	24	2	6	8	✓
10.	35	4	1	5	✓	25	3	0	0	0	
11.	4	2	0	2							
12.	2	0	1	1							
13.	16	4	4	8							
14.	2	1	0	1							
15.	20	3	2	5	✓						
16.	37	6	0	6	✓						
17.	5	1	0	1							
18.	10	4	1	5							
19.	20	0	1	1							
20.	12	3	0	3							
	303	55	30	85							

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161 19 12 31
303 55 30 85

464 74 42 116

116 416 4

No emphatic sanction conduces to the marriage state.

O.K. cases of unmarried persons no longer in first youth:

Adolfo - Humberto - defective
Claudio - unattractive

Evaristo - hasn't found her yet
Dionysia - says she never will

Apr 13-14
MPT

Magdaleno Alvarez (Salome , Remelia to some extent.)

Marriage.

"Both men and women marry at eighteen, twenty, or twenty-five. " Salome married at sixteen, which she thinks early and one reason why she had a hard time and nearly died when her first child was born.) "Twenty-two years ago the archbishop came to San Antonio and married us . It cost fifty pesos, which is equal to eighty three centavos.

"The boy talks to the girl first. Then he asks his parents to ask for her for him. They get pedidores to go ask for the girl but the parents also go along. They bring beer or aguardiente with them . The parents of the girl set a time of three or six months when they will give an answer. At the end of this time the pedidores and the parents(?) go again and the parents of the girl give their consent. The parents of the boy buy clothes, shoes, for the girl and everything for the house. The parents of the girl have no expense. The girl goes to live with the boy 's family or nearby."

"For the wedding padrinos are sought. In a church wedding they put a cadena (a silver one, if there is one) over the necks of both husband and wife . The husband and wife join hands and put on rings. For a civil wedding padrinos are also sought. They all sit around a table . Then the intendente asks if it is their pleasure to get married . It is put in the archives , there is no marriage license given out. It costs one quetzal. "

Remelia

"There are no divorces here, only separations. They separate when they fight. There are bastante separations , tho. If there are children the boy goes with the father , the girl with the mother. So Matilde , who is the only child of Tomas Alvarez, lives with his father .The Indita gives them their food."

"The boy finds his own girl among us. but that is not so

2.

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among the Indians. There the girl knows nothing. It is better among us. No sirve when the girl knows nothing about it.

Marriage.

- Q. "When is your son Pedro going to get married ? "
- S. " After he has been home a while and has had time to earn a little, then he will. " (Pedro is to marry Reina Juarez , the consent of Don Felipe having been given a few weeks ago.)
- Q. " And when is Dionysia going to marry ? Isn't she going to marry Don Evaristo ? He seems to like her. "
- S. " Oh, no. she isn't going to marry him . He wants to but she doesn't. She says his hands are just good for working. When he comes over here it is just to pasear or to buy cigarros. Dionysia says that she doesn't ever want to marry. She would rather work for her own clothes. She says her sisters are sinvergüenzas when they talk about marrying. There are many girls like that, who do not marry. In Solola there are four sisters, viejitas all of them, and they have never married. Then they don't have any one to scold them if they go out and do things . Still, if ~~any~~ you don't marry and have children there is nobody to take care of you and give you your atolito when you get old and sick. "

Romelia : (talking to Luis Rosales, Indian) " Is your daughter married yet ?

Ans. NO

R :

"How old is she? Nineteen? Oh, then she is still young."

MARRIAGE

CHOICE OF SPOUSE

1 Theoretically marriage is not allowed with any person called
2 by any of the terms for consanguine-relatives. There are,
3 however, cases of such marriages, even with first cousins;
4 no organized or vigorous sanction operates against them.
There is an inhibition against marriages with a deceased
spouse's sibling; yet one such marriage is reported from the
neighborhood. Similar occasional exceptions occur to the rule that
compadres and their descendants should not marry.

1. Add "or affinal". You aren't supposed to marry a brother-,
sister-, mother- or father-in-law.

Ladino-Indian Relations
Moral Attitudes.

The Estacuy house is the only ladino household at Ojo de Agua . They have lived there a "long while, at least thirty years. " All the children grew up there and attended school in A. E., tho it is some distance away. The only son left at home now, Eduardo, goes to school. and speaks of lonesomeness. Secundina is left alone much of the time" The only consolation are the neighbors, " she says. They come and leave water for her and she gives them dulce and other things . The house is a little larger than most of the others there ,(I believe) and has a regular bedstead , and altar with pictures of the saints. Tomasa Guk mentioned the fact that her little son Vicente who was rather shy with us went to this house often and was on very good terms with Secundina .

Romelia went to school with one of the daughters, Maria Luisa, and asked about her health. Her mother said that she was well and now had two children. However, the fact that M.L. married her first cousin was on her mother's mind and she spoke of it to R., saying that she knew that it was a sin. R. tried to console her by speaking of Adam and Eve who were obliged to marry tho close relations (this appeared to be a more or less stock form of consolation.)" But then there were but few people and now there are a great many, "responded Secundina, refusing to be comforted. "She could nothelp it, it was her fate. Her fate dominated her, " said R.

Don Tomas
May 15

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MARRIAGE-RELATIONSHIP

Tomas knows of two cases where primos hermanos married:

Arcadio Miranda, son of Lupario, and Francisca Miranda, daughter of Simon, Lupario's brother, married a good many years ago. They had one child; all three are now dead. "It was bad. But though some people talked about it, there was nothing to be done." Also: Javier Hieron and Sofia Hieron, son and daughter respectively of two brothers, as in the former case, married, and are now living in ^{Juchitán} ~~Coahuila~~ ^{Los Robles -} ~~Coahuila~~

have children

MARRIAGE** LEBINIMACY

When one goes to ask for the hand of a girl for one's son, one brings bottles of rum, and ~~MMM~~ cigarettes, but no food. The petidores are selected friends, who speak well. They may or may not be relatives. They speak first; then both they and the boy's parents speak. The girl's parents do not have "speakers"; they talk themselves. If the matter goes favorably, and the visit is a distant one, the girl's parents will give the visitors, including the petidores, shelter for the night, and food.

Juana Galindo is the bastarda daughter of Santos Galindo, half-sister of Martina Procopio. Juana's father ^{is} ~~Masi~~ Maudio Hernandez, still living near Tecpan. He was married, with children by his wife, when he produced Juana. She has always born her mother's name. Her mother, Santos, was also bastarda; Tomas did not know who her father had been. Tomas calls Juana, "primo", Romelia calls her "tia", but said she did not know just how she was related to her.

It is common for widows, or for widowers, not to remarry, but themselves to bring up small children. Felipe Juárez did so; his daughters were both very small when his wife died. He had no woman in the house, except to grind and make tortillas; he brought the girls up himself. The same was done by Antonio Xol and Agustin Diaz, naturales. Clara Miranda, at Panibaj, did similarly when her husband died. She let her land out on shares, taking half the harvest.

Both say it is entirely all right to marry deceased wife's sister, or deceased husband's brother. To my question, they said the priest would not object. Alejandro Hieron, in Godinez married

first one sister; she left him; he married a second; she died; now he is living with a third. Neither man could think of a man married to his deceased brother's widow, but both were sure it was proper.

MARRIAGE

Benjamin Hieron, Monica Alvarez, Evaristo Herrera and Lupario Miranda all separately declare that it is "a sin" or "bad" or "not the custom here" for one to marry a deceased spouse's sibling (either way). They go on to say that with the world so large, why should not one find someone not related to one. These people could not think of a case where it had occurred, but said Yes, sometimes nevertheless it happened.

Lupario and Evaristo both say that it is similarly a sin to marry, not only one's compadre, but the child or grandchild of a compadre. "She is one's spiritual sister." One case of marriage between son and daughter of compadres was retracted. "Yes, people said it was wrong, but what was to be done" ~~MMMM~~

Benjamin and Monica went on to talk about the Estacuy case of first cousin marriage. Later Evaristo talked about it. It was told me that the cousin came to live in his uncle's house, he fell in love with his cousin and began living with her there. They have stayed there; they have not been formally married. It was agreed that the parents should have done something about it.

GODPARENTS

Now, of course it is a great sin for children of compadres to marry. They are liked first cousins. And their children too must not marry.

The most important is the padrino of the baptism. That lasts for always. The padrino of the Evangelios is more important than the padrino of the wedding. The wedding padrino-- that lasts just when you go to church with the novios.

MARRIAGE

Yes, there is a pair of first cousins, ladinos, who are living together as man and wife. They live just outside the aldea. It is not good. With so many people in the world, one should find a wife that is not of the same family. The naturales marry cousins; but we do not. (He meant the Alvarez family and people with such standards). I asked if it would be all right for Bernardo Santiso or his brother to marry Romelia or one of his sisters. He said, No, that we would not allow "because those boys are our nephews" (They are Tomas' aunts' grandchildren)

1938 -R

Pedro Estacuy and Emilia Estacuy, first cousins, are married (juntad), live in Godinez, with one child.

R: "Also Adolfo Crespo and Agripina Crespo, primos hermanos, are married, with children. They are really married (by civil, of course not by the church). That is because Don Emilio, Adolfo's father, made them get married when ~~MM~~ Adolfo had had a child by Agripina.

"It is a sin. But we say (meaning in her family) that maybe it is not a sin because the children of Adam and Eve must have married with each other, because there were no other people in the world. Otherwise where did the generations come from? I have read ~~MMM~~ it in the Bible. So I guess it isn't a sin..... No the priest won't permit it. because it is a sin."

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KINSHIP

1 Kinship is bilaterally recognized. Father, mother, grandparent,
grandchild, brother- and sister-in-law and parent-in-law
terms are used as with us (there are alternative terms from
2 Cakchiquel- or Nahua-roots for father, mother, grandmother and
grandfather respectively: tata, mama, tatanoy, nanoya); the
brother and sister diminutives imply affection as least as much
3 as relative age, and may be used for older siblings as well as
younger. "Cousin" is applied to parent's sibling's child
4 (distinguished as primo hermano) to grandparent's sibling's child's
child and to children of these on down. "Uncle" and "aunt" are applied
5 to siblings of parents, to siblings of grandparents, and on up,
and to first cousins (primos hermanos) of parents (but no further -
not to children of grandparent's first cousins). By extension
6 (politico) these terms may be applied to spouses of the parent's
siblings, very rarely to spouses of other "uncles" or "aunts."
7 "Nephew" and "niece" are applied to children of siblings, and to their
children on down, to children of parent's sibling's children and their
8 children on down. These terms are not extended to the spouses,
9 In the case of all terms for consanguine relatives, half-blood
and illegitimacy are recognized, i.e., the terms apply.

9. O.K. see supplementary document

assume no responsibility, nor have I heard them criticized for not doing so. In such a case as that of Martina's child, the father could hardly be expected to contribute, because Martina's father refused to allow him to marry her although he wanted to.

The point to be made is that these casual unions result in recognition of relationship ^{as do} ~~hardly distinguishable from relationships resulting from~~ settled unions. A father of a casual child usually does not help bring it up or help support it, but he recognizes the relationship and so does the public. I have not yet found a child in the village whose father Romelia cannot name. So Margarito calls Jose son, Alejabaro Morales calls Vicente "son", Don Gorgonio calls Jose Maria Santiso, "son", ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Sotero Alvarez calls Leonzo Santiso "son" . And each of these boys calls his father "father", though he has never lived with him. There is little attempt made to conceal the relationship after the public knows it. And the public does learn it. most commonly because the mother says who the father is. The same is true for Indian mothers of children by ladino fathers. Claudia has a casual child by Eugenia Perez; he admits to being "father" though he pays no attention to it, so far as I know. A father may deny paternity at first (Claudia; ^{Benjamin Hieron} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~), but in every case I have the fact has come out.

The casual child serves also as a basis for collateral and other dependent relationships. Thus Leonzo Santiso is Romelia's cousin because ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ her uncle, Sotero, casually begat him. (But as he never lived with Leonzo's mother, she does not call or think of her as her "aunt".) Virginia Miranda lives with Mariano Santiso as a sort of servant; she calls him "tio" because he is first cousin of her father, who never lived with her mother. Romelia calls Juana Galindo her "tia". She is a casual child of Romelia's father's mother's half-sister (Here of course the relationship is on the mother's side)

1. Francisco Santiso, of San Lucas, referred to Jose Maria Santiso, the casual son of Maria Santiso, sister of his father, (by one Galindo), as his "sobrino." He meant to recognize him as his cousin. But of course this is on ~~MMMMMMMM~~ Jose Maria's mother's side.

MMMM KINSHIP--ELDER BROTHERS

Tomas, Magdalena and Romelia all say, independently, that "hermanito" may be used for or to an elder brother (so also hermanita) and "hermano" of or to a younger. "Hermanito" also refers specially to a little one, or the youngest. But that it may be used (contrary to Yucatan?) for elder brother is attested by the verse in the folktale dealing with the two elder brothers who killed the younger. The latter, transformed into a reed whistle, says. "Mis hermanitos me han matado".

May sixth

Romelia refers to Bernardo Santiso as her "primo". He is her father's ~~MMMMMMMM~~ father's sister's daughter's son. "He is my cousin because my father and his mother are first cousins (primos hermanos)."

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KINSHIP:

RESPECT AND OBEDIENCE
TERMS AND
ATTITUDES

1 Respect is expected by older people of younger (Indian older
2 people included, in diminished degree); this is manifest in terms
3 of address and in obedience; it is, however, not strongly marked.
4 For a son to strike his father or deny his mother something is
5 regarded as serious moral wrong. But as long as a parent can work
6 to support himself, the son or daughter who makes no contribution to the
7 parent's support is not condemned. Respect, diminishing with the
8 distance, is expected by "uncles" and "aunts" of "nephews" and
9 "nieces"; the violations here are many, so that only a trace of
10 theoretical respect exists between distant uncle-nephew pairs.

1. Terms given by R to be checked. See separate folder on terms of address
- 2.
3. "serious moral wrong" seems too strong. R's family criticize Benjamin for not contributing to his mother's support (she is alone and supporting herself) but I do not think they take it very hard.

What is said in the paragraph quoted is taken back in the same paragraph. There is, as in other matters, a theory, a theory of respect and obedience. The breaches do not cause excitement.

calls Luis's wife "Nina." Evaristo Herrera uses "Don" to almost all the adult men, even to humble and uncouth Pancho Tezolote, because Evaristo, although he has lived long and ~~MMMM~~ intimately here, is not a native and was not brought up with the people around him. Romelia calls even

~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ Felipe Juarez, much older and very respected as he is, Señor "Felipe", whereas she calls Luis Perez and the chauffeurs "Don."

With reference to the discrimination made on the basis of age ~~MMM~~ among people of the intimate group, the cases again in general support the rule as given by Magdaleno. The people he calls (or called, when they were alive) are (or were) all ~~MM~~ considerably older than he: Gabino Alvarez, Lupario Miranda, Bernardino Tui. So also with "senora": ^{Ramón} Crecencia ~~Alvarez~~, Lucia Archila. Romelia, being younger, has many more people, relatively, to whom she applies the terms "Senor" or "Senora."

On the other hand the system is not ~~MMMMMM~~ applied solely on the fundamental basis of ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ the age-groups of childhood association. If pressed, Magdaleno will say that "Don" is applied to "people who deserve it." Evaristo does not call Claudio "Don" not do but ~~xxxx~~ because Claudio, being socially very lowly and personally not among the prepossessing, does not deserve it. Magdaleno does not call the Solola Indians who have recently settled here "Don" and "Nina". One reason is no doubt that he talks to them only in lengua, and these terms are out of place in lengua, but I am sure that if one of them should speak to him in Spanish he would not call him "Don." ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ Nor does Romelia call these Sololaltecos "Don" or "Nina".

~~MMMMMMMM~~ If a Claudio-like ladino should come barefoot to AE looking for work, would Magdaleno call him "Don?" I doubt it very much, though his rule would require it, taken without the later-admitted exception.

It is not that no Indian is to be called "Don". Magdaleno calls Leonzo Tzoc "Leonzo", because he has always known him, and he is younger than ~~M~~ Magdaleno. Romelia called him "Don", and she certainly calls

Juan Rosales "Don." They are ladino-ized Indians of respectability, not among her childhood associates.

So also the theoretical respectful address to "outside" children must have many exceptions. Evaristo does not call the children around him "Don" and "Nina". He uses the terms ~~MMMMM~~ toward adults only. I do not think everyone in AE is disposed to call our children by these terms. Most probably call Lisa "Nina" naturally, but I doubt if they find it natural to call James "Don."

It is also to be noted that ~~MMMMMMMMMM~~ the decision whether, among "insiders" the term "Senor" is to be applied or not (or "Senora") is influenced by the social position of the individual addressed. Magdaleno calls Gabino Alvarez "Señor", but he calls the Indians of age equal to or older than Gabino by their first names, ~~MMM~~ ^{(That,} moreover, he uses "vos" to these Indians is less remarkable because ~~MMM~~ lengua does not so easily lend itself to the polite form): Diego Tui , Paula, the Sololoteca, are called by first names, while Crecencia Rangel ~~MMMMMM~~ and Gabino Alvarez and called "Señor" and "Senora" respectively. Romelia called old Bernardino Tui "Senor", but she calls even Diego Tui, over sixty years old, by his first name. (To Santos Galavay and Toribia Martinez she uses "cate" which is a term for "mother" in lengua and has probably the connotation of "Senora".) Even Jose calls these Indians by their first names. This is quite consistent with the fact that Magdaleno often uses "mi hijo" to Indians, even quite old ones. Again, it is to Indians, insofar as they are uneducated and socially relatively unimportant, that these terms, such as might be used to children or age-mates, are applied, not to Indians as people with Indian blood. No doubt a very ignorant, uncouth ladino would also be denied the "Senor" term if there were any such in the community.

Magdaleno uses "Usted" to all his compadres, Indians and ladinos alike. ^{and to his consueños.} Thus (as in the case of Felipe Juarez) it may happen that a

man may change from a more intimate or less respectful form of address (vos to Usted), but apparently one does not change from a more respectful to a less respectful-- as is usual in Anglo-Saxon countries.

Is ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ the custom of addressing one's compadre with "usted" ~~MM~~ generally followed? "You must respect your compadre." The custom that Magdaleno is following in calling his consuegro probably "Usted", is less generally followed. R says only those who are "educados" follow it. After all, if you have been using the intimate form all your life with a neighbor, it must take some effort to change to "Usted."

