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NOTES ON
SANTO TOMAS
CHICHICASTENANGO
BY
SOL TAX

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Sol Tax

MICROFILM COLLECTION OF
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PREFACE

The notes that are roughly organized in this manuscript comprise virtually all that were collected from November 1934 through May 1935 in Chichicastenango. The work was done as part of the project of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Division of Historical Research. Although Redfield and Villa had carried on ethnological research in Yucatan by this time, my field season in Chichicastenango was the first incursion into the highlands of Guatemala by the ethnological staff of the Carnegie Institution. My wife and I arrived in Guatemala City on October 27th, and, after several weeks with census records and an attempt to become oriented, we left for Chichicastenango on November 14th, intending simply to learn something about the country rather than to stay there to work. On December 10th, we left for a survey of the highlands west of Chichicastenango, returning again to Chichicastenango on the 23rd. It was only then that we decided to remain in Chichicastenango to study its culture.

The reasons for this decision are indicated in my correspondence with Robert Redfield, passages from which are included in Appendix I to this manuscript.

I have since had reason to regret having begun work in highland Guatemala in a community as large as Chichicastenango, containing from 25,000 to 30,000 Indians, scattered over a territory of about 100 square miles. Although much of the information that I was able to obtain is undoubtedly sound, it is very difficult to tell what sort of sample it represents. In a community this size, it is clearly impossible in a short space of time to obtain relatively "complete" information even on a restricted topic. If it were possible to apply a sampling technique, one could with more security and confidence collect information that would mean something. However, in order to obtain a good sample, one must know considerably more about the community as a whole than it is possible to discover in eight months. I would have done much better, therefore, to have begun my work in Guatemala with a smaller community and come to Chichicastenango only for comparative information.

The following seasons were spent for the most part in Panajachel, which is just such a small community. The materials of Panajachel I am preparing for publication in the form of monographs. These notes on Chichicastenango, however, I never intend to publish in such form. They are useful when taken together with materials from other communities, and with notes collected by other workers in Chichicastenango and I intend to use them in this way. There is not enough in them to justify a rounded monograph on Chichicastenango itself.

During the season 1940-1 we returned again to Chichicastenango for a period of nearly six months. Although in 1934-5 we lived in the pueblo itself, during the second season we took up residence in the countryside, not far from town, in the canton of Chinmá. However,

my object there was to work on materials from Panajachel and not really to collect additional materials on Chichicasteñango. Needless to say, through living in the place, some new insights were achieved about Chichicasteñango itself. I do not consider that my work in Chichicasteñango represents two seasons of labor, but only one, and unless otherwise specified, all of the material reproduced here was collected in 1934-5.

I was preceded in Chichicasteñango by two professional anthropologists: L. Schultze-Jena, who published Leben Glaube und Sprache der Quiché von Guatemala, (1933), and Dr. Ruth Bunzel. In 1940 Dr. Bunzel sent me a manuscript that she had prepared on Chichicasteñango, asking for my comments. Our correspondence, including the comments, is included here as Appendix II for whatever additional light it may shed both on the methods pursued in our field work and on the culture of Chichicasteñango.

The notes contained in this manuscript are reproduced virtually in the condition in which they were collected. I have attempted only to organize them roughly to make them more easily usable, and I have included some introductory and connecting paragraphs where I have thought this advisable. In every case, the attempt is made to separate these connecting paragraphs from the original notes. Also included as Appendix III is the manuscript copy of an article, "Town and Country in Chichicasteñango", which was published in Three Americas, Vol. pp. . This is my only publication directly and exclusively on Chichicasteñango and it is included because the published version is virtually unavailable.

The material that I gathered on the language I have turned over to Dr. Norman McQuown who is working over Andrade's material.

Although most of the ethnological materials that appear in them are otherwise classified in the body of this manuscript, I am including as Appendix IV, the diaries of my field seasons in Chichicasteñango, which include indications of the length of time actually spent in the community and with various informants. They may serve as a guide to some of the other notes.

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SANTO TOMAS CHICHICASTENANGO
BY SOL TAX

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Population and Geography

1. General.

The notes that follow were written after about a month in Chichicastenango. Since then the Census of 1940 has appeared and it may be useful to cite the latest statistics. The publication of the census of 1940 is still incomplete, the volume containing subdivisions of the municipios not yet having appeared. The following table, (████████), shows such subdivisions according to the 1921 census. (Censo de la Poblacion de la Republica levantado el 28 de Agosto de 1921, Guatemala, 1921, pp.411-12).



Pueblo
Santo Tomás Chichicastenango 1,011

Aldea
Chuchipacá 2,276

Caseros	
Chinimá	149
Agua Escondida	216
Chuabaj	717
Chulumal 1 ^o	221
Chulumal 2 ^o	217
Chulumal 3 ^o	245
Chulumal 4 ^o	445
Mactzul 1 ^o	322
Mactzul 2 ^o	440
Mactzul 3 ^o	372
Mactzul 4 ^o	425
Mactzul 5 ^o	350
Mactzul 6 ^o	267
Pachoj	378
Chucam	414
Camanchaj	194
Sajvichol	302
Panquiac	459
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El Molino	30

21,850

25,137

The following material is all that pertains to Chichicastenango that is published in the Quinto Censo General de Poblacion Levantado el 7 de Abril de 1940, Guatemala, June, 1942.

Urban, Rural and Special Population, classified by sex

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Santo Tomás Chichicastenango:			
Total	27,608	13,977	13,631
Urban Population	1,167	547	620
Rural Population	26,360	13,385	12,975
Special Population	81	45	36

Population classified by age and sex

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Less than 1 year	986	511	475
From 1 to 2	1,884	930	954
From 3 to 5	2,962	1,488	1,474
" 6 to 7	1,552	783	769
" 8 to 10	2,873	1,475	1,398
" 11 to 13	1,772	1,208	564
" 14	411	247	164
" 15 to 17	1,729	944	785
" 18	849	420	429
" 19 to 20	1,249	506	743
" 21	174	84	90
" 22 to 30	4,462	2,051	2,411
" 31 to 40	3,061	1,578	1,483
" 41 to 50	1,634	799	835
" 51 to 60	1,085	517	568
" 61 to 70	423	213	210
" 71 to 80	338	150	188
" 81 to 90	97	47	50
" 91 to 100	40	18	22
Over 100	9	5	4
Age unknown	18	3	15

Population classified by race and sex

	<u>Total</u> (Male and Female)	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Total (All races)	27,608	13,977	13,631
White and Mixed	957	443	514
Indian	26,651	13,534	13,117

Religion classified by sex

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Catholic	27,460	13,910	13,550
Protestant	142	62	80
Other religions	5	4	1
No religion	1	1	

Language classified by sex

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Total (All languages)	27,608	13,977	13,631
Spanish	993	485	508
English	13	4	9
German	2	1	1
Quiche	25,469	12,880	12,589
Kachiquel	1,131	607	524

Literacy
(Excluding those under 7 years of age)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Total knowing alphabet	7,852	4,544	3,308
Those who can read only	70	53	17
Those who can read and write	7,782	4,491	3,291
Those who do not know alphabet	13,073	6,087	6,986
No Data	23	9	14
Total No. included in this table	20,948	10,640	10,308
Percentage of Illiterates.....	62.41		

Those of School Age -- Classified by Sex

<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
5,780	3,305	2,475

Civil Condition, classified by groups of ages
and by sex

	<u>Age groups</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Impuberal	Total	12,029	6,395	5,634
	Under 1 year	986	511	475
	From 1 to 2	1,884	930	954
	" 3 " 5	2,962	1,488	1,474
	" 6 " 7	1,552	783	769
	" 8 " 10	2,873	1,475	1,398
Single	" 11 " 13	1,772	1,208	564
	Total	12,534	6,159	6,375
	14 years	409	247	162
	From 15 to 17	1,649	923	726
	18	756	381	375
	19 to 20	1,038	441	597
	21	142	67	75
From 22 to 30	3,582	1,621	1,961	

Continued on next page

Table continued from previous page

Civil Condition, classified by age groups and by sex

<u>Single (Continued)</u>	<u>Age groups</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
	From 31 to 40	2,347	1,204	1,143
	" 41 to 50	1,228	597	631
	" 51 to 60	752	370	382
	" 61 to 70	294	162	132
	" 71 to 80	282	109	173
	" 81 to 90	20	20	--
	" 91 to 100	15	12	3
	More than 100	5	3	2
	Age unknown	15	2	13
Married	Total	2,566	1,350	1,216
	14 years	2	--	2
	From 15 to 17	80	21	59
	18	92	39	53
	From 19 to 20	207	65	142
	21	31	16	15
	From 22 to 30	848	425	423
	From 31 to 40	651	367	284
	" 41 to 50	298	188	110
	" 51 to 60	214	134	80
	" 61 to 70	75	51	24
	" 71 to 80	44	29	15
	" 81 to 90	17	11	6
	" 91 to 100	4	2	2
	More than 100	1	1	—
	Age unknown	2	1	1
Widowed	Total	473	71	402
	14 years	—	—	—
	From 15 to 17	—	—	—
	18	1	—	1
	From 19 to 20	3	—	3
	21	—	—	—
	From 22 to 30	29	4	25
	From 31 to 40	62	7	55
	" 41 to 50	108	14	94
	" 51 to 60	119	13	106
	" 61 to 70	54	—	54
	" 71 to 80	12	12	—
	" 81 to 90	60	16	44
	" 91 to 100	21	4	17
	More than 100	3	1	2
	Age unknown	1	—	1

Continued on next page

Table continued from previous page

Civil Condition, classified by age groups and by sex

<u>Divorced</u>	<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
	Total	6	2	4
	14 years	—	—	—
	From 15 to 17	—	—	—
	18	—	—	—
	From 19 to 20	1	—	1
	21	1	1	—
	From 22 to 30	3	1	2
	From 31 to 40	1	—	1
	" 41 to 50	—	—	—
	" 51 to 60	—	—	—
	" 61 to 70	—	—	—
	" 71 to 80	—	—	—
	" 81 to 90	—	—	—
	" 91 to 100	—	—	—
	More than 100	—	—	—
	Age unknown	—	—	—

CHICHICASTENANGO

Chichicastenango is the name of a municipio occupying the southern extremity of the Departamento de Quiche, about a hundred miles northwest of Guatemala City. The name of the pueblo which is the only village settlement in the municipio, and which is the "capital" of it as well as its social nerve-center, is the same -- properly Santo Tomás Chichicastenango. The Indians refer to themselves as being of Chichicastenango, and call the town "the pueblo" rather than by its proper name. Practically all of the Chichicastenango Indians live in the surrounding country -- divided into Cantones -- each of which has a proper name -- and to find out where an Indian lives one must put the question: "From what Canton are you?"

The population statistics present somewhat of a problem. The last government census was taken in 1920, and the Pueblo and the cantones (called "caserios" in the census) are listed separately. Altogether, the census lists 63 cantones and one "El Molina" which is in no sense a canton. The Indians recognize 64 cantones all with Alcalde auxiliares and all official; the one that is not in the census is Chujupen. In addition, one of the 64 is really four cantones with four principales and four unofficial auxiliares: this is Panimache. Nevertheless, the total census figures should be accurate. Altogether the census enumerates 25,137-- 1,011 of them in the pueblo. This was of course in 1920, and there is no good reason to believe that it was taken very accurately, for the Indians say that the census-takers merely got figures from the alcaldes auxiliares.

Padre Rosbach thinks that today the population is about 25,000 but he includes those who are permanently living on farms, and the census of 1920 apparently did not. The Padre judges that on the basis of his observation and on the number of baptisms he has -- about 1500 a year. He says that all Indians, wherever they live, come back to Chichienstango to baptise their children; and this is probably generally true. But unless the death rate is known in detail, it would seem impossible to estimate the population on the basis of the number of baptisms. I have made some attempts to estimate the population, but they are not entirely successful. The following table offers a comparison of the census figures for various scattered cantones and the estimates of a native of each.

Canton	Census figure	Information of natives	
		no. households	population
Chuamansana	318	20	60
Chucam	414	10	40
Semeja 1st	315	40	?
Semeja 2nd	164	40	?
Maatzul 4th	425	30	60
Xeabaj *	688	15	60
Chuacalibal	350	25	80
Agua Escondida	216	50	200
Chuabaj *	717	15	72
Chicua 1st	415	10	120
Quejel **	629	60	300
Chupol 2nd *	358	25	100
Paxot 1st	384	18	180

Cases marked (*) I am a bit more sure of than the others because I obtained a household census. That of Chuabaj, however, is a bit extreme, and I suspect untruthfulness on the part of the informant. Quejel (marked **) I am very sure of, and would wager that the figure given by the Indian -- in this case Tomas Ventura -- is not more than five off. For this cantone I made a map, visited every household and got good statistics. For the others I wouldn't wager anything at all, and I suspect that either from ignorance or for some motive (Tomas seems to think it is deliberate) the Indians consistently underestimate their population. Yet my hunch is that the number of people actually living permanently in the cantones now is no more than 15,000 and probably less. The Padre says 25,000 but offers no evidence at all.

The chief reason for the decline is not the death rate but the fact that the families have moved in great numbers to the coast. The migration this migration took back as long as thirty years. I have the map of

Fineros as well as of the Indians for this) and I suspect that in the 1920 census the Indians were counted twice -- once here and once on the fincas. Just how many Indians have gone from Chichicastenango to the fincas is problematical, for there are absolutely no figures available to answer such a question. But if Quejel is typical of the other cantones, some notion may be gained from my figures which I consider pretty reliable.

In Quejel there are 88 property-holdings, each of which now or at one time held a household. One family now has two of these (one the husband's, the other the wife's) so there are 87 to consider. Of these only 39 are now occupied by the 326 inhabitants. That means an average of 8.5 in each household. There are 48 houses abandoned to the fincas (one to the city, where the man is in the army) and at the same average, that means ~~that~~ that there are 398 Quejel people now living on the fincas. Since in the census, Quejel has 2.5% of the total population, it may be that there are 15,920 Chichicastenango people on the fincas. That does not mean that that many have left, for births and deaths occur on the finca and the population once moved may increase or decline. Obviously, this is just figuring, but it seems to me not unlikely that there are about 15,000 Indians here and the same number away from here.

It may be remarked while still on the subject of the fincas, that a great many more than this number go to the fincas for short stays during the harvest and coffee-washing times. A large majority of the men earn part of their annual income in this way. This should be discussed under a heading of economics, however. It seems worthwhile now to use Quejel statistics once more to give some notion of the rate of movement (of permanent residence) to the fincas in the past thirty years. The figures are for numbers of families, for an entire household usually migrates at once: Of the 48,

1 family moved 30 years ago				5 families moved 6 years ago			
1	"	"	25	"	"	1	"
1	"	"	22	"	"	12	"
1	"	"	20	"	"	10	"
1	"	"	16	"	"	3	"
1	"	"	15	"	"	2	"
4	"	"	10	"	"		"
1	"	"	9	"	"		"
2	"	"	8	"	"		"
1	"	"	7	"	"		"
							1 family moved unknown years ago.

Although these figures are rough estimates by Tomas Ventura (taken with other statistics) they seem to indicate that the greatest exodus occurred three and four years ago (just before the collapse of the coffee market, I think). Most people return to the Pueblo, and to their cantone homes once a year, for the December fiesta, and on this occasion many of them baptize their children.

So far, I have been speaking about the Indian population. There are no ladinos at all in the cantones, but there are some 200 or three hundred in the Pueblo. Some of them have been sent to the area immediately surrounding the pueblo, and they have been there since the beginning of the century. They are the ladinos who

Notes (1) -4-

municipio

Besides a map of the ~~XXXXXXXX~~, and one of Quejel, I have made a preliminary map of the pueblo itself. The distribution of Ladino and Indian population is a point of interest. Almost central in the town is the plaza, which serves chiefly as a meeting place and on Thursdays and Sundays as the great market-place. Surrounding the plaza are public buildings; the two churches, the municipal buildings, a municipal garden with band-stand, ladino and Indian schools, and several stores. Nearby are the hotels and the theater. North and east of the plaza are several entire blocks of ladino homes; the rest of the town consists of Indian homes, with, however, at least one ladino home on almost every square block. The most important ladino people seem to live close to the plaza, which may be assumed to be the choice neighborhood; but there is at best a one-sided segregation; no Indians live in the ladino neighborhood immediately surrounding the plaza, but there are numerous ladinos living among the Indians farther off. No thorough study has been made of economic and social differences in relation to geography (or to anything else) and until this is done, the map has a preliminary value only.

Besides the Indians and the ladinos, there are a few foreigners in town: the Padre (Ildefonso Roszbach, a native German but American citizen who was previously in Momostenango); an American missionary -- Evangelical -- with his family (none of whom I have met since they have been away from town); a young German by the name of Francke who has been here three years and who has married a ladino woman, has a child, and has entered the ladino community to a large extent; and Mr. and Mrs. Rohrman, who run the Maya Inn, a tourist hotel over two years old (Mr. Rohrman is a native German, long a fincero at Coban; Mrs. Rohrman is a native Guatemaltecan, daughter of French parents who own a Coban finca). As far as I know, that is the complete roster of foreigners.

The padre is of course highly respected by the Indians and ladinos alike, for all are pious Catholics in their own way and he has been here a long time; the Evangelical missionary has few, if any, converts, and I think that most of the Indians consider him and his church something of a laughing matter. The Maya Inn is tolerated by the Indians, and I think welcomed by the Ladinos for the business it brings. In the Inn, some dozen Indian boys, and a few ladinos are employed; wages are very small, but probably up to the general standard. The boys are learning English slowly and are apparently pleased with their employment. Whether the Indian community resents their co-operation with the alien Inn I cannot tell, but very likely the large majority who oppose any outside contact do so. Tomas Ventura, and through him his whole family, has made many enemies in the community; Tomas says it is because of his connection with the Inn (he guides tourists and is completely free in taking foreigners to his canton homes) but there is probably more to it than that; according to the Padre, he and his father have been relentless usurers and have so acquired much property. Tomas' father was for a long time Secretary of the Indian municipality in days when graft was rampant, and this may account for the start of both the family fortune and the family's enemies. Nevertheless, the sympathy of the Venturas with the tourists and the Maya Inn have no doubt aggravated their situation. It must not be understood, however, that they have no friends; a faction of the more progressive are with them, and of course they have many trade

Notes (1) -5-

tional family friends.

In addition to those already enumerated, there are several families of Indians from Totonicapan and from Quetzaltenango; their role in the community life I do not know, but in the fiesta of Concepcion this December, one of the Totonicapeans played host to a group of Indians (and a few ladinos), importing to his house a marimba band from Totonicapan and acting for all the world like a member of the local community. This one has been here 22 years, is the best mason in the Pueblo, and has a family here -- all of whom wear Totonicapan costume.

The Indians and the Ladinos get on very well on the surface, with the latter in a distinctly superior position, economically and socially. There is no doubt a strong feeling of real hatred on the part of the Indians, however, occasioned partly, I suppose, by the rankling of the caste system when the Indians don't feel at all inferior, partly by the fact that in the past Ladinos were instrumental in practically selling a great many Indians into slavery to the Fincas, partly by jealousy -- for some Ladinos are very wealthy (one family here has four fine cars and owns a good deal of the town) -- and no doubt partly by centuries-old animosity. The padre believes that if organized and a bit educated the Indians might some night massacre all of the ladinos; whether this belief is general among foreigners, whether it is shared by Ladinos, whether it constitutes a real danger -- or one imagined by the Ladinos -- or whether the Indians ever think of such a thing, I have no idea.

The Ladinos seem to be as much "folk-people" as are the Indians; their religion is almost as little orthodox, they probably have their own customs and beliefs quite distinct from those of the civilized world to which they are marginal. But since many more are literate, and all are Spanish-speaking, and since some, wealthy, have many contacts with the world, they will be much more quickly absorbed by the world than the Indians. It appears that they are a sort of conductor through which pass the notions of civilization to the Indians. They are easily distinguishable from the Indians by physical features, costume, language, and to some extent mode of physical life. A very few, if any, Indians have become Ladino-ized; with the advent of the Indian school in the last few years, one might expect the process to speed up shortly; yet I think it would take generations for any appreciable effect to be felt. More to this point will be discussed under separate headings.

Miscellaneous notes:

Chiche was always separate from Chichicastenango; the fiesta of Santo Tomas is held there just after the one here.

Only two years ago they started their market in Chiche

Cantones

The cantones, rated by population *(by Miguel Ignacio)*

Largest: Chunima

second: Quejel

third: Xeabaj

fourth: Pajulaboy

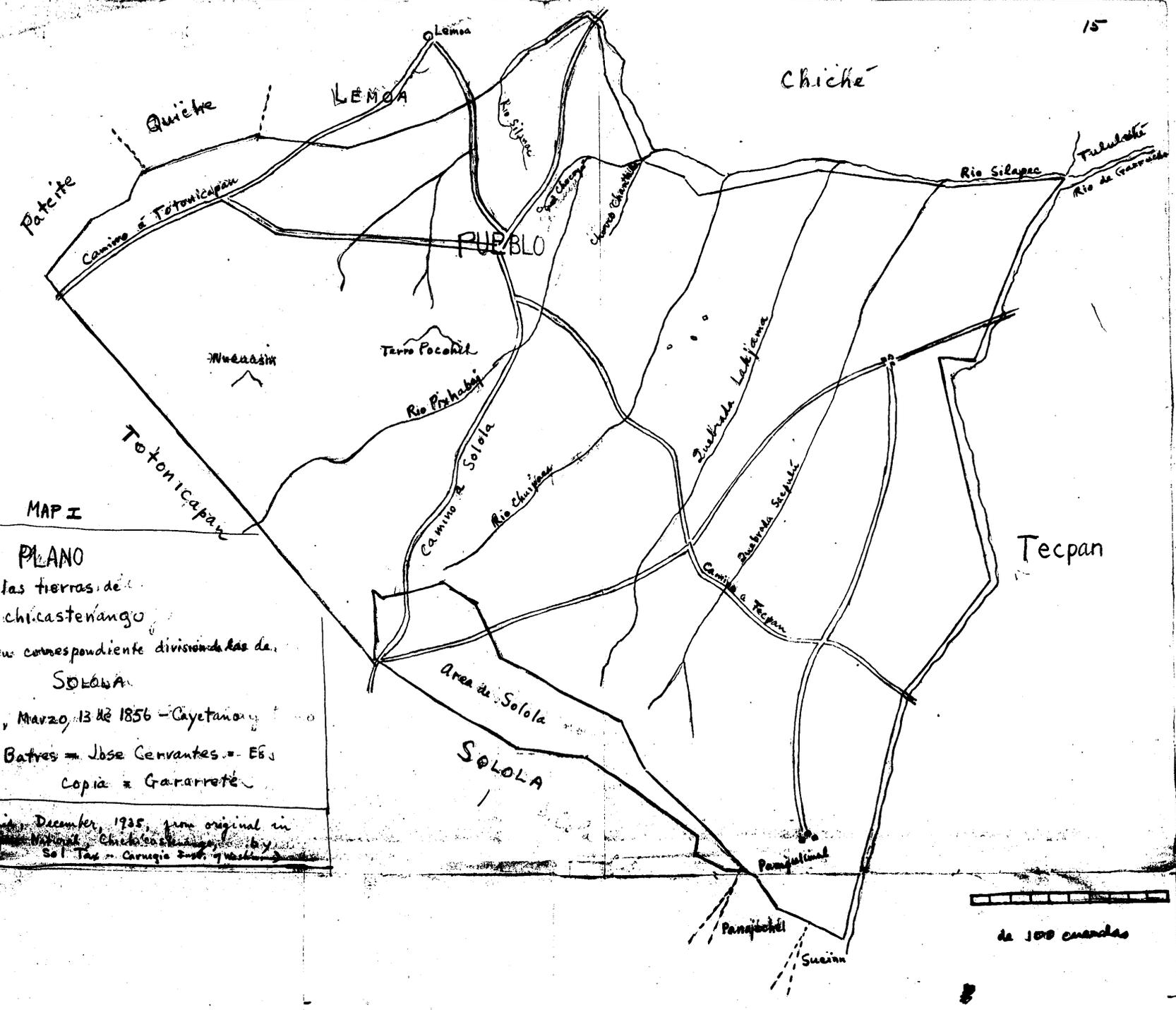
Smallest: one of the Mactzuls

14

Maps:

The two maps that follow are of the Municipio of Chichicastenango as a whole. Map I is copied from a map hanging in the Indian juzgado. The scale is in hundreds of cuerdas. The cuerda is probably 32 Spanish varas, each vara equalling 33 English inches. Possibly, however, the cuerda of this scale is 40 varas. There is no way of telling since both measures are common in the area in different contexts.

Map II is my own, made in the field, with the aid of informants. It makes no pretense to real accuracy.



MAP I

PLANO

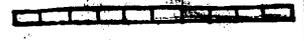
de las tierras de
 Chichicastenango
 con su correspondiente división de las de
 SOLOLA

Solola, Marzo 13 de 1856 - Cayetano

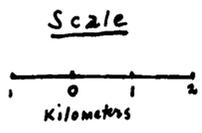
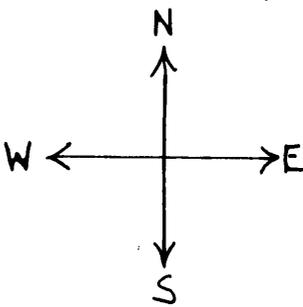
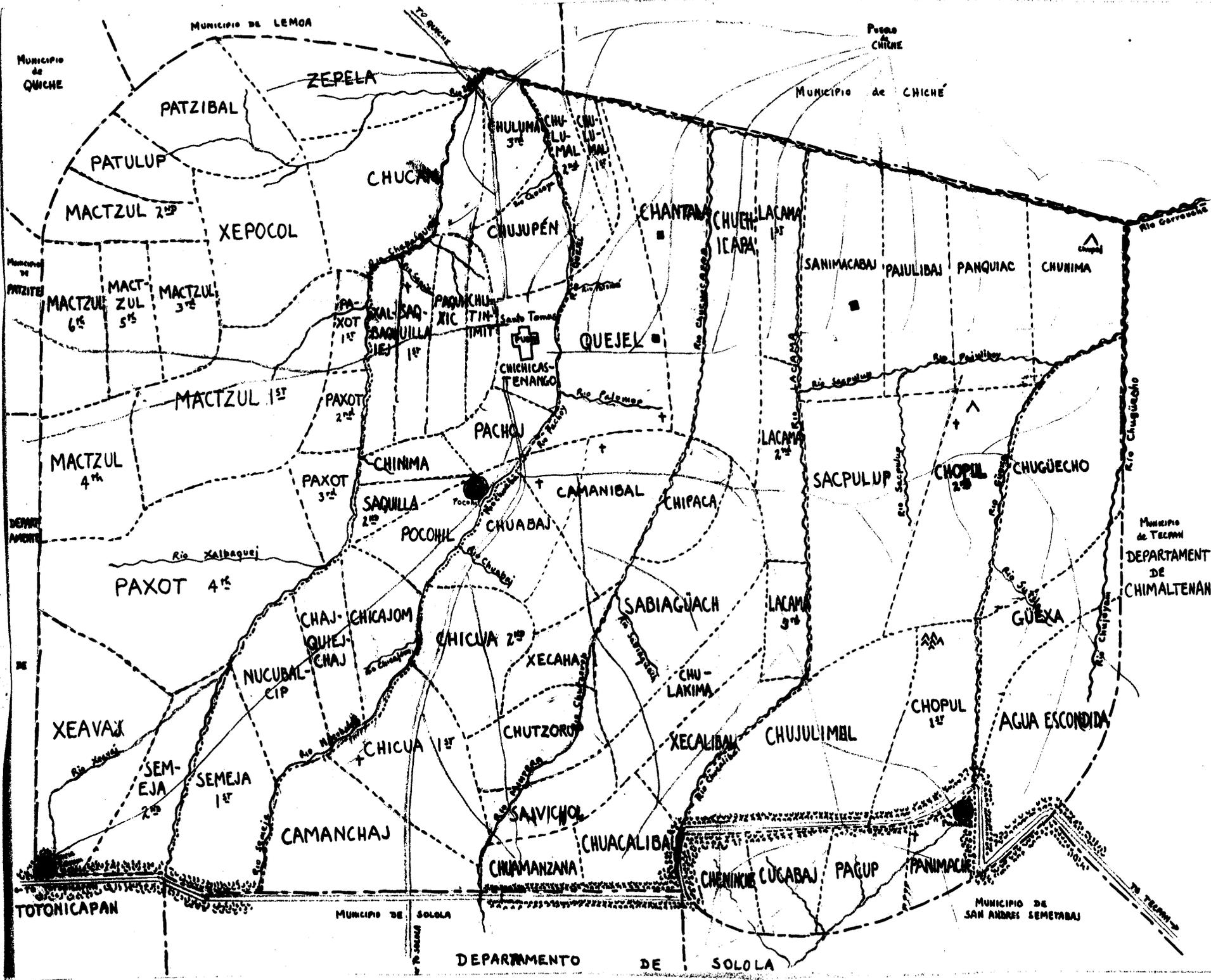
Batres = Jose Cervantes = EB

Copia = Gararroté

Given December, 1935, from original in
 National Archives, Chichicastenango, by
 Sol. Tax = Caruqia 200. 9/25/35



de 100 cuerdas

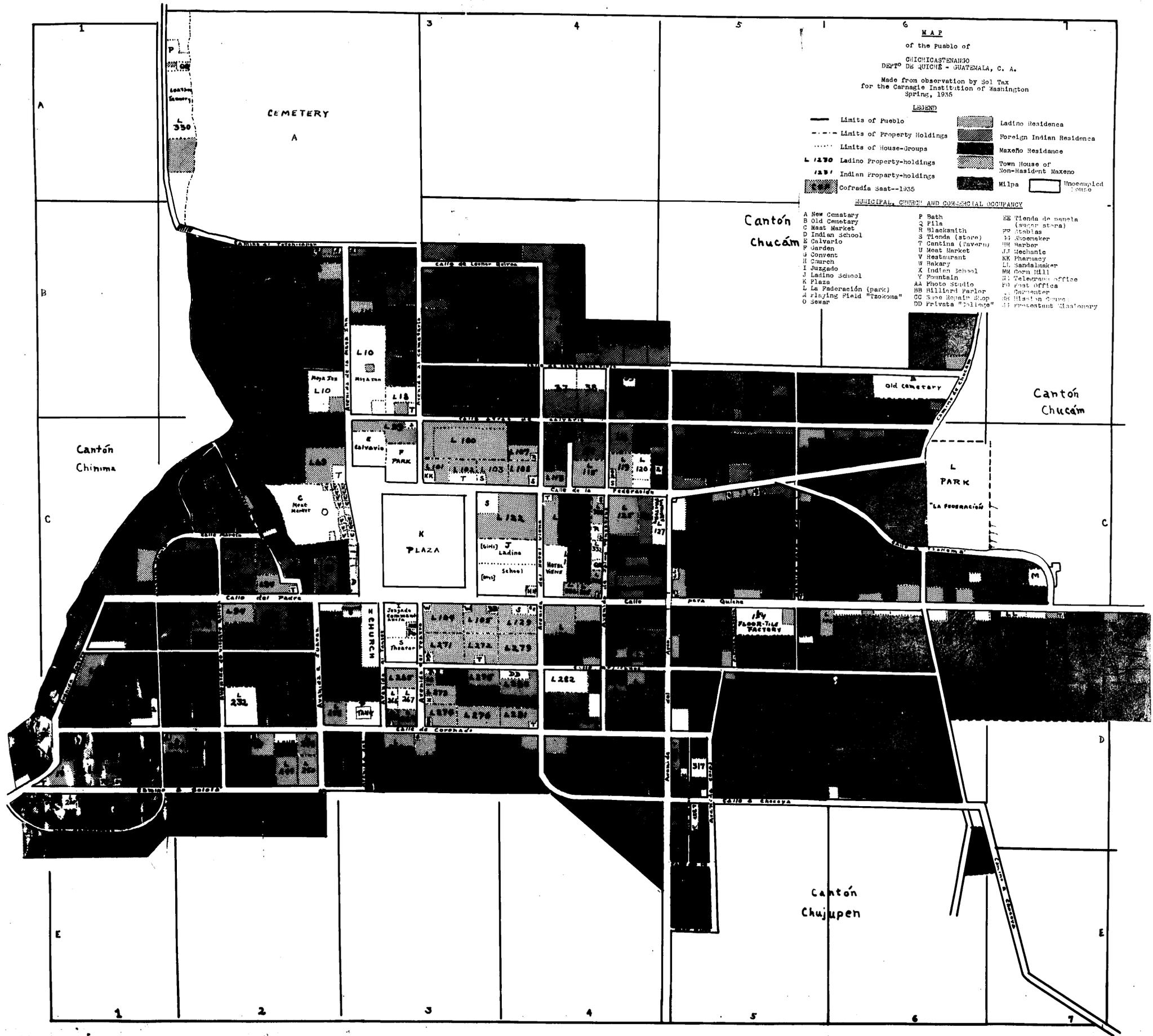


MAP II

- MAP -
 OF
 THE MUNICIPALIDAD OF
 SANTO TOMAS
 CHICHICASTENANGO
 OF THE DEPARTAMENTO OF
 GUICHE,
 REPUBLIC OF GUATEMALA
 =
 COMPILED FROM ALL AVAILABLE
 SOURCES AND ORIGINAL OBSERVATION
 =
 DECEMBER 1, 1934

LEGEND

- - - - - DEPT. & MUN. BOUND.
- BOUNDARIES OF CANTONES
- ==== AUTOMOBILE ROADS
- — — — — IMPORTANT MULE & FOOT ROADS
- ▲ MOUNTAINS
- MOUNTAIN PEAKS
- ▲ SMALL MOUNTAINS: CERROS
- † ANCIENT CETMETARIES
- RUINS



MAP
of the Pueblo of
CHICHICASTENANGO
DEPTO DE QUICHE - GUATEMALA, C. A.
Made from observation by Sol Tax
for the Carnegie Institution of Washington
Springs, 1935

- LEGEND**
- Limits of Pueblo
 - - - Limits of Property Holdings
 - Limits of House-Groups
 - L 1270 Ladino Property-holdings
 - L 127 Indian Property-holdings
 - Cofradía Sant-1935
 - Ladino Residencia
 - Foreign Indian Residencia
 - Muxeño Residencia
 - Town House of Non-Resident Muxeño
 - Milpa
 - Unoccupied

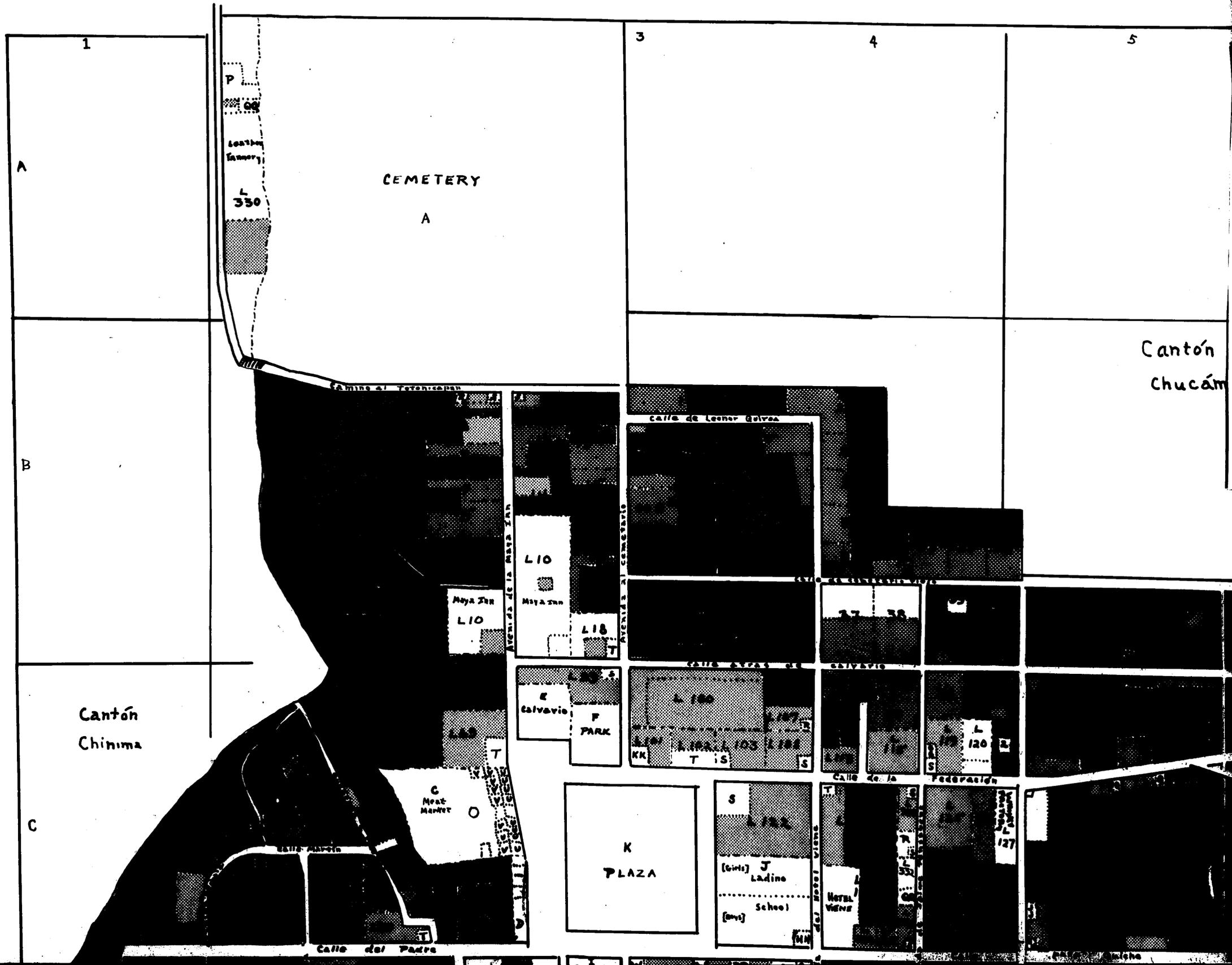
- MUNICIPAL, CHURCH AND COMMERCIAL OCCUPANCY**
- | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| A New Cemetery | P Bath | EE Tienda de pañeta |
| B Old Cemetery | Q Pila | (sugar store) |
| C Meat Market | R Blacksmith | FF Tablas |
| D Indian School | S Tienda (store) | GG Sweeney |
| E Calvario | T Cantina (bar) | HH Barber |
| F Garden | U Meat Market | JJ Mechanic |
| G Convent | V Restaurant | KK Pharmacy |
| H Church | W Bakery | LL Saddlemaker |
| I Juzgado | X Indian School | MM Corn Mill |
| J Ladino School | Y Fountain | NN Telegram office |
| K Plaza | AA Photo Studio | OO Post Office |
| L La Federación (park) | BB Billiard Parlor | PP Carpenter |
| M Playing Field "tzokoma" | CC Shoe Repair Shop | QQ Mason Church |
| O Sewer | DD Private "College" | RR Protestant Missionary |

Cantón
Chucám

Cantón
Chucám

Cantón
Chinima

Cantón
Chujupen



1

3

4

5

A

CEMETERY

A

Cantón
Chucám

B

CALLE DEL TERNICAPAN

CALLE DE LEONOR GUIVA

L10

Moya Zan
L10

Moya Zan

L18

AVENIDA DE LA MASA IAN

AVENIDA AL CEMENTERIO

Cantón
Chinima

E
Salvavio

F
PARK

L 100
L 101
L 102
L 103
L 104
L 105
L 106
L 107
L 108
L 109
L 110
L 111
L 112
L 113
L 114
L 115
L 116
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L 137
L 138
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L 140
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L 142
L 143
L 144
L 145
L 146
L 147
L 148
L 149
L 150

G
Meat
Market

K
PLAZA

S
L 111
[Girls] J
Ladino
[Boys] School

CALLE DE LA FEDERACION

MOTEL
VIEVA

L 127

CALLE DEL PADRE

3 4 5 6 7

M A P

of the Pueblo of
 CHICHICASTENANGO
 DEPTO DE QUICHE - GUATEMALA, C. A.
 Made from observation by Sol Tax
 for the Carnegie Institution of Washington
 Spring, 1955

LEGEND

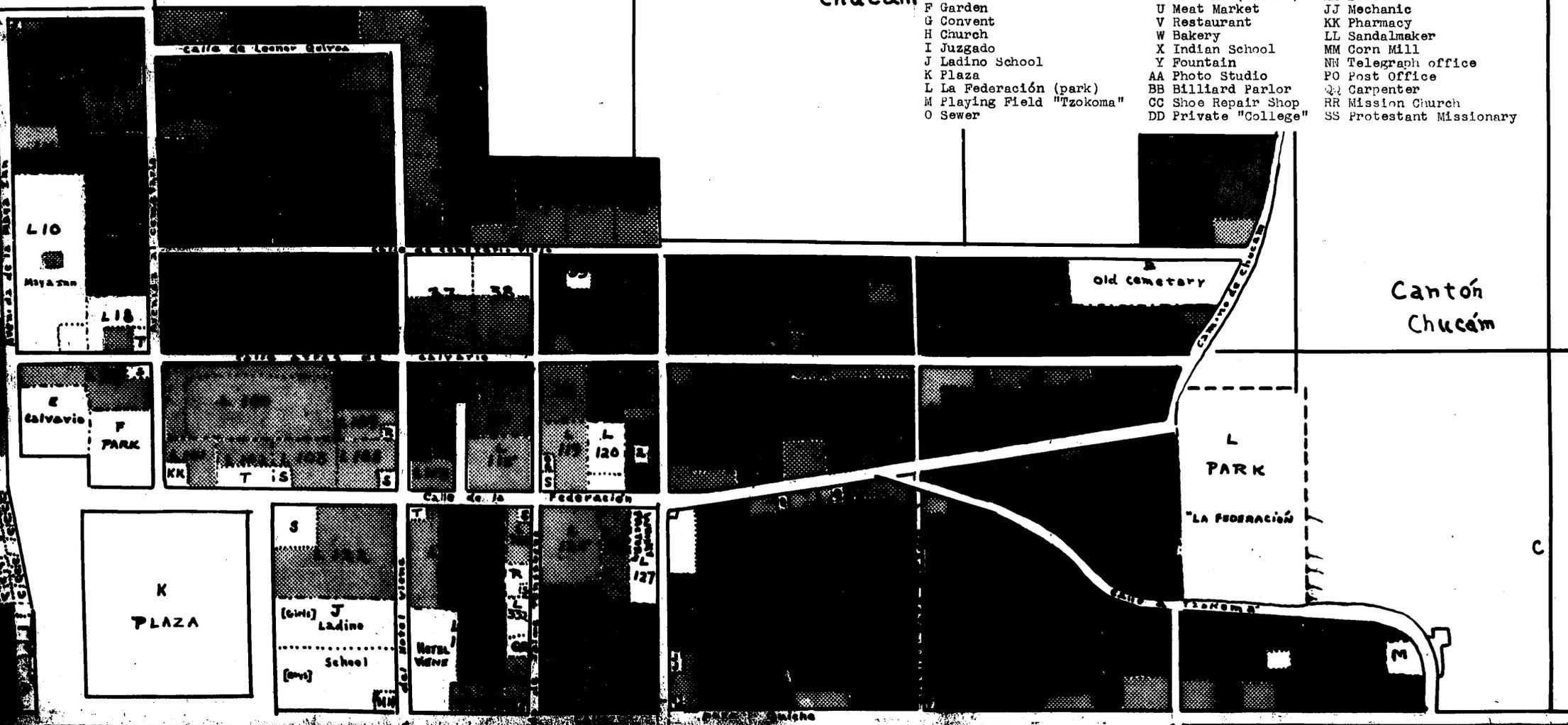
- Limits of Pueblo
- - - Limits of Property Holdings
- Limits of House-Groups
- L / 230 Ladino Property-holdings
- / 23 / Indian Property-holdings
- [Pattern] Cofradia Seat--1935
- [Pattern] Ladino Residence
- [Pattern] Foreign Indian Residence
- [Pattern] Maxefo Residence
- [Pattern] Town House of Non-Resident Maxefo
- [Pattern] Milpa
- [Pattern] Unoccupied House

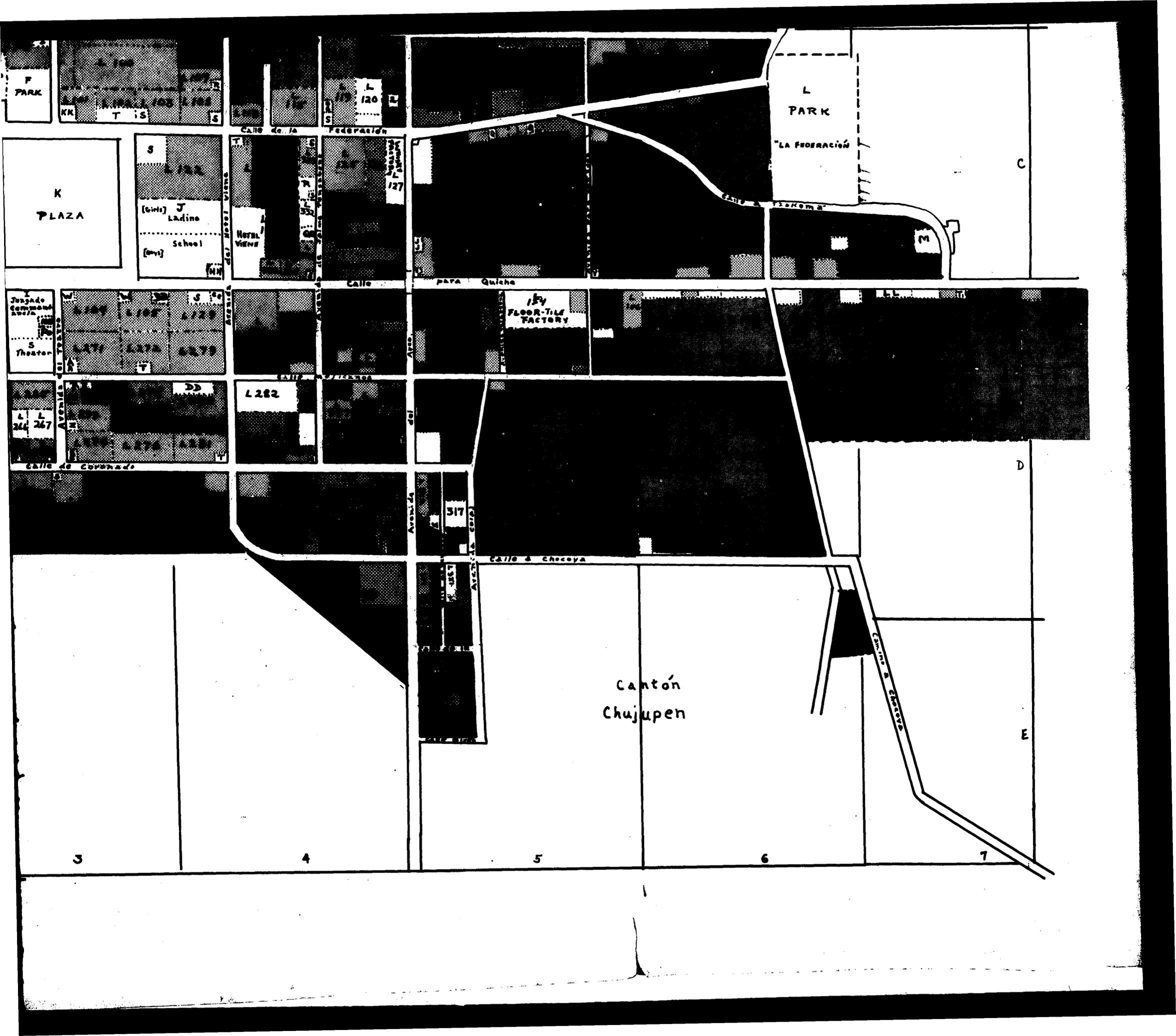
MUNICIPAL, CHURCH AND COMMERCIAL OCCUPANCY

- | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| A New Cemetery | P Bath | EE Tienda de panela (sugar store) |
| B Old Cemetery | Q Pila | FF Stables |
| C Meat Market | R Blacksmith | GG Shoemaker |
| D Indian School | S Tienda (store) | HH Barber |
| E Galvario | T Cantina (Tavern) | JJ Mechanic |
| F Garden | U Meat Market | KK Pharmacy |
| G Convent | V Restaurant | LL Sandal-maker |
| H Church | W Bakery | MM Corn Mill |
| I Juzgado | X Indian School | NN Telegraph office |
| J Ladino School | Y Fountain | PO Post Office |
| K Plaza | AA Photo Studio | QQ Carpenter |
| L La Federación (park) | BB Billiard Parlor | RR Mission Church |
| M Playing Field "Tzokoma" | CC Shoe Repair Shop | SS Protestant Missionary |
| O Sewer | DD Private "College" | |

Cantón
 Chucám

Cantón
 Chucám





P
PARK

L
PARK

K
PLAZA

S
L. P. 122
[Cinco] J
Ladino
[Cinco] School

CALLE de la Federación

"LA FEDERACIÓN"

CALLE PAPA Quiche

154
FLOOR-TILE
FACTORY

Jungado
Command
area
S
Theater

L 282

317

CALLE de Chocoya

CANTÓN
Chujupen

CALLE de Chocoya

3

4

5

6

7

C

D

E

2. The Town itself.

Map III, map of the town, which precedes this page, and which is reproduced on five pages for greater legibility (the whole map on the first page and each of the quarters on succeeding pages), was carefully made with the assistance chiefly of Tomás Ventura. It is of relatively high accuracy as of the spring of 1935. Together with the map we made a careful house to house census of the town. At the same time, the ladino Alcalde independently made a census which we could use for purposes of checking. This "official" census is included in the following pages. It has, however, been incorporated into my own card file census which is reproduced immediately following. The numbers on the cards of my own census correspond to the numbers on the map. On the page immediately following this, however, is reproduced a statistical summary of the use of the houses in town. (Table 1.) It will be noted that there are only ten families of Maxefo Indians (i.e., properly Chichicastenango Indians) who live permanently in town. It is because there are so few that I speak of Chichicastenango as a "vacant town", the pattern clearly being for the Indians to live on their farms and to use the town as a social, political and ceremonial center. See Appendix III, and also my article, "Municipios of the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala", American Anthropologist, 1937.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF
HOUSES IN THE TOWN OF CHICHICASTENANGO
CLASSIFIED BY THE TYPE OF FAMILIES
OCCUPYING THEM -- in 1935

OCCUPANTS	NO. OF HOUSES
TOTAL	297
Vacant: occupied by Indians resident in Cantones when they come to town for market, fiesta, etc.	167
Maxefio Indians usually resident in Cantones but spending this year in town for fulfillment of religious and political services	20
Maxefio Indians permanently resident in town	10
Indians immigrant from other towns and now permanently resident in this town	13
Ladines permanently resident in town	87

Notes: The number of houses is not the same as the number of families. A house is occupied (if it is) by at least one family, but it may be occupied by several. In the ten cases of houses occupied by maxefios permanently, however, there is but one family in each (10 all told) living in town.

The fact is that while there are only ten Maxefio families living in town, there are hundreds who come into town on market days every week and occupy their town-houses, or houses of their friends or relatives.

Besides the ten Maxefio families living in town, there are another 20 who because they held offices (religious or political) have to live in town for their year of office. (I am not sure the number is twenty, because I did not get this information separately, but it is close to twenty, since there are 14 cofradías besides the high town officials.). From year to year the officials change, but the number is constant.

Municipal	# A	New Cemetary	Pueblo 2A
Municipal	# B	Old Cemetary	Pueblo 6B
Municipal	# C	Meat Market	Pueblo 2C
Municipal	# D	Indian School	Pueblo 3C
Church	# E	Calvario	Pueblo 3C
Municipal	# F	Garden	Pueblo 3C
Church	# G	Convent	Pueblo 3C
Church	# H	Church	Pueblo 3C
Municipal	# I	Juzgado, etc.	Pueblo 3C
Municipal	# J	Ladino School	Pueblo 3C

Municipial

K Plaza

Pueblo 3C

Municipial

L La Federacion (park)

Pueblo 6C

Municipial

M Playing field "Tzokoma"

Pueblo 7C

Municipial

O Sewer

Pueblo 7C

Foreign Alfred Clark, Maya Inn

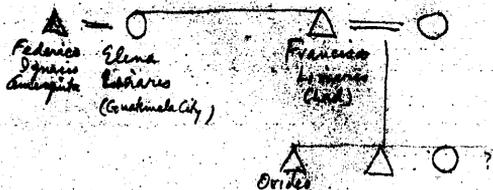
10

Pueblo 2B, 3B

Lad. Adan Amezquita

1

Pueblo 2B



154

They have a tienda here.
 One of the sons is blacksmith there. Francisco handles the mojos, etc. for Amezquita's in house.

Lad Adan Amezquita

11

Pueblo 3B

Have a tienda here

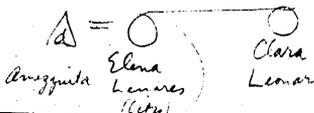


155

Lad. Adan Amezquita

18

Pueblo 3B



Cantina on corner run by them

Lad Leonor Quiroa

20

Pueblo 3B



lives in Quiché now

She kills pigs

Lad. Adan Amezquita

24

3B

27

Alfalfa grown here.

Mozos live in the houses.

Lad.

Mendez

52

Pueblo 6B

#106

Lad. Evlojio Archila

55

Pueblo 1C

lives here

#53

Lad.

Adan Amezquita

60

Pueblo 1C

Lad.

Elegario Rosales

58

Pueblo 1C

lives here (or in 178 -- really both)

Lad. Alejandro Abrisar

62

Pueblo 1C

ownership in doubt; one José Pajoj (Indian) sold it to the above; but Tomas Ventura (Quejil) has a claim to it because José owed him money.

Lad. Hermundo Rodas

67

Pueblo 2C

~~lives here~~

well as maize

Grows alfalfa here as

Lad. Concha de Gil

69

Pueblo 2C

* Gil died recently.

There is a cantina here high

The dwelling house ^{to the rear} is 2 stories high

#145

Lad. Jose Cabrera

73

Pueblo 20 26

Lad.

~~Mariano Andieu~~

*Delfino
Mejicano*

84

Pueblo 20

*Lives here, & has cantina here.
2 & # 3 & # 10 (in back)*

Lad. Delfino Mejicano

87

Pueblo 20

garden

Lad. Vicente Quiroa

93

Pueblo 20

Lives here

11

Lad. Natalie Mejicanas

94

Pueblo 20

Lives here.

9

Lad. Adan Amezquita

99

Pueblo 30

Live here. Have tienda here.

182

Lad.

~~Antonio Barrios~~

Amezquita

100

Pueblo 30

Storage rooms, etc.

Lad.

Amezquita

101

Pueblo 30 27

Pharmacy here.

Lad. Elisa Hernandez

102

Pueblo 30

Have Cantina here.

Lad.

Amezquita

103

Pueblo 30

^{de Dubon}
Isabel Sanyes lives here & has tienda #141

Lad. Moises Perez

104

Pueblo 30

2nd Alcalde, 1935.

lives here, & has a bakery-store here. #144

Lad. Javier Mota

105

Pueblo 30

lives here & has a bakery-store and a billiard parlor,

#143

Lad.

Amezquita

#107

Pueblo 40

~~Hermando~~ de Leon's lives here & has blacksmith-shop

#140

Lad.

Samuel Giron

#108

Pueblo 40

lives here & has tienda

#139

Don Pedro Rodriguez lives here now. There used to be a *Gom-grinding* machine here until recently. Also there was *cantina* here until very recently.

Now the laundry-women of hotel live here, & don Pedro is husband of one of them. The hotel *chauffeurs* live in a room here, & also Luis of the hotel. #126

Lad. Gustavo Rodas

115

Pueblo 40

Lives here.

#127 & #128

Lad. Viviano Giron

119

Pueblo 40

Lives here; 2 story house on corner. Has horses & cows & pigs. Tienda on corner; he is shoemaker & has shop inside.
#123

Lad. Concha de Gil

120

Pueblo 40

Nobody lives here.

Lad. Adan Amezquita

122

Pueblo 40

Live here more or less; have large tienda

139 # 142

Mistress of don Jaime is #142

Lad. Vicente de Leon

123

Pueblo 40

Lives here, has cantina on corner; in the "milpa"
grows tropical crops.

#129 & #130

Lad. ^{id} ~~Hermundo~~ Rodas (Hotel Viene)

124

Pueblo 40

Hotel Viene, milpa #131

Lad. Concha vendal de kil

125

Pueblo 40

We live; Herr Franckel lives here with his wife (sister of Concha)
#125, 126

Lad.

Gil

127

Pueblo 40

Whiskey factory

Lad. Juan Giron

129

Pueblo 40

has tienda & shoe-repair shop here.
#159

Lad.

~~Hermundo Rodas~~

Soledad v. de Rodas # 130

Pueblo 40

Alcalde, 1935

Luis

#132

Lad. Abel Rodas

131

Pueblo 40

lives here #135

Lad. Amadeo Méndez

140

Pueblo 50

his family lives here (he died short time ago). He bought land from some Indians year or 2 ago

108

Lad. Antonio Sumosa

142

Pueblo 50

Lives here, he is band-director

Lad. Francisco Samayoda

143

Pueblo 50

Lives here & does carpenter work here.

Lad. Ernesto Coronado?

144

Pueblo 50

Lives here & does carpentry. #101

Lad. Felix Dubon

147

Pueblo 50

Lives here. Has cars, & garage for them? (for hire). Has barber shop & mechanics-shop

#80

Lad. Rudolfo Rodas

149

Pueblo 50

Lives here #164

Lad. Adan de Leon Amezquita

151

Pueblo 50

*from elsewhere
Ladino mozos work the land and live here.*

Lad. Nau Ruiz

154

Pueblo 50

*Factory that makes floor-tiles.
One don Chalo lives in the house.*

Lad. Antonio Barrios

155

Pueblo 50

*~~Mulata~~ only; he bought land from Inez — (of Sta Apolonia)
on Feb 11, 1935 for \$ 250 (says T.V.)*

#167

Lad.

Rodas

156

Pueblo 50

*He is in military service, & he & his family are
in The Capital. The house is closed.*

Lad.

Ramon Rodrigo

163

Pueblo 60

Just a woman ...

#168

Lad. Moises Giron

164

Pueblo 6C

34

Lives here; mozos work his milpa.
#165

Lad.

Amezquita

165

Pueblo 6C

On the corner house lives Ernesto Enriquez; next to
it lives Geronimo Linares. ^{3rd house unoccupied} Indian mozos work land

171

Lad. Fidel Giron

#166 B

Pueblo 6C

Lad.

Lucia

167

Pueblo 6C

She is away, to Capital or on finca. Nobody
lives here [unless Adolfo Giron does, but
he probably lives this side of there.]

Lad. Manuel Argueta

168

Pueblo 6C

He & his wife, separated, are in the law courts
about the land. He is in Sa Cruz, she in Retalahu.
House for sale for \$700.

Lad.

Barrios

169

Pueblo 6C

house empty; mocos work land.

Lad.

Adan Amezquita

171

Pueblo 7C

Sandal maker -- from Totomacapan -- lives here: Viviano Casia

Mulpa is Amezquita's

173

Lad.

Juan Giron

172

Pueblo 7C

Nobody lives in house

Lad.

Barrios

173

Pueblo 7C

Some lad. woman lives here + has cantina.

174 & # 175

Lad.

Antonio Barrios

174

Pueblo 7C

Servants of Barrios (from StCruz) live here.

176

Lad. Abel Rodas

175

Pueblo 70

A Ladino woman lives in the house.

Lad. Oligario Rodales

178

Pueblo 1D

Lives here #14

Lad. Felipe Ignacio

182

Pueblo 1D

The house is closed.

Lad. Felipe Ignacio

183

Pueblo 1D

The house is a stable.

^{v. de}
Lad. Felipe Ignacio

190

Pueblo 1D

Lives here + has cantina #31

Lad. Casimir Jerez

192

Pueblo 1D

Lives here + has black-smith shop

Cresencio, his father, lives here.

Lad. Cresencio Jerez

193

Pueblo 1D ³⁷

lives here + has tienda

Lad. Francisca Mejicano

196

Pueblo 1D

lives here + has tienda # 41

Lad. Felipe Ignacio

200

Pueblo 1D

house... closed

#33 #34 ~~#35~~

Lad. ~~Eligario Rosales~~ Eliseo Rodas

208

Pueblo 1D

live here #38

Lad. Felipe Ignacio

#232

Pueblo 2D

24

Lad. Virgilio Quiroa

236

Pueblo 2D

lives here + has tienda

#20

Lad. Felipe Ignacio

244

Pueblo 2D

Jose Lino Terez (Solola) lives here + has
blacksmith shop.
#21 #25

Lad. Juan Franco

247

Pueblo 2D

Jose Lopez (Patris chauffeur) live's here.
#29

Lad. Natividad Tolaque

248

Pueblo 2D

lives here

30 [but is teacher in Chicua now)

Lad. Mirardo Perez

249

Pueblo 2D

Rafael Akech (~~American~~) - the electrician,
lives here #47

Lad. Francisco Suarez

250

Pueblo 2D

lives here. Alcalde, 1934

48

Lad. Concha de Gil

#258

Pueblo 3D

#68

Lad. Estella de Perez

#265

Pueblo 3D

Nobody

Lad. Alfredo Bracamonte

#266

Pueblo 3D

#51

Lad. Adan Amesquita

#267

Pueblo 3D

Jesus Noriega lives here

Lad. Jose Cabrera

#268

Pueblo 3D

#49

Lad. Francesca Mendes

#269

Pueblo 3D

#55

Lad. Jose Maria Corzo

#270

Pueblo SE

#54

Lad. Natalia Mejicanos

#271

Pueblo SD

#180

Lad. Chon Mejicanos

#272

Pueblo SD

#90

Mission

#272a

Pueblo SD

#86 + #169

Lad. Mariano Anlen

#273

Pueblo SD

#87

Lad. Chema Mogollón

#274

Pueblo SD

#58

Lad. Juventino Noriega

#275

Pueblo 3D

#89

Lad. Horacio Anlen

#276

Pueblo 3D

#59

Lad. Domingo Coronado

#277

Pueblo 3D

#56

Lad. Gonzalo Coronado

#278

Pueblo 3D

#57

Lad. Antonio Barrios

#279

Pueblo 4D

#88

Lad. Teodoro Ruiz

#280

Pueblo #280

Carlos Siker (7)

Lad. Francesca Mendez

#281

Pueblo 4D

#158

Lad. Antonio Barrios

#282

42
Pueblo 4D

Lad. Alfredo Brackamonte

284a

Pueblo 4D

#50 # 137 #

Lad. *M m* Ruiz

#285

Pueblo 4D

nobody

Lad. Usla Ruiz

#286

Pueblo 4D

98

Lad. Usla Ruiz

#289

Pueblo 4D

#96

Lad. Emerald Perez

#293

Pueblo 4D

#60

Lad. Manuel Velasquez

#304

Pueblo 5D

#78 & 79

Lad.

Alfredo Brakamonte?

#306

Pueblo 5D

Lad.

Jose A. Barros

#309

Pueblo 5D

#63 #64 & #77

Lad.

Adan Amezquita

#310

Pueblo 5D

#69

Lad. Luciano Saens

#312

Pueblo 5D

#62

Lad.

Adan Amezquita

#312a

Pueblo 5D

Lad.

Antonio Barrios

#318

Pueblo 5D

Lad. Ventura Natarano

#319

Pueblo 5D

#75

Lad. Rafael López

#321

Pueblo 5D

Lad. Antonio Barrios

#325

Pueblo 5E

Lad. Francisco Juarres

#326

Pueblo 6D

Lad. Antonio Barrios

#327

Pueblo 6D

Lad. Juan Giron

329
#329

Pueblo 6E

Lad. Nat Ruiz

#330

Pueblo 2A

#156

Lad. Maruca Quiroa

#331

Pueblo 3B

Lad. Antonio Barrios #332

Pueblo 40

#121

Lad. Vacinte Rodas #333

Pueblo 40

#122

Lad. Jesús Amasquita #334

Pueblo 40

Lad. Teodoro Luis #335

Pueblo 40

#134

Lad. Hector Corso #336

Pueblo 40

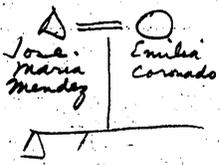
#133

Lad. Jaime Pensabene #337

Pueblo 40

#93

In house now live Ladinos:



152 # 153

one son is in the Capital now.
Jose makes rockets.