It may incidentally be noted that the system, in both theory and practice, makes no allowances for greater respect heterosexually than homosexually. You ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ have just the same intimacy or informality of speech with women of corresponding position as with men.

In summary, it may be said that basically the system is not, as I once thought it, a series of categories for recognizing ~~MMMMMMMM~~ whatever prestige or status may inhere in a given individual addressed. It is ~~MMMMMMMM~~ a three-category system, founded essentially on two bases of discrimination: (1) the people of one's own neighborhood ~~MM~~ ~~MM~~ in association since childhood vs. outsiders; (2) a difference in age-group: my generation vs. the one above or the one below me. If there were only barefooted peasants of Spanish ancestry and ~~xxx~~ language, the system might apply exactly. You would then call all outsiders "Don" or "Nina." Of the people brought up with you, you would call those of the parental generation ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ "Senor" and "Senora", and all others you would call by their first names. You would use the Usted form of address for compadres, consuegros and outsiders. I do not say the system was ever so applied: probably society in Spain was never so simple.

It follows that Gorgonio Urrea is called "Don Gorgonio" not because he is a relatively rich land-owner but because he is not a from-childhood associate of his neighbors. If he were, I do not think his wealth would cause them to address him as "Don". The test of this can be made in San Lucas, where, according to this, we should find that the poor and humble old-time associates of the richer storekeepers calling the latter by their first names.

TERMS OF ADDRESS

Magdaleno and Tomas use forms of address as follows:

Don, with Usted

Miguel Perez
Gorgonio Urrea
Evaristo Herrera
Romulo Guzman
Roberto Redfield
Jaime "

Nina, with Usted

Antonia de Perez
Paula Rosales
Margarita de Redfield
Elisa Redfield
Juanita Redfield

Senor, with Usted

Gabino Alvarez
Lupario Miranda
Berhardino Tui

Senora, with Usted

Crecencia ~~Alvarez~~ (Rango)
Lucia Archila

First name, with Ud

Felipe Juarez (since Pedro's wedding)

Comadre or Comadre with Ud

Matilde Cabrera
His Indian comadres

Vos or riat with first name

Juan Santiso
Chomo Juarez
Basilio Santiso
Enrique de Leon
Diego Tui
~~Matilde Miranda~~
Paula, the Sololteco

Chabela Miranda
Sara Juarez
~~Diego Tui~~

Cecilia, the Sololteca

Evaristo Herreza , they says, says Don or Niña to every adult (ladino?) here. even Pancho Miranda. But he calls boys by their first names: Caliztro and Ruben. And the y think he calls Claudio by his first name.

RESPECT TERMS

Romelia calls:

DON, with Usted

Gorginio Urrea
 Miguel Perez
~~Philip Juarez~~
 Armando Armas (wife Sra)
 Roberto Redfield
 Pancho Lara
 Leonzo Tzok
Juan Rosales
 Evaristo Herrera
 Luis Perez

SEÑOR with Usted

Basilio Santiso
 Bernardino Tui (now dead)
 Gabino Alvarez
 Pancho Miranda
 Mariano Miranda
 Victor Miranda
 Felix Miranda
 Felipe Juarez

First name and Usted

Enrique de Leon
 Alejandro Morales
 Margarito Juarez
 Herculano Mirada

First name and vos or riat

Ernesto Juarez ^{Diego Perez}
 Benjamin Hieron
 Mariano Perez
 Jose Maria Santiso
 Pablo Tax
 Diego Tui
 Claudio de Leon
 Silvestre Miranda
 Guirimo Morales
 Paulo, the Solteco

(Jose, age 11, also calls Indians in above list by first names, but calls Enrique de Leon Sr Enrique)

NINA with Usted

Antonia Galindo
 Paula Rosales
 Margarita de Redfield
 (no inditas)
 Rosa (wife of Luis Perez)
 Ernestina Estarcuy
 Esther Vasquez

SEÑORA, with Usted

Sara Juarez
 Arcadia de Leon
 Brigida Juarez
 Lucas Archila

CATE ("nana") with Usted

Santos Calaway
 Toribia Martinez

First name and Usted

Isabel Miranda
 Toribia Cuy

First name and vos and riat

Carmen Tui
Maria Miranda
Paula
Seals, the Solteco

To R. the principáhes are first of all Don Felipe and Don Miguel. She would like, I think, to add her father, but is prevented only by modesty. She certainly does not think of Don Gorgonio as such. She says he is miserly (miserable), that he is not friendly ("doesn't answer sometimes when you talk to him"), and is not catolico. Most important of all, he does not take part in the aldea life. He does not join the cofradía, he seldom comes to see people, he is not a joiner in local movements. For example, in October a petition was drawn up asking that the present teacher be removed as incompetent. (Active were first Herculano Miranda--"esa chocolatera"-- also ^{SIGNAL >} signed, Felipe, Magdaleno, Margarito, Ernesto, Petronilo, Genaro, Alejandro, Chomo). But Gorgonio would not (Friends of the teacher are Jesus Juarez and Jesus Alvarez). "Don G. is outside the aldea, really", says R.

STATUS AND ECONOMIC POSITION

Armando Armas does not have a libreta because he has qualified as a cohetero; Horacio Cabrera does not, because he has qualified as a chauffeur. Most of the other ladinos do not come within the provisions of the law because they own and cultivate at least thirty cords of land. Ernesto Juarez, however, and Pancho Miranda have libretas. There appears to be little or no stigma attached to the fact that one works as a field-hand; it is a misfortune. One wants to own and to acquire land. Horacio Cabrera's status in the community is high: he lived in Guatemala for twelve years, he was a chauffeur, but especially does he have a lively and engaging manner. Pancho Miranda has low status; he works as a mozo, but I do not think that is the reason. He is brutish; he lives with an Indian woman of poor repute. Ernesto Juarez, although he is economically at the bottom, was included in the list of those invited to our fiesta. The fact that his two brothers are persons of some consequence probably helped. I do not think that Don Gorgonio, the richest man in the village, is one of the village leaders. He is aloof, rather taciturn; it is said that he is not a "believer".

Dionysia M.P.B.
May 16

Attitudes--Town and Country.

We passed by the ranchito on the road to the pila where live the Indian family which has come most recently to Agua Escondida, and have been unwilling to give their name. A ladina was standing in the doorway of the house arguing in a loud voice. I asked Dionysia about it and she replied that it was the wife of Armando Armas who was trying to get someone to come and grind for her. " She has no money but she wants someone to work for her. Poor people like us should do their own grinding. But she is from Panajachel." "Is that the custom there then ? "

"Yes, that is how they are there. They even buy tortillas. "

GOD PARENTAL
RELATIONSHIPS

1 The padrino-ahijado relationship is a strongly marked
2 symmetrical relationship of respect-affection; godchildren do not
3 however, kiss the hands of their godparents (nor does the child's
4 father kiss his compadre's hand). The compadre relationship is one
5 of mutual, but asymmetrical respect and affection. At least so far
as the godchild is concerned, the relationship is more genuinely
freighted with these sentiments in the case of padrinos by baptism
than in the cases of the other two kinds of padrines (by marriage;
by Evangelios); a corresponding statemnt can be made as to the
compadre relationships brought about in these three ways.

1-5 This statement is poor. See revised statement in correspond-
ingly numbered document.

The statement gives hardly more than the formal outlines of the relationship . An examination of the cases indicates the following to be true:

Choice of godparent

1. One tends to select someone ~~MMMM~~ with some standing in the community, ~~MMM~~ who is reasonably Catolic, and who has enough money. The two people in the community who have the most godchildren are Felipe Juarez and Jovita Alvarez, both meeting these requirements exceptionally, ~~MMMM~~

2. ~~M~~ Very commonly one asks one's brother or sister or one's cousin (Cases 1, 9, 11, 12, 13,)

3. But it is very exceptional to ask a grandparent to act. R thinks it a somewhat surprising idea. The only case is that of Damiana, Aparicio Santuso's child, whose maternal grandmother, Damiana de Leon, acted as godmother. R. says it was because the family was very poor and didnt want to spend money on a gift to a padrino.

4. It is not necessary to have a couple; a single person may act; and a young unmarried girl may act, although such a one is not very often chosen (Case 2; R. is madrina of an Indian child). There is no necessity for correspondence or cross-correspondence of sex of child and sex of sponsor.

5. It is generally recognized that the expected thing is to keep the same godparents for all children born of a couple so long as one or both of this first couple are available. In a large majority of cases this is done. But in the case of Juan Santiso there have been four godparents for five children, although the earlier ones were more or less available. "My aunt likes to change", says R. There are also other cases where changes have occurred for no apparent reason, It is recognized that among the Indians it is usual to change if a child dies,

(e.g. Pablo Tax changed from Sebastiana after her ahijado died), but 547
ladinos do not hang on that account. "It is not the godparent's
fault; it is the will of God."

6. Indians frequently ask ladinos to act as godparents, and they
are more likely to ask ~~ask a young u married person~~ a young u married person
to act than is a ladino. I have no case of an Indian asked by a ladino to
act, nor can R. think of any.

Nature of the relationship. I think the relationship is plainly marked.
but hardly strongly. Everyone knows the obligation is owed to the
godparent from godchild and compadre, and not the other way. What the
godfather does for his godchild he does because he is in a relationship
of interest in and caring for the godchild. What his compadre does for
him is to show his respect and gratitude. On the godchild's birthday-- any
birthday-- it is customary for the compadres to send the godparent a
cake. The godparent may send a gift to his godchild, but there is
less sense of obligation. The godfather of two of Tana's children came
recently from G. City to AE; he just bought some drinks at the estanco; he
did not bring his godchildren any gifts. Among the Indians, especially
the less educated Indians, it is usual ~~MMM~~ to kiss the hand of
compadre and padrino; no ladino does. I have heard no case of a
godparent taking an active part in the religious education of his godchild.
It is apparently not customary for the godparents to take any part in
marriage negotiations; that they do so is denied. A godfather may, however,
come to the help of his godchild if he is in trouble. For example, when
Benjamin Hieron was in jail, his Tecpan godfather came to see him in
Solola and gave him some money.. In short, the relation of respect on
the one hand and of responsibility for, on the other, is well recognized,
and is real, but there are few conventional situations in which the
attitudes may be expressed. In most cases and for most people a godparent
is someone whom you address by the special and respectful term and who
might be a help to you if necessary.

Other sponsor-relationships. The padrinos of a marriage (and also the much rarer sponsors of Evangelios or of house-blessing), function for the occasion only. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ They do not give rise, as do the godparents of baptism, to any enduring relationship. I can find no instance of any case where the ~~g~~ sponsor of the marriage did anything with regard to his "godchild", after the marriage, or vice versa. After the marriage it is customary to send a present to the sponsor (after Pedro Alvarez was married his grandmother sent two stuffed hens to ~~G~~^h Gabriel Rivas and wife, of San Lucas). But nothing else is done. A man or woman calls these sponsors by godparent terms. "But Pedro sometimes forgets and say, Don ~~G~~^h Gabriel"

The fact that Antonio Perez and Luis Perez are compadres, and so always salute ene another, does not keep ~~hem~~ from quarreling frequently over such matters as trespass by hens, and does not prevent her from speaking ill of him behind his back.

1. The five children of Magdaleno Alvarez all have the same godfather: their uncle, Ricardo, who lives in Panibaj/
2. The three older daughters of Juan Santiso: Eduardo Gordio, a Mexican, a carpenter. He left his wife in Godinez and returned to Mexico. The fourth daughter, born thereafter, has for godmother Matilde Cabrera, of Godinez, no relation. There is no godfather. Candido has Rosenda, umm. d. of Jovita Alvarez. "Matilde was deaf; she didnt hear what
3. The children of Alejandro Morales and Sara Juarez have for godfather Felipe Juarez, first cousin of their mother's father. padr
said
4. Matilde Alvarez, son of Don Tomas, has for godmother (he has no godfather) Indalecia Rivas, of San Lucas, first cousin of Don Tomas
5. All the four children of Genaro Santiso have the same padrino, not a relative
6. Children of Arcadia de Leon, including all her casual children, had for godparents Arcadio Miranda and Monica Alvarez; now he is dead, Monica alone has acted.
7. Enrique de Leon's children : Jovita Alvarez, except last-- Jovita refused, saying she had so many, and Enrique got Monica to act.
8. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Margarito Juarez and Mercedes Santiso: are godprents of two children of Jose Maria Santiso and Maria Miranda.
9. Godparents of two children of Juan Estacuy and Carlota Miranda are his married cousins, Pedro Estacuy and Emilia Estacuy
10. Marcelo had a San Lucas man as godfather for four children who died. The last, Angela, has a Solola man.
11. The godparents of Ernestina Estacuy's child are her cousins, Pedro and Emilia Estacuy
12. The first two children of Jose Inez Alvarez have Soledad Ordonez of San Lucas; the last two Monica Alvarez. R. does not know ehy changed.
13. The godparents of Flora, d. of Monica, are Stofero Alvarez and wife.
14. Herculano Miranda's children(all): Sebastiana Alvarez and Juan Santiso
15. Children of Alterio Juarez and Tomasa: Maria Urrea. But Albertina took them to be baptized. Maria's husband, Arturo Santiso, was alive then; he was Catolico; it is only under her father's influence that Maria is supposed to have Evangelico leanings.

- 16/ Marcelo Alvarez and wife are god' arents of all of Ernesto J arez' children.
17. First children of Margarito Juarez have Benedicto Perez as godfather; later ones Gonzalo Santiso.
18. Godmother of child of Nolberta Miranda is Florinda de Parrios of San Andres, ladina
19. Evaristo Herrera is godfather of Luis Perez' child.
20. Children of Luisa Morales: Felipe Juarez
21. Childre of Mariano Miranda: Felipe Juarez
22. Children of Felix Morales: Felipe Juarez
23. Of Oscar Tobias (one child, three years old) Antonio Cruz
24. Of Armando Armas: Adriana ?. Armando Armas does not believe, but the children's grandmother, Matilde Cabrera, arranged their baptism.
25. Children of Paula Rosales have never nbeen baptized-- Gorgonio an Evangelista.

BAPTISM

It is usual to have the same godparents for all one's children; one changes them if they move away, or die. It is not necessary to have both godfather and godmother, but usually one does. Yes, ladinos have many Indian godchildren. Don Tomas has two, both ahijados of marriage. He simply went to their house a little while, when they were married, and paid the fee to the civil registry. He does not have anything to do with them now, but when the parents meet him, they call him "compadre." Don Juan Santiso tells me he has twelve Indian godchildren. I noticed that an older ~~MMMM~~ Indian woman, meeting Don Juan, called him compadre. He said she was the grandmother of his Indian ahijado; that it was the custom among the Indians for the grandparents and even other relatives to use the compadre address to the padrino of their child-relative; but not of the ladinos. Both men agreed that ladinos never asked Indians to be godparents. Both admitted it cost money to be padrino, but both said one could not refuse "es pecado."

Don Tomas says it is very uncommon here to ask one's own parents, or one's wife, to be godparents of one's children. "It may be anyone one likes."

RELIGION--BAPTISM

(Chiefly expressed by Magdaleno, but Tomas entirely concurring)

Oh, Yes, all of Sebastian's children have been baptized, even Piedad. No time is to be lost in getting the child baptized; it is a great sin not to baptize one's children. (Vigorous assent from Tomas). Yes, that is a serious matter. (To my question) yes, Armando Armas' children have not been baptized. He does not believe in anything. He is not good-- I do not like him to come ~~EMMM~~ among us. His brother (Horacio) is good. (Story of how Horacio's wife left him while he was working as a chauffeur in Guatemala City, taking their two children). Juana Galindo's (Miranda's?) children have not been baptized, nor have those of Herlinda Miranda and Oscar Tobias (Tobias is working on a finca). They don't believe. It is very bad. When Oscar said he did not believe any more, I asked him for a Bible he had, and he gave it to me. I have it, but I have lent it to Silvestre. I will show it to you. It has many good things in it-- it is entirely a thing of God. It tells there how the Flood came and it rained for forty days and forty nights. And God told Noah to build the ark. Noah went into it, and his family, and nobody else. The others came and asked to come in, but Noah told them God had said only he should go. The animals went to, of each kind; so they occupied the earth again. The water went down everywhere, and the Ark was left on land. It is there still-- the way you can still see it, -- in France, or somewhere.

For thus we believe-- Jesus made the earth and everything in it. It is not good ~~EMMMMMMMMM~~ not to believe as those do not

GODPARENTS

It is usual to have the same godparents for all children. Felipe Juarez has been godparent for all of Alejandro Morales children. Arcadio Miranda, now dead, and his wife, Monica Alvarez, were godparents for all of Arcadia's children. After Arcadio's death, Monica alone has acted in all cases, including the casual children by Alejandro Morales and by Margarito Juarez. Note that Monica acts, not Felipe, in the case of Vicente, because Vicente is not the child of Sara, Alejandro's wife-- the mother only is responsible.

Jovita, ~~MIRANDA~~ Alvarez has been godmother of all of Enrique de Leon's children, except the last. Jovita refused, saying she had so many godchildren, and Enrique then got Monica to act.

Margarito Juarez and wife Mercedes Santiso are godparents of two children of Jose Maria Santiso and Maria Miranda.

It is custom among Indians to change godparents if a child dies.

GODPARENTS-- INDIAN-LADINO RELATIONS

Ramos Perez, Indian, Mariano's wife, is not sure whom to ask to be godparent of her second child. The godparent of the first child was an Indian, but that godparent is now dead. So she must find another. She has talked to Romelia about it, hinting she might ask Romelia. ~~MMMMMM~~ She tells Romelia she does not want to have anyone in the aldea, because it embarrasses her to call someone "compadre" often, as one would have to do if one met him or her often. Romelia suggests to Ramos that she ask R's aunt Monica, because although she lives in the aldea she lives farther away, and she wouldn't meet her so often. Apparently Ramos, who is shy anyway, feels particularly embarrassed by using, to a ladina, a term implying a particular intimate respect.

Romelia is the godmother of an Indian child. The child's mother is much older than Romelia. R. says it embarrasses her to be called "comadre" by this woman because she is so much older than R.

SICKNESS

WINDS; HOTS AND COLDS

Don Chomo assures me that there is greater danger of sickness now since there has been so much war in foreign countries, because the winds which come down from the north from that direction blow sicknesses and evils stirred up by the war into Guatemala.

April 18

~~558~~
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SICKNESS-- AIRE

This morning a girl came to ask if we had some cooking oil. The oil was wanted for Felipa, the butcher's wife, who was taken sick this morning, with abdominal pains and convulsions. When I saw her she was unconscious, and suffering occasional convulsions. It was explained that yesterday she had taken a purgante. This morning, after she became seriously sick, she had been given a pildora de ether.

One said ~~MM~~ it was biliousness. Another, observing the twitching of the muscles, said it was the nerves. These same twitchings and disordered movements of the limbs during the attacks, caused another to say that it was aire. When one corner of her mouth was drawn down, and the muscles of her face were convulsed, several exclaimed, "Certainly, le dio aire. Tiene aire en el estomago." Salome later explained that sometimes when one went out, as for example when one is warm, into a cool place, "le da aire. Entra un aire." She added that ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ aire was the same as epilepsy. Don Lupario spoke similarly of aire. There was no trace of individualized or personalized element in the conception.

News. As the little girl hurried down the street with her bottle to get the cooking oil, people asked her what was the matter, and she told them of Felipa's sickness. In a few minutes most of the people at this end of town must have known about it.

Later. So far as people talk about the illness at all, it is usually to attribute it to the fact that Felipa, ~~MMMM~~ after having taken a purge, and being therefore a little delicada, went out into the cool air. Don Hierónimo expressed the opinion that the illness resulted from the fact that she quarreled with her husband; this made her bilious.

SICKNESS-Mox

When Jamie had a slight convulsion, Komelia said it was mox. We asked what that was; she said it was when a child threw itself down and acted crazy. Dona Isabel said mox was "loco"; if a child got that way you gave it tobacco water; then it vomited some phlegm; after that it was all right. Evaristo said mox was ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ a word the indigenas used for crazy, or capricious. Tomas said much the same.

Sickness--Remedios.

M. P. R.
~~552~~
559

Dona Isabel said that Jose is sick, because he does not grow much. He has much stomach trouble and worms. Once they gave him a worm medicine, but it made his cheeks swell up.

A swallow of aguadiente is good for colds. (Salome)

Bretonico (breton-kale) is good for coughs, and p ulmonia (S)

Valeriano , an infusion of used for baths is good for the blood. Sulphato de sol and Sal Ingles are the purges used.

Pura Maizena is given to those who are ill with stomach troubles, if it can be had.

Dona Isabella: "Yes, I had only one child. A bolo came inside me with aire , and so I had no more children. "

Romelia (later)"Yes, it is true my grandmother only had one child. She was working in Solola , and there is more aire there, particularly in the summer. "

Alferecia(epilepsy). "Children's faces grow purple(morada) This comes from aire and is due to the air being taken out of doors and uncovered while they are sleeping. The cure for it is aceite de comer , rubbed on externally." (Salome)(

Romelia had hiccoughs. She said they were caused by her going out too soon after eating, as the wind was blowing. "When I was quite small I was very sick, I almost died of indigestion. That was because I got in the wind too soon after eating. I was cured by taking aceite de comer (internally.) it is also good to rub it all over the body. "

"There is a skin trouble called jiote which both ¹ animals and people get . A sort of down (pellusa) very white gets on the skin , and it itches. No one here has it but many in San Antonio do. (Dona Isabel's pig has it.) No one ever dies from it and it can be cured. It is not caught from an animal, but can be caught by touching people who have it. One cure

for it is to take the bark of the palo de jiote and boil it in water, then wash the place four or five times with this water. Another cure is to wash with kerosene. (Dona Isabel took her pig to the pila and there washed it, also applying kerosene.) (Romelia and Dona Isabel.)

May 6

Dona Isabel said her foot, which was swollen from having a nigua in it, was better because she had put kerosene on it.

Dona Paula said that Romelia kept having granos because tho she was grown up she had no family yet. "It is the mal humor." Later she suggested that the ymight be from mosquito bites.

Dona Paula-- "If a woman has a susto before her child is born, the say it will be born dumb. I had several sustos before Adalberto was born but he was all right. * Don Gorgonio has written in a book how to cure susto ." Dona Paula said she should not drink much ~~cold~~ cold water or much cocoanut milk because both were helada and would make her milk bad for the nursing baby.

Dona Salome suffered a susto before one child, given the name of Laura, was born. The child died and she almost died. She was given vomitosos ~~as a cure~~ as a cure. This treatment consists first in taking some tobacco water, which is very bitter and then large quantities of luke warm water, the result being to induce a great deal of vomiting "so that ever thing is emptied out of the stomach." Romelia.

Illness.

Goiter is called huehuecho , or by some just garganta.

The best remedy for it is to paint it outside with iodine. Another thing that may be done that helps is to rub it with salt. Goiter comes with the ^{most} anona " (that is, it is found in the region where the anona grows)

Dyonisia had small pox twice. The only thing to do for this is to give just barley water to eat and to keep the person inside and well covered up. If they are exposed to the light, they will die.

People may have mumps both inside and out. For the mumps which come on the outside one just puts on hojas de pito and manteca . The mumps which come on the inside close up the throat so that the person cannot swallow, and he dies.

When Dona Isabel was young she had dysentery with blood in the stools for three months. She was cured by taking magnesia (in powder form) with hierba buena . This was given her by her patron.

Dona Isabel has been continuing with stomach trouble. (possibly another purge also , She took castor oil, an enema, soda bicarbonate (given by us), and mana (a mild laxative used for children, possibly syrup of relative sent to Panahachel for it figs, sold in bulk in Panajachel) on successive days. The next day she took mint tea.

Jose had the little spine that comes on the head called kixhui just before we came here. It came in his case from indigestion. His father cured him . That was why he kept his head covered with a handkerchief.

Don Tomas
May fifteenth

~~555~~
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DISEASE-- "SADNESS"

The cure with flower petals is not for fright, but for sadness. If a child grows sad, and does not want to eat, and is sleepy, the mother or father may take the child to the river with a basket of flower petals-- not just one kind, but many kinds. The mother throws the petals into the water, while reciting a Credo and an Our Father. As the child watches the river carry away the petals, it gets pleasure in this, and so the river carries away the sadness. This is true; my niece, the daughter of Salomon, who is to be married tomorrow, grew sad this way when she was a little child, and her mother cured her this way. One must do this either on Tuesday or on Friday.

Romelia
Sebastiana
May 25

Hot-Cold.

Whooping cough is hot. For this reason cold baths are given to the child as soon as he is seen to be affected.

Sarampion -- are neither hot nor cold. Give barley water and keep well covered up. Later agua de palo de jiote may be applied. If cold air strikes the person the measles may go in and the person dies.

Mumps--- are hot. For this reason it is cured by putting on hojos de pito because the pito is cold. Also put on manteca

Viruela -- ^{is hot} ~~like measles~~ ~~is neither hot nor cold~~ it comes with fever. Same treatment as for measles except do not put on anything,

Pulmonia -- is hot. One must be careful not to let in any cold air so it strikes the person. Nothing is given for the fever. Later on pecacuana (?) with three drops of tartaro (remedies bought at the store) are given with agua de manzanilla.

Dysbateria -- may be either hot or cold. When it comes from heat, there is blood in the stools. When it comes from cold the stools are white.

Susato and Jiote are neither hot nor cold.

Ojo is hot but hot remedies are given to "cut" it.

Aire is cold

Inflamacion may be either from heat or from cold. It is comes from heat the urine is red. If from cold the urine is normal color.

Catarro is hot. But hot remedies are given to "cut it."

Te de limon which is neither hot nor cold is given for catarro.

Indigestion may be either hot or cold, depending on whether it is caused by hot or cold. When the face swells and gets red it is from heat. When the face and feet swell and are white it is from cold. Castor oil is hot. But after giving castor oil, if the person is sick with inflammacion, ma give remédios frescos. Jose was once sick with indigestion. His face swelled and got yellow, he had an espina inside of him and some sort of mooso. Then an espina came out on his head (the trouble called kixhui) his father cured him by giving him first castor oil and then putting on aceite de higuerrilla and jabon negro.

Sulfato is hot, sal ingles is cold, carrots and giasquil are cold, potatoes are neither hot nor cold, camotes are hot.

1938-19

When Pedro had fever, we knew he had chills, that was
(Soletoans); so to get them out he was given much pork,
which ~~was~~ is cold. Then they did cause out the chills,
and he got all right. Then it was all right to treat
the chills by giving him hot things.

DISEASE- COLD-HOT

Miguel Perez and Antonio Cruz agree that quinine is a dangerous remedy to take for malaria; it may produce deafness and urinary trouble. "It is so very cold; it produces much inflammation."

Gonzalo Miranda, and Oscar Armas, say that if you get an infected wound you should put either machine oil or white honey on it. Either is Hot, and will "drive out the cold (hielo)." The honey "llama a la carne" and makes it heal.

For broken bones, lime may be put on, but it dries up a wound too much.

That mosquitoes carry malaria is well known. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

HOT-COLD

I began by asking it is was all right to drink cold water. He said it certainly was. I said was it all right even if one were very hot after exercise? He said, Yes, it was very refreshing. He said they all did it. I then said that Don Sol told me that the indigenas of Panajachel thought it was bad to do so. He said, Yes, the inditos liked to warm their water first, "but we drink it cold." Pressed, he then said Yes, it was more healthful to drink it warmed, especially is one were sick. "If you have malaria, it is better to drink warm water than cold."

"The Indian," he said, "bathe in their temazals, always heated. ~~M~~ They do not bathe in the lake. But we bathe right in the lake, It feels ~~En~~ fine."

When I asked if there were some foods that were helado, he said, "Pork is bad. You can't eat much pork. Probably it is hard to eat because it has so much grease. But chicken, beef and turkey are all right." I ~~MM~~ asked then particularly about turkey, and he said that they ate ~~MM~~ little turkey anyway. After some pursuit of the subject he answered directly that turkey was "helado." But we fix it with the seasonings-- pepper, clove and garlic. It all depends on how you prepare the food. These ~~se~~ sonings make it all right.

"Fruits aren't bad-- oranges are good; bahanas are very good. Only limes are bad. You can eat only two or three limes-- after that it may make you sick." I asked why they were bad. He said: "They say it is because they contain much opium." The matazano is bad-- it is very cold. Coco does one harm too; you can only eat a little coconut. The tuna fruit is very good-- it doesn't do one any harm. Cabbage is very cold. Carrots and radishes are very good-- the cebolla is excellent-- anyone can eat onions."

I asked if there were people who had "hot blood" and others who had "cold". This brought no result directly, but after a little he said, "It all depends on the person. When I bathe in the warm water at Agua Caliente, I come out feeling poorly. But I bathe in the lake, and it makes me feel good. That is because I have much heat in my blood."

"In Patzun they grow colinabos. They are very cold-- one should not eat much of them.

"A doctor told me what is the best food to give sick people: Atole of cornstarch, a little very well toasted tortilla, and herb tea (te de quilete). That is right-- that is good for anyone. But nothing else should a sick person have."

Throughout this conversation Don Magdaleno tended to use malo and bueno for the foods, and used helado and caliente when that alternative was offered him.

A direct question whether there were plants that were hot and cold (other than foods) brought only a flat negative.

Romelia
Dionysia
May 20th

~~568~~
568

Hot-Cold

Romelia Spadrino, her tio Ricardo, is quite ill with inflamacion. He used many remedios frescos, probably among them golondrina, probably too many so that now he is taking remedios calientes to counteract them. Plants which make "cold" remedies are: golondrina (golondrinera?, celandine)

malva (mallo w)

linaza (linseed) These all "just grow", are not specially planted.

chan --is sown

the root of the mozote.

the sticky substance, "honey" which runs out of the leaves of the tuna. This is very good for whooping cough.

Plants good for "hot" remedies are many of them already listed under remedios. The ~~exotic~~ include

manzanilla, altamisa, culantro, hierba buena, epazote, oregano, tomillo, mirto, cana fistula, toronjil, flor de chocom, and mostaza both the local variety and extranjera. The local mustard seed is ground and taken in hot water, the leave is used in cooking. The mostaza extranjera is used for giving baths. All these plants but the toronjil and flor de chocom are specially grown. Miel blanco is also "hot".

Don ~~MMMMM~~ Lupario
April 28

~~568~~
569

AIRE

.... My nephew got sick. He went out into the cool ~~MMMM~~ night
and a wind struck him. He fell down with the corner of his mouth twisted.

REMEDIES--AIRE

"That is hierba de zorra (growing in his yard) It is not wild; one has to plant it. It is a good remedy for aire (I ask about aire) Aire gets into one when one runs fast; it makes a ball in your stomach; it hurts and you cannot breathe. The ball is the wind you have swallowed."

HOT-COLD

The meat of a cock is more helado than that of a hen; the latter is "good, caliente". When a hen begins to lay, then the meat is very caliente. Goat's milk is "hotter" than cow's milk. Cow's milk is very helada. Unless one is used to it, one cannot take much of it without harm. But it is a matter of getting adjusted to it; if one begins as a child eating anything, one can get used to it; then it does one no harm. Venison is somewhat helada; it is more helada than beef; but less helada than pork; pork is the coldest, "because of the fat". Cucumber and watermelon are both helada, but orange is cordial, regular (neither the one nor the other. But limes are very helada. The tuna is a little bit helada; the avocado is helado; "one can't eat many-- only a dozen"(laughter).

M. P. P.
~~572~~
572

nomelia
May 7

Hot-Cold.

Women should not go out to where the water melons are growing. This is a secreto. Men should only go early in the morning or late in the afternoon, never at midday. I think this is because the watermelons are heladas.

Neither men nor women should go out to the chile fields after going fishing. If they do the chile will all fall off. This is because the fish are cold (frio used instead of helado) while the chile are very hot.

HOT-COLD

Inflamation can be either hot or cold. You can tell by how the medecine effects one-- if hot medecine appears to help, then the disease is cold, etc. Dysentery too may be either hot or cold. If the stools are white, it is cold; if there is blood in them, it is hot. Yes, it may be that Dona Chabela's sickness is hot, because she worked so long as a cook, but that is unsusal; you would expect an old person's sickness to be cold. Now children's sicknesses are generally hot, because their blood is very hot. Ojo and aire are very hot. Susto and giote are not hot, nor cold. Catarro is hot. Whooping cough is hot.

DISEASE-REMEDIES-SUSTO

Whooping cough is a very serious disease of children. That is because it lasts so long, and the child cannot eat. When it begins to eat, it vomits. Whooping cough is much more serious than measles, because measles last only a few days. Once it has well broken out, it passes. With measles the important thing is what is fed the child. Barley water is the best thing. Yes, sometimes smallpox has come here. Not so much recently. Smallpox is bad too. Vaccination is good, sometimes, but people here have died of vaccination-- they got fevers and died. It is dangerous. It is done right here in the juzgado. Ojo is not so serious, because there is a real cure for it; in a few days its is gone. Aire may be very bad, and aire can hit anyone, child or adult. Once I had been working hard, and was hot, and suddenly an aire struck me. I fall down and for a while I could not move at all. To cure aire we take pine needles and white lily (azucena). We burn the pine needles and inhale the smoke. We put a poultice of the burned needles on the place that hurts. Sometimes we use a plant called chile.

Susto happens when the child is frightened. It may even happen to older people. Then kixhui come out on the head. Kixhui is a small spine (espina) You have to get rid of it. You rub the head with a plant called chile, and with hard, or oil. Then the spines come out. First you put lard or oil on the hair, and ~~MMMMMMMM~~ keep combing the hair. The spines come out with the combing. Sometimes a mother may take the child to the river, having collecting many flowers of many kinds. The child throws the flowers into the river, and the child watches them float off. The disease goes off too. Or sometimes when takes the child to the Evangelios. You take the child to the priest, he puts around the child's neck the sort of ribbon he wears around his neck; you have to find a compadre; he holds the child while the priest prays. That is all. Sometimes the spines come from indigestion (empacho) you have to give a purge, of white lead (albayalde), red lead (azucar), hard and chocolate.

by
Remedy
Always

Don Tomas
May 11

~~574~~
575

SUSTO-KIXHUI

Kixhui is what we call the little spines that come out on the head when one has been frightened (has susto). Yes, you can feel them, little sharp spines. If you comb the hair and turn the head to the light you can see them-- little yellow ones. That is why the child is taken to the Evangelios, to get rid of the spines. If you cannot take the child to the priest, you can rub the head with oil of higuierilla, then wash the hair and comb it and comb it. The spines come off in the coming-- you can see them on the comb. It is good also to give a purge.

Susto can be bad. The wife of Gonzalo Santiso, in San Lucas, died of it. The spines came out on her head.

SUSTO-REMEDIES-

When a child is frightened, he may get sick. He cries, his hands and face swell; he does not want to eat; but only to sleep. Then we know he has become frightened. It may be very serious. It happened once to Pedro: he was riding on a horse, and the horse threw him. He was frightened; we took him to the Evangelios in Tecpan. The priest cured ~~HHHH~~ him-- he ~~MMMM~~ said prayers in Latin, and sprinkled holy water on him. That is the only way to cure fright. Only one has to get a godparent-- a madrina if it is a boy, a padrino if it is a girl. The godparent has only to hold the child, or stand by it if it is large, and hold a lighted candle while the priest prays and sprinkles the holy water. It happened to Romelia too, when she was a little girl. We took her to Tecpan, and had the Evangelios there for her. She got well soon. Sometimes the priest has to pray again after two weeks, or so.

(They had never heard of la mohina, or of a disease with symptoms such as are associated with that name in Tepoztlan)

But see cure for subros, May 15

SICKNESS**BLOODLETTING

Both said giote (sickness characterized by raw and bleeding skin ~~surface~~ surface, any part of the body) was to be found only among Indians and pigs; they said they had never heard of a ladino with it.

Giote is contagious. So is whooping cough. Measles is not; "the blood is ready for it" smallpox is not. "Smallpox is geste -- it just strikes one."

Blood letting is done mostly by the Indians. They do it a great deal. Ladinos use it for horses, especially when they have accidente (axidente?) "This is like a cold-- the horse can get it in the kidneys; then it throws its head back, and vomits. Or it can get it in the head; then it is like a cold. If the latter, the horse is bled in the neck with a chay, if the former, in the rear leg. Quirino Morales, father of Felix, etc., used to draw blood for human ailments. Tomas and Inez had never done it; nor did they think of their family ever had. Cupping they had never heard of.