Ind. Francisco Bucan (Chij'tunmit) # 3

Pueblo 2B

Comerciante of dry-goods, here for markets.
He, wife, children come to this house.

m

Ind. # 4

Pueblo 2B

m

Ind. Sebastian Canil (Xalbakiej) # 5
(o Sagulla)

Pueblo 2B

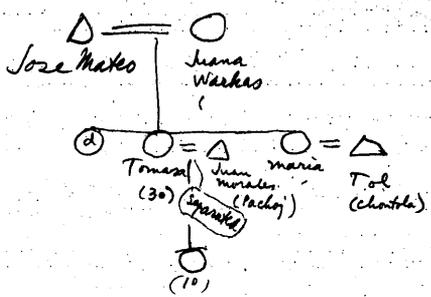
His brothers & families come to this house for markets.
~~Come here markets.~~

Sebastian has butcher-shop, coming here each morning; but his family comes Saturdays & they all stay the night.

147

151

On house lives

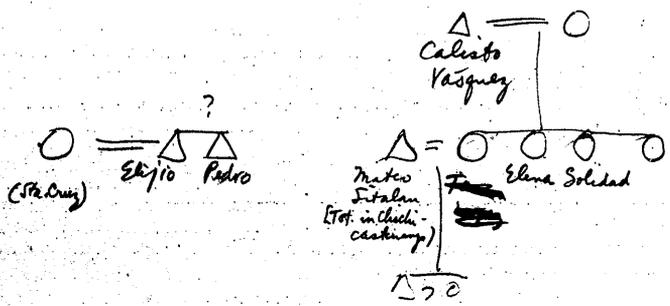


They have been here from time immemorial.

The girls earn money selling coffee, etc; ~~the~~ Jose has 2 cows + cares for them. Saturday he goes with Tomasa to Chishe to sell coffee (beverage). He brings pigs back to sell.

No rent; they take care of land. He also cultivates some 2 cords of land that belong to Suiy otherwise all mupa is Suiy's.

On house live Totomcapan Indians:



#149

He is mason, working in hotel

Ind.

Amil (Saguilla)

8

⁴⁸
Pueblo 2B

Tot Ind live here

butcher here

146

148

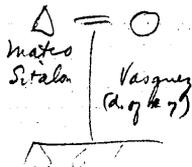
Ind.

Mateo Sitalon (Totonicapan)

9

Pueblo 2B

doesn't own house -- Pedro Chuk of Totonicapan owns land + house (?)



mason, working in hotel

Ind.

Calva

12

Pueblo 3B

here market

m

Ind.

13

Pueblo 3B ⁴⁹

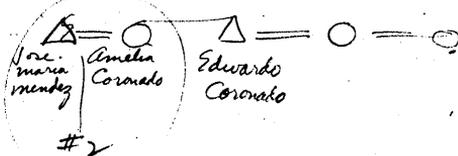
m

Ind.

14

Pueblo 3B

Ladinos live here:



Ind. (Francisco Buchon (Saqulla) # 15

Pueblo 3B

or ----- mactoul or laot
maybe #3? *SM*

Ind.

16

Pueblo 3B

m

Ind.

17

Pueblo 3B

m

Ind. Tomas Yacum (Mactzul) # 19

Pueblo 3B

The owner Sebastian Yacum died & his sons own it now:
only for markets

There is the seats of *mayores* here. Something like
cofradia

Ind.

21

Pueblo 3B

no

Ind. Manuel Ajanel (Mactzul) # 22

Pueblo 3B

other relatives come to this house.

Jose Xal (Sto Tomas) here this year

Ind.

23

Pueblo 3B

live here

Ind.

25

Pueblo 4 B

m

Ind.

26

Pueblo 4B

m

Ind.

27

Pueblo 4B

mélpa

Ind. Jose Mateo

28

Pueblo 4B

m

Ind.

29

Pueblo 4B

m

Ind.

30

52
Pueblo 4B

m

Ind. Manuel Mateo (Saqulla 1st)

31

Pueblo 4B

m

Ind. Tomas Leon (Xeabaj)

32

Pueblo 4B

m

Jose Mateo, Alcalde: S. Jose here 1935-

Ind.

33

Pueblo 4B

m

Ind.

34

Pueblo 4B

m

Ind.

35

Pueblo 4B 53

m

Ind.

36

Pueblo 4B

m

Ind. Jose Canil (Patulup)

37

Pueblo 4B

m

Ind. Tomas Sente (Xepocol)

38

Pueblo 4B

day only

Ind.

39

Pueblo 4B

Ind.

~~Francisco Lopez~~

(St. Maria Chiquimula) # 40

Pueblo 4B

live here

113

market?

Ind. Marcos Bots (Sta. Maria Chiquimula) # 42

Pueblo 4B

lives here

Ind. Diego Mejilla (Xeabaj) # 43

Pueblo 4B

market

Ind. # 44

Pueblo 5B

milpa

Ind. Lucas Ajpop # 45

Pueblo 5B

lives here

111

Ind. # 46

Pueblo 5B

milpa

Ind. # 47

Pueblo 5B

m

Ind. # 48

Pueblo 5B

market

Ind. Jose Saguic # 49

Pueblo 6B

*milpa & houses**(lives here)**Thomas V. has
house here*

Ind. ~~Jose Saquito~~ Pakajoj #109 # 50 Pueblo 6B

Ind. Leon # 51 Pueblo 6B

Ind. (Chuguexa) # 53 Pueblo 1C

m

Ind. (Chupol) # 54 Pueblo 1C

m

Ind. # 56 Pueblo 1C

m

Ind. Tomas Caque (Pachoj) # 57 Pueblo 1C

Ind. Juan Panjoj (Chuabaj) # 59 Pueblo 1C

Ind. Diego Ambrosio (Saapulup) # 61 Pueblo 1C

Arquias (Semeja) # 63

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. (Macbalcip) # 64

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Cipriano (Semeja) # 65

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Chinol (Pachot) # 66

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. (Totonacapan) # 68

Pueblo 20

live here

Ind. Sebastian Chinol

70

Pueblo 20

live here

Ind. Miguel Morales (Chipaca) # 71

Pueblo 20

For Diego Colel lives here

Ind. Cruz Hernandez (Quezaltenango) # 72

Pueblo 20

live here

52

Ind. Miguel Ordonez (Chontola)

74

Pueblo 20

57

m

Ind. Sebastian Tarse (Chontola)

75

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Lucas Tol (Chontola)

76

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Sebastian Martin (Pocohil)

77

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Bartolo Morales (Agua Escondida)

78

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Manuel Morales (Chabibuach)

79

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Sebastian Mejilla (Pachoj)

80

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Sebastian Morales (Chabibuach)

81

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Manuel Sen (Pachoj) # 82

Fueblo 20

m

rented to # 7

Ind. Domingo Ordonez (Pachijichaj)

83 *(Right part)*

Fueblo 20

m

on left side of house lives # 5

Ind.

85

Fueblo 20

m

Ind. Manuel Perez (Chontola

86

Fueblo 20

m

Ind.

(Ordonez (Pocohil)

88

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Nicolas Cumis (Pocohil)

89

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Juan Mejilla (Lakama)

90

Pueblo 20

~~Ind.~~ Tot. And live here Francisco Trul
X as bakery

Ind. Diego Sen (Chupol)

91

Pueblo 20

m

Ind.

Diego Cutillo (Chicajom)

92

Pueblo 20

m

Ind. Geronimo Domingas (Chucam)

95

Pueblo 20

m

rented to Juan Tarquiniz #6 who lives here.

Ind. Tomas Leon (Xeabaj)

96

Pueblo 20

m
Cm Sacramento 1935

Ind. Sabastian Morales (Chipaca)

97

Pueblo 20

m

Ind.

98

Pueblo 20

m

Ind.

Jeronimo Nix ~~Xixam~~

106

Pueblo 40

all year

Ind. Salvador Guin (Mactzul)

110

Pueblo 40

live here m only

Cof. Rosario La Cruz

Ind. Gregoria Perez

110a

Pueblo 40

m

Ind.

(Chicho)

111

Pueblo 40

m

Ind.

Tomas Gonzales (Tzokoma)

112

Pueblo 40

m

Ind.

Galvo.

114

Pueblo 40

m

#120

Ind.

Pol (Xepela)

116

Pueblo 40

market

Ind.

Pedro Bots (Chiquimula)

117

Pueblo 40

permanent

Ind.

Jose Pakajoj

118

Pueblo 40

market

Ind. Sebastian Gonzales (Chujupen) # 121 Pueblo 40

market

Ind. Fevelan (Pocohil) # 126 Pueblo 40

market

Ind. Sanit (Pachot) # 128 Pueblo 40

~~market~~
161 + # 163

Ind. Tomas Xon # 132 Pueblo 40

lives here

Ind. Pedro Xon (Chicua) # 133 Pueblo 40

~~market~~
Br. Sebastian lives here

Ind. # 134 Pueblo 40

m

Ind. Diego Mejilla (Xeabaj)

135

Pueblo 50

m

Ind. Diego Bots⁷

136

Pueblo 50

lives here

#112

Ind. Miguel Leon

137

Pueblo 50

m

Ind. Tomas Ren

138

Pueblo 50

m

coj. Rosario (Alcalde Miguel -)

Ind. Tomas Ren

139

Pueblo 50

m

saints -- 4 of them -- here

Coj. S. Miguel 1935

Ind.

141

Pueblo 50

Ind.

Ajanel (Mactzul)

145

Pueblo 50

m

Ind.

Tiniwar

146

Pueblo 50

Juan Pixcar lives here

Ind.

Golaj

148

Pueblo 50

mitpa only

Ind.

Tomas Gonzales (Tzokoma)

150

Pueblo 50

mitpa only

Ind.

Juan Xaper

152

Pueblo 50

~~*lives here*~~

maybe somebody lives here

Ind.

Ajanel

153

Pueblo 50

m

Ind.

Ramos (Chulmal) # 157

Pueblo 60

m

Ind.

158

Pueblo 60

m

Ind.

Pedro Tol

(Semeja)

159

Pueblo 60

market

Ind.

Tomas Tol

(Semeja)

160

Pueblo 60

market

Ind.

Francisco Tol

(Semeja)

161

Pueblo 60

m

Ind.

162

Pueblo 60

Ind.

Tomas Gonzales

(Tzokoma)

166

Pueblo 60

nobody lives here

170

nobody lives here

Ind. Sebastian Saquic (Chutsorop) # 176 Pueblo 1D

m

Ind. Cuteres (Chumanzana) # 177 Pueblo 1D

m

Ind. Dolores # 179 Pueblo 1D

~~Ind.~~

lives here

16 & # 45

Ind. Jose Lastor (Chupol) # 180 Pueblo 1D

m

Ind. Vicente Grave (Lakama) # 181 Pueblo 1D

m

Ind.

184

Pueblo ID

m

Ind.

185

Pueblo ID

m

Ind.

Calel (Lakama) # 186

Pueblo ID

m

Ind.

187

Pueblo ID

m

Ind

188

Pueblo ID

m

Ind.

Pichol (Panimache # 189

Pueblo ID

m

Ind.

Mateo (Chuchipaca) # 191

Pueblo ID

m

Ind. Tomas Morales (Chupol)

194

Pueblo ID

m

#43

Jesus hazarene Copradia 1935

Ind. I

195

Pueblo ID

m

Ind.

Quino (Chutzorop)

197

Pueblo ID

m

Ind. Miguel Tixta (Tsamanikabaj)

198

Pueblo ID

m

Ind.

Quino (Chutzorop)

199

Pueblo ID

m

Ind.

#201

Pueblo ID

m

Ind. Manuel Galel (Xecoja)

202

Pueblo 1D

m

Ind.

203

Pueblo 1D

m

Ind.

Mates Mejia

204

Pueblo 1D

m

32

Ind.

205

Pueblo 1D

m

Ind.

206

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

207

Pueblo 1D

m

Ind.

Sabastian Saquic

209

Pueblo 1D

m

Copradia Line

Ind. Sebastian Panjoj

210

Pueblo ID

m

Ind. Tomas Sut (Chontola)

211

Pueblo ID

m

Ind. Gabriel Panto (Chontola)

212

Pueblo ID

m

Ind.

213

Pueblo ID

m

Ind. Diego Marcario (Chucalibal)

214

Pueblo ID

m

Ind. Pedro Saquic (Chuabaj)

215

Pueblo ID

m

Ind.

216

Pueblo ID

m

Ind.

217

Pueblo 1D

m

Ind. Pedro Salazar Xon (Chicua 1st)

218

Pueblo 1D

m

copied here

Ind.

Pixoar (Chupol)

219

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Juan Panjoj (Chicajom)

220

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

Chiloj (Gomanchaj)

221

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

Warkas (Chuabaj)

222

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Sebastian Morales (Xebibaj)

223

Pueblo 2D

m

13



Ind. Tomas Xirum (Saquilla)

224

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Manuel Las (Chutzorop)

225

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Tomas Marcario (Chicua 2nd)

227

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Manuel Marcario (Chicua 2nd)

228

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

(Chuguexa)

229

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Juan Galel (Camaniel)

230

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Manuel Suiy (Chunima)

231

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Miguel Calvo (Lakama)

233

Pueblo 2D

m # 22 & # 23

Ind. Sebastian Ignacia (Sacpulup)

234

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Diego Tecum (Chabiabaj)

235

Pueblo 2D

m

27 (East lane)

Ind.

Calel (Panimache)

237

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

Yatas (Chumanzana)

238

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

239

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

Solis (Panimache)

240

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

241

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

#242

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Jose Cumes (Xecoha)

243

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Miguel Galvo (Lakama)

245

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Juan Galvo (Lakama)

246

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

251

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

(Panimache)

252

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

253

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

254

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind

255

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Martin Xon (Xecoha)

256

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind.

(Agua Escondida)

257

Pueblo 2D

m

Ind. Tomas Suly (Chicajom)

#259

2D

Ind.

Xiloj (Chicua I)

#260

3D

Ind. Sebastian Set (Sajvichol)

#261

2D

Ind. Jose Warbas (Chatacrop)

#262

Ind. Euter (Samsja)

#263

39

Ind.

Gunes (Xecoja)

#264

39

Ind.

Tomas Ixtan

Xitan (Xalbakiej)

#265

4D

#91 + #92

Ind.

Macario (Saquilla)

#264

4D

Ind.

(Chicho)

#267

4D

#99

Jose Cumes lives here always. 1935, Cj. Oct. de Rosario

Ind.

Miguel Gonzales

#268

4D

Ind.

Ventura Tecum (Chicua I)

#290

4D

Ind.

Xiquin (Lakama)

#291

4D

Ind. Manuel González (Chontola) #292 4D

Ind. Gregorio Perez (Chontola) #294 4D

referred to #61

Ind. Jacinto Mijia (Chiche) #295 4D

Ind. Sebastian Burbon (Chontola) #296 4D

Ind. Miguel Suiy (Chuabaj) #297 4D

Ind. Tomas Morales (Chuabaj) #298 4D

Ind. Pedro Suiy (Chicajon) #299 4D

Ind. Juan Suiy (Pachoj) #300 4D

Ind. Tomas Ventura (Quejel) #301

4D

Ind. Sebastian Morales (Quejel) #302

4D

Ind. Tomas Ventura (Quejel) #303

4D

#76

Ind. Colaaj #305

5D

Ind. #307

5D

Ind. #308

5D

Ind. Colaaj #311

5D

Ind. Peres (Ghentola) #313

5D

Ind. Lester (Chupol) #514 SD

Ind. Tomas Gonzales, Sr. #515
#65 SD

Ind. Diego Tecun (Chipaca) #516 SD

Ind. Tomas Ventura (Quejel) #517 SD

Ind. Ik #520 SD

#74

Cofradia S. Sebastian 1935

Ind. Diego Ventura (Quejel) #522 SD

Ind. Juan Ventura (Quejel) #523 SD

#67

Ind. Coq #524 SD

#73

Ind. Co1aj #525 SD

Census made by town officials, 1935

80

-2-

Personas que forman la población urbana
de Chichicasteango.-

- | | | | |
|---|-----|-------------------------|------|
| 6 | 1.- | Tomas Panjo ✓ | |
| | | Micela Mejía ✓ | |
| | | Gaspar Sica ✓ | |
| | | María Martín ✓ | 6 |
| | | Sebastián Martín ✓ | |
| | | Salvador Martín ✓ | |
| | 2.- | | |
| | | Delfino Mejicanos ✓ | |
| | | Adela Mejicanos ✓ | |
| 7 | | Juan Alfredo Jerez ✓ | |
| | | Laura M. de Jerez ✓ | # 84 |
| | | Roberto Américo Jerez ✓ | |
| | | Rubén Jerez ✓ | |
| | | Herlindo Cabrera ✓ | |
| | 3.- | | |
| | | Jubentina Monzón ✓ | |
| 4 | | Dolores Monzón ✓ | |
| | | Tomas Xirum ✓ | # 84 |
| | | Juan Rodas ✓ | 2 |
| | 4.- | | |
| 2 | | José Velasquez | 2 |
| | | Josefa Uhajá | |
| | 5.- | | |
| | | Diego Guarcas ✓ | |
| 5 | | Tomasa Uanil ✓ | |
| | | Juan Guarcas ✓ | # 83 |
| | | María Tol ✓ | |
| | | Sebastián Bosel ✓ | |
| | 6.- | | |
| 3 | | Juan Tiriquiz ✓ | |
| | | Manuela Guino ✓ | # 95 |
| | | Josefa Tiriquiz ✓ | |
| | 7.- | | |
| | | Alfonso Azafón ✓ | |
| 5 | | Gerónima Méndez ✓ | |
| | | Ángel Azafón ✓ | # 82 |
| | | Francisco Morales ✓ | |
| | | Rosario Franco ✓ | |

- 8.- Manuel Sen ✓
 Manuela Suar ✓
 6 Manuela Tzul ✓ # 82 [but only for markets]
 Francisco Tzul ✓
 Pedro Xiloj ✓
 Tomas Suar ✓
- 9.- Natalia M. v. de Pérez ✓
 Amparo Pérez ✓ # 94
 5 Carlos " ✓
 Alba " ✓
 Aura Marina Pérez ✓
- 10.- José Cabrera Girón ✓
 Audelia Méndez ✓ # 84
 4 David Francisco Cabrera ✓
 Josefina Cabrera ✓
- 11.- Vicente Quiroa ✓
 Ofelia de Quiroa ✓
 6 Manuel Quiroa ✓ # 93
 Francisco Quiroa ✓
 Milagro Mercedes Quiroa ✓
 Sara Quiroa ✓
- 12.- Gertrudes Rivera ✓
 3 Josefa Pereira ✓
 Rigoberto Pereira ✓
- 13.- Tomas Morales ✓
 3 María Pichol ✓ # 223
 Anastacia Morales ✓
- 14.- Olegario Rosales ✓
 Felisa U. de Rosales ✓ # 178
 6 Lázaro Rosales ✓
 Francisco Rosales ✓
 Josefa Rosales ✓
 María Esperanza Rosales ✓

65

- 15.- Graciela de Rosales ✓
- 16.- José Sajché ✓ # 179 S. Cristóbal
Anastacia Lan ✓ "
- 17.- Domingo Morales ✓
4 María Sen ✓
Tomas Morales ✓
José Morales ✓
- 18.- Manuel Morales ✓
2 Sebastiana Cael ✓
- 19.- Dolores Rodriguez ✓
4 Agusta C. de Rodriguez ✓
Maria Rodriguez ✓
Julia Rodriguez ✓
- 20.- Virgilio Quiroa ✓ # 236
2 Hercilia Rodas ✓
- 21.- José Lino Jerez ✓
Rosaura Seenz ✓
7 José Luis Sáenz ✓ # 244
Arturo Juarez ✓
Isabel Mendez ✓
Jacinto Giron ✓
Erlinda Rosales ✓
- 22.- Patrocinio Castillo ✓ # 233
2 Ines Alvarado ✓
- 23.- Clara Alvarado ✓
5 Teodoro Alvarado ✓ # 233
Erlinda Alvarado ✓
Efraín Alvarado ✓
Oralia Alvarado ✓
- 24.- Rodrigo Lucas ✓
5 Dominga J. de Lucas ✓ # 232
Miguel Lucas ✓
Rita Isolina Lucas ✓
Margot Lucas ✓

99

-4-

- 25.-
 5 Eugenio Quiroa ✓
 Aurora R. de Quiroa ✓ #244
 Virginia Quiroa ✓
 Saúl Quiroa ✓
 Isabel Cario ✓
- 26.-
 3 Juan de León ✓
 Tomasa de León ✓
 Fidelia de León ✓
- 27.-
 2 Leoncio Jimenez ✓ #235
 Ricarda López ✓
- 28.-
 7 Miguel Suy ✓
 Tomasa Morales ✓
 Sebastian Morales 1o. ✓
 Sebastian Morales 2o. ✓
 Ana Suy ✓
 Tomasa Suy ✓
 Miguel Suy ✓
- 29.-
 3 José López ✓
 Josefa G. de López ✓ #247
 Luis Orlando López ✓
- 30.-
 3 Metilde Girón ✓
 Julia Tolaque ✓ #248
 Olga Tolaque ✓
- 31.-
 6 Ventura v. de Mendez ✓
 Felipa I. de Gil ✓
 Salvador Ovidio Gil ✓ #190
 Manuel Cano h. ✓
 José Cano ✓
 Tomas Policarpio Ignacio ✓
- 32.-
 5 Mateo Mejía ✓
 Dolores Mateo ✓
 Dominga Mateo ✓
 Sebastian Mateo ✓ #204
 Juan Mejía. ✓ [Coquidia S. Miguel]

- 53.-
 Manuel Rodas ✓
 María Concepción Rodas ✓ # 200
 " Herlinda Rodas ✓
 Aida Utilia Rodas ✓
 Amada Rodas ✓
- 34.-
 Deodora Rodas ✓
 Miguel Angel Rodas ✓ # 200
 Lidia Zoila Rodas ✓
 Jorge Rodas ✓
 Margot Rodas ✓
- 35.-
 Miguel Cortez ✓
 Manuela Toj ✓
 Tomas Macario ✓
 Juana Lastor ✓
 Manuel Macario ✓
- 36.-
 Sebastian Mateo ✓
 María Lastor ✓
 Marta Calel ✓
 Tomas Calel ✓
- 37.-
 Aureliano Jerez ✓
 Aquilina G. de Jerez ✓
 Esperanza Jerez ✓
 Jesus Jerez ✓
 José Jerez ✓
- 38.-
 Eliseo Rodas A. ✓
 Angela B. de Rodas ✓
 Alicia Isabel Rodas ✓ # 200
 Gilberto Rodas ✓
 Dora Rodas ✓
 Arnulfo Federico Rodas ✓ (live at molina)
 Carlota Rodas ✓
 Mario Rodas ✓
 Consuelo Rodas ✓
- 39.-
 Rogelio Alvarado ✓
 Francisca López ✓
 Cecilio Nolberto Alvarado ✓
 Franciaco Alvarado ✓
 Virginia Alvarado ✓

171

4

40.-

Manuel Gutierrez ✓
Isabel Morales ✓
Gaspar Macario ✓
Candelaria Macario ✓

2

41.-

Piedad Mejicanos ✓ #196
Rufino Mejicanos ✓

3

42.-

Tomas Suy ✓
María Pol ✓
Ana Suy ✓

3

43.-

Gaspar Velásquez ✓
Rosa Morales ✓ #194
Encarnación Velasquez ✓

3

44.-

Sebastian Chacoj ✓
Tomasa Zapeta ✓
Antonio Chacoj ✓

4

45.-

Andrés Urizar ✓
Manuela de Urizar ✓ #179
María Urizar ✓
Albertina Soto ✓

4

46.-

Pedro Grave ✓
Tomasa Xon ✓
Tomas Xon ✓
Domingo Xon ✓

3

47.-

Rafael Agueche ✓ #249
María Rodríguez ✓
Pedro Morales ✓

10

48.-

Francisco Juarez ✓
Maclovía R. de Juarez ✓
María Luisa Juarez ✓ #250
José Luis Juarez ✓
Eduardo Juarez ✓
Víctor Juarez ✓
Carmen Juarez ✓
Ana María Juarez ✓
Marcelo Juárez ✓
María Magdalena Juárez ✓

207

207

49.- José Cabrera ✓
 Fidelia de Cabrera ✓
 Agripina Cabrera ✓
 8 Nicolas Arturo Cabrera ✓ # 268
 Rosa Isolina Cabrera ✓
 Efraín Cabrera ✓
 Jorge Cabrera ✓
 Eloisa Cabrera ✓

50.- Alfredo Bracamonte ✓
 Luz Pacheco ✓
 8 Vicenta Bracamonte ✓ # 284a
 Abel Bracamonte ✓
 Eberardo Bracamonte ✓
 Rosaura Bracamonte ✓
 Laislado Bracamonte ✓
 Merio Bracamonte ✓

51.- 2 Amelia Pacheco ✓ # 266
 Adelidia Pacheco ✓

52.- 3 Cruz Hernandez ✓ # 72 2 mayo
 Manuela Reyes ✓
 Eulogia Hernández ✓

53.- 10 Eulogio Archila ✓
 Gandelaria J. de Archila ✓
 Filomon Archila ✓
 Rosalio Archila ✓
 Rosa Archila ✓ # 55
 Francisco Archila ✓
 Cecilio Archila ✓
 Humberto Archila ✓
 Zoila Archila ✓
 Guadalupe Archila ✓

54.- 6 José María Corzo R. ✓
 Natividad Rodas ✓ # 270
 Angela Rosinda Corzo ✓
 Aida Bernavé Corzo ✓
 Alfonso Vicente Corzo ✓
 Soledad Corzo ✓

244

-8-

- 244
- 4 55.- Francisco Lara ✓
 Maria Teresa de Lara ✓ # 267
 Emilio Arturo Lara ✓
 Elena Lossi ✓
- 8 56.- Domingo Coronado ✓
 Paula P. de Coronado ✓
 Ricardo Coronado ✓ # 277
 Merta Coronado ✓
 Carmen Coronado ✓
 Elena Coronado ✓
 Julio Coronado ✓
 Sabino Mendez ✓
- 6 57.- Gonzalo Coronado L. ✓
 Piedad de Coronado ✓
 Amanda Coronado ✓ # 278
 César Coronado ✓
 Rafael Coronado ✓
 Efraín Coronado ✓
- 4 58.- José María Mogollon ✓
 Margarita de Mogollon ✓ # 274
 Olimpia Mogollon ✓
 Teodoro Mogollon ✓
- 4 59.- Horacio Anléu ✓
 Laura A. de Anléu ✓ # 276
 Alberto Anléu ✓
 Carlos Anléu ✓
- 8 60.- Medardo Pérez ✓
 Angelina R. de Pérez ✓
 Berta Pérez ✓
 Gloria Uralia Pérez ✓ # 293
 Graciela Pérez ✓
 Roberto Arturo Pérez ✓
 Adriana Pérez ✓
 Carlos Rolando Pérez ✓
- 2 61.- Josefa Castillo ✓ # 294
 Alejandra Castillo ✓
- 62.-

280

- 2 62.- Luciano Sáenz ✓ # 312
 concepción Sáenz ✓
- 5 63.- José María Corzo h. ✓ # 309
 Umbelina B. de Corzo ✓
 Reginalda Corzo ✓
 Joaquin Corzo ✓
 Amelía Corzo ✓
- 4 64.- Gregoria Recinos ✓
 Víctor Recinos ✓ # 309
 María Luisa Recinos ✓
 Ester Recinos ✓
- 3 65.- Tomas González ✓ # 315
 Isabel Mejía ✓
 Anastacia Galel ✓
- 2 66.- Sebastian Ventura ✓
 María Alba ✓
- 6 67.- Francisco Girón ✓ # 323
 Maclovia Jimenez ✓
 Angela Jimenez ✓
 Manuel Jimenez ✓
 Carlos Jimenez ✓
 Dionicio Jimenez (dead 2 yrs) ✓
- 2 68.- Francisco Gómez ✓ # 258
 Zenaida Gómez ✓
- 3 69.- María López ✓ # 310
 Padre López ✓
 Victoria López ✓
- 5 70.- José Corzo ✓ # 338
 Angela de León ✓
 Felipe Corzo ✓
 María Gonzalez ✓
 Tomas de León ✓

312

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312

71.-

María V. de Girón ✓
 Rafaél Girón ✓
 Juan Girón ✓
 Berta Girón ✓
 Imelda de Girón ✓
 Oscar Girón ✓

339

72.-

Rufino Barrios ✓
 María Hernandez ✓
 Oscar Arnulfo Barrios ✓
 Rolendio Romeo Barrios ✓
 Esperanza Barrios ✓

340

73.-

Domingo Cac ✓
 Juana Cac ✓
 Domingo Cac 1o. ✓
 Domingo Cac 2o. ✓
 Tomas Domingo ✓
 Juana Cac ✓
 Manuel Nix ✓
 Domingo Nix ✓

324

74.-

Miguel Iqui (Id) ✓
 Anestacia Morales ✓
 Francisca Suy ✓
 Tomas Iqui ✓

320

75.-

Pablo Dubon ✓
 Aurelia de Dubon ✓
 Arnoldo Dubon ✓
 Josefa Dubon ✓
 Ricardo Dubon ✓
 Sella P. v. de Rivera ✓
 Jorge Rivera ✓
 Julian Rivera ✓

319

76.-

Isidro Girón ✓
 Diega Girón ✓
 Celestino Girón ✓
 Víctor Girón ✓
 Marta Girón ✓
 Isidora Girón ✓
 Roque Girón ✓
 Luisa Girón. ✓

303

352

352

-11-

- 5 77.- Manuel Mendoza ✓
 María Gregoria López ✓
 Julia María Mendoza ✓ # 309
 Francisco Velasquez ✓
 Virgilio Velasquez ✓
- 4 78.- Regina de Sáenz ✓
 Aurelio Sáenz ✓ # 304
 Ester Sáenz ✓
 Isaac Sáenz ✓
- 7 79.- Sebastian Gomez ✓
 Clara Afre ✓
 Manuel Velásquez ✓ # 304
 Andrés Velasquez ✓
 María Velasquez ✓
 José Velasquez ✓
 Leandro Velasquez ✓
- 8 80.- Félix Dubon ✓
 Laureano Dubón ✓
 Zeneida Dubón ✓
 Lidia Dubon ✓ # 147
 Useas Dubon ✓
 Juana G. de Dubon ✓
 Alfonsina Dubon ✓
 Manuel de J. Dubon ✓
- 6 81.- Eliseo Girón G. ✓
 Hercilia de León ✓
 Ramiro Girón ✓
 América Girón ✓
 Vibenta Girón ✓
 Tomasa Macario ✓
- 3 82.- Sebastian Toj ✓
 Nicolás Saquic ✓
 Maximiliano Leal ✓
- 2 83.- Vicente Nix ✓
 Manuela Guarcas ✓

387

387

- 84.- Salvador Sacarias ✓
- Rosario Medrano ✓
- Francisco Medrano ✓
- Lucia Pérez ✓
- Luis Pérez ✓
- Juana Pérez ✓

Zuche

6

- 85.- Osvaldo Rodas Rivera ✓
- Ortencia de León ✓
- J. Antonio Rodas ✓
- Laura Rodas ✓
- Luis Rodas ✓
- Carmen Estilia Rodas ✓
- Cecilia Rodas ✓
- Domingo Rodas ✓

8

- 86.- Enrique S. Granger ✓
- Raquel L. de Granger ✓
- Esther Ruth Granger ✓
- Roberto Thomas Granger ✓
- María Dolores López ✓
- Lidia Blanca López ✓
- Josefa Girón ✓

272 a

7

- 87.- Mariano Anleu ✓
- Ernestina A. de Anleu ✓
- Morita Anleu ✓
- Felicia Amézquita ✓
- Moises Anleu ✓
- Esther Anleu ✓
- Lidia Anleu ✓
- Osman Anleu ✓
- Julia Anleu ✓
- Inosente Mira ✓
- Juana Tex ✓
- Rosa Garcia ✓
- Salomon Garcia ✓

273

13

- 88.- J. Antonio Barrios ✓
- Amelia P. de Barrios ✓
- Carmen Barrios ✓
- Osvaldo Barrios ✓
- Luis Fernando Barrios ✓
- Victor Hernández ✓
- Graciela Blanco ✓
- Manuel Mendoza ✓
- José Mendoza ✓

279

9

430

- 89.- Juventino P. Noriega ✓
 Elvira P. de Noriega ✓
 Olimpia Barrios ✓
 8 Samuel Noriega ✓ # 275
 Oneida Noriega ✓
 Joaquin Noriega ✓
 Ramon Noriega ✓
 Berta Recinos ✓
- 90.- Encarnación Mejicanos ✓
 5 J. Antonio Pérez ✓ # 272
 Alfonso Pérez ✓
 Alfredo Rocael Mejicanos ✓
 Juana Afre ✓
- 91.- Jacinto Pi ✓
 3 Rosa Lux ✓ *chiqui 283*
 Sebastiana Lux ✓
- 92.- Tomas Ixtan ✓
 5 Tomasa Gonzalez ✓ # 283
 Felipe Ixtan ✓
 Manuel Gonzalez ✓
 Maria Ixtan ✓
- 93.- Martin Salvador ✓
 5 Manuela Xirum 1o. ✓ ~~# 277~~
 Manuela Xirum 2o. ✓
 Tomasa Salvador ✓
 Sebastian Tiriquiz ✓
- 94.- Jaime Pensabene ✓
 6 Victoria López ✓ # 337
 Augusto Pensabene ✓
 Juana Pensabene ✓
 Francisco Pensabene ✓
 Miguel Pensabene ✓
- 95.- Angel Maria Roman ✓
 5 Francisco Mazariegos ✓
 Fernando Jimenez ✓
 Manuel Higuera ✓
 Gerardo Roman ✓

430

96.-

Jacopo Cifuentes ✓
 Juana G. de Cifuentes ✓
 Zella Eufemia Cifuentes ✓ # 289
 Erlinda Cifuentes ✓
 María Cifuentes ✓
 Demitila Rodriguez ✓

97.-

Arnulfo Rodriguez ✓
 Fidelia Rodriguez ✓
 Simona Maldonado ✓
 Filemema Cifuentes ✓
 Juana López ✓

98.-

Trinidad Corzo ✓
 Elías Corzo C. ✓
 Victoria R. de Corzo ✓ # 286
 Raúl Corzo ✓
 Violeta Corzo ✓
 Homero Corzo ✓
 Elsa Trinidad Corzo ✓

99.-

José Cumes ✓
 Tomasa Pantó ✓ # 287
 Tomás Cumes ✓

100.-

Tomasa Toj ✓
 Tomas Tojila ✓
 Tomas Toj 2o. ✓
 Sebastiana Morales ✓

101.-

Ernesto Coronado ✓
 Concepción P. de Coronado ✓ # 148
 Rebeca Coronado ✓
 Ezequiel Coronado ✓
 Angelina Coronado ✓
 Felix Saquic ✓

102.-

Juan Poró
 Santos Carmen
 María del Carmen Poró
 Jacinto Poró
 José Poró
 Feliciano Poró
 Cristóbal Poró
 Francisca Poró

439

469

2

103.-

María López ✓
Miguel Alvarado ✓

4

104.-

Miguel Tian ✓
Petronila Xirum ✓
Tomas Tian ✓
Tomasa Tian ✓

5

105.-

María Saquic ✓
Tomasa Morales ✓
Tomasa saquic ✓
Micsela Saquic ✓
Josefa Xon ✓

4

106.-

Daniel mendez ✓
Basilia B. de Mendez ✓
Angel Mendez ✓
Luis mendez ✓

#52

3

107.-

Sebastian Equila ✓
Jacinta Suar ✓
Tomas Equila ✓

4

108.-

Isabel Xiloj ✓
Manuel Xiloj ✓
Amelia Xiloj ✓
Julio Xiloj ✓

#140

5

109.-

Juan Pacajoj ✓
Tomasa Tevelan ✓
María Pacajoj ✓
Manuela Semen ✓
José Pacajoj ✓

#50

4

110.-

Tomasa Ren ✓
Encarnación Xirum ✓
Pascuala Morales ✓
Sebastiana Ren ✓

500

500

- 4 111.- Lucas Ajpop ✓
 Jacinta Martinez ✓
 J. Anastacia ventura # 45 ✓
 Sebastiana Tevelan ✓
- 2 112.- Manuela Guajan ✓ # 136 ✓
 Tomas Guajsn ✓
- 5 113.- Francisco López ✓ chiquimula ✓
 Isabel Lux ✓ # 40 ✓
 Antonia Ganil ✓
 Juan López ✓ 2 miles ✓
 Miguel López ✓
- 4 114.- Lisandro Rivera ✓
 Juana B. de Rivera ✓ # 341 ✓
 Adrian Rivera ✓
 Pedro Rivera ✓
- 4 115.- Luz Pérez ✓
 Miguel Tol ✓
 Tomas utillo ✓
 Peñrona Guarcas ✓
- 5 116.- Jesus Mendez ✓
 Samuel Mendez ✓
 Vidal Mendez ✓
 Juana Merales ✓
 Felipa de León ✓
- 3 117.- Pedro Batz ✓ chiquimula ✓
 Manuela Saquic ✓ # 117 ✓
 Natalia Batz ✓
- 2 118.- Juana Coc
 Natalia Pérez
- 2 119.- Sebastian Culax
 Peñrona Pérez

521

531

7

120.- Elena Sáenz ✓
 Juan Elí Pacheco ✓
 Clara Luz mendez ✓ #114
 Carlos Sáenz ✓
 José Angel Sáenz ✓
 Salomé Martienez ✓
 Deverona Sáenz ✓

6

121.- Carlos Castro ✓
 Teresa Piedrasanta ✓
 Josefa María Piedrasanta ✓ #332
 Reymundo García ✓
 Julio García ✓
 Eladio Piedrasanta ✓

4

122.- vitalina Rodas ✓
 Francisca Quiroa ✓ #333
 Marco Antonio Rodas ✓
 Juan de Dios Rodas ✓

3

123.- Bibiano Girón ✓
 Delia G. de Girón ✓ #119
 Ovidio Méndez ✓

3

124.- Alfredo Franke ✓
 Elvira R. de Franke ✓ #125
 Alana Clara Edith Franke ✓

3

125.- Mr. Sol Tax ✓ #126
 Ms. de Tax ✓
 Juan cutillo ✓

Mrs.
Miss

9

126.- Pedro Rodriguez M. ✓
 Luz. M. de Rodriguez ✓
 Alfonso Rodriguez ✓
 Angela " ✓
 María " ✓ #113
 Marta " ✓
 Carmen " ✓
 Salvador " ✓
 Pablo " ✓

3

127.- Fidelia Girón ✓ #115
 Hortensia Girón ✓
 Erlinda Girón ✓

569

569

10

3

6

7

10

605

128.-

- Gusravo Rodas ✓
- Vicenta Corzo ✓
- Blanca Rodas ✓
- Aura " ✓
- Gloria " ✓
- Virginia" ✓
- Fernando Rodas ✓
- Demetrio Dávila ✓
- Manuela Reyes ✓
- Humberto Reyes ✓

115

~~115~~

129.-

- Vicenta de Rodas ✓
- Rigoberto Rodas ✓
- Teresa Garcia ✓

123

130.-

- Marco Tulio Rodas ✓
- Francisca M. de Rodas ✓
- Amado Rodas ✓
- Consuelo Rodas ✓
- Rolando Rodas ✓
- René Rodas ✓

123

131.-

- Edmundo Rodas G. ✓
- Julia G. de Rodas ✓
- Esthela Rodas G. ✓
- Humberto Edmundo Rodas G. ✓
- Julio Roberto Rodas G. ✓
- Juana Morales ✓
- Tomas Cutillo ✓

124

132.-

- Soledad C. v. de Rodas ✓
- Asidro Rodas C. ✓
- Oscar Rodas B. ✓
- Isolina Rodas B. ✓
- Jorge Antonio Rodas C. ✓
- María M. de Rodas ✓
- Irma Rodas M. ✓
- Manuela Aj ✓
- Tomas Morales ✓
- Julian Sajbajché ✓

130

T. O. T. M.

Hector Corzo
Marcela Rodas

-19-

605

133.-

Héctor Gorzo ✓
 Mardela Rodas ✓
 Hortensia Gorzo ✓ # 336
 Hego Gorzo ✓
 Jorge " ✓
 Jorden" ✓
 Marget Gorzo ✓
 Luisa Pacheco ✓
 José Sapon ✓
 Manuel Garcia ✓ 2 uche
 Juan Mejía ✓

134.-

Teodoro Ruiz ✓
 Matilde Ruiz ✓ # 335
 Julio Joel Ruiz ✓
 Lidia Ruiz ✓

135.e

Abel Rodas ✓
 Pilar de Rodas ✓ # 131

136.-

Manuela Macario ✓
 Juana Morales ✓
 Julia Mendoza ✓

137.-

Feliciano Pacheco ✓
 María Monterroso ✓ # 284a
 Samuel Pacheco ✓
 Efraín " ✓
 Marta " ✓

138.-

Fulgencio Girón ✓
 Sarbelia S. de Girón ✓
 Conrado Girón ✓
 Filib Girón ✓ # 122
 Aida Girón ✓
 Elizabeth Girón ✓
 Zafira Girón ✓
 Felipa Archila ✓

638

638

139.-

5

Samuel Girón P.
Estela S. de Girón ✓
Sara Girón ✓
Aura Marina Girón ✓
Sebastian Racajoj ✓

108

140.-

7

Sofía de León ✓
Abelian de León ✓
Josefa " " ✓
Ramira " " ✓
Aurora " " ✓
Plácido " " ✓
Jenaro de León ✓

107

141.-

5

Esabel de Dubon ✓
Job Dubon ✓
Zoila Dubon ✓
Otto Dubon ✓
Natalia Dubon ✓

103

142.-

4

Sara v. de Gonzalez ✓
Robertp Gonzalez ✓
Enrique Gonzalez ✓
Jorge González ✓

122

143.-

12

Javier Motta G. ✓
Olimpia G. de Motta ✓
Rafaél Motta ✓
Roberto Motta ✓
Anita Motta ✓
Francisco Javier Motta ✓
Mercedes de Pérez ✓
Esmeralda Pérez ✓
Aura Rññi Pérez ✓
Vicenta Aida Pérez ✓
ulga Pérez ✓
Sebastiana Morales ✓

105

144.-

8

Moises Pérez E. ✓
Sara R. de Pérez ✓
Sofía Pérez ✓
Alicia P. de Méndez ✓
Petrona Garcia ✓
Aguste López ✓
Alberto Molina ✓
udilí de Molina ✓

104

679

679

145.-

Conche v. de Gil ✓
 Juan B. Gil ✓
 Isolda Gil ✓
 Rosa Gil ✓
 Julie Reque Gil ✓
 Mari Lidia Gil ✓
 undina Gil ✓
 Eva Gil ✓
 Candelaria Mira ✓
 Jerge Santos ✓

69

10

146.-

Galixto Vásquez ✓
 Ana M. de Vásquez ✓
 Soledad Vásquez ✓
 Elena Vásquez ✓
 Lucía Vásquez ✓

8

Tot

5

147.-

Tomasa López ✓
 Pedro Vásquez ✓
 Manuela Hernandez ✓
 María Vasquez ✓

5

Tot

4

148.-

Eligio Vásquez ✓
 Natalis de Vásquez ✓
 Diega Velásquez ✓

8

Tot

3

149.-

Mateo Citalan ✓
 Rufina de Citalan ✓
 Manuela " ✓
 Juan " ✓
 Berta " ✓
 Edmunda " ✓
 Rosa " ✓
 Olegaria " ✓
 Rodrigo " ✓

7

Tot

9

150.-

José Mateo ✓
 Juan Guarcas ✓
 María González ✓
 Tomasa " ✓
 Ana " ✓
 Juana Guarcas ✓
 Pedro Pérez ✓
 Martín Chen ✓
 José Saquic ✓
 Lucas Tel ✓

10

720

720

151.-

Cruz Tax ✓
Isabel Tax ✓
Josefa de León ✓
Nicolás Alvarez ✓
Isabel Tax ✓

Servant of Mrs. Franke
5
TOT

5

152.-

José María Méndez ✓
Emilia Coronado ✓
Inocente Méndez ✓
Clemencia " " ✓
Isidro " ✓

2

5

153.-

Casimiro Jerez ✓
María B. de Jerez ✓
José Cresencio Jerez ✓
Victor Manuel Jerez ✓
Cecilia Jerez ✓
Gregoria Jerez ✓
Lucila Jerez ✓
María Jerez ✓

2

8

154.-

Francisco Linares ✓
María de Linares ✓
Ovidio " ✓
Ridelina " ✓
Amada " ✓
Rosa Carlota Linares ✓
Carmen Graciela Linares ✓
Gloria Linares ✓

1

8

155.-

Helisa Megollón ✓
Elodia Megollón ✓

11

2

156.-

Julia v. de Ruiz ✓
Anita Ruiz ✓
Juan Ruiz ✓
Nahú Ruiz ✓
Eles Ruiz ✓
Aurera Ruiz ✓
Samuel Ruiz ✓
Isidoro Ruiz ✓
Berta Ruiz ✓
Zeila Ruiz ✓
Carlos Ruiz ✓
Guadalupe Serrano ✓
María Serrano ✓

330

13

761

761

13

157.-

Hans Rehrmann ✓
 Sra. de Rehrmann ✓
 Otto Rehrmann ✓
 Vicenta Pacheco ✓
 Luis Valderrames ✓
 José Arguijo ✓
 Basilio Méndez ✓
 Humberto Sapon ✓
 Juan ~~patz~~ ✓
 José Saq-uic ✓
 Pascual Ramirez ✓
 Ester Valenzuela ✓
 Francisco Laster ✓

10
Zurche
Chiquimitl

2

158.-

Francisca Méndez ✓
 María Sáenz ✓

281

159.-

Juan Girón ✓
 María P. de Girón ✓
 Salvador Girón ✓
 Aurora Girón ✓
 Juan Girón S. ✓
 Julia Girón S. ✓
 Vidalia Pacheco ✓
 Antonio Pacheco ✓
 Alonzo Girón ✓

129

9

160.-

Manuela Estrada ✓
 Victoria Estrada ✓
 Pedro Estrada ✓
 Mercedes Estrada ✓
 Andrés Estrada ✓

5

161.-

Estefana Quiñones ✓
 Elías Quiñones ✓
 Candelaria Sut ✓
 Lorenzo Cifuentes ✓
 Berta Cordero ✓
 Eva Cordero ✓
 Benjamin Cordero ✓

128

7

162.-

Enriqueta Santos ✓
 Emilio Santos ✓
 Margarita Megellón ✓

3

800

-24-

800

- 163.-
 5. María Estrada ✓
 Juana Toc ✓
 Agnito Toc ✓ #128
 Carmen Toc ✓
 Jesus Toc ✓
- 164.-
 7 Vicente Rodas h. ✓
 María Susana C. de Rodas ✓
 Elva Rodas ✓ #149
 Luvia Rodas ✓
 Terla Ondina Rodas ✓
 Gloria Marta Rodas ✓
 Alba Celeste Rodas ✓
- 165.-
 5 Moises Girón P. ✓
 Vitalia S. de Girón ✓
 Moises Girón h. ✓ #164
 Eva Margot Girón ✓
 Edi Eberto Girón ✓
- 166.-
 2 Gonzalo Rodas ✓ #154
 Cristobalina Gonzalez ✓
- 167.-
 3 Inés G. v. de Solórzano ✓ #155
 Américo Estrada Solórzano ✓
 Nicolasa Ramos ✓ *suiche*
- 168.-
 4 Ramón Rodríguez ✓ #163
 Amelia de Rodríguez ✓
 Alfonso Rodríguez ✓
 Juana Solórzano ✓
- 169.-
 2 Juan Higueros ✓ #272a
 Olimpia Cabrera ✓
- 170.-
 6 Rodolfo Girón ✓
 Edelmira de Girón ✓ #166
 Jerge Girón ✓
 Marina " ✓
 Lidia " ✓
 Elsa " ✓

834

834

- 171.-
 - Gerónimo Linares ✓
 - Jesus de Linares ✓
 - Benjamin Linares ✓ # 165
 - Adalberto Linares ✓
 - Guillermo Linares ✓
 - Edelmira Rodríguez ✓
 - Juana Morales ✓

- 172.-
 - Francisco de León Pérez (Chajul?) ✓
 - María Rodas ✓
 - Concha Sáenz ✓

- 173.-
 - Bibiano Uacía ✓
 - Luisa de Uacía ✓
 - Celestina Uacía ✓ # 171
 - Isabel Uacía ✓
 - Jesus Uacía ✓
 - José Uacía ✓

- 174.-
 - Emilia Pérez ✓
 - Alfonso Garcia ✓ # 173
 - María Pérez ✓

- 175.-
 - ~~Trinidad~~ Patrocinia Riquiac ✓
 - José Calva ✓ # 173
 - Manuel Calva 1o. ✓
 - Manuel Calva 2o. ✓

- 176.-
 - Lorenza Mendoza ✓
 - Ferminas Mendoza ✓
 - Catarina Mendoza ✓ # 174
 - José Mendoza ✓
 - Juan Mendoza ✓

- 178.-
 - Juan Xaper ✓
 - Sebastiana Xirum ✓
 - José Félix Xirum ✓
 - Tomasa Xirum ✓
 - José Xaper ✓

867

*Trinidad Feliza
a young child*

867

179.-

Tomas Gonzalez ✓
 Sebastiana Ignacio ✓
 Manuela Ignacio ✓
 Miguel Ignacio ✓
 Tomas Ignacio ✓
 Sebastian Ignacio ✓

180.-

Flavio Redas N. ✓
 Julia C. de Redas ✓
 Augusto Redas ✓
 José Luis Redas ✓
 Javier Redas ✓
 Martha Redas ✓
 Julia Redas ✓
 Retrena Pérez ✓

271

181.-

Eufemia v. de Cordero ✓
 Manuel Cordero ✓
 Jorge Cordero ✓

182.-

Adán de León Amézquita ✓
 Marta de " " ✓
 Clara Linares ✓
 Angela Linares ✓

99

888

1 183.- María Marroquin (Cantinera de Amézquita)

8 184.- Sion Pacajoj
María Ren
Josefa Ren
Micaela Calel (Sirvientes de la familia Amézquita)
Manuel Guaracas
Manuel Pacajoj
Tomas Riquiac
Pedro Lastor

5 185.- ~~Enestario~~ Pérez
Gertudris Méndez
Octavio Pérez
Imelda Pérez
Julia Pérez

4 186.- Elisa Hernández
Amada Gloria Girón
Sara Rodas
Agustin Pérez

2 187.- Alfredo Santiago Valdéz
Gonzalo Rodriguez

7 188.- Antonio R. Sumoza
María de Sumoza
Pedro Sumoza
Teresa "
Dolores Sumoza
Lorenzo "
Luisa Girón

4 189.- Francisco Samayoa
Alejandra de Samayoa
Edmundo Chávez
Francisco Chávez

882
31
919

-28-

- 190.- Gerónimo Linares
 Jesús de Linares
- 191.- Paula v. de Girón
- 192.- Cresencio Jerez
- 193.- Carlos Scord
 Cristina Mota
 Carlos Scord
 Roberto Scord
 Guillermo Scord
- 194.- Domingo Barrios
 Antonio de Barrios
 María Barrios
 Anita Barrios
- 195.- Manuel Rivera
 Antonio Quiroa
 Uralia Rivera
 Aura Enriqueta Rivera
 Antonio Rivera
- 196.- Jesús A. v. de Rodas
 Macaria Quiñonez
- 197.- Tomasa Nix González
 María " "
 Tomas Nix
- 198.- (Cofradía de Santo Tomas):
 José Xar
 Miguel Xen
 Juna Pantzay
 Sebastian Xen
- 199.- Marcos Batz
 Manuela Ordóñez
 José Batz
 Pedro Batz
- 200.- José Saquic

201.-

Gerónimo Chinol
Manuela Dominguez
Micaela Chinol
Catarina Pol
María Morales
Dolores Motaes
Manuela Dominguez h.

7

202.-

Francisco Tzul
Luz Cachaj
Ana Tzul
Jesus Tzul

4

203.-

Marta Guaracas
Gerónimo Nix h.
Juan Nix

3

205.-

Tomas Xon lo.
Tomas Xon 2o.
Juana Xon
Tomasa Xon
Sebastiana Xon
Micaela Xon.

6

75

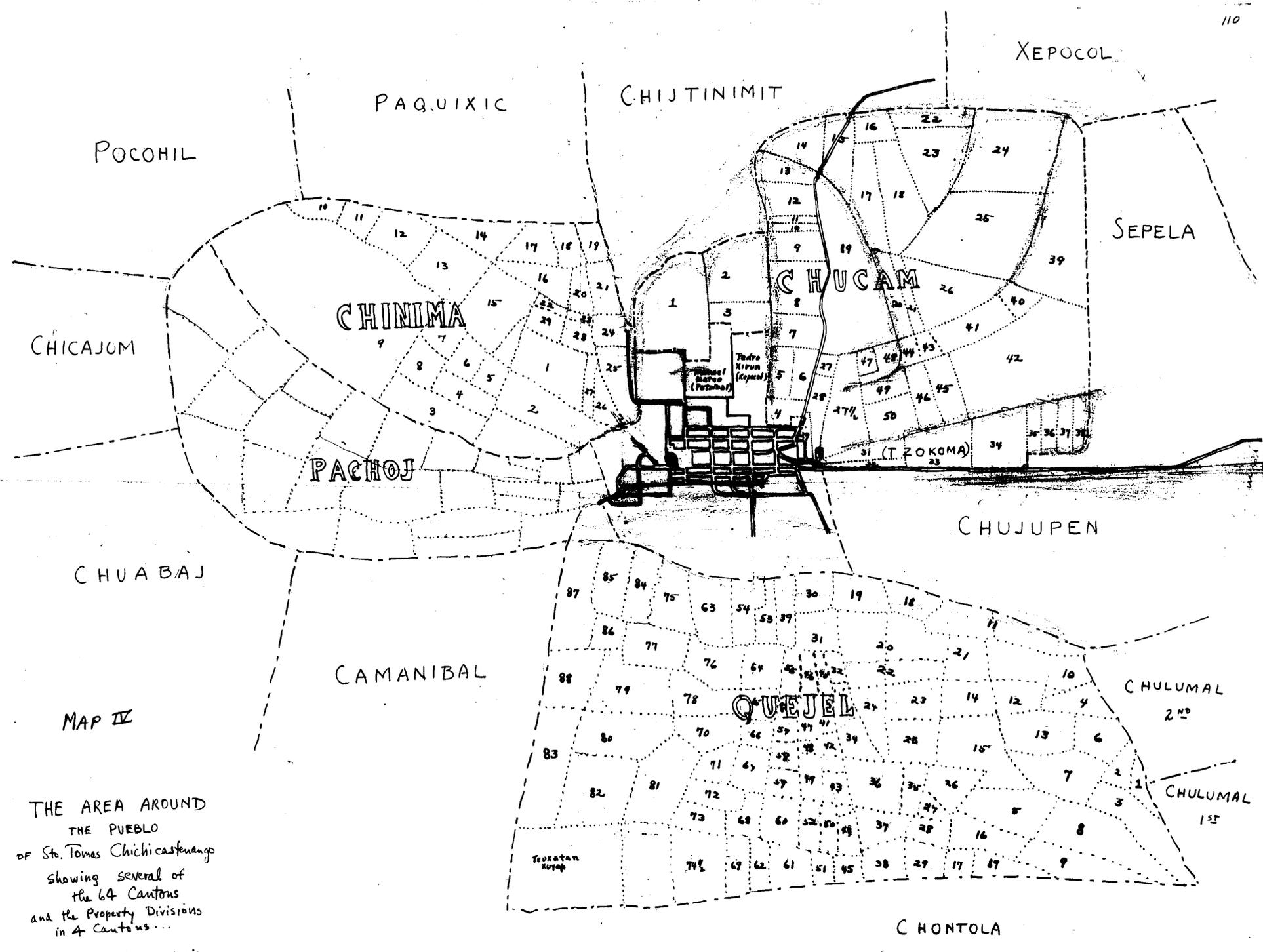
952

972

3. Selected Cantones

I obtained considerable material on four of the cantones of the Municipio of Chichicastenango: Chinimá, Chucam, Pachoj, and Quejel. Map IV. shows the relations between these four cantones and the town itself. Each of these cantones was separately mapped in the field, and the land boundaries and households marked, with census cards prepared for each of the numbered households. It will be noted that the canton of Pachoj does not have its households numbered on the map. I am unable to find among my notes the original field map on which the numbers were placed. The numbers, of course, appear on the census cards but they cannot be allocated on the map.

Table 2 is a statistical summary of the landholding and population of these four cantones. (Table 5, pp. , gives information on cash incomes.



MAP IV

THE AREA AROUND
 THE PUEBLO
 OF St. Tomas Chichicastenango
 Showing several of
 the 64 Cantons
 and the Property Divisions
 in 4 Cantons...

Scale about 2 inches = 1 Mile

 Barrancas of importance
 actually observed for
 mapping

Table 2

Canton	OWNED BY										Occupied Permanently by										Occupied Potentially by										
	Outpost Family	Family of Finca		Other Landings or Estates		Other land owned by Owners		Residence of Family when in Pueblo			No. Secondary Families			No. of Individuals							Native, married away			Native, and families, or others							
		No. of Finca	No. of Finca	Local	Other	Owned As such	As Co-Owner	Born here	With house	No. of Finca	No. of Finca	No. of Finca	Natives			Non-natives				Total	Other Natives		Total	No. of Finca	No. of Finca	No. of Finca					
													Male	Female	Other	Male	Female	Other	Male		Female	Other					Male	Female	Other		
17	2			4	6	3		19		1	32	19	9	4	96	20	9	36	31	30	5	21	4	15	2			5	6	3	2
39	3			9		1					40	9	3	44	6	50	40		1	43	9	8	1	1				4	3	2	
24	24						2				39	24	14	1	30	15	13	17	33	1	24	8	6	2			1			1	
45	4	26	5½	8½		3	1	16	26	4	92	54	35	3	230	70	25	69	66	79	2	73	4	162	6	1	14	125	1	6.9	15

Summary of Statistics on Landholding
and Population of Four
Cantons of Chichicastenango

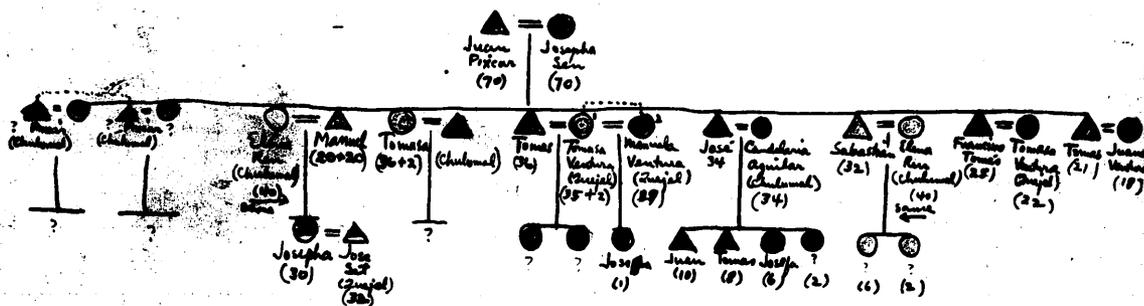
a. Quejel.

My information on Quejel is more accurate and more complete than that on the other cantones since it was the residence of Tomás Ventura, my most reliable informant. The notes that immediately follow were written after the first month in Chichicastenango on the basis of the first information that was obtained. These notes also include information on other cantones.

Table 3 (reproduced on pp.) summarizes considerable statistical information that I obtained after mapping Quejel. [Table 6 (reproduced on pp.) gives additional statistics on income and employment.] It will be noticed that the number of households "increased" from 39 to 89, from the time I got my first information, using Tomás Ventura as an informant in my office, to the time when I actually mapped the canton and counted the houses. This has been a very invariable experience of mine and is, of course, proof that there is only one method of making a census that will include all of the families of the community. No matter how hard he tries, an informant is apt to miss half his neighbors.

My census cards on Quejel follow.

Juan Pixcar



All come to house of Tomas' father, Diego Ventura, every other day. They have 2 daughters, Catalina and Juana. Don't stay over night, maybe one night, the first stay over night. Tomas' father is a very busy man, he stays at home.

Pueblo: to house of Diego Ventura; only sometimes stay over night.

Quejel #1

Land: Own miera of # 2, # 3, # 5, # 7, # 10, # 12, # 17, # 33, # 61. all security for beans. He is worth about \$2,000.

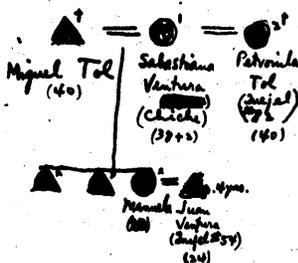
Gross Income:		Individual property, for personal & family needs.	Income used for the kitchen: just about enough.
Juan Pixcar: Corporal ..	\$60 a year		
Tomas older: Comerciante ..	250 "		
José: sells deers in pueblo daily	50 "		
Francisco Tomas - school teacher	120 "		
Tomas younger - comerciante	100 "		
Sebastian - sells the best	120 "		
Sale of maize	100 "		
" " wheat	50 "		
" " beans	50 "		
" " potatoes	20 "		
add (like embroidery)	15 "		
Total	\$835 "		

Other work: Josepha weaves but not for sale.
Manuela " " " " " "
Catalina " " " " " "
Tomas " " " " " "
Juana " " " " " "

Running expende ... mozos, etc. 200 } contributions from all members of family.
net income 635 "

plus the farm products they use; have a shop & kitchen but use produce

Miguel Tol



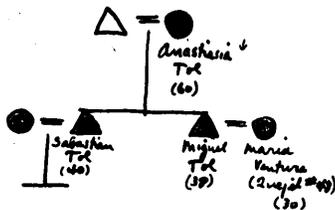
↑ 2 or 3 years a piece
of mescal returned
schicku

Quejel #2

To juica las Comelias in Eschitjagney. Owns money to Juan Pixcar (Quejel #1) & land here in security. Meanwhile, Pixcar has mispa there meanwhile.

Anastasia Tol

Quejel #3



↳ loose woman; many
men, no husbands

her son went away
& left her because
she is no good.

St. Tomas she took
her d-in-l. Maria
to pueblo, got drunk
& landed in jail

Quejel #3

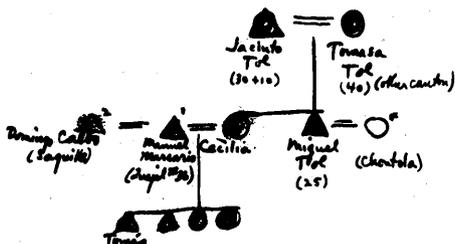
Reiko: when she comes to town, comes to house of her brother, Miguel Tol (Quejel #25). She comes only once in a while & usually stays only during the day.

She works for other people, getting paid for her work. Gets \$2.00 for a kungul, and maybe makes maybe twelve a year. She is midwife & earns from \$3-\$8 for a birth; she may have 10-12 a year. Maybe total income of \$75 a year. Her sons send some mescal, too, so she has plenty; she has small mispa & pays mescal for working in it. If the father has no money to pay her for the birth, he works it off in her mispa or in getting her living.

Tomasa Tol

Quejel #4

* Being combated now. Will come to live here in Apr. 1955



Quejel #4

Pablo: comes to home of Manuela Castro [Quejel #10] when -- every market -- she comes to town. Manuela's son is married to Tomasa.

Tomasa works at weaving for others (\$8 per huipiles because can't do the fancy part -- makes about 24 in year). She also is a partener, but only has 4-5 a year. Miguel works selling llanga, and (no male) earns \$25 a year. Also works on morrels, earning \$12 a year (30 pesos profit each, \$ 24 a year).

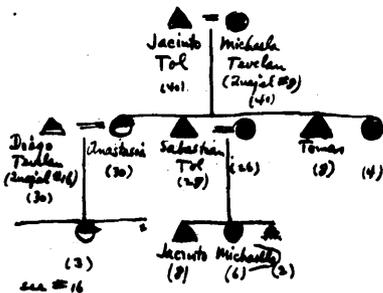
Tomasa -- \$50

Miguel -- 25

Income -- \$75 a year, besides what they get out of the milpa. Neither sell produce or have crops

Jacinto Tol

Quejel #5



* others died within a week of birth.

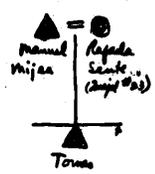
Pablo: Come every market day to a home which he has with Miguel Tol [Quejel #25] his brother and Anastasi Tol [Quejel #3] his sister.

Jacinto Tol ..comerciant	\$150 año
Sebastian	\$150 "
	<hr/>
	\$300 .