For indigestion in a horse they give a purge of acacia leaves (huachipipil) boiled, with lard and sugar. Or cocullos of the jocote.

REMEDIES--BLOOF LETTING

578

My second horse dies of asidente. Asidente comes in two places-- in the back, then it is bad, because you cannot see it and the animal dies. If it comes in the head you see it; the animal's neck swells below his ears. Then you rub it with lard and other things. For some troubles of the horse, you draw blood. If the legs are stiff, and there is too much blood, you open a vein in the leg. Blood-letting is sometimes practiced for people too. If a man works too hard or too much in the sun, then his blood thickens and it is good to bleed him. You have to hunt for just the right vein in the inner arm-- the vein of the head. You open the vein with a chay. A chay is made of a splinter of a glass bottle. You look over the splinters until you get one that is straight and very sharp. Then you tie it into a split stick-- then you have a chay. Not all people know how to bleed.

Lard is good to heal a wound on a horse. Or kerosene, for a sore.

Romelia
Sahone Remedios.

~~579~~ P. P.
579

Verbena is for fever.

Manzanilla (chamomile) is for stomach trouble, cough.

Orozuz, (licorice) is used for cough.

Altamisa (artemisia) is used for dolor de estomago .

Toronjil (balm gentle) is boiled with white honey for mal de mujeres.

Boraja (borage ?) is used for fever.

Chicoria (cnicory) is for cough.

Te de limon, taken hot is good for stomach trouble. Te de hierba buena is also good for the same.

Gramma (couch grass) is good for inflamacion en el estomago.

Palo de taray (tamarisk) , and infusion of ,is good for inflamacion.

Alcachofle (alcachofa, wild artichoke ?) is used for chills and malaria.

Laurel , which is a good seasoning for goat's meat, is also good for cough.

Barley water used with grama is very good for inflamacion . If a woman dies when her child is very young the father gets goat's milk and gives it in a bottle mixed with barley water. (A wet nurse is the second choice.)

Herbal Remedies.

Linaza of flax is grown to sell for a remedy for swellings. It is put on very hot. It may also be used for curling the hair. Romelia applied a lotion made of it once before a fiesta and her hair came out all incurls.

Chan is sown and sold as a remedi for inflamacion.

REMEDIES.

Pedro Tale, Totincapeno Indian, asked me for a remedy for his father's deafness. Romelia, hearing a suggestion from another young ladina, recommended that a few drops of milk from the breast of Pedro's wife be put in the deaf ears, "because breast milk is poison for animalitos." Discussion followed as to whether it could be a flea or a bedbug that might be in the ear.

Later Don Magdaleno expressed the thought that there was no remedy for deafness. As for animals in the ear, yes, that might be, but they could not get into the brain, because "there is a little wall between, called the tympanum."

Don Juan also thinks there is nothing to do about deafness. He says deafness is usually from age, or sometimes because of aire. "Heated, ~~MMM~~ one may go out into the cool air, y le pega aire." I spoke of the Yucatan personalized aire-- apparently the idea was quite novel.

REMEDIES

To direct quetion: Yes, some of the Indians know good remedies. You see that tree there, It is called huachipilin. The bark is soaked in water and applied to snake bites. This I learned when Pablo Tax was bitten by a poisenous snake; he usedthis remedy, and got well.

Bretonica is good too, for bruises, and also for coughs.

COLD-HOT--- REMEDIES

I was sitting in Juan Santiso's kitchen; he had just made crackles. Dona Chabela came to buy a few crackles, saying that she thought they would be good for her. Dona Sebastiana said, "Como la enfermedad es de calor." (Lard-- hence crackles are muy fresca). I asked why Dona Chabela's enfermedad was "hot." Dona S. said it was because she had been a cook. "Ever since she has suffered from hot troubles."

~~583~~
584

Medicine, Sickness, Attitudes toward.

Romelia was talking about the child of ~~xxx~~ Chus ~~Alvarez~~ who died recently. She said that the mother killed the child by dosing him with so many and such strong remedies, most of which she fixed up herself. She had called in the so-called doctor from San Lucas but did not give the remedies he suggested. (The child had been sick for months.) Chus' mother Julia, who died five years ago, taught her many remedies. So for the "cold dysentery" (which comes out white) she gave remedies such as manteca con chocolate, and epazote con aceite de Castor both of which are hot, but excessively so, in R.'s opinion. Mazanilla R. says is hot but is all right to give. Other good remedies for cold dystentery are posima de chocolate, bought at the drug store, and perricon, a zacate which grows at Santa Catarina. For hot dysentery (which comes out red) two drug store remedies called Golondrina, and Maná, are good. R. says Chus kept first giving remedies for heat, then some for cold and wore her baby out. For Vitalina, when she had dysentery, they did not give strong remedies, just olive oil and then Castor oil, but the latter was so strong it almost killed her. Then they took her to San Lucas where the man there said she was suffering from worm, not dysentery and cured her. This doctor or druggist said that Vitalina could not take Castor oil because she must have much inflamacion from birth. R. explains this by the fact that Martina, who would not admit her pregnancy, was given many hot remedies, such as altamisa in order to cure her of her supposed illness. As a result her child was born with inflamacion.

SICKNESSES

REMEDIES & FOOD

585

WHOOPING COUGH	H	R = Sob = Ac Di Tom
MEASLES	Northw	
MUMPS	H	"
SMALLPOX	H	"
PNEUMONIA	H	"
DYSENTERY	H = blood stools	2 occas D. Tomas
	C = white stools	
SUSTO	Northw	R, Sob, Di Tom
SIOTE	Northw	
OLD	HOT -	But hot vom
AIRE	C ^{Sob}	H = Di Tomas
INFLAMATION	H - if un...	C if vitu
CHARRH	H - But hot vom	AcT
INDIGESTION	H - if face red,	C if pale
DYSURIA		

LARD	C	R, Sob
RUM	H -	1526
LEMON TEA	Northw	"
CASTOR OIL	H	"
SULPHATE	H	"
EPSIM SALTS	C	
CARROTS	C	
GUISQUIL	C	
POTATES	Northw	
CAMOTES	H	
CIPACHINGS	C - R	
CELANDINE	C	R = Di Tom
MALLOW	C	"
LINSEED	C	
CHAM	C	
TUNA STEEP	C	
MANZANILLA	H	
ARTEMISIA	H	
CORIANDER	H	
MINT	H	
BAENOPIDIUM	H	
MARJORAM	H	
THYME	H	
MYRTLE	H	
CINAFISTULA	H	
TORONJIL	H	
CHOCOM	H	
MUSTARD	H	
WHITE ANEL	H	
CHILE	H	
FISH	C	
COCK MEAT	C - Lupano	
HEN MEAT	H	
GOAT'S MILK	H	
COW'S MILK	C	
VENISON	Milk - C	

CUCUMBER	C - Lupano
WATERMELON	C
ORANGE	- Northw
LIMES	Vom C
TUNA	A 1/2 H C = Mag. H
AVOCADO	C
TURKEY	C - Magdali
MATAZANO	Vom C
COCU	C
CABBAGE	Vom C

CHILE	H
FISH	C
COCK MEAT	C - Lupano
HEN MEAT	H
GOAT'S MILK	H
COW'S MILK	C
VENISON	Milk - C

DEATH
FUNERALS

Attitudes--Acceptance of Grief.

Remalia remarked that she and Nyoha really ought to make the pilgrimage to El Senor de Esquipulas this year, as she had promised to do so when her father was ill and she prayed for his recovery . The fact that he did not receive a milagro and recover does not make any difference. It is pecado not to do so because one must accept fate. " When Candido died, my tia Tana could not get over it, she kept going to the cemetery and weeping there. For this reason she lost her brother (Magdaleo) in two months also, because she was not conforme. "

Don Magdaleno
May sixth

591
~~532~~

DEATH

It is not the custom among the ladinos to bathe body before burial. At San Lucas the naturales bathe just the face; at other pueblos I think they bathe all the body. We ladinos put in the coffin only the mat (colchon) and pillow. The Indians put all sorts of things in-- machete, if it is a man, comb and so forth, if it is a woman. Such foolishness! At San Antonio, they cut little windows in the coffin so the dead man can look out. Nonsense. You couldn't see anything in the ground, and ~~MMMMMM~~ furthermore the man is dead.

We tie two handkerchiefs, ^{one} to hold the jaw close, and one around the head. Before the earth is thrown in, the first handfuls are kissed.

The soul does not go straight to Heaven. They say it stays around for nine days and then it goes.

MOURNING

For father, mother or grown child (married or with children) one should wear mourning for a year; the second six months one wears half-mourning (white and black). For a padrino one wears mourning for a half a year; for an ahijado or a compadre no mourning is worn. While wearing mourning one does not "go to the marimba." For a son or daughter, no matter how old, who has not married or borne children, no mourning is worn; and the coffins of such persons are white, if painted (or they may be painted light blue or pink-- but not black, (Case of her San Lucas cousin who died recently at the age of thirt . unmarried, white coffin and no mourning-- a man)

Sometimes people wear mourning for longer-- Maria Urrea wore mourning two years for her husband. Some wear it for less. (At the recent Panibaj wedding, the bride's father-- who gave the fiesta-- had a marimba, although the groom's mother had died only eight months before. But no one from his family was there-- the wedding took place in his home town, P tzán, anyway, and the fiesta was at Panibaj)

MOURNING -- CEMETERY

It is customary for a woman to wear black clothes for about six months after the death of husband, brother or sister, parent, or grown child. A man should wear a black ribbon on his coat for as long; it is not always done. For a young child no mourning is worn. ~~MMMM~~ Mourning is put on again, and worn for about a week, during the novena of the cumpleaños. After that it need not be worn again.

The central lot in the cemetery, with the large tomb, was bought by all the Alvarez brothers for five quetzals. They have exclusive right to bury their dead in this lot. All lots in the cemetery are bought at the juzgado.

FUNERAL OF ADOLFO MIRANDA.

Adolfo had since the death of his father, Luparib, lived with his sister Margarita and her husband, Marcelo Alvarez. For a few months during 1940 he lived with a woman from Godiez; she left him and he continued as he had lived most of his life, a bachelor, defective in intelligence and unable to articulate clearly. He was long sick in the autumn of 1940, and his death was fully expected. He died at six o'clock on the morning of Oct. 12. Before that time his tomb had been newly completed, and his brother-in-law had painted his coffin.

The wake, last night, was moderately attended. As I understand is usual on the first of the nine nights of prayers, no attempt was made to pass the time in games or in any organized fashion. People sat around the coffin and talked quietly on any subject that occurred, many of the men smoking. Six little girls sat in a corner, talking. During the hour I was there the sister, Margarita, was subdued, but ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ did not weep.

When I arrived at the house at 8-30 this morning all was ready to take the body to the cemetery; there was discussion of the fact that "the people hadn't come." About twenty-five people were present. It was soon decided that the procession should nevertheless begin (The law requires interment within 24 hours of death). Tomas Alvarez and Juan Santiso took charge of nailing down the coffin. As they moved to do so, Margarita came forward, delayed them a moment, and put into the coffin a handkerchief. It was Adolfo's; the feeling, as explained by Tomas, was to put with the dead man his personal ~~MMMMMMMM~~ objects of attire of which no surviving relative wanted to make use. As Margarita did this she burst into loud wailing, interspersed with ejaculations: "Mi chulo! ~~MMMMMMMMMMMMMMMM~~ Heranito de

mi corazon! Ingbato que me deja solo!" She continued this lamentation during all the remainder of the funeral. She wailed during the procession, as she walked beside the coffin, moderating the lamentation during the reciting of prayers by the other women. When the coffin was taken up from the bed, the lamentation sharply increased; it greatly increased when the mason began to brick up the tomb. At this moment she wailed to the tomb and addressed her loud farewells directly into the closing tomb. Mariano Miranda also made outspoken farewell at this time; and shed a few tears. At no other time did he show grief. The other surviving brother, Herculano, showed no grief at any time. After the closing of the tomb, at the foot of the line to the cemetery, several women gathered around Margarita and comforted her with expressions as to the inevitableness of death. Many of the men uttered such expressions to one another during the occasion. The impression ~~which~~ obtained was that while Margarita was really grieving, her grief was much conventionalized, and that she was quite aware that she was doing what was expected of her.

Apparently no one, not Marcelo, selected the men to carry the coffin. Juan Santiso, Pedro Alvarez, Genaro Santiso and one other more or less came forward to do so. The Nina Matilde and the Nina Antonia exerted a certain vague control over the women and girls, taking the lead in the prayers, and setting the group in motion when the time came. The procession was formed with some deliberation in the road in front of the house: men who lagged behind were called to take their places at the front of two lines, one on each side of the road. The women followed behind, and the pallbearers walked between the two lines, at the end. Although the men walked in front and the women behind, when a woman and two girls joined the procession on the way, they fell in at the head of one of the lines. The

men talked among themselves, neighbor to neighbor, or were silent; the women chanted prayers.

The tomb was ready at the cemetery; it was built of mezcla on top of that of Lupario, Adolfo's father. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ The coffin was put down on top of a neighboring grave-- no evidence of reluctance to set it there appeared-- . Then the women knelt and prayer the Ave Maria, the Jesus Cristo and the Credo, while the men stood and talked, No man prayed; every woman knelt. A few of the women did not have black rebozos; nearly all had. There was no further ceremony except the ~~XXXXX~~ lamentations attending the somewhat formal leave-taking when the tomb was closed. This done, Ernesto Juarez produced bottles of rum from a basket; all the men were given drinks; some of the women took drinks also. The women left the cemetery first; the men straggled after.

The general impression I received was that on the whole what people sought was decorum and seamliness: that the interment of Adolfo should be done decently and as people regarded as proper.

Death, The Will of God.

Dona Chenchá (Vicenta Morales) was down helping the Nina Antonia during the sickness of Don Miguel. Speaking of the illness, she said there was nothing to be done, that it was the will of God, that Don M. had reached his appointed time, and that he was lucky to be able to die at home well -cared for than on the road, as some people do. She was sure it was the will of God because the Nina Antonia had taken her husband some three weeks before to see the zahorin at Santa Lucia, to find out if his sickness was due to witchcraft, malhecho. The ~~zahorin~~ zahorin said it was not. At this time the Nina A. sent for the zahorin from Chuiquestel to tell her whether Don M. would get better. The zahorin said now, as he could see the coffin and the candle by it. The Nina A. probably did this so as to save buying more remedies, as she was reported to have ~~said that~~ told the "doctor" from San Lucas not ~~to~~ come any ~~more~~ ^{more} as it would be better to save the money for the burial. After the funeral The Nina A. said that Don M.'s father had died from the same trouble, that he had not been able to be cured although he had gone to zahorines also. Romelia did not really agree with the point of view expressed by Dona Chenchá (still less with the Nina A.) She felt that more should have been done, the remedies kept up till the last, Don M. taken earlier to a doctor or even to the American Hospital. Her favorite remark was that if her father had gone on longer with his sickness, they would have sold all their lands for the chance of curing him up.

MISCELLANEOUS

One evening there was a very fine lunar rainbow. Romelia was much impressed and rather stirred up by this phenomenon which she had never seen before. She said that it must be an omen sent by God although she had no theory as to what it might portend.

Then she started discussing the end of the world. The world was said to be going to end in two thousand years. Then everyone would perish: not only some. "Think how terrible. And since this is the year 1940, ya no mucho falta. However it is the will of God. And with this she dismissed the subject.

The Indians, she told me, say that the estrangeros are now fighting among themselves; God has begun in this way to punish the world. Before long the estrangeros will come here and kill the people with knives and machetes. Romelia seemed more amused than anything else at this belief.

CABANUELAS

The first day of January shows what the weather will be like in May, the second, what it will be like in June, etc. That's all. She doesn't know anything about meanings of the following days, or about meaning of hours of day.

OMENS

Aⁿ owl hooted a long time near the house. R. staid awake a long time afraid. It means death. She thinks may be her aunt in Panibaj, long sick, is dying.

She dreamt that a man with spines sticking out of his hand and arm took hold of her. She says it was a bad dream and wonders what it meant.

M.P. R.
Romelia

~~41~~
602-a

Grinding.

Ladinas whistle when they grind but do not have special tunes
Indian women have special tunes they whistle . Sometimes they whistle
very loudly so that it can be far away.

APPENDIX

"CASES" ON HOUSE CARDS - - - - -	603
HOUSE CARDS - - - - -	604
CHART OF QUARREL ROUTES - - - - -	680
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TERMS OF ADDRESS - - - - -	686
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"CASES" ON HOUSE CARDS (SEQ)

603

1. Marriages-- inter-pueblo Indian marriages. B and C; also C, over
2. Marriages-- ladino-india J, L, O, RR 2A Recog of Indian kin: M
and
casual rel. india-ladino M, RR
3. No hablan
 # Quarrel over trespass, B over husband's flirtation, I;
 over h's adultery M
4. Married child siding with spouse's family. B
5. Pre-marital child. D, I, L, W
6. Patrilocal residence. E Matrilocl residence. Q, QQ
7. No charge for service of use of property between kinsmen. F
8. Paying kinsmen:
 Man pays deceased father's deceased wife's sister for working
 for him. H
9. Shotgun marriages. I
10. Casual children, recognized and partly recognized. J, M, Q, V, Z, JJ, WW
11. Indians becoming ladinos. J, RR
12. Bachelor's boarding out. H, K, R
13. Brother-sister-in-law
 Woman will not wash clothes of unmarried h's brother living
 with them. L
14. Adultery
 Man X, Z
 Woman M
15. Employed women, H, N, O, Q, V, CC, DD, WW
 Women in business for themselves. V, CC, MM
16. Marriage of first cousins P WW slip 2/24/14 #G
17. Pepes and other ninos ~~MMMMMM~~ regalados. Q, V, AA, OO
18. Sons helping or not helping widowed mothers. S
19. Marriages-- necessity for groom's relatives. U
20. Names-- named of deceased child used over Y
21. DIVORCE, GG

- A
 1. Dormitory
 2. Granary

1. Alejandro Morales  2. Sara Juarez

3. Everilde (14) 3. Ev. 4. Simona (10) 5. Agosto (3)

- (1) is a native of San Julian on the coast; his father was from Patzun. M (2) is a sister of Hieronimo, husband of Isabel Leja; (1) came to A.E. about fifteen years ago

- A
 a) 1. Inez Alvarez - Luisa Miranda
 Moved to new house in village 1940
 3. Candida 6. Rosaura (3-8 children) 606
 4. Manuel 7. Paul
 5. Berta 8. Refugio
 9. Anastasio Chirey, Indian, lives with and works for family. About 50 yrs. old, never married, has been with family about 3 yrs. His mother is mother-in-law of Pedro Miranda

1942: ... A ...
to ... to ...
The ... put
Europe ... place ... Now ...