Women weave, but not for sale. Don't hire mays nor sell produce. Maybe will 75-100 a year on the kitchen. Community funds: He try give his father the money, who gives them money for him & his wife.

Manuel Mejia

Quejel #6



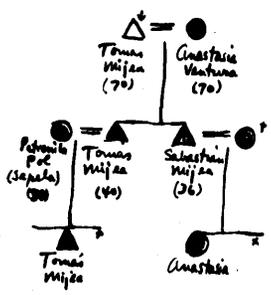
+ maybe there on finca
 10-15 yrs. on the finca,
 + never returned....

on finca Las Mercedes, Zuegeltenango.

Quejel #6

Anastasia Ventura

Quejel #7



+ Anastasia's house. He came from other canton to live here. He ran away later -- 30-40 yrs ago. + maybe others on finca
 On finca 5-6 years; return each year for 5th Tomas. They grow maize down there and young Tomas goes down weekly to bring it up to Anastasia here. + from here; married on finca.

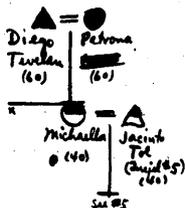
Her sons left her & don't want her, because she doesn't respect their wishes.

Tomas + Anastasia were not married with costume, because the woman is bad?]

Quejel #7

Pueblo: Comes to home of Tomas Ventura [Quejel #53] -- Housins then? They come very market + sometimes stay the night.

Anastasia works on weaving + makes some \$20 a year (2 a huipil). On paid-wife work, has lots of friends (Jan. 1935 had 8 cases) + earns maybe \$150 a year. She has a little milpa + pays more some; he even send up some maize too.



nothurs dead.

Quejil #8

Go to finca every year & return in December for 2 weeks or a month. Don't have mijsa, for Ventura (Quejil #53) owns land. They come to this house. In Pueblo live where they can, maybe sometimes in Contreras. He sold land because he ~~was~~ needed money; likes to drink. Finca San Julián Patulul (Suchit.) & also San Agustín (Suchit.) Besides working at finca, works a few days here as majo. No mijsa.



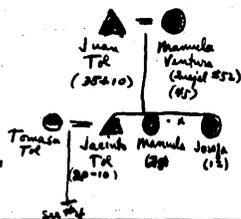
Quejil #9

Pueblo: lives with Tomas Set [Quejil #89]; comes every market.

Sebastian makes fajos for women; makes about \$25 a week -- or \$12.50 a year -- at that. Has mijsa in which he works. Sells a little produce -- maybe \$10 a year. Petronila makes dupites & gets maybe \$25 a year (for cuts too). They have sheep - Antonio & Tomas help with them. Have about 12 sheep & the wool nets \$40 a year. All earn (with chickens, etc.) maybe \$50 a year, besides what they have in mijsa.

Manuela Ventura

Quejel #10



others dead

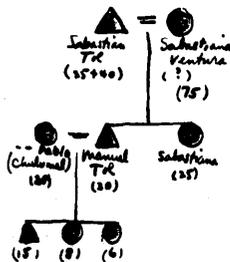
Quejel #10

Has house in Pueblo, & comes every market.

Manuela sells linen, & earns 5¢ a day (15¢ a year) & works on bingulos (8¢ 24 a year). Have sheep & pigs, and Manjila & Josefa care for them. Maybe 150¢ a year income from them. Have miera & hire mijos, but use up produce. Net income maybe 100¢ a year.

Sebastiana Ventura

Quejel #11



Quejel #11

Has house in pueblo. Comes every market.

Sebastiana (mother) works on weaving, & earns maybe 2¢ a year. She is partera & earns maybe 30¢ a year. Manuel is comerciante: \$150 a year. His wife weaves but not for sale. The others take care of sheep & pigs (earning 50¢ a year). Miera; do not sell produce, but hire mijos. Maybe net income is 200¢ in produce for use.

Sebastian Mejia

Quejel #12



from here, but met
and married on finca
maybe, on finca
10-15 yrs on finca; herje
women only.

Quejel #12

Finca La Mercedes (2sq.)

Miguel Sentó

Quejel #13



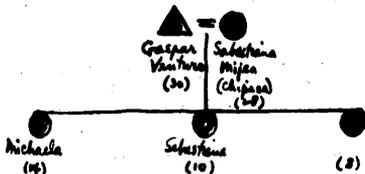
maybe married; has been
on finca 18 yrs. never
comes back.

Quejel #13

Finca

Gaspar Ventura

Quejel #14



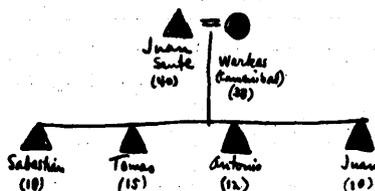
Quejel #14

Public: every market to house of Sebastiana Ventura (#11). (in relatives)

Sebastiana makes *bingüelo*, etc. at \$1 a piece (may 12 a year). Have sheep & pigs & earn maybe 200 a year. Have *mijpa*; don't sell produce, but have *mijos* to pay. Gaspar is *comerciante* & earns \$180 a year -- but pays *mijpa* to do his road-work. \$120 a year net income.

Juan Senté

Quejel #15



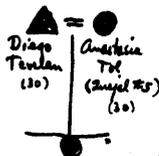
Quejel #15

Pueblo: to home of somebody -- probably in-law -- from other canton. Come every market.

Has no milpa to amount to anything, & works for people on the road. Just about gets a living out of it. His wife makes hupiles (\$25 a yr.). Have sheep & the sons do that & other jobs. Maybe \$25 a year. Maybe total of \$80 a year.

Diego Tevelan

Quejel #16



except others died

Quejel #16

Pueblo: to home of Manuel Marcaris (Quejel #4) -- friends -- every market.

Diego makes fajos, & earns \$25 a yr. also does labor on roads for people & may earn \$25 more. Not much milpa. Anastasia weaves about \$12 worth a year ^{or plus sheep}. Total maybe \$60.

Juan Ventura

Quejel #17



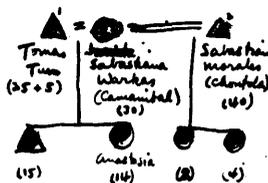
probably com.
15 yrs. on finca, +
reth returns.

Quejel #17

Finca La Soledad or Las Mercedes (2ug.)

Tomas Tun

Quejel #18



When Tomas died, his family borrowed money on the property to bury him. When redeemed, his son will live there.

On finca 2-3 yrs, return for fiestas

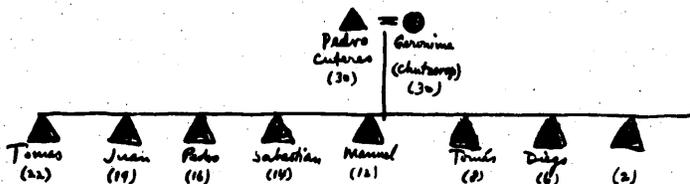
Quejel #18

~~Finca La Soledad~~
~~Go to finca from Feb - March. Come to pueblo for fiestas (usually live here a month before St. Tomas & Semana Santa) & live in Sebastian Morales' house.~~

Go to finca from Feb - March. Come to pueblo for fiestas (usually live here a month before St. Tomas & Semana Santa) & live in Sebastian Morales' house.

Pedro Cuteres

Quejel #19



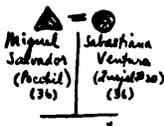
Quejel #19

Pueblo: to his brother's [Sebastian Cuteres Quejel #30] house -- the house is communal between them.
Stays here only days.

Pedro sells wood in town (5¢ a day) & then works as mozo on fincas for 12¢ a day. \$55 a year.
Gerovina makes a few humpiles. 4 of the boys are comensantes 3 days a week -- & together
earn maybe \$150 a year. Rest of week work as mozo, & together earn \$80 a year more. Earn
altogether come \$300 a year, but must buy maize (about \$120 a year).

Miguel Salvador

Quejel #20



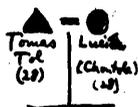
probably, but 15-16 yrs.
on finca & never counted.

Quejel #20

probably San Julian (Suclit)

Tomas Tol.

Quejel #21



live half the time at her place, when there is work to do.

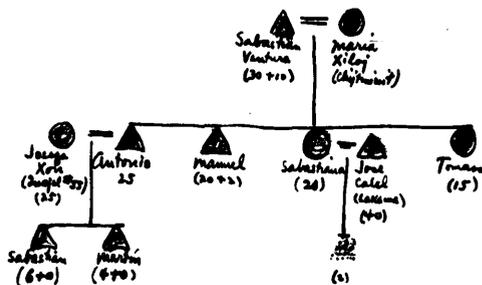
Quejel #21

Pueblo: to house of Mamele Ventura (Quejel #10).

Has only little milpa; he works as migo daily (sells wood too). \$50-60 a year. She makes about \$25 a year on kimples. Maybe \$90 a year & they have to buy some maize.

Maria Xiloj

Quejel #22



Quejel #22

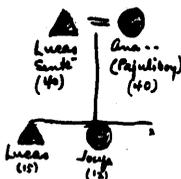
Pueblo: house of Tomas Ventura R. (Quejel #32) .. This man is the dead Sebastien's older brother.

Maria grinds corn for others, & does washing. Maybe earns 10¢ a day & meals working around. Works 5 days a week [\$30 a year]. Antonio is a migo -- maybe earns \$60 a year. Josefa spins thread (44 ounces for the week; 2 a day -- \$20 a year). Chickens maybe earn \$10 a year. All \$120 a year & have to buy some maize. Have some milpa.

Lucas Sente

Quejel #23

124



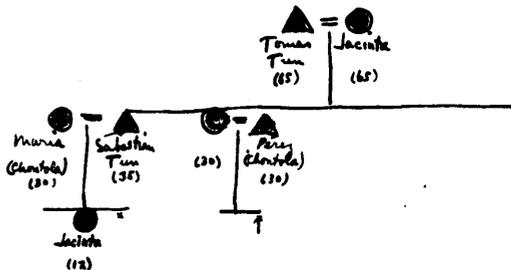
maybe more, but
5-6 yrs in finca
& return for finca

Quejel # 23

Finca San Juan (Luchit). Return for Sta Tomas & Semana Santos; have house in Pueblo.
He is ^{one of the} the albañiles this year for Quejel; he should work in Suggate every ~~the~~ fourth week,
but instead pays Tomas Xoa (#31) to do it -- pays \$150

Tomas Tun

Quejel #24

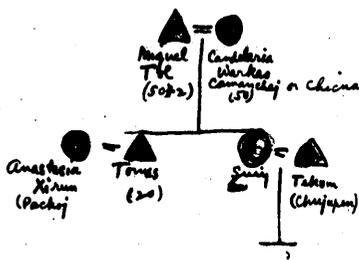


others dead.
probably

He (Tomas) is a
padrino de encasamiento
-- the only one in
Quejel

Quejel #24

Pueblo: comes to house of Canal of Payot -- he ~~rents~~ "rents" it & in return cleans it. Canal
doesn't come often. Comes over market
except at being marriage padrino -- maybe \$10 a year
Tomas doesn't work in this -- his old-age. Jacinta either. Sebastian is comerciante,
& makes maybe \$100 a year. His wife weaves & he sells her stuff in the City. Maybe
makes \$25 a year on weaving. Miopa; but have to buy more weavings. Have to hire mozos.



Tomas married Susy; before that he's another kind with Susy. Now they moved back.

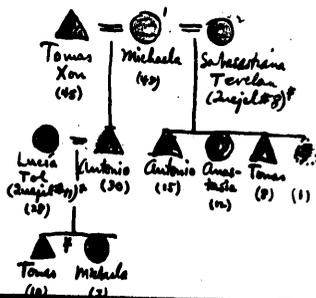
Quejel #25

Goes to Finca from Feb-April & from June-Dec. Finca La Bolsa (Quej). Returns to Quejel & in pueblo to house of Candelaria's brother, Diego Warkas of Chicua or Camanchaj

Candelaria sells coffee & panels [that she has bought here] in the market in small quantities; does this daily. Earns maybe \$25 - \$30 a year. Tomas works as majo & does jobs, a piece-work, taxi & earns maybe \$50 a year. Amestora helps her husband. Very little mitpa. Some chicken. maybe income \$100 all told, as income & must be enough.

Tomas Xon

Quejel #26



Tomas is Principale of Quejel & probably accepts there. & more died & sister of Diego Terclan.

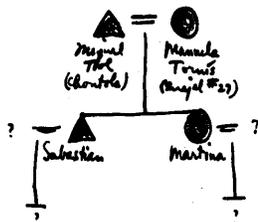
(Tomas Xon is Principale) Come to house of Subastiana Morales of Chantla -- borrowed for in return for cleaning. (Maybe comes to this house now -- for debt)

Quejel #26

Tomas is Corporal & gets \$60 a year. Subastiana makes thread, & earns \$25 a year or so. Also sells little tamales in market earning 30¢ on Sunday & 20¢ Thursday. Another \$25 a year. Lucia & Amestora help her. Antonio is comerciante & so is brother, & together earn \$250 a year. Have chickens & sheep & 2 pigs & cows (for manure), & maybe get \$30 a year for all. Very small mitpa & have majo, but have to buy maize. Only \$350 a year income, net, but at least \$100 for maize. All money to Tomas, the father.

Manuela Tornis

Quejel #27



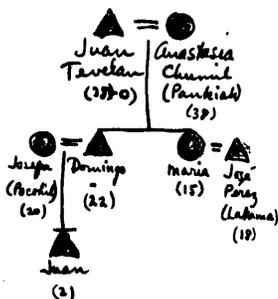
on piece 15-16 years, & return only for the Tornis(?)

Quejel #27

Fernanda Cecilia (Suehit)

Juan Tevelan

Quejel #28



Quejel #28

Pecoli: live at home of Sebastiana Ventura (Quejel #11) -- friends. Every market

Anastasia & Josefa buy vegetables in Solala [in cantones neighboring Chichicastenango] & sell here. Sell here every day, & earn maybe \$70 a year. That's all they do. Domingo is comerciante & earns \$125 a year. A little milpa, & have to hire mgs. Buy clothing.

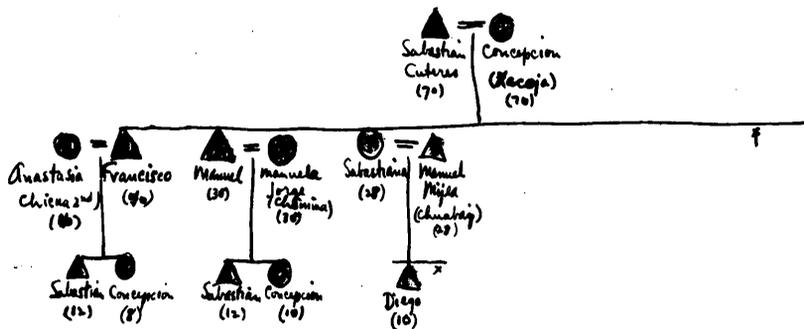
▲ = ●
 Sebastian Pixcar (30) = Sebastiana Morales (Chulimal) (30)

Quejel #29

Pueblo: lives ^{alone} with Juan Ventura of Chulimal. Borrowed for cleaning. Every market Sebastian Pixcar collects & sells acote daily at markets here -- 75¢ worth a week. He also collects leña -- & every day gets 5-7 cents a day for it. \$70 a year all told. Has milpa for own use, & has to buy some. ~~Sebastian~~ Sebastiana weaves a bit, about \$12 a year. Total maybe \$80 a year.

Sebastian Cuteres

Quejel #30



† probably others who died
 & maybe more.

Quejel #30

Pueblo: has house here. Every market

Land. Own 200 cords milpa in chule crop -- bought it.

The old people don't work. Francisco is cooperante, & so is Manuel. Earn \$125 a year together. Anastasia & Manuela make cotton & sew borders on suits & shirts. Together earn \$50 a year. Have milpa -- & still have to buy 3-400 pounds a year. Chickens, sheep, pigs, cows. They use most of produce, except chickens & eggs -- \$8 a year. \$180 annual income.



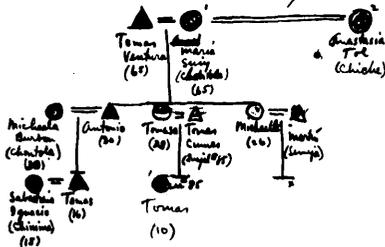
will take her in another work.

Quejel #31

Pueblo: probably to Sabas, Andres (Quejel #30) ... friends -- every market

Tomas is the alcalde (last of month) appears for people do not seem to work their work in the municipio. The municipio requires every man to work a week every month, and this man, for \$1.50 a week, takes people's places. There are three ~~alcaldes~~ ^{alcaldes} in each Canton (180 in all) -- or one from each must work every week [changing every year]. This man, for the price, will take anybody's place. He works steadily at this \$75 a year. Juana weaves, maybe 20 work. Juan does odd jobs around at 13¢ a day [\$40 yearly]. Juana makes thread, 20 a yr. Has milpa, but have to buy maize a little. a few chickens sold -- about \$2 a year. Income \$160 a year.

no cotumbre



maybe

M33: 1st shade of cf. Rosaris

2nd principal

child of Tomas y Tomas Ventura C
 of 5th ditto
 Old man here ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{is} ~~married~~ ^{is}
 Quejel #32

Pueblo -- many houses here. Comes every market

Land: all of #38, #50

Tomas spends most of his time with his girls. \$40-50 to kill a man or make him sick. Can't tell how much he earns a year. He also earns some \$20 a year underlining men's clothes. Maria does nothing. Anastasia Tol is midwife, but earns only \$20-30 a year at it; but she is able a brigo. Antonio gets ten turkeys a year \$100 or more a year. Michela works on weaving but not for sale. Tomas helps his father. Sabas weaves for the family only. lots of milpa; sell 30 bushels of maize, and also wheat, beans, etc. sheep, pigs, chickens, some (quills) .. and net some \$20 a year from that. that maize for milpa, or equal about \$100 a year for labor.

Tsok

Quejel #33

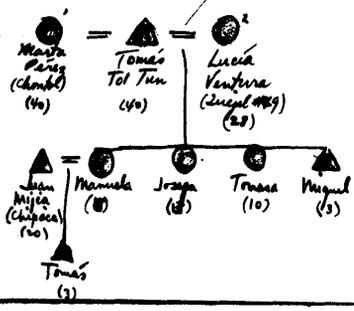


more than 20 years or since
 never came back, unless
 made headquarters in
 Chile.
 From Chile, but has
 land here

Tol
 Tomas ^{Tun}

Quejel #34

no construction



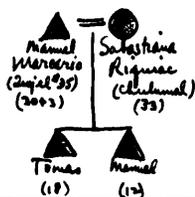
Quejel #34

Pueblo: ~~with~~ House of Camil (of Paxot) -- friends.

Tomas & Juan are comerciantes & earn maybe \$200 a year. Marta & Lucia weave & sell some, and may earn \$20 a year together. Marcela may also earn \$10 a year for the same. Have sheep, cows, pigs, chickens. May get \$25 for all. about 250 annual income. Miya, but buy maize

Sebastiana Ripstein

Quejel #35



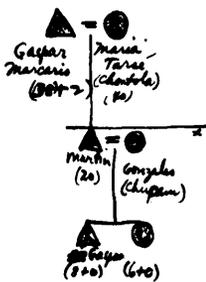
Quejel #35

Pueblo: to house of Tomas Ventura R. -- related thru mother. Every market

Sebastiana makes the material for straw hats. Makes for one hat a day & gets 10¢ a piece. (20 varas for one hat), but it's not all profit. Makes maybe \$30. Tomas & Mamel do the same, so all earn some \$90 a year. Have milpa & trap work some. Have to buy maize.

Gaspar Marcario

Quejel #36

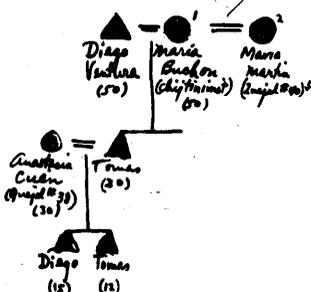


maybe others did

Quejel #36

Pueblo: to the family house (of Tomas Marcario -- Quejel 45). Every market

Martin is comerciante & nets maybe \$150 a year. Maria and Martin's wife weave, but not for sale. A little milpa -- have to buy maize.



* Sister of her mother.

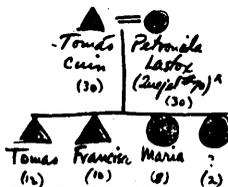
Quejel #37

Pueblo: *hate hours. Every market*

Have about 90 sheep, & Diego cares for them. In his spare time, makes thread for *pagas* (selling \$25 a year or so). The wool nets some \$35. The 2 maries make *pagas* -- \$50 a year. Tomas is *comerciante* -- making \$100 a year. Anastasia weaves for home use. Diego & Tomas help Diego. Milpa, selling 10 quintales maize: \$20 & other things for \$50. Total income about \$300 a year. out of this *mogor* get some.

Tomas Cuin

Quejel #38



* Sister of Francisco

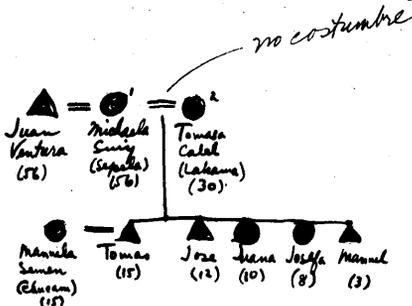
Quejel #38

Pueblo: Has bought a room from Tomas Ventura R. Comes every market

Tomas makes some kind of apparatus for weaving rugs & men's clothes-material. Some kind of comb? makes one a week at a profit of 75¢ -- some \$40 a year. Patronila weaves for the family. A little milpa, but buy 2-3 quintales. Sheep, pigs, chickens, earning some \$15 a year. Tomas & Francis work & get 13¢ a day, earning together some \$90 a year. Altogether \$150 a year.

Juan Ventura

Quejel #39

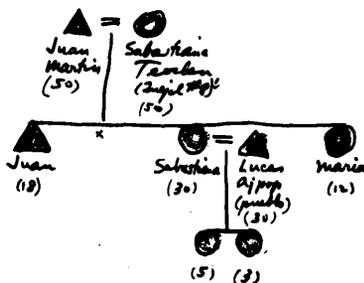


Quejel #39

Pueblo: With Tomas Ventura (R#53). Brothers, & community house. Every market Juan embroiders about 12 garments (\$60). Brujeria, \$20 or more a year. Michalea sells her weaving (sarnitka) - \$40 a year; Tomasa does the same. Tomas works as mozo at hotel for 136 aday .. \$40 a year; Jose also. Manuela, Juana, Josefa take care of sheep. 40 sheep, 40 chickens, 25 pigeons - \$30 a year. \$280 income.

Juan Martin

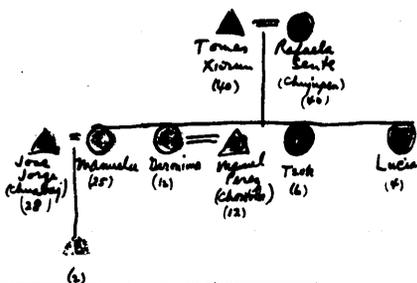
Quejel #40



1 Brother of Diego
& others dead

Quejel #40

Pueblo: House of Ventura (Quejel #53). He is a mozo for them. Every market Juan is mozo .. & also gets wood, so earns some \$60. Sebastiana makes thread, so makes \$27 a year. Juan, Jr. also works & gets wood: \$60. Maria does as her mother does: \$27 a year. \$175 but has to buy maize.



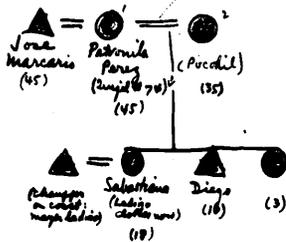
Quejel #41

Pueblo: has house. Every market

makes gourd cups, which he gets green on the coast. earns maybe \$50 a year. His wife helps him. Enough milpa for own use. Have sheep (15) 2 pigs, 20 chickens... \$15 in all. \$65 income

Jose Marcario

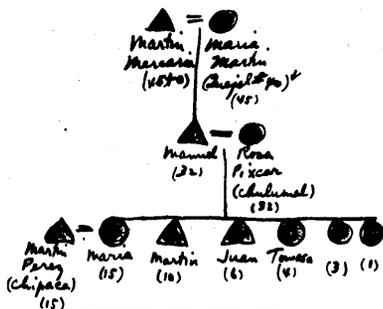
Quejel #42



broken in Kerepis Arq, dead

Quejel #42

Pueblo: in house of Tomas Marcario (#45). Brothers, & house in common. Every market Jose makes bricks, & is helped by his family. 1¢ a piece, & makes 50-100 or more. Have little milpa, but have to buy some maize.

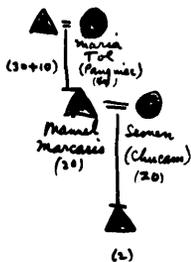


Sister of Juan Martin

Quejel #43

Pueblo: house of Tomas Marcario (#45). Brothers; house in common. Every market.

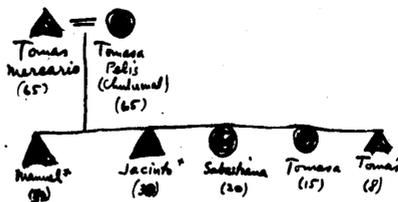
Maria sells fruits in market, ^{also} having bought in the canton. ~~She~~ She sends Rosa around to buy the things; together they make 2¢ a day -- \$70 a year. Manuel is comerciante & earns some \$50 a year. The young ones herd sheep; 25 sheep, 2 mules, chickens. Maybe \$15 worth. Milpa enough for needs, but mays eat money.



Quejel #44

Pueblo: house of Tomas Marcario; ^(#45) brother & house in common. Every market.

Manuel is comerciante and makes some \$130 a year. Maria Tol works for others on huipils -- \$24 a year. Seman makes thread at 8¢ a day, \$28 a year. A little milpa & buy some corn. Potos -- & sell ~~chicken~~ eggs. \$195.



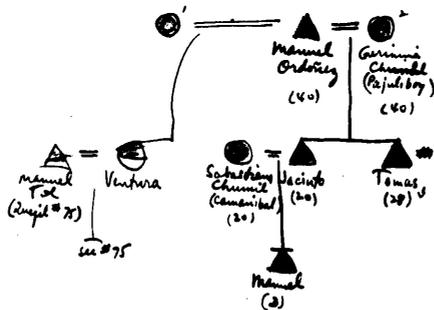
at least every when about youths
not heard of since

[Tomas claims women can
have children when very old.]

Quejel #45-

Pueblo: at his (the family's) house. Every market

Tomas makes large morrals (for maize) -- makes about 2 a week (\$20), \$10 a year. He makes finer ones too, so earns more probably. Tomasa makes thread -- \$28 a year. Sebastiana works for others at huipiles -- \$24 a year. Tomasa has herbs sheep, some 18 sheep, -- 2 pigs, a few chickens -- \$5. A little maize & have to buy maize. \$65.



at least every when about youths
not heard of since

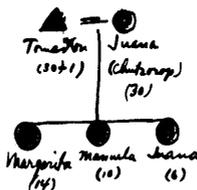
Quejel #46

Pueblo: to house of Chamul (of Camemil), Jacinto's fin. Every market.

Jacinto is comerciant and earns \$150. Sebastiana weaves for others -- \$12 a year. Gertrudis makes thread -- \$28 a year. \$190. A little maize, but have to buy for half the year. A few chickens & 2 mules.

Tomas Xon

Quejel #47

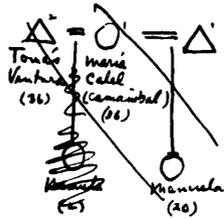
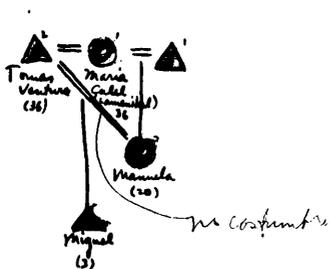


Quejel #47

Pueblo: In house of some Siny of Chuabaj. Borrowed for cleaning. (Friends). Every market. Juana, comerciante, makes \$50 a year. Margarita helps her & the other stay home. Have a little milpa & need mogos; a few chickens & piglets. Altogether maybe \$60 a year. Have to buy some maize, 4-5 quintales

Tomas Ventura

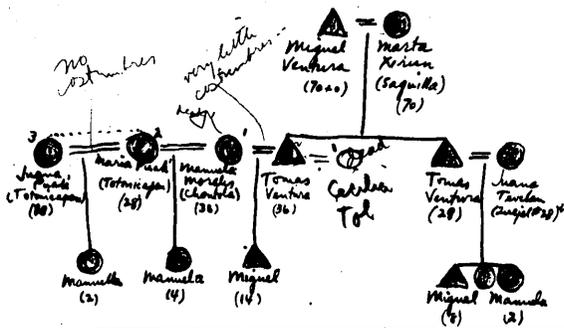
Quejel #48



Lives with his brothers in Camaital. They own land here, however.

Quejel #48

Pueblo. Lives with brothers, Cabel of Camaital. Comes only occasionally

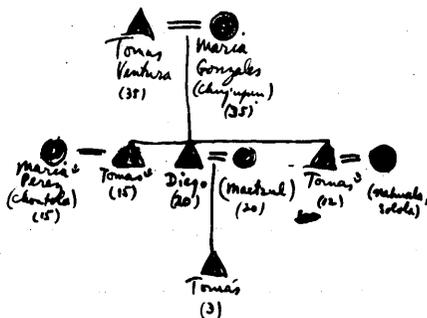


sister of Juan Tardon

Quejel #49

(MS2)
Pueblo: have a house here. They own the cloth factory in Tomas Ventura's house.

Marta doesn't work. Tomas is comerciante & earns \$150 a year. The other Tomas is the same, & also gets \$150. But the two keep separate accounts because Tomas the younger says he doesn't want to earn for his brother's three wives. They have a common kitchen, but Tomas younger contributes less. Mamela weaves for the family [herself & mother]. Don't know what the Totonacapan women do. Juana weaves for her family. Have some mules, but have to buy corn for 3 months - the men take time off to work milpa & probably have to pay mojos besides. Communitally own 25 sheep, 2 pigs, 2 mules [only for younger Tomas], 30 chickens [of Tomas younger only]. The younger Tomas doesn't drink & is richer. \$7 or \$8 more for the animals. The house now belongs to the younger, because the father willed it.



s work for a live at
Anesquitas in pueblo.
3 ran away.

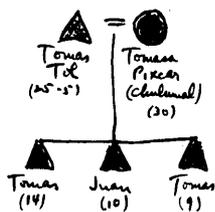
Quejel #50

Pueblo: live here with Tomas who works here for Anesquitas. Cows every market.

Tomas makes tiles for roofs, helped by all the others. Makes about 75 a day -- \$275 a year. Has a little mule, but buy for half the year.

Tomasa Pixcar

Quejel #51



Temporarily goes to Finca

Go to finca Feb.-March; June-Nov.

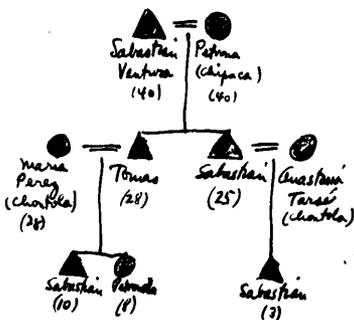
Quejel #51

Pueblo: with Luana Tavelan [#74] -- friends. Every market.

She weaves about 12 good huipiles -- \$24 -- a year. Tomas & Juan work around a
 earn \$25 a year a piece. Have a little milpa, but have to buy.

Sebastian Ventura

Quejel #52



Quejel #52

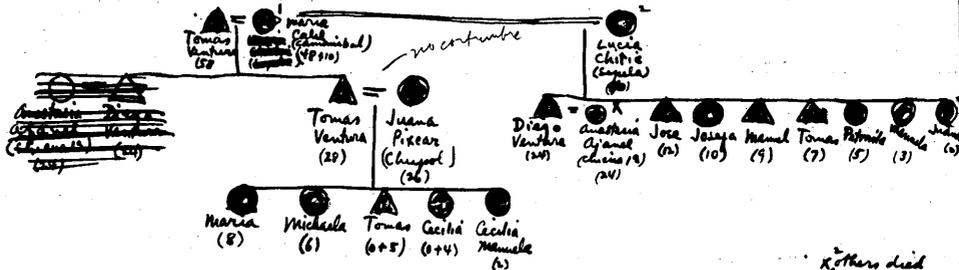
Pueblo: has house.

The men work at carpentry for horses. \$180 a year for all. Petrona
 makes thread -- \$28 a year; Maria makes huipiles for others -- \$24 a year;
 Anastasia, huipiles -- \$12 a year. Sebastian herds the 30 sheep; 3 pigs, 25-30
 chickens. Maybe \$10 on all this. \$250. Poco milpa, but have to buy
 for 3-4 months. (I pay money for work).

Tomas Ventura

Quejel #53

139



Quejel #53

Pueblo: to house every day (old man to school + Tomas to work or business).

owns all of #7, #8, #40, #47, #60, half of #74, + the hill.

land in Chuehuj, Chicua, Comanchaj, Chucalital, Panmiche, Semija, Chulmal,

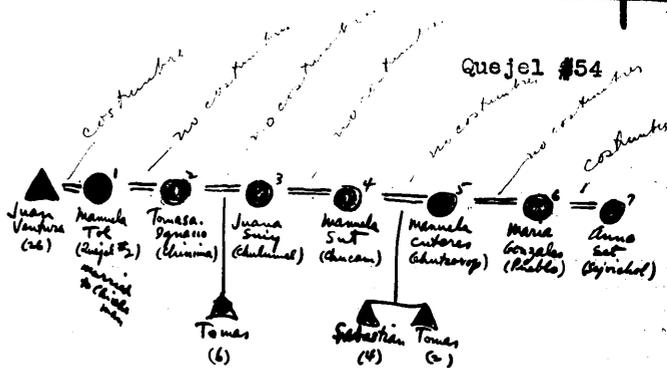
Tomas Ventura, Sr.	school teacher	... \$120
Tomas Ventura, Jr.	odd things	... 150
Diary of corn		100
" beans		125
" wheat		50
cross income		545
labor		150
net income		\$395

The women weave, sh. for own use.
Diego works around house.

\$200 spent annually on kitchen

Juan Ventura

Quejel #54



Quejel #54

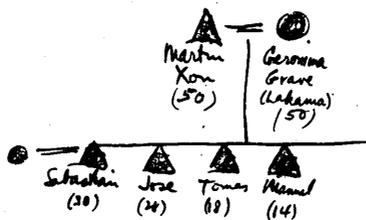
Pueblo: to Venturas house [7 #53] -- Father + brother. Every day to work.

Juan makes about \$60 a year embroidering, and works at Maya Inn and earns all told maybe \$180 -- total \$180. Has milpa + buys much maize.

Martin Xon

Quejel #55

14D

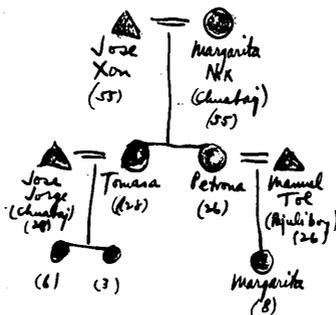


on fence 6-7 years & never returned.

La Conchita (Suchit).

Margarita Nix

Quejel #56



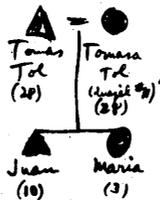
all in Suchitaj with Jose Jorge.

Quejel #56

Pueblo: Home of Jose Jorge (Suchitaj). Comes once or a while.

Tomas Tol

Quejel #57

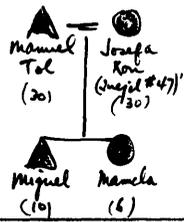


with Sabastia Tol

3 yrs on fence & don't return

Manuel Tol

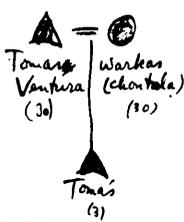
Quejel #58



'sister of Tomas Ron
Finca Kiamanda (Chim)
5-6 yrs. & don't
return

Tomas Ventura

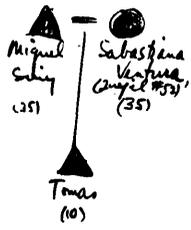
Quejel #59



Finca 3-4 years. Returns
for fiestas.

Miguel Suliy

Quejel #60

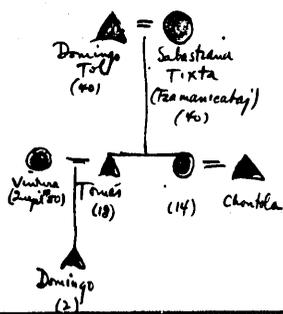


'sis. of Sebastian Ventura

Quejel #60

Pueblo: home of Ventura [Quejel #53] every once in a while. (afraid of taxes & having to work on the roads.

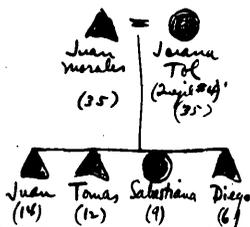
makes pine morraltes -- 2 a month at \$3 per = \$72 a year. Sebastiana works making dirigidos for other - \$24 a year. Have ²⁰ chickens. a little milpa, but buy maize for nine months



Quejel #61

Pueblo: home of Juana Tavelan, friends. Every market, & in-between times to sell leña

Sebastiana makes thread -- \$28 a year. Tomas is comerciante & makes about \$100 a year. His wife makes huipiles for others -- \$12 a year. \$140 a year. Have milpa, but buy maize for 3 months. Have 15 chickens or so. Have to pay wages.



sister of Jacinto

Quejel #62

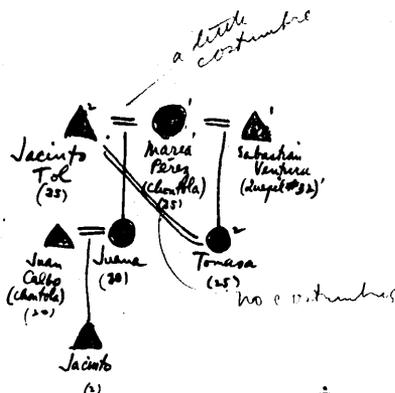
Finca Jan-Apr, June-Nov. Finca Morca Chiguita (Suchit).
 Pueblo: house of Juana Tavelan, friends.

Juan Morales makes dengues to spin thread with [spool?]. maybe earns \$35 a year. Juana makes thread -- \$28. Juan works around for -- \$40 a year. a little milpa, & have to buy a little.

Jacinto Tol

Quejel #63

143



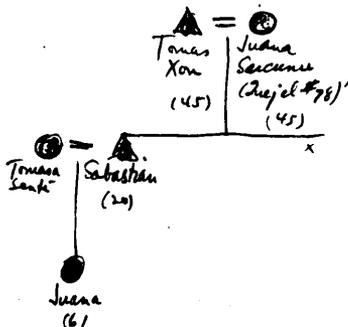
'Brother of Tomas V. R.

Quejel #63

Pueblo: house of Juan Calvo (married to Juana). Here every market Jacinto makes fajitas. (1 a day at 10¢ profit). \$25 a year. Maria does the same, as does Tomasa. Juana herds the 12 sheep, 2 pigs, 15 chickens. Juan is comerciante & earns \$50 a year. Enough milpa for own use.

Tomas Xon

Quejel #64



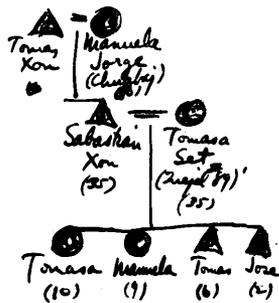
'sis. of Jose.

*maybe others, but has
 been on finca 10 years
 & never returned

Finca San Antonio (Zug)

Sebastian Xon

Quejel #65



sis. of Tomas Set

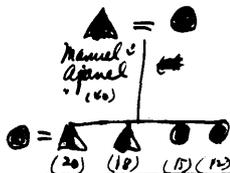
Finca Santa Rita (Chantla)
 return for 1st Tomas,
 but the Sebastien comes
 alone, usually.

cgo.

Manuel Ajanel

Quejel #66

144



* He came & settled from Chotula some time ago.

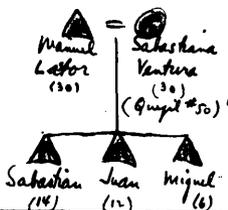
Quejel #66

Pueblo: has house here. Comes Sunday only.

Manuel, wife, d-in-l, second son all make pajos & the eldest son is comerciante & sells the pajos in Quezaltenango [the all wear pajos from here]. All told may make \$150 a year. Have milpa, but buy for 3 months. 30 chickens....

Manuel Lastor

Quejel #67



'Sis. of Tomas

Finca Jan-April, June-Nov.

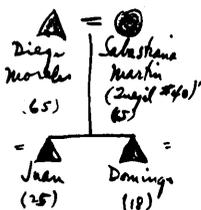
Quejel #67

Pueblo: with brother Sebastian (#71) for peitas.

Manuel makes thread for pajos -- 10d a day -- \$35 a year. Sebastian weaves for others, \$4 a year. Sebastian & Juan work at 8 pesos a day. \$80 together. Enough milpa for own use. Have 30 chickens & 3 pigs. \$140

Diego Morales

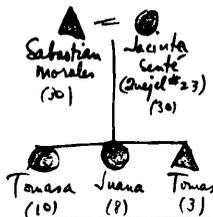
Quejel #68



'sister of Juan
5 yrs on finca &
never returned
Morca Chiquita (Suchit)

Sebastian Morales

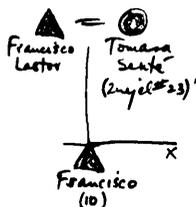
Quejel #69



5 yrs on finca. Return
for fiesta St. Tomas
Finca Morca Chiquita.

Francisco Lastor

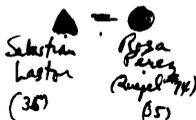
Quejel #70



'sis. Lucas Santa'
x prob. more, but
on finca 4-5 yrs. &
never returned.
Finca San Jose Obana Vista
(Suchit) probably

Sebastian Lastor

Quejel #71



sis. of Enrique Perez

Finca Feb-Apr, June-Nov. Finca Morca Grande.

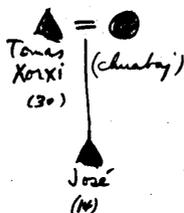
Quejel #71

Pueblo: have house.

Sebastian owns a finca & has to work temporarily, but hires a mazo to
take his place & himself is comerciante, earning \$75. Pays mazo?
Rosa makes birigiles for others -- \$24 a year. Sufficient milpa; chickens
& pigs. Lives here irregularly.

Tomas Xorxi

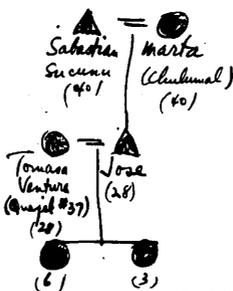
Quejel 72



~~Remitted from study:~~
6-7 yrs on Finca. never return.

Sebastian Sucuna

Quejel #73



Finca Peña plata, Feb-April, June-Nov.

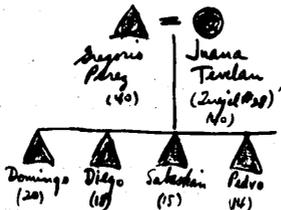
Quejel #73

Pueblo: with brother Juan Sucuna (#79)

Sebastian is wage at 8 pesos - \$40; Jose the same. Marta makes huipiles - 5 \$
Tomasa the same. Huipiles for 10 months' corn. 25 chickens.

Juanna Tevelan

Quejel #74



Gregorio used to be marriage partner

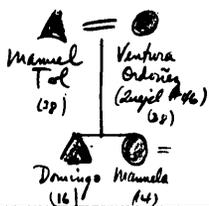
'sis of Juan Tevelan

on finca 6 yrs; never return except for St. Tom's
Finca Morca Chiqueta
House in pueblo

Manuel Tol

Quejel #75

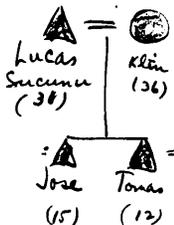
147



on finca 5-6 yrs. never return except Sto Tomas

Lucas Sucunu

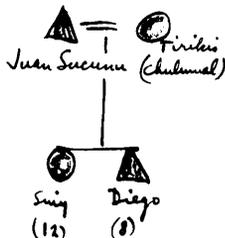
Quejel #76



on finca 4 yrs. & never return except for Sto Tomas
Fincas San Julian (Suchit)

Juan Sucunu

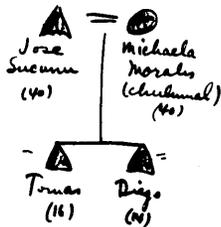
Quejel #77



3 yrs on finca. Return for Sto Tomas.
Fincas San Julian (Suchit) (?)

Jose Sucunu

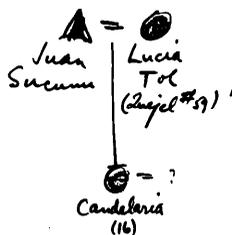
Quejel #78



on finca 3 yrs. & never return except Sto. Tomas.
La Solidaridad, (Zuey)
& Pueblo Luis with brother Juan

Juan Sucunu

Quejel #79



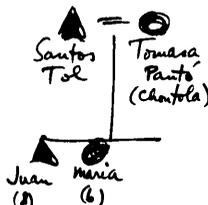
'sis of Manuel Tol

on finca 5 yrs, never return
except St. Tomas.Has house with brothers
in Pueblo.

Finca La Bolsa (Quej)

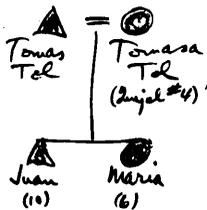
Santos Tol

Quejel #80

finca 3 yrs, never return,
except St. Tomas

Tomas Tol

Quejel #81

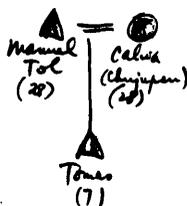


'sis of Tomasa Tol

Finca 4 yrs. never return,
except St. Tomas.

Manuel Tol

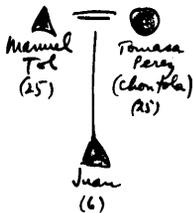
Quejel #82

Finca 3 yrs. never return,
except St. Tomas

Manuel Tol

Quejel #83

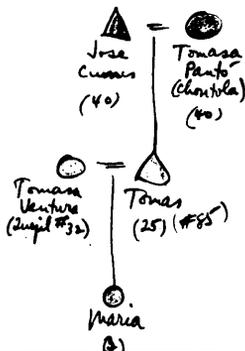
149



3 yrs on finca. never return, except 8% Tomas

Jose Cumes

Quejel #84



Jose is Alcalde Primero of Copalá Concepción

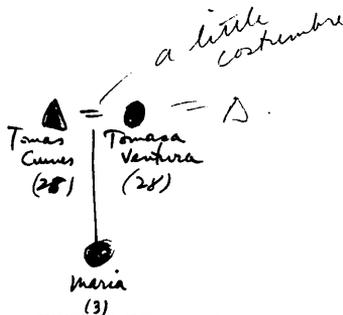
Quejel #84

Pueblo: her house.

Makes bread every day, & sells in pueblo. Maybe earns \$100 - \$150 a year. She weaves huipiles - \$24. Sufficient milpa; 30 chickens...

Tomas Cumes

Quejel #85



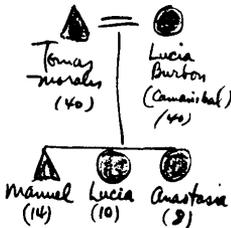
Quejel #85

Pueblo: to house of father, Jose Cumes (#84)

Tomas is a slaughterer, ^{of butch} of pigs; he gets \$2.50 profit on a pig. Maybe makes \$4 a week or \$200 a year. Wife helps him. Some milpa, but buys for 3 months. 12 chickens, no pigs. He buys his pigs in market.

Tomas Morales

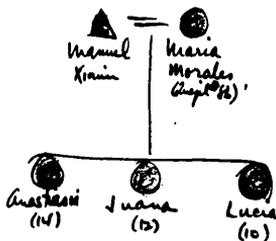
Quejel #86



5 yrs on Fico -- haven't returned,
except for fiestas to Tomas
Home here in pueblo.

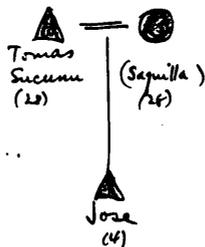
Manuel Xirum

Quejel #87



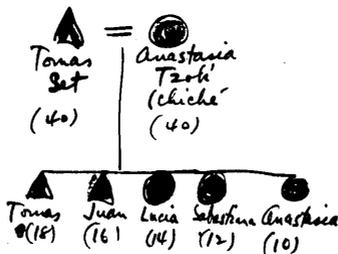
'son of Tomas Morales

3 yrs on Fico. never returned
except to Tomas.



2 yrs on finca, never returned
except to Tomas
Finca San Julian.
Pueblo: Lives here with Juan Sucunu
(#79)

Quejel # 89



Quejel #89

Pueblo: house of one Pixcar of Chulimal, friends.

Tomas makes fajos -- for men, of the form of hammocks. \$75 a year [25¢ per project each, 2 1/2 a day. Anastasia hupiles -- \$24. Tomas, Juan, Sebastian work -- \$90 a year. Lucia + Sebastian weave hupiles -- two together \$24. Mules, but buy for 3 months. 15 chickens, 12 sheep.

Table 3. Statistics on Landholdings and Population (S. 1).

No.	Owned By			Other Data (Name, Date, etc.)	Residence of Family (in Family)	OCCUPIED PERMANENTLY BY												
	Family	Individuals	Other Indian			In Family			Number of Individuals						Occupied Permanently by			
						70-79	80-89	90-99	70-79	80-89	90-99	100-109	110-119	120-129	130-139	140-149	150-159	
1	*				x	6	1	5	15	6	9	6	6	3		2		
2	x	x	x											5		2	3	
3	x				x	1	1					1	1	4		4	5	
4	x				x	3	1	1	1	1		6	2	4	1	1		
5	x				‡	2	1	1	8	2	1	3	2	1	1	1		
6			x											3		3		
7			x		x	3	1	2	3	1	1	1		4		4	6	
8			x		x	1	1		1	1		1	1	1	1			
9	x				x	1	1		3	1	2	1	1					
10	x				x	1	1		3	1	2	1	1					
11	x				x	2	1	1	5	1	1	3	2	2				
12			x											2		2	15	
13		x												1		1	18	
14	x				x	1	1		4	1	3	1	1					
15	x				x	1	1		5	1	4	1	1					
16	x				x	1	1		3	1	1	1						
17			x											2		2	15	
18	x													2				
19	x				‡	1	1		9	1	6	1	1					
20		x												2		2	16	
21	x				x	1	1		1	1		1	1					
22	x	‡			x	2	1	1	4	1	2	1		1		1		
23	x		x											4		4	6	
24	x				x	2	1	1	3	2	1	2	2	1	1			
25	x	‡			‡	2	1	1	1	1		2	2	1	1			
26	x				x	2	1	1	10	2	2	4	2					
27	x		x											3		3	15	
28	x				x	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1		1		
29	x				x	1	1		1	1		1	1					
30	x				‡	3	1	2	7	3	2	2	3	3	1	1		
31	x				x	1	1		2	1	1	1	1	1		1		
32	x				x	3	1	2	4	3	1	4	4	2	‡	1	1	
33			x											2		2	20	
34	x				x	2	1	1	7	1	2	2	2	2	1	1		
35	x				x	1	1		2		2	1	1					
36	x				‡	2	1	1	1	1			2	2				
37	x				x	2	1	1	6	2	2	2	1	1				
38			x		x	1	1		6	1	1	2	2					
39	x				‡	2	1	1	6	2	2	2	3	3				
40			x		x	1	1		4	1	1	1	1		1	1		
41	x				x	1	1		3	1	1	2	1	1	2		2	
42	x				‡	1	1		4	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	
43	x				‡	2	1	1	7	1	1	2	3	1	1	1		
44	x				‡	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2					
45	x				‡	1	1		4	1	1	2	1	1	2			
46	x				x	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	1			
47			x		x	1	1		3		3	1	1					

Household and Family

In Quejel the average household contains 8.3, but the range is from 2 to 23. In Chupol 2nd the average is 7.4 with a range of from 2 to 38. In Chuabaj the average is 4.9, with the range from 2 to 19. In Xeeabaj the average is 4.0 with a range of from 2 to 9. Figures for Quejel are most reliable, and a more detailed account of the makeup of the households there will give a clearer idea of what they mean. I shall list the 39 households with some details:

1. Juan Pixoar, wife, six sons and their wives; Tomas has 3 children; Jose, 5 children, Manuel 2 children, Francisco no children (he is married to Tomasa Ventura); Tomas has 1 child. There are twenty-three people living here.

2. Miguel Tol, wife and two children. Four living here.

3. Anastasia Tol, a widow, with 2 daughters who have husbands and one child each. Seven here altogether. This is a rare case of matrilocal residence; the reason is that the daughters married outsiders when they were at a finca, and they brought them here.

4. and 5. Jacin Tol is married to one Tomasa; House 4 belongs to her, but they usually live in his house, # 5. They have a daughter who was widowed, who had four children, and who is now remarried. She lives elsewhere with her new husband, but her four children live here. Thus 6 in this household.

6. Anastasia Ventura, a widow, with three sons, all married; The eldest son has three children, the second has two, and the third has one. All live here -- thirteen people.

7. Sabastian Ventura, his wife, and four daughters; also four sons who are married -- the first with five children, the second with two, the others none. All live here -- 21 people.

8. Manuela Ventura, a widow with three sons. Four people here.

9. Sabastiana Ventura, a widow with two sons and four daughters -- the latter dumb from birth. Seven in this household.

10. Gaspar Venture, wife and one child. Three people here.

11. Juan Senté, his mother, his wife and four children. Although Juan is now temporarily at the finca, he is considered to live here, and the others are here now. Seven live here.

12. Diego Tevelan, wife and five sons. Seven live here.

13. Pedro Cuteres, wife and eight children. Ten live here.

14. Tomas Tol, wife and two children. Four live here.

15. Maria Xiloj, a widow with one daughter and a son and his wife and two children. Six live here.

16. Tomas Tun, wife and three daughters and one son with his wife and three children. Total of 10.

Notes (1) -15-

17. Tomas Xon, wife and two children. A widowed sister of Tomas and her daughter also live here. Altogether six live here.
18. Juan Tevelan, wife and two children. Four altogether.
19. Sabastian Pixcar, wife and two daughters. Total of 4.
20. Sabastian Cuteres, wife and four sons and their wives; the first has three children, the second two, and the third one child. Sixteen live in this household.
21. Tomas Xon, wife, two sons and their wives and each with six children. A total of eighteen. This Tomas Xon is the present Principale of Quejel. He replaced Juan Pixcar (household 1) about three years ago when Juan sold some communal land for \$100 for his own profit.
22. Tomas Ventura R., his wife, his son, the latter's wife and seven children, one of whom also has a wife here. Twelve people living here. He was elected Principale immediately after Juan Pixcar was sent off; but after a year Tomas Xon was elected to take his place because they discovered that this Tomas Ventura R. was not a friendly enough person.
23. Tomas Tun and wife and two daughters, one of whom has a husband here and two children. The reason this daughter and her husband are living here is because he is very poor and has no house or land (he worked as a mozo for Tomas Ventura for six years). Seven living in this household.
24. Sabastiana Rikiak, a widow with two children. Three live here.
25. Gaspar Marcario, a widower with eight children. Total nine. His wife has been dead for two years; no girls care to marry him because of his eight children, and he has asked about twenty women from various cantones with no success.
26. Diego Ventura, a widower (wife died in Nov. 1934) with three sons, all married and the first with five children, the second three, the last none. Fifteen living here.
27. Tomas Quin, wife and two children. His mother was living here, but she died during the last week of November, 1934 of old age. Total of four living here.
28. Juan Ventura, wife and three daughters and two sons, one of whom has a wife and child. Total: 9.
29. Juan Martin, wife and two children. Total of 4.
30. Tomas Xirun, wife and two children. Total of 4.
31. Jose Marcario, wife. Total of two.
32. Martin Marcario, wife and a son by his first wife -- the latter with a wife and one child. Total of five here.
33. Manuel Marcario, wife, and his mother. Total of three.

Notes (1) -16-

34. Tomas Marcario, wife and two children; total of four.
35. Miguel Ventura, a widower with two sons, each of whom is married and has eight children. Total of thirteen here. Miguel is eighty years old, a widower for five years.
36. Tomas Ventura (our guide and interpreter), his wife and three children, his father and step-mother with their seven children, his full brother and his wife. Total of 16 living here.
37. Juan Ventura, wife and two children. Four living here.
38. Jacinto Tol, a widower with his daughter and her husband (living here because he has no land of his own) and one child. Four people living here.
39. Manuel Axanel, wife and one son with his wife. Four here. This family moved to Quejel from Chontala during the past year, having bought the land.
40. Jose Cumes, wife and six children -- four sons have wives; the first has six children, the second one, the third three, and the fourth one child. Total of 23 here.

(note: if I seem to have 40 households instead of the 39 promised, attention is called to numbers 4 and 5 which constitute only one.)

Records of households in other cantones are similar; although the variation as to number is quite wide, the constituent elements of a household group are usually alike; the old man and his wife and children, and the wives and children of his sons. Practically always his daughters, when they marry, go to live with their husbands' folks.

That part of the family which constitutes the household seems to be the most important social unit; the members work together, eat together, live in the same house or in a small cluster of houses, with common income and common consumption. When one tries to get an economic census of a canton, the informant will always think in terms of families; not that this man makes blankets, but that this family makes blankets -- for almost always the children (rather the sons) of a man learn to do the specialized work that their father does. One such census, for example, came out as follows -- and this is an abbreviated census of Chupul 2nd:

1. Diego Saquic, wife and four children; the men make men's clothing-material.
2. Jorje Ventura, wife and four children. Men are general comerciantes.
3. Sebastian Pol, six sons, six daughters, spouses of all and one child each. Make blankets.
4. Martin Morales, wife and two children, Martin's brother and his wife. Men do lumbering (cutting and trimming for house posts and beams).

Notes (1) -17-

5. Pedro Galel, wife and seven children, six sons with wives who have three children. **Max Comerciantes.**
6. Diego Marcario and wife (three sons on finca). **Makes blankets.**
7. Sabastian Pichol, seven sons and five daughters, the former with wives. **Make blankets.**
8. (Name forgotten by informants) with wife and one child. **Baker.**
9. Tomas Panjoj, wife, 3 sons with wives and on has a child. **Comerciantes.**
10. Juan Morales, wife and three children. **Blankets.**
11. Miguel Suiy, wife and two daughters. He is a comerciante who buys store-clothes from the Capital to sell here.
12. Jose Ramos, wife and 3 children. **No special occupation; milpa.**
13. Tomas Tinival and wife. **Specializes in embroidering men's clothes.**
14. Manuel Pol, wife and 2 children. **Comerciante of potatoes.**
15. Diego Pol, wife and three of Diego's sisters. **No special occupation; just has milpa.**
16. Tomas Tecum, wife and one child. **Lumbering (same as (4)).**
17. Sabastian Tecum, wife, 2 sons and two daughters. He is a "corporal" -- or assistant to the ladino habilitador of a finca here. **For \$5.00 a month he rounds up finca laborers for the harvest, etc.**
18. Jose Morales, wife and 4 children. **A merchant, he takes bread from here to sell on the coast. (The coast by definition in these parts is the entire Pacific slope of lowlands).**
19. Tomas Pol, wife, three daughters and two sons. **Merchant who takes blankets to the coast to sell.**
20. Martin Morales, wife and child. **Cuts and tailors men's suits.**
21. Tomas Cortez, wife and two children. **He buys and sells the small native biscuits of wheat.**
22. Tomas Cos, wife and two of his sisters. **He makes tiles for roofs. (Putting them on is another occupation)**
23. Miguel Panjoy, wife, three sons and two daughters. **Just a milpa.**
24. Diego Cos and wife (2 children on finca). **Merchant of bananas.**
25. Tomas Tun, wife and 4 mosos who work for and live with him. **He is a comerciante of beads and necklaces.**

Says there
are about
30 houses
abandoned
(in fincas)

... people go to fincas for the harvest; only eight do not...

... many have...

Notes (1) -18-

and that means eight families.

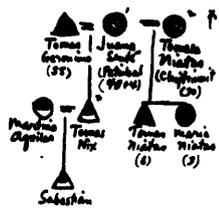
I have not obtained very good information as to what happens in the course of generations with a family of this kind. I have said that the eldest son remains in the ancestral home; since I have many cases of brothers living in the same part of one canton, it appears that often they either divide the land among the sons or they purchase lands close by. I also have cases of some sons moving to lands in another canton, however, so that families can, in the course of years, become scattered. Needless to say, since daughters move upon marriage, some of the biological family is always scattered far and wide; but one can say that a blood-stream through males is attached to a piece of soil indefinitely.

B. Chucam.

The only information I have on the population of Chucam is contained on the census cards which follow.

Chucam #1

Tomas Geronimo



* Tomas went to live with wife's father because Tomas Geronimo was "young" generally & did not want to go there. When old man died, they go to that land.

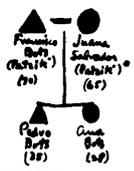
* polygamous marriage before first wife died. Tomas lives at her father's house after Juan's died.

Chucam #1

no house in town; uses Chucam house. This land his; doesn't own or sit; not own other land. Tomas works for others, at 7 or 8 pesos, about \$18 a year. Tomas makes Hual; she makes about 4 mules a day at 4 pesos a pound -- about \$5 a year. They harvest about 50 bushels of maize, as well about 15 bushels, maybe \$20 a year. Sell about 2 bushels beans at \$2.50 price. Also sell 4 bushels potatoes -- at \$3.00 apiece. White beans, sell maybe a bushel at \$2.50. Sell the "ojos del milpa" for 5¢ a bushel, and 150 caryos a year (all in one month). [Also sell lana, at 6¢ a bushel -- 2 loads a day, for some 3 months -- only when not doing other work]. These earn total of about \$50 a year.

Chucam #2

Francisco Bots

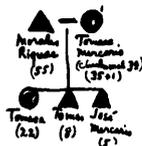


* came from Patate about 10 years ago, & brought this land. He came to live here 8 years ago.

Chucam #2

No house in pueblo. Use this one. Doesn't own or land; also has mother. Use beans, etc. Have to buy maize -- about 25 bushels a year. He sells lana when has no other work, 3 loads a day -- \$2.50 a year. Also has a work 2 months in his own milpa, when can't take lana. If works for others, cut the woods, but then earns 12¢ a day (maybe 3 months a year for \$8 a year). Juana sells tamales in plaza every day, & makes about 10¢ a day or \$30 a year. Pedro Bots earns 7 pesos a day working for ladies -- about \$40 a year. Ana works in the house, & that's all. Altogether may \$113 a year, but have to buy about 40 worth of maize & frijoles. Some women don't make any clothes, buy all from Patate (a outfit a piece a year -- maybe \$20 a year).

Morales Riquac



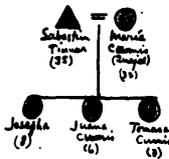
Chucam #3

no house in pueblo; uses this
doesn't own or have other lands.

He works on his mitga. occasionally makes morrales -- about 5 a year, maybe \$4.00 a year. He has sheep & sells about \$3 of wool a year. Has 3 pigs, & sells about 6 a year (3 every six months, about 35 a year. Has a dozen chickens & sells 1/2 worth of eggs. Tomasa works in the house only. Have to buy 8 quintales of maize a year; no beans. Earns then about \$46 a year & buys 1/2 worth of corn.

Chucam #4

Sebastian Tinuar

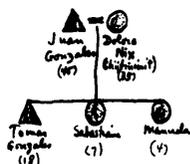


Chucam #4

Has house in pueblo -- uses it when in town -- with a cord of mitga.
doesn't own on this land, and also has 5 cords of mitga on land of Manuel Ventura [for debt of \$50].
The debt was for 8 years & has 2 years more to go. If paid, Manuel gets his land back.

Sebastian is the butcher of Chucam: he kills 2 or 3 pigs a week, going places to buy them. He makes as much as \$300. He has to hire moga for mitga, lana, etc. -- maybe paying out \$700 a year. He sells some 10 quintales maize, some \$11. Has to buy beans. Maria helps him in slaughtering (cleaning to pigs). Has 3 mule horses, 15 chickens. He may have about \$3000 salted away. He is fat & eats a lot....