- B
- 1. Kitchen
- 2. Dormitory
- 3. Granary
- 4. Granary

1. Pablo Tax + 2. Francisca Garcia

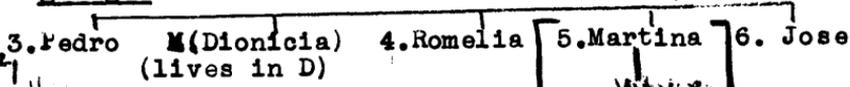
(Micaela) 3. Jose 4. Nicolas 5. Juan 6. Cipriano 7. Josef +
 (married; lives in C) + +
 + +

(1) Came from Totonicapan about 20 years ago. He owns the land near his house.

1938: Within the last year a quarrel has arisen between the Taxes and their neighbors the Tui's (although they are consuegros). Carmen's pig ate guisquiles of Francisca; she complained in the juzgado. Now when the Taxes go for water they take a different path back of

- E.
1. Dormitory
 2. Granary
 3. Kitchen
 4. Fowlpen
 5. Re-conditioned house occupied by visiting gringos
1. Magdaleno Alvarez + 2. Salome Anleu

Parents +



(1) is from Tecpan; (2) is from Solola, (3) is now in military service in Solola *Rtd #37*

(5) *now in (D)*

(3) *is expected to arrive soon*

- F.
1. Dormitory and kitchen
 2. Storeroom
 3. Granary of Mariano Kajil of San Antonio (by permission)
1. Mariano Perez + 2. Xamos Perez
3. Brigida
4. Maria Magdalena
5. Marcela ¹⁹⁴⁰

MARIANO + MONICA

(This property is owned by Monica Alvarez, sister of Tomas Alvarez. Tomas uses the storeroom, and eats in 1.)

(4. Margarito Procopio (sleeps in 2))

(1) and (2) are from San Antonio. While working on a finca, they began living together. Having no property in the pueblo, he asked Tomas Alvarez (who uses his sister's property) for lodging, and received his permission to live here. (1) is fruitless; he works here as a worker. (2) procures the food

Wife of Tomas Alvarez. Old, deaf and landless he hauls wood, and works for a living; he and Tomas Alvarez eat in (1); (2) procures the food

614

F

1. Dormit, and kitchen
(Old ~~is~~ torn down)
3. Gr. Mariano Xajil
of S. Ant

Here sleeps Margarito Procopio, old grand-uncle of Romelia. The Mariano Perez family have moved to their own house.

P^y owned by Monica Alvarez. Tomas does not pay rent, "she being his sister", but sometimes gives her firewood or cleans her yard.

- G. 1. Dormitory
2. Kitchen

1. Juan Santiso ⁶¹⁴ ⊕
2. Sebastiana Alvarez ⁶¹⁵

3. Granary of Mateo Xuc of San Anton
4. Granary of Antonio Xuc of San Anton.
(both by permission of (1))

3. Anastacia
4. Lucinda
5. Bauvilia
6. Piedad

(1) is from Patzun. (2) is a sister of Magdaleno, Tomas, and Marcelo Alvarez. ^{6. 1931}

1938: Having taken out a license and fixed up his house, Juan is now selling liquor legally and making money.

H

- 1. Dormitory
- 2. Kitchen

1. Mareelo Alvarez 616
+ Margarita Miranda

3. Angela

(1) is from Tecpan, a brother of Tomas, Magdaleno, Sebastiana, etc.
 Four other children in the family died.

1940: Moved to Don Gougen's house

*Adolfo Miranda now to be born
 (2) is his sister. 1940-Oct. died, while living here
 1-2 Married for first 1940.*

I. Dormitory

1. Silvestre Miranda, ⁶¹⁷bachelor

Son of David Miranda. Caporal de Camino, spends the week on the road. Don Magdaleno Alvarez' family send him food (by his mozos) at \$2.50 a month; when he is in A.E. he eats at Don Magdaleno's, or with his father.

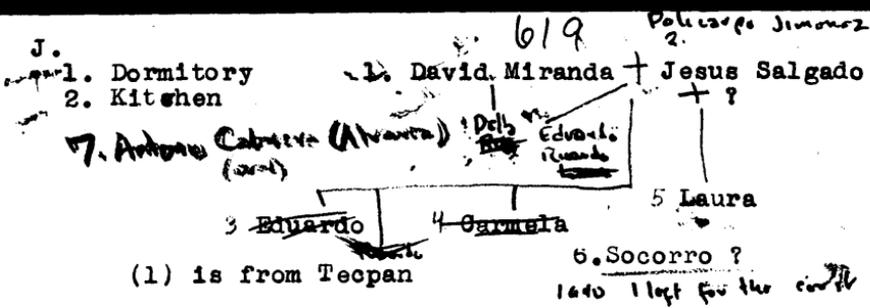
1937: married Ernestina Estacuy, sister of Juan Estacuy. She had already a child by him, and her father insisted on the marriage. Now lives in his own house.

6-1937 6-1938
 Jovita, Cesar

Ernestina is reported very jealous. Last Christmas some children reported that S. had his arm around Romelia; she upbraided S and he kicked her. Whereupon

6/8
 she started up the road to her home, but ~~MM~~ Chabela, Enrique's wife, and others came after her and persuaded her to come back. For months she would not speak to R, but she does now.

1940: Oct. 18- Ernestina, pregnant, went to the fields of San Lucas. Returning, accompanied only by Dolis Miranda, daughter of David, she gave birth to a girl-child, right on the road. Benigno Herrera, ~~and~~ David Miranda and others, coming up with her, carried ~~the~~ her and the baby home. She is apparently recovering.



(2) Romelia says that Jesus is really an indita, that she has assumed this surname. Tomas says, doubtfully, that Jesus says she came from Salama. She lived first with one Policarpo Jimenez, and by him had the child Laura. Laura inherited a piece of land which David, who now lives with Jesus, cultivates. David also works as a mozo. (b) is a Maxena, for a month she has lived here; she is a mute; she seeks a home where she can find it for her work.

620

7. Antonio is the son of Jose Inez Alvarez and Hortensia Cabrera. These two were married and lived together about 6 months. R. says Inez abandoned her, accusing her falsely of relations with other men. Jose recognizes his son, and Antonio speaks of him as his father, but has not lived with him and uses his mother's surname. He lives here simply because he found lodging here. He works wherever he can find jobs.

1940: gone to the coast.

621

K

- 1. Dormitory
- 2. Granary
- 3. Granary

1 Tomas Alvarez + 2. Venancia de Leon
 (d. 1937)

3 Matilde(6)

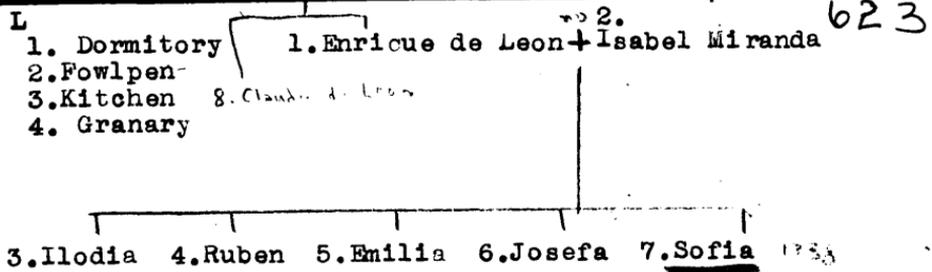
4. Evaristo Herrera : 1940 = gone
 to Dra. Josea Guzman
 near Escuintla

(1), at the time of writing, is just being reconciled with his wife. Before, he slept here, his wife sleeping in M1 with her sister. 1938: Since V's death, eats with sister, Sebastian

(4) is a bachelor, leatherworker, from Chimaltenango. He stays here for long periods.

(1) when young ~~MINNNA~~ had a casual child by Isabel Miranda, now marida of Enrique de Leon

1. Miranda Miranda Miranda de Leon 622
 3. Basilia 4. Pedro 5. Isabel 8. Alfonso
 4. Basilia 5. Juan 7. Federico
 2. is daughter of Damiana de Leon
 father is in Godines, name ---
 (3-8 small children)



- (1) is from Tecpan; his sister, Arcadia, widow, lives in (M)
- (2) is s. of David & Victor Fausto, cousin of Mariano et a When a girl she had a casual child, Pabla, by Tomas Alvarez. He recog. his d; she d. about 6 yrs old. Then she went to Patzicia and there had a child Mariana by one Barrera, also casual. This Mariana

now lives married in San Lucas. Returning here she
 1. with (1); the other children are by him. 62A

(8) Has never had a marida. He has a daughter by Eugenia Sigay (MM), Indita, who has lived alone in her own house since given her herencia by her father. At first (8) denied his paternity, saying the child was Pedro Alvarez'; later he admitted it. Eugenia has always admitted it. "But she can't get married-- the inditos are more dolicais than we, peor si es ladino con quien habla." Claudio earlier had a child by another indita who later married Valentin Mota of Las Canoas. She was a Sololteca; her husband buys her Totonicapena clothes!

Chabela makes Claudio's tortillas but she will not wash his clothes. So his other sister, Arcadia, who now lives alone, washes them, Claudio only furnishing soap.

- | | | | |
|-------------|--|-------------------------|--|
| M | 1. Arcadia de Leon | + <u>Vicente Hieron</u> | 625 |
| | 1. Dormitory | + Adolfo Miranda | |
| | 2. Kitchen | + Zacharias Churunel | |
| | 3 Fowlpen | + Margarito Morales | |
| | 4. Benjamin Hieron) | + Margarito Morales | |
| | ♀ | | |
| 2. Calixtro | | 7. Isidro Higueros | |
| 3. Miscenté | | | |
| 4. Juan | (1) is from Tecpan, a s. of Enrique (L). After the death of her | | |
| 5. Jose | h. Vicente, she lived for a time with Adolfo M, and had by him a daughter who died at about 6 yrs. Then she <u>juntado</u> with Z. Ch, an Indian from San Marcos, who dressed ladino and spoke Sp. well. R: "He was very good- when he butchered a | | |

626

big he gave away much meat." His sister, Agustina, dressed and lives india. Calixtro speaks of her as "mi tia Gustina." Z. left Arcadia; while he was away Vicente was born by Alejandro, For a time Sara. A' wife, would not speak to Arcadia; she does now. Zach. returned, and Juan was born. Then he left her again, and has never returned. After this second departure, she had Jose by Margarito J. His wife, Mercedes, still does not speak to Arcadia. Some years ago, when Sara's child died and she herself was sick and thought she would die, she sent for Arcadia, who came and asked to be forgiven; Sara forgave her, and so now they speak. But Mercedes says she will not forgive Arcadia to her death. Alej. used to take Ar. with him to the costa; S. put cuijas. Al. recognizes Cal. as his son; they use father and son terms, but Al. does nothing for him. Margarito also recognizes Jose, and is said to give him money sometimes and sometimes to send money to Arcadia.

(7) used to live with his mother, Venancia de Leon. Now orphan. he lives with his mat, aunt. He works as mozo with D. Gorg. Felipe, etc. He is known to be the father of Martina A's child.

M.

627

- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1. Dormitory | 1. Arcadia de Leon | + ? Hieron |
| 2. Fowls | | |
| 2. Kitchen | | |
| 4. Granary | | |
| 3 ... | 3. Benjamin Hieron | |

2. Benjamin Hieron 3. Calistro (13) 4. Vicente 5. Juan 6. Jose

- (1) is from Tecpan; she is sister of Enrique (L)
 (2) spent 11 months in jail for selling liquor without a license

- N 1. Dormitory
2. Kitchen
3/ Temazcal
4. Oven
5. Fowlpen

628
1. Gabino Alvarez (+) Crecencia Rangel

1940 2. Aurelia Ovalle Mendizabal = the
new school teacher.

(1) is from Tecpan; is not related to large Alvarez family. One daughter, Jesus, was married to Daniel Juarez (decd), and lives with her father-in-law in GG. Another daughter, Julia, is married to Aparacio Santiso and lives in X

(3) Matilde Cabrera v. de Armas, ex-schoolteacher, modista, lives much at Godinez but spends periods here. She has been staying here. (1) has built her a little separate room. She does not pay for b. and lodging in mone, but sews clothes for them

(1) and (2) are godparents of children of Carmen Tui and of Pancho Tax, auxiliar (but latter changed after one child died)

1. Aparacio Miranda and Patronina

629

Staying temporarily recommended in house of Pancho Tecolote. They are supposed to have a house in Patzún but wander about mostly, often going to the fiesta in search of work. Very ragged and dirty, skin disease, several children, poor reputation, go about begging.

2 - Is an Indian, dress of ladino, does not speak Spanish well.

0 1. Dormitory
and kitchen

1. Francisco Miranda

630 no 2. 5 Sierra

+ Leandra
Jochola

4 + Antonio ?

3. Catarina Jochola

(1) is seconde usin of Don Lupario. He is called "Pancho Tecolote", because he has eyes like an owl. (2) ~~came from San Andres; her father was from San Lucas.~~ Pancho owns only his house site and the milpa next it. He also works as a mozo
1938: Catarina has gone to San Lucas where she does housework. She comes here sometimes. She has refused

P.1. Dormitory
and kitchen

1. Juan Estacuy + 2 Carlota Miranda

632

3. Consuelo 4. Clemencia

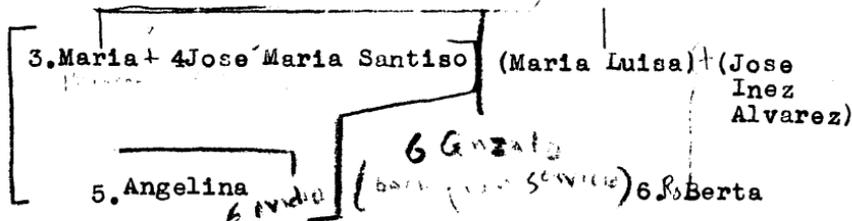
(1) is from San Andres. (2) is a daughter of Mariano Miranda

The godparents of these children are Juan's br. Pedro and his wife Emilia Estacuy. Pedro and Emilia are first cousins. R says it is a sin.

631

offers of marriage from S. Antonio. Leandra's mother, Siona, has come to live in the house, also Leandra's brother, Anastacio, nicknamed Sicaj; the latter works for his clothing where he can and eats with his sister. (4) is Leandra's son by an Indian before she 1. with Pancho. Pancho has left Leandra ~~MMM~~ several times, but returns. R: "When he is gone Leandra cries for him, she wants him so much. Because she is india and he is ladina -- pobre."

- Q. 1. Dormitory 1. Mariano Miranda (+)
2. Kitchen
3. Granary
4. Cattle shelter
- 633
2. Brigida
Juarez
2. 1931



(1) is son of Lupario Miranda. (6) has been turned over to her grandparents to bring up, by her father, "because they had no children in the house" (Angelina later born) Contrary to custom (4) lives with his father-in-law; this is because his mother and his wife's mother are not on speaking terms. Brigida would not accept maria

1938: It is said (1) is sleeping occasionally with Maria Santiso Brigida knows it.

- (3), 4, 5 and 6 have returned to the home of 4's mother. Now living in this house as a servant is Virginia Miranda, casual child of Francisca Miranda, (sister of Chabela Miranda, and now living as marida with Andres Santiso in Panibaj) and of Tomas Miranda (no relative of Francisca, bro. of Gabriel M). She came here with her mother's mother, Margarita Yoxon, who works as servant for Adolfo and for Marcelo Alvarez) Mariano pays her, and furnishes her clothes. (Because she lives with her grandfather, she is not a pepa)

1940. After Brigida's death, (1) lived openly with Maria Santiso, going to her house. After 6 mos. he left her. Then for a month he lived with a Guatemalteco woman. But she left him.

- R. 1. Dormitory
2. Kitchen
3. Granary

1. Lupario Miranda + Guadalupe

1938

Yoxon

635

1940: No one lives here now.

(2) Adolfo (girl's first name Marcelo Alvarez)

(1) and (2), one a widower, the other, his son, a bachelor, keep house by themselves. Pancho Miranda's indita, Leandra, brings water. Lupario himself makes the tortillas, except when his sister, Margarita, who lives on the finca El Peten, comes to stay with him.

S 1. Dormitory
2. Kitchen
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

1. Monica Alvarez + ¹²⁻¹⁰ ⁶³⁶ Arcadio Miranda

+ Benjamin

Flora

(1), a sister of Magdaleno, Tomas, etc., cultivates her lands by hiring mozos; she also operates a small store. 1938: Now lives openly with Benjamin Hieron-- this began 1937.

(1) had a child by him, born dead or aborted. Her brother Magadelno blamed her for this, saying she had taken something to abort. At this time Benjamin had gone away. But M wrote a letter, (through R), with approval of Magdaleno, asking

T

1. House and kitchen 1. Herculano (+) 2. Toribia Cuy
Miranda

3. Romolo

4. Luis

5. Jose

(1) is a brother of Mariano Miranda

San Andres

Benjamin to come back, So know the live together
openly. M. and the others are very friendly to
him, but criticize him for never helping his
mother Arcadia, who lives without a man.

U. House and
Kitchen

639 1938

1. Carlos Velasquez + 2. Jesus Juarez

3.

- 1.) Was for a time employed in Antigua. Returning in 1937 he married Jesus Alvarez, d. of D. Felipe, with whom he had become enamored in visiting A.E. earlier (H's uncle used to live here). He is from Quiche. He has only cousins; so asked the Alvarez family to act as his family at the wedding. Pedro and Salome went to S. Antonio when the wedding took place in Jan, '38. The fiesta was, by custom, in the Juarez house. With money brought from Antigua

690
Carlos earlier bought the land he now occupies
from D. Gorgonio.

U. 1. House and
kitchen,
owned by Carlos
Velasquez, now
in Antigua.

1. Horacio
Armas

641
2. Armando
Armas

1937
3. Aurelia ?

4. Oscar

5. Pricila

6. Soyla

(?) came to Agua Escondida when about ten years ~~and~~
old with his mother, who was school teacher here.
He has been living in P najachel. About a year
ago he came back here. He works as a field mozo.

1938: (1) has left A.E.

- V. 1. Dormitory
2. Kitchen

1. Juana Galindo† (Julian Lopez)

642

(Francisca Lopez)† (Gabriel Miranda)

2. Rosmunda Miranda

(1) is casual d. of Santos Galindo, half-sister of Martina Procopio, R's father's m. (She calls her tia) Her f. is Claudio Hernandez, living near Teopan. He was married, with children by his wife, when he produced Juana. Santos G. was also bastarda. Gabriel is s. of Lupario's br. , Osmundo. G and Fr L live in Godinez; they have other children and gave Rosmunda to her grandmother because she had no one else. Juana lives alone though at one time Felipe Juarez was going to j. with her. She lives by buying and selling, and recently by keeping house for the secreray in S. Antonio.

- W. 1. The school
2. The auxiliaria
3. Kitchen of the auxiliaria

643

1938: The teacher, Maria Vasquez, and her sister Soyla, now live in the school, the father, Miguel, visits them frequently. The mother and smaller children have gone back to San Jose Chacaya. Soyla grinds. Aunts of Soyla tell R. S. had a child in San Jose

1940 . Teacher

644

Aurida Mendizaba
from Patanahtik, near San Andres

with Sr. Tobias, & Crescencia

WW

645

1. Armando Armas + 2. Aurelia Celada

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

3. Soyla

4. Oscar

5. Pricila

† (Antonio Anhu)

† (?)

4. Renate

5. Senia Elvetina

(3) while in Panajachel had a child by
Antonio Anleu, a cousin of NM Romelia's. When she came
back to A.E., Don Felipe married her. When he divorced he
she went to work in the Tobias house in Rodinez, as
general srvant, and had a daughter by the butcher,
a Patzunero, who has now married a Godinez girl

642
Soysa has now 3 children, all with different fathers.

1. Renata, father is Benabachelene
2. Sonia, father is [unclear] of Patzum
3. child of Gaspario Morales

The Nina Antonia is godmother for all 3.

- X 1. Dormitory
2. Storeroom
3. Kitchen

1. Basilio Santiso (+)

2 1939

647
2. Damiana de Leon

3. Aparacio + Julia Alvarez

5. Herlinda + 6. Oscar Angel Bernardo Tobias (in Solola) '11

returned 1940

1. Herlinda 2. Rene
2. Mas 3. Damiana

4. M. [unclear]

3. Eva

4. [unclear] Francisco

5. Eva

1938: (7) now in jail (or executed) for crime. See note
He had previous j. with one Francisca Cabrera (rel.
of Dona Matilde), had a child; they went to Solola
after the arrest.

Angel has returned from servicio. As yet he has no
marida. 648

Aparico is said to have one querida in Godinez and another in P najachel. Julia Juarez is often in want; she continues to live here, but she goes often to her m. crecencia Rangel for corn and other help

Neither Aparico, Basilio, Angel or Genaro work in a milpa. Basilio had much land, but sold or mortgaged it (part to Juan Estacuy). Now he has a few cuerdas down by the lake, rich land, which he rents on crop-shares to some Indians. He lives off of this maize and no one knows what else. ~~MMMMMMMM~~ Angel buys and sells livestock. Genaro has the butchership. Aparico has had jobs. Bernardo tried to live by his wits.

(1) ...
...

- Y 1. Butchershop
- 2. Dormitory

1. Genaro Santiso +

- 2. Felipa Estacuy 649

1. Hersilia

2. Rene

3 Factor

4. Eva

5. Eva

- 1) is butcher. (2) is d. of Reinaldo Estacuy living at Chocacay, s of Juan Estacuy.
- (5) was born during the fiesta of the cof radia on Xmas Eve '38; when pains began Felipa moved to a neighboring house and her m-in-law Damiana attended her.

1 Rosalia Aguilar ~~San Lucas~~ - 1944 650
2 Leonora de Leon - 1. mother. 2. daughter.
From San Lucas. E. is separated from her husband Eliseo
de Leon, who is still living in San Lucas.
x6 Gabriel Elias left San Lucas, fixed up and stocked the
store. E. A. is supposed to pay 15 quetzals monthly,
in March comes due 250 quetzals.

- 2 1. Maria Santiso + Sotero Alvarez)
1 Disused kitchen
2 Present dormitory and kitchen 651
3. Shed
4. Oven

3. Leonzo Santiso

1. is sister of Basilio Santiso. 2 is the illegitimate son of Sotero Alvarez (maria has two illegitimate children by him-- also Mercedes, wife of Margarito Juarez; one, Jose Maria Santiso, by the father; and one, Wilomena Santiso, by Gorgonio Urrea

1938. It is generally said that Mariano Miranda is now sleeping with (1)
(over)

1938: Jose Maria Santiso, s. of (1), with wife, 652
Maria Miranda, MM and children, has returned to
live here with his mother "to be near his land."
Brigida and Maria Santiso do not get on--naturally.

AN
1. Dormitory? 1. Martin Santiso + Feliza 653
2. house under constr. benevente
3. Dormitory
4. Kitchen

3. ~~Rosa~~ Rosa

(1) is a brother of Basilio Santiso. (2) Came from Patzun
(3) is a daughter of Pancho Molina and Elena ? of S. Lucas
(2) had one child that died, none other. While (2) was
selling milk in S. Lucas, Pancho & wife, poor and with
many children, gave her Rosa, who has lived with
Feliza ever since. Rosa calls (1) and (2) father and
mother. Yet she knows who her real parents are; she
seldom sees them.
(1) used to have many lands. Needing money for some
business venture, he mortgaged them, borrowing money at
interest. from Juan Estacuy. When he couldnot pay Juan

foreclosed the mortgages; these lands are now chiefly in the possession of Silvestre M, for Juan gave them to his d. Ernestina, S' wife. Now Martin S. has only his house site. He buys from Silvestre the right to cut wood on these same lands, makes charcoal, and sends it to Guatemala for sale. 65A

1938: For about a year (1) and (2) separated. he accusing her of an affair with Herculano Miranda, she accusing hi of relations with a woman at Los Chocoyos, where he went to make charcoal. They came together after making their peace on the day of our house-warming. She had said she would never live with him again.

Years ago Martin quarreled with his brother Basilio. Since the Bernardo affair, relations have been even worse, and Martin has nothing to do with Basilio.

BB. Unoccupied house belonging to Juan Estacuy of San Andres (the teacher and family used to live here, but "he didn't want them to any more. So ~~MMMMMM~~ the sisters live in the school) 1938

~~BB~~
CC

(1) Maria Urrea +

Arturo Santiso 656

1938

~~BB is in disrepair and unoccupied.~~ The house and kitchen of CC are occupied now (Dec, 1938) by Maria Urr a, daughter of Gorgonio Urrea. Her daughter, Albertina Santiso has recently got employment as a cashier (?) in Chima tenango. Marta cultivates land ~~MM~~ given her by her father with mozos, ~~live slaves~~

DD

657

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. House | 1. Gorgonio Urrea + | 2. Paula Rosales |
| 2. Granary | | |
| 3. Granary | + (Valentina Estrada) | |
| 4. Granary | | 6. Ventura Galavay |
| 5. Well | | |
| 6. Granary | 3. Humberto | |
| 7. Granary | | |
| <hr/> | | |
| 4. Adalberto | 5. Olivia | 6 Lydia |

(1) from Patzun, owns the most land, maintains three households of mozos, and has the only well, in town. His wife now lives in Patzun; he lives with (2), who is from San Martin (6) is a house servant, San Antonio Indian

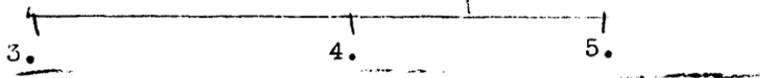
(3) is about 40 yrs old, but very dull-witted. He has never had a wife. He takes his father's mules to the fincas and there earns money by renting himself and mules to the fincas to haul corn to the fincas. He gives the money to his father and his father buys his clothes.

EE

- 1. House and kitchen
- 2. Fowlpen

1. Jose ? + 2. Ana Sicay

658



San Antonio Indians, (1) fieldhand of Don Gorgonio

FF

- 1. Dormitory and kitchen
- 2. Fowlpen

1. Santos Galavay + ?

659

2. Juan ^{Sicay} ~~Barez~~

+

3. Micaela Sanchez

4. female child

These are San Antonio Indians. (1) is midwife and zajorina. (2) is a fieldhand of Don Gorgonio

GG

civil & church
Julia Santiso + 1. Felipe Juarez

Dec. 1938

(Soyla Armas) + 10. Mercedes Higueros

660

Desiderio Cruz + 6. Juana Higueros +

7. Maximiliano 8. Serapio

9. Juan Francisco

Daniel + 2. Jesus Alvarez ~~3. Jesus~~ (b. 1938)

3. Martina 4. Isael 5. Engma

Julia Santiso, 1st w. of (1), was sister of Basilio; she d. 1934. 1937(?) (1) m. Soyla Armas; 19 yr. old d. of Horacio. After 2 mos, divorced. Then (1) arr. to juntar with Juana Galindo, but changed to (6), juntando with her, bringing her 2 boys to live with him too. (6) is d. of Mercedes H., who, after leaving hus. in Panajohel, lived as wife of old Desiderio Cruz. When latter became enamored of his stepdaughter, Juana, Mercedes

GG. 1. Dormatory 1. Felipe Juarez + Julia Santiso 1937

2. Kitchen

3. Granary

4. Granary

5. Kitchen

6. Dormitory

7. Granary

8. Oven

9. Drying floor

2. Daniel + 2. Jesus 3. Jesus 4. Reina

Alvarez

3. Martina 4. Isael 5. Engma

(1) is one of the leading citizens. His father was a first colonist, and built the chapel, which Felipe now owns. His deceased wife was a sister of Don Basilio. (2) is a daughter of Gregencia Alvarez.

(4) has just become engaged to Pedro Alvarez

(other famil.)

662

returned to Panajachel leaving Juana juntada with Desideria. This lasted till the death of Desiderio 667

When Juana came, she brought her mother Mercedes with her.

Felipe's daughters, Jesus and Reina, are both married and live in the village, the former as wife of Carlos Velazquez, the latter of Pedro Alvarez

The present household is therefore composed of ten: Don Felipe, his present wife, her mother, her two sons, his daughter-in-law and her three children, and the infant child of Don Felipe and his present wife.

HH

1. Kitchen
2. Dormitory
3. Granary
4. Granary
5. Granary

1. Petronilo Juarez + 2. Isabel Mejia 663

4. Tomasa Fernandez + 3. ~~Alterio~~ Juarez
Eleuterio

1. Antonina

2. Jorge

3. Santiago Mariano

(1) is a first cousin of Felipe Juarez. (2) is from Joyabaj/ (4) is from Patulul
Alterio and Petronilo make common milpa (milpa just n of us, and rented land at El Rosario). They have a common treasury. If he wants to buy something, he talks it

664
over with his father. They work together in the fields. Tomasa gets on very well with her parents in law although she wept to leave her Patulul people on her wedding day (M by both church and civil). (Pedro Alvarez and his f, also work and live together, but Magdaleno will give P. lands of his own, and Pedro will soon build own house)

665 660
1. Jesus Alvarez + 2. Arnulfo Almendana
1. is former wife of Daniel Juarez.
2. of Godinez. Cultivates land left by Daniel to Jesus
and also trades, goes down to the coast often.
1. and 2. now have house apart from Don Felipe

II

- 1. Dormitory
- 2. Fowlpen

1. Nicolas Tui + 2 Juana ?

666

3.

4.

5

(1) is a ^{Solo} ~~San Antonio~~ Indian, son of Jose Maria Tui

JJ

- 1. Dormitory and kitchen

1. Ernesto +
Jarez

2. Filomena Santiso

667

3. Artilano

6. Fideliza

4. ^{Carlos}
~~Carmela~~

(1) is a nephew of Don Felipe. (2) is a niece of Don Basilio, and a casual daughter of Maria Santiso and Gorgonio Urrea. ~~MM~~ Gorgonio and Filomena recognize one another, saying "father" and "daughter"

KK 1. Dormitory
2. Kitchen

1. Manuel ?

2. Nolberta Miranda

668

♀ 1937

(1) is a Panajachel Indian. ladinoized as a result of domestic service in Panajachel. Nolberta was in domestic service in Solola. They have recently begun to live together, have recently come to A.E. He works land she inherited from her father, Reimundo Miranda

LL. 1. Dormitory
2. Kitchen

1. Margarito Juarez

2. Mercedes Santiso

669

3. Pedro

4. Delfina

5. Evelia

6. Carmela

(1) is a brother of Don Felipe. (2) is a sister of Leonzo, a niece of Don Basilio

MM

1. Dormitory and kitchen

1. Eugenia Perez + ?

670

2. ♂

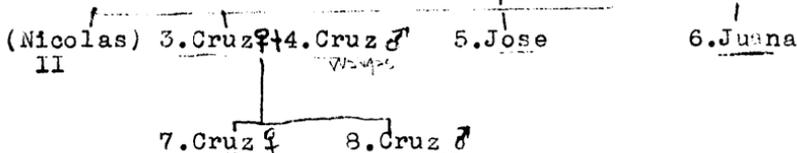
(1) is a daughter of Toribia Martinez (QQ). She has for a good many years lived alone in this house on land left her by her father. ~~MMMMMM~~ 2. is a child by an Indio husband now dead. She also had ~~MMMMMMMM~~ a child by Claudio de Leon. She lives by maintaining an illegal and concealed little store in her house, bringing soap, etc. from market and selling it here.

NN

1. Dormitory
2. Kitchen
3. Granary
4. Granary
5. Granary

1. Jose Tui + 2. Cruz ?

671



These people are from Sololo. (1) is a landowner, cousin of Diego Tui (C)

00 1. Dormitory

2. Kitchen

3. Rainwater tank

4. Bakery

5. Shed and granary

1 Miguel Perez +

2. Antonia Galindo 672

3. Flora de Leon

- (1) is from Guatemala City; he is a baker (also farms).
(2) is from Tecpan; she is a rezadora. (3) is an adopted child, daughter of one Nicolas de Leon of Tecpan.

FF

1. Dormitory and kitchen

2. Shed

1. Luis Perez +

2. Rosa Masoquin 673

- (1) is from La Villa Saragoza, arrived within year; bought a sitio from Miguel Perez, works as a mozo. Their one child recently died.

QQ

1. Kitchen
2. Granary
3. Dormitory
4. Dormitory
5. Granary
6. Granary

1. Foribia Martinez + ? Sicay

67A

2. Martha Sicay + 3. Esteban Galavay 4. Felipe + 5. Matilda Perez 6. Cristina + 7. Felipe Chôcho

8 ♂

According to San Antonio custom, these two sons in law are living with their parents in law. Felipe is an exception. Why?

5. (1938) now stays with Martha.

RR

- 1
- 2
- 3.

4. Luci Archila + ? + ? 675

1. Macario Morales 2. Felix Morales + 3. Valentina Morales

5. Jose Cruz 6. Felicito 7. Lucia

(1) and (2) are from Patzun, brothers of Alejandro Morales

(4) dresses ladina but does not speak Spanish well. Her h, was a Patzun ladino. It is known that she worked as servant in Solola; the family's name was Archila; it is said her surname was Cot; that she was India; that she took that surname.

8. Quirino Morales 9. Avela Juarez

8. is brother of Alejandro, formerly lived in Guatemala City, about 10 years. Married about 2 yrs. to

9. who comes from the costa.

CC1
2.
3.

1. Pedro Sicay + 2. Nicola ?

676

?

(1) is auxiliar from San Antonio; he is a landowner;
an Evangelista

TT

1.
2.
3.

1. Diego Perez + 2. Paula ?

677

3. Martina

4. Jose

5. ?

4?

(1) owns land, also works as a mozo; is from
San Antonio: is an Evangelista

(3) ...

...

UU

678

- 1. House and kitchen
- 2. Granary

1. Victor Fausto +
Miranda

2. Luisa Morales

3 Encarnacion ♂

(married son living elsewhere)

(1) is a brother of David, from Tecpan. (2) is a sister of Felix and Alejandro

VV

679

- 1. House and kitchen
- 2. Granary

1. Emilio +
Estacuy

2. Vicenta Morales

3. Marciana

4. Julia

(1) is first cousin of Juan Estacuy (P); (2) is a sister of Alejandro and Felix Morales

1940. In 1938 Emilio left Vicenta, and soon after began to live with the ladina woman with whom Leonzo Tzoc had been living. Vicenta moved to a small house she bought of an Indian, near the house of Quirino and Macario, her brothers. In 1941, Jan, it was said she would soon begin to live with Mariano Miranda.

LUY MORAZAN

157 ARMANDO AYMPS
AURELIA CELADA

ADULTERY WITH

TRESPAN BY HUNG

ERNESTO MIRANO
ERNESTO JUAREZ
FILOMENA SANTOS

PETRONILO JUAREZ
ISA BEL MELIA
ALEXANDRO JUAREZ
TOMAS MEDIANDEL

FELIPE JUAREZ
JESUS ALVAREZ

GONIO URREA
PAULI MORAL

MANA URREA

MARTIN SANTOS
FELISA BEVAMENTE
MARIA SANTOS
LEONZO SANTOS

GEMERO SANTOS
FELIPA ESTACUY
BASILIO SANTOS
DANIANA DE LOS

MARIA VASQUEZ
SOLER
JUAN VALENZUELA

BENJAMIN MIRANDA
MONICA ALVAREZ

BENJAMIN HIERONIMO
ADOLFO MIRANDA

MARTIN MIRANDA
BRENDA JUAREZ

OLGAS TU
JUANNA

JESUS
AN SENY
ANTOS CELADA

BRENDA

BRENDA
ESTACUY

"DON'T SPEAK - OR DIDNT"

LONG-STANDING , S
LONG-STANDING BUT
MIND?, CURRENT
MIND?, NOW E

M. BOBAVO

(P) JUAN ESTACUY
CARLOTA MIRANDA

(N) GABINO ALVAREZ
EPIFANIA RANGEL

(M)

(L) ARCADIA DE LEON
ISIDRO HIGUERAS

RODRIQUEZ
WITH WIFE

GOT DAUGHTER

(K) TOMAS ALVAREZ
WITH CHILD

(G) JUAN S
SEBASTIAN
Jalisco

(J)

(I) SILVESTRE
MIRANDA
ERNESTINA
ESTACUY
SHE

DAVID MIRANDA
JESUS SALFADO

(H) ACC. PEDRO OP GETTING HER
MARCELO ALVAREZ
FRANCISCA MIRANDA

SUPP
ADULTRY

QUARREL OVER TRESPASS

Bernardo Affair

TRINIDAD
OVALLE
(1908-1980)

+ ?