Juan Gonzales



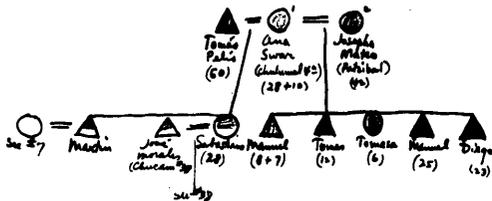
Chucam #5

No house in pueblo; uses this one.

He owns finca, but land is his. He goes to finca 2 months a year -- for his debt -- Finca de Pantaleón [don Pancho Juarez, don't know], in Escauintla. Here he works his miaga, but has to buy 5 hundred of maize, + beans etc. When he needs money he borrows more from Finca. Dolores doesn't do anything except in house. Tomas works for the house only. This been going to Finca for 6 years.

Tomás Pelis

Chucam #6



Chucam #6

No house in pueblo. Uses this doesn't own on land; owns no other

He makes tiles -- 450 pesos a thousand [every week], but has 2 hours 2 days always -- net profit of some \$200 a year. Some weaves for herself. Tomas helps gather. Has enough miaga for needs, but has to have more.

Martin Pells



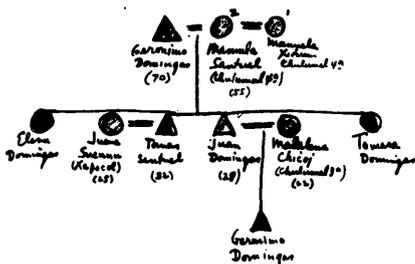
Chucam #7

No house in town; uses this one.
Doesn't own on land; doesn't have more

Son of #6 & works ~~with~~ on his separately, & makes as much. Tomasa works around home & Tomas helps father. Have enough milpa for needs, but hire sugar. Has a cow & calf, & Tomas sells milk -- 15¢ a day profit. One sheep, 20 chickens

Chucam #8

Geronimo Domingas



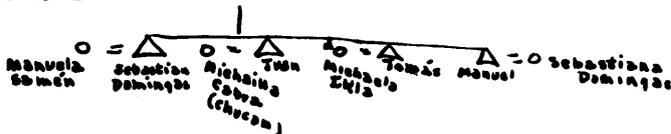
Chucam #8

Has about 4 houses in town; when in town stays in his house
Doesn't own; has land in Chimal 10 -- which he bought 2 years ago for 3000 pesos [18 cords]

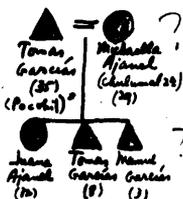
Geronimo is a merchant of sorts, buying here for then (in large quantities) & selling here in smaller quantities for more -- general things, copayula, cacao, destoraga (mucosa), achote. Makes maybe 100 a year. Sells some of his maize (25 quintales a year) & 5 quintales beans. Has 65 sheep, 4 pigs, 25 chickens, some turkeys. 2 cows & 2 calves, a horse. He takes in at least \$200 a year, but needs 4 mugs for 5 months a year. The woman herds sheep. Tomasa works around the house; Juan is servant for padre, for no pay -- one week out of it -- but otherwise just works around the house. The women work around the house only

Tomasa Feliza lists wife as Manuela Kino (living)

Sons are:



Tomas Garcias



1. He came to Chucam when young;
his father bought this land.

Chucam #9

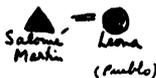
no house in pueblo; uses this
doesn't own on land; has no other land.

Tomas is comerciante of eggs. Takes 500 eggs at a time, & brings home each 1 quintal of sugar.
Earns no more than \$50 a year (1 trip a week). 6 sheep, 4 goats, 6 chickens. He works on
miega when necessary (& doesn't fiddle them). Enough miega for needs.

Chucam #10

Salomé Martín

LADINO: bought land & lives here & works land -- 8 years. From Pueblo.



Chucam #10

In pueblo stays with Jose Leon, his f-in-l.

Earns \$5 a month working for Herminio Rodas. Has to buy 25 quintales maize a year,
mostly for 2 pigs he has. Sells some 8 pigs a year. Has 2 cows. Earns \$5 a day on
the milk. May works on his miega & for Leon: he never works on that; but
milks own cows.

Gerónimo Semén

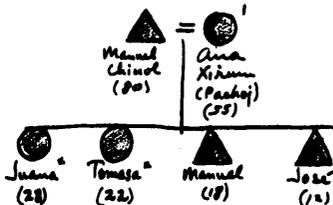
This man died 3 years ago; his only son lives in rented house in pueblo, so that he won't have to carry *municipal* or pay taxes. Apparently the *milpa* is too small to pay for the trouble. The son, of the same name, works in the pueblo.



He works around at 7 pesos a day, & buys food every day in plaza.

Chucam #12

Mamuel Chinol



* Very homely or bad;
men don't want her

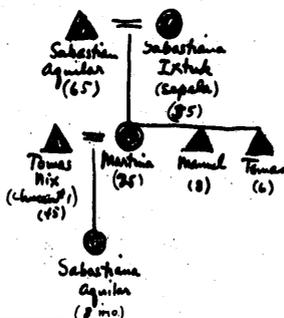
Chucam #12

Owne 2 houses in Pueblo. Comes there when in town.

Don't own for land (gets maize from it himself). No other land.

Manuel is corporal for *Amegquta* -- some \$4 a month, less than he should get because he owes *Amegquta*. Ewngt *milpa* for family, but has mogo working. Ana brings her husband food when he's on the job (he has charge of *Amegquta milpas* here). Juana & Tomasa work in house. Manuel & José work around house.

Sebastian Aguilar



Chucam #13

No house in town. uses this.

Doesn't own any land; has no other.

Sebastian sells wood & does his own work. Lleva 2 loads a day (140) ~~at a half price~~ when has no work in Milpa or ^{other work} when no other work carries loads for Ameguita (15¢ a hundred pounds to St. Cruz) - one trip a day. He makes some tiles too (500 ^{in two} weeks when no other work).

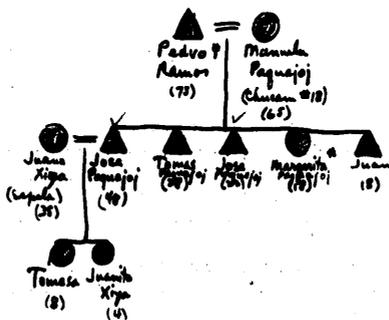
Sebastiana sells copes in markets, at 20¢ a week profit; she sells the deyuit.

Tomas Nix is corporal for Hector Congo at \$5 a month. Martina works in the house.

More to have buy 25 quintales maize a year, but have beans.

Chucam #14

Pedro Ramos



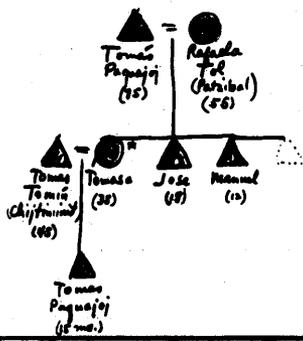
* What a man who can read & write, etc... the cost even with Spanish.
 * Father named Paguejoj

Chucam #14

Owens 2 houses in town -- uses them when here.

Pedro is a baker; sells on the plaza; earns 50¢ a week [25¢ on each quintal of flour]. Most of the bread goes to the coast. He makes some tiles with his brothers when he can't do other work. Manuela works at the house & herds the 15 sheep. More 2 pigs -- sell maybe 6¢ a year. One horse. 9 children. ~~Just~~ The 3 sons make tiles -- making 500 a week. Women work in kitchen.

Tomás Paquajoj



"Wouldn't go to husband's house because didn't like his parents - 6 years married."

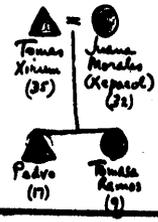
Chucam #15

Has house in pueblo
Doesn't own a land; no other land.

Tomás is a mason & works at this always. He gets 25¢ a day. Rafaela works in house. Tomás Tomás helps his father for 8 pesos a day, paid by others. Jose sells lana... 3 cents a load, 2 loads a day; Manuel the same. Tomasa works in house & herds 15 sheep; one horse, 8 chickens. Buy 25 animals raise a year; have beans. no mango.

Chucam #16

Tomás Kirum



Temporarily on finca.

Chucam #16

no house in pueblo. was this.

on finca de chocola, in Lalalalchen, except a month or 2 a year. Has a bit of milpa - enough for needs when ~~in~~ here. 3 years now has been at finca

Pedro Paquajoj



* A migo who has lived here 1 1/2 yrs in exchange for work. His father is Manuel Tam....

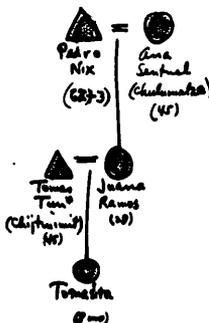
Chucam #17

Has 2 houses in pueblo -- uses house here when in Pueblo
no debt on milpa -- has no others

Pedro is a baker and earns about 50¢ a week (1 quintal flour a week). Also sells *leña* in pueblo when has spare time, & once in a while goes to the Coast to buy fruit to sell here -- taking his bread to sell. Tomas Tam herds sheep (6); and have a pig. Buy about 12 quintals of maize a year, & also beans.

Chucam #18

Pedro Nix



* Brother of Tomas Tam of #17.

This man came to live here with wife because his father has no land. Married 2 1/2 yrs, after Pedro died....

Chucam #19

no house in pueblo.
no debt on land.... no more land

Tomas Tam & Juana make & sell atole at market; maybe 30¢ a week profit. Ana and Juana weave for sale -- & make maybe \$5 the both of them a year. Tomas was a lot of money in town & therefore goes to La Cruz as migo (8 pesos a day) -- staying there 2-3 weeks at a time. Enough milpa for needs. no migo.

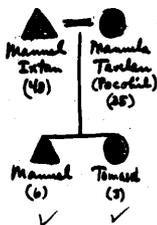
Elisia Hernandez

Chucam #19

Nobody lives here; mayor from elsewhere work here & go back to own canton at night.

Manuel Ixtan

Chucam #20



Sebastiana
Ventura
(55)

* Works here for board.

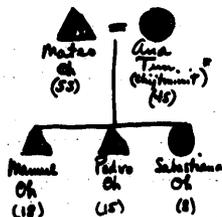
Chucam #20

No home in Puebla
no debt or land; no other land

Manuel is mayo of Teodor King -- working daily in his house. Earns 85¢ a month & food. Manuela takes care of the house & Tchehem. Sebastiana helps her. need mayo for the little miapa. Buy 12 quintales maize a year, as well as beans.

Mateo Oh (53)

Chucam #21



brother of Tomas & Tom of
174 = 18.

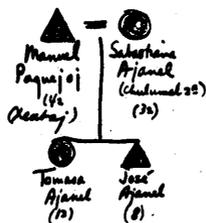
Has home in Puebla
no debt or land; no other land

Mateo works for padre one week a month for no pay. Other times goes to Salama for Sicares -- earning only 20 cents a week the weeks he spends on the road. Manuel works for baker Francisco Taul (in Puebla) for 5¢ a day & food. Pedro goes with father on trips & earns 80¢ a week. The women work in house. Buy 12 quintales of maize, as well as beans, a year. No mayo.

Chucam #21

Tomasa Feliza says Mateo is dead.
says they have 2 sons & 2 daughters

Manuel Paquajoj



Chucam #22

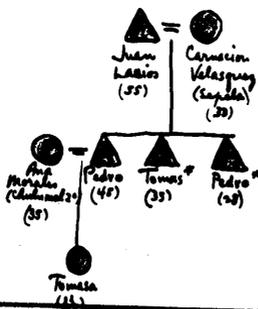
Has house in pueblo

He owes Juan Herron -- having borrowed money 3 yrs ago, but he uses mitpa himself. It comes from head of
 & bought the land here from Pedro Paquajoj, his cousin. No land elsewhere.

Manuel works for ladinos, 6 pesos a food a day (Juan Herron). Sebastiana makes & sells
 weaving -- earning 15¢ a week. Tomasa helps mother; Jose works around the house.
 Enough mitpa for needs -- & work themselves (Manuel getting permission from Herron).

Chucam #23

Juan Larrios



"don't want to marry; or
 no one wants him --
 sad people."

Two houses in pueblo

don't own on land; no other land

Juan makes beams for houses -- at 2 pesos a vara, making maybe \$1 a week. Pedro, Tomas,
 & Pedro work with father & each earn the same. Enough mitpa, but buy beans. No maysa.

Chucam #23

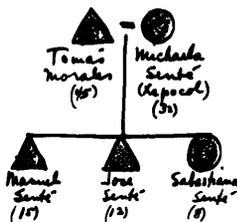
Moses Perez

Chucam #24 169

nobody lives here. Magoz from elsewhere work land

Chucam #25

Tomás Morales



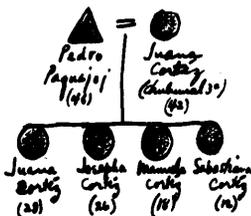
Chucam #25

No house in pueblo
not the lot on land. Have a little more (8 cords) in Xepocol.

Tomás works for others on milpas, getting 4 pesos a day + food. Manuel & José do same & earn same. 2 pigs, 3 sheep. Milpa, but buy 12 quintales maize a year as well as all beans.

Chucam #26

Pedro Paquajoj



Chucam #26

3 houses in pueblo
no debt on land; no other land

Pedro works at carrying stuff for tiles for the tile-makers -- 8 pesos a day (Pala or somebody else). When no work, he carries fruit back & forth to coast, earning 10 ¢ a week. Juana & daughters Juana & Josepha, & Manuela weave for sale. make ~~for~~ bandos, each making 30 pesos a week. Sabathana works in house. Have 6 goats, some chickens. enough milpa for needs; no magos.

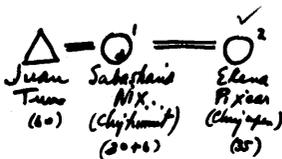
Diego Tecum

He lives in Chipaca & has owned this milpa-land many years; he comes here to work land but only days. No house here and nobody lives here.

Juan Tern

Chucam #27 1/2

Tomasa Feliza says that Elena has a child, Heronimo.



Tomasa
Laster
(Sipala)
(3)

"adopted" this girl to work for room & board. less than a year ago he took her from road & nothing done about it since.

no house in pueblo...

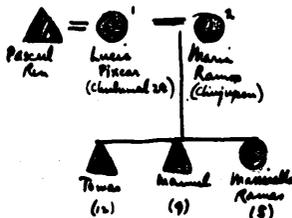
owns 4000 pesos to Heronimo Domingos & gives 8 cords security. No other land.

Juan is bruj & that's his chief business. Enough milpa, & needs 3 mojos for 5 months. 25 sheep, a horse, 3 pigs, 25 chickens.

Chucam #27 1/2

Pascual Ren

Chucam #28



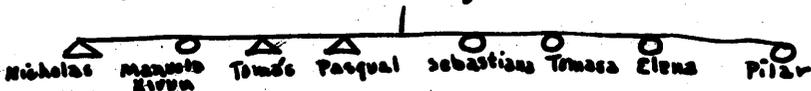
Chucam #29

no house in pueblo...

owns 8 cords in Chulucmal 12 (from father)... 7 yrs. in Chucam

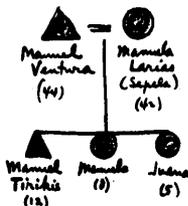
Pascual is school-teacher... \$120 a year salary. Maria occasionally sells weaving & makes some \$25 a year. Enough milpa -- but hires mojos for milpa & leña, for \$70 a year (4 mojos for 6 months at 7 pesos a day).

Tomasa Feliza lists children of Pascual + Maria as:



Manuel Ventura

Tomasa Feliza says
Wife's name is
Sebastiana; they have
3 sons, 2 daughters.
one daughter's name is
Maria.



Chucam #29

No house in pueblo

Tailor of shirts, trousers, etc for Indians (ladino style). Earns 25¢ a day. Also he is boy's
earns maybe 20¢ a week. Mamele makes weaving for sale -- earns about 25¢ a week.
Enough milpa, & needs mango for 5 months. 15 chickens.

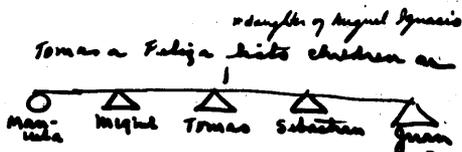
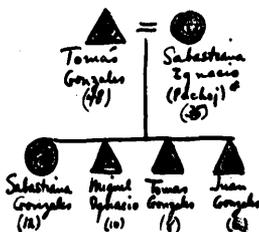
Chucam #30

Antonio Barrios

No house here; has milpa

Chucam #31

Tomas Gonzales

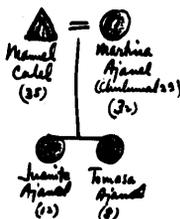


Chucam #31

Has 4 houses in town.

No debt on land; 3 pieces of land besides this one, with many horses & milpa
Tomas is Sady -- about \$11.25 a month. Also has a "store" on market days, & a majo goes to
bring the stuff from Capital. Miguel earns 50¢ a week from this, besides what he pays his men.
Sebastiana weaves for sale & earns 25¢ a week net. Sells about 10 hundred mango a year,
but needs 2 mango for 5 months.

Manuel Galel



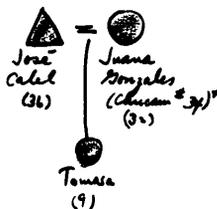
Chucam #35

No house in Pueblo
no debt on land. no other land

Manuel sells wood & does commutation. Earns maybe \$50 a year. Martina sells tomatoes in markets, & makes \$10 a year. Juana herds the sheep. Buy 12 quintals maize a year; also buy beans.

Chucam #36

José Galel



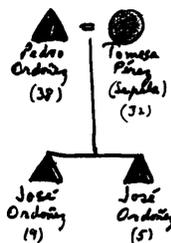
"Bride of Sebastian"

Chucam #36

No house in pueblo
no debt on land; no other land

José works as migo (maybe \$50 a year). Juana sells weaving (maybe \$10 a year). Buy about 12 quintals of maize a year; also buy beans.

Pedro Ordoñez



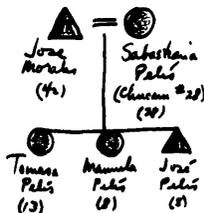
Chucam #37

One house in pueblo
no debt on land; no other.

Pedro makes hats (Singer machine). Makes 8 hats a day & earns maybe \$140 a year.
He sells them himself at Fairs & markets elsewhere. Son José is learning the business,
as is the younger José. Enough milpa. need 2 rojos for 5 months. 3 sheep,
6 chickens.

Chucam #38

Jose Morales



Chucam #38

No house in pueblo
no debt on land; has land (6 cords) in Chichimal #29 -- bought 3 yrs ago

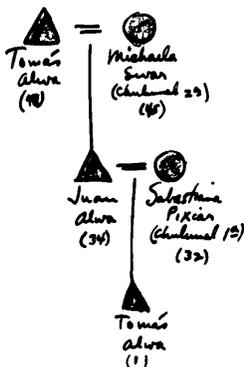
José is comerciante of clothes, etc. bought in Capital, etc. He stays away, peddling over the
coast, for 2 or 3 months at a time. He has 2 rojos to carry for him, yet earns some \$140 a year.
Enough milpa, but pay 2 rojos for 5 months.

JUAN MORALES

Nobody lives here; he from Chulumal 12 & has miapa here. He & mozo work it.

Chucam #40

Tomas Alwa



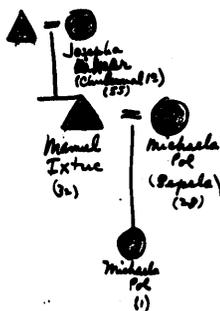
Chucam #40

No house in pueblo
no debt on land; no other.

Works as mozo in the house of mother of Hermendo Rodas in pueblo,
 Sta. Soledad Rodas. Earns 7 pesos a day. Juan gets leña for same house for 7 pesos a day.
 Enough miapa; need 2 mozos for 5 months.

Chucam #41

Manuel Ixtuc



Chucam #41

No house in pueblo

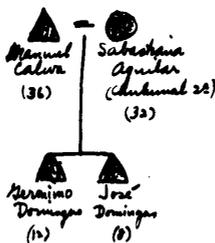
Manuel is corporal of Pacho Suarez (Puca Antaleh), for \$5 a month. No other income.
 12 sheep, a cow, 12 chickens, 1 pig. - earn a little from these. Enough miapa, but
 2 mozos for 5 months.

Hermundo Rodas

Notary lives here; his miapa.

Chucam #43

Manuel Calwa

Tomasa says they
have 5 children

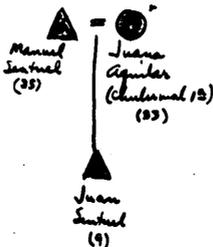
Chucam #43

House in pueblo
no debt on this land; no other land.

Manuel buys coffee in market & sells here in market, making 25¢ on a quintal. May make \$1.00 a week. Gerónimo is serving padre one week of 4, taking place of father's service. Sell 5 quintales maize, 2 quintales beans; have 15 sheep, 2 cows, 16 chickens, 2 pigs.

Chucam #44

Manuel Sentuel



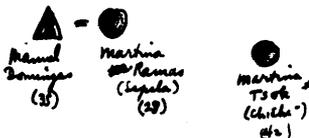
Chucam #44

4 houses in pueblo
no debt on land; no other land

Manuel is majo at 7 pesos a day. Also sells lana & takes cargos... Juan helps father.
Buy 6 quintales maize a year -- 835 lbs of beans. 3 sheep, 6 chickens.

Manuel Domingas

Tomasa Feliza
says they have
5 children.



works here for board.

Chucam #45

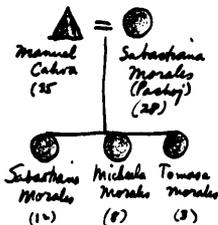
a house in pueblo

Manuel Domingas works in Juggade for 4 a month. also a little labor for ladinos. martha sells weaving & makes of a ~~cloth~~. Both just working the house. Enough milpa.

Chucam #46

Manuel Galwa

Tomasa Feliza
says Sebastiana
(wife) is dead.
children: Tomasa,
María Morales.

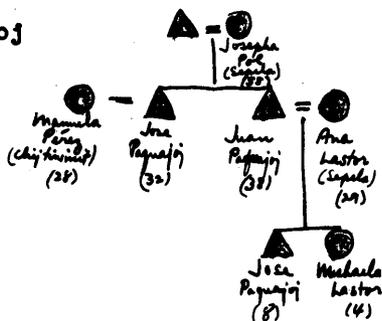


Chucam #46

Has house in pueblo
no debt on land. No other land.

Manuel makes cloth for men's suits. Earns 40¢ a week [wishes to make 5 varas on which make maybe 50 pesos]. Enough milpa, but sometimes have to buy a little. Buy beans.

Juan Paquajoj



Chucam #47

no house in pueblo
 no debt on this land; has land in Chulmal 2nd (8 cords) which he got for debt (1500 pesos).
 (cheerful, mostly)
 Juan buy things in Chiche & Sta Cruz & sells here in market. maybe earns 1⁰⁰ a week.
 Jose Paquajoj is negro for Tomas Gonzalez at 7 pesos a day. Josepha sells coffee to drink
 & makes 15¢ a week. The other women work in house. Enough milpa, no negro.
 1 pig

Chucam #48

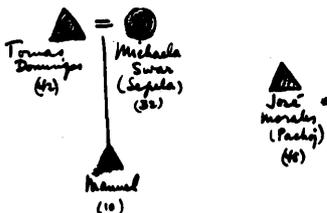
Sebastian Swar

Lives in Sapala, & comes to work land. no people live here.



Chucam #49

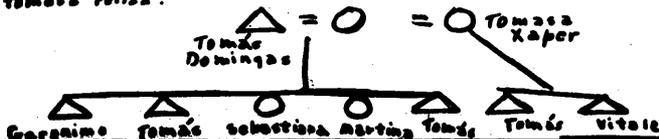
Tomas Domingas



works here for board.

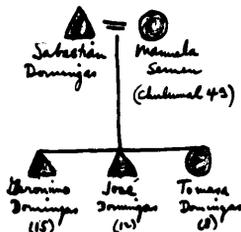
Chucam #49

No house in pueblo
 no debt on land. no other land.
 Mays of Julio Kil in the house, 7 pesos a day. Jose takes care of 6 sheep; 6 goats,
 2 pigs, & chickens. Buy 2 bundles of maize, & 12 lbs. of beans. no negro.
 According to
 Tomas Folioza:



Sebastian Domingas

Tomasz Feliz says
there are 2 girls
& 2 boys here.



Chucoam #50

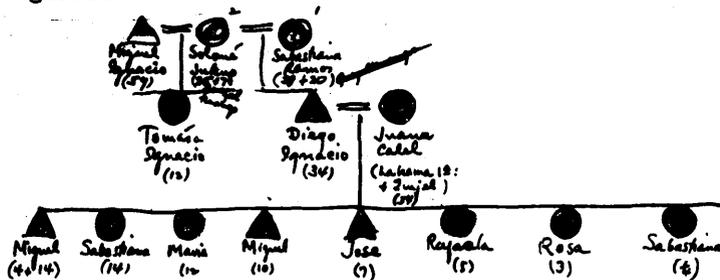
No house in pueblo

Sebastian buys coffee on coast and sells here. With mules brings 6 or 8 quintales & earns maybe 80¢ a week. He has 40 sheep, 2 bullocks, 2 pigs, 2 cows, 15 chickens. Enough milk, no mops. Manuela weaves for sale, earns 25¢ a week. All boys in school.

C. Chinimá.

Aside from a note dated March 13, 1935, to the effect that "Canton Chinimá is politically and officially recognized as part of Pacho; but otherwise known as a canton", the only information I have on the population of Chinimá is contained on the census cards which follow.

Diego Ignacio



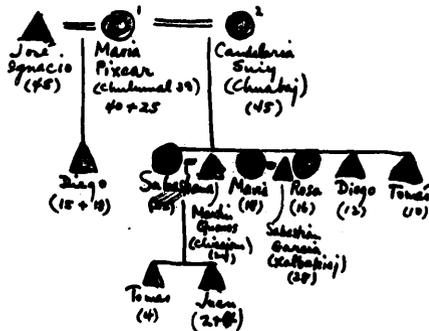
Chinima # 1

Only this, and no debt on it.

Diego is director of school - salary \$180 a year. Juana weaves a lot for sale & earns about \$5 a year. Has 30 cords milpa. Has enough milpa - neither buy nor sell. Has 10 or 15 mijos for a couple of days, they pass a cord for planting. For harvest, pay some 10 mijos 5 pesos a foot for a day for 2 days. Total of about 40 for mijos, but also buy a mijo once in a while for wood, etc. Has 5 turkeys for own use; has 15 chickens (sell eggs of about \$6 a year); 12 sheep - \$1.50 a year; have 1 pig, + sell one or two a year - \$5 a year; have 2 horses, a rent, so make about \$10 a year. 7 doves of her - 75 bottles of honey a year - may be worth. Got 10 lbs. wax - \$1.50.

Chinima # 2

Jose Ignacio

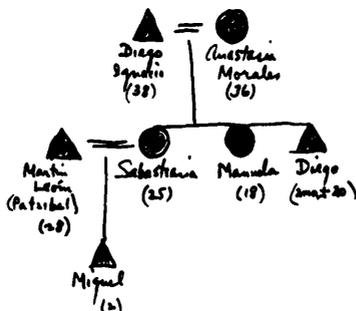


Chinima # 2

only this, and no debt.

He earns nothing, working in his milpa. Has 28 cords milpa. He sells 3 quintales maize. Has 10 chickens, sells eggs; has 20 sheep, sells wool; has 1 pig, 2 sells about 4 a year, getting 12-15 a year. He sells latex, 2 loads a day @ 5¢ .. maybe \$30 a year.

Diego Ignacio



Chinima # 3

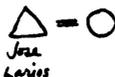
land: only this, & doesn't own on it.

Diego works a mazo for 8 pesos a day, about 2 weeks each month -- earning \$25 a year. Anastasia sells weaving, & so does Manuela -- earning together some \$12 a year. Have 15 cords mizpa, but have to buy 2 heistals maize as well as beans, etc. Have a cow, giving 6 glasses a day, \$35 a year. Have 10 chickens -- \$4 a year for eggs.

Chinima # 4

Jose Larios

lives in #24. Only little land here



Chinima # 5

José Jorge

Live in Chusabj -- there is a house here, but don't live here. Have mizpa here.

Felis Dubon

Houses here, but nobody lives here; he lives in Pueblo.

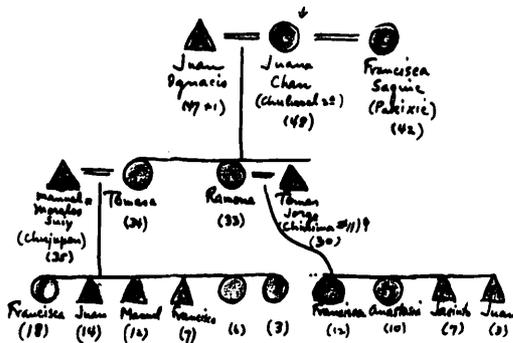
Chinima # 7

Abel Rodas

Houses, but nobody lives here. Milpa and sacate.

Chinima # 8

Juan Ignacio



+ separated from Juan many years ago & went with Panolih man to coast.
 = no land, as lives here.
 † youngest brother of Juan + Jose. Lives here; sold land to brother when Juan Ignacio died, & came to live here.

Chinima # 8

No debt on land, have no other.

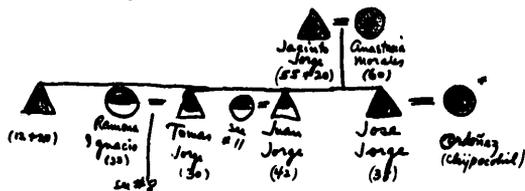
Manuel + Tomas make bread to sell on markets here. make 75¢ a quintal & sell 3 quintales a week
 2. at a week, \$1.25 a year. He 30 cords milpa, but buy 3 quintales a year. Have to hire mays, too.
 Has 26 sheep, earning \$3 a year. Chicken & turkey: earn \$2 a year on eggs. Sell 6 pigs a year -- \$12.25
 a year. Bee -- 4 hives; get 50 bottles honey -- about \$4 a year. 6 lbs of wax -- \$30 a year.

Miguel Ignacio

No house here; Miguel lives in #28. Bought this land some 20 years ago

Chinima # 10

Jose Jorge

went home 3 months ago
after 3 months married.

Chinima # 10

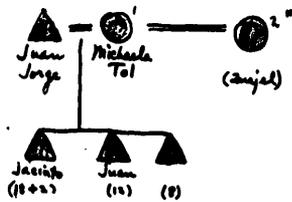
no debt on land, only this.

Jose is comerciante; buy ropes here & sells in Patalul .. makes about \$35.

Have 5 cords milpa, but buy about \$12 worth a year (buying on the coast where it is cheap).

Chinima # 11

Juan Jorge

married to Juan 6 months;
Michaela died a year ago.

Chinima # 11

Doesn't owe on land; has no other

Comerciante -- with brother Jose (#10). Only 5^{bad} cords of milpa, & has to buy maize all year. He has a milpa, 10 chickens & sell eggs.

Delfino Mejicanos

Houses, but nobody lives here. Milpa & mountain.

Chinima # 13

Pedro Calvo

He lives in Paganini & has houses here, but nobody lives here. Milpa & wheat.

Chinima # 14

Manuel Velasquez

He lives in pueblo; nobody lives here. Milpa

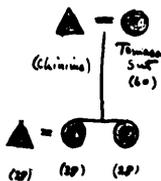
Chinima # 15

Miguel Ignacio

no house; lives in # 28; no milpa, but pasture

Chinima # 16

Tomas Sut

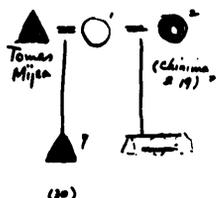


no debt on land; no other.

Chinima # 16

She sells atole, tortillas, capi in the plaza every day. Son-in-law runs on finca & goes for harvest. When he is here he sells lema (2 trips a day). The younger daughter helps her mother. They have only 10 ^{man} cords milpa, & the Tomasas keep both for use & sale. Have 10 chickens, & sell eggs.

Tomas Mijea



a daughter of Sebastian
 & lives with Hector Congo
 in pueblo & dresses
 badly.

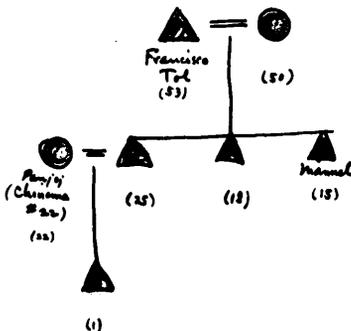
no debt or land; no other.

Chinima #17

Corporal for Hector Congo -- \$5 a month. Only 8 cords milpa, & have to buy.
 Have 12 chickens.

Chinima # 18

Francisco Tol



no debt or land (probably); no other.

Chinima # 18

Francisco works in his milpa. The eldest son work for Ruiz in tanning
 factory -- 16¢ a day for 6 days a week. The second also. Mamuel is still in
 school; in vacation (now) does labor on building Mayo Inn -- 13¢ a day.
 8 cords milpa & the sons get half their wages in corn from Ruiz. Have
 sheep (maybe pigs too) & chickens -- selling eggs. Nojos only for harvest.
 Francisco is ^{one of the} caretaker of Cabrera -- no salary.

Sebastian Ignacio



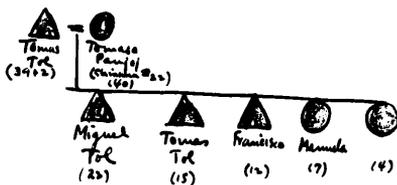
no debt on land; no other.

Chinima # 19

Sebastian trims building - beams; buys a tree for 25¢, getting ~~5~~ 3 dozens, which he sells for 50¢ a dozen. This once a week. He is corporal for Don Alfredo Bracamonte, & comes to town to his Patron on Sundays only -- at 25¢ a Sunday. 4 cords milpa, & have to buy much maize. Have 6 chickens.

Miguel Tol

Chinima # 20

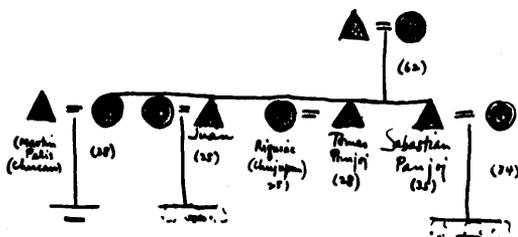


no debt on land; on other land.

Chinima # 20

Miguel works every other week in the King Tannery -- 16¢ a day -- & odd weeks goes for King to Capital to buy hides (some salary). Tomas works there also, but only gets 5¢ a day. Some 4 cords milpa (get corn from King as part-salary).

Sabastian Panjoj



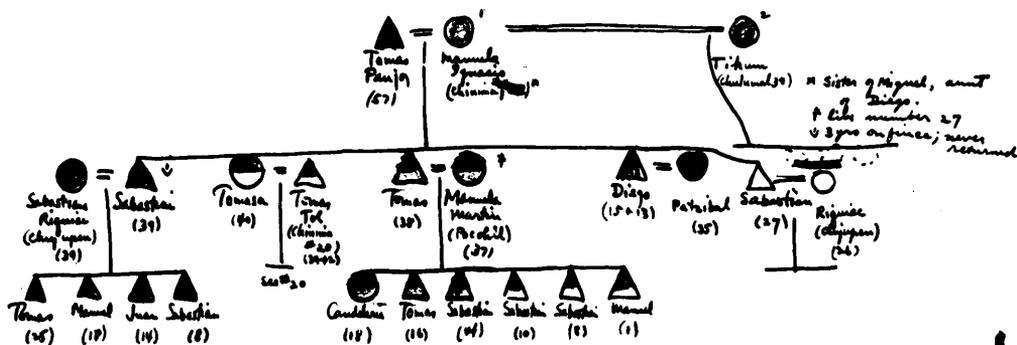
no debt or land; no other.

Chinima # 21

Sabastian works in Rung tannery -- at 16¢ a day; Tomas occasionally works here; he has 2 or 3 pigs & also works in milpa. Juan works for Rung tannery at 16¢ a day. Sabastian's wife makes thread -- making 2¢ a pound (one pound a week). Have 12 cords milpa, & get corn from Rung as salary. Tomas has pigs, sheep, chickens. He is a musician & occasionally (4 for funeral or something) earns 25¢ playing with band (flute). Tomas more or less supports the mother; they keep some butcher, etc., but when Tomas sells a pig the money is his. He has no children to support from personal money.

Chinima # 22

Tomas Panjoj

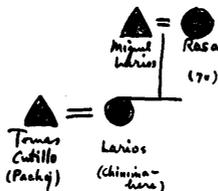


Don't own on land; also have a piece at #26

Chinima # 22

Tomas has pigs -- selling as many as 10 a year. Son Sabastian younger earns 16¢ a day working for Rung tannery. Also goes to city for the milk with his 3 mules (carrying something extra for the mules). Some 15-16 cords milpa, but have to get more from Rung. Have 28 sheep (a pig) and 20 chickens -- selling eggs. 3 mules. Have to have a few mays....

Tomas Cutillo



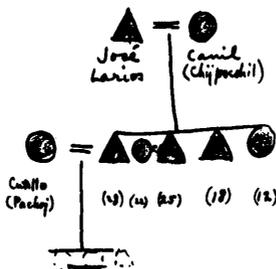
no debt on land; maybe has other land

Chinima # 23

Tomas sells copal in market here, have bought them here too. He sells for 1/2 a ounce, buying by the quintal. 16 sheep, 10 chickens. Has 16 cords ^{poor} maize, but has to buy.

Chinima #24

Jose Larios



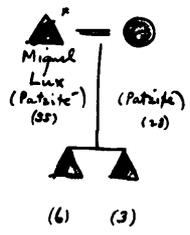
no debt on land; have it also, but no maize there.

Chinima #24

Jose makes soap (black) to sell here in market. The oldest son buys & sells copal here. The second works at building in Hotel (8 pesos a day). The third helps father. 19 cords maize, which doesn't suffice. Have 29 sheep, a mule, 18 chickens. They buy pigs for soap & sell the meat also, at a profit.

Nahu Ruiz

This is his land; in house lives his wife:



* lived here 6 years. wear Patriote clothes. Miguel is one-legged.

works in factory of Ruiz for 16¢ a day. The milpa is owned by Ruiz, & he has nothing to do with it.

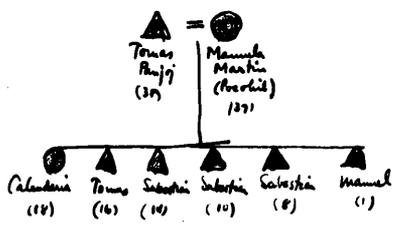
Chinima # 26

Tomas Panjoj

Lives in #22. Has house here but nobody lives in it. Milpa

Chinima # 27

Tomas Panjoj

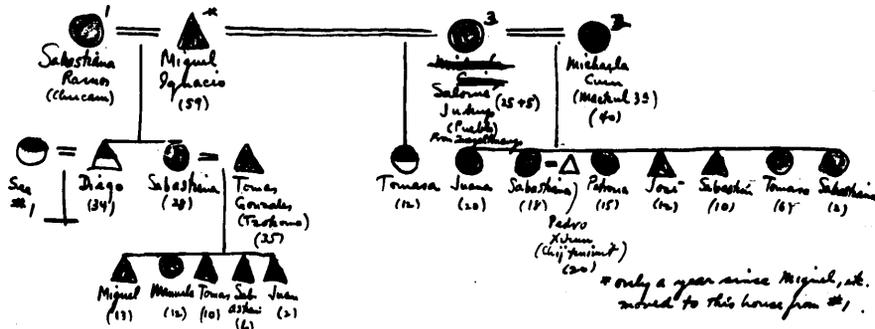


now don't own on land (formerly did 6 yrs. ago). no other land.

Chinima # 28 27

Tomas is comerciante; he doesn't sell here at all. Sells in Sta Lucia Cotzumalwup (Ascumilla) buying in Teapan. He comes back every 2 weeks, & occasionally brings coffee to sell here -- by the bundle or roba. He has a mule. 2 chickens. Son Tomas goes with father. Has 6 cords bad milpa [only get 2 bundles a year], & have to buy much.

Miguel Ignacio



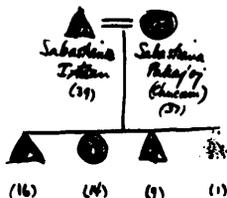
Doesn't own on land. Has 29 & 15 dlas.

Chinima # 28

Miguel embroiders men's clothes -- \$3 a suit for labor. Gains some \$30 a year in all. Michada sells weaving. Juana also does weaving for sale. 26 sheep, 10 chickens, a horse which earns something. Has 30 cords milpa, & has to buy a little; has to pay migo. He & son Diego have conquistador costumes for rent -- \$2 a piece, 3 times a year (30 costumes) Diego made the costumes. They keep buying more material each year, & spend \$50 a year on them.

Chinima # 29

Sebastian extan



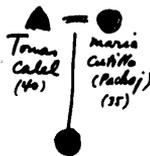
no debt on land; has no other.

Chinima # 29

Sebastian is corporal for Dan Gustavo Rodas -- \$5 a month. He also buys beans in Chiche ^{Wed. &} Sat. to sell here Thurs & Sun. He buys for 2¢ 4 alb & sells here for 3¢; sells 2 rotas a week. 6 cords milpa -- buy most of maize. 4 chickens.

D. Pachoj.

The only information I have on the population of Pachoj is contained on the census cards which follow.

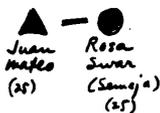


no house in pueblo -- no other land -- no debts.

30 cords milpa. neither buy nor sell. 15 sheep, 2 mules, 2 large horses, 20 chickens, + a few eggs. He sells wool in Thurs. + Sun. markets. buying here + Chichí. He earns up to \$2.00 a week. Maria helps him.

Juan Mateo

Pachaj #2

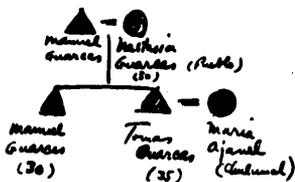


no house in pueblo -- no other land -- owes a little to finca + goes for harvest.

15 cords milpa, buys 1 arroba maize a week, + also frijoles. Does labor for ladinos in pueblo, 8 pesos a day.

Tomás Guarcas

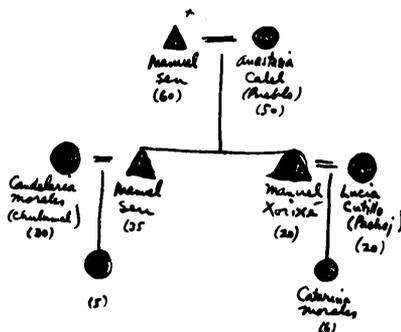
Pachaj #3



Manuel Sen

Pachoj #4

194



* Principale; he succeeded Diego Cutillo who died 10 yrs ago

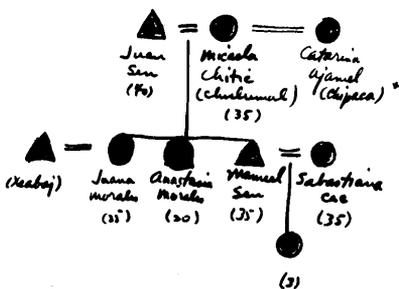
Have house in pueblo, with 4 cords miepa (or less). No other land.

20 cords miepa + buy maize, an araba a week; don't buy beans. + Manuel Xorixa has another. Manuel Sen, Sr. helps.

Manuel Sen has a butcher shop, 2 milk cows, 2 mules, 30 sheep, 50 chickens

Juan Sen

Pachoj #5

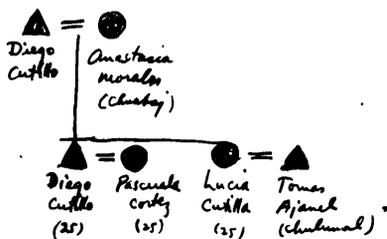


* was polygamous; she left him some time ago.

20 cords miepa, enough.... 2 mules, 50 chickens, 60 sheep. Father & son have a butcher shop.

Diego Cutillo

Pachy #6 195

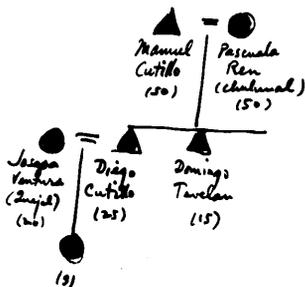


x left 3 yrs. ago,
+ is single again

10 cords mija, enough.... 2 mules, 30 chickens, 20 sheep. He is baker.

Manuel Cutillo

Pachy #7

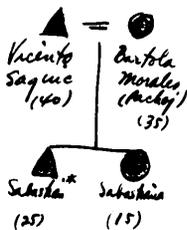


10 cords, buy a roto a week, 9 teams to. a milk cow, but don't sell any milk; 15 chickens.
The 2 are common laborers in pueblo. Women sell coffee ^{to drink} near their houses on the road.

Diego is corporal for don Chavin Corzo -- \$5 a month.

Vicente Sague

Pachoj #8
196



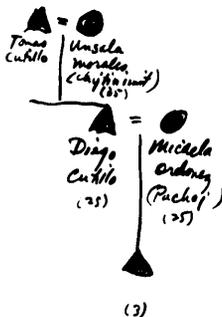
1935 annulaire.

No debts. no other land or horses.

20 cows, enough. 50 sheep, 20 chickens. Common labor; Sebastian ^{also} sells candles which he makes.

Diago Cutillo

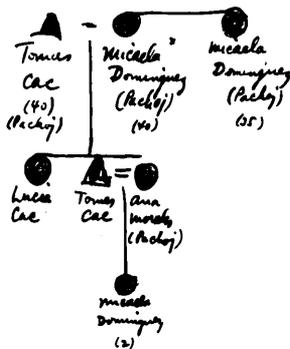
Pachoj #9



No milpa; sold it to Manuel San. He helps butchers -- 8 pesos a day.

Tomas Cac

Pachoj #10
197

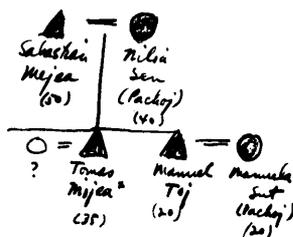


* land of the women.

15 cords milpa, enough. 30 sheep, 15 chickens, 2 vacas (cell milk). House in pueblo, with 4 cords milpa. Tomas, Sr. is corporal for Juan Simon. Tomas, Jr. keeps butchers.

Sebastian Mijea

Pachoj #11



* in Zurich 5 year, playing in band.

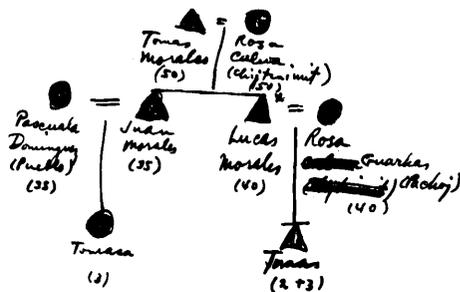
House in pueblo.

30 cords milpa ^{enough}, 60 sheep, 50 chickens + turkeys, 3 cows (cell milk). They sell to hite, & work in own milpa, father & son.

Lucas Morales

Pachoj #12

198

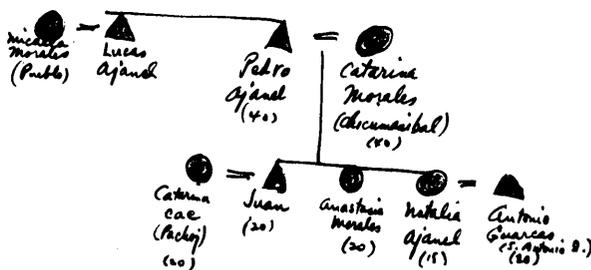


* Finca Coroga (Magatungo)

5 cords milpa, a tiny arata a week, also beans. a mule, 10 chickens. Lucas is on finca now, & comes back for fiesta. Juan is comerciante from coast to here. Tomas is too old to work.

Pedro Ajand

Pachoj #13

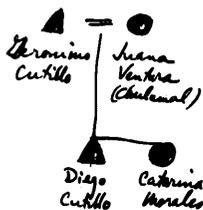


no house in pueblo; no other land; no debts on it.

20 cords, enough.... 15 sheep, 20 chickens. Pedro makes tiles; Lucas goes to fincas for harvest... otherwise works around house. Juan takes in pueblo. Antonio is comerciante of fruit, from Coast & from S. Antonio.

Gerónimo Cutillo

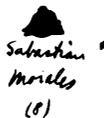
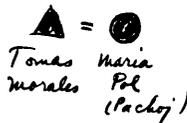
Pachoj #14
199



10 cords miga, enough; sometimes buy a little. no animals. Bakers.

Tomas Morales

Pachoj #15



is a "migo" here, orphan.

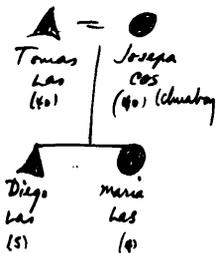
enough
15 cords, 30 sheep, 15 chickens. He is corporal for Don Felipe Dator, \$5 a month.

x

Tomas Las

Pachoj # 16

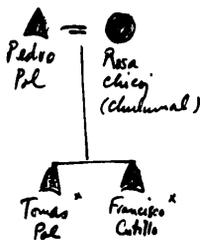
200



8 cords milpa, enough. Tomas corporal for man in Zurich (Manuel Velazquez), \$8 a month.
 10 chickens

Pedro Pd

Pachoj #17

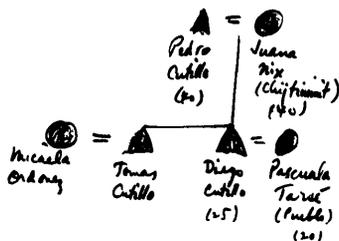


* Finca Inceca Grande.

8 cords, big a little. 10 chickens. Pedro corporal for Vicente Giron, \$5 a month.

Pedro ~~de~~ Cutillo

Pachoj #18
201

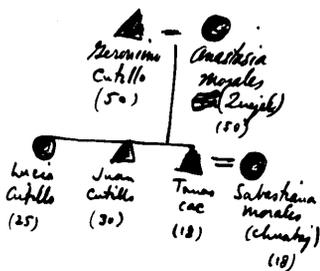


House in Pueblo.

20 cords milpa, enough. 10 sheep, 15 chickens, 2 mules... Bahers...

Geronimo Cutillo

Pachoj #19

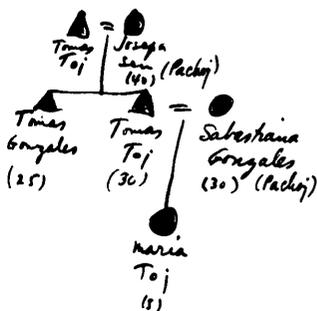


House in pueblo

15 cords milpa, enough. 20 sheep, 1 mule, 20 chickens. Juan is comerciante of things from Guatemala (cigars, etc.) Tomas labors in pueblo.

Tomas Toj

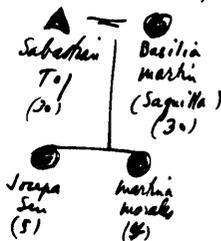
Pachoj #20
202



10 cords milpa, buy some. 10 sheep, 10 chickens. Babers.

Sebastian Toj

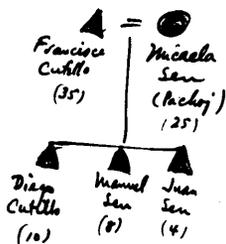
Pachoj #21



5 miepa, an arato a week. They sell coffee on road in Pachoj. He is corporal for Juan Lirio son, \$5 a month.

Francisco Cutillo

Pachoj # 22
203

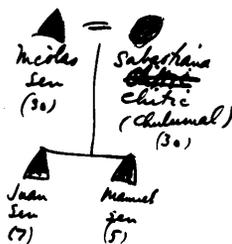


20 cords, enough.

10 sheep, 20 chickens, 2 mules. Baker.

Micolas Sen

Pachoj # 23



10 cords

10 sheep

20 chickens

He labors in pueblo

Tomas ~~Micolas~~ Cutillo

Pachoj # 24



10 cords miga, enough. Concercaite of coast things.

2. Census made in Chicua 1st while visiting there with Tomas Ventura who has a house there:

Lista de las Casa y sus Habitantes del

204

Cantón Chicua lo.

1. Sebastian Saquife (P.)
Juana Quino (M.)
Sebastian Saquife (h.)
Catarina Morales (muera)
2. Juan Saquife (P.)
Sebastiana Xillá (M.)
María Saquife (h.)
Micaela Saquife (h.)
3. Manuel Saquife (P.)
Tomasa Tiniguar (M.)
Miguel Saquife (h.)
Juan Saquife (h.)
4. Tomás Cenés (P.)
Juana Quino (M.)
Manuel Cenés (h.)
Juan Cenés (h.)
5. Juan Tel (P.)
Josepha Tel (M.)
Francisco Tel (h.)
Francisca Morales (muera)
Juan Tel Morales (nieta)
Juan Tel (h.)
Tomasa Quino (muera)
María Tel Quino (nieta)
6. Juan Cenés (P.)
Ana Tesón (M.)
María Cenés (h.)
~~Manuela Cenés~~ (h.)
Manuela Cenés (h.)
7. Miguel Cenés (P.)
Catarina Tel (M.)
José Cenés (h.)
María Cenés (h.)
8. Juana Galva (viuda)
María Galva (h.)
Tomás Galva (h.)
9. Pedro Xen ~~Xen~~
Manuela Galva (M.)
Juan Xen (h.)
Juana Xinté (muera)
María Xen Xinté (nieta)
10. Sebastián Xen (P.)
María Galva (M.)
Juan Xen (h.)
Josefa Quino (muera)
Tomás Xen Quino (nieta)

11. Diego Xen (P.)
Teresa Morales (M.)
Juan Xen (h.)
Manuela Xen (h.)
12. Juan Tomás (P.)
Manuela Chen (M.)
Tomás Tomás (h.)
Juana Tomás (h.)
13. Tomás Tomás (P.)
Catarina Suy (M.)
Juan Tomás (hijo)
Juana Morales (nuera)
Tomás Tomás Morales (nieta)
Juana Tomás Morales (nieta)
María Tomás (h.)
14. Sebastián Cenés (P.)
Juana Suy (M.)
Sebastián Cenés (h.)
Sebastiana Galva (nuera)
Tomás Cenés Galva (nieta)
Juan Cenés (hijo)
Catarina Mejía (nuera)
María Cenés Mejía (nieta)
15. Manuel Guj (P.)
Anastasia Guino (M.)
Diego Guj (h.)
Francisca Xen (nuera)
Manuel Guj (h.)
Teresa Tomás (nuera)
16. Tomás Xiloj (P.)
María Xen (M.)
Tomás Xiloj (h.)
Juan Xiloj (h.)
María Xiloj (h.)
17. Tomás Guarcas (P.)
Dominga Ajanel (M.)
Natalia Guarcas (h.)
Helberto Guarcas (h.)
Salvador Guarcas (h.)
18. Miguel Guarcas (P.)
Manuela Seguí (M.)
Sebastián Guarcas (h.)
Manuel Guarcas (h.)
Tomas Guarcas (h.)
19. Juan Guarcas (P.)
Petronilla Suy (M.)
Miguel Guarcas (h.)
Teresa Ajanel (nuera)
Juan Guarcas A. (nieta)
María Guarcas A. (nieta)
Tomás Guarcas (h.)
Manuela Xiloj (nuera)

20. Juan Cortes (P.)
 Catarina Guarcas (M.)
 Martín Cortes (h.)
 María Camil (muera)
 Manuel Cortes G. (nieto)
 Francisco Cortes (h.)
 Josefa Cortes (h.)
 Tomás Cortes (h.)
21. Manuel Cortés (P.)
 Josefa Morales (M.)
 María Cortes (h.)
~~Domínguez Cortés (h.)~~
 Manuel Cortes (h.)
 Juan Cortes (h.)
22. Miguel Xiloj (P.)
 Anastacia Macario (M.)
 Manuela Xiloj (h.)
 Diego Xiloj (h.)
 Tomás Xiloj (h.)
 Juan Xiloj (h.)
23. Tomás Xiloj (P.)
 Tomasa Guarcas (M.)
 Tomás Guarcas (h.)
 Juana Tecón (muera)
 Juan Xiloj Tecón (nieto)
 Tomás Xiloj Tecón (nieto)
 Juan Xiloj (h.)
 María Ramos (muera)
24. Tomás Chumil (P.)
 Antonia Lando (M.)
 Domingo Chumil (h.)
 Natalia Suy (muera)
 Juan Chumil (nieto)
 Tomás Chumil (h.)
 Petrona Chumil (h.)
25. Tomás Suy (P.)
 María Cano (M.)
 Juan Suy (h.)
 Miguel Suy (h.)
 Anastacia Suy (h.)
 Juana Suy (h.)
26. Tomás Tecón (P.)
 María Suy (M.)
 Juan Tecón (h.)
 Josefa Camil (muera)
 José Tecón G. (nieto)
 José Tecón (h.)
27. Miguel Ajanel (P.)
 María Chan (M.)
 Juan Ajanel (h.)
 María Camil (muera)
 Juan Ajanel G. (nieto)
 Tomás Ajanel (h.)
28. Juana Ajanel (viuda)
 Tomasa Ajanel (h.)
 María Ajanel (h.)

Tomas Ventura C.

Names for other peoples are sometimes uncomplimentary, sometimes neutral. The neutral ones are either pre-Columbian place names, or corruptions of the Spanish or Aztec ones now in use generally. A list follows:

Foreigners (referring to everybody neither Indian nor ladino, and especially Germans, Americans, French, English, etc. are called rikwalq'ix, which means, literally, "Children of the Sun". An albino Indian baby (and there is one in Tomas' house) is called the same, so this is a reference to whiteness.

Ladinos are called mu's

The ordinary name for Lemoa is lma', and Lemoatecans are thus ax lma'; but another name for them is umutuk, which refers to the tepocate, a little water animal that from the description sounds like a tadpole, but it is not a tadpole. The local Indians say that the Lemoatecans eat them, or once did. Lemoatecans become angry when they are called this.

The people of Santiago, Sacatepequez are ordinarily called ax tsumpan; but they are also called w/kint/oi, "the ears of a rat".

Sololatecans are disdainfully called rismal kapun, which refers to the hair on a turkey's breast; Turkeys are the favorite food in Solola.

Tonicapeños are ax mik'na'; but they are also ax ox, referring to aguacates, of which they eat many.

The people of Patzite and Sta. Maria Chiquimula are called, in uncomplimentary fashion, ts'lo'x, the significance of which is unknown.

People of San Lucas Toliman are tru', of unknown meaning.

People of Santiago Atitlan are 'i' or a'i', meaning unknown.

The ordinary name for people of Chimaltenango is ax bok'ob, but they are also called t/intebixoi', meaning unknown, but uncomplimentary.

People of Masatenango are called ax kikolk'ix, which has the word "horse" in it.

Nahualeños are wol, of unknown meaning.

Sta. Cruz people are ax krus.

People of ^Momostenango are ax santiat/utsaq'.

The Chichicastenango Indians call themselves at/ixap, which means people. Or they call themselves ma/, a corruption of Tomas.

By other Indians, however, the local people are insultingly referred to as t/ix, meaning "sheep". They are called "sheep" because (1) they are dumb and illiterate, (2) they stay in their mountains, and (3) they wear heavy woolen clothing.

Dec. 24, 1934

The film company came here to make a blurb of Burroughs' Tarzan and the Green Goddess, or Tarzan in Guatemala, or whatever it will be called; most of the scenes were made here, but some will be on the Rio Dulce. Taking pictures of the fiesta and other things kicked up a row that crystallized just on the day we came into real anti-foreign sentiment. There was no violence toward whites here, although unprecedented verbal insults were hurled at the hotel's guests on Sunday; feeling is high. The padre is suffering from it especially, and has found it necessary to go to Quiché to get the support of the Jefe. I was told that 200 of the leading men of the cantones moved en masse Sunday afternoon to the office of the Secretary and insulted and protested loudly, but nobody seems to have a clear idea of what's what. What bothers me as much as anything is that Tomás Ventura (who worked for the film company as chief-rounder-up of the Indians) has aroused a great deal of sentiment against himself. I hear they have threatened to kill him, but he laughs it off. Mr. Rohrman insists that one day last week they lay in wait for him and beat him up, but he shows no signs of it....

Tomás has many friends, of course, and there is a faction of the Indians who are not anti-foreigner; he tells me that everything will be all right and that our work can go ahead.

Dec. 23, 1934 -- During the day all of the film company gradually left the Inn. We began to hear that the Indians were very angry at foreigners.

Dec. 24, 1934 -- Hear more of trouble with the Indians. Fourteen have been imprisoned for assaults on those who helped the motion picture people. Tomás Ventura, who not only helped them but also other foreigners such as me is especially disliked by the anti-foreign group. How serious the matter is nobody can say, but Tomás thinks it is a matter of a fanatic few and will not last long.

Feb. 4, 1935 -- There appear to be two "foreign" settlements here; one is a group of Totonicapán Indians and the other a group of Indians from Santa María Chiquimula. They live in more or less segregated groups, and the women at least wear the costumes of their own towns (the men ladino clothes); as far as I can find out there are no cases of inter-marriage and the local Indians do not mix with them much. In each case they generally keep up their own language and connections with their own towns. There are a few isolated Indians from Santa Cruz Quiché as well, usually servants of Ladinos. I have still to get complete information.

Jan. 20, 1938 (Panajachel)

I went to Chichicastenango Tuesday and came back Wednesday evening, and I covered a lot of territory. Only time will tell how successful I was, but (aside from others I mentioned) one interesting possibility was opened up. I am, as you know looking for a place in a cantón of Chichicastenango that is on or near an automobile road; one other necessity is that among the families in the neighborhood (and I want some immediate neighbors, of course) there should be at least a couple of people who speak some Spanish and at least one who knows enough to be able to help me positively. Now there are only four automobile roads that pass through maxefío territory; one is the road from Tecpán to Los Encuentros, which crosses and recrosses the Chichicastenango-Sololá line; I explored that road two years ago with a different purpose in mind, and I don't think much of the possibility -- for one thing the Chichicastenango places are a million miles from both Tecpán and Los Encuentros, and for another, I found no evidences of Spanish-speaking, and breaking in there and living there would both be more difficult than on the other roads.

The second road is from Los Encuentros to Chichicastenango and the only place on that road is in Chicua. This place has advantages: it is near Los Encuentros (thus near to mail and telegraph), there is a school there, with a ladino teacher (thus signs and evidences of rudimentary civilization and the breakdown of anti-stranger prejudice), and most important there is a young Indian who is literate and who not only could, but would, help me. Actually, since last year I have been trying to break into this fellow's household group, and I spent a lot of time with him this visit. He says his folks are willing, but the vecinos object strongly and of course his family won't buck public opinion.

I would have to build a house there, and that would require a real break-in. I left this up in the air, hoping that gradually public opinion (with my repeated ramming) would gradually hush; and this boy is still trying, with the promise of work, to do something for me. The chief trouble is that the boy is young (17 or so) and doesn't have the makings of a Zola. If necessary I may be able to push that possibility to some favorable conclusion, however.

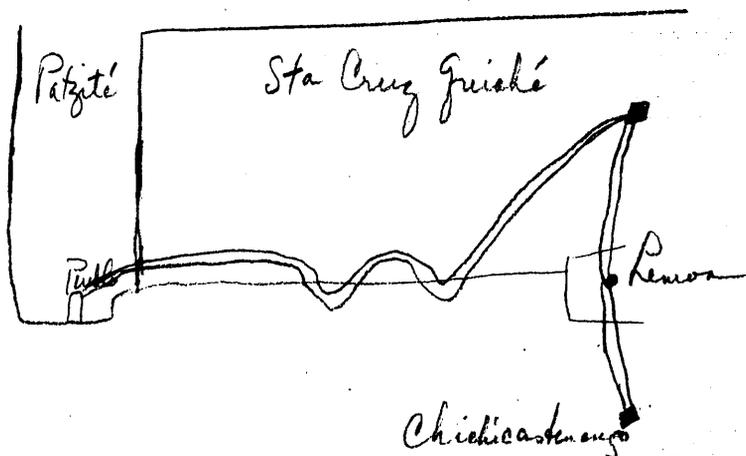
The third road is from the pueblo to Chiché, and fairly close to the pueblo there is a good population strewn along the road. I tried that last summer, too, and was completely rebuffed; later Juan Cutillo on his own hook tried just to buy a piece of land, but he tells me that they remembered that he had been with me and they don't want to sell to foreigners (people are not reconciled to the tourist invasion and have a feeling that I'll start a Maya Inn when I come). Even if somebody else should buy me a piece of land there, however, I wouldn't be in a very good starting position, would I? That road, by the way, has the advantage of being reasonably near to town, and of being a very pleasant place to live; but I haven't been able to find any other great advantages -- that is, the people are not more Spanish-speaking than elsewhere, and there is as far as I know no particular person who could help me.