? + ?

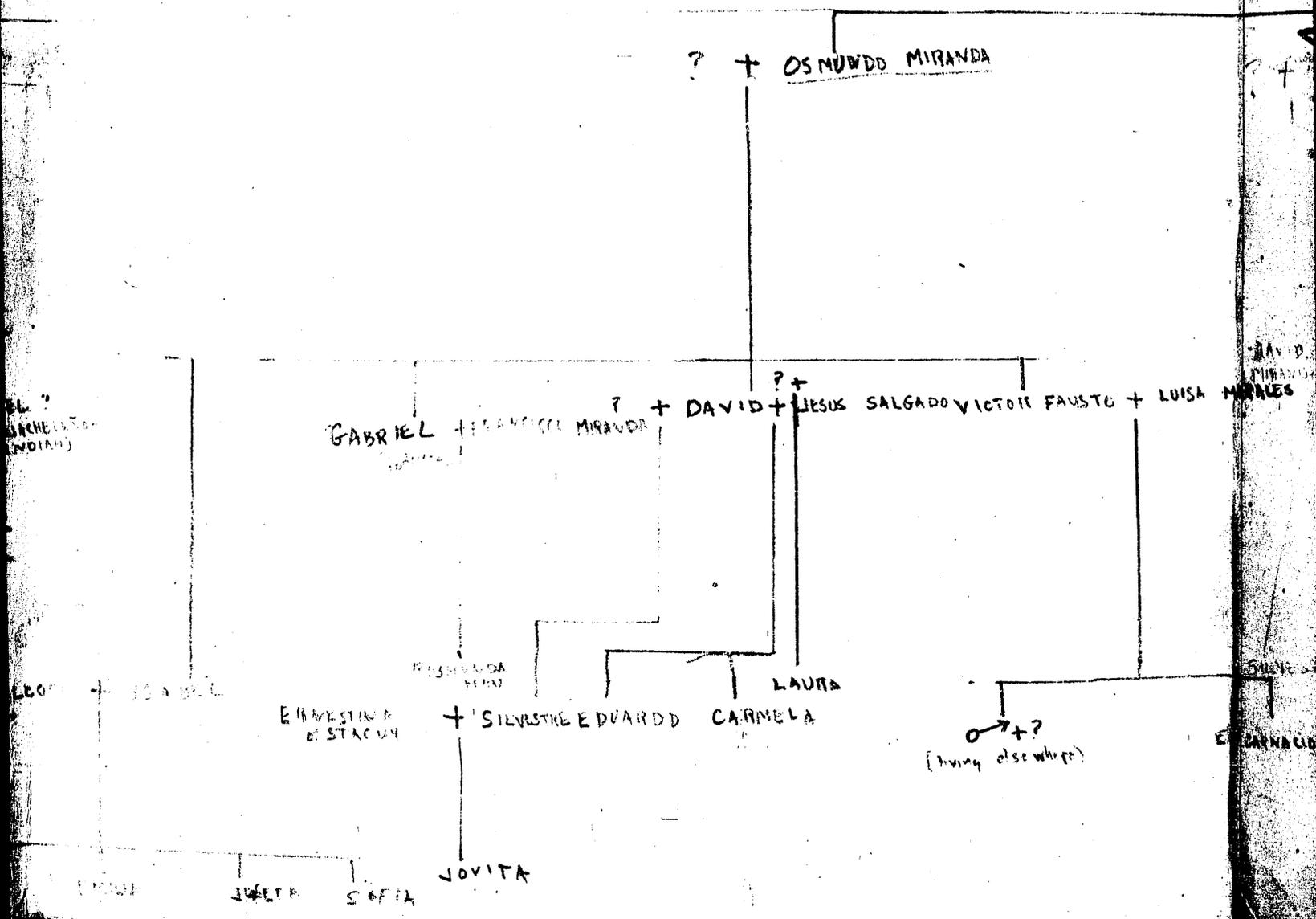
NOLBERTA + MANUEL ?
(MANAJE CENSO-
1908)

ENRIQUE DE LEON +

LUDIA ?

RUBEN

EMIL



EL ?
 (MIRANDA)
 (INDIAN)

DAVID
 MORALES

CARMELA

JOSE MARIA
MIRANDA + PERFECTA
ROMAN

LUPARID + GUADALUPE YOXON
MIRANDA
(b. Feb. 23
1866)
(d. 1938)

+ TRINIDAD
HERNANDEZ
(not married;
later separated)

(FIVE OTHER CHILDREN
DIED BEFORE MATURITY)

MORALES

SAMUEL
(never married)

MARIANO + BRIGIDA
JUA REZ
(daughter of
Felipe Juarez,
first settler)

ADOLFO
(never married;
lives with
Lupario)

ARCADIO + FRANCISCA MIRANDA HERCULANO

+ MONICA
ALVAREZ
(not married)
(since 1937
living openly
with Gonzalo
Hernandez)

FLORA

RODOLFO

LUIS

ENCARNACION

CARLOTA + JUAN
ESTACUY

MARIA LUISA + JOSE INEZ
ALVAREZ

MARIA + JOSE

CONSUELO

AMPARO

CANDIDA

MANUEL

ROSAURA

RAUL

BERTA

ANGEL

JOSEF

GRAVEL

SOTERO

ALBERTO

REYES MIRANDA

@ paricio "

BASILIO SAUTISO

HERCULANO + TORIBIA
CUY (Ismael)
(from San Andres)

MARGARITA + MARCELO
ALVAREZ

FRANCISCO + LEONORA
JOCHOLA
(Indita. Not
married.
No children)

(FIVE
CHILDREN
DIED)

LUIS

SANTIANO

MARCELO

ANGELA

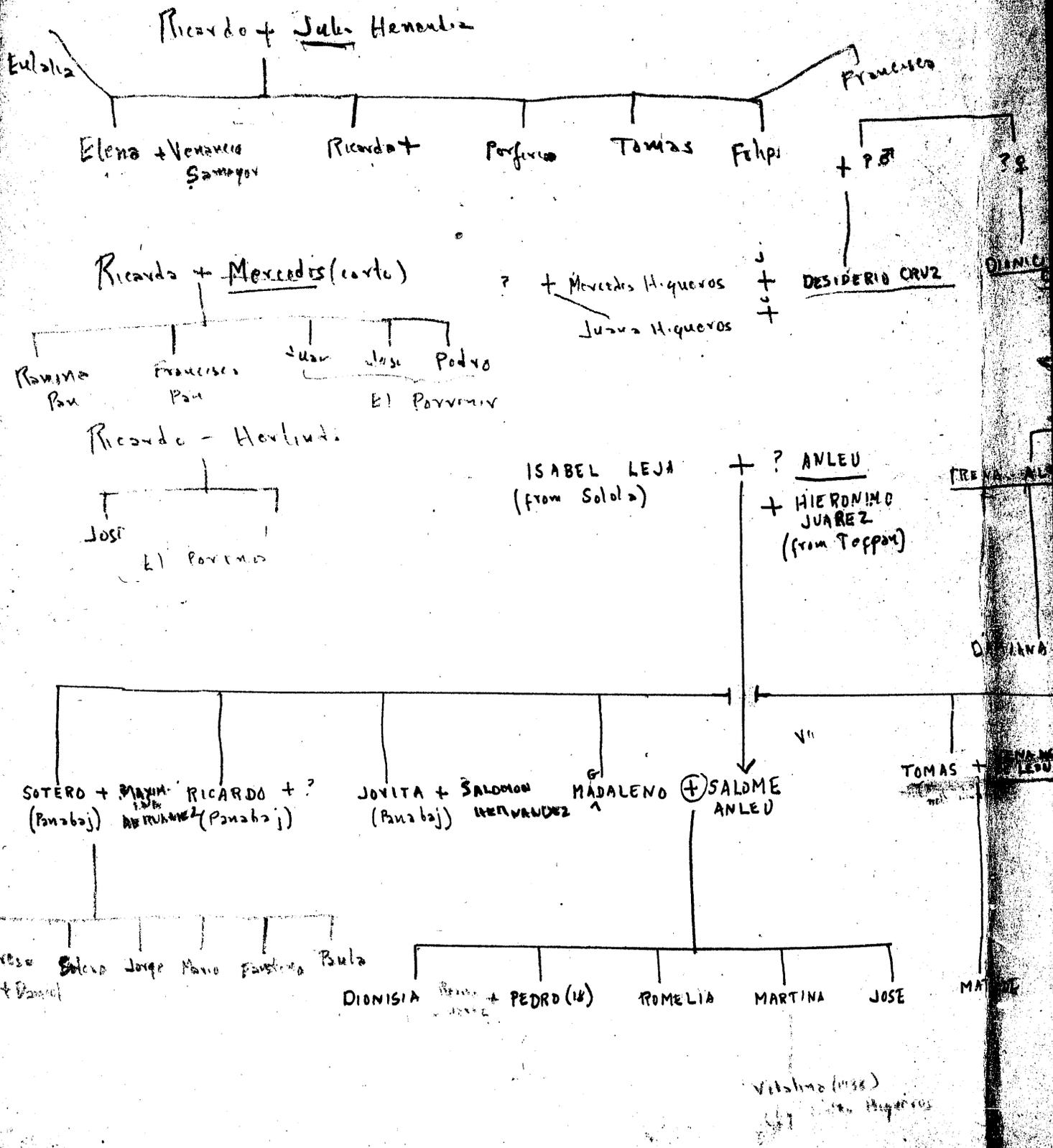
GENARO

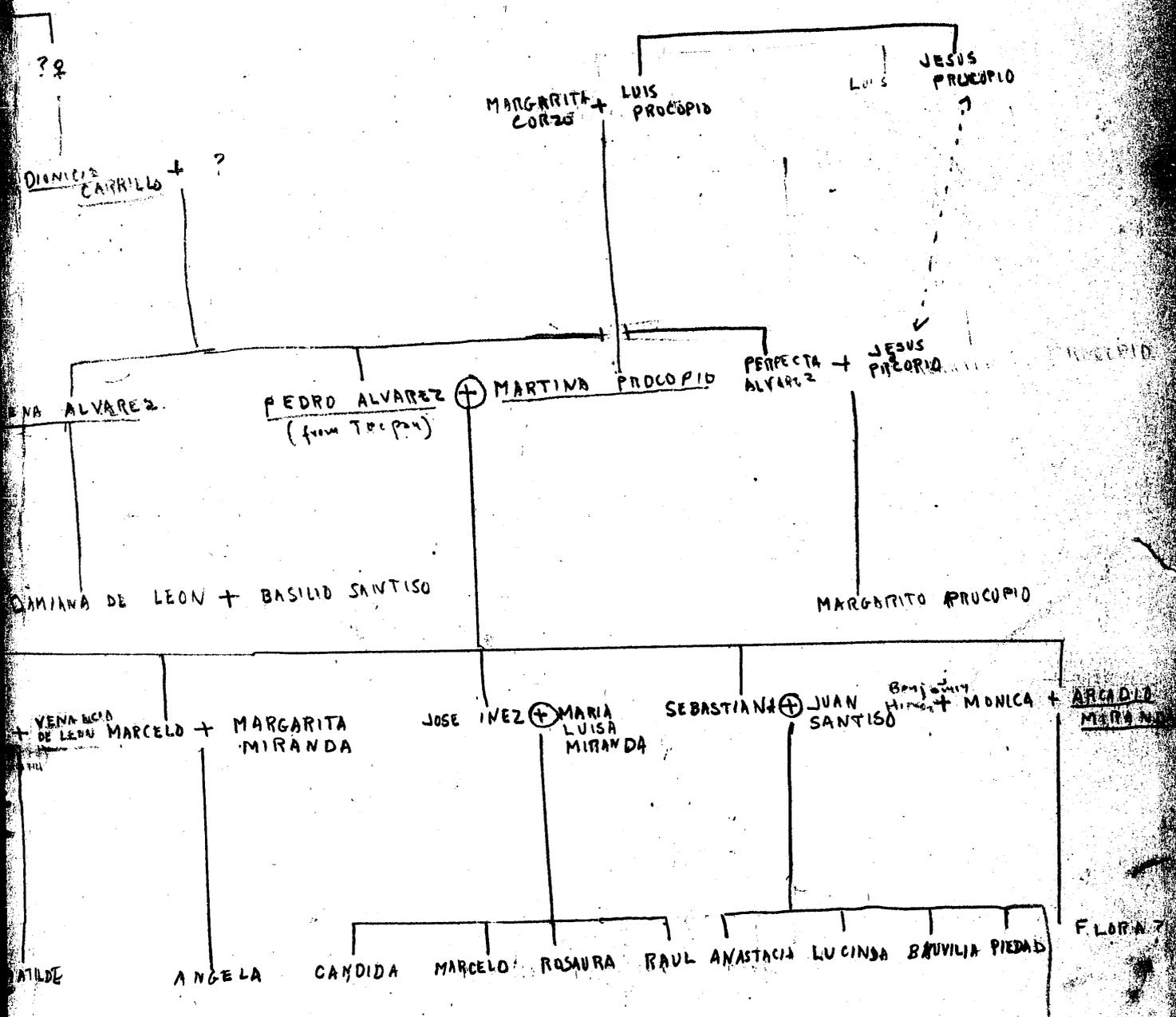
ROSALBA MARIA SANTIAGO

GONZALO
(SERVICIO
in Guatemala)

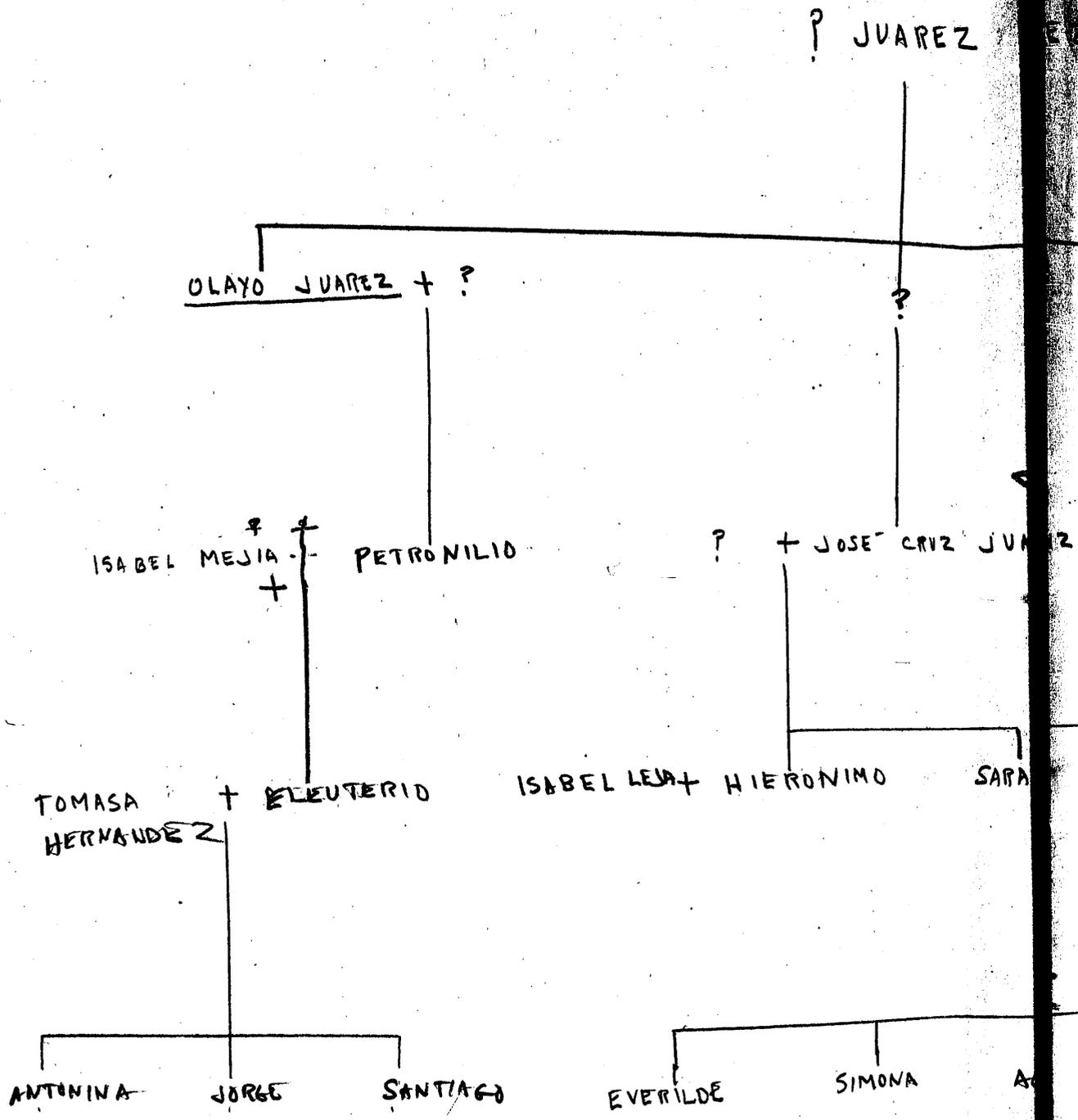
ANGELINA

OSVIDO





Candida (1937)



SIMON

JUAREZ

MERCEDES
SANTISO

+ MARGARITO

FELIPE + JULIA
SANTISO

? + HIERONIMO

SARA + ALEJANDRO
MORALES

PEDRO

DELFINA

EVELIA

CARMELA

JESUS

REINA

DANIEL

+ JESUS
ALVAREZ

ERNESTO + FILMENA
SANTISO

AGUSTO

REFILANO

FIDELIZA

CARMELA

MIGUEL + ?