Tomás Ren lives in that cantón, and he is one of the most literate maxefios; but as it happens he is the only anti-foreigner among the literates; His brother is Pascual, with whom I worked, but Tomás himself has served time in the Quiché jail for instigating trouble against the film company three years ago. Anyway, he is teaching school in Chiché now (as is Tomás Ventura) and I don't have any idea if he could be of help to me.

The fourth road (that between the pueblo and Lemoa is unpopulated) is between Sta. Cruz Quiché and Patzité. From a previous

trip I knew that the road passes through maxefio territory, and yesterday I explored this. Twice the road is actually in Chichicastenango lands, but in both places there are no homes in sight. But (and this was news to me that I missed on my last trip) I found that upon arriving in the town of Patzité itself one is only two blocks from the boundary line (at the top of the hill) and maxefio houses start immediately. Perhaps the following sketch-map will explain the situation:

*Mun. of Totonicapán
Canton or aldea
of Chiminente*



Oscar Rodas - Tesorero, Chichicastenango

Vialidad, 1st half 1939 (incl. Mar. 15)

	<u>Ladinos</u>	<u>Indians</u>		Total Ind.	Total Ladino and Indian
		Max.	Others		
1939 - 1st half to Mar. 15	86	343	6	349	435
1938 - 1st half	134	593	7	600	734

Ornato (No. persons paying): 1938 = 2,628
 Jan. 467
 Feb. 1478
 Mar. 490

Rodas went over names, picking out Ladinos from Indians and giving me figures for both "races". Then I asked him to divide Indians themselves into Max. and others. He found only a few (6) "other Indians." I asked what ~~ka~~ do all the Totonicapeños, etc., here do--work on roads, or what? He said, "But there are very few Totonicapeños here." "But," I said, "I know of three families of masons alone." "Oh, those I included with the Ladinos; they're just like Ladinos." (Clothes, shoes, etc. Ladino and although Rodas knows they're Indians he thinks of them as Ladinos.)

Ladino Residents

- Amezquita's father - came from Totonicapan
- Julio Gil - from Quiché
- Don Pako (pharmacist) - From Guatemala City
- Dubon - from Huehuetenango

Amezquita and Rodas are the oldest Ladino residents
 Other old Ladino residents: Quiroas, Girones, Barrios, Pérez.

Technology, Material Culture and Economics

The notes immediately following were written after the first month in Chichicastenango.

Technology and Economics

Chichicastenango is hardly an economically isolated unit. If one should draw a series of concentric circles about the municipio, the first one to encompass it itself, and the following ones at intervals of, say, twenty miles, it would be found that the amount of trade varies inversely with the distance of the circle. Thus practically everything consumed here was produced right at home and within the radius of the first twenty miles. Corn and beans, the staple foods, are cultivated here intensively; most of the vegetables that the Indians eat are home-grown; the staples of both masculine and feminine costume are woven here; building materials are all local. But all pottery comes from within the next circle, chiefly Totonicapan, and so does the ~~majority of~~ wooden furniture; expert masons also come from there, but there are many at home. Wool is partly home-grown, partly imported from other neighboring sections, and partly received in the form of yarn from the outside world. Silk of course all comes in from outside. The ladinos and foreigners import much city goods, of course, but with the exception of some white shirts for the men which come for the most part from Solola, practically nothing the Indians use for themselves is what one might call "factory goods". A few novelties must ~~not~~ be considered in this category, but in the total economy they are negligible.

Trade is nevertheless a vital element in the culture, and I am speaking now about the Indians. Although the economy is "domestic" it is yet commercial, for there is a surplus over home-needs in both agricultural produce and in manufactured goods. Furthermore, there is considerable specialization of labor, both of localities and of individuals. Thus I have mentioned that in Totonicapan is made most of the pottery that is used here, and most of the furniture. But even in Chichicastenango there is specialization of localities; some idea of how extensive this is may be obtained from the following tabulation, not complete:

In all cases, note, the cantones with specializations are contiguous. This is partly due to geographical conditions; potatoes happen to grow well in a certain area, for example, or an area happens to be closest to Totonicapan. But there is not always such a rational explanation, for why should Chicua be in the hat business? Another point that should be mentioned is that in all cases there are in addition to these specializations the garden crops; in many cases the comerciantes hire mozos to work their fields while they are away on business. That means that there are laborers as an additional semi-specialization. A third point is that it is in all cases the men who are in business; the women never (or very rarely) go to market. It is significant, too that all of the products produced commercially are grown or made by the men, as will be seen when the division of labor is discussed.

But first it might be well to look at specific instances: Tomas Tol is the Principale of Semeja 2nd. He lives with his wife, his son and his wife and their son. They have a regular maize-bean milpa, and the women do the work around the house and the men in the farm. The chief occupation of Tomas Tol is that of a fruit merchant; when he is away on business his son takes care of the house; but occasionally his son goes instead. On Sunday he buys in the pueblo here native fruit -- grenadillas, etc. -- and goes back home for the night. Early Monday morning he leaves for Mazatenango; he walks all day and arrives at night in Santa Lucia, Solola, where, in exchange for a little fruit, he spends the night at a native hotel. The next day he walks to the finca Chokola, in Suchitepequez, where he spends the night in the same way. He arrives at Mazatenango on Wednesday, buys bananas and platinas and other tropical fruit in the market, and spends the night in a hotel. Then he starts to walk back in the same way, and arrives back home Saturday night. At 4 A.M. Sunday morning he walks to the pueblo,

arriving at about 7 A. M., where he sells his fruit in the market, buys the local fruit and goes home to sleep before starting his next trip in the morning. His load amounts to about 75 pounds, and he earns a profit of about \$1.00 for the round trip. Meanwhile his son at home has been tending a commercial crop of wheat, which, added to proceeds from labor occasionally, brings the family's yearly cash proceeds to perhaps \$100.00. The women weave, of course, but do not sell anything they make. With this money many things must be bought in the market; food that they do not grow, wool and silk for garments, furniture, perhaps an addition to the house, etc. They may also have to pay for help during the harvest. Some years ago Tomas Tol had another business; ^{at dif-}ferent times he went to the Capital to buy salt to sell here; but he hasn't done this for six years.

*Some time ago he
went to the Capital*

Miguel Marroginn is the Principale of Mactzul 4th, living with his wife alone, being childless, but with other members of his family for neighbors. One month each year he spends harvesting coffee at a finca near Patciuta, south of the Lake. This he has done for five years, until this year he stayed to work in the milpa while other members of his family went away to the finca. When he does go, he earns 25 cents a day, and his keep, so that he can bring home about \$7.00 cash. Otherwise he spends his time working on other people's milpas for 13 cents a day and food, six days a week, every week. He goes on Sundays to the Quiche market to buy maize, salt, pepper and such.

*Give us
Rang. chel - A*

Diego Mijea, a man of 35, lives in Xeabaj with his wife and young son; he too works on other people's milpas for money, six days a week at 13 cents a day and food. But he is six hours by foot from the pueblo and he comes to market on Sunday only when absolutely necessary -- to buy such things as salt, chili, and bread. But different is the case of Fransisco Bosel, the Alcaalde Auxiliare this year in Chukalibal. He has a milpa, but he milpas and spends most of his own time weaving the fabric for the men's "sacos" and "pantalons". He sells the cloth in the market here in the Pueblo or else to men who have ordered it. Like most of the other men in his canton, he buys the raw wool for \$1.70 a pound and performs all of the processes to and including the weaving. The entire process takes the better part of a month, when he sells the fabric -- enough for one outfit -- for \$5.00. In between times there is the work about the house to do. Some men who weave the cloth for men's suits are able to tailor them too. Diego Saquic of Chupol 2nd, for example, does the whole process, except the embroidery, and manages to make fourteen a year for sale, and his best ones being \$6.70; but to balance things Fransisco Bosel also weaves the black and red rugs that the women use for shawls and raincoats.

Sebastian Canal is a young man of 22 living in Paxot 1st. He has a milpa on which he works much of the time, and he hires himself out much of the time to work on the milpas of others; nevertheless he finds time to weave some half-dozen morrales (white bags that the men carry) a year which nets him \$3.00 or so. Other boys in his canton, putting all of their time to the task, manage to make one of them a week, and in addition some of them make sombreros. The fifty cents for the bags represents the labor alone; for the buyer in this case furnishes the yarn.

Notes (1) -9-

The sexual division of labor is fairly strict. The women, at least in Quejil and probably in all of the cantones, usually rise at four in the morning to grind corn for tortillas; this takes them until about seven o'clock. At six, meanwhile, the men rise to collect firewood and do other chores, and by eight o'clock breakfast is ready. These hours are approximate, for the Indians really haven't caught on to the telling of time in such terms; but they are relatively right. During most of the day after that the women weave, in the harvest take the corn off the cob, and so on. The men go about their work, in the fields, or in their specialty, or embroidering clothes. As far as clothes are concerned the division of labor is most interesting: men (specialists) do all work in weaving and tailoring men's suits, and men only do the embroidered decorations on their clothes (usually the owner). Women (usually the wife) make the men's head-piece and the sash -- both woven in intricate and colorful designs; and the men (usually husbands) do all of the embroidery and braid-sewing, etc. for the women's huipils, skirts, sashes, etc. The division is thus somewhat along the lines of techniques.

House-building is a specialized trade, or several of them, for there are, I believe, separate masons and tile-makers, as well as carpenters. An interesting culture-difference presents itself in the matter of houses: there is one section of the municipio that, instead of having the usual adobe house, has only pole and thatched-roof houses; the reason for this is that no earth suitable for adobe bricks is found in this area, and it is apparently too expensive to import. Thus the following cantones have no adobe houses: Agua Escondida, Guexa, Chigüexa, Chujulimal, Chupol 1st and 2nd, Saopulup, Xacalibal, Chucalibal, Chumanzana, Camanchaj, Nucubalcip, Semeja 1st and 2nd. There are some cantones, too, where beans do not grow; just where they are, or which ones, I don't know, but one of them is Chicua. There are other differences, but these are the most striking.

Although the Indians have their own trade and their own economy -- are usually self-sufficient, yet they depend upon the ladinos in town for many things. All of the stores (and they are found only in the pueblo) are owned by ladinos, and for a number of little things the Indians are dependent upon store-goods. All of the cantinas (saloons) are also owned and run by ladinos, and they are patronized largely by Indians. The whiskey factory, and others for such things as the manufacture of cloth, are owned by ladinos. There is one factory of fairly recent origin owned by Indians; A family from Quejil commutes each day to town where they have two foot-looms for weaving a striped cloth which is widely used. Tomas Ventura told me that other Indians have tried to start factories but the ladinos, jealous of their economic prerogative, have put them in prison on one pretext or another. Even considering the source of the statement, there should be an interesting story of ladino-Indian relationships in this matter.

Taraita

Traits: A few pigs, a lot of chickens and turkeys, beef but no dairy products, some sheep for wool; maize, all kinds of beans, various fruits, onions and cabbage and some other vegetables. But foods, unless grown in one's own garden, are practically unobtainable except in the market, where many things from outside are also obtainable. Adobe houses, tile roofs, pole-houses with thatched roofs; true loom at which woman kneels with strap behind her (from kneeling women's knees bulge about two inches); large manoa-matates at which women kneel; net bags, rope, no pottery; some baskets.

1. HOUSE TYPES AND FURNISHINGS

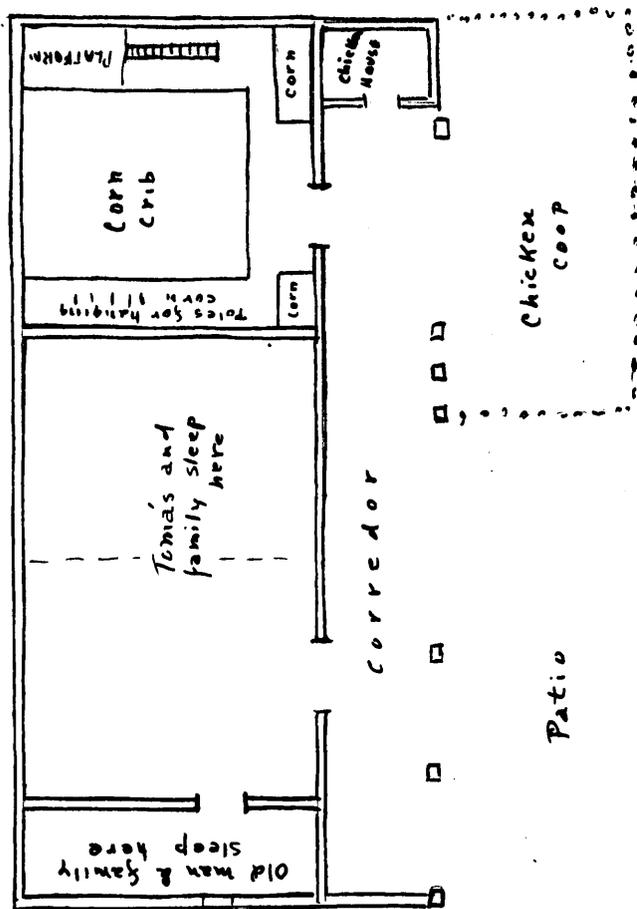
In the pueblo and in most of the cantones the houses are of ^{Sol Tax} adobe bricks, with very thick walls. Ladinos have smooth surfaces put on the outside, but in town or in the country the Indians have rough windowless (with sometimes a foot-square opening in one wall)

one or two room houses with native tiled roofs. In Chichicastenango the architecture is very uniform (for the Indian houses). The houses are rectangular, with the roof peaked parallel to their lengths, and extending perhaps six feet beyond the house in front to make a roof for a sort of porch. This porch is supported by columns of wood. The tiles on the roof are half-cylinders laid vertically in overlapping rows; along the ridge of the roof the tiles are laid in a horizontal row. Sometimes there is a ceiling in all or part of the house, making a platform or attic approached by a ladder. The house very often has two rooms, one chiefly used as a kitchen and the other a sleeping room; some large families have more than one house, and then one is set aside as kitchen (and always eating is done in the kitchen) and practically all have a small house or part of a house for a sweat-bath, and many of them have a separate spherical-roofed bake-oven where, on special occasions, bread is baked.

The houses never have floors, but the surface, though irregular, is usually packed very hard. For special occasions pine-needles are strewn over the floor to make a thick carpet -- otherwise, nothing.

Small knee-high tables, and correspondingly small chairs, and sometimes wooden platforms to serve as beds constitute the only furniture in the house, although occasionally wardrobes and native-made wooden trunks are present for storage purposes. Utensils are of metal or enamelware occasionally, as are the dishes and cutlery; but for cooking pottery is most frequently used. Large Olas of red earthenware (from Totonicapan I think) are used for boiling water, and also for carrying it from the spring which may be half-a-mile from the house. Every man has his machete, which he uses chiefly to cut fire-wood around the house. Lots of old mostly Chichicastenango-made and therefore inferior (to Momostenango) blankets are on the beds and generally around. Jewelry that belongs to the women (they wear tremendously heavy necklaces of metal beads) may be hanging on the wall under a religious picture. There is nothing individual about the fire; no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to want its way up through the tiles of the roof. The fire is fed with firewood about two or three inches in diameter and two feet long -- the ends thrust in and, as they burn, pushed farther and farther into the fire. Large rocks around the fire furnish a standing-place for the pots on the fire. Fresh corn is roasted in the ashes.

Plan of house where Tomás Ventura and family,
and his father and family sleep.



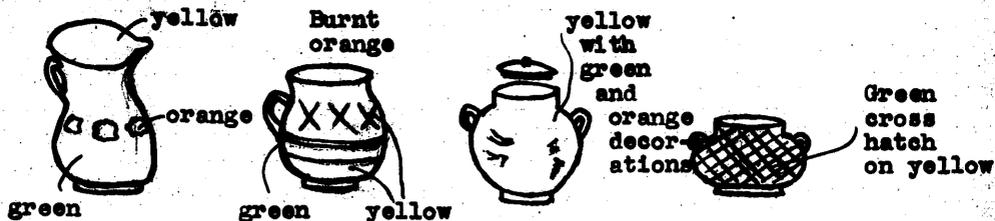
There is a kind of attic, since the roof is peaked, and there is a ceiling. A ladder leads to the upper platform, which extends through most of the main room, to left of line, and small room.

Pottery. There are four places in Guatemala where pottery is made:

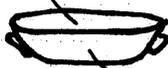
1. Chinautla. They make both red and white ware; fine, unslipped, made with cow's fat in the clay; "painted with clay.
2. Santa Apolonia (Chimaltenango). Unslipped, large red ware.
3. San Pedro Jocopilas (Quiche). Unslipped, large red ware.
4. Totonicapan. Relatively small pieces, red, yellow, or green. There is lead in the clay and in the slip. It is made in the pueblo and in two aldeas:
 - a. Pueblo. Fine dishes and vases, painted on the outside.
 - b. Argueta. Not as fine as the pueblo ware; chiefly yellow
 - c. Chimento. Not as fine as the pueblo ware; chiefly green.

The only pottery that comes to Chichicastenango is that from San Pedro and that from Totonicapan, chiefly Chimento. Local Indians not only use these wares but buy them in the local market to transport elsewhere for sale.

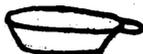
POTTERY - Totomcapán pottery in Chichicastenango market.



Thin green slip



orange ware



irregular heavier green slip inside and out



Light green slip inside and out



green slip, mostly on inside



incised designs



narrow mouth pitchers



slip only inside

QUICHE FOODS

Tomás Ventura

Spanish	English	Quiche	From	Cost	Use
elote	fresh roasted corn-on-cob	ax	Own milpa, August. (Or market)	2 cents a cob-August. End of Aug. 1-1/2 cents. After that 1/2 cent till Nov.	Roast in ashes and eat so.
maiz	maize--dried corn	icim	Milpas in Jan., Feb. (or market)	1 cent a lb. in winter. Spring 2 ¢ Summer, 2-1/2 to 3 cents.	Don't use corn on cob in any way, but as follows:
tortilla		lex		5 for 1 cent. To buy.	Boil corn with water and lime for 1/2 hour, stirring. Cool out- side for tomorrow's use. Wash it to get out lime. Then grind it and make tortillas. Flatten in hand and fry without grease.
tostados	small, crisp tortillas	wutsots			use only with coffee in place of bread
tayuyu		tayóm			A big loaf layered of corn and beans wrapped in leaf and boiled; then sliced and heated on pan.
	boiled maize (with lime)	tsi'			After corn is boiling with lime
	ground	tsi' k'or			When ready for tortillas
Paches		Yiktimal		1-1/2 cents, to 3 cents depending on size	With salt, lard, and meat, wrapped in leaves and cooked awhile in a little water
tomales		sup'			without anything-- wrapped in leaves and boiled.
bebida		walxá		1/2 cent a large cup	K'or, much water, and a little ground cacao, shaken in a cup and dr drunk daily.
atol		xote		1 cent a large cup	A thick drink of k'or, and water (little) and a little cacao. Almost mush--taken hot.

Quiche Foods -2-

Spanish	English	Quiche	From	Cost	Use
frijol	bean	Kinuk		5 cents a lb.	Boil with salt and fat. white, black, red beans. Either ground or not. Chicarron (of pig) some- times boiled with--fat cracklings.
Habas	horse bean	xawuc			Same as frijoles
	green beans	pixkur		Sold in bunches. 2 cents a bunch.	boiled with water, salt, lard.
ayote		mukun		5 cents apiece in season	cooked in soup or with meat
chilacayote		kok		5 cents each in season	Same as above
guisquil		k'ic		1/3 cent apiece to 2 cents in season. Depending on size	use boiled, or with meat or soup.
	pork	te'ix ak'		7 cents a pound	boil first, then fry with tomato, rice, onion salt, etc., chili.
	beef	te'ix Wak'uc		5 cents a pound	only boil, with rice, etc.
gallina	hen	atit'uk'		20-25 cents apiece	boiled with other things
pollo	chicken	puyá		15 cents apiece	boiled with other things
chompi	turkey	no.s		50-60 cents apiece, or more	boiled with other things
cibollo	onion	sibol'		3 cents a bunch of 10 or 12	Cut up and put in kettle with meat.

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Quiche Foods -3-

Spanish	English	Quiche	From	Cost	Use
huevos	eggs	saxmol		1 to 1-1/2 cents apiece	eggs of chickens and turkeys: eat poached or omelets with salt, pepper, etc. Also hard boiled, etc Fried, also.
Panela	Low-refined cane sugar	k'ap'		24 cents a ball, 12 cents a half	in coffee only - to sweeten
azucar	sugar	asukál		5 cents a pound	
café	coffee	kip'és			Toast beans on pan. Grind on stone. Measure coffee to suit pot. Put cinnamon in and panela
Canela	cinnamon	canéla		1/2 to 2 cents a stick.	In coffee only
ajo	garlic	antcuc	grown in Sololá	10 cents a big bunch	used when onions not available. Cheaper than onions
pan blanco	bread	kicnuá	Make them- selves, or buy in pueblo	1 cent up, apiece	eat with coffee
pan semita		smitá	Same as above	1-1/2 cents each	Eat with coffee
trigo	wheat	triko	Grow here	Now \$1.50 quintal. Spring 2.00 summer 2.50	only to make bread
anonas	a fruit that looks like avocado and tastes like pineapple	Kwec	Grow here. Tomás has 20 trees in Quejel.	1/2 to 1 cent apiece in season.	eaten raw
aguacate	avocado	o.x	grown here	1/2 cent or 1/4 cent. apiece. 2 cents out of season	eaten only raw, with tortillas. Sometimes in soup, too.

Quiche Foods -4-

Spanish	English	Quiche	From	Cost	Use
guineo	banana	Sakíl	From coast	3 for a cent	eaten raw
platano	platina	nimsa'ul	coast		raw or boiled or roasted in hot coals
camote	something like a banana; grows as a root.	Kamote	Grown here	1/2 cent to 1 cent in season	boiled
achintle	at root of guisquil bush	Ocek'ic	Grown here	3 cents for largest	boil, use in soup, broth, etc.
membrillo	quince	empira mic	Grown here	1 cent	eaten raw, like apples
papayas		Kuclin ok'	Coast	5-6 cents	eat raw
pifa	pineapple	Nitotía	Coast	6 cents in season	eat raw
Sal	salt	at'sam	From outside (not much from Sacapulus)	3-1/2 cents a lb.	use in many dishes
Chilé	pepper	ik	From Asunción Mita, Jutiapa	10 cents a lb. in season	Toast it and eat in a sort of soup. Otherwise grind and use generally.
Chile y caldo	pepper soup	kaito'			Use the soup to give woman after childbirth...with chicken.
Chirmol con carne		k'atún ik'			roasted meat and pepper, with or without beans. Not very common.
queso	cheese	kecú'	Made in pueblo by Indians, of cow's milk from the mountains	1 cent apiece	eat alone or with tomatoes

Tomasa Felisa

Domestic Life

7:00 AM
at 6 AM

Her day at home. Tomasa and the other women at her place (mother and mother's sister) all get up at four o'clock every morning. Tomasa and her aunt do most of the morning household duties while Tomasa's mother takes care of her two small children. First they make a fire in the kitchen and put on water to heat. Then, while one cleans the kitchen and prepares the coffee or atol for breakfast, the other washes the nixtamal and does the grinding for the day; this takes two or three hours.

After breakfast the aunt (also named Tomasa) goes out to herd the sheep, and she spends most of her day at this task. Tomasa immediately after breakfast takes up her weaving, and except for a little time off to help her mother with the preparation of the other meals, she weaves steadily all day.

These are the foods used at Tomasa's home:

tortillas and tamales - one or the other, or both, at every meal. There are three meals, at about 7, 12, and 6 o'clock.

coffee - for breakfast and the evening meal

atol - noon meal

chilicallote - cooked with panela and lard

pork and beef - for fiestas always beef, never pork

chicken and turkey - not used every day, usually for fiestas only

caldo - soup, often of black beans and a piece of meat

black beans - almost as frequently served as tortillas

chili - at Tomasa's home served at each meal, cooked with tomatoes, with meat, in soup, etc.

eggs, potatoes - used rather infrequently. Also fruits are rarely if ever purchased

white bread and honey - twice a year, at the fiesta of Santo Tomas in December and during Holy Week, this delicacy is served.

Tomasa retires at eight o'clock every night.

Tomas Ventura G.

Agriculture. On the coast there are two harvests: in August and in December, since they plant in September and again in May. The aldea of Paquip (Municipio of Tecpan) is warm also, and they have two crops a year. In Chichicasteango so-called "short corn" is planted twice a year too, in May and in September, and harvested in September and January.

Regular maize is planted here in May -- specifically after it has rained for two or three days so that they can be sure the rainy season is on. The Ladinos plant earlier (and their crops are not so good) because they would be unable to get mozos if they waited until the Indians themselves planted. The harvest is in December and January. The "short corn" is just as good, but there isn't so much of it; another reason why the Indians don't plant it very much is that if any one Indian did so, it would be ripe for the birds in August and all of the birds would come to his place and eat it. If everybody should plant it, that disadvantage would be ruled out, however. Many people plant a little so they will have corn in September when it is most expensive.

In the so-called "cold country" of Chichicasteango, ~~at~~ at the extreme south of the municipio, planting is done in January and the harvest is not until November and December; it takes longer for the corn to grow there. Tomas has some milpa-land there, in canton Panimache.

For maize and beans, the manure of horses, sheep, pigs, turkeys, chickens; and leaves, grass, etc. and dead animals are used for fertilizer. For cabbage, onions, and other vegetables only sheep manure is used.

The hoe is the only implement used in planting the milpa.

The plot of land is first hoed up, perhaps a few days before planting, when the rain has softened the ground somewhat, Then, in the planting itself, holes one span (or about 6 inches) deep are dug into the earth and in each hole four kernels of corn and two beans are dropped and the hole covered, and manure placed on top. The holes are dug in even rows, both the rows themselves and the spaces between the holes in a row at a distance of about a vara and a half (about 50 inches). There is this a distance of a vara and a half between any plant and its nearest adjacent ones.

Between the rows rows of holes a few inches apart are then dug and frijol asureo (a slightly different variety of bean) is planted. Finally, therefore, the field would look so to one who could see through earth:

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M - Maize	MB MMBM MB MB MB MB
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B - Beans	MB MB MB MB MB MB MB
	bbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbb
b - asureo	MB MB MB MB MB MB MB
beans	bbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbbb
	MB MB MB MB MB MB MB

Milpa system

Milpa yield. If the milpa is a good one, the yield is four quintales from a cord. The minimum yield is 1 quintal per cord. The best beans taken out of the same cord as the milpa-corn is one-fourth quintal. The harvest of wheat varies from one to five quintales per cord.

- (1 quintal equals 100 pounds
- 1 cord (querda) equals 30 varas by 30 varas
- 1 vara equals 33 inches.)

Agriculture, continuedTomasa Feliza, informant

Hearing that we have no tortillas but eat white bread always set Tomasa thinking. Our way is much better, she thinks, because making milpa (and milpa seems to refer to corn only) is a lot of hard work for the men. (5 trabajos:planting, cleaning, adding tierra, adding tierra again, and harvesting.) She said nothing about grinding but another time she said now she understands why the hands of the women extranjeros are so much smoother than hers are.

Jan 4, 1939 -- Don Abel's mozos are hargesting the maize here and he spent the day watching them. We talked about agriculture a lot -- the milpa system being the same here as in Panajadhel I could check some of my data (all OK). Interesting confirmation was that sophisticated Ladinos no less than Indians like to have their own maize stored for the year, even if it doesn't pay particularly. Don Abel gave such excuses as "you know it's clean"; the good Indian reason that you can't buy maize on the cob for storage doesn't hold for him -- he stores his grain as grain in "silos".

CaporalesTomás Ventura C., Informant

Juan Pixcar (Quejel No. 1) is a caporal for the "Mercedes" finca, for which Hermundo Rodas is Habilitador (finca representative). Juan has under contract about 500-600 Indians, all from Chichicastenango.

Tomás Xon (Quejel No. 26) is a caporal for the finca for which Mariano Anlen is the Habilitador. Tomás has under contract about 300-400 Indians from Chichicastenango.

Tomás Ventura C.

~~Individuals~~ Each pueblo has a particular brand which they put on all horses, mules, and cattle which are born in or brought into the municipio. The local brand is  Individuals have their brands too, all registered with the authorities.

Owners ~~of~~ of sheep have distinctive methods of cutting the ears of their sheep for identification. Chickens and

turkeys are marked by means of pieces of silk tied under their wings. Different owners use different colors. Only close neighbors distinguish their fowl in this manner.

Dogs are given personal names such as Canela (cinnamon), Marquesa, Coyote. The dogs are often called for their color or other outstanding characteristic, but the name never is the ordinary one for "red" or "black", etc. A white dog might be called mos, the term for ladino; a black dog ul, and alternative word for black; a red-brown dog kox, which means "tiger"; a pinto bolon, which means "lion"; a dog with much hair pata, "long hair".

Nov. 25, 1938. (Excerpt from diary).

At 1:30 p.m. the Tot'a came to tell me they were about to kill the pig. I hurried over and found it dead already. She had helped him ("It's my mere oficio: The reason I don't follow this is lack of capital"...and indeed I soon saw how expert he is). The blood was in a pot--not much, because they lost a lot because he didn't have a mozo to help. No money to pay a mozo. The reason they were butchering today instead of later is they're all out of maize for selves, chickens, pig.

The pig was on its side on a low table about 3 x 4 ft. We all held legs and so pulled it to its back. The man had two knives which he sharpened on each other. The kids (2 little girls) were standing around and "helping" as is their wont. Baby on wife's back, crying and grunting (curious cry) and every once in awhile had to be given the breast, which made us short handed: so it cried most of the time.

Started skinning up the belly, from the back. Incision to the neck and then cut and pulled down the sides. Cut around the "ankles" and from there down inside of all legs. When got one side all skinned, including head, folded the skin on table to help support pig. Then the other side. Before skin all off, cut out inside of head (tongue, etc.) and put it in separate dish. Then when all skinned (and skin folded under both sides), took off the skull and put it in the pot. While working on head, pot of blood put underneath to catch extra blood.

In skinning, got as close to the meat as possible, taking off the fat.

Then opened abdominal wall from both sides of the center, taking off a strip about 6-8 inches wide (narrower at base).

Then, innards exposed, first went to the gall bladder, took it out and threw it as far into the fields as he could. Then his wife brought a box and on the side they placed all the intestines, etc. that he pulled out, and the woman after awhile started pulling them apart, starting with the small intestines.

Then they cleaned out the cavity with water, turning the pig around a little so the blood and water would run down the tail (as a gutter) into a pot.

Started again at the back to get out the meat--tenderloin first. As each piece came out, the woman hung it on hooks prepared in advance in the corridor. Used axe to break pubis (?) and again on each side of spinal column, getting it out with tail and all.

All meat trimmed of fat as removed, and fat kept in pile on the skin. When all finished, skin folded up with fat, and tripe put on corner of table. Then man started work on that--doing the big intestines, but first getting stomache (panza) out and cleaning it a bit. Pulled fat off tripe and straightened tripe. When it broke in one place, got a fiber to tie it up so insides wouldn't ooze out.

When finished with the work, as described, his wife took tripe to the pozo to clean it. All then left as was for tomorrow A.M. when fat will be boiled, etc.

Dec. 2, 1938. Soap making. At 2:00, María called me to watch soap being made. Just a week after killing, the pig finally getting finished! When I came, the mass of hot black soap was on the table covered by a blanket, and Pedro was seated on one side pulling off pieces and weighing them and half-forming them. María on the other side rolled them into nice balls.

The soap-mass was too hard for good or easy handling. It cooked too long while they were lunching. So they couldn't let it cool at all (hence the blanket and burnt hands).

The scale was a home made affair with bought tin plates, and the weights were a couple of stones and a few grains of maize. 2-1/2 ounces. (Mostly, he said they make them 2 ounces, but he's adding one to sell quicker, to the stores.)

He will sell the balls at 1-1/2 cents to stores that will resell for two cents. He has 30-40 lbs. figuring 35, that gives him \$3.30. From the meat he got (6 cents a lb.-70 lbs.) \$4.20. From the lard, (15 cents lb.-35 lb.) \$5.25. From the cracklings \$1.25. Total of \$14.00. Since he was offered \$6.00 cash for the pig, he made \$8.00 by his work. But he used three loads of firewood and had to scramble around for ashes. Also used the lime.

He cut pieces off the soap-mass with a flat piece of gourd, and had a little  of wood to cut off pieces of the  rolls he made. He'd pinch off a bit if it weighed too much or add a bit.

The final balls of soap were tossed on a mat.

5.
CLOTHING.

Although it is well known by many, the Chichicastenango costume might be described briefly. It consists of four parts: the coat or "saco" (ek'atsiuk), the trousers or "pantalón" (karson), the head-piece (sut), and the sash or "banda" (bas). The material for coat and trousers, ~~abofekak~~ said, is made by specialists; as it

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comes from the loom it is a heavy black fabric (black because it comes from the wool of black sheep -- not dyed) about 18 inches wide and about 10 or 12 feet long. If another man is required to tailor the suit, he usually comes to the owner's home to measure and cut it, after which in many cases the owner himself sews it up. Then, as a general rule, the owner of the suit embroiders it in his spare time -- an artistic work of love, so to speak, for the men are very proud of their finery. The cut of the clothes is uniform, although the embroidered designs differ. The coat is not quite waist length, with long sleeves, a small stiff collar erect in the back and fringes around the bottom border. The front is a low V with three or four braided cross-pieces to sew it firmly together (the coat is slipped on over the head). The embroidering is often elaborate and usually beautifully done, with spiral circles the favorite design-element, but stripes and figures such as that of the quetzal are common, all done in various bright colors.

The trousers are cut with a low crotch, sort of hanging down behind; they are knee-length, slit about six inches on the outside of the two legs and fitting rather tightly here. Around the waist is a margin of heavier (probably double thickness) material. The most distinguishing characteristic is a flap extending about 6-8 inches back from the center line of the trousers, on the outside above the slit -- on each leg. This flap is the object of most of the design on the trousers; and it is most often a sun-design of circle and rays in various colors. Note that all of this is done by men.

The head-piece and the sash are both woven by the women -- usually the wife of the owner. The former is a square about two feet each way, with tassels on the four corners; two of the borders are of cotton (parallel borders of course) and the center part of silk, usually with an intricate design. The head-piece is folded diagonally once and put over the head with the corners tied together in back. Where there is any embroidery on this (and there is often and embroidered strip through the center) the man does it. The sash is perhaps fifteen inches wide and long enough to go twice around the waist; the silk design (like that of the head-piece) is chiefly on the two ends, so that when the sash is tied in front that is all that shows. The ~~sash~~ sash is useful in holding up the trousers and also for keeping in its folds such small articles as handkerchiefs. Inside the coat there is often a pocket, but small things are kept in the sash. Here again, what embroidery there may be is done by the man.

A white bag, sometimes worth 50 cents or a dollar, when simply woven, but sometimes worth five dollars when made of the best twine and made by a process I can only describe as crocheting (all done by specialized men), is almost always worn over one shoulder by the men. It is handy in carrying almost anything, including market purchases. A good one has a couple of tassels on the strap, but they are otherwise undecorated.

These days a few of the wealthier men wear sandals. Only about ten men make them; of heavy leather soles and heel, toe-piece, and heel piece and tongue sewed in ingeniously. These are new but grow in popularity. Most men are barefoot and all bare-legged.

Notes (1) -11-

Most of the men now wear white shirts under their coats; I think they are made in Solola, certainly not here. Some also wear trunks under their trousers. Both of these are new customs.

The apparel for women is as uniform as that for men and consists of four pieces: the huipil, the skirt, the sash, and the head-piece. The huipil is woven in one piece, but most of it is ordinary cotton or wool, and only around what will be the opening for the head, and what will be the outside of the sleeves, are silk and intricate designs woven in. This, when the weaving is completed, is made into a slip-over blouse, with elbow-length sleeves that have such a wide opening beneath that the children can -- and do -- nurse from it. The neck is an oval -- neither high nor low in front -- and the husband usually embroiders the margin.

The skirt is a striped cloth made in the factories in the pueblo that were described above. This is simply wound around, from waist to knee, and fastened with the sash or faja. Sometimes, one horizontal stripe is embroidered around the skirt. The faja is only about two inches wide, made by the men by laboriously embroidering plain stripes horizontally to cover the whole thing.

For the head, the women weave a square cloth of red cotton with black pin-stripes at half-inch intervals. Since the looms they use are not wide enough for the whole thing, it is seamed with a red-silk embroidered stripe. The edges are roll-hemmed. This piece of cloth is folded up and just laid over the head to shade their eyes from the sun. They also use these to sling their babies on their backs, to carry things in on their heads or on their backs.

Legs and feet are bare, and there is probably nothing worn under the outer garments. When it is cold at night, the head-piece is often wrapped around as a sort of shawl, and when it rains, the black-and-red rugs that are made here are used over the shoulders as a shelter. I have never seen an Indian woman, in the cantones or in the town, with any other costume (except, of course foreign Indians). Some of the men in recent years have not been wearing coats -- from choice -- and others are too poor to have the costume at all, and substitute ragged trousers and shirt; but not the women.

New costumes are almost universally bought and made for the December fiesta and also for one in Spring. A man usually has in stock from three to five costumes; he changes off, taking better ones to town when he goes and working in old ones. Tomas says he gives his very old costumes to the poor -- but he wears them at least three years first.

The Ladinos in the pueblo wear the clothes of civilization, but although the men have suits indistinguishable from those in the city, the women are apt to be a generation behind time; most common is black, and sometimes it is all reds. The young women are apt to be especially those who are wealthy.

when he was a child. He said at first that he doesn't like much embroidering, that it isn't worth the trouble or the money; but when he admitted he would take it as a gift, he had to admit he really liked it.

A simple sandal, consisting of a leather sole (or one made from a section of an automobile tire) and thongs through the toes and around the ankle are called caites (/axap). Better sandals, of leather, and with raised heels, leather over the front of the foot and up the back, are called sandalias (or more usually "andalias" due to an error, since they are always spoken of in the plural with the plural article and the Indians don't realize there is both the "s" of the article and of the noun), sint/a /axap. Miguel says he was the first local Indian to wear these; Tomas Ventura, Sr. followed, and then Tomas Ren. Miguel got his in Quezaltenango some 25 years ago.

He told me that he doesn't wear these now (he wears only caites) because he is "ashamed" to; but again, if he were to receive a pair for a gift he admits he would wear them.

No shirts were worn 54 or 55 years ago; then the Alcalde (ladino) ordered all of the Indians to wear shirts, and they began to wear them. The fine ordered then for not wearing a shirt was one peso silver, which then would buy a hundred pounds of maize. Now practically everybody wears a shirt; at first, and until very recently, they were home woven and tailored. Now there are several shirt-makers among the Indians, and a great many shirts come from factories in the Capital or outside the country. A great many now wear store shirts.

CLOTHING

Feb. 3, 1935 -- Tomás came in the morning with the tailor. He is having a 'suit' made for himself, and we asked him to bring the tailor and have it cut here. The material, a long piece of heavy black wool, Tomás had bought long before; now the Indian tailor, with a stick and a piece of chalk his only tools (besides a scissors), quickly cut the cloth to fit.

March 31. Sunday. Tomasa came for a while, dressed up in her

Sunday finery, with silk huipil, long ear-rings, and many beads. She says there are many extranjeros in the plaza and that they are buying many things. She said, "I think there must be many extranjeros in your pueblo, yes?" "And do they buy many things?"

I asked Tomasa if she uses face powder and she said yes, some. She didn't understand what lipstick was at first. When I showed her one, she said she wouldn't use that because the people would laugh at her. They would also laugh if an Indian woman would wear sandals like some of the Indian men do.. She says the women often wear caites (the simplest form of sandal) in the monte to make it easier walking on rough country, but never in town. They always take them off just before they enter the pueblo.

...April 14, Domingo de Ramos. Largest market today that we have ever seen in Chichicasteango. Tomasa came with a servilleta which her mother had woven and which I bought for forty pesos (66 cents). The cotton for the piece had cost, thirty-five or forty cents and it was a week's work.

Dec. 4, 1938 -- Juan Cutillo's sister is also in Ladino service; she plans to change her clothes to the Totonicapán costume; she says it's warmer, cheaper, and she likes it better.

Sbastian Canal. Paxot 1st.

He doesn't wear a saco, and never has, because he doesn't care for it. Tomas says half the people don't care for them, and this custom has grown up in 25 years. If he should be in a cofradia and be caught without a saco, he would go to jail for 15 days.

cf last column of Table # p. and following

Tomasa is a professional weaver, and is now making a new huipil for a child; she must complete it for Semana Santa. The fact that she is weaving here (at our house)

Tomasa Poliza

and completing her own work pleases her, and at the same time we are becoming friends. She probably would not work for any amount of money until this huipil is finished. As it is, she will finish the body of the huipil this week, working here with me. In this way I shall be able to win her confidence and watch her weave. Sunday she will buy necessary materials so that Monday we can both start weaving -- she on a huipil for me and I on a simple undecorated banda. These arrangements were reached only after I promised that she could have two or three days a week off for the weaving of the sleeves of her huipil.

In her weaving Tomasa makes all necessary measurements with her out-spread hand, from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger. The square piece of plain weaving which will later be cut out to make the neck of the huipil is one hand squared. The design which Tomasa weaves into her huipils and which seems to be common with the women of Chichicastenango represents an animal k'lavi. These animals used to exist long ago -- "animales como gente".

* Since these notes were made, Leila M. L'Neale has published Textiles of Highland Guatemala, (Carnegie Institution, 1945), which contains much better information on this subject.

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Today Tomasa started me on the making of the corte (woman's skirt). I bought six yards of the standard blue and white striped material, cost of material \$1.39½. A large needle (½c.) is necessary for the sewing, or embroidering, of the silk. I got 35 cents worth of silk floss. How to make the corte: first hem the two ends (widths) of the 6-yd piece. Then hem one of the salvage edges (the full 6-yd length) and double so that the corte is three yards in length, the two halves of the hemmed salvage edge being now embroidered together with the silk floss. The width of this embroidery depends, more or less, on the wealth of the wearer; the richer women wear cortes with wider embroidery than do the poorer ones. The corte material also comes in a range of prices, the most expensive being the one that has least blue between the white stripes -- that is, the one closest to a pin stripe. This sewing of the corte is an extremely slow and monotonous task; Tomasa says it takes most women eight days (a week) to make a corte.

When Juan Xaper left the house of Tomasa's mother he was owing Tomasa \$6, the balance on \$10 he had borrowed from her so that he could buy some land. Yesterday Tomasa went to the Juzgado with her mother to complain about the money due her. ~~Xaper had~~ The alcalde had Xaper brought in (this was ^{Thursday} ~~Sunday~~ and on that day most everyone can be found in the market-place), ordered him to pay up his debt, and reprimanded him for not sooner paying back money borrowed from a woman.

March 23

We spent the day working today, Tomasa on her huipil and I

Tomasa Felisa

on the corte. In the afternoon the Morley party was here. Tomasa was not at all timid when they watched her work. She is much more shy of Indian men who happen to come into the room when she is working than she is of Don Sol or of foreigners.

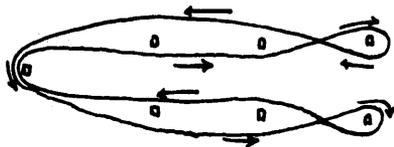
March 26. I went to Tomasa's house this morning (in Tzokoma) and became acquainted with Tomasa's mother, the mother's sister and the two Xaper children, half-brother and sister of Tomasa. The mother is a pleasant, capable-looking person of about 40. I greeted her with "ba wutj t'utj" ("hello señora"), as Tomasa had instructed me, and she was friendly but from a distance. The two Xaper children are abnormal: the older, José, is a mute, and the little girl has a twisted face, with one ear only partly formed, and what looks like a part of the ear growing out of the cheek on that side. Later when I remarked about the child's face to Tomasa, she said that God had sent it and then went on to tell me that José is mula. I hadn't noticed this, because most of the Indian children are shy and don't say much and this particular little boy had an exceptionally bright and intelligent looking face. Tomasa remarked that of all her mother's children, only she and her one full brother have no physical defects and that the Xaper children are not so fortunate.

At her home I watched Tomasa start the making of the banda ²⁴⁶ which I will weave. She first placed the skeing of red cotton ^{Tomasa} thread ($\frac{1}{2}$ pound) on the Solb'l buts, a crude wooden rotating ^{Feliza} device.

Fig I *Reel*



Fig I. Solb'l buts



Direction of motion in winding.

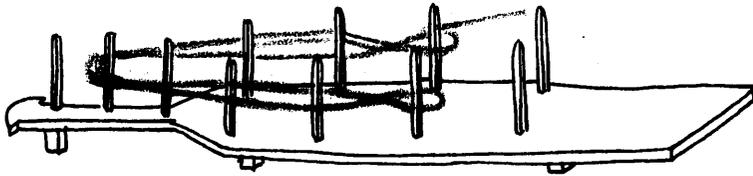


FIG II WARPER, Kinnil

Tomasa Felisa

Tomasa Felisa
Fig. II 247

From there she wound it onto the k'in wil, the warper, until she had the required width for the banda. She then removed the warp carefully from that form and dipped it thoroughly in a basin in which she had made this preparation: first she mashed five or six little cebollinas, onionlike plants that are used in place of soap to wash the men's heavy pantalones and sacos. Then she placed the mashed cebollinas in a basin of water and squeezed them in the water, later removing all the pulp and leaving just the gray heavy liquid. In this she dipped the thread well and then stretched out the wet warp, using a few of the loom sticks to keep the various criss-crossings in place. One end she hung from a rope tied to a nail on a post in the patio, and the other end she fastened to the leather waist-strap, and placed the strap around a large stone. Thus the tegido form, with the red threads stretched out full length was left in the sun to dry. The water-cebollina mixture stiffens the threads so that they are quite easy to work with when dry.

Today Tomasa took the first step in the beginning of my huipil. We are making it with a brown base, and it happens that the brown thread, because of its weakness, is the only kind that must be twisted to strengthen it. This twisting is a very long and tedious task; it takes two days of hard work to twirl the $\frac{1}{2}$ pound ball of thread necessary for the base of the whole huipil. The thread is first rolled into balls by placing the skein on the rotating device shown above and winding the thread into a ball from it. The little device used for the twirling of the thread is wooden, called pa'tet. While the twirling is being done the pa'tet rests in a little pottery bowl to keep it more or less stationary:



March 27. While Tomasa spent the day twirling the brown thread, I worked on the banda. The operations, of course, are simple enough, but the first day was a little wearing; the palms of my hands ached from pushing down hard on the galo, and my arms, shoulders and back ached, too, from the new exercise. This plain weaving is pretty fast work; I wove about fifteen inches today.

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Today Tomasa started me on the making of the corte (woman's skirt). I bought six yards of the standard blue and white striped material, cost of material \$1.39½. A large needle (½c.) is necessary for the sewing, or embroidering, of the silk. I got 35 cents worth of silk floss. How to make the corte: first hem the two ends (widths) of the 6-yd piece. Then hem one of the salvage edges (the full 6-yd length) and double so that the corte is three yards in length, the two halves of the hemmed salvage edge being now embroidered together with the silk floss. The width of this embroidery depends, more or less, on the wealth of the wearer; the richer women wear cortes with wider embroidery than do the poorer ones. The corte material also comes in a range of prices, the most expensive being the one that has least blue between the white stripes -- that is, the one closest to a pin stripe. This sewing of the corte is an extremely slow and monotonous task; Tomasa says it takes most women eight days (a week) to make a corte.

Tomasa
Feliza

The women put on these skirts as follows: Wrap it 1-1/2 times around the body with line of embroidery down the back, bending under at waist a piece of the sorté about 9 inches long, thus leaving a horizontal embroidery line 4-5 inches below the waist line. Fatter women step into the skirt instead of wrapping it around.

April 5. The brown thread for the base of the huipil has finally
 all been twirled and rolled into balls, and today Tomasa is
 ready to do the warping. The process is the same as described
 above. For the body of an average-sized huipil the warp is made
 up of twenty groups of twenty threads each. After the warp has
 been stiffened by the dipping and drying process, the work goes

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 Tomasa
 Feliza

Tomasa Feliza

on thus:

1. With the loom stretched out as for weaving, each thread is separated from the next, making the warp a fine web of single threads. (The threads had become bunched with washing).
2. Putting in the carriso (white #10 thread) which is to be used throughout the weaving to separate the sheds. The white thread is pulled through, from right to left, between the two sheds, so that the ball of white thread hangs at the right of the weaver and the end of the thread is at the weaver's left. This end (left) is then looped around the index finger of the left hand and work is now begun from left to right. The bottom ~~shed~~ shed remains undisturbed.

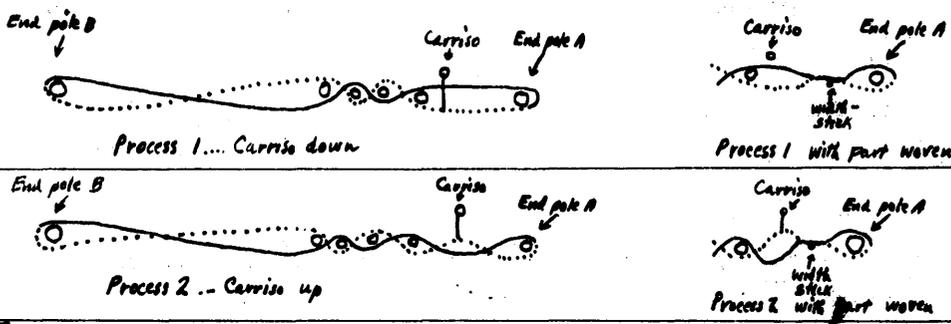
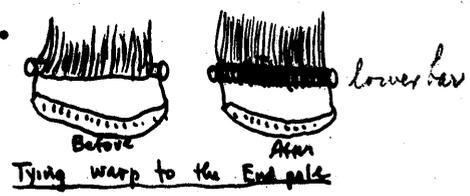


Fig. 78

The threads of the warp are separated into two groups (by feel rather than count). Then a piece of rope is pulled through between the sheds, and tied throughout the width of the loom to a stick. The weaver then pulls this stick toward her (it will be a permanent part of the loom), to replace the bottom temporary pole, which is now removed. Now she can weave to the very end of the loom.

FIG I

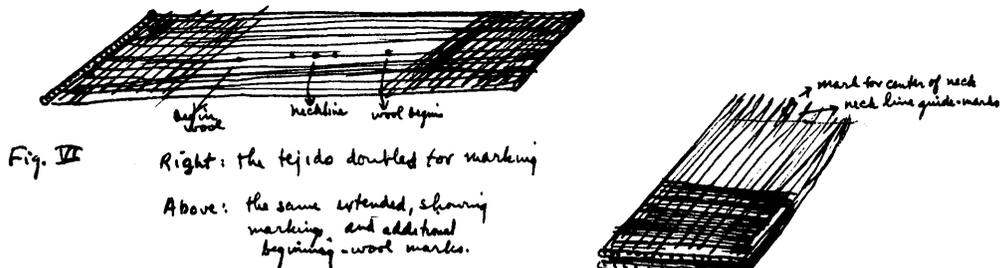


Tomasa Felisa

Tomasa
Felisa

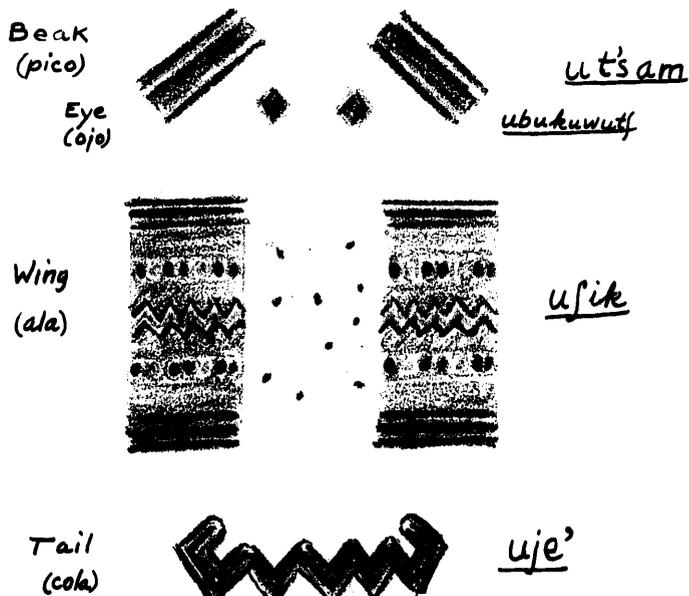
4. Now the threads are again separated from the groups, so that the fine web is restored. Weaving can now begin.

After having woven the same amount (a few inches) on either end of the loom, Tomasa doubled the tejido and separated a group of threads in the center of the width. This she marked with a black pencil at the doubled end and also at a point one hand's breath down the separated group of threads, and the location of the neck of the huipil has been determined:



A spot two spans of the hand down from the place where the neck is to begin is now marked; there the solid brown will end and the interweaving of wool and silk will begin.

Tomasa Felisa



The Significance of the Design Elements in the Huipil

April 29. Twelve full working days were taken for the weaving of the body of the huipil (sleeves lacking). That includes three days of twirling the brown thread some of which will be used for the sleeves, too.

Tomasa Feliza

May 4. The sleeves of the huipil are being made now, one at a time. They are very much like the body of the huipil, which, of course, is larger and more heavily designed.

Tomasa Feliza

I was shocked today to see Tomasa sitting on a chair and doing her weaving. She hastened to explain that her knees hurt and that she often does this at home in her patio, too. She says she and Pascual Ren's wife (also neighbors) always change to chairs when their knees get tired. They, and Diego Ignacio's wife, Tomasa Feliza

Tomasa Feliza

are the only women around who go into weaving as a profession.

Cost of weaving materials:

white cotton ---	20 pesos for 1 lb.
colored " ---	40 " " " "
wool yarn ---	9 " " " "
silk floss ---	12 " " " "

Tomasa Feliza

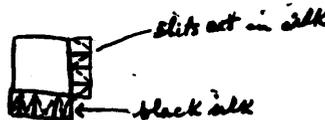
May 10. Sewing the huipil together; the sleeves are sewed onto the body of the huipil with the same embroidery stitch as that used

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Tomasa
Feliza

Tomasa Feliza

in sewing the sorte together. Silk, cotton or wool may be used. Last of all, the square piece of plain brown material is cut out to form the neck of the huipil and the trimming at the neckline is begun. About $\frac{1}{2}$ inch of the plain brown is left as a base on which to start sewing on the trimming. This is hemmed roughly to keep it from revelling. Then with one yard of $1\frac{1}{2}$ -inch black silk ribbon the neck is bound; one edge is sewed inside, on the brown, leaving over an inch lapped over on the right side to serve as the trimming. This silk is then cut in sections and sewn down on the right side of the huipil in points around the neck thus:

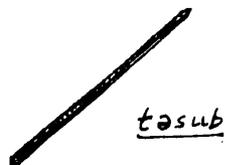
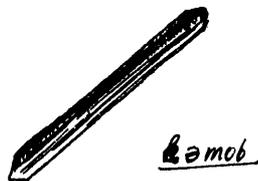
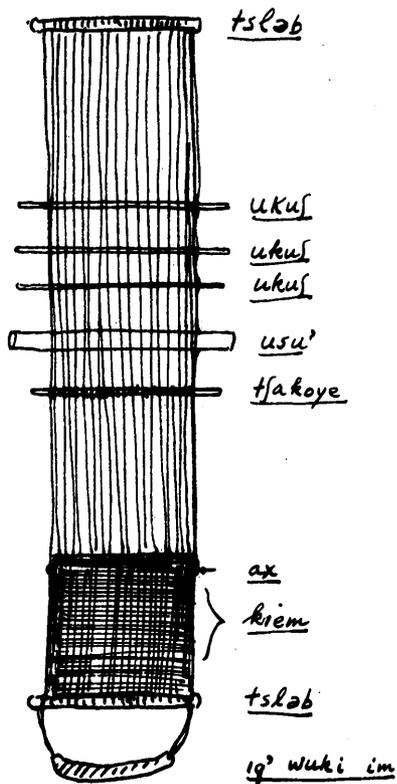


Now the points are sewed down with an embroidery stitch, the same one the men use in the embroidering of the flaps of their pantalones. Lavender silk floss is always used for this stitch.

This work of finishing the neck of a huipil is a man's work. Tomasa is one of the few women who know how to do it, and she has learned because she has made so many huipiles for other people.

The people here say it is a sin to sew silk or work the embroidery over the eyes of the animal represented on the front and back of the huipil, because then the animal won't be able to see. Tomasa believes this.

Native terms for parts of the loom.



This morning we went to Tomasa's house in Tzokoma to watch her begin a new huipil. She really began the huipil last week, at our place, but that was simply to prepare the thread. Huipiles are made on a base of either brown or white cotton, this one of the former. The cotton is bought on skeins in the local stores, and the first process is to rewind it onto balls; for this a wooden revolving frame is used -- the skein placed over it and the ball wound by hand. The thread in its original condition is untwisted, and since this is not considered strong enough for use, the next process is to twist it all -- and this matter took the better part of a week of Tomasa's time. She used the same whorl that is used in spinning, placing it in a pottery bowl to reduce friction, and the thread was very cleverly twisted by catching part of it on the top of the stick and spinning the whole as if it were a top. The thread twisted, it had to be wound again on a ball, and it was then ready for the preparation of the warp.

At her house this morning another piece of wooden apparatus came into play: a long board with a number of upright poles placed regularly in its flat surface. The twisted thread has to be wound around these poles after a certain pattern, and for a full-sized huipil no less than 400 full revolutions must be made. When this process (of warping) was completed, Tomasa next prepared a bath for what would become the warp; she mashed up a certain root (the cebollina) and diffused a bowl of water in its essence; then carefully lifting the threads off the poles so as not to mix them up, she soaked them thoroughly in the solution and finally wrung them out. The threads were then stretched between poles run through the loops on the end, and left in the patio to dry.

In the afternoon she brought the now-dry warp to our place to begin the weaving. One end of the loom (which consists primarily

of the warp-threads stretched between the end-peles) is always fastened with a rope to a post of the corredor (or, in our house, to a nail in the wall), and the other, with a leather strap, around the waist of the weaver. The loom then had to be prepared by tying each of the under-threads to a stick so that they could be pulled up or let down for every other process of drawing through the threads of the woof. In all a half-dozen sticks are necessary to keep apart the upper and lower threads in their various configurations.

The weaver always kneels before her loom; and her day consists of drawing the long shuttle back and forth between the threads of the warp which, between each motion, must be shifted. The ends of the huipil are simply of solid brown cotton, but the central portions are woven with red wool and the silk vari-colored design is placed in by manipulations with the fingers. The sleeves of the huipil are made later, when the body is finished, and the whole -- if the weaver works steadily at her task -- takes about three weeks. For this work, unless the huipil is for the woman herself or for her children, the weaver can earn up to two or three dollars.

Adán Amézquita says that from 1933 to the present (1939), the sale of cotton thread for weaving has doubled in volume. (From \$6000 to \$12,000 a year). He thinks tourists spend at least \$10,000 a year here. Indians spend the money for more thread; also clothes; but eat the same things.

7. OCCUPATIONS

On the following pages is a list of a sample of men, listed according to their official number in the book of Cédulas, and including their year of birth, canton, profession, and the particular type of costume design on their sacos. An attempt was made to see whether there was any correlation between the canton a man came from and his occupation, any correlation between his age and his profession, and/or any correlation between the type of design a man wore on his sacco and any of the other factors involved.

Name	Yr. of birth	Canton	Profession	Costume design on saco
Manuel Cum Canil	1892	Chimante	comerciante	no adorn.
62 Tomás Cum Perez	1914	Mactzul	"	(no saco)
65 Tomas Calgua Parajoj	1887	Papukic	"	sun, etc.
70 Pedro Panjoj Suarez	1897	Chicojám	agricultor	no adorn
71 Sebastian Panjoj Canil	1906	"	"	(no saco)
79 Miguel Sany Cortez	1882	Chuamenibal	comerciante	"
80 Juan Kiloj Suarez	1907	Chicua	"	no adorn
87 Tomas Cabel Xum	1902	Chuhuesa	"	(no saco)
89 Miguel Ignacio Ordóñez	1876	Chinimá	agricultor	no adorn
91 Diego Ignacio Ramos	1901	"	"	sun rays on arms
92 Pedro Cúñez Mejía	1896	Xecaja	comerciante	(ladino saco)
93 Tomas Chitu Pacejo	1899	Chulumal	agricultor	sun rays on arms
95 Tomas Pixcar Tol	1911	Quejal	comerciante	"
90 Miguel Marroquin Marroquin	1877	Saguilla	agricultora	"
101 José Cunoz Quino	1887	Chicua	"	no adorn
102 José Ajanel Pol	1872	Chulumal	com	"
103 Manuel Cabel Cabel	1872	Chontalá	"	sun rays on arms
104 Juan Mejía Morales	1872	La cama	"	"
107 Tomás Tecum Xaper	1902	Cornachaj	"	(no saco)
108 Domingo Ajanel Cunoz	1892	Chicua	"	"
109 Juan Algua Lindo	1908	Chicua	"	"
110 Juan Morales Tol	1907	Chicua	"	light border on edges on arms
111 Tomas Algua Lindo	1907	"	"	(no saco)
112 Juan Algua Las	1912	"	"	"
113 Gerónimo Tecum Macario	1912	"	"	"
114 Juan Algua Xaper	1914	"	"	"
115 Tomás Ajanel Macario	1902	"	"	sun rays on arms
116 Tomás Cunoz Macario	1912	"	"	"
117 Ventura Cunoz Tecum	1895	"	"	(no saco)
120 Tomás AIX Suceguí	1907	Town	agricultor	"
122 Mateo Aguila Ventura	1892	Chij Timimit	"	"
124 Sebastian Panjoj Chom	1898	Chilima (born Chij Timimit)	"	sun rays on arms
125 José Calgua Suceguí	1897	Papukic (born Chicho)	curtidor	(no saco)
126 Miguel Marroquin Riquie	1902	Saguilla	agricultor	"
128 José Cum Cum	1912	Chilima (born Xapaal)	"	"

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①
Cédulas

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129	Tomás Ramos Ordóñez	1904	Paguaxse	curtidor	(no saco)
130	Juan Pelis Ajanel	1904	Chijtinimit	"	"
131	Sebastián Mateo Jerónimo	1907	Patzital	Comerciante	"
132	Manuel " "	1906	"	"	"
133	Tomas " "	1902	"	"	"
134	José Tecun Macarós	1911	Chicua	"	"
135	Juan " "	1910	"	"	"
136	Miguel Camil (mother's name; father: Tomás Guajón)	1906	Xabaj	"	light border + arm-band
137	Manuel Sny Ruarcos	1892	Chicua	"	" " only
138	Tomás Terabán Camil (father: Tomás Guajón)	1902	Xabaj	"	" " + arm band
139	Tomás Panjoj Terelán	1901	Patzital	agri.	(no saco)
140	Manuel Mateo Jerónimo	1902	"	com	full sun + rays on shoulders

Shipped to:

241	Pedro Marroquín Cos	1904	Paxot	Panadero	rays on shoulder, spirals on breast
242	Tomás Morales Calal	1902	Xabaj	com.	" " "
243	Mateo Cutillo Cortez	1902	Pachoj	com	no saco
244	Tomás Cutillo (Cortez)	1897	"	"	rays on arms
245	Pedro Morales-Pacajoj	1897	Chuabaj	"	"
246	Diego Calgua Sut	1897	Xabaj	"	border
247	Miguel Cumez Perez	1892	Mucubaltzip	"	no saco
248	José Pelis Pelis	1913	Paguixic	agricultor	"
249	Miguel Succuqui Ordóñez	1902	Mucubaltzip	com.	"
251	José Calal Cumez	1902	Lacama	"	"
252	Juan Mejía Riquiá	1902	Xabaj	"	border
253	Juan Perez Mateo	1907	chontalá	"	border + spirals on breast
254	Manuel León Calgua	1897	Mactzul	"	no saco
255	Juan Chitré Rongales	1902	Mucubaltzip	"	border
258	Tomás Camil Ramos	1882	Saguilla	jabneros	border
259	Manuel Marroquín marroquín	1912	Paxot	com.	no saco
260	Miguel Jorge Cas	1892	Chuabaj	agricultor	no adorn
261	Sebastián Cumez Xon	1902	chocojá	com	border
262	Tomás Camil Sut	1912	Paxot	agri.	no saco
263	Tomas Sut Sut	1892	"	com.	rays on arm + spirals on breast
264	Tomas Sny Sny	1897	Chitamantab	"	no saco
265	José Pol Salvador	1897	chuabaj	"	"

shipped to: 466 -- see next page

	Name	date	Castro	Profesion	Design on saco
466	Juan Nro. Rojas	1917	Tamucotán	Agricultor	spirals
467	Juan Calil Xon	1907	Chontalá	com	no saco
468	Seb. Quino Xon	1909	Chusorop	"	borders
469	Jes. Dominguez Tinguz	1902	Chulumal	"	"
470	Tomas Quino Xon	1902	Chusorop	"	"
471	Juan Quino Velazquez	1892	"	Tejador	"
472	Tomas Luis Calil	1892	Puebla	agri.	"
473	Tomas Tecun Sapuc	1913	Chicua	com	lud. saco
474	Manuel Ripuac Tharrquin	1900	Paxot	"	borders
475	Diego Tecun Ajanel	1900	Chicua	"	zig zag
476	Diego Morales Linds	1907	Chahillabach	"	"
477	Manuel Tol Calil	1912	Chontalá	"	no saco
478	Antonio Bernardo Ximén	1912	Paxot	"	"
479	Seb. Camil Tac	1906	Chulumal	jornalero	zig zag
480	Miguel Bocel Ic	1913	Sacpulep	com	no saco
481	Andres Bocel Ic	1914	"	jornalero	"
482	Tomas Tevalen Morales	1912	Xaboj	com	"
483	Gaspar Pol Suar	1884	Chicjón	"	zig zag (all?)
484	Sebastian Olguin Macoris	1897	Chicua	"	no saco
485	Domingo Morales Xon	1914	Chupol	jornalero	"

Skipped to:

8. TRADE, MERCHANTS AND THE MARKETS

The first page of the following notes was written after the first month in Chichicastenango.

Since there are so many travelling merchants in Chichicaste-
nango, most of the men, either on business, for fiestas, or travelling through,
have been to most of the neighboring pueblos, such as Quiché, Guiché,
Totonicapan, Solola. A few have been farther, some to the Capital,

but nobody has any very clear conception of the world at large or
the place of their section or their nation in it. I have showed the
map of Guatemala to many, and they have been absolutely bewildered --
never having seen a map before. Most of them had heard of the various
cities of importance in Guatemala, but that's about all. Tomas Ven-
tura is one of the few exceptions; literate, he can read a map too,
and spends every minute that he can studying that of Guatemala. But
his notions of everything beyond Central America are exceedingly vague,
just names.

One man spend six months on a finca, knows how to walk there, but
has no idea of what Department it is in. One man has gone twice to the
Capital to buy shovels to sell here, but he knows nothing of the coun-
try through which he walked. Another went to the Capital this fall
to play the marimba at the national Fair; they took him and others in
a bus, drove them right to the fair grounds where they stayed and
-- without allowing them out of the grounds -- drove them back here.
All he saw of the city was from the bus.

The women are much worse off in this respect; practically none of
them even get to the pueblo except for the fiesta, and many don't come
then. I have not heard of a literate Indian woman, and I don't believe
there is one in the cantones who speaks two words of Spanish. The
school in the pueblo has 120 Indian pupils, all boys. I have heard
that a husband will not allow his wife to leave the house without per-
mission, and I have seen some evidence of it.

The Indians know their business thoroughly, are good craftsmen and
merchants; but very few of them apparently think beyond the narrow
confines of their daily life. I have seen many evidences of the super-
stitious fear that many of the people -- women especially -- in the
cantones have of even the sight of a white man.

I have started to take the autobiography of Tomas Ventura; but I
shall not write it up until I have had an opportunity to complete it.
Of additional material on Chichicaste-
nango I have a map of the mun-
icipio, of the pueblo, and of Quajel. I shall copy them for the
reports when I have time to check them and do the work.

.....

The Municipio of Chiche is northeast of Chichicaste-
nango, is much smaller, with a small pueblo consisting almost entirely of
Ladinos, and some seven cantones consisting entirely of Indians. The
costume I know to be exactly like that of Chichicaste-
nango; and so is the outward mode of life. One informant from there, and those
from Chichicaste-
nango, say that all of the customs are the same --
that, in fact, Chiche was once part of Chichicaste-
nango. I have
paid the pueblo one visit, witnessing the Torro dance (in masks and
costumes of the Spanish of the time of the Conquest or so) given by
Indians. Chiche has its own market (including a large animal mar-
ket) on Wednesdays and Saturdays; it has its own church, with the
Padre from Chichicaste-
nango going up there on occasions, and its own
fiestas, cofradias, etc. But all seems to be on a smaller scale
than Chichicaste-
nango.

Balance of trade. It is impossible for Tomas to estimate figures, but the following are lists of the balance of imports of articles over exports and vice-versa:

Chichicastenango exports more than it imports of:

1. eggs
2. raw wool
3. beans
4. woven belts
5. small checked rugs
6. large blankets (to S. Andres)
7. native woven goods (to tourists)
8. marimbas (to neighboring pueblos)
9. turkeys and chickens
10. small pigs

Chichicastenango imports more than it exports of:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. maize | 9. pottery |
| 2. cotton | 10. silk |
| 3. tropical fruit | 11. prepared wool |
| 4 salt | 12. cotton thread |
| 5. mats, baskets, brooms | 13. factory goods --
shirts, braid, tobacco,
matches, dishes, steel
tools, locks and keys |
| 6. gourds, rope, hats | 14. soap |
| 7. lime | 15. horses, mules, cows,
sheep, pigs; beef,
pork. |
| 8. furniture | |

The balance is certainly far against the local Indians; and the difference is made up by income from trade.

Tomas Ventura C.

Markets and market days. Almost every day in the week there are a number of markets of interest to the Chichicastenango merchants. A partial list of them ~~xxxx~~ follows; the * indicates that on that day occurs the most important market-day for that town:

Monday -- (none)

Tuesday -- Solola and Panajachel

Wednesday -- Chiche

Thursday -- Chichicastenango, Tecpan *, Sta. Cruz Chiche, and Momostenango

Friday -- Solola * and San Francisco El Alto *

Saturday -- Chiche *

Sunday -- Chichicastenango *, Sta. Cruz *, Joyabaj *, Sacualpa *, Chinique *, Patzite *, San Francisco El Alto, Momostenango *, Patzicia *, Patzún *, San Juan Comalapa *, San Martín (Chim.) *, Sta. María Chiquimula *, San Cristóbal *, and Sacapulas *

The typical itinerary of the comerciantes of Quejil, Chipaca, Chuabaj, Chigua, and Comanehaj who buy things in Guatemala to sell in certain of the other towns follows:

Sunday: spend the day in the Chichicastenango market, selling.

Monday: leave at about 7 A.M. and go as far as Tecpan, where they spend the night.

Tuesday: leave at about 6 A.M. and go as far as Mixco, where they spend the night.

Wednesday: Leave at 4 A.M. and arrive in the Capital at ~~San~~ in time to buy what they need to sell; leave the Capital at 9 A.M. and go by auto to Tecpan. They do not walk if they can help it because it takes so long. Some who are unlucky and have to walk get to Chimaltenango, where spend the night, and get to Tecpan Thursday.

Thursday: Spend the day selling in the Tecpan market. Some sleep here, while others go in the afternoon to Panajachel or Godinas. Most of them have goods stored in Tecpan for sale this day.

Friday: Early in the morning those still there leave Teapan for Solola, where they sell in the market. Many have goods stored in Solola for sale here. At about 4 P.M. they leave Solola for their homes.

Saturday: At 5 A.M. they leave home and go to Chiche to the market, returning to their homes in the afternoon.

Sunday: Leave home early in the morning and spend the day in the Pueblo market.

The following is a list of the Comerciantes of Quejel and their activities:

1. Tomas Pixcar, older -- Buys clothing and factory-goods in the Capital to sell as above described.
2. Tomas Pixcar, younger -- Buys eggs in Chichicastenango and takes them to the Capital to sell; he may sell as many as 1000 a week.
3. Sebastian Pixcar -- Collects tan-bark on the family's land and takes it to the local tannery; using a mule, he sells as much as 200 pounds a day.
4. Jacinto Tol -- buys onions in the market here (mostly previously brought here by Sololatecans) and takes them to the Capital to sell; he may sell 1000 onions a week, or rather in the 5 days the trip takes.
5. Sebastian Tol -- Buys Chimento pottery here and takes to to the Capital to sell. 5 days for the trip.
6. Manuel Tol -- Buys hats here every Sunday and takes them to the fincas to sell.
7. Gaspar Ventura -- Buys factory goods in the Capital (as above).
8. Tomas, Juan, Pedro, Sebastian, and Manuel Cuteres -- Buy San Pedro pottery here on Sunday, go Wednesday to Teapan to sell them, and return here Friday.
9. Sebastian Tun -- Buys eggs here to sell in the Capital.
10. Antonio Xun and his $\frac{1}{2}$ -brother Antonio-buy brooms, rope, and ocote here and take them to Masatenango to sell, and buy fruit there to sell here.
- 11.--Domingo Tevelan -- Buys garlic here and takes it to the Capital to sell.
12. Francisco and Manuel Cuteres -- Buy San Pedro pottery here and take it to Teapan to sell; buy maize there to sell here.

X

Egg

tan bark

onion

pottery

3 hats

X

pottery

Egg

1

garlic

pottery

13. Tomas Tol Tun -- Buys factory goods in Capital to sell here as described above.
- I 14. Martin Mercario -- Buys up manzanillas here and takes them to Salama and Coban (where they are used in medicine); It takes him 2-3 weeks to complete a trip.
- S 15. Tomas Ventura -- Buys achote in Mazatenango and brings it here to sell, making a trip every week.
- II 16.--Manuel Mercario -- With the aid of mules, buys cacao in Salama and brings it here to sell, once a week.
- II 17. Manuel Mercario -- Buys rope, probably in Rabinal, and brings it here to sell.
- B 18. Jacinto Morales -- Buys coffee in Mazatenango and brings it here to sell, once a week.
19. Juana ? -- Buys cocoted, maize, beans, etc. in Chiche (where it is cheaper) on Wednesdays and Saturdays and brings it here to sell on Thursdays and Sundays.
- X 20. Tomas Ventura -- Sells factory goods from Capital as described.
- X 21. Tomas Ventura -- As above.
- 7 Salt 22. Tomas Tol -- Buys salt in Mazatenango and brings it here to sell every week.
- 2 23.--Juan Galvo -- Buys mats here and takes them to the fincas to sell.
24. Manuel Ajanel-- Sells woven belts (made by him and his family) in Quezaltenango.
- 4 25. Sabastian Lator -- Buys panela in Patalul and brings it here to sell.

The comerciantes usually have to hire mozos at \$1.50 a week for about 20 weeks a year to take their place in service on the roads. This must be taken out of their profits, of course.

Martin Peliz of Chucam

He is a mason and has come to town to buy maize here. He grows a little, but not much. He lives on maize of his own, for six months and for the rest of the time, works and buys it. He knows nothing about the calendar.

He has been to the pueblo, Quiché, Chiche, Sololá (passing through to finca Maria Carme, the Dept. of which he doesn't know, although he worked there 6 months; he knows finca is in Santa Barbara or something like it--isn't sure) and that's all. He has never seen a map of Guatemala.

Diego Mejia Xeabaj works week-days as farm laborer for others; gets 8 pesos and feed a day. Today is Thursday; he didn't work because he came in to buy salt, chile, bread. 6 hours to pueblo and comes only when necessary. Goes to Quiché occasionally.

March 16, 1939. Talked to a Totonicapan merchant awhile; he says there are about 200 Totonicapeños on the road -- some going to Salvador, Honduras, and even Nicaragua--none to Mexico that he knows of. He himself goes to the coasts, Cobán, Guatemala, etc. He is also a headband weaver and would like to settle here to pursue that trade. Also talked to a family of Momosteco blanket merchants; the boys want to learn some English and I offered to teach them. Eagerly they asked, "How much por mes?" I offered to exchange languages, and they promised to come in afternoon.

Tomás Tol, Principal of Semeja 2nd, has been (he says) to Quetzaltenango, Totonicapan, Momostenango, Jayabaj, Quiché, Chiché, Sololá, Mozatenango, and 6 years ago he went 8 times to Guatemala to buy salt to sell here.

Adán Amezquita says he gives credit to many Indians. Those owing 5 cents, 10 cents, etc. aren't even entered on the books, and they pay shortly. Comerciantes owe up to \$80.00, and he has fifty such debtors; these must be steady customers of his then. (Other store has similar arrangements.)

Adán Amezquita says Tomás Gonzales is the only Maxefio who buys rice. No Indian buys such a thing as candy.

MARKETS, Miscellaneous

Jan. 31, 1935 -- Market day; a new system has been inaugurated at the market, with marked lanes and a somewhat new arrangement of the merchants.

Tomasa Feliza March 21. Tomasa will not work with me today because it is market day, and she always goes to the plaza on market days.

Tomasa Feliza Tomasa's spatial sphere extends to Chiche on the northeast and Lemoa and Quiche on the north, and that is all. She goes to Quiche very rarely, only when there is a big fiesta there, but she frequently accompanies her mother to Chiche on market days.

Mar. 18, 1939 -- Viviano Casia told me that there are a dozen sandal-makers in town (besides those coming in on market days). He said about 15 or 16 yrs. ago the first Maxefio went to Totonicapán and worked for five years learning the trade, and then came back here to work and teach others. He is now poor, while his students are rich.

Map V. was made in the market itself without dependence on informants. The places where things are indicated as being sold remain almost constant from week to week so that this map can stand for the market of any week, although of course minor variations occur.

Following the map are the results of a census of the market on one Sunday and one Thursday. This was made for me by the officials of the town, who, of course, are in the habit of visiting every merchant in the market in order to collect the market tax. With the help of Tomás Ventura, I went over this census, corrected some of the names and indicated the cantones from which the Maxefio vendors came. On the basis of this information, I was able to prepare Table 4a and 4b, pp. .

Table 4a, the first one reproduced, summarizes information on the Sunday market, and 4b summarizes information on the Thursday market.

Garden

Hand-knit, and women's clothing, cloth

category

Butcher Shops

Indian School

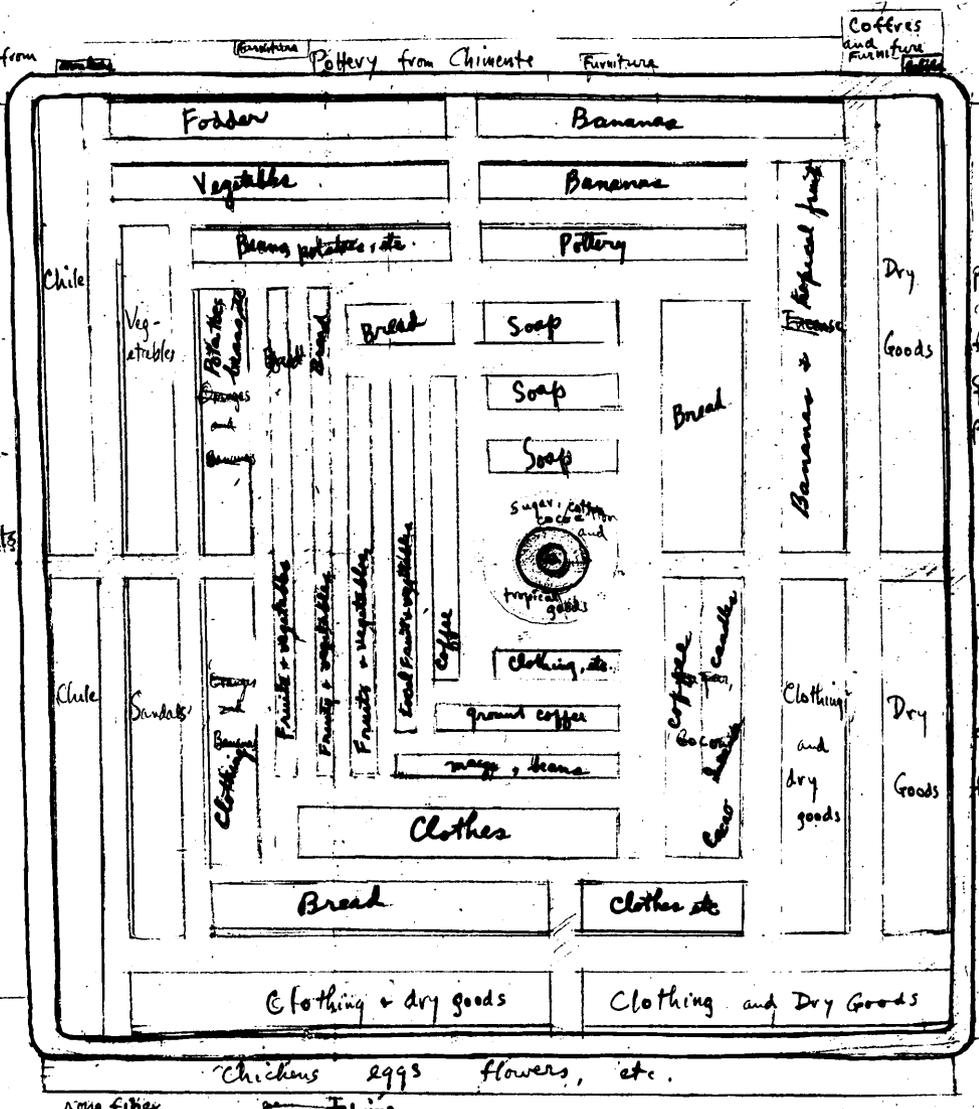
Meats (Pork & mutton)

Maize and Beans

Convent

Church

Municipal Hall



Tienda

Pottery from San Pedro

Panela

Ladino School

Panela

Coffees and fine furniture

Pottery from Chimento Furniture

Pottery from Chimento

Chickens eggs flowers, etc.

wool fiber Cement Lime

MAP V

The Plaza in Chicicastenango with the merchant-places indicated and the most consistent vending-areas indicated by the articles sold.

ASISTEN LOS DIAS DOMINGOS AL MERCADO MUNICIPAL

DE CHICHICASTENANGO

NOMBRES	Sunday, March 17, 1935	VENTAS	PROSEDIENCIA
1.-	Tómas Lara (Larios?)	Maiz	Maxeño
2.-	Domingo Blan (Tandan?)	Chamarras	"
3.-	Pedro Xirúm	Chile Seco	" Sagrilla
4.-	Petronilo Xirúm	Panela	" Patzún (B)
5.-	Josefa Cushuti	Verduras	Sololá
6.-	Vernandino Castro	"	"
7.-	José Tin	"	"
8.-	José Comatz	"	"
9.-	María Tuy	Ceballas	"
10.-	Simión Escalaj	"	"
11.-	María Panjoj	"	" Camanchaj
12.-	Benito Shep	"	"
13.-	Sebastián Mejía	Coches	Maxeño Pacho
14.-	Manuel Salvador	"	"
15.-	María Suy	"	" Chubulul
16.-	Juan Morales	Maiz	" Chupol
17.-	Diego Ventura	"	" Zucjel
18.-	Tómas Tol	"	"
19.-	Juana Mejía	"	"
20.-	Tómas Riquiac	"	" Chiquizen
21.-	Sebastián Mejía	"	"
22.-	Manuel Tol	"	"
23.-	Manuel Morales	"	" Chupol
24.-	Diego Suy	"	"
25.-	Juan Tiam (Tian)	"	" Chaguera
26.-	José Larios	"	"
27.-	Domingo Cap (Cap)	Chiyute	"
28.-	María Calel	"	"
29.-	Josefa Morales	"	"
30.-	Tomasa Gonzalez	"	"
31.-	Antonia Pérez	"	"
32.-	Tomasa Marquin	Pita floja	"
33.-	Tomasa Gonzalez	" "	"
34.-	Sebastián Pérez	"	"
35.-	Sebastián Salvador	"	"
36.-	Tash Lolo Anastasio Xiloj (?)	"	"
37.-	Santán Tecúm (Ana?)	"	"
38.-	Tomasa Gonzalez	"	"
39.-	Tomasa Gonzalez 2a.	"	"
40.-	María Calel	Gallinas	" Pueblo
41.-	Tomasa Riquiac	"	"
42.-	Manuel Matias (Mateo)	"	"
43.-	María Guarcas	"	"
44.-	Sebastián Guarcas	"	"
45.-	Josefa Cosquic (Saguis?)	"	"
46.-	Tomasa Calel	Maiz	" Xecoja
47.-	Manuel Tunil (Canil?)	"	"
48.-	Antonlon Tzoc	"	"
49.-	Francisco Cortés	"	"
50.-	Tómas Tol	"	"
51.-	Tómas Saguis	"	"
52.-	Manuel Tecúm	"	"
53.-	Manuel Xon	"	" Chubulul
54.-	José Larios	"	"
55.-	Tómas Senté	"	"

T		T	
NOMBRES		VENTAS	PROSEDENCIA
56.	Juan Cham	Ollas	San Pedro
57.	Gaspar López	"	" "
58.	Francisco Xiloj	"	" "
59.	Gaspar Lau	"	" "
60.	Pedro Drava	"	" "
61.	Manuel Culaj	"	" "
62.	Pedro Culaj	"	" "
63.	Francisco Mendoza	"	" "
64.	Paule Mendoza	"	" "
65.	Martin Chuchi	"	" "
66.	Bacilio Pópez	"	" "
67.	Eulogio Pópez	"	" "
68.	Bacilio Pópez 2o.	"	" "
69.	Francisco Pópez	"	" "
70.	Josefa Velasquez	Sernidores	Totoniacapan
71.	Diego Velasquez	Oote	Maxeño <i>Chipeca</i>
72.	Manuel Pérez	"	" <i>Chontola</i>
73.	Josefa Sun <i>Sun or Suenun?</i>	"	"
74.	Pedro Chitic	"	" <i>Chitmal</i>
75.	Tomas Guarca	"	"
76.	Tomas Xon	"	"
77.	Ana Santana (?)	"	"
78.	Miguel Suy	"	"
79.	Juan Tol	"	"
80.	Diego Salvador	"	"
81.	Manuel Xon	"	"
82.	Manuela Tol	"	"
83.	Manuel Camel <i>(Camil)</i>	"	"
84.	José Ren	Mesas	Totoniacapan
85.	Abran Pérez	Oote	Chitmal <i>Chimiqui</i>
86.	Teodoro Noriega	"	" <i>Chimiqui</i>
87.	Maria Morales	"	Maxeño
88.	Tomasa Mejía	"	"
89.	Manuela Morales	"	"
90.	Juan Mejía	"	"
91.	Juana Xon	"	" <i>Chimiqui</i>
92.	Juan Aj.	"	"
93.	Juan Tercey	Verduras	"
94.	Jerónimo Matos <i>(Matto)</i>	Maiz	"
95.	Juan Lara <i>(Larros)</i>	"	"
96.	Diego Ordoñez	"	" <i>Chimiqui</i>
97.	José Ambrocio	"	" <i>Chimiqui</i>
98.	Manuel Morales	"	"
99.	Manuel Lindo	"	" <i>Chimiqui</i>
100.	Tomas Tecum	"	" <i>Chimiqui</i>
101.	Antonio Tuy <i>(Suy)</i>	"	"
102.	Tomas Morales	"	"
103.	Tomas Xon	"	"
104.	Manuel Mejía	"	"
105.	Miguel Tecum	"	"
106.	Juan Chin (?)	"	"
107.	José Morales	"	"
108.	Tomas Moralesm	"	"
109.	Tomas Morales	"	"
110.	Salvador Lorenzo	"	" <i>Chimiqui</i>

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSEJENCIA
111.- Justo Gutiérrez	Apastes	Totonicapán
112.- Antonio Gutiérrez	"	"
113.- María Antonia Ipiáz	"	"
114.- Julio Chuc	"	"
115.- José Chumin	"	"
116.- Paubla Tax	"	"
117.- María Batiz	"	"
118.- José García	"	"
119.- Francisco García	"	"
120.- Luis Pú	"	"
121.- Catalina García	"	"
122.- Juan Morales Yata	Chamarras	Maxeño Chumangana
123.- Juan Morales 2o.	"	" Chumangana
124.- Sebastián Lindo	"	" Chutzorop
125.- Sebastián Morales	"	" Chumangana
126.- Demetrio Pacajám	Apastes	Totonicapán
127.- Nicolás Sapón	"	"
128.- Andrés Gutiérrez	"	"
129.- Santos Gutiérrez	"	"
130.- Santos Cacia	"	"
131.- Antonio Cacia	"	"
132.- Guillermo Chin	"	"
133.- Juan Tax	"	"
134.- Juan Tumax	"	"
135.- Juan García	"	"
136.- Juana Santos	Ollas	"
137.- Antonio Rosales	"	"
138.- Lucas Rosales	"	"
139.- Miguel Guarca	"	"
140.- Manuel Calel	Maiz	Maxeño
141.- Apolonio Riquiac	Semitas	Chijé
142.- Tomás Panjoj	"	"
143.- Tomás Marcos	"	"
144.- Petronila Sut	Pán	Maxeño Sepela
145.- Juan Sut	"	" Sepela
146.- Diego Cutillo	"	" Pachoy
147.- Tomás Sut	"	" Sepela
148.- Tomás Tzoc	"	"
149.- Tomás Canil	"	" Paxot
150.- Sebastián Marroquín	Lazos y petates	" Paxot
151.- Sebastián Canil	Semitas	" Paxot
152.- Miguel Marroquín	"	" Paxot
153.- Tomás Salvador	Sal	" Pocobil
154.- Juan Salvador	"	" Pocobil
155.- Manuel Sapón	Loza	Totonicapán
156.- Crispin Cacia	"	"
157.- Manuel Panjoj	Chile verde	Maxeño Chuataj
158.- Pedro Xirun	" "	" Xepuch
159.- Tomás Panjoj	" "	" Chuataj
160.- Diego Panjoj	" "	" Chuataj
161.- Juan Conós	" Seco	" Chimin 1/2
162.- Gabriel Pantón	" "	" Chontala
163.- Sebastián Macario	" "	" Pocobil
164.- Manuel Aquino (Zuno)	" "	" Chutzorop
165.- Tomás Salvador	" "	"

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSEDENCIA
165.-Pablo Char	Verduras	Sololá
167.-Juana Suy	"	Maxeño
168.-Josefa Tiriquiz	Panela	" <i>Chimal 2°</i>
169.-Miguel Suy	Merceria	" <i>Chimat</i>
170.-José Tuy	Verduras	Sololá
171.-Pablo Tuy	"	"
172.-Baleriano Saquic	"	"
173.-Juana Pérez	Papas	Maxeño
174.-Maria Panjoj	Frutas	" <i>Chipaca</i>
175.-Tomasa Tetelán	"	"
176.-Maria Salvador	"	"
177.-Catarina Macario	Panela	"
178.-Miguel <i>Tiriquiz</i>	Incenso	"
179.-Miguel Larios	"	"
180.-Juan Panto	"	"
181.-Tomas Ren	"	" <i>Chimal 2°</i>
182.-Manuel Pérez	"	"
183.-Francisco Cutillo	"	" <i>Pachaj</i>
184.-José Alba	Ropa Indigena	"
185.-Tomas Xon	Camiceria	" <i>Pueblo</i>
186.-Sebastián Gonzalez	Merceria	" <i>Chucam</i>
187.-Tomas Ventura	"	" <i>Zujil</i>
188.-Francisco Buchan	"	" <i>Chichimil</i>
189.-Tomas Gonzalez	"	" <i>Tzucma</i>
190.-Sebastián Gonzalez	"	" <i>Chixyca</i>
191.-Miguel Ren	Güipiles Indigenas	" <i>Chimal 4°</i>
192.-Tomas Ren	"	" <i>Chimal 13</i>
193.-Miguel Tol 2o.	Ropa Indigena	" <i>Chontola</i>
194.-Manuel Morales	Merceria	" <i>Chipaca</i>
195.-Tomas Jerónimo	"	" <i>Saguilla</i>
196.-Diego Tiriquiz	"	" <i>Chimal 2°</i>
197.-Manuel Tol	"	" <i>Chontola</i>
198.-Diego Tol	"	" <i>Chontola</i>
199.-Tomas Xon	"	" <i>Chucapital</i>
200.-Diego Mejía	"	" <i>Lakama</i>
201.-Juan Mejía	"	" <i>Lakama</i>
202.-Manuel Mejía	"	" <i>Lakama</i>
203.-Tomas Garcia	"	"
204.-Miguel Suy	Sutes, yGüipiles	"
205.-Tomas Cael	Pán	" <i>Xebaj</i>
206.-Antonio Tzoc	"	" <i>Mactul</i>
207.-Pedro Aguilar	Incenso	Sacapulas
208.-Tomas Pérez	" y candelas	Maxeño
209.-Antonio Romaldo	Talabarteria	Totonicapán
210.-Gaspar Mejía	"	Maxeño <i>Xebaj</i>
211.-José Matos (mafer)	"	"
212.-Miguel Macario	"	" <i>Saguilla</i>
213.-Tomas Camil	Panadero	" <i>Xebaj (?)</i>
214.-Tomas Morales	"	"
215.-Sebastián Martín	"	" <i>Pocob</i>
216.-Pascual Salvador	"	" <i>Pocob</i>
217.-Manuel Morales	"	" <i>Pachaj</i>
218.-Tomas Morales	"	" <i>Pachaj</i>
219.-Manuel Guarcas	"	" <i>Pachaj</i>
220.-Manuel Camil	"	"

NOMBRES	VENTAS Y	PROSENCIA Y
221.- Mateo Xirúm	Pan...	Maxeño (Patibul)
222.- José Panjoj	"	" Chicajom
223.- Tomás Panjoj	"	" Chicajom
224.- Tomás Mejía	"	" (Patibul)
225.- Manuel Canil	"	" Patibul
226.- Sebastián Canil	"	"
227.- José Calgua	Semitas	" Pocohit
228.- Tomás Ordoñez 2o.	"	" Pocohit
229.- Sebastián Panjoj	"	" Chicajom
230.- Francisco Cutillo	"	" Pachaj
231.- Josefa Calba	Gallinas	"
232.- Juana Guarcas	"	"
233.- María Salvador	"	"
234.- Tomás Tol	"	"
235.- Tomás Calel	Escobas	"
236.- Cain Chan	"	"
237.- Sebastián Cortéz	"	"
238.- Escal Calel (Pasoval?)	"	"
239.- María Tecun	Hojas	"
240.- Tomás Xon	Escobas	"
241.- Tash Turá <i>nañi Ventura</i>	Atola	" 2 megal
242.- Juana Ren	"	" Chicajom (?)
243.- Jeronima Morena	"	" Sepila
244.- Ana Salvador	Tortillas	"
245.- María Suy	"	" Chulmal (?)
246.- Petrona Macaria	"	" Pocohit
247.- Manuel Calicoj	Ollas	San Pedro
248.- Miguel Calicoj	"	" "
249.- Pedro Chepelush	"	" "
250.- Juan Pú	"	" "
251.- Gaspar Culá	"	" "
252.- Tul López	"	" "
253.- Martín Xiloj	"	" "
254.- Martín Xiloj 2o.	"	" "
255.- Pedro Talicos	"	" "
256.- Miguel Xiloj	"	" "
257.- Francisco Palomé	"	" "
258.- Erecencio Sacarias	"	" "
259.- Manuela Xumin	Mesas	Totonacapan
260.- Pedro Saquic	Canastos	Maxeño
261.- Paubla Xicay	Tamales	Lemoa
262.- Eulogia Grijalva	"	"
263.- Juan Chavez	Sombreros de palma	Quiché
264.- Juana Xip <i>Xicay</i>	Hojas	Maxeña
265.- María Gonzalez	"	"
266.- Tomás Morales	Chiyute	"
267.- Tomás Suy	"	"
268.- Tomás Senté	"	"
269.- Sebastián Pixcar	"	"
270.- Guin Nix	Gallinas	"
271.- María Nix	"	"
272.- María Salvador	"	"
273.- Manuel Salvador	"	"
274.- Manuel Salvador	"	"
275.- Martín Sut	"	"

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSENCIA
276.- Juana Mejía	Gallinas	Maxeño
277.- Tomás Calba	"	"
278.- Manuel GuarcaS	Flores	"
279.- Nila Morales	"	"
280.- Miguela Gonzalez	"	"
281.- Manuela Panjoj	"	"
282.- Tomás Píxcar	"	"
283.- Juana Chocoj	Atole	" <i>Chulumal</i>
284.- María QuinoS	Flores	"
285.- Dolores Balash	"	"
285.- María Tzoc	Cal	Chiquimula
287.- Antonio Tzoc	"	"
288.- Catalina Lux	"	"
289.- Pedro Lux	"	"
290.- Antonio Lux	"	"
291.- Francisco Lux	"	"
292.- Juan Lux	"	"
293.- Marcos Carrillo	"	"
294.- María Tzoc	"	"
295.- Felipe Tzoc /	"	"
296.- Josefa Gonzalez	Gallinas	Maxeña
297.- Tomás GuarcaS	Maiz	"
298.- Julián Cap (?)	"	"
299.- José Cael	"	"
300.- José Pichol	"	"
301.- Nicolas Pichol	"	"
302.- Sebastián Tecum	"	n "
303.- Pablo Pérez	"	Tepán
304.- Diego Bosel	"	Maxeño
305.- Tomás Mamil	"	"
306.- Felipe Tam	"	"
307.- José Ordóñez	"	" <i>Pochil</i>
308.- Josefa Suy	Frijol	"
309.- Tomás Con <i>(Xon. 2)</i>	"	"
310.- Miguel Tol	"	"
311.- José Cael	"	"
312.- Ignacio Toc	Ollas	Totonicapán
313.- José Rosales	Jarros	"
314.- María Puac	"	"
315.- Nicolas Toribio (?)	"	Maxeño (?) Tot
316.- Salomé Chávez	Apastes	Totonicapán
317.- Juan Ramirez	"	"
318.- Santiago Sapón	"	"
319.- Antonio Gacia	"	"
320.- Francisco Rosalea	"	"
321.- Francisco Gutiérrez	"	"
322.- José Garcia	"	"
323.- Nicolas Alvarado	"	"
324.- José Tróm	"	"
325.- Nicolas Batz	"	"
326.- Melchor Sapón	"	"
327.- Santos Morales	"	"
328.- Juan Morales	"	"
329.- Justo Pum	"	"
330.- Luis Gutiérrez	"	"

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSENCIA
331.- Mateo Xirúm	Chile Seco	Maxeño Patziabal
332.- Tomas Xirúm	" "	" Patziabal
333.- Sebastián Morales	" "	" "
334.- Tomás Panioj	" "	" Chucuyon
335.- Sebastián Panioj	" "	" Chucuyon
336.- Juan Morales Suy	" "	" Chucuyon
337.- Pedro Morales	" "	" Chucuyon
338.- Pedro Xirúm	" "	" Chucuyon
339.- Petronila Xirúm	Panela	" Patziabal
340.- Jacinta Suar	" "	" Supala
341.- José Comatz	Verduras	Sololá
342.- Martín Pable	" "	" "
343.- Josefa Cushuti	" "	" "
344.- Cernandino Castro	" "	" "
345.- José Tun	Cebollas	" "
346.- Benito Xap	" "	" "
347.- Mariano Guaracas	" "	" "
348.- María Panioj	" "	" Maxeño
349.- Simión Escocoi	" "	" Sololá
350.- María Tuy	" "	" "
351.- Juana Chuy (Suy?)	Frutas	Maxeño
352.- Pable Harol	Verduras	Sololá
353.- María Nix	Frutas	Maxeña
354.- Basilio Castro	Verduras	Sololá
355.- Juana Suy	" "	" "
356.- María Macario	Panela	Maxeña
357.- Josefa Tiriouiz	" "	" Chucuyon
358.- Pable Tuy	Verduras	Sololá
359.- José Tuy	" "	" "
360.- Mariano Xirúm	" "	" "
361.- Baleriano Saquic	" "	" "
362.- Tomasa Gonzalez	Papas	Maxeña
363.- Juana Pérez	" "	" "
364.- Catarina Macario	Panela	" "
365.- María Salvador	Echínfoles	" "
366.- Tomasa Tavelán	Frutas	" "
367.- María Panioj	" "	" "
368.- Juan Salvador	Candelas	" "
369.- Tomasa Pable	" "	" "
370.- Martín Conos	" "	" Chucuyon
371.- José Xirúm	" "	" "
372.- Pedro Conos	" "	" Chucuyon
373.- Rosa Ghicoj	Cafetera	" "
374.- Manuela Nix	" "	" "
375.- Diego Tavelán	Candelas	" anjel
376.- Miguel Gonzalez	" "	" San Antonio Momo
377.- Juan Santos	" "	" mostanango
378.- Maximo de León	" "	" mostanango
379.- Antonio Salán	" "	" "
380.- Tomás Morales	" "	Maxeño
381.- Lucas Morales	" "	" Pacho
382.- Martín Morales	" "	" Chucuyon
383.- Juan Triyo	" "	Quiché
384.- Antonio Yat Castro	" "	Sta. Ma. Chiquimú

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSENCIA
385. - Salvador Caciá (?)	Candelas	Maxeño
386. - Elena Cae	Dulcería	"
387. - Rogelia Alvarado	"	Totonicapán
388. - José Yaxón	"	Santa Ma. Atitlán
389. - Clara Luz Alvarado	"	Maxeña (?)
390. - Sebastián Tiriquiz	Candelas de cebo y seca	" (Chontal) (?)
391. - Miguel Conos	"	Chicajon
392. - Sebastián Conos	"	Chicajon
393. - Tomás Conos	"	Chicajon
394. - Tomás Salvador	"	Maxeña
395. - José Sajché	" (makes candles)	San Cristobal Chich-pueblo
396. - Inocente Cael	"	Momostenango " (Patris)
397. - Pedro Xulaj	" (makes candles)	Maxeña San Cristobal Chich-pueblo
398. - José Xirum	Barbería	Christinimit
399. - Manuela <i>goul</i>	Arroz en leche	Totonicapán Pueblo Chich.
400. - Petronila Nix	Cafetera	Maxeña Pueblo
401. - Juana Morales	"	Chulmal
402. - Lucia Poncio	Arroz en leche	Totonicapán
403. - Maria Morales	Cafetera	Maxeña
404. - Tomasa Quino	"	"
405. - Manuela Saquic	"	"
406. - Michaela Noriega	"	" Pueblo
407. - Maria Gonzalez	"	" Pueblo
408. - Maria Socorro	"	"
409. - Rufina Catalán	Arroz en leche	Totonicapán Pueblo
410. - Manueltoy <i>Tol</i>	Barbería	Maxeño <i>Suzijil</i>
411. - Antonio Poncio	Jabón	Quiché
412. - Sebastián Lastor	Plóma	Maxeño
413. - Tomás Chitic	Pón <i>Estorac Copal</i>	" <i>Suzila</i>
414. - Juan Mateo	"	"
415. - Juan Morales	"	"
416. - Tomás Morales	"	"
417. - Tomás Chan	Café molido	"
418. - Juan Panjoj	Panela	"
419. - Petrona Riquiac	"	"
420. - Maria Toy <i>Suiv</i>	"	" Chulmal 15
421. - Juana Gonzalez	"	"
422. - Manuela Xirum	"	"
423. - Petronila Xirum	"	"
424. - Tomasa Pérez	"	"
425. - Lucia Ajanel	"	"
426. - Manuela Tol	"	"
427. - Diego Grijalva	Jabón	Lemoa
428. - Manuel Tevelán	"	Maxeño <i>Xaltakiz</i>
429. - Sebastián Canil	"	" <i>Pocbil</i>
430. - Francisco Tay	"	Quiché
431. - León Mejía	"	Maxeño
432. - Martel Vasquez	Insienso (Pón)	Sacapulas
433. - Juan Felipe	"	"
434. - José López	"	"
435. - José Lorenzo	"	"
436. - Diego Tol	Sal	Maxeño
437. - Manuel Mejía	Jícaras	"
438. - Manuel Morales	Espécies	"
439. - Juan Sut	Ropa Indígena	"

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSEDENCIA
440.- Sebastián Bosel	Frutas	Maxeño
441.- Tomas Pérez	"	" <i>Chontala</i>
442.- Tomás Canil	Sal	" <i>Xabakiej</i>
443.- José Pérez	"	" <i>Chontala</i>
444.- León Mejía	Frutas	"
445.- Ana González	Tamales	Lemoa
446.- Sebastiana Tino	"	"
447.- Anastasia Cortéz	Panela	Maxeño
448.- Juana Dominguez	Café, Azucar	" <i>Pueblo</i>
449.- Martín Macario	" "	" <i>Saguilla</i>
450.- Manuel Dominguez	" "	" <i>Chilcan</i>
451.- Tomás Macario	"--	" <i>Saguilla</i>
452.- Tomás Macario 2o.	"	" <i>Saguilla</i>
453.- Simióna López	Arroz en leche	" <i>Zancho -- Chichi Pueblo</i>
454.- Tomás Saquic	Especies	"
455.- Sebastián Panjoj	Azucar y Achote	"
456.- Manuel Gonzalez	Café frutas	"
457.- José Guarcas	" "	"
458.- Tomás Martín	Especies	"
459.- Manuel Pérez	Achote y Sal	"
460.- Juan Morales	Sal y Café	"
461.- Manuel Xirum	"	"
462.- Sebastián Tol	"	"
463.- José Canel (<i>Calel</i>)	Azucar	" <i>Camambal</i>
464.- Manuel Canel (<i>Cale</i>)	Sal	" <i>Camambal</i>
465.- José Gonzalez	"	"
466.- Sebastián Martín	"	" <i>Pocobal</i>
467.- María Panjoj	Frijol	"
468.- María Pérez	Fruta	"
469.- Ana Martín	Panela	"
470.- Manuela Xirum	"	"
471.- Anastacia Nicolas (?)	"	"
472.- María Macario	Fruta	"
473.- Tomasa Tiriquiz	"	"
474.- Magdalena Velasquez	Tamales	Lemoa
475.- Dominga Suar	"	"
476.- Tomasa Macario m	Cafetera	Maxeño
477.- Manuel Marín	Café	"
478.- Josefa Canil	Panela	"
479.- Tomás Canel	Fruta	"
480.- María Ren	Verduras	Sololá
481.- José Pacher	"	"
482.- Antonio Pacher	"	"
483.- Pedro Xep	"	"
484.- Juana <i>Sorge</i>	Tameles	Maxeño <i>Chimma</i>
485.- Sebastiana Ventura	Fruta	" <i>Onjal</i>
486.- Antonio Centura	"	" <i>Zigil</i>
487.- Tomás Chon <i>Xep</i>	"	"
488.- Tomás Suar	"	"
489.- Manuel Guarcas	"	"
490.- Manuel Guarcas 2o.	Achote	"
491.- José Tumax	"	"
492.- Sebastián Canil	Carne de Res	" <i>Saguilla</i>
493.- Sebastián Canil 2o.	"	" <i>Saguilla</i>
494.- Manuel Sen 3o.	"	" <i>Picho</i>

Y

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSEDENCIA
495.- Juan Sen	Carne de Res	Maxeño Pacho
496.- Tomás Mejía	" "	" Xatuj
497.- Antonio Cabrera [Lad]	" "	" "
498.- Tomás Sapón	Escobas ?	Chimiente (Tor)
499.- Juan Tzoc	Semitas	Patzité
500.- Juan Castro	" "	" "
501.- Diego Porpuac	Pón	Sacapulas
502.- Baltasar Pú	" "	" "
503.- Juan Ventura	Estoraque	" "
504.- Juan Felipe	" "	" "
505.- José López	" "	" "
506.- Guadalupe Solis	Alfinique (dulces)	" "
507.- Miguel Gómez	Estoraque	" "
508.- Sebastián Baltazar	" "	" "
509.- Manuel Chan	Pón	Maxeño
510.- José Morales	Jáquimas	Totonicoapán
511.- Manuel Cortéz	" "	" "
512.- Antonio Alvarado	Fajas delantales	" "
513.- Felipe Alvarado	" "	" "
514.- María Sen	Guacales	Maxeño Pacho
515.- Dolores López	Quezos	Lemoa
516.- Sebastián Tipaz	" "	" "
517.- Juan Morales	Petnes de Madera	Lemoa ? max
518.- Juana Gonzalez	Miel de Abejas	" "
519.- María Tiño	Quezos	" "
520.- Sebastián Gonzalez	Frijol	Maxeño Chujupen
521.- Juan Tzoc	Camaron	Chiquimula
522.- Juan Sen	Carne de marrano	Maxeño Pacho
523.- Toma Calel	" "	" Pacho
524.- Juana Pixcar	" "	" (Chich?)
525.- Juan Tzoc	" de carnero	" Chiché
526.- Manuel Canil	" "	" "
527.- Pascual Tzoc	2 Coche	" "
528.- Diego Tzoc	" "	" "
529.- Manuel Yacón	" arne	" "
530.- Manuel Morales	" "	" "
531.- Manuel Pixcar	2 Coche	" Paquixic
532.- Tomás Mejía	" Carnero	" Xatuj
533.- Manuel Colaj	" "	" Pueblo
534.- Ventura Tiniguar	" "	" Chucam
535.- Juan Xón	" "	" "
536.- Juan Tiniguar	" "	" Chujupen
537.- Bartolo Aizac	" "	Chiché
538.- Diego Panio	" "	Maxeño Chich. Pueblo
539.- Felipe Alvarado	Tela para enaguas Indígenas	Maxeño Pueblo Ladino
540.- Efraim Cabrera	" " " "	" Pueblo Ladino
541.- Eugenio R Quiroa	" " " "	" Pueblo Ladino
542.- Eulogio Archila	" " " "	" Pueblo Ladino
543.- Elena Vasquez	Refrescos	" Ladino Chich. Pueblo
544.- Lucia Vasquez	" "	" " "
545.- Isabel Tox	Comida	" " " "
546.- Cándida Aguilar	" "	Quiché
547.- Cruz Aguilar	" "	" "
548.- Manuela Ordóñez	" "	Maxeña Pueblo

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See 497

See 498

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Y

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSEPTENCIA
549.- Lucia Chiquic	Carida	Maxeña Chucam - Pueblo
550.- Maria Bopez	"	" Quiché - Chit. prest.
551.- Raquel Dominguez	"	" Pueblo
552.- Manuel Sen	Carne de Res	" Pachoj
553.- Manuel Forge	"	" Pachoj
554.- Felipe Canil	"	" Sagvillo
555.- Tomas Kiloj	Fruta	"
556.- Diego Xiloj	"	"
557.- Tomas perez	"	" Chontola
558.- Tomas Morales	"	" Chontola
559.- José Guarcas	Chele seco	"
560.- Manuel Calgua	Fruta	" Kabaj
561.- José Sut	"	"
562.- Sebastián Suar	"	"
56.- Juan Cipriano	"	" Semaj
564.- Antonio Ventura	"	" Zujal
565.- Tomas Ventura	"	" Zujal
566.- Sebastián de Le n	"	"
567.- José Xón	Panela	" Chicna 12
568.- Tomas Zeta	"	"
569.- Maria Tol	"	"
570.- Tomas Mejia	Sal	"
571.- Tomas León	"	"
572.- Tomas Ventura 2o.	"	"
573.- Josefa Ventura	Quezos	Lemoa
574.- Maria Tiño	"	"
575.- Teodora Tacám	Loza	Totonica pan
576.- Alejandro Tacám	"	"
577.- José Pá	"	"
578.- Pedro Tzoc 2o.	"	"
579.- Santos Baquiash	"	"
580.- Juan Hernández	"	"
581.- Juan On.	"	"
582.- Diego Sapón	"	"
583.- José Alba	"	"
584.- Miguel Chué	"	"
585.- Juan Morales	"	"
586.- Antonio Rosales	"	"
587.- Diego Pochero	"	"
588.- Juan Tacám	"	"
589.- Antonio Morales	"	"
590.- José Batz	"	"
591.- Marcelino Garcia	"	"
592.- Manuel Garcia	"	"
593.- Jeronima Méndez	Carne Carnero	Quiché
594.- Bartolo Aizac	"	Chiché
595.- Tomas Nix	"	Maxeño (Chiché)
596.- Juan Tiniguar	"	" Chuyupen
597.- Ventura Tiniguar	" Marrano	" Chucam
598.- Manuel Morales	"	"
599.- Sebastián Tiniguar	"	" Chucam
600.- Diego Mejia	"	" Sagvillo
601.- Tomas Calal	"	" Pachoj
602.- Sebastián Chitic	"	"

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NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSEDECENCIA
603. - Martín Chichí	Sombreros	Lemoa
604. Juan Ramos	Panela	Maxeño
605. Jerónimo Soy	"	"
606. Miguel Swoqui	"	"
607. Tomas Alpa	"	"
608. Gaspar Tecum	"	" Chicua 1 ^a
609. Francisco Saqui	"	" Chubaj
610. Diego Saqui	"	" Chubaj
611. Juan Morales	"	" Chubaj
612. Manuel Saqui	"	" Chubaj
613. Juan Tecum	"	" Chicua 1 ^a
614. Pedro Salvador	"	"
615. Juan Saqui	"	" Chubaj
616. Pedro Calal	Fruta	"
617. Antonio Herrera	Sombreros de petate	Quiché
618. -		
619. - Fin	Fin	Fin
620. -		
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ASISTEN LOS DIAS JUEVES AL MERCADO MUNICIPAL

DE CHICHICASTENANGO.

Thursday, March 14, 1935

NOMBRES	VENTAS Y	PROSENCIA Y
1.- Manuel Mejía	Merceria ✓	Maxeño
2.- Juan Mejía	" ✓	"
3.- Diego Mejía	" ✓	"
4.- Tomás Canil	Pán ✓	" Xeatuj
5.- Antonio Tzoc	" ✓	" Xeatuj
6.- Tomás Xon	Merceria ✓	" Chicua
7.- Miguel Tol	" ✓	" Chontola
8.- Manuel Tol	" ✓	" Chontola
9.- Pedro Aguilar	" ✓	"
10.- Diego Tiricuz	Incienso - - - - - pan - - - - -	Saxapulas Maxeño Chulumal 22
11.- Tomás Jerónimo	Merceria ✓	Maxeño
12.- Manuel Morales	" ✓	" Palakama
13.- Miguel Tol 20.	" ✓	" Chontola
14.- Tomás Ren	" ✓	" Chulumal 12
15.- Miguel Ren	" ✓	" Chulumal 22
16.- Sebastián Gonzalez	" ✓	" Tzokoma
17.- Tomás Gonzalez	" ✓	" Tzokoma
18.- Francisco Buchan	" ✓	" Chijtinimut
19.- Tomás Ventura	" ✓	" Zuejeh
20.- Sebastián Gonzalez 20.	" ✓	" Chujigam
21.- Tomás Xon	Camiceria ✓	" Pueblo
22.- José Alba	Incienso ✓	"
23.- Tomás Pérez	Ropa Indígena ✓	"
24.- Tomás Ren	Incienso ✓	"
25.- Manuel Pérez	" ✓	"
26.- Francisco Cutillo	" ✓	" Pachoj
27.- Juan Pantó	" ✓	" Chontola
28.- Miguel Laríos	" ✓	"
29.- Miguel Aquino	" ✓	"
30.- Tomás Cutillo	" ✓	" Pachoj
31.- Sebastián Cutillo	" ✓	" Pachoj
32.- Gaspar Chon	Sal	"
33.- Antonio Romaldo Pú	Talabarteria ✓	Totonicapán Chichi, Pueblo
34.- Gaspar Mejía	" ✓	Maxeño Xeatuj
35.- José Mateo	" ✓	"
36.- Miguel Macario	" ✓	" Patsibal
37.- Tomás Canil	Panadero ✓	" Xeatuj
38.- Tomás Morales	" ✓	"
39.- Manuel Guarcas	" ✓	"
40.- Manuel Canil	" ✓	" Xeatuj
41.- Mateo Xirum	" (+Chilo) ✓	" Patsibal
42.- José Panjoj	" ✓	"
43.- Tomás Mejía Xirum	" ✓	" Patsibal
44.- Juan Saquic 20.	Panela ✓	" Chicua
45.- Francisco Socoqui	" ✓	"
46.- Jerónimo Ramas	" ✓	"
47.- Pedro Tecun	" ✓	" Chicua

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NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSENCIA
48.- Manuel Canil 2o.	Panadero ✓	Maxeño Xecabaj
49.- Sebastián "	" ✓	" Xecabaj
50.- José Calgua	" ✓	"
51.- Tomás Ordóñez 2o.	" ✓	" Chippochil
52.- Sebastián Panjoj	" ✓	"
53.- Francisco Cutillo	" ✓	" Pachoj
54.- Apolonio Xiquin	" ✓	Quiché
55.- Tomás Pansay	" ✓	Maxeño
56.- " Marroquín	" ✓	"
57.- Petronila Sut	" ✓	" Sipela } w
58.- Juan Sut	" ✓	" Sipela } h
59.- Diego Cutillo	" ✓	" Pachaj
60.- Tomás Sut	" ✓	" Sipela
61.- " Tzoc	" ✓	" Xecabaj
62.- " Camó	" ✓	" Xecabaj
63.- " Tevelán Garcia	Venta de Sutes, Camisas ✓	"
64.- Sebastián Marroquín	Lazos, Petates ✓	"
65.- " Canil	Panadero ✓	" Xecabaj
66.- Miguel Marroquín	" ✓	"
67.- Tomás Salvador	Sal ✓	"
68.- Juan "	" ✓	"
69.- Manuel Sapón	Laza Laza ✓	Totonicapán
70.- Crispin Cacia	" ✓	"
71.- Manuel Panjoj	Chile seco ✓	Maxeño Chucujom
72.- Pedro Xirún	" " ✓	" Patzibal
73.- Tomás Panjoj	" " ✓	" Chucujom
74.- Domingo "	" " ✓	" Chucujom
75.- Juan Comos.	" " ✓	" Chucujom
76.- Gabriel Pantó	" " ✓	" Chontola
77.- Sebastián Macario	" " ✓	" Patzibal
78.- Manuel Quirino	" " ✓	"
79.- Tomás Salvador	" " ✓	"
80.- Mateo Xirún	" " ✓	" Patzibal
81.- Tomás "	" " ✓	" Patzibal
82.- Sebastián Morales	" " ✓	" Pachoj
83.- Tomás Panjoj	" " ✓	" Chucujom
84.- Sebastián "	" " ✓	" Chucujom
85.- Juan Morales Suy	" " ✓	" Chucujom
86.- Pedro Morales "	" " ✓	" Chucujom
87.- " Xirún	" " ✓	" Patzibal
88.- Petronila Xirún	Panela ✓	" Patzibal
89.- Jacinta Suar	" ✓	"
90.- José Comats	Verduras ✓	Sololá
91.- Martín Pable	" (buy here) ✓	Maxeño Pueblo.
92.- Josefa Cuxutig	" ✓	" Chulucmal 3o
93.- Vernandido Castro	" ✓	"
94.- José Tún	Cebollás ✓	Sololá
95.- Benito Xep	" ✓	"
96.- Mariano Guarcas	" ✓	"
97.- María Panjoj	" (Go to Sololá to buy) ✓	Maxeño Chucujom
98.- Simión Escojoj	" ✓	Sololá
99.- María Tuy Suy	" ✓	"
100.- Juana Chuy	Matasanos ✓	"
101.- Pable Char	Verduras ✓	"
102.- María Nas	Aguacates ✓	Maxeño
103.- Basilio Castro	Verduras ✓	Sololá
104.- Juana Suy	" ✓	Maxeño Chulucmal 1o

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NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSENCIA
105.- María Macario	Panela ✓	Maxeño
106.- Josefa Tiriquiz	" ✓	" Chichimal 3 ^a
107.- Miguel Suy	Ropa Indígena (mahu) ✓	" Chichimón
108.- Pablo Tuy	Verduras ✓	Sololá
109.- José "	" ✓	"
110.- Mariano Surin	" ✓	"
111.- Baleriano Saquic	" ✓	"
112.- Tomasa Gonzalez	Abaa ✓	maxeña
113.- Juana Pérez	Papas ✓	maxeña
114.- María Salvador	Icintales (Echintales) ✓	maxeña
115.- Catarina Macaria	Panela ✓	maxeña
116.- Tomasa Tercey	Aguacates, guineos	"
117.- María Macaria	"	"
118.- Anastacia Culash	Panela ✓	"
119.- Manuela Xirún	Aguacates ✓	" (Patz'ibal)?
120.- Ana Martín	Panela ✓	"
121.- María Pérez	Aguacates ✓	" (Zucel)?
122.- " Panjoj	Frijol	"
123.- Sebastián Martín	Sal ✓	maxeño
124.- José Gonzalez	" ✓	"
125.- Manuel Calel	" ✓	" (Chicamanibal)?
126.- José "	" ✓	"
127.- Sebastián Tol.	Azucar	"
128.- Manuel Xirún	Sal ✓	"
129.- Juan Morales	" ✓	"
130.- Manuel Pérez	Achote y sal	" (Chontola)?
131.- Tomás Martín	Especies	"
132.- José Guarcas	Café	"
133.- Manuel Gonzalez	" y frutas	"
134.- Sebastián Panjoj	Azucar y achotes	"
135.- Tomás Saquic	Especies	"
136.- Simión López	Arroz en leche	" (Zucel)?
137.- Tomás Macario	Café	" (Patz'ibal)?
138.- " " 2o.	"	" (Patz'ibal)?
139.- Manuel Dominguez	" azucar	" (Chicam)?
140.- Martín Macario	" "	" (Saguilla)?
141.- Juan Dominguez	" "	" (Chicam)?
142.- Anastasia Cortes	Panela ✓	"
143.- Basilia Tiño	Tamales	Lemoa
144.- Ana Gomez	"	"
145.- Magdalena Velasquez	"	"
146.- Dominga Suar	"	Maxeño
147.- Tomás Macario	Café	" Saguilla?
148.- Manuel Martín	"	"
149.- Josefa Canil	Panela ✓	" Saguilla
150.- Tomás Calel	Aguacates ✓	"
151.- María Xep	Verduras ✓	Sololá
152.- José Pachar	" ✓	"
153.- Antonio "	" ✓	"
154.- Pedro Xep	" ✓	"
155.- Juana Jorge	Tamales	Maxeño
156.- Sebastiana Ventura	Aguacates ✓	"
157.- Antonio Ventura	Frutas	"
158.- Tomás Chón	"	"
159.- " Suar	"	"
160.- Manuel Guarcas	Achote y fruta	"

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSENCIA
161.- Manuel Guarcas 2o.	Limas	Maxeño
162.- José Tumash	Fruta	Totonicapán
163.- Tomás Xiloj	"	Maxeño
164.- Diego "	"	"
165.- Tomás Morales	" y algodón	"
166.- " Pérez	"	"
167.- José Guarcas	Chile seco ✓	"
168.- Manuel Calgua	Frutas	"
169.- José Sut	"	"
170.- Sebastián Suar	"	"
171.- Juan Cipriano	"	"
172.- Antonio Ventura	"	"
173.- Tomás "	"	"
174.- " " 2o.	"	"
175.- " León	"	"
176.- " Mejía	" y sal	"
177.- María Tol	Paneta ✓	"
178.- Tomasa Set.	" ✓	"
179.- Josefa León	" ✓	"
180.- " Xirún	" ✓	" Patzibal
181.- " Ventura	Queños	Lemoa
182.- María Tiño	"	"
183.- Teodoro Tacán	Loza (Someo pottery) ✓	Totonicapán
184.- Alejandro "	"	"
185.- José Pá	" ✓	"
186.- Luis "	" ✓	"
187.- Manuel Garcia	Ollas ✓	"
188.- Marcelino "	" ✓	"
189.- José Batz	" ✓	"
190.- Antonio Morales	" ✓	"
191.- Juan Tacán	" ✓	"
192.- Diego Pacher	" ✓	"
193.- Juan Morales	Apastes	"
194.- Antonio Rosales	"	"
195.- Juan Morales 2o.	"	"
196.- Miguel Chue.	Ollas ✓	"
197.- José Alba	" ✓	"
198.- Diego Sapón	" ✓	"
199.- Juan On	" ✓	"
200.- " Hernández	" ✓	"
201.- Eustaquio Tzul	" ✓	"
202.- Santos Baquish	" ✓	"
203.- Pedro Aizac 2o.	Carne de marrano	Chiché
204.- Jeronima Méndez	" "	Quiché
205.- Bato Aizac	" "	Chiché
206.- Tomás Nix	" "	Maxeño
207.- Juan Tiniguar	" "	" <i>Chucapan</i>
208.- Ventura " (T)	" "	"
209.- Manuel Morales	" "	"
210.- Sebastián Tiniguar	" "	" <i>Chucam</i>
211.- Diego Mejía	" "	"
212.- Tomás Galel	" "	"
213.- Sebastián Chitic	" "	"
214.- Martín Chichí	Sombreros	Lemoa
215.- Venancio Aguilar	"	Quiché

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSEDENCIA
216.-Pedro Xilaj	Tinajas	San Pedro Japapilas
217.-Francisco Acabal	"	" " "
218.-Antonio Herrera	Sombreros	Quiché
219.-Pedro Calal	Tinajas	San Pedro Japapilas
220.-Juan Saquic	Panela	Maxeño Chichena
221.-Pedro Salvador	"	"
222.-Juan Tecum	"	" Chichena
223.-Manuel Saquic	"	" Chucuyom
224.-Juan Morales	"	"
225.-Diego Saquic	"	" Chucuyom
226.-Francisco Saquic	"	" Chucuyom
227.-Gaspar Tecún	"	"
228.-Tómas Algua	"	"
229.-Miguel Socuquí	"	"
230.-Jerónimo Soy	Tienda ropa (2nd) ✓	"
231.-Juan Ramos	" " (2nd) ✓	"
232.-Juan Salvador	Candelas	" Mactzul
233.-Tómas Salvador	"	" Mactzul
234.-Martín Conós M.	"	" Chucuyom
235.-José Xirúm	"	"
236.-Pedro Conos	"	" Chucuyom
237.-Rosa Chicol	Cafetera	"
238.-Manuel Nix	Candelas	"
239.-Diego Tevelán	"	"
240.-Miguel Gonzalez	"	"
241.-Juan Santos	"	San Antonio Halotenan
242.-Maximo de León	"	" " (80)
243.-Antonio Salán	"	" " "
244.-Tómas Chon Morales	"	Maxeño (Chiptimul) ✓
245.-Lucas Chon Morales	"	" (Chiptimul) ✓
246.-Martín Chon Morales	"	" Chiptimul ✓
247.-Juan Tiv	"	Quiché
248.-Antonio Yat Castro	"	Sta. María Chiquimul
249.-Salvador Guih	"	Maxeño Mactzul
250.-Elena Cac	Dulceria	"
251.-Rogelia Alvarado	"	Totonicapán
252.-José Yaxón	"	Sta. Lucia Atitlán
253.-Clara Luz Alvarado	"	Maxeño
254.-Sebastián Quiriquis	Candelas	" (Chontola)
255.-Miguel Conos	"	" (Chucuyom)
256.-Sebastián Conos	"	" (Chucuyom) ✓
257.-Tómas Conos	"	" (Chucuyom) ✓
258.-Tómas Salvador	"	" (Mactzul)
259.-José Sajché	"	San Crestobal
260.-Inocente Calej	"	Momostenango (Chic. Puc.)
261.-Pedro Xiloj	Barberia	Maxeño (Pueblo)
262.-José Xirúm	"	" Patzún
263.-Manuela Tzul	Arroz en leche	Totonicapán
264.-Petronila Nix	Cafetera	Maxeño Pueblo
265.-Juana Morales	"	" Chichimal ✓
266.-Lucia Poncio	Arroz en leche	Totonicapán
267.-María Morales	Cafetera	Maxeño Chichimal ✓
268.-Tómas Aquino	"	"
269.-Manuel Socuquí	"	"

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSENCIA
270.- Micaela Noriega	Cafetera	Maxeño
271.- Maria Gonzalez (Nix)	"	" Pueblo-Chontula
272.- Maria Socono	"	"
273.- Rufina B. de Citalán	Arróz en leche	Totonicapán Chich. Pueblo
274.- Manuel Tol	Barbería	Maxeño
275.- Antonio Poncio	Jabón	Quiché
276.- Sebastián Lastor	Ploma y Pón	Maxeño
277.- Tomás Chitic	Pón (bruy S. Pedro Joz)	" Sepela
278.- Juan Mateo	" (bruy S. Pedro Joz)	" Sepela
279.- Juan Morales	Algodón	"
280.- Tomás Morales	"	"
281.- Tomás Cham	Café	" Chitiminut
282.- Juan Pacajol	Panela (bruy here)	" Chucam
283.- Petrona Riquia	" (" ")	" Chujapan
284.- Maria Tol	"	"
285.- Juana Gonzalez	"	"
286.- Manuela Xirum	" (bruy here)	" Saquilla
287.- Patronila Xerum	"	"
288.- Tomasa Pérez	"	"
289.- Lucia Ajanel	"	"
290.- Manuela Tol	"	"
291.- Diego Grijalva	Jabón	Lemaa
292.- Manuel Tevelán	"	Maxeño
293.- Sebastián Canil	"	" Kalkakies
294.- Francisco Tay	"	" Pacaxieh
295.- León Mejía	Frutas	Quiché
296.- José Pérez	"	Maxeño
297.- Tomás Canil	Sal	"
298.- Tomás Pérez	Frutas	"
300.- Sebastián Bosel	"	"
301.- Juan Sut	Ropa Indígena	"
302.- Diego Tol	Sal Azucar	"
303.- Manuel Morales E.	Especies	"
304.- Manuel Mejía	Jicaras	"
305.- José Lorenzo	Inchoso	Sacapulas
306.- José López	"	"
307.- Juan Felipe	"	"
308.- Martel Basquez	"	"
309.- Sebastián Lino	Chamarras	Maxeño
310.- Sebastián Morales	"	"
311.- Nicolas Pichol	Maiz	"
312.- Pable Pérez	"	"
313.- Miguel Tol	"	"
314.- José Calal	"	"
315.- Diego Bacal	"	"
316.- Tomás Guarcas	"	"
317.- Julián Cap	"	"
318.- Sebastián Tecum	"	"
319.- Tomás Chamil	"	"
320.- José Ordomez	" (Pan)	" ChijPocohil
321.- Juan Morales	"	"
322.- Diego Ventura	"	"
323.- Tomás Tol	"	"
324.- Juan Mejía	"	"
325.- Tomás Riquia	"	"
326.- Sebastián Mejía	"	"
327.- Manuel Tol	"	"

NOMBRES	VENTAS	PROSEDENCIA
328.- Dominga Cap	Chiyute	Maxeño
329.- Maria Calel	"	"
330.- Josefa Morales	"	"
331.- Tomasa Gonzalez	"	"
332.- Antonia Pérez	"	"
333.- Tomasa Marquic	"	"
334.- Tomasa Gonzalez	Paña <i>Telespa</i> (Saguaqui)	"
335.- Sebastián Pérez	"	"
336.- Sebastián Salvador	"	"
337.- Fash Loje m.	"	"
338.- Santán Tecum	"	"
339.- Tomasa Gonzalez	"	"
340.- Josefa Cosquic	Gallinas	"
341.- Sebastián Guaves	"	"
342.- Maria Guaves	"	"
343.- Manuel Matias	"	"
344.- Tomasa Ricuiac	"	"
345.- Tomas Gonzalez	"	"
346.- Maria Calel	"	"
347.- Guin Nix	"	"
348.- Maria Nix	"	"
349.- Maria Salvador	"	"
350.- Manuel Salvador	"	"
351.- Tomás Cafa	"	"
352.- Juan Mejia	"	"
353.- Tomas Pishcar	Flores	"
354.- Manuel Panjoj	"	"
355.- Miguela Gonzalez	"	"
356.- Felipe Tzoc	Cal	Chiquimula
357.- Catalina Lux	"	"
358.- Marcos Carrillo	"	"
359.- Maria Tzoc	"	"
360.- Antonio Lux	"	"
361.- Maria xip	Hojas	"
362.- Tomasa Calel	Escobas	Maxeño
363.- Sebastián Cortéz	"	"
364.- Guin Qhan	"	"
365.- Tash Surá (Teresa Ventura)	Atole	" <i>Zucil</i>
366.- Pedro Saquic	Canastos	"
367.- Manuel Sumin	Mosas	Totonicapán
368.- Juan Pá	Ollas	San Pedro
369.- Paubla Xicav	Tamales	Lenja
370.- Tomas Mejia	Tamales	Maxeño <i>Saguilla</i>
371.- Juan Yat	"	"
372.- Julián Yat	"	"
373.- Jerónimo Cutuy	"	"
374.- Manuel Macá	"	"
375.- Manuel Chumil	"	"
376.- Juan Tecum	"	"
377.- Tomas Morales	"	"
378.- Domingo Gonzalez	"	"
379.- Tomas Macarie	"	"
380.- Sebastián Ganil	"	"
381.- Manuel Yacón	Carne de carnero	"
382.- Ana Piscoar	" " marrano	"

Table 4 a and b

PRODUCT	Number of Merchants selling in the Market <small>January 1935</small>																														
	TOTAL	Chichicastenango		Residents of places other than Chichicastenango																											
		Indians	Others	Ladinos	Chiches	Lemons	Quiches	Guatemalas	Sobitos	San Marcos	San Pedro	San Juan	San Marcos	San Pedro	San Juan	San Marcos	San Pedro	San Juan	San Marcos	San Pedro	San Juan										
TOTAL MERCHANTS	614	30	106	4	7	4	3	4	0	2	10	6	2	4	8	26	5	26	0	9	3	2	0	2	0	13	0	4	1		
Maize	51	49	1																												
Beans (frijoles)	6	4	2																												
Dry peppers (chila xosa)	15	15																													
Green peppers (chila verde)	4	4																													
Salt	12	12																													
Potatoes	3		3																												
Sugar	4	38	1																												
Low-refined sugar (cañeta)	37	76	21																												
Local fruits	11	11																													
Tropical fruits	21	21																													
Onions	10		2																												
Chicks	9	5	4																												
Chickens	1		1																												
Shrimp	1		1																												
Pork	12	11	1																												
Mutton	15	13																													
Beef (carne de res)	9	9																													
Honey	1		1																												
Cheese	5		5																												
Bread	22	21	1																												
Samitas	11	6																													
Atole	4		4																												
Tortillas	3		3																												
Tamales	7		7																												
Coffee (as beverage)	11		11																												
Sweets	4		4																												
Alfajones	1		1																												
Rice-milk drink	4		4																												
Cold drinks	2		2																												
Luncheon	6		2																												
Flowers	7		1																												
Candles	24	16	3																												
Incense	23	11																													
Cloth for skirts	4		4																												
Belts (cintal)	2		2																												
Hats	3		3																												
Shirts	1		1																												
Sandals	4		3																												
Indian clothing (general)	3		3																												
Blouses (buzis)	2		2																												
Head-cloths (swates)	2		2																												
Cotton																															
Agave-fiber (pita floja)	8		2																												
Pitch-wood (cots)	21		12																												
Leaves (for tamales)	3		3																												
Lime (cal)	10																														
Soap	6		3																												
Lead	1		1																												
Blankets	5		5																												
Tables	2																														
Wooden combs	1		1																												
Brooms	6		5																												
General Dry Goods	16		16																												
Halter-heads (liguimal)	2																														
Rops	1		1																												
Mats	1		1																												
Gourds (jicard)	1		1																												
Baskets	1		1																												
Hampers (guacales)	1		1																												
Red, unglazed pottery	24																														
Green and Cream glazed pottery	65																														
Barbers	2		2																												
Total	614	30	106	4	7	4	3	4	0	2	10	6	2	4	8	26	5	26	0	9	3	2	0	2	0	13	0	4	1		

1. Although all of the Merchants are local Indians, the maize is all imported. Only after the harvest is home-grown maize to be found in the market here; otherwise it comes from the Coast, from Tecpan, from Quiche and Chiche. Actually, almost all of the merchants enumerated here went to Tecpan to buy the maize which they sell here. The one woman simply bought the corn in market here to sell in smaller quantities.
2. Occasionally Indians from Quiche and Chiche bring beans here to sell; but for the most part local Indians go to other pueblos to buy the beans for sale here, and that is the case these days. Some home-grown beans are sold here too, and as with maize women buy in the market to sell in small quantities. The beans that are sold here in the market are bought not only by consumers, but also by other local Indians who then take them to the Capital or to Quetzaltenango, where the prices are often higher, to sell.
3. The dry chile originates in Jutiapa, and is brought here by Maxeno Indians on their backs, by mule-pack, and even (in two cases of big-business men) in motor trucks. The bigger dealers are only wholesalers, and the merchants listed have, most of them, bought from them small quantities to sell in the market.
4. Most green chile comes from San Andres Sajcabaja (Quiche) and from coast centers like Mazatenango. Local Indians journey to these places to buy their wares.
5. These merchants all bought their salt in Mazatenango.
6. There are three varieties of potatoes sold here at various times. One locally-grown variety is very small and red, and is consumed only by the Indians; the other home-grown potato is a large white one and is consumed by local Indians and ladinos and is also taken to the cities to sell. The great potato center, however, is Chiantla (Huehuetenango) and local Indians go there to buy them to sell here; these are large red potatoes. The ones in market (and quite scarce) are the local white potatoes.
7. Local Indians go to the Coast cities (Mazatenango, Chicacao, Patalul, etc.) to buy the sugar which they sell here.
8. Panela is black sugar that is marketed in large balls, which in turn are cut into pieces for sale in small quantities. The women selling it in the market have all bought large balls here and have cut them into small pieces for sale. Most of the men have gone to Solola to buy the panela in the stores (to which it has come from the Coast). A few Indians also buy in Joyabaj, Zacualpa, Chinique, and Chiche.
9. Local fruits, in season, such as peaches, grenadillas, mambriños, anonas, are usually brought to market by the growers; but occasionally an Indian will buy up a supply in the cantones to sell in the market. The women in the markets here are selling their own products.