JAVITA GILVEREZ

MARIA HERNANDEZ + SOTERO (LAS FLORES)

TRANSITO + FRANCISCA (LOS CHOCULES) CORZO

VICTORIA

MARIA

ALBERTINA SANTANA (C...)

SANTISO

MAXIMO SANTISO + RE

MARIA
SANTISO

+ C
GREGONIO UUREA

GONZALO
(SAN LUCAS)

+ C
P GALINDO

MARTIN

+ C
SOTERO
ALVAREZ

PERZO

ARTURO + MARIA UUREA

FILOMENA SANTISO
+ ERNESTO
JUAREZ

LEONZO
SANTISO

MERCEDES SANTISO
+ MARGARITO
JUAREZ

JOSE MARIA SANTISO
+ MARIA
MIRANDA

ROSA

ALBA
TIVA SANTI
MIRANDA



The following addresses as "DON" - (1) (2)

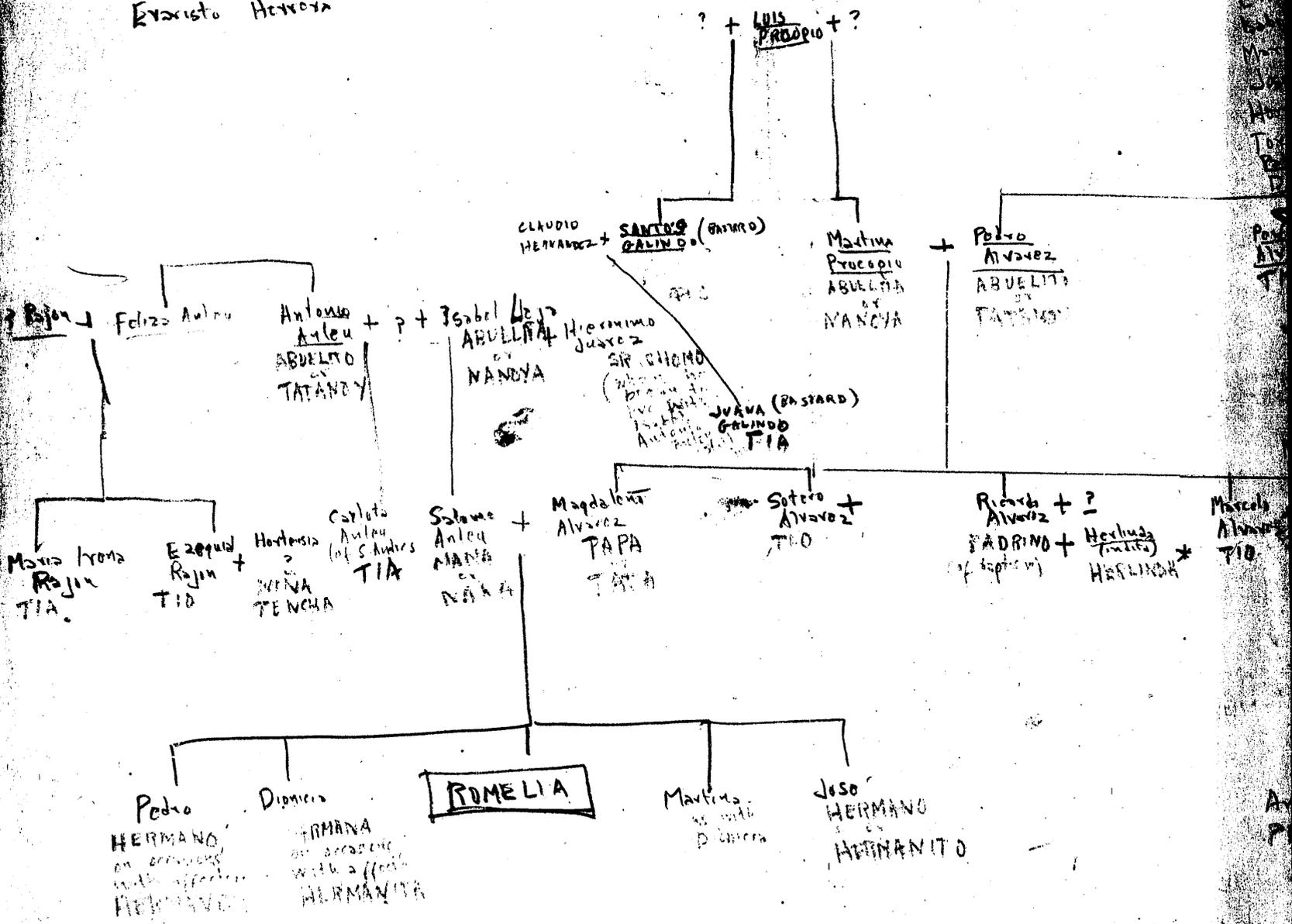
- Gorgonio Uvres
- Miguel Perez
- Felipe Juarez
- Armas Armas (but his wife she calls "sra")
- Horacio Cabrera
- Roberto Redfield
- Ricardo (chofer)
- Luonzo Tzak (sometimes Luonzo)
- Juan Rosales
- Evangelista Herrera

The following addresses as "Sr" (with first name) (1) (2)

- Basilio Santos
- Bernabé Tui (and any other all Indian) (catata)
- Gabino Alvarez
- Pancho Miranda
- Maximo Miranda
- Victor Miranda ("Sr. Vicha")

The following addresses as "Mina" (with first name) (1) (2)

- Antonio Galus
- Pauls
- Margareta do Redfield (no initials are addressed as mina)



* Similarly, although Magdalena calls Maria Mercedes her she does not call Mercedes her mother. He refers to her as her but usually

The following
 Romelia addresses as
 "Sra" (with first name) (and Ud)

Enrique de Leon (Ud) (Jose age 24)
 Alejandro Morales (Ud)
 Margarita Suarez (Ud)
 Ernesto Suarez (vos)
 Benjamin Suarez (vos)
 Carmen de Tui (vos-riat)

The following bring Indians and
 all Romelia addresses as
 "ate" (meaning "Mama" and
 equivalent to "Sr" for old Indians):

Santos Calavay
 Toribio Martinez

Mariano (vos-riat)
 Claudio (vos)
 Babo (Madrugada) (Ud)
 Maria (vos)
 Jose Maria (vos)
 Herculano Miranda (Ud)
 Toribio Cuy (Ud)
 Palk (vos)
 Diego Tui (riat)

(Jose, age 10, also calls
 three Indians by their first
 names, but calls Enrique de Leon, "Sr. Enrique")

+ 8?
 Rosario Cruz
 TIO

Paula + Jesus
 Alvarez Procopio
 TIA

Felipa (nothing because she was a deaf-mute)

Margarita Procopio

Tiburcio

Tomasa TIA

Romelia PRIMA

Marcos + Margarita
 Alvarez Miranda
 TIO

(faded text)

Angela

Tomás + Yencarism
 Alvarez de Leon
 TIO
 MADRUGADA

Melinda PRIMA

Jovita + Salomon
 TIA Horanba

Sebastiano + Justo
 Alvarez Santos
 TIA TIO

Maria + Silero
 Horanba Cardoso

?
 SOBRINO
 (de segunda grado)

Monica + Arcadio
 TIA Miranda
 ARCADIO

Flora

Jose + Inez
 TIO

PRIMOS

although
 calls Maria Luisa
 (faded text)
 (faded text)

+ 8 ?

Dominico
Cruz
TIO

ARCADIO + ALVAROZ

IRMA +
ALVAROZ
TIA

6 meses
de defuncão

Arcadio
Miranda
ARCADIO
(having 50
at 18 years
high
60 feet
high level
with
Monsie)

José + Maria
Irene +
Miranda
TIA

Damiano +
de Leon
TIA

Basilio
Santiso
SR. BASILIO

♀
♂

Francisco +
Santiso
PRIMO

Felipe
FELIPE

Afonso + Julia
Santiso + Alvaroz
PRIMO

Bernardo
PRIMO
VIA

Augusto
PRIMO

PRIMO

12
BANANAS

LE
BANANAS
(Jesús Juárez)

CULTI-
VATED
as and
Inte
(Alvarez)

UN CULTI-
VATED
(Tomas
Alvarez)

COFFEE
MAIZE

M
(Marcelo
Alvarez)

MAIZE

BEANS
(Tomas
Alvarez)

MAIZE

BEANS
(Juan
Santiso)

MAIZE
(Madelino Alvarez)

MACDLENO
SALOME ALVAREZ

DIEGO TUI
CARMEN TUI

MAIZE
(Diego Tui)

MAIZE

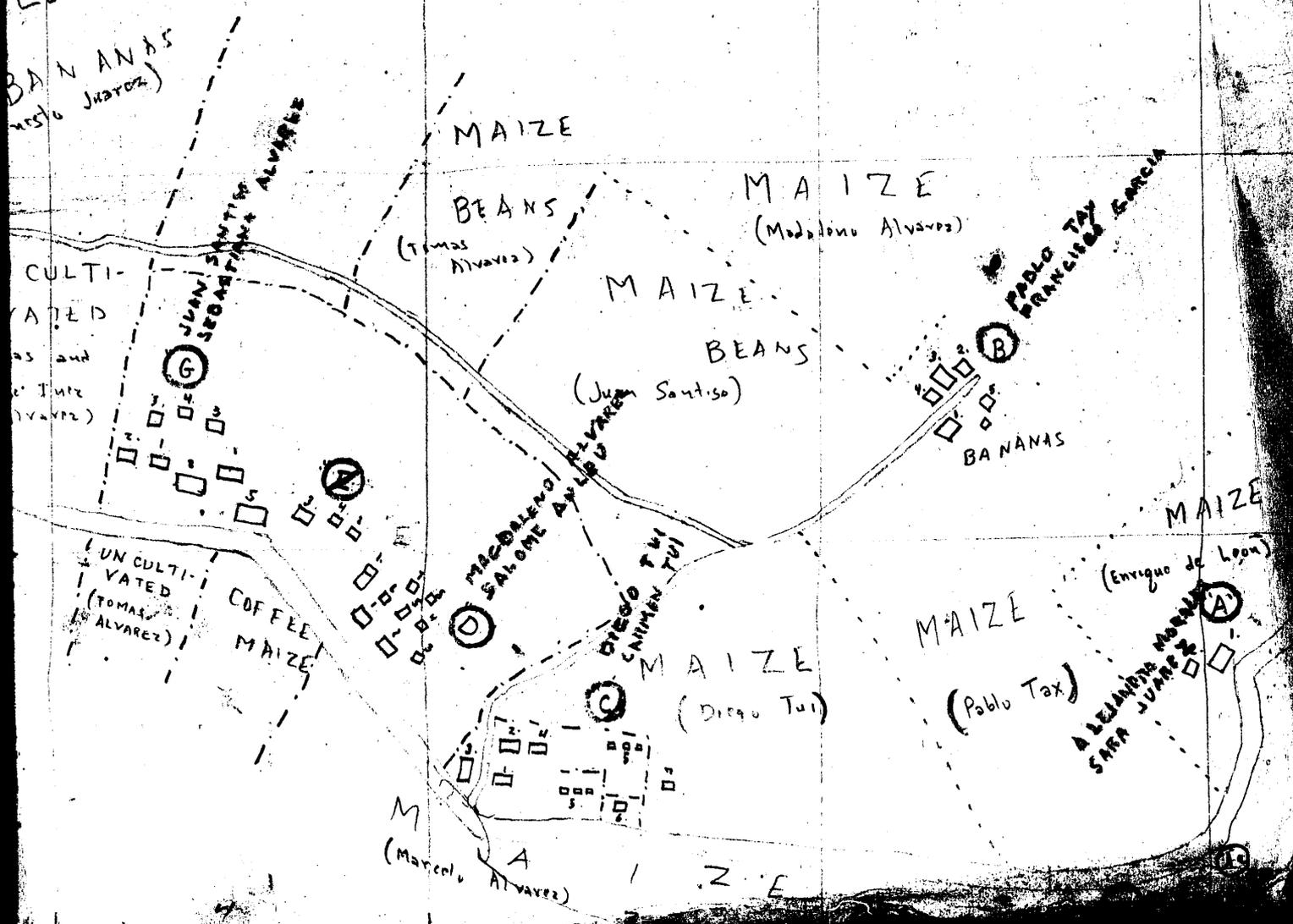
(Pablo Tax)

ALEXANDRE MARQUEZ
SARA JUAREZ

PABLO TAX
FRANCISCA GARCIA

BANANAS

MAIZE
(Enrique de Leon)



LUCI ARCULLA
MAGNUS MORALES
PELLE MONALES
VALENTINA PEREZ

PEDRO SICAK
NICOLA

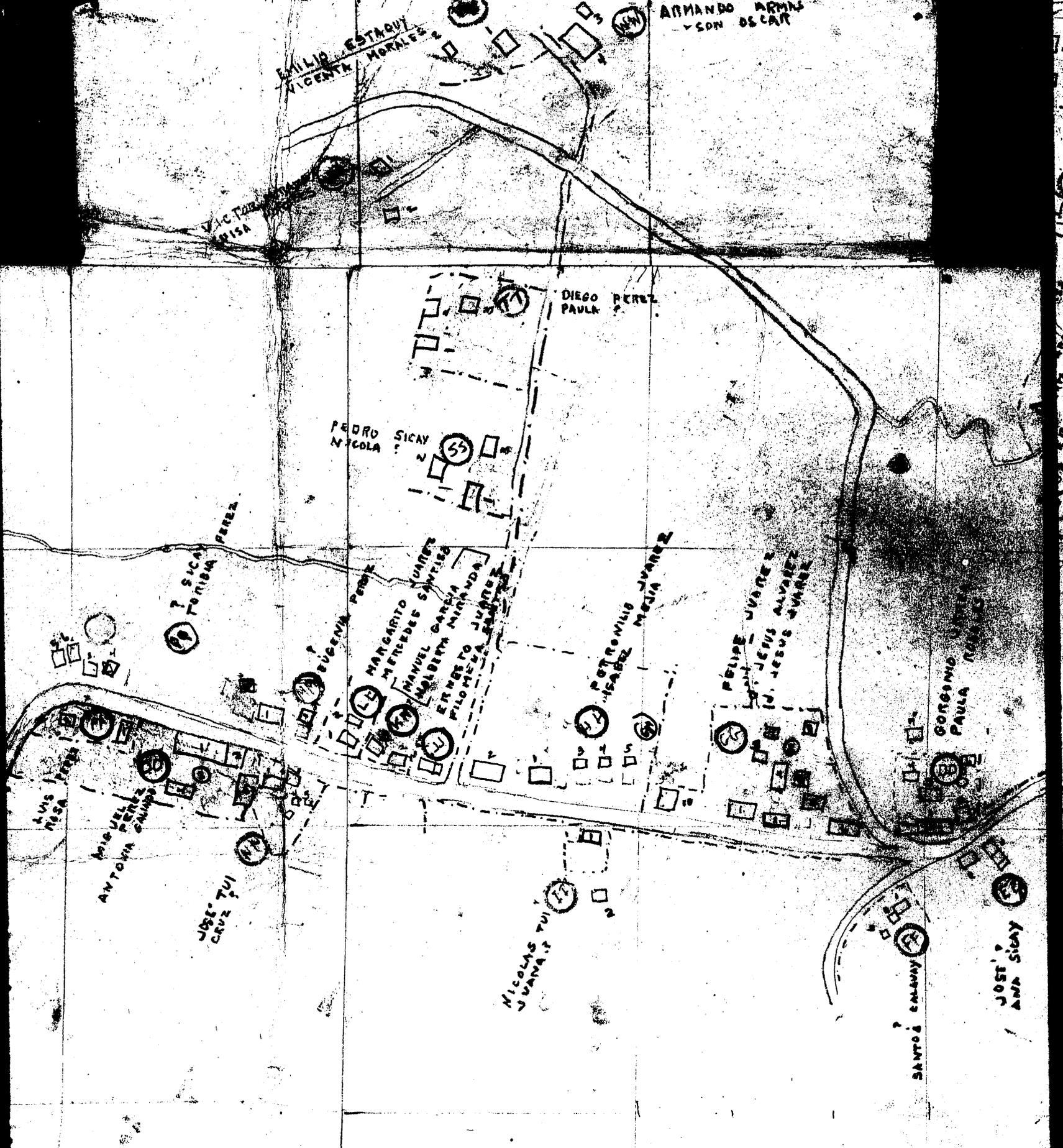
P. SICAK
TERESIA PEREZ

EUGENIA PEREZ
MARGARITO
MERCEDES JUANES
MANUEL GARCIA
MARGARETHA MORALES
EUGENIO MORALES
PILO MORALES
JUANES

LUIS PEREZ

MARIA VERA PEREZ
ANTONIA PEREZ

JOSE TUI
CAROL TUI



ESTADU
VICENTA MORALES

ARMANDO ARMAS
Y SON OSCAR

VIC TORRE
MISA

DIEGO PEREZ
PAULA

PEDRO NICOLA
SICAY

7 SICAY
TORRES PEREZ

EUGENIA PEREZ

MARGARITO JUANES
MERCEDES SANTISO
MANUEL GARCIA
ALBERTA MIRANDA
EUGENIO JUANES
PILOMELA JUANES

PETRONILLO JUANES
PAUL

PELISE JUANES
LOPE JESUS ALVAREZ
ID. JESUS JUANES

GORGONIO
PAULA

LUIS PEREZ
MISA

MIGUEL PEREZ
ANTONIA GALINDO

JOSE TUI
Cruz TUI

NICOLAS TUI
JUANA TUI

SANTO GALVANY

JOSE
ANA SICAY

DIEGO PEREZ
PAULA

(5)

ANTONIA MIRANDA
FLORENTINO JUANES
ROSA

ANTONINO JUANES
MARIA

PELIPPE JUANES
JESUS ALVAREZ
JESUS JUANES

GONCALVES USTREA
PAULA ROSALES

NICOLAS
JUANES P. TUI

SANTO CARMAY

JOSE
ANA SILAY

MARIA USTREA
DILIBO

MARTIN
FELISA

MARIA
LUCAS

ANTONIO
SANTOS

MARIA USTREA
DILIBO

MARTIN
FELISA

MARIA
LUCAS

ANTONIO
SANTOS

GASPAR
SANTOS

DAMIAN
ESTRADA

CARLOS
VELAZQUEZ
JESUS JUANES