10. Tropical fruits such as oranges, bananas, pineapples, sapotes, coconuts, etc. are brought by local Indians who regularly go to Coast markets like Mazatenango to buy them. An exception is lemons, which are obtained in Panajachel (Solola).

11. Onions, like other vegetables, are grown for this market chiefly in Solola and the cantones of Chichicastenango near Solola (the "cold country"). The growers generally bring their own onions to market. Local Indians often buy them in quantities to take to the Capital to sell.

12. The term is here given to a kind of plant fiber used in making mats, bags, ropes, etc. The growers prepare it and bring it to market.

13. Echintales are guisquil roots, and are used as food. Guisquiles (fruit) are brought to market by the growers, in season, and so are echintales.

14. Bixa orellana, used in seasoning and garnishing food, especially ritually. This is brought up from the coast by the local Indians who sell it in the market.

15. A fruit grown locally, among other places -- in this case Solola.

16. A local fruit sold here by the growers.

17. A kind of lima bean; locally grown and sold. Some local Indians buy them in quantities at the market and take them to the Capital to sell.

18. Local Indians go down to the Coast cities to buy the coffee, bring it up here and sell it in the market; the woman in the Sunday market here has bought it here and is selling coffee in small quantities.

19. The coffee is generally sold unroasted and the people here roast and grind it; this is a case of a man selling roasted and ground coffee that he has had prepared for such sale here.

20. The spices are imported in some cases; in all cases (except cinnamon) it comes from the Capital, and local Indians go to buy it to sell here.

21. Cabbages and other green vegetables (except onions). See Note 11.

22. All of the pigs sold here come from the cantones of Chichicastenango and from Chiche. Some Indians (from both places) bring their own pigs to sell; others sell them to Indians who make a business of collecting them in the mountains to bring to market. Many pigs are bought in the Chiche market Wednesdays and Saturdays for sale here the next days; the markets represented here are exceptional because no Chiche merchants are represented.

Notes to Chichicastenango Market (cont'd)

23. Sold pretty much like pigs (see Note 22) except that more women bring their own chickens to market.
24. Indians from Santa Maria Chiquimula and from Chichicastenango have a specialty of going to Tapachula, Mexico to bring back a couple of mule-loads of dry shrimp and sometimes fish. They then sell it wholesale in their respective markets; it is bought up here by local Indians who take it other places to sell, and of course some is sold here retail. In this particular market there is little shrimp and on Sunday only a seller of shrimp -- from Chiquimula; other days there are more shrimp merchants, including local Indians.
25. Beef is sold daily in permanent markets rented by Indians from the town; but pork is available in town only on market days. Butchers buy up pigs in the mountains usually and bring the meat to market to sell.
26. Mutton is sold as pork is.
27. These figures do not include the permanent butchers. There are a number of butcher-establishments in a municipal building; these butchers bring their cattle from the coast and butcher them at a slaughter-house just outside of town.
28. Ordinarily honey is brought up from the Coast (Godinas and Agua Escondida especially) by local Indians; there are several local Indians who grow and sell it, but only during Holy Week is honey an important market commodity.
29. All of the cheese in the market comes from Lemoa, and Lemocatecas always bring it to sell.
30. Bread -- small white rolls -- is baked by Chichicastenango Indian men and sold by them or members of their families. Ladinos have their own bakeries, but the bread doesn't find its way to the market.
31. A small doughnut-shaped and crusty bread, baked and sold like bread.
32. Local Indian women make and sell it.
33. Same as 32.
34. Same as 32.
35. Same as 32.
36. Large red-and-white balls of sugar are cut up into small pieces for sale as candy; made by Indians here and elsewhere and sold by the makers. Ladinos also make and sell these.
37. A kind of braided candy made from panela, all of it coming from Sacapulas.
38. Totonicapena women who live in Chichicastenango, especially, make this drink to sell here.

Notes on the Chichicastenango Market (Cont'd)

39. A cool drink of sweetened sugar, colored red.
40. Includes tortillas, meat, soup, coffee, etc.
41. Grown in "the cold country".
42. Candles are brought with other things like ~~cigarettes~~, cigars, matches, etc. from Guatemala, chiefly by local Indians. ~~Several~~ Several Indians from San Cristobal, living in Chichicastenango now, manufacture candles for sale here.
43. There are two incenses: one, from a pine tree, called Estoraque or Gopal, comes from Santa Maria Chiquimula; local Indians buy it from them on the road and bring it in to market. The other kind is known as pom, and it comes from Sacapulas -- brought to market here by Indians from there.
44. There are some eight mills in town, using crude foot-looms in making the cloth. The cloth is all sold to the Indians, here and in Chiche.
45. These are not used here, but local Indians buy them to take to the Coast to sell.
46. Sold by the makers. Local Indians often buy them to take to the Coast to sell.
47. The material is bought in stotes here and the Indian cuts, sews, and sells the shirts here.
48. Buy the leather in a local tannery, make and sell the sandals here. The Totonicapan Indians are generally good craftsmen, and some who live in Chichicastenango make sandals.
49. All woven by Maxeña women; most of the garments are sold to tourists, and it appears that several years ago such things as hulpiles and sutes were not sold in the market.
50. Same as 49
51. Same as 49.
52. Bought on the coast by local Indians who sell it here.
53. Prepared by local Indians who bring it to sell.
54. Sold by the gatherers.
55. Sold by the gatherers.
56. From Chiquimula or Patzite, and brought by the gatherers. Some also comes from Santa Apolonia, and local Indians go there to get it to sell here; but not in these particular markets.
57. Made of pig's fat and wood-ashes; sold by the makers.

Notes on the Chichicastenango Market (Cont'd)

58. Lead is bought by local Indians in the stores of Quiche and brought to market here to sell chiefly to Totonicapan Indians who use it in their pottery-making. It is used for bullets too.

59. These are the local blankets, generally black with ends bordered with red, or else the small gray and black checked blankets used as aprons for the children and by Sololotecan men. They are woven in Chichicastenango by certain Indians and sold mostly in this market. Occasionally a merchant from Momostenango comes to this market with blankets from there, but more often Momostenango peddlars come during the week and sell on the street or house-to-house.

60. All furniture comes from Chimente, an aldea of Totonicapan, and the makers bring it here to sell.

61. Like loom-sticks and wooden dolls, these combs are made in Agua Escondida -- a canton of Tecpan bordering Chichicastenango. Neighboring Maxenos go to Agua Escondida and buy up the combs by the gross or so and bring them to this market to sell. Other Maxenos may buy them here to sell on the Coast, etc.

62. These are ordinary brooms sold by the makers. There ~~are~~ is occasionally to be found a finer broom in this market -- one made in San Andres (Quiche) and brought here by the makers.

63. This is the "notion" section, plus such things as cigars, matches, flashlight batteries, etc. The things are bought by local merchants in Guatemala, Quezaltenango, or (in cases of very small-scale merchants) in Quiche.

64. All made in Totonicapan.

65. All from Rabinal and Salama, and brought here for sale by local Indians.

66. Most of them come from San Andres (Quiche), brought by local Indians.

67. Local Indians buy them in Rabinal for sale here.

68/ See 67.

69. Large gourds. See 67.

70. Consisting of large water jugs (tinajas) pitchers, griddles (comales), etc. All are brought here by Indians from San Pedro Jocopilas, where they are made.

71. Chiefly small pieces, and all made in Chimente -- an aldea of Totonicapan -- and brought here by the makers.

72. The barbers are Indians who ply their trade on market days, stationed in entrances to houses and in front of the convento. There are ladino barbers who work all week in regular shops, but they are not figured as part of the market.

Market Taxes

The variation in size of the market from week to week throughout the year is most easily seen in a study of the amount of the market taxes collected throughout the year. In 1939 I obtained this information from the town treasurer. It is summarized graphically in the chart that follows. It is seen clearly that the Sunday market is always substantially bigger than the Thursday market, that there are seasonal variations which correspond fairly well with the religious calendar. Hence there was almost no market during Holy Week but especially large markets before. And by far the largest market^{was} during the annual titular fiesta. The scale of charges is reproduced on the page following the chart.

Taxes charged in Market of Chichicasteñango
1938

Chile - 1 qq.	.08	Talabarterías	.08
Sal "	.08	Muebles de Tot.	.05
Frutas "	.08	Carne de cerdo	.10
ollas grandes	.06	" " carnero	.06
" peq. de Tot.	.05	Sombreros de petate	.08
Escudillos y jarros de lozo	.05	Azucar y varios	.05
Cordeles	.10	Cotí	.10
Jabón	.12	Canastos	.08
Candelas de cebo y varios	.05	Lana y algodon	.10
Candelas de cero y varios	.08	Barberías	.08
Puros y varios	.05	Cerdo gordo (por cabeza)	.10
Azadones	.10	" pequeña	.05
Estoraque	.08	Carnero	.08
Pom	.05	Caballo	.15
Cortes de jerga	.15	Vaca parida	.15
Ponchos de lana	.10	Vaca forra ó buey	.15
Cagaderas	.08	Destace de reses (cada cabeza)	.33
Café en grano	.10	" " cerdo "	.10
Panela	.15	" " carneros "	.05
Petates y varios	.08		
Café hecho y cocinas	.08		
Gal al por menos	.05		
Tiendas de ropa	.10		
Pan y arroz en leche	.08		

In the annual Fiesta, they charge
more and have many more items listed.

9. Household Accounts and Cost of Living

Table 5 is a statistical summary of considerable information on the annual cash income of Indians of the four cantones especially studied.

Table 5

Canton	No. of Persons	Persons not Employed		ESTIMATED CASH INCOME OF INDIVIDUALS AND OF HOUSEHOLDS																									
				LABORERS					ARTISANS					MERCHANTS					PROFESSIONALS					AGRICULTURE		DOMESTIC ANIMALS			
				No.	Age	Sex	Total	No.	Age	Sex	Type	Income	No.	Age	Sex	Specialty	Income	No.	Age	Sex	Profession	Income	No.	Age	Sex	Activity	Income	Crop	Income
16	116	79	22	15	15				521	8				307	10				480	4					318		6		1236
17	197	119	42	20	20				800	35				1613	16				707	5					490		261		485
20	100	71	25	10	10				390	8				870	12				825	6					360				175
5	188	128	30	27	27				1195	40				2916	44				9950	10					705		695		559

Summary of Statistics on the Cash
Income of Four Cantons
of Chichicastenango

Note: The fractions refer to individuals whose time is divided between two occupations.

Table 6 is a household-by-household breakdown for the canton of Quejil alone, for which information is most complete and most reliable. It is reproduced on the ² following pages.

Tomas Ventura C.

The cost of living. The standard of living of the Indians varies considerably according to the wealth of the families. The very poorest people live on the products of corn with the addition of beans, salt, and chile; they dress in tatters and depend upon the charity of others for what clothes they get. Very wealthy Indians have meat several times a week, eat quantities of vegetables and fruits, besides the staples; use much coffee and sugar, chocolate and panela; and they have their houses stocked well with a variety of utensils; and they buy several new costumes a year. Between the extremes are all degrees of living conditions. The following discussion of living costs includes practically all items that any of the Indians ever use. Probably no family uses all of them regularly.

Maize is used in many forms, but especially as tortillas, tamales, and atol. An adult consumes about a pound and a quarter of maize daily, and a child uses about half that much. The least maize ever sell for during the year is a little more than a cent a pound, and in June it costs two cents and in August almost three cents. The poorer people are not able to invest in maize when it is cheapest and so must pay a lot as the weeks roll by. Of course most people have some milpa, but ~~few~~ no more than about half have enough for their own needs.

Beans (frijoles) are the second most important food. Red beans aren't used much here, and white beans, slightly more expensive than the black, are eaten only in Lent. The black beans are the staple. An adult usually eats about half a pound a day. In season beans cost about 2½ cents a pound, and in June

Tomas Ventura C. Cost of living, cont'd

and July the cost is from 4 to 4½ cents a pound. Some parts of Chichicastenango do not grow beans in the milpa at all, and most people have to buy some in addition to what their milpas produce.

Chile, of the dry, red variety, is all imported into Chichicastenango. Each person requires about an ounce a week, but Children much less. In a favorable season it costs about ten cents a pound, but in June and July it costs from twenty to thirty-five cents.

Salt costs about 3½ cents a pound, and the family must figure about a sixth of a pound of week per person; but if no meat is used, and no vegetables, salt consumption decreases.

Coffee is not used much by poor people, but Tomas' family, for example, drinks it three times a day -- and each person consumes about three cubes a week. It is all brought in to Chichicastenango and sold green at from 4 cents to 6 cents a pound, depending on the quality.

Panela is a crude brown sugar, sold in large balls, two balls making a manuerna. It is used in coffee (the Indians preferring it here to sugar) and those who use much coffee use half a pound a week. Panela costs from 30 to 50 cents a mancuerna of about 12 pounds. It is sold also in smaller quantities at correspondingly higher prices.

Meat is used in varying amounts, but even the fairly well-to-do don't use more than a half-pound a week per person. Beef sells for 5 cents a pound, mutton for 6 cents and pork for 7 cents.

Lard costs 7 cents a pound, and each person requires about an ounce a week.

Bread is used by all during Holy Week; otherwise comparatively few people use it, and these only for breakfast. A large roll

Tomas Ventura O. Cost of living, cont'd

of "francais", the term applied to white bread (the only kind used here) costs a penny. Semitas, a kind of cookie, are eaten by those who can afford them.

Onions cost about 5 cents a bunch of eight or nine, and a person may average an onion a week.

Cabbage costs from 5 cents to 10 cents a head, depending upon size, and a person may consume a cents worth a week.

Bananas are about 3 for a penny, and well-to-do people may give two or three a week to each of the children.

Oranges are three for a cent, more or less, and the Indians eat a few. Zepotes cost as much as 3 cents apiece and are almost never eaten by the Indians. The same may be said of pineapples (which sell for 4 or 5 cents), coconuts, and other fruits from the coast.

Potatoes are about 3 cents a pound, and that will last 5 potato-eaters a week.

Tomatoes vary in price from 4 to 6 cents a pound, and a pound will last a family of five a week.

Dried fish are brought up occasionally (especially Holy Week) and sell for ~~from 10 cents to a quarter a~~ from 10 cents to a quarter a pound, depending on the quality. Dried shrimp are often brought in, and sell for 8 cents a pound.

Eggs. Most people have them, but if not, they must pay about a penny apiece for them.

Lard cracklings are a popular delicacy; they cost some 16 cents a pound and are eaten sparingly.

Cinnamon is sold for five cents a stick and is used in coffee.

Coffee drinkers can go three weeks on a penny's worth.

Many more foods are eaten occasionally: Cheese, sugar (at 5 cents a pound, used in Chocolate, which itself is used almost as much

Tomas Ventura C. Cost of living, cont'd

as coffee and costs chocolate-drinkers altogether 2 or 3 cents a week), rice, a large number of local fruits and squashes (which are usually raised by the users, however). These do not figure largely in the general economy, however. Lime, used in cooking the corn, costs about $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a pound, and a family needs about a pound a week. Other miscellaneous necessities, such as soap (a locally made black pig-fat soap) take a few cents a week per person.

A certain minimum number of kitchen utensils are required:

Pots: One large pot is required for boiling the maize with lime, and another for cooking tamales. These cost from 15 cents to 20 cents apiece. Two large pots, at the same price, are needed to wash the maize, and one for about 15 cents (one with holes) in addition. These pots break often and must be replaced every two or three months. Two or three water jugs, at about 30 cents, are required, and these break perhaps every six months. Wealthier people also have very large storage jugs for water, and they cost as much as \$1.50. Everybody needs two comales (tortilla griddles) which cost only 5 cents apiece but must be replaced about once a month. Also, several jars, for hot water, for coffee, for atol, for "bebida", may be required, and they cost 4 or 5 cents apiece and break readily with use. Pots for beef, dishes for pork and chicken (separate), small pots for tomatoes, chile, vegetables, etc., a washbowl for dishes, probably cost a couple of dollars during the year. ~~xxxxxxxx~~

Grinding stones. There must be one for every woman in the house. They come from Mahuala and cost about \$1.25 apiece; they break occasionally, too. Wooden pieces (made in Solola and sold for ten cents) are placed on the sides of the grinding stone.

Some tools are usually necessary, especially if there is considerable milpa, and they wear out occasionally and must be replaced. Two or three knives at fifteen or twenty cents; two machetes in the kitchen and one for each man at 25 cents apiece; every man needs an ax, which costs \$1.50; a hoe for each man and each mozo hired costs 75 cents apiece; four or five scythes (cortadores) at 25 cents; and two or three pick-axes at \$1.25. There may be a gun in the house in addition.

The cost of clothes varies with the quantity and the quality used. The following prices are figured without the labor involved in weaving and embroidering. A man requires from one to five of the following items per year:

Head-pieces	at \$.75 to \$5.00
costs coat and trousers	at \$3.00 to \$15.00
sashes	at \$1.00 to \$3.00
bags.....	at \$1.00 to \$5.00
shirts.....	at .50 to \$2.00
hats	at .10 to \$2.00

Women each require from one to six of the following per year:

head pieces	at \$.75 to \$2.00
braids for hair	at .06 to \$1.50
blouses	at \$1.00 to \$6.00
skirts	at \$1.50 to \$5.00
belts	at .20 to \$2.00

In addition there is jewelry desired by the women and children. Most of this sort of thing requires a cash outlay.

Prices of foodstuffs in Chichicasteango:

6

Product	Price		
	July-Sept	May-June	Oct.-April
White corn (25 lbs)	.35	.15	.12
<u>Salpor</u>	.50	.30	.25
Yellow corn	.30	.13	.10
Black corn (<u>ra/wat'</u>)	.20	.13	.08
Vari-colored corn (<u>amlo upam</u>)	.20	.13	.08
Black beans (lb.) (<u>milpa or between rows</u>)	.05	.04	.03
White beans	.06	.05	.04
Red beans	.04	.03	.02
Speckled beans (<u>waku'</u>)	.03	.02	.01½
Round, green, fresh (beans?) (<u>xawu'</u>) (measure of quarter lb)	.01-.02	none	Oct. only .01-.02
Peas? (abas) (lb)	.05	.03	.02
Onions, bunch of 10	June-Oct. .08-.10		Nov.-May .05-.06
Cabbages	.02½-.05		.05-.10
Chile (dry) (lb.)	Mar.-May .15	June-Aug .20-.25	Sept.-Feb. .10
Green Chile (lb.)	May-Oct. .02	xxx	none
Tomatoes (lb)		Mar.-May .02	Jan.-Feb. .05
Wild tomato (lb)	June-Nov. .08-.02		
Grenadilla tomato	(consumed only by producers)		
Red potato	(sold by measure only)		
Chiantla potato (lb)	.10		.05

Personal
file,
informant.

Food Prices .

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Maize - from \$1 for 100 lbs. in January to \$2.50 in August.
One adult uses $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. a week, a child $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. a week.

Beans - From 3 cts. a lb. in January to 5 cts. a lb. in Sept.
Adult uses 3 lbs. a week, a child 1 lb.

See. cont'd

Salt - From $3\frac{1}{2}$ cts. a lb. in January to 6 cts. in Sept.
Adult uses 1 lb. a week, four ounces for a child.

Chili - From 1 ct. an ounce in January to 2 cts. in Sept.
Adult uses 2 oz. a week, children don't eat it till 6.

Meat - Pork $7\frac{1}{2}$ cts. a lb., beef 5 cts.; mutton 4 cts.
An adult eats about 1 lb. a week, 4 oz. for a child.

Vegetables - An adult needs about 3 cts. worth a week, child 1 ct.

Coffee - From 6 cts. lb in January to 8 cts. a lb. in Sept.
Four oz. a week for adults, children 1 ounce.

Panela - $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. ball for 20 cents.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ ball for adult a week, $\frac{1}{4}$ for child.

Fruits - 3 cts. worth of fruit per adult per week; 1 ct. for child.

Onions - 3 cts. to 5 cts. a bunch (January - September)
1 bunch per person per week, $\frac{1}{2}$ for child

Potatoes - From 3 cts. in Sept. & Oct. to 5 cts. lb. in Jan. & Feb.
 $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per week per adult, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. for child

Tomatoes - From 3 cts. a lb. in Jan. to 8 cts. a lb. in Sept.
1 lb. a week per person, 4 oz. for child.

Rice - 4 cts. a lb in January to 8 cts. in Sept.
1 lb. a week for adult, 4 oz. for child.

Green chili - From 3 cts. a lb. in Jan. to 7 cts. in Sept.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. a week for adult, 1 or 2 oz. for child

Chocolate - 13 cents a pound
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per person per week; 4 oz. for child.

Chicken - 25 cts. a piece, 30 cts. for large one
Maybe once a week.

Eggs - From 1 ct. to 2 cts. a piece
Adults eat from five to twelve eggs a week, 2 a wk. for child

Lard - 14 cts. a lb. in Sept; 17 cts. a lb. in January
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. a week per person, 2 oz. for child

Cheese - 1 ct. for a small cheese ($1\frac{1}{2}$ oz)
5 small cheeses a week for adult, 2 for child.

ANNUAL BALANCE SHEET FOR DIEGO IGNACIO

Income in Cash

Salary as school-director and teacher	180.00
Profits from sale of weaving by Juana	30.00
Income from sale of eggs	3.00
Income from sale of wool	2.50
Income from sale of pigs	10.00
Income from renting of horses	12.00
Income from sale of honey	1.50
Income from sale of bees' wax	.75
Renting out of masks and costumes	20.00
	<hr/>
Total	\$259.75

Expenditures in CashFood

Maise (for family and animals)	15.00
(for 3 mo. - 100 lbs, each)	
Beans	.50
(needs 25 lbs. average yrs)	
Dry chili	4.50
Salt	3.00
Meat	10.00
Lime, for boiling maise	.50
(2 lbs a week)	
Coffee, 2 lbs a week	5.00
Panela	15.00
Vegetables	1.00
(cabbage, etc.)	
Bread	10.00
Tomatoes	1.00
Onions	1.00
Potatoes	1.00
	<hr/>
Carried fwd.	67.50

Hand

-2-

67.50

759.75

Lard	2.50
Oranges	2.00
Bananas and platanos	3.00
<u>Sapayal</u> (for atol)	2.50
Peanuts (for Sto. Tomas)	.20
Rosquitas " " "	1.00
Alfinique " " "	.40
Wheat flour for bread (Semana Santa)	1.25
Fish " "	1.20
Cheese	3.50
Chocolate (cacao)	2.00
Rice	.75
Cinnamon (canela)	.15
Sugar	2.25
Achiote (pimento or paprika?)	.75
Aguacate	.75
Pineapples	.15
Peaches	.50
Guisguiles	.40
Zapotes	1.20
Cocoanuts	2.20
Coyoles	.30
Apples	.50
Jocote	1.50
Gulantro	.50
Fresh chili	.75
Ejote Aguas (dried)	.10
Echintla	.40

Total 99.20

Fwd
Supplies

98.20

259.75

Soap	2.50
Coote	1.00
Candles	1.25
Incense	1.00
Cigarettes	6.00
Matches	2.00
Feed for animals	7.00
Liquor, etc.	12.00
Taxes	2.00
School supplies	<u>.40</u>

Total 35.15

Utensils

Pots	.75
Dishes	1.00
Baskets	.40
Grinding stones (one in five years)	.35
Rope	.60
Net bags	.80
<u>Gamarones</u> (for horse)	.20
Potatoes	.60
Blankets	4.50
Coffee (one every three or four years)	.15
Locks and keys	.45
Houses (one every ten or fifteen years), average	3.00
Machetes, knives, tools	<u>1.00</u>

Total 13.80

Clothes

Materials for huipiles, bandas, sutes, etc.	25.00
Fajas	<u>1.00</u>
Carried Fwd.	<u>26.00</u>

147.15

4

Purd

Men's clothes	26.00	147.15	257.75
Shirts	9.00		
Sandals	4.00		
Hats	1.00		
Hats	.50		
Jewelry and combs	5.00		
Total		45.50	

Travel

To fiestas, etc. 2.00 2.00

Services and Labor

Mozos for lena and work 10.00

Shaman 1.50

Midwife (every 2nd yr.) Ave. .05

Padrino " " " " .05

Baptism " " " " .29

Masses (Average) 1.00

Total

12.89

Balance $\frac{207.54}{\$ 52.21}$

Information on which Annual
 Allowance Sheet for "Days Ignacio" is based

Food in Family

317
 Aguacero

Food	Mexical	Diego
✓ maize	12½ lbs a day	15 lbs a day (including ^{amounts})
✓ Frijoles	6 lbs a week	6 lbs a week
✓ Chile (red)	½ lbs a week	6oz. a week
✓ salt	2 lbs " "	2 lbs " "
✓ Meat	4 lbs a week	4 lbs " "
✓ limes	1 lb a week	1 lb " " ½¢ a lb
✓ coffee	2 lbs " "	2 lbs " "
✓ panela	8 lbs " " (retail)	8 lbs " "
✓ verduras	4¢ a week	4¢ a week
✓ pan	20¢ " "	30¢ " "
✓ tomates	1 lb a week	1 lb a week
✓ onions	4¢ a week	4¢ a week
✓ potatoes	2 lbs a week [in season]	2 lbs a week [3 mos a year]
✓ hard	½ lb a week	½ lb a week
✓ oranges	8¢ a week	8¢ a week
✓ bananas	6¢ a week	6¢ a week
✓ Sapaquil (in total)	1 lb a week	1 lb a week
✓ peanuts	3 lbs [1 week for Sta Tomas]	3 lbs [1 week - Sta Tomas]
✓ roscitos (bread)	16 lb [1 week Sta Tomas]	16 lb [1 week Sta Tomas]
✓ alpinique (dulce) from Sacapulas	40¢ worth [1 week - Sta Tomas]	40¢ worth [1 week Sta Tomas]
✓ wheat flour for bread	25 lbs [1 week (only) Semana Santa]	25 lbs [1 week - Semana Santa]
Honey	16 bottles [only Semana Santa]	16 bottles [only Semana Santa]
✓ Fish	6 lbs [only Semana Santa]	6 lbs [only Semana Santa] [Dogs eat 6 lbs]
✓ Turkey	1 [" " "]	1 [" " "]
✓ Chickens	3 a week	3 a week

Product	Miguel	Diego
soap	7¢ a week	7¢ a week
scote	4¢ a week	4¢ a week
leña	4 cargas a week	4 cargas a week
scandles	6¢ a week + \$5 ⁰⁰ for coximbres	6¢ a week + \$5 ⁰⁰ for coximbres
licence	2 ounces a week + 24 ounces for coximbres	2 ounces a week + 24 ounces for coximbres
cigars	6¢ a week	—
cigarillos	—	12¢ a week
matches	—	4¢ a week
sacate	\$3 a year	\$7 a year
liquor, etc.	\$30 a yr.	\$30 a year
taxes	\$3 a year (omato & habitadad)	\$1 a year (omato)
School supplies	—————	40¢ a yr 240 30 planting 240 30 raspar 240 peso 240 peso 240 240 2nd 240 42 52 84 240 4

Services	Miguel	Diego
mozo for planting (500 chinos)	\$20 a yr	\$20 a yr.
mozo for other work	\$17 a yr	\$17 a year
Zajoria (house)	\$1.50	\$1.50
partera	10¢ + many meals every other year	10¢ + many meals every 2 yrs
Compadre baptism	10¢ + 50¢ food	10¢ + 50¢ food
Baptism	58¢ + Padre	58¢ to Padre
masses	\$5 every other year or so	\$15 every other year
the ... (young)	\$5 a year when it happens	\$5 a year occasionally
the ... (young)	\$15 a yr when it happens	\$15 a year when it happens

16
11
80
16
240

Food	Mujind	Diego
✓ egg	2 dozen a week	2 dozen a week
✓ Cheese	10¢ a week	10¢ a week
✓ Chocolate (cacao)	25¢ a week	25¢ a week
✓ rice	2 lbs a week	2 lbs a week
✓ Canelita (for chocolate)	2¢ a week	2¢ a week
✓ sugar (for chocolate)	15¢ a week	15¢ a week
✓ achiote	2 ounces a week	2 ounces a week
✓ aguacate	10 a week	10 a week
✓ pineapple	4 or 5 a year	pineapple
✓ Peaches	6 a week (season - 3 months 2 months)	6 a week
✓ Guisquiles	27 a week	24 a week
✓ Sapote	8 a week (season half a year)	8 a week (season half a year)
✓ coconuts	4 or 5 a year	4 or 5 a year
✓ cogódes	4¢ a week (season half a year)	4¢ a week ($\frac{1}{2}$ a year)
✓ mangandas	5¢ a week ($\frac{1}{4}$ year - season)	5¢ a week ($\frac{1}{4}$ year)
✓ Jocote	10¢ a week ($\frac{1}{2}$ year - season)	10¢ a week ($\frac{1}{2}$ year)
✓ cabbages	1 a week ($\frac{1}{2}$ year season)	1 a week ($\frac{1}{2}$ yr)
✓ culantro	1¢ a week	1¢ a week
✓ chile wako (large, green)	10¢ a week (3 months season)	10¢ a week (3 mo.)
✓ chile verde	1 lb a week ($\frac{1}{2}$ yr)	1 lb a week ($\frac{1}{2}$ yr)
✓ ejote	2 lbs a week (3 mo season)	2 lbs a week (3 mo season)
✓ ajonjolinos (dried only)	10¢ a year	10¢ a year
✓ echinillo	10¢ a week (3 mo season)	1 a week (3 mo)
✓ Chilecañotes	2 a week ($\frac{1}{2}$ yr)	2 a week (3 mo)
✓ allolotes	4 a week ($\frac{1}{2}$ yr)	4 a week ($\frac{1}{2}$ yr)

	Wife	Husband	Each Son	Each girl	Articles	Miguel	Diego
					shirts	2 a year	2 a year
					fajas	2 " "	"
					nahuas	2 " "	"
					perajos	4 " "	4 "
					sinta	2 " "	2 "
					earrings	2 " "	2 "
					jewelry (necklace)	1 " "	1 "
					comb	6 " "	6 "
					suit	2 a year	2 a year
					sacos & pantalón	" " "	" "
					banda	" " "	" "
					shirts	8 a year	8 a year
					metates	2 " "	2 " "
					sandals		2 " "
					carres	4 a year	
					sombreros	2 a year	2 a year
					pantala	2 a yr.	2 a yr.
					camisa	2 a yr.	2 a yr.
					sombreros	4 a yr.	4 a yr.
					sandales	2 a yr.	1 a yr.
					bandas	2 a yr.	2 a yr.
					shirts	2 a yr.	2 a yr.
					cortes	2 a yr.	2 a yr.
					faja	2 a yr.	2 a yr.
					perajos	2 a yr.	2 a yr.
					combs	6 a yr.	6 a yr.
					necklace	1 a yr.	1 a yr.
					combs	4 a yr.	4 a yr.

Utensil	Mexical	Diago
✓ ollas for mixtamal	10 a yr.	10 a yr.
✓ ollas for meat, etc.	10 a yr	10 a yr
✓ jarros	10 a yr	10 a yr
✓ conales	3 a yr	3 a yr.
✓ tases for atol	10 a yr	10 a yr.
✓ tases for cafe	12 a yr	12 a yr.
✓ jicaras	8 a yr	8 a yr.
✓ platos	8 a yr.	8 a yr.
✓ cuastates	5 a yr.	5 a yr.
✓ pitas (ollas with holes)	3 a yr	3 a yr.
✓ friays	4 a yr	4 a yr.
✓ grinding stones	every 5 years buy one	every 5 yrs one
✓ manos	2 a year	2 a year
✓ sajtes (for caldes)	3 a year	3 a year
✓ weaving apparatus	once a year	once a year.
✓ lamos	60¢ a year	60¢ a year
✓ gamarones (for horse)	20¢ a yr	40¢ a yr
✓ pedas (net bags)	80¢ a yr	80¢ a yr.
✓ petate	60¢ a year	60¢ a yr.
✓ blankets	\$7.50 a year	\$7.50 a year.
✓ locks	45¢ a year	45¢ a yr
✓ coffre	every 3-4 years, 1 @ 50¢	every 3-4 yrs @ 50¢
✓ house-building	every 10-15 yrs a house @ 50	every 10-15 yrs, one @ 50
✓ machete	2 a year	2 a year
✓ knives	1 a year	2 a year
✓ brushes	1 a year	1 a year

	Miguel	Diego
scissors	1 every 2-3 yrs	1 every 2-3 yrs
postage		3rd a yr (Mrs Roach)
travelling to fiestas	\$2 a year	\$2 a year

Times Venk

times says that Miguel Ignacio was in debt some pesos (\$1333.33), of which about 50,000 was to the Amexquitas; that the 500 cord piece of land he says he owns was taken from him for 20,000 pesos of debt by Concha de Gil some 3 or 4 years ago. Another 100 cord piece he claims is his was sold to Manuel Xirum (who later sold it to Pedro Calvo). The piece of land on which Miguel lives now is not secure, since he owes so much money.

Diego's land is security for a debt of 18,000 pesos (\$300) to the Finca Pena Plata (don Hector Corzo is the local habitador) and Diego does not get the maize from the land and has to buy all the maize he uses.

In two years from now -- by order of the government -- all debts will be cancelled; the Ignacios are awaiting this this day.

Matriculas

Buhonero, per year	3.33
Automobiles	10.00
Cada Perro	.30
Brand for cattle	1.00

Rents

Butcher-shop room	\$2.00 a month
Coffee shop	.50 a month

Postes

Cattle or horses, per head	.50
Pigs, sheep	.25
Licence for putting in a private electric light plant	25.00
Tax for Public lights per property (in the area lighted)	.05

Cemetery

Sepultura (ordinary burial)	.25
Exhumación en un nicho municipal, por cada periodo de 7 años	6.00
Derechos por construir un panteón cada area de 2-1/4 metros x 1-1/4	10.00
Exhumación de restos para trasladarlos a cementerios de otros poblacios	1.00

Water

To get a pipe line to house	20.00
Charge annually for pipe line	2.00
Charge of detación of each pipe	5.00
Connect private desagues to public	1.00

Licenses

Zarabanda, ventas de chicha	2.00
" en estancos patentados	1.00
Billar, por mes	.50
Serenates	1.00
Loteria de cartas en Fiesta Tit.	1.00
Juegos de figuras; rueda de fortuna	.50
Carrousels	4.00

10. Inheritance and Land.

The following page was written after one month in
Chichicastenango.

Real property is strictly private. A "dueno" consists of the 323
house and the surrounding milpa, owned by the family usually; and
even the firewood around belongs to the owner of the land and is
not to be taken by another. In some cases there may be some com-
munal land in the canton. In Quejel, for example, there is a
tract of land unsuitable for agriculture that is communal; from
it any family of the canton may take firewood; but just how this
came to be, or how it is organized, I do not know.

Every property-holding of house and surrounding lands is acquired
by inheritance or purchase; sometimes also it may be taken away
for a debt. One good example is all that I have, and since the
family owns more than usual, it is not quite typical. Tomas Ventura

the elder (former Indian Secretary of the municipio, now a teacher
in the Indian school) inherited from his father a large piece of
land and the ancestral house in Quejel. By his first wife he has
three married sons: Tomas (from whom this information was obtained),
who has a wife and three children, Juan, with a wife and ~~many~~
two babies, and Diego, who was recently married. By his second
wife he has seven small children. By his first wife he also has
a recently married daughter Tomasa who has gone to live with her
husband in another corner of Quejel. In the course of the years
he has acquired considerable more property, with the help of his
son Tomas (now 28 years old) by purchase according to the son, by
"foreclosure proceedings" according to others. The property con-
sists of houses and lands in Chicua, Panimache, Chulumal, Chopul,
two houses in the pueblo, another "lot" in the pueblo, and seven
holdings all over Quejel. The family considers all of this his,
but it is already divided among his children and they use some of
it now, although it will not be theirs officially until he dies.
As the oldest son Tomas retains the ancestral property, but it is
divided into two parts and half of it is for Juan (and he already
has a house and is living there). Tomas also gets several others,
as do Juan and Diego and the young sons by the father's second
wife. But the girls, who are expected to marry if they haven't
yet, have nothing set aside for them. The ancestral property is
always passed down by male primogeniture.

There is some moving around from ~~places~~ one canton to another;
women of course may marry into other cantons. But in addition,
a younger son may inherit property (or may buy property) in another
canton and will settle there. I know of cases, but nothing more
about them. I have already mention the abandonment of houses when
the families move to fincas; in this case the land usually remains
unworked, but in the cases of some of the Ventura holdings the
families who formerly owned the land have gone to fincas; in other
cases they remain in the house and work the land for the Venturas
-- for a wage.

I have not heard of any houses or lands being rented in the can-
tones, but among the ladinos in the town, this is by no means rare.
Since land is worth very little (I think the best vacant lot in
town could be bought for forty dollars) and since building is very
cheap (an Indian's house can be built for less than \$60 and a good
ladino house for a hundred or thereabouts) it is natural that rents
should be low; I think a good little house could be rented in town
for \$2 or \$3 a month. Except if one requires foreign-made goods,
living in Guatemala is very cheap -- certainly it is in Chichi-
castenango, where one of the foreigners has a wife and family and
lives respectably for \$25 a month or less, in a rented house. I
think that there are no taxes on property.

Texas
Vander C

... rules are pretty well set by tradition. Long before a man dies he has usually made his children understand what each will get. But in almost all cases the property is divided equally among the sons, and the matter of willing refers to the specific pieces of land left to each son. The eldest son always gets the piece of land on which the father's house stands, and each of the other sons get other pieces, equally, and so divided that each has an equal amount of good land and bad land. If the father leaves a number of separated plots of land, each of the plots will be divided among the sons so as to insure equal division. Since only the eldest son gets a house (unless other houses have been built before the death of the father) he immediately has more than the others. But in the course of the years, as the other sons wish to set up housekeeping separately, each of the sons has to contribute equally to the cost of additional houses.

Money, sheep, horses, etc. are divided equally among the sons. No matter how bad a son is, he will normally get his share of real and personal property. Very personal property, such as clothes and blankets, are not inherited at all. The deceased's good clothing and blankets are buried with him. His old clothes are given away to the poor.

If a man leaves an unmarried daughter (and one unlikely ever to be married) he may give her a piece of milpa land (not an equal share). If a married daughter lives with her husband in the deceased's establishment (usually because he has no land of his own) and has been working with the family, she and her husband get a share equal to those of the sons.

One would suppose that the land would be divided into smaller and smaller parcels with the generations and that soon there would be nothing left to one plot. But sons are apt to earn money to buy more land; and when one son dies without children his plot will be divided among his surviving brothers. Since the population does not increase tremendously, the plots of land remain reasonably large.

If, as in the case of the Fixcars of Quejel, where the father is still living, one son has a plot of land for his own use (still owned by the father) and he has maize on hand when the father dies, this maize belongs all to him. But then the father's maize, which is divided, will not go to him even in part. Only those who have helped to work for the maize will share in it. With sheep, if all of the brothers contributed money or work to the herd, it will be divided among them. But if one son has been away on a finca, and has contributed nothing, he will still get a share. But if he is the kind who wants to

do the right thing, he should give something to his brothers -- money, maize, or land -- to square things.

Tomas' father has arranged things differently --and not in orthodox fashion. He has not split up plots of land, largely because he has so many. The plot of land on which he lives goes, with the house, to Tomas, the eldest. One next to it, with a house, to Juan, the second son. Tomas gets two more plots, and Juan one. Another piece is divided between two young sons, Jose and Manuel; still another between Jose, Manuel, and a very young Tomas. A portion of hill country, good only for firewood, is for the use of all of the sons.

One son, Diego, is considered lazy and the family doesn't like him; he will get only a piece of land in Chulumal and will eventually have to move out there. When he goes, his mother (old Tomas' second wife) will go with him.

At the present time, Tomas and his father own their herd of sheep half and half. When the father dies, Tomas will get his half and one-fifth of his father's half in addition.

The family's pueblo properties are to be split up so: Tomas and Juan each get a house (with the land, of course); Jose gets another plot; and a plot of milpa land is for Manuel and the younger Tomas: a house will be built there later.

A mother who doesn't stay at home and work, and respect the wishes of her sons -- after her husband dies -- is ejected from the house. A bad mother is one who, for example, leaves the house without permission and maybe goes to town and gets drunk. If the mother won't be ejected, the sons will leave the house themselves. The idea is that too bad an example is being set for their own wives. There are two cases in Quejel where the mother has been left by her sons.

Inheritance, Cont'd.

Dec. 8, 1938 -- Diego Macario and his wife Tomasa (Gertrude's old friend), and their little son, came to call at the house. They now live two km. on the road to Quiché; Diego's mother has moved in with them with her two youngest daughters. Her three sons still live at Tomás Ventura's (their half-brother), because they will have some inheritance there. An older daughter stayed there, too, but she is now 14 and "ya se juntó". Diego-and-Tomasa's boy is one-and-a-half and wears overalls and sweater, but for the fiesta of Holy Week they plan to buy him Maxefio trousers.

Mar. 18, 1939 -- Tomás Gonzales also told me that he is going to Mactzul Tuesday to settle inheritance dispute (something he is often asked to do as a favor -- no pay, just food). He says there are disputes about both land and personal effects and money, and he arbitrates. He promised to write out this "case" for me.

Tomasa Felisa

The terreno of Tomasa's mother has 3 houses, 2 used by the family and the 3rd belonging to a family living in Canton Chulumal.

Miguel Ignacio

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Miguel Ignacio
Inheritance. A man leaves his sons equal shares of his land,

and if he has several unequal pieces of land, he divides them. The eldest son remains in the house and on the land of his father, and he has to make contributions to the others to help them build their houses so everything will be equalized.

If the sons live separately, they also get equal shares of maize and other products and of money, as well as the personal property that is not buried with their father.

Even if a son is bad, he has a right to his heritage. Otherwise (if he were refused it) he would go to the ladino juzgado and demand it. But a will could be filed to the contrary and then a son could be cut off. This is sometimes done.

If a son-in-law lives in the house, and if he is a good man, he gets a share also, but not one equal to those of the sons. An unmarried woman, if there is enough land, will also get a bit, but not a full share.

Feb. 3, 1938

Panajachel to Chichicastenango -

I stopped first at the Conós home in Chicua where Manuel Conós said he'd talked to a neighbor who lives in the big adobe house about two doors from Manuel, and that the owner was going to let him know. A little bit peeved by this time at the way things have been going, I walked over to that house (he owns a nice, wooded piece near the road) and talked to the fellow (more or less with the aid of Manuel's brother who came along with me). I asked why it was that nobody seemed to want to have anything to do with me; he misunderstood and replied, "No, I don't want to sell any land". And then I pointed out that I'm not going to eat anybody, that I've been a good compadre, etc. in Panajachel and that I just wanted a piece of land for a house so that I could bring my mujer there and could let Manuel help me learn the language. So then the fellow said he didn't have much land, and I said all I wanted was a cord or two; and I pointed out that since I would pay him well for the land, he could buy another bigger piece for his milpa. Then he said, with schemes in his eyes, that "land is very expensive here". I asked "How much?" He screwed up courage for the big squeeze and said, Well ... it's worth \$10 a cord. I agreed that that was certainly high, and then he hastened to put in that he wouldn't sell any anyway. Then I said, "Well, if you don't want to sell it, just lend it to me for five years; I would put up a fine house, and after five years it would be all yours, and you might be able to sell it for a good price then." My worthy was tempted by this offer, but he found a new and serious objection. The vecinos would joder him. I said, you let me have the land -- either sell it or lend it -- and I'll take care of the neighbors.

I told him I was going right to the pueblo to talk to the Principales and the authorities so that the neighbors wouldn't bother him. I invited him to come along, but this he wouldn't do, saying that he had to plant milpa. Besides he said that he had to ask his father who was away at the moment and wouldn't be back until tomorrow. I told him I would go to town and see what I could do meanwhile.

In town I went to the Indian Juzgado. First I found that there is a new Secretary who is but 18 and was a schoolboy when we lived here. I first identified myself as the one who gave the globe and the books to the school; then I told him that I was interested in getting a place either in Mactzul or Patzité or Chicué. I explained the situation with Manuel Conós and his neighbor, reporting that the man was willing to lend or sell but was afraid of the neighbors. They all saw the point and I again pointed out that I was not a person to inspire fear, etc. Then I said that probably the thing to do was to get hold of the Principal and the auxiliar of Chicué and show them the light so that they, in turn, can talk the neighbors into a sympathetic attitude. They told me that the Principal Manuel Macario would certainly be in town later and I could talk with him. (I talked to this man in Chicué last year and he more or less turned me down). I said I'd be back later for that.

Later I went again to the Juzgado and sat around and gossiped with the officials. After awhile the secretary brought Macario to me, and we explained the situation to him. He remembered me and was nice about it, but plainly worried. Unfortunately I didn't know the name of the neighbor of Manuel's with whom I had talked, and I could only describe his house. Macario asked me if I had talked to him already and I described our conversation of the morning. He then told me that he would talk to the people but

that it would take a few days. And he also wanted to talk to the owner of the land. I suggested that he might go back with me in the afternoon, and we would talk to the man, and he agreed reluctantly that he might do that, and we made an appointment for three o'clock. Then he talked to the other Indians around for awhile, obviously about this matter. And it was also obvious that he was quite worried.

At about 2 P.M. I went again to the Juzgado to meet Macario. When I entered I saw that there was a crowd in front of the table, and I wondered what this demanda could be about. About two minutes later, while I was listening, I heard the name of Manuel Conós mentioned. Then I stood up to look closer, and sure enough the man who was doing the talking in front was none other than Macario -- and the case was my case. The discussion went on for ten minutes. Finally they broke up and came to me. Macario, with the aid of the Secretary, told me it would be better to call the landowner to the Juzgado tomorrow and I should be there, and we'd settle it. But who was the landowner? Nobody was quite sure. Again Macario asked me if I was sure that I had talked to him. Then I suggested why shouldn't he come with me in my car, and he would see who the man is, and we could talk to him at the same time. The answer was No, No. Macario couldn't be seen coming with me, because the people would begin to say that he is the instigator of this outrage. I understood that position, all right, and admitted his point. So I suggested "Why not send a boy with me now, and I would show him who the man is?" That was recognized immediately as a good idea. A regidor was appointed (one who lived in Comanchaj -- between Chicué and Los Encuentros) and it was decided that he would ride with me, and without showing himself he would have the house pointed out; then in the morning, knowing who the

man is, he would stop there and bring him to the Juzgado. Of course, this arrangement meant another trip up for me, but I could see no alternative. We did as we had arranged. I also had another passenger (our friend, the Sololá bag-seller) and he acted as interpreter. At the house site I pointed out owner's house. It turns out the owner is Juan ^{Tol}~~Tun~~. I suggested that we go in and advise him about the matter, but the regidor advised waiting until tomorrow when he'd stop there. So we went on. I dropped the regidor off near his house (not on the road or near it) and arranged that I might as well stop at Tun's house for both of them in the morning and take them up to town. The regidor asked for his "pay" and I gave him a nickle.

Following day: Miguel Yach accompanied me to Chichicastenango, at my invitation. At the land-owner's (~~Juan Tol is the right name~~) there was no regidor in sight; and inquiring at the house I was told that all the male Tols were away on errands. Thinking that perhaps the regidor was chasing down the Tols and would be along shortly -- or else that he was late -- we waited around until eight-thirty before going on to the pueblo. In town we went right to the Juzgado. The regidor wasn't there. I introduced Miguel to the officials (Macario wasn't there either -- I must have misunderstood on that point) by his title; and in a few minutes he was in the midst of a big discussion, and he was discussing me and they were answering questions. It was easy to understand that Miguel's two biggest talking points were that I am not a Protestant but a good Catholic, that I sit in on costumbres in the cofradias, and that we live right among the Indians and have nothing to do with Ladinos, and we help the Indians in many ways and are all-round good people. The crowd seemed much interest^{ed}

and nodded all over the place, and Miguel kept repeating the same things over and over. This took quite awhile. Then the present problem was discussed. The consensus of opinion was that the regidor would bring his man, and that surely he himself would come, since he was ordered to. And nothing much could be done until the land-owner came, because it was up to him if he wanted to sell his land.

Finally the regidor came, without the land-owner (whom he couldn't find). Nothing could be done, but the alcalde said the land-owner would be called in tomorrow, and I said I would come Sunday or later to hear what had been decided. The trip was not wasted, because now I was a proved man in the Chichicastenango Juzgado, and they'll probably talk about me to everybody who comes around. But I was discouraged.

On the way back to Panajachel we stopped at the land that I want and Miguel went down with me. Only the women were there and they were very angry about the whole business. So we talked to a next door neighbor where the people were very amiable toward us. It appears that I made a mistake. The Tol with whom I talked appears to have a father living, and the father was very angry with the son when he heard that he had more or less promised to sell me land. The son would spend the money on drink; and the father said that if he sold, he would have him put in jail. That was bad. Well, then I started Miguel to work on this neighbor (who also has land on the road, of course). But for all our arguing, it finally appeared that he wouldn't sell. There were five brothers, many children, and just a little land. I suggested they could buy more land with the money I give them and they said there is no land to be had -- nobody is selling it; and then I said I would trade him four cords of the Rodas land for one cord of his. But no; his brothers would be

angry; talk to them? but they are out on the road as comerciantes. And besides the people would be angry and wouldn't understand. I told the man that one way or another he or one of his neighbors should fix up some way so that I could put up a house and live there. He thought it would be impossible, and before long Miguel was agreeing with them and it seemed impossible. (It is true that these people have small lots with their house sites and I don't doubt that they wouldn't sell even to another Indian without some very strong incentive or great need).

Feb. 6, 1938 ~~San Juan de los Rios, Sonora~~

The man said that he was in the same position as the rest of the neighbors and he opined that nobody would sell or lend me a piece of land. In the first place, selling or lending would be equally bad, because I was putting a house on the land -- and obviously the kind of house they could never use -- and it would be lost to agriculture. But actually their house lots are small (running 30 or 40 feet by about 300, except for the barranca in back) and everything aside from the house-site is cultivated; and the families are large. It appears that the land of which the house occupies a part is (as with us) in a different category from lands elsewhere which the family owns and cultivates; it is the part that has to be divided among the children. I remember it was so in Quejel when I worked around there; the inheritance system is to divide each plot of land among the children, or at least the sons; and obviously the land near the house is especially needed and treasured.

Even apart from the fact that I am a stranger (and a ladino) there are good reasons for not wanting to sell such land, therefore. I suggested that with the money I give them for, say, a cord of land, they can buy much more elsewhere; but you see why that proposition doesn't appeal. The reason given me in rejection of that proposal was that nobody is selling land; then when I suggested that I would buy some Ladino land (there is some nearby -- but not near houses) and give them four cords for one, they could not refute me. But on thinking it over carefully, I can of course refute myself on the grounds ~~that~~ mentioned above. I think that is the real situation (even though the Indians cannot or do not explain it that way but rather fish for excuses) and if it is, then I can see that it will be next to impossible to get the kind of land I want no matter how I manage to pacify the neighbors.

POLITICO-RELIGIOUS LIFE

1. Political Organization

The note below was written after a month in Chichicastenango.

The pueblo is the political center of the municipio, having at its head an Alcalde, referred to by the Indians as the Ladino Alcalde, a secretary and a treasurer and other assistants. The Ladino Alcalde is responsible to the Jefe Political of the Department who is stationed at the Capital, Quiche (45 minutes north of here by automobile) and who is appointed by and responsible to the President of the Republic. The Indians themselves elect, annually, a so-called Alcalde Indigine. Actually, although nominally there are popular elections for both Alcaldes, a small clique controls matters and the results of the elections (held in December) are known six months before. The Jefe must approve the choices.

In each canton an Alcalde Auxiliare is elected annually (on December 25th) and this is closer to a real popular election. The Alcalde Auxiliare does the work for the Alcalde Indigine in his canton, takes orders and is responsible to him -- who is in turn under the Alcalde Ladino. In addition, each canton has a Principale, an honorary office held for life after a popular election. In fact, there is a tendency toward lineal succession in the office of Principale, although if the people don't like the son another may be elected -- and in fact, if they don't like the Principale, he may be ~~deposed~~ deposed by the people. In Quejel this was done three years ago because the Principale sold some communal land for his own profit. Statistics about Principales have not been collected; my suspicion is that this is a very old -- possibly pre-conquest -- institution. The Principales, alcaldes auxiliares, and the cofradas (members of certain fraternities) all come to the pueblo on December 9th this year (a Sunday always) to handle the elections of municipal officials.

62 Cantones .. (Chinima part of Pachoj; Tsokoma part of Chucam; Chajquijshaj part of Mucubalcip)

Each has Alcalde auxiliare -- "elected" sabhtygars in turn to every family that has a man capable; son takes father's turn if he dies.

They come each Thursday and Sunday to get orders from the Alcade Indigene. If don't come Sunday, get a day in jail for it.

The orders usually are to get mozos, either for no-pay municipal work or pay-work for private individuals, usually ladinos. The people have to work on the pay-work whether they want to or not. Auxiliars and Alcaldes even are not exempt if needed and chosen.

If the auxiliare doesn't play fair, he gets 5 days in jail on complaint of the people. If Alcalde is unfair the ladino Alcalde can put him in jail for 5 days (always payable at 25 cents a day). Unfairness is rare because officials watch each other closely so that they have to give everybody a turn and play no favorites.

There are 6 Pasadores:

1. Sebastian Saquie, Chicua 1st
2. Diego Mifea, Patulup
3. Jose Xirum Xal, Mactsul 6th
4. Miguel Gonzales, Patzibal
5. Mannel Las ~~Martinez~~ Mercario, Chicua 2nd
6. Sebastian Martin, Pocohil

Only a past Alcalde la can become a Principal Pasado; whether he is a Principal or not doesn't do much matter.

Political factions have been present for the last 15 or 16 years.

ago. At that time the majority of the people said that Sabastian Saquic (largely because of his polygamous marriages) was unfit to be a Principal, and that he should be deposed. They brought pressure to bear on Manuel Ajanel (of Mactzul), who was the 1st Principal (or rather Passado), to force him to depose Saquic.

Finally one day Ajanel agreed to the change. But two or three weeks later, Saquic having in the meantime rounded up a lot of support for himself and having talked to Ajanel and reached an agreement with him, Ajanel went back on his word.

The lineup at this time was about 40 cantons for Saquic and twenty against him. The twenty were very stubborn, however, and practically seceded from the municipal organization and elected new Principales for themselves. In these twenty cantons (which are not in a geographical block) there is no polygamy today, and the people have nothing to do with Ajanel, Saquic, or the others.

Jose Gumes of Xicocha is the highest of the principales of these twenty cantons. He is as powerful in electing the alcalde, etc., as the six Passados, and is in the juzgado as much as they are.

There are really three parties represented in the Six Passados now in office. Ajanel, Mifca, and Xal represent one party; they are not themselves polygamous, but they are not strongly opposed to polygamy. They control about 20 cantons. Saquic and Martin (both polygamous themselves) are in accord and represent another 20 cantons. The other Passado, Manuel
is the man the dissenters wanted to replace Saquic; he

is a supporter of Jose Gumes (the real head of the faction) and is supported by about 20 cantons, *among which are the 4 lakamas.*

In 1933 the elections resulted in a first alcalde of the Ajanel party, a second Alcalde of the ^{Gumes}~~SAQUIE~~ party, and a Syndico of the ^{Saquié}~~SAQUIE~~ party. In 1934 the 1st Alcalde was of the Gumes party; the 2nd Alcalde of the Saquié party; the Syndico of the Ajanel party. In 1935 the 1st Alcalde is of the Saquié party, the 2nd Alcalde of the Ajanel party, and the Syndico of the Gumes party. In 1936 the 1st Alcalde is certain to be of the Gumes party.

The Political heirarchy extends from the lowest offices to the highest in well defined grades. The President of the Republic is over everybody, and below him are the various Ministers of the Cabinet; also below him are the Jefe Politicos of the various Departamentos, and the Court of the First Instance in each Departamento. Below these, in each municipio is the Alcalde and the Comandante, under which are the lower municipal officers (Ladino). In Chichicastenango, below the Alcalde and Comandante are the Alcalde Indigene and the Secretary Indigene. But independent of the ladino officials (except as private citizens) are the 6 Pasados, and under them the Principales of the various cantons. The Alcalde Indigene is under these Indian officials as well as under the Alcalde of the town. Under the Alcalde Indigene are the alcalde auxiliares of the various cantons (who are also under the principales of their respective cantons). Under the Pasados, the Principales, and the Alcalde Indigene are all those who are engaged in Servicio of one kind or another and who are in the Cofradias.

- 1. Manuel Aguilar (pasado)
- 2. Sebastian Sagant (born Chicom, lives in Comandante)
- 3. Diego Mejia (Kant)
- 4. Jose Xal (pasado)
- 5. Manuel Lao (Kant)
- 6. Sebastian Martin (Pasado)

There are six Pasados (pasa) who together are often called the "principales", although this term usually includes those from each canton. The Six are graded, and the first is the highest Indian Official. They hold office normally for life, and when one dies the others advance a grade and another is elected ~~by election~~ to take the sixth position. The new member to be eligible must be a Principal from one of the cantons. The Pasados, the Principales, the Alcalde and Auxiliaries, and other representatives from the cantons all get together in the juzgado and do the electing. The voting is done by standing on one side of the room or other, with the Secretary counting heads. *all principales together are called unmelurine or unmelantim.*

About December 22nd all of the Pasados, Principales, alcales, Auxiliares, and representatives from all of the cantons (previously elected) meet in the Juzgado to elect the Indian Alcalde, 2nd Alcalde, etc. But the 1st Alcalde must always have been the 1st Alcalde of one of the Cofradias to be eligible. *A few days later, elect ~~the~~ alcalde auxiliar. The pasados command the canton principales who in turn command alcalde ~~mas~~ & the auxiliares.*

Tomas Ventura C

Duties and Powers. The Pasados have charge of the regulation of of all Indian customary law and practice. If the Indian Alcalde is no good, they have him put out (and in jail); if the Ladino Alcalde is no good, or the Comandante, they go to a lawyer and write complaints to have him removed. If the Jefe Politico won't take action, they go to the President, who usually does.

Antonio Brez was the last ladino Alcalde removed from office, four or five years ago. He had fined Indians \$20 and \$25, and the Indians complained and, represented by the Pasados, they

induced the Jefe to fire him.

The Pasados meet in open session every Thursday and Sunday, and never have closed meetings.

The first and second Alcaldes and the Sindico have direct charge in the juzgado. The Indians talk to the first Alcalde, but he confers with the other two before taking any action. The principle business is getting mozos for Ladinos and others; but they also settle disputes, including domestic, among the Indians.

The regidores are messengers and have to go to get Indians in the monte when they are wanted at the juzgado. They, like the alcaldes, stay in town the year of their service, and this is an economic hardship of course. They are exempt from any service for several years after this one. (Of course nobody gets paid for any of these services).

The Secretary is a paid official; other officials, as well as he, may get bribes^(gifts) occasionally, but the Secretary gets paid in addition. His office is for a year, ^[by election] but a man is always kept in until a change becomes desirable. ^{not obligatory service,} The salary is \$5 a month, ^{plus gifts of money, chickens, eggs, etc} and the duties are to write all records, of mozos hired out and of cofradia memberships and other services.

Each canton has a first and second Principal. An intelligent person these days could get elected without previous services; but a few years ago this would have been impossible.

In Chupol the Principal is a young fellow, but very intelligent and competent. His getting the office is a sign of recent breakdown; a few years ago such an upstart would have gone to jail. The young people in Chupol are running things, and they have deposed the old Principales, though still living.

The office of Principal is for life unless deposed before. When he dies, the Auxiliare goes to all the houses in the canton

to tell them when and where an election will be held. It may be held in his house, in the house of the deceased Principal, or in that of the 2nd Principal. Often the 2nd Principal is elevated to the high office; often the son of the deceased is; and often another person.

If the Principal is incompetent or bad he may be fired. The Principal of Panimache is in prison now because he ran an illegal whiskey distillery. Another principal has been elected to replace him.

The office of auxiliar revolves among the men of the canton, and when a man dies his son takes his turn. Thus it goes by households. People just know whose turn it is, or who hasn't served. This is a pretty bad service, for the Auxiliar has to go to town to get orders for mozos, etc., and has to round up the men required.

Each canton furnishes 2 or 3 alguaziles each year. This service is not for the whole year, for they alternate weeks. There are 120 alguaziles serving the juzgado and some 30 the Church. There are in addition 3 or 4 chiefs ^(jefes) of the alguaziles, one each week, appointed by the municipal officers.

There is also the service of being a Sacristan, of which there are some 25. This is a lifetime service, the sacristans taking turns serving -- a week or two at a time. ^{There are 2 from Guajal now.} There are also 3 Chief Sacristans, ^{named by municipality} who come only Sundays to supervise the work.

There are 20 or 30 carpenters working in the juzgado. They have this service for life too, changing off.

There are two men who work each week for the Electrician in the municipal power plant. They change every week (2 each week). One man brings 3 loads of firewood a day; the other works in the kitchen.

There are usually 100 men on the roads, as service, or in default of payment of the head-tax. For service men work a week or two a year.

There are two mail-carriers from Chicua, changing off each week. They make the round trip between here and Solola each day, sleeping in their homes at night while on the way here with the mail from Solola.

The cofrades are chosen by the Alcaldes and the Sindico and the regidores. The Principales don't bother much with that. The offices are obligatory. But they usually don't have this service more than one year in several.

Regidores have the worst service, perhaps, since they work pretty steadily and the job doesn't exempt them from other service the following year. The Principales and Pasados never have any other service, and they keep their offices for life.

People like Tomas, who can read and write, usually get out of these onerous services. They get paying jobs as teachers, secretaries, etc. Or else they work for Ladinos or foreigners; and the patron takes care of them. (naturally, when a man has a steady job with some one he can't take time off for service.)

Some used to give mules when needed - a kind of service, too.

obligatory services

1. Alguazil [pop. election in canton]
2. Mayordomo of cof. [appointed by municipalidad]
3. Mayor of alguazils [pop. election of municipio]
4. Regidor [pop. election of muni.]
5. Sindico [" " "]
6. 2nd alcalde of cofradia [appointed by municipalidad]
7. 2nd alcalde municipal [pop. election of municipio]
8. 1st alcalde of cofradia [appointed by municipalidad]
9. 1st alcalde municipal [pop. election of municipio]
10. Principal [pop. vote of canton]
11. Pasado [pop. vote of all].

1. Sebastian Saquic of Chicua 1st.
2. Diego Mijea of Patulup
3. Diego Xal of Maatsul 1st
4. Sebastian Martin of Pocchil
5. Manuel Las Mercario of Chicua 2nd
6. ???

When Saquic dies, Diego will be first, Xal 2nd, etc. and the five will look for another Principal for the vacancy.

In Chinima there is no real Principal, but Miguel says he is himself in a sense. There is no Alcalde Auxiliare here either. Pasado is pasado xustis; Principal is urigil cant; Alcalde auxiliar is sanave.

The Indian municipal officers follow:

Alcalde la nabe xustisio
 (wife)..... t/unabe xustisio
 Alcalde 2a ukab xustisio
 (wife)..... t/u ukab xustisio
 Sindico antiwo rexidor
 (wife)..... t/u antiwo
 Regidor 4a..... ukax ra/tor
 (wife)..... t/u ukax ra/tor
 Regidor 5a ro' ra/tor
 (wife)..... t/u ro' ra/tor
 Regidor 6a ukax ra/tor
 (wife)..... t/u ukax ra/tor
 Regidor 7a uwuk ra/tor
 (wife)..... t/u uwuk ra/tor
 Regidor 8a wax/ak ra/tor
 (wife)..... t/u wax/ak ra/tor
 Secretario axts'ip ret/ xustisio
 (wife)..... t/u axts'ip

The Secretary of the Indian Inga is the Chief of

Ladino
Abel Rodas, (official), Informant

Officials in Chichicasteñango - Ladino and Indian

Ladino - Intendente

Ladino - Síndico

1a Regidor - Alcalde Indígena

Ladino - 2a Regidor

Ladino - 3a Regidor

Ladino - 4a Regidor

Ladino - 5a Regidor

Ladino - 6a Regidor

- 2nd Alcalde Indígena

- Síndico Indígena

- 1a Regidor Indígena

- 2a " "

- 3a " "

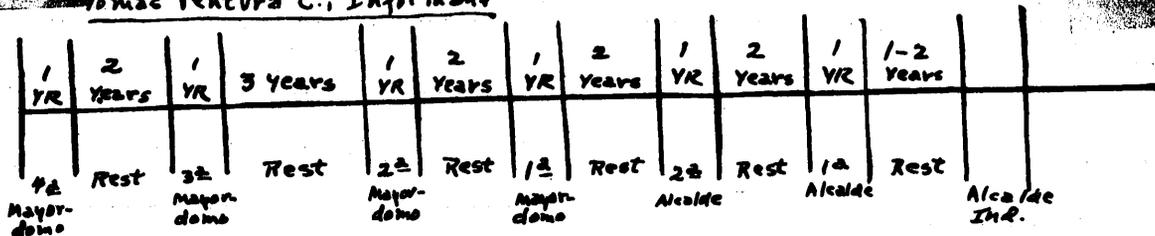
- 4a " "

- 5a " "

- 6a " "

Progress through the hierarchy of offices

José Ventura C., Informant



Sunday is the day when the political leaders meet in the Juzgado to transact their business. To be seen on the plaza are a few old men with blazing suns embroidered on their sacos; these are the principales, one from each cantón, the Indians' former alcaldes, and above all the six Pasados, former principales and alcaldes who are politically highest in the Indian community.

The pasados hold their offices for life; they are graded in rank, and when one dies, and the others elect a successor, those remaining all move up a notch. These are offices of highest honor, and of relatively great power; but these are troublesome times, and it seems that groups of young men are becoming politically potent and may even be able to replace one or more venerable old pasados with their younger blood. Especially now may things be expected to reach a crisis, for the Number 1 pasado is very old and very sickly and it is expected that he will die almost any day. When he does politics will probably broil.

This old man, whose name is Sebastián Saquic, has seen politics embroil his office many times in his career, and if there should be renewed conflagrations around his grave it would be only fitting. Years ago, when he was more vigorous, he took a second wife; some say that he was the first to become polygamous in Chichicasteango. Since he was so powerful no sanctions could be applied; but opposing factions formed and demanded that he be removed from his office. What happened can hardly be reconstructed, but his forces won a partial victory: he retained his office, and much of his power, but the other side has since obtained representation and power enough to keep a balance politically between the factions.

We had some news today: it appears that Sebastián Saquic, the Number 1 pasado finally died last Monday. I would have supposed that such news would travel rapidly and that there would be some excitement among the Indians. But neither Diego nor Tomás knew anything about it until today, and now that they know it doesn't seem to excite them particularly. It is true that neither of them is a fair sample of the tribe. No doubt the people important in the Indian political structure were fired by the news of the death of Saquic and are busily engaged in political manipulations in the matter of naming a new Pasado.

Yet it seems to be true that even important news cannot travel through these mountains very rapidly, and it must await the coming of the next market day to gain wide circulation. I might mention that on market days all official announcements are made by the Secretary who acts as a town-crier by going about the plaza at noon and reading what he has to say at every corner. This is all a matter of Indian news and orders, of course, and the Indian secretary it is who reads the announcements in Spanish and translates them into Indian.

What will happen politically now that Saquic has finally passed on my informants, at least, don't know. They are, like everybody else, waiting to see. Tomás seems to think that the non-polygamous faction will get a place; but he knows that things are upset now and that the younger politicians may put something over.

Mar. 15, 1939 -- Manuel Macario Riquiae (son of Principal of Chicua 1st) told me that when a cantón grows to many more than 100 houses it is split in two; when it falls much below it joins with another. He gave me a case of the latter. He says the Principales are elected in the open air in the cantón. His father was elected 6 yrs. ago; his grandfather preceded as Principal. He won't predict about himself.

Mar. 18, 1939 -- Went to see Tomás Gonzales. I had Simbolismo Maya-Quiché with me and read a few passages. His impression: on the whole, good, with minor inaccuracies. He says when he was a child there were two groups of cantones; there was some trouble in the Cabrera era and the split became three ways. Now as it happens it has gone back to a dual division. Each has a Principal (not a pasado), and he helps choose his successor in a meeting of all "his cantones" when he feels he is getting old. (It sounds like political factionalism rather than formal organization).

Francisco Bosel de Chukalibal (Alcalde auxiliare). Thursday and Sunday he comes to town for orders from the Alcalde de Indigines. He gets workers together for work on roads, etc. He works on the road to Sololá and Tecpan. He is elected by popular vote by the canton each year. (Election on December 22nd and takes office the first of January) When elected, he comes to the Alcalde and gets official paper. All men, 18 or over, are voters. They get together in the Principale's house. They vote for a man and election approved by the Alcalde. A plurality is enough for election. Tie vote "impossible." The same in all cantones. There is no salary for this office or for the Principale. In case of the office of Principale, the son, if good, usually is elected to take father's place on death.

The Indians here like the President; some of them say that he is a pure Indian -- which, since he isn't at all, shows that they feel that he is thoroughly on their side, and that there must be some reason for it. About three years ago the President came to Chichicastenango and, among other things, demanded the opening of the Indian school. There is a story that, while he was talking to the Ladino officials of the town, the alcalde made some disparaging remark about the Indians and the President, much incensed, is supposed to have struck him. The alcalde almost lost his life by resisting, but finally some of the President's aides dragged him bodily from the room and locked him in the jail. The President was here several months ago (again looking into the matter of the schools and demanding that this May they be opened with 500 pupils) and he appears a thoroughly upright, commanding, intelligent, and gentlemanly figure. The fear of most people in Guatemala is that the Constitution will stand in the way of his reelection; that document calls for a six-year term and no reelection, but a movement is afoot to change it to allow General Ubico's reelection.

March 15, 1939. Went to see Abel Rodas to find out what had happened today (Inauguration Day). Nothing much. Síndico and two ladino regidores changed; marimba playing, but that's all, for lack of money. Abel explained how Indian alcalde 1^a is official Regidor 1^o, that there are five other official regidores, all ladinos, and six unofficial Indian regidores. Recently when the Intendente resigned, orders were that the "1st Regidor" should take his place in the interim. The Jefe was asked, "Even though he is Indian?" "No--better the 2nd regidor"; and so it was. (Aureliano Dubón took the job.)

Voluntarios - Chichicastenango

<u>Cantón</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Cantón</u>	<u>No.</u>
Chulumal	12	Panquiac	1
Chujupén	10	Chucalibal	2
Pocohil	6	Panimaché	1
Putulup	2	Chulijuliboz	2
Saquillá	10	Xalbakij	1
Patzibal	4	Xepacol	2
Paquixic	6	Julimul	1
Paxot	7	Mucubaltsip	2
Mactzul	3	Chipacá	1
Xeabaj	5	Chunimá	1
Chuajtinimit	3	Agua Escondida	2
Pachoj	6	Chicua	3
Sepelá	2	Chiché	3
Quejel	7	Chupol	2
Ghontalá	2		
Soqbochol	3	Total:	119
Palakamá	6		

Census of Voluntarios one Sunday A.M. in Spring, 1939; taken with help of the Major in charge.

Mar. 19, 1939 -- To town early to the Campo, to watch the voluntarios drill. There are 125 in the corps and 25 extras, and most of them were there. Since they are exempt from all taxes and services for the year, more Indians want to join than are allowed. They are letter-perfect in drill and have a lot of snap. The major got their cantones for me (of the 117 present in the active corps), and I wrote them down. He is from Sto. Tomás la Unión, an Indian who speaks lengua. He says without lengua he couldn't have taught the boys.

"Calpul"

From Rodas and Corzo, Simbolismos de Guatemala,
Guatemala, 1938:

"Los 64 cantones están divididos actualmente en cuatro zonas, regida cada una de ellas por un Principal o Calpul. Antiguamente, la división era de oriente y poniente, o sean dos cantones con dos grandes Calpules, segundas autoridades del conglomerado, que mantenían la comunicación con las centrales y del reino. Eran cargos tan altos éstos de los Calpules, que sólo podían desempeñarlos los más venerables y virtuosos Chuch Cajaus de cada zona, sacerdotes y astrónomos."

I asked Flavio Rodas, the senior author, for an explanation, and he made a marginal note in my copy of the book, as follows:

"Actualmente no usan los nativos Maxefios el nombre: Calpul, sino por el de: Principal. Hasta hace unos 20 años, más o menos, los cantones de Chichicastenango, los subdividieron en 4 zonas: N., S., P y O. Pero antes de esa fecha se dividían en cantones del Oriente y Pomete con sus respectivos Calpules."

I was never able to get more light on this from local Indians, although I questioned Tomás Gonzales at some length. I also have the following note:

Feb. 8, 1939 -- I asked Miguel if he knew the word calpul. No. I repeated it a few times while he racked his brain; then "maybe you mean calpulis?" Yes, what does it mean? Finally he explained that calpulis is the Spanish word for the interpreter used in arranging marriages; there is an Indian equivalent (t/inimtal).

Mar. 18, 1939. To Tomás Gonzales, calpul means: "Body of municipal officials."

Calpul to Miguel is still marriage intermediary; at one point (arguing with Diego) he seemed to be using the word for cantón principal, but then switched over to saying one takes one along for the marriage arrangements.

Chichicastenango,
Guatemala, C. A.
December 21, 1938

Dr. Oliver Ricketson, Jr.
10 Frisbee Place
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Ricketson:

Your Ms. and letter of the 17 of last month finally reached me here last week. I shall answer your questions first:

1. As far ^{as} the recent legal changes are concerned, your title, it seems to me, can remain the same; the Indian organizations are substantially the same now as they were. A note, as you say, will be required in the text.

2. The old (ladino) alcalde was elected from among the inhabitants; the Intendente is appointed by the President, and almost always is somebody from some other town. The official office of second alcalde is abolished. Inauguration Day for official offices (Regidores and Alguaciles) is March 15th instead of January 1st. The regidores and alguaciles have two year terms instead of one-year terms. The Intendente has an indefinite tenure of office, and he is paid a salary by the town.

3. The old double system is much the same; of course since alguaciles are still Indians, and their tenure of office has changed--as well as their time of induction--the Indian organization is somewhat affected.

The organization that you describe is not, of course, representative of all or even most municipal systems in Guatemala, as you yourself indicate; Atitlán, for example (with about the same Indian-ladino proportions as Chichicastenango) had and has but one organization in which ladinos and Indians both figure, and in other towns there are all kinds of adjustments of municipal organization to the two populational elements. I know that you understand this diversity, but am a little afraid that the casual reader will generalize from Chichicastenango to all Indian-ladino communities in Guatemala.

Your paper interests me very much; I was especially glad, for example, to get the reference to Barti's paper on the Municipio. However, insofar as the description is confined to Chichicastenango, the information I have differs in some respects from yours. Thus, I have found that the all-important

governing body in the Indian organization (that which appoints the alcaldes, etc.) is a group of six pasadores --old men with life tenor who are principales who have been through all the high offices; the alguaciles are directly under the mayores and not under the fiscales who are church and not civil officers. As far as I have been able to discover, a regidor is not the same as a sindico; there are eight regidores and one sindico. The difference in our information that interests me most is your division of the cantones into eastern and western "seors", which I take to be what are sometimes called calpules. I have been trying, since reading Rodas' Simbolismo, to verify such a division for modern times; I have so far been unsuccessful, and I am wondering if you cannot help me with a detail or two or with the source of your information.

In answer to your question on page 7, the secretary of the Indian juzgado is appointed by the central government. On the same page, I think you must have made a little slip when you say in that context that the alguaciles are paid for their services; as you know, they are paid when hired by private individuals, but not for services to the juzgado itself.

By the way, I have a rather interesting description of the maxefic municipal organization written four years ago by the then secretary of the Indian juzgado, who had been secretary for some years and who has since been alcalde of the cofradia of Santo Tomás. I have only the original Spanish, so I cannot send it on; nor have I time now to copy or translate it; but if you send authorization, I can send it to be copied (or translated) by your office in Guatemala City so that a copy can be sent you. It is 30 Ms. pages long.

Glad to hear that you suffered no irreparable damages in the hurricane. Here we are well and enjoying the climate as well as the fiesta (today is the day of Santo Tomás). Please give our regards to the "idders and others of 10 Frisbee Place.

Sincerely yours,

Perhaps you haven't noticed the little paper I wrote called "The Municipios of the midwestern highlands of Guatemala" (AA vol. 39, 1937, pp. 423-44). The subject matter is less specific than that of this paper of yours, but it may interest you. I would send a reprint if I had one here; but I think there are some in the office....

ORGANIZATION OF INDIAN TOWNSHIPS

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IN GUATEMALA

by

Oliver G. Ricketson, Jr.

That part of the New World lying between present Mexico and Colombia and known to us as Central America was discovered by Columbus in August, 1502. A portion of this territory which is now Costa Rica was conquered by Pedro Arias de Avila after 1513. Between 1522 and 1525, however, Avila was superseded by Hernan Cortes, following the latter's conquest of Mexico -- Cortes sent his lieutenant, Pedro de Alvarado, to subdue Guatemala, whose first capital he founded in 1524. Although today Panama is one of the six independent republics of Central America, in Spanish colonial times it belonged to a distinct Spanish government called New Granada. Until its successful revolt in 1903, it formed part of the Republic of Colombia. With this exception (and the English colonization of the area now known as British Honduras) the rest of Central America remained a Spanish dependency bearing the general name of 'Guatemala' until 1821. It ranked as a captaincy-general under a military governor and was organized into five departments corresponding to the modern republics of Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Costa Rica and Nicaragua.

'Guatemala', following the lead of New Granada in 1819, declared herself independent of Spain in 1821. The subsequent history of Central America has been largely a sequence of violent political upheavals, both between the five political subdivisions and between political factions within the states themselves. In 1822, Central America was incorporated within the Mexican Empire, but the five states

1. Alvarado founded the first capital at Iximche (July 28, 1524). Spanish Spaniards were driven to Xopan and, in 1526, to Olinstepeque. Jorge de Alvarado founded a new capital (present, Ciudad Vieja) November 22, 1527. It was destroyed by earthquake September 10, 1561, and rebuilt nearby (present Antigua, Guatemala) only to be destroyed by earthquake again in 1773. Shortly after, the capital was moved to the present location (Guatemala City) and again destroyed by earthquake December 24, 1802. (An Account of the Conquest of Guatemala in 1524 by Pedro de Alvarado. Edited by S. G. Mackie. Cortes Society, N. Y. 1924. p. 140.)

regained autonomy upon the declaration of a Mexican republic; in July, 1832, they united to form the Republic of Central America. A bitter and protracted struggle ensued between the Conservatives and the Liberals. In 1842 a fresh union of the Republics -- except Costa Rica -- was concluded, only to be dissolved in 1845. Attempts to restore this federation continued sporadically, with bloodshed, until 1895, when the Greater Republic of Central America was formed by the union of Nicaragua, Salvador and Honduras, with provisions for the entrance of Guatemala and Costa Rica; but this federation dissolved again in December, 1898. Though the interval since then has witnessed uprisings, revolutions and violent coups d'état, the present shows a rapidly growing and aroused public sentiment in favor of the establishment of stable forms of government, with resort to courts of arbitration rather than to force of arms.

Of these six republics, that of modern Guatemala is the largest. It is approximately equivalent in area to the state of Pennsylvania, and lies just south of Mexico, stretching from the Atlantic littoral (in this case the Caribbean Sea) to the Pacific. It contains within its boundaries all the variations of climate and ecology which may be found in a country lying wholly within the tropics but whose topography rises from sea level to fourteen thousand feet.

When a country is blessed with such infinite variations as are implicit in the foregoing statement, equally great variations must be expected in the organization of different communities, even if the entire indigenous population is racially homogeneous. In Guatemala, however, the indigenous population was not homogeneous even at the time of the Spanish Conquest, though large agglomerations of agriculturists did belong to stocks such as the Maya, whose racial purity was, and still is, extremely high.¹

Since it is far beyond the scope of this paper to discuss pre-colombian racial mixture, we will here limit our consideration to the impact of the Spanish

1. 97% of Yucatec Mayas belong to the same blood-group, signifying great antiquity and racial purity. See Kenneth Goodner, "Incidence of blood groups among the Maya Indians of Yucatan," in *Journal of Immunology*, Vol. XVIII, No. 6, pp. 433-35, 1930

Conquest upon a large agricultural Indian population in Guatemala, lumping the native population together under the all-inclusive misnomer of 'Indian'.¹ Nor need we do more than list the meticulous caste gradations as enumerated by Baron von Humboldt² in order to give the reader an idea of the possible complexity of the racial picture in some regions today.

1. Europeans, 'guachapines'; whites born in Europe.
2. Spanish 'creoles'; whites born in the New World.
3. Mestizos or ladinos; descendants of whites and Indians or whites and mestizos.
4. Mulattos; descendants of whites and negroes.
5. Zambos; descendants of Indians and negroes.
Zambo prieto; descendant of a negro man and a zambo woman.
6. Indians.
7. Negroes.

In Guatemala, especially in the temperate highlands, no addition of negro blood complicates the racial picture, nor will it in the future, for the negro population has been limited to the torrid zone plantations of the coast and further negro immigration is at present prohibited by law. Spanish immigration into Guatemala, during the 300 years between the Conquest and Guatemala's declaration of independence from Spain, however, has given results dissimilar in some respects to those found in the other republics. Although Spanish immigration resulted in the imposition of Spanish culture, the influx of Spanish blood was not great enough to amalgamate

1. Since the New World discovered by Columbus was fallaciously believed to be a part of India.

2. *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*. Translated from the original French by John Black. London, 1811.

3. In this paper no distinction is made between the words mestizo (mixed) and ladino (derived from Latinus, Latin). The latter is often considered the more polite term.

with the entire Indian population. In Guatemala there still exist large communities without a trace of Spanish blood. These islands of indigenous peoples surviving in a sea predominantly ladino are due to many special conditions, some of which are easily explicable in a few sentences: first, an aboriginal population too large for complete racial amalgamation; second, a racially self-conscious group, so advanced culturally and so closely knit as to be able to maintain themselves under the impact of the Conquest, and, lastly settlement in areas difficult of access where isolation has afforded them protection to the present day.¹ As a result, we may divide the population of the highlands into three, and only three, genuinely significant groups -- the whites, whether guachapin or creole; the ladinos or mestizos, and the Indians. While a typical individual can be assigned to the proper group, the most skilled physical anthropologist could not distinguish borderline cases racially; often the individual must be assigned to that group with which he associates himself, and it is not only easier but sociologically it is more important to distinguish the groups by social traits -- customs, costumes, conscience and class consciousness -- than to do so by proportions of blood.

The specialized conditions described, when coupled with the multiplicity of factors in Guatemala which interlock climate with topography and both with the ecology, have fostered the survival of these Indian townships wherein the blood of an overwhelming majority is undilutedly Indian. Such townships are, within broad limits, self-governing; the ^{to}intension of outside influences into town affairs is strongly opposed by the community -- and the Indians' capacity for passive resistance is very high. The administration of such predominantly Indian communities evolved, shortly after the Spanish Conquest, a double system of municipal government, and so successful has this system been that it persists today. ⊕

1. The advent of the automobile and the aeroplane has already affected these communities.

⊕ Sol Tax - does it persist since the alcavala has been replaced by the intendente?

The Government of Guatemala functions locally through the municipio¹ (township) and the municipalidad (town board). But in communities with large Indian populations there are often two municipalidades, each with an alcalde, or mayor, known respectively as the alcalde ladino² and the alcalde indio. This double administration dates from the early days of the Spanish Conquest, and is explained as follows:³ a cedula dated October 9, 1549, decreed that the Indians should appoint from among themselves juces pedaneos, recidores, alcanciles, and escribanos⁴ and other agents of justice, who should deal with minor offenses among them according to their custom. Thus we have towns and villages of purely ladino⁵ outlook, with no alcalde indio (San Augustin Acasaguastlan); towns of Indian and ladino outlook, with both alcaldes (Sto. Tomas Chichicastenango), and small towns of

1. For the historical development of the municipio, see Sarti, A. Municipio, Tesis presentada a la Junta Directiva de la Facultad de Derecho, Notariado y Ciencias Politicas y Sociales del Centro, March 28th, 1928. Printed by Sanchez and de Guise, Guatemala.

2. The Indian often applies ladino to any non-Indian; originally it meant a native-born child of foreign parents. Indio is, of course, Indian.

3. From Solórsano y Pereyra, Juan de, Politica Indiana, Madrid, 1776; (notes supplied by Antonio Goubaud C.)

4. A judge in Roman days who heard minor grievances, not at a tribunal, but on foot, and decided them on the spot. (Information supplied by Antonio Goubaud C.)

5. At Chichicastenango the recidor is an officer elected to the Indian municipality who is the legal representative of the Indian community.

6. At Chichicastenango the alcanciles are drawn in rotation from a list of 200 young men; they serve as auxiliaries, (servants and messengers) of the Indian alcalde, and are paid.

7. Scribes: still necessary in purely Indian towns. The modern town secretary fulfills this function.

8. I have purposely used the word outlook because borderline cases defy definition as Indian or as ladino or mixed. The distinction seems to hinge more on social traits.

purely Indian outlook, with no alcalde ladino (Todes Santos). It should be noted that the town secretary in purely Indian towns is appointed by the Government, receives a salary, and is invariably a literate, Spanish-speaking individual who serves both as interpreter and as official scribe for the Indian municipal authorities. He is often not a native of the town, and usually an intelligent ladino.

Although the central government does not intervene in the Indian municipal government, elections to which are freely held by the Indian population without outside interference, nevertheless the officers elected are subject to the jurisdiction of the jefe politico, the representative of the President, who avails himself of the Indian administration for the use of the central government. For example, let us suppose that a justice of the peace wishes to summon an Indian residing in remote country far from any town. His summons is presented to the first alcalde ladino, who sends it by alguacil to the first alcalde indio. The latter despatches a regidor to the chief man of the canton in which the Indian to be summoned lives, and the latter orders the Indian to present himself. An order of arrest would differ from the above only in that the regidor, still acting as the alcalde indio's representative, might be accompanied by alguaciles to execute the order.

The origin of all Indian administration in the town of Santo Tomas Chichicastenango, — and presumably it does not differ in kind from other Indian municipalities, — emanates from the Municipal Council (Consejo Municipal) sitting in a house, called the Katbalsij (kat, cut; bal, locative; tsij, word; ["where words are cut"]). This council is presided over by the first alcalde indio (nabé katbalsij) who is the community judge (jefe del pueblo), elected annually. He has the power to imprison, sentence to forced labor (on public projects, such as roads) and to fine. Punishments are inflicted to deter violators of the laws (unwritten) through fear; plaintiffs consider the punishment of the culpable as redress for injury done to property.

1. Information from Antonio Goubaud C.

2. Quiche, a Maya dialect.

The first alcalde indie is assisted by the second alcalde, (ukap katbaltsi) who can substitute for him in his absence under certain circumstances. The council is composed of eight regidores of simicos (raxtorip) elected annually. They serve by weekly rotation and are directed by the antiguo regidor (ojer raxtor). The antiguo regidor is the legal representative of the community and can make contracts for the community. The duty of the Council concerns itself chiefly with the administration of the sixty-four cantons into which the land is divided, each canton under a chief man (ts' anabf). The cantons are divided into an eastern and a western division, each under the jurisdiction of a cacique, or chief. The duties of the regidores comprise the maintenance of roads, provision of meat and corn for the community, inspection of markets, overseeing public education, maintenance of peace and order, and journeys to the different cantones as the representatives of the alcalde.

The auxiliaries of the alcaldes are two mayores, (nabé and ukap mayr) whose duties are those of mayordomos and who serve alternately by the week. They are elected annually, and are assisted by three suds (town criers).

The secretario, (aitsip; there may be more than one) is the only official not annually elected. He is also paid a salary, whereas all the other officials (unless otherwise noted) are merely exempt from taxes. He is also called gua kisp u kaiybal gua katbaltsi, "the guardian of the Katbaltsi". The alcaldes are further assisted by the alguaciles (aj chamiyap); these are servants of the alcaldia, are drawn in rotation from a list of two hundred young men, and are paid for their services. The alguaciles are directed in their duties (such as supplying fire-wood, or pine-needles to spread on the floors of public buildings during celebrations, running errands, etc.) by two fiscales (pixtir); the latter also act in an advisory capacity to the first alcalde. The entire care of the church, and, to a limited extent, certain supplies for the resident priest (such as fire-wood, pine-needles for the floor), is in charge of the chiales, drawn and serving in rotation from a list of young men, like the alguaciles. Many religious rites are

⊗ he is appointed by the Central Gov. is he not?

performed by the brotherhoods (cofradías, chán-patán in Quiché) membership in which is by election. They are important to the social and, especially, to the religious life of the individual.

The officers of the alcaldía indio described above (except the secretary), are annually inducted into office with ceremony by the retiring officers. This takes place at midnight on December 31st, while the officers of the alcaldía ladino are inducted the following day at noon.

The lands of the community of Chichicastenango, as mentioned above, are divided into sixty-four cantones (sep) each under a chief man (Ta' anabé) responsible for peace and order in his canton and for the execution of orders from the alcalde indio; these chiefly concern the levying of men for work on departmental roads; the numbers in these levies are in proportion to the population. The cantons are united by community of lands and also by community of religious functions. The great weekly fair held at Chichicastenango every Sunday offers the opportunity for intercourse not only between the residents of the various cantons, but also between the principales (chief men or elders) who formally meet at this time.

The Indian pueblo or community in Guatemala is very closely knit. Tourists are tolerated, but strangers, whether foreigners or ladinos, are not always welcome as permanent residents. The community resists outside influence and modern innovations, wishing to continue the customs of its ancestors without interference. The power of the pueblo, developed through this unanimity of thought and action, is well recognized by the central government, which wisely grants concessions, such as exemption from compulsory military service, in return for other

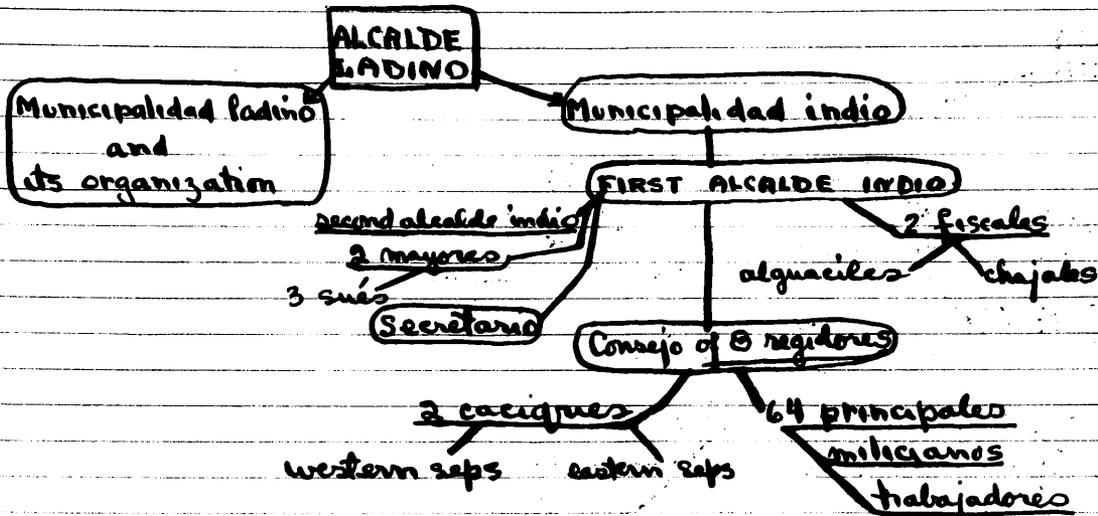
1. The village of Nahuala, in the Department of Solola, formerly forbade the sale of intoxicating liquors and until recently strangers were not allowed to sleep there. An animal fair, formerly held at Chichicastenango has now been removed to Quiché, partly because the improved roads led to an increase in motor traffic, terrifying horses and mules unaccustomed to the sight of an automobile.

services rendered. The result has been the conservation of picturesque indigenous populations which otherwise would have long since lost their individuality.

These Indian communities are unlike American Indian reservations, where the individual is the ward of the Government, for the Indian is a citizen of Guatemala. It should be noted, however, that the citizenry in Guatemala is divided into two classes. (1) The milicianos (militia), are subject to compulsory military service and ability to read and write is a legal requisite for this class, though the law has not always been strictly adhered to in actual practice. (2) Because the bulk of the Indian population is illiterate, its individuals are subject to conscription for labor (mozos, trabajadores). The labor-gangs are levies requisitioned from the various municipios, according to population, for work on public roads or service as mayores, alguaciles, etc., attached to the municipalidad (town board; also the edifice it occupies). Few, if any, community works pay wages, though services to private individuals are recompensed according to a definite scale.¹ Except in towns predominantly ladino, the Indians enjoy real self-government under the alcalde indio: this modern organization into municipios (townships) has entirely replaced the concept of the tribe.²

1. Example: Upon application to the alcalde, fodder, fire-wood, or portage service will be supplied to the traveller at a fixed rate. The alcalde issues the necessary orders, the need is supplied (by compulsion if necessary), and the fee paid, as previously agreed upon, either to the alcalde or the individual performing the service.

2. See LaFarge and Byers, "The Year Bearer's People". Chap. IX. Pub. No. 3. Tulane University, New Orleans, 1931



The following lists of officials were compiled from official records by Tomás Gonzales, who was Secretary of the Indian municipality in 1935. A study of this list, especially if it were extended to the present time and accompanied by further field work, would do much to settle questions of whether there are effective groups of cantones related to political parties, and whether the high officials are drawn from certain families, ^{or} a particular segment of Indian society.

Nombres de los Indígenas que han pasado en el juzgado como municipales

Año de 1928. -

Alcalde 1º	Miguel Louvialán	Pedregal
" 2º	Pedro @c	Chumima
Síndico	Manuel Juy	Chicajón
Regidor 2º	Manuel Ajikub	Imlegut
" 3º	Sebastián Licim	Pachichol
" 4º	Antonio Cuin	magut
" 5º	Juan Mejía	Leaja
" 6º	Tomás Morales	Agua Escondida
" 7º	Miguel Windsor	Panimachi
" 8º	Juan Jiz	Pajukhooy

año 1929

Alcalde 1º	Tomás Ben	Chuhual
" 2º	Sebastián Morales	Yojillegual
Síndico	Tomás Cortes	Chuhabaj
Regidor 2º	Sebastián Liciguara	Chujul
" 3º	Manuel Pachyoy	Yabaj
" 4º	Juan Jiz	magut
" 5º	Pedro Liciguara	Chuhual
" 6º	Manuel Ben	Chantala
" 7º	Tomás Mendez	Chugueja
" 8º	Tomás Cipriano	Jenaja

año 1930

Alcalde 1º	Tomás Morales Juy	Chicajón
" 2º	Manuel León	Saquilla
Síndico	Sebastián Licim	Pachichol
Regidor 2º	José Antonio	magut
" 3º	Tomás Cuin	Chuyacop
" 4º	Juan Matos	Yojillegual
" 5º	Juan Ventura	Chuhual
" 6º	Gaspar Jicaj	Pochit
" 7º	Tomás Parillo	Chantala
" 8º	Tomás Mejía	Agua Escondida

Año 1931

Alcalde 1º	Tomás Junté	José Jic
" 2º	Hernando Boc	Sanabaj
Juicio	Manuel Jén	Pachaj
Regidor 2º	Tomás Lario	Jepelá
" 3º	Pedro Jaque	Ababaj
" 4º	Felipe Canal	Jaquellá
" 5º	Antonio Piquias	Mazul
" 6º	Juan Reynoso	Pajuliroj
" 7º	José Cervera	Jesús
" 8º	Tomás Mendon	Pan-machi

Año 1932

Alcalde 1º	Juan Piquias, se cambió	Tomás machi	Chudboj
" 2º	Alfonso Mangui	José Cabt	Chudboj
Juicio	José Corio	Chicua	Chudboj
Regidor 2º	Pedro Corvalán	Paxot	
" 3º	Lucas Mejía	Lacama	
" 4º	Jerónimo Chicaj	Chu-humal	
" 5º	Manuel Mejía	Chualibol	
" 6º	Tomás Oj	Chupol	
" 7º	Manuel Cabt	Chantalá	
" 8º	Tomás Jucurqui	Mucubali	

Año 1933

Alcalde 1º	Tomás Jucurqui	Patibol
" 2º	José Quiro	Chutrop
Juicio	Tomás Oj	Jepelol
Regidor 2º	Manuel Cabt	Mazul
" 3º	Pedro Jón	Chipaca
" 4º	Juan Alva	Chicua
" 5º	Alfonso Jucurqui	Chuhumal
" 6º	Sebastián Pérez	Chipaca
" 7º	Juan Gallo	Jesús
" 8º	Lucas Andez	Pan-machi

Fasa

Año 1932	Año 1933	Año 1934	Centros
José Suroqui	José Suro	Pascual Suro	Mucubalaj
José Marañón	José Marañón	Maspar Chiri	Pocohi
José Suro	Juan Mate	Pedro Ondoy	"
Martin Dut	José Alf	José Galbo	Xaboj
José Marañón	José Marañón	Pedro Alf	"
Mamuel Gavil	Mamuel Gavil	José Gavil	Papat
Sebastián Manguin	José Alf	José Dut	id
Sebastián Kourabón	José Gavil	Mamuel Manguin	id
Juan Ximón	Mamuel Gavil	Martin Alberto	Mangul
Miguel Suro	Sebastián Alf	José Suro	"
Maspar Gavil	Mamuel Suro	Juan Gavil	"
Sebastián Gavil	Miguel Moro	Juan Alf	"
José Ondoy	Mamuel Ondoy	José Gavil	"
Sebastián Gavil	José Ondoy	José Suro	"
José Kourabón	José Pantay	José Pantay	Xaboj
Nicolas Ximón	José Gavil	Sebastián Gavil	Papilla
José Marañón	Mamuel Gavil	José Juan	Javilla 12
José Orlan	Juan Orlan	Diego Alf	Pachaj
Mamuel Ximón	José Jerónimo	José Xaboj	Pachaj
Miguel Gavil	Diego Ramos 12	Diego Ramos	Papilla
Juan Suro	José Xaboj	José Suro	Xaboj
Juan Alf	Juan Alf	Mate Gavil	Christinimit
Juan Mate	José Kourabón	Miguel Alf	Pachaj
Mamuel Ramos	José Ondoy	José Gavil	Papilla
Martín Manguin	José Ramos	José Ramos	Chubamal
José Alf	Pedro Alf	José Alf	"
Miguel Marañón	Mamuel Martín	José Alf	"
Chugano Alf	Maspar Alf	José Alf	"
Mamuel Manguin	Mamuel Manguin	José Alf	Chubamal

	Año 1929	Año 1930	Año 1931
36	Juan Chites	Juan Chites	Niquet Suengui
37	José Suar	Fernán Macario	Manuel Navarón
38	Fernán Macario	José Suar	Fernán Macario
39	Fernán Mejía	Manuel Farajón	Pedro Pol
40	Manuel Farajón	Manuel Latorre	José Macario
41	Sebastián Manzanera	Fernán Navarón	Fernán Chas
42	José Set	Sebastián Yiquin	Fernán Pantzay
43	Fernán Alva	Antonio Fyoc	Niquet Manzanera
44	Pedro Balb	Pascual Balb	Sebastián Yacon
45	Juan Cuin	Caspar Suengui	Martín Jaquis
46	José Cuin	Caspar Cuin	Pedro Ferrin
47	José Ferrin	Manuel Navarón	Fernán Cuin
48	José Set	Fernán Láz	José Ferrin
49	Caspar Suengui	Manuel Cuin	José Cuin
50	Sebastián Olipopi	José Pantzay	José Pantzay
51	Sebastián Chas	Sebastián Yiquin	Manuel Chas
52	Fernán Ferran	Sebastián Felipe	Caspar Mejía
53	Manuel Santiago	Pedro Chicoj	José Dytan
54	Fernán Puyb	Sebastián Eguit	Manuel Farajón
55	Fernán Ucarb	Manuel Ferrin	Sebastián Chas
56	Fernán Ferrin	Juan Set	Sebastián Jaquis
57	Juan Jaquis	Manuel Oj	Juan Jaquis
58	Fernán Cutillo	Fernán Morales	Juan Oyamb
59	Fernán Mateo	Niquet Chites	Pedro Ferrin
60	Sebastián Cuin	José Ferrin	Manuel Dytan
61	Manuel Navarón	Manuel Dytan	Fernán Morales
62	Fernán Ojamb	José Ojamb	Caspar Yiquin
63	José Ferrin	Juan Ferrin	Sebastián Dytan
64	Fernán Ferrin	Manuel Piquin	Fernán Piquin

Homina de los auxiliares

	Año 1929	año 1930	año 1931
1	José Lucumi	Juan Sorlan	Manuel Incaico
2	Tomás Pérez	Tomás Sauto	Tomás Alba
3	Manuel Coj	Manuel Coj	Sebastián Incaico
4	Juan Mejía	Juan Mejía	Juan Pérez
5	Abelardo Puyuro	Nicolás Chumil	Sebastián Yapur
6	Sebastián Capin	Sebastián Surt	Miguel Suty
7	Nicolás Ninaja	Manuel Alba	Francisco Alindon
8	Juan Mejía	Pomino Coe	Juan Yon 1º
9	Manuel Cabal	José Salvador	Lucas Pérez
10	Miguel Cabal	Diego Ambrosio	Tomás Ambrosio
11	Diego Ambrosio	José Yon	Lucas Pérez 2º
12	José Luzon	Abates Mejía	Manuel Oj
13	Pomino Morales	Manuel Pichot	Manuel Morales
14	Diego Morales	Tomás Morales	Pedro Cabal
15	Manuel Morales	José Macario	Diego Cabal
16	Abelardo Mejía	Diego Boet	Abates Ambrosio
17	Sebastián Chicoj	Sebastián Morales	Ventura Cutruy
18	Manuel Morales	Juan Morales	José Cabal
19	Francisco Cabal	Tomás Cabal	Nicolás Saliz
20	Miguel Velazquez	José Quino	Miguel Velazquez
21	José Morales	Miguel Morales	Juan Yataj
22	Juan Cabal	Manuel Quino	Manuel Cutruy
23	José Pérez	Manuel Quino	Sebastián Quino
24	Miguel Chumil	Nicolás Oeh	Manuel Suty
25	José Yon	Juan Salvador	José Salvador
26	Manuel Morales	Tomás Laurálex	Miguel Bongaly
27	Tomás Quarcas	Pedro Quarcas	Tomás Quarcas
28	Manuel Incaico	Juan Alba	Manuel Incaico
29	José Incaico	Manuel Alba	Juan Incaico
30	Juan Yiloj	Francisco Licim	Sebastián Suty
31	Diego Panjoj	Martín Ramos	Diego Pot
32	Tomás Cabal	José Balva	Sebastián Yon 2º
33	Pedro Panjoj	Manuel Morales	Tomás Sanguan
34	Sebastián Capiniano	Tomás Canit	Manuel Pérez
35	Tomás Quarcas	Diego Quarcas	Tomás Canit

en los cantones del municipio Chichucostgo.

año 1932	año 1933	año 1934	Cantón
José Pérez	Juan Soriano	Juan Pucumi	Chivil
José Panto	Manuel Pura	José Félix	Chantala
José Sol	Manuel Macario	Manuel Yori	Panguas
Sebastián Pérez	José Siqui	Juan Pérez	Chijaca
Jacinto Chumil	Manuel Chumil	Jacinto Chumil	Pajuliro
Francisco Pachan	Diego Ojtzalam 1º	Diego Ojtzalam	Chumimá
Juan Chumil	Abel de Mejía 1º	Abel de Mejía	Populuc
Juan Yori	Diego Mejía	Diego Mejía	Sanabaj
José Pérez	Sebastián Sol	Pablo Sol	Lacasha
Miguel Calles 1º	Miguel Calles	Sebastián Ventura	"
Miguel Ficiun	Juan Ambrosio	Diego Ficiun	"
Manuel Mejía	José Liz	José León	Vipol
Domínguez Morales	Manuel Morales	Manuel Macario	Chijol
Mariano Calb	Sebastián Morales	Cristóbal Morales 1º	Chingupá
José Larios	José Calb	Diego Calb	"
Sebastián Calb	José Morales	José Mejía	A. Guendida
Sebastián Morales	José Ventura 1º	José Ventura	Chijol
Manuel Quiro 1º	Manuel Quiro	Sebastián Salvador	Amcalihal
José Ojtzajón	José Sol 1º	José Sol	Panimach
Juan Morales 1º	Juan Morales	Manuel Blaqueira	Xicalihal
Manuel Morales	José Morales	José Morales	Chumanguan
José Guisón	Juan Morales	Domínguez Mejía	Xicajá
Manuel Calb	Manuel Quiro 1º	Manuel Quiro	Chitjanop
Manuel Chumil	Juan Salvador	José Sol	Sabichal
Diego Yori	Manuel Morales	José Yori	Chijaca
Miguel Morales	José Sol	Guillermo Morales	Xicallaguan
Sebastián Morales	José Guanas	Diego Saqui	Chitjanop
José Feloz	Juan Corio	Chumil Alba	Chimé
Juan Corio	José Alba	José Alba	Chimé
José Alba	José Ramos	José Macario X.	Camanchaj
Manuel Morales	José Saqui	Sebastián Panguj	Amabaj
Sebastián Sol	José Yori 1º	José Yori	Camanchal
José Juan	Diego Juan	José Juan	Chicajón
Juan Morales	Abel de Ficiun	Juan Cupiano	Terijá
Juan Pablo	José Pablo.	Sebastián Sol	"

Homines de los Indígenas que han
pasado en el jurgado como municipales
Año de 1928. -

Alcalde 1º	Miguel Louvabal	Dagibel
" 2º	Pedro Del	Chunima
Síndico	Manuel Suiy	Chicajón
Regidor 2º	Manuel Ajikub	Imlegut
" 3º	Sebastián Licim	Sadichal
" 4º	Antonio Cuii	Macgut
" 5º	Juan Mejía	Xecajá
" 6º	Tomás Morales	Agua Escondida
" 7º	Miguel Windsor	Panimachi
" 8º	Juan Sij	Pajuhivoy

Año 1929

Alcalde 1º	Tomás Ben	Chubumal
" 2º	Sebastián Morales	Xicilagach
Síndico	Tomás Cortez	Chubabaj
Regidor 2º	Sebastián Quiquiar	Chupul
" 3º	Martin Pachoyij	Xicabaj
" 4º	Juan Xicaj	Macgut
" 5º	Pedro Quiquiar	Chubumal
" 6º	Manuel Ben	Chupulal
" 7º	Tomás Morales	Chuguxá
" 8º	Tomás Cipicibus	Penjá

Año 1930

Alcalde 1º	Tomás Morales Suiy	Chicajón
" 2º	Manuel León	Dagquilla
Síndico	Sebastián Licim	Sadichal
Regidor 2º	Diego Anderson	Macgut
" 3º	Tomás Cuii	Chubajoc
" 4º	Juan Matos	Xicabaj
" 5º	Juan Ventura	Chubumal
" 6º	Diego Quiquiar	Poghit
" 7º	Tomás Parillo	Chantali
" 8º	Tomás Mejía	Agua Escondida

— año 1931

Alcalde	1 ^o	Tomás Jente	Jagui sic.
"	2 ^o	Román Boc	Sanabaj.
Juicio		Manuel Jén	Pachos
Regidor	2 ^o	Tomás Landa	Jepeli
"	3 ^o	Pedro Jagui	Sanabaj
"	4 ^o	Felipe Canal	Jagullé
"	5 ^o	Antonio Piquias	Maquil
"	6 ^o	Juan Reynoso	Pajuliro
"	7 ^o	José Chaves	Xicojé
"	8 ^o	Tomás Mendon	Pan machi

— año 1932

Alcalde	1 ^o	Juan Piquias, se cambió	Tomás machi	Sanaja
"	2 ^o	Aguilón Mangui	"	Sanabaj
Juicio		José Cruz	Chicua	Jagullé
Regidor	2 ^o	Pedro Lora	Jaxot	Maquil
"	3 ^o	Lucas Mejía	Rasama	Sanabaj
"	4 ^o	Jerónimo Chica	Chumal	Sanabaj
"	5 ^o	Manuel Mejía	Chuchival	Sanabaj
"	6 ^o	Tomás Oj	Chupol	Sanabaj
"	7 ^o	Manuel Cabal	Chautalá	Sanabaj
"	8 ^o	Tomás Querqui	Mucubalif	Sanabaj

— año 1933

Alcalde	1 ^o	Tomás Jirón	Pajital
"	2 ^o	José Ruino	Chingorop
Juicio	3^o	Tomás Oj	Xelpro
Regidor	2 ^o	Manuel Cabal	Maquil
"	3 ^o	Pedro Yón	Chipaca
"	4 ^o	Juan Alva	Chicua
"	5 ^o	Aguilón Jirón	Chumal
"	6 ^o	Sebastián Pérez	Chipaca
"	7 ^o	Juan Calvo	Xicojé
"	8 ^o	Lucas Andez	Pan machi

Fasa

Año 1932

Año 1933

Año 1934

Centros

Tomas Suarez
 Tomas Macario
 Tomas Suarez
 Martin Sut
 Tomas Martin
 Manuel Canil
 Sebastian Manguin
 Sebastian Kobrak
 Juan Jimin
 Miguel Sute
 Gaspar Canil
 Sebastian Canil
 Jose Ordover
 Sebastian Baon
 Tomas Kouriab
 Nicolas Pan
 Tomas Macario
 Tomas Oxtan
 Manuel Jimin
 Miguel Jimin
 Juan Ferlan
 Juan Sagin
 Juan Mateo
 Manuel Ramos
 Justina Dominguez
 Tomas Chiriz
 Miguel Macario
 Gregorio Oxtan
 Manuel Dominguez

Jose Suarez
 Tomas Macario
 Juan Mateo
 Jose Alf
 Tomas Macario
 Manuel Canil
 Tomas Alf
 Manuel Jimin
 Sebastian Alf
 Manuel Jimin
 Miguel Moro
 Manuel Ordover
 Tomas Ordover
 Tomas Pantray
 Tomas Canil
 Manuel Jimin
 Juan Oxtan
 Tomas Jeronimo
 Diego Ramos
 Tomas Yaper
 Juan Alf
 Tomas Kouriab
 Tomas Ordover
 Tomas Ramos
 Pedro Pifear
 Manuel Justina
 Gaspar Alf Alf
 Manuel Dominguez

Pascual Juan Vucubal
 Gaspar Chon Pocohi
 Pedro Ordover
 Tomas Calvo Xabaj
 Pedro Alf
 Tomas Canil Papat
 Tomas Sut
 Manuel Manguin
 Martin Alberto Mayul
 Tomas Sute
 Juan Jimin
 Juan Alf
 Jose Jimin
 Jose Baon
 Jose Pantray Xabaj
 Sebastian Canil Sagin Alf
 Tomas Juajan Sagin Alf
 Diego Alf Patulup
 Tomas Xabaj Patulup
 Diego Ramos P. Sagin Alf
 Tomas Ferlan Xajocol
 Mateo Sagin Chistinimit
 Vicente Sagin Pachaj
 Tomas Canil Sepella
 Tomas Ramos Chikunul
 Jose Oxtan
 Tomas Canil
 Jose Liron
 Tomas Pehin Chucan

— año 1934. —

Alcalde	1. ^o	Manuel Morales	Chicajón
"	2. ^o	Gaspar Mejía	Patulup
Juicio		José Adams	maquil.
Regidor	2. ^o	José Macario	Chiquera
"	3. ^o	Domingo Liz	P. Gijulio
"	4. ^o	Manuel Bernardo	Paxot
"	5. ^o	Manuel Fomingué	Chucam
"	6. ^o	Manuel Martín	Pocohi
"	7. ^o	José Juy	Trabichol
"	8. ^o	José Girón	maquil.

— Año 1935. —

Alcalde	1. ^o	Manuel Cuetz	Chujulim
"	2. ^o	Juan Licaj	maquil.
Juicio	3. ^o	Diego Siller	Xvi. Maguach
Regidor	2. ^o	José León	Xepol
"	3. ^o	José Mejía	Patulup
"	4. ^o	José Jorge	Chualoj
"	5. ^o	Manuel Fomingué	Chucamal
"	6. ^o	Domingo Mejía	Chipaca
"	7. ^o	Diego Cuetz	Paxot
"	8. ^o	José Quis	Paimaché.

Siendo ya á las 6 a.m. el Síndico y un Regidor y los tamboreros pasan en la casa del primer pasado, que allí tienen que reunir los 6 pasadores juntamente con el Secretario Indígena, al estar reunidos los pasadores, el Síndico se incan ante el primer pasado y le dice así: Señor pasado primero, nuestras indicaciones que les hemos suplicado ase ocho días, pues hoy es el día y se servan pasarse en la cofradía del Niño y Padre Eterno.

El primer pasado dice así: si Señor Síndico estamos enterados, y en este momento nos marcharemos, el Síndico se le vanta y ordene á los tamboreros que tocan, y en seguida se bienen en la cofradía, al llegar en la puerta de calle, luego viene el segundo Alcalde á encontrarlos y se saludan dicen en dialecto (chilá juclá) y entran formados en cabeza el primer pasado, y tambien luego salen las Señoras de los Alcaldes, la primera y segunda, se incan en el patio dirección de la puerta del cuarto á onde se encuentran el Niño y Padre Eterno.

El primer pasado le dice así á la Señora del primer alcalde: Señora primera con su licencia de Ud. vicitamos á nuestro Niño y Padre Eterno, la Señora primera contesta que si está bien y Uds. lo tienen, el primer pasado les pasa la mano en la cabeza vendeciendoles y les dice así en dialecto (chilá juclá) y se pasan los pasados apararse en la puerta del cuarto del Niño, ya formados en dos, luego sáe un Regidor de la misma Municipalidad quemando incienso a encontrar los seis pasadores y entran adentro y se incan ante el Niño y dicen así: el primer pasado able; Niño, dispensa que lo avanzamos á Ud. en este día, los Señores Municipales nos an puesto en nuestros conocimientos que hoy es el día y señalado por nuestros antepasados, que pasaran á dar sus agradecimientos ante los Imgenes y á los fieles

difuntos en la Iglesia y así como recibieron así tendrán que entregar las varas y capixalles; y an tenido las buenas ideas que por medio de los 6 pasadores tendrán que pasar a dar sus agradecimientos en la Iglesia y así será la nuestra como pasadores en este santo mundo, rezan la doctrina en dialecto y percinarsen y se levantan dicen chilá juclá, y pasan á incarse ante el Padre Eterno y con las mismas indicaciones, terminando y se levantan y entre ambos dicen (chilá juclá) y luego les dice el primer Alcalde á los pasadores, servanse sentarse.

El primer pasado le saluda el Alcalde 1° y acordar de saludar sus padres, si son vivos ó muertos, tanto como su señora y familiares y rogando á Dios el bien de sus espírituos de sus padres ya muertos y sus abuelos, terminando el saludo en parte del Alcalde 1° y en seguida el Alcalde 2° con las mismas saludes, y así será á los demás municipales asta el último Regidor, terminando eso el primer pasado ase y dice un ceremonio en dialecto y todo lo que Cristo resucitó cuando se formó el mundo, terminando.

Ahora el primer Alcalde le saluda el primer pasado y así será asta terminar la personalidad de los 6 pasadores, casi aparente las explicaciones del saludo que dijo el primer pasado y la explicación de ceremonia; terminando, el Alcalde 1° le manifiesta á los pasadores así: Señor pasado y compañeros sírvanse tener la bondad de esperarnos un momento, el Síndico y los Regidores pasan á onde estan las Señoras, á recibir las vevidas para dar los á los pasados y enseguida el chocolate, terminando de tomar.

El primer pasado pide las candelas al Síndico y dice así: Señor Síndico conforme el numero de candelas que le hé explicado anterior, sírvase pasarlos á mi presencia en la mesa. El Síndico los pase en la mesa los 78 candelas con 6 servilletas.

El primer pasado los ase bien arregladas en las servilletas y empieza vendácir las cuatro veces, y en seguida ase y dice las explicaciones en dialecto, ruegue á Dios dar su vendición y á los 13 angales de la guardia y á los 15 Imagenes, y despues pide perdon y llamamiento al espíritu á los difuntos pasadores y á todos los fieles difuntos que an serfido en los Juzgados, pero con una seremonia bastante largo, terminando eso, reza la doctrina y cuatro veces hace la vendición sobre las candelas terminando, dicen entre ambos (chilá juclá) con las municipalidades, el primer pasado les dice á los Alcaldes que uno por uno se incan, pase á incarse el primer Alcalde ante el primer pasado, las candelas los envuelvan en una servilleta, y en seguida lo ponen en una canastilla y cuatro veces les pase en la cabeza del Alcalde 1^o y así seran los demas Municipalidá, terminando eso, entonces se reparten las candelas entre los 6 pasadores en partes iguales, hay unas lestoca encenderlas en los altares y ante los difuntos en la Iglecia y ante los Imagenes en las Cofradías de la población; estas comiciones despues los asen al llegar á la Iglecia.

El primer pasado les ordenará á los Señores Municipales de preparar para pasar en la Iglecia, se levantan los Señores pasados y tambien los municipales, se incan ante el Niño y dicen así: Niño, sirvase dispensar que á si presencia hemos indicado las religiones de nuestros antepasados, pero Ud. nos perdona y nó será la finitiva, sino en este momento marcharemos en la Iglecia en unión de los Señores Municipales y Secretario; Niño dispensa que así como salimos y así será nuestro regreso, padre Niño Ud. es el grande se sirva presenciarnos en la calle que Dios quiera que no hay ninguna novedad; se rezan la doctrina en dialecto y se persinan se levantan y dicen (chila juclá) y pasen á incarse

ante el Padre Eterno con las mismas condiciones, y se levanten salen todos en la puerta y formados otra vez y dicen (chilá juclá) y salen otra vez las Señoras de loa Alcaldes á incarse en el mismo lugar ante los pasadores y el primer pasado dice así: Señora primera isimos nuestras grandes molestias de estarnos á la presencia de nuestro Niño y Padre Eterno, pero la nuestra nó es para estar sus- prendiendo las costumbres de nuestros antepasados, si nó hoy día aciendo las veces y en este momento nos pasaremos á dar nuestros agradecimientos á los Santos y á los difuntos, y como Ud. son los dueños de nuestro Niño y Padre Eterno, se servanse de estarse y descansarse en esta cofradía, y dicen (chilá juclá).

La Señora primera conteste así: Ustedes guardan consideraciones y que bayan despacio sin ningun cuidado, los pasadores aalen formados y en cada esquina se paren y ~~xx~~ dicen (chilá juclá) al llegar en la puerta de la Iglecia se incan y el primer pasado es el que abla y dice así: Señor, padre y madre de la Santa Iglecia y á todos los santos Imagenes y santos difuntos sirvanse de oirnos y presencárnos tanto como á los espirituales justicias difuntos sirvanse asercarse la presencia la nuestra es como pasadores, es sus costumbres que han dejado en este santo mundo tanto como los Señores Municipales, que en el año pasado nó estaran sábios de este cargo, pero fué de la voz elegido por el pueblo, y nó lo rechazaron ni se burlaron en cuyo cargo, si no tubieron voluntad de presentarse y prestar sus servicios en dicho Juzgado; ahora el 1° Alcalde, 2° Alcalde, Síndico, 1° Regidor, 2° Regidor, 3° Regidor, 4° Regidor, 5° Regidor, 6° Regidor, 7° Regidor suplican muy alentamente; que tanto, como ahora recibieron las varas y capixalles así tendran que dejarles á la presencia de loa Imagenes y á los santos difuntos y por segunda vez suplican que nó es el

día última sino es anticipadamente sus agradecimientos, como la explicación de los hombres y así lo manifestado por sus esposas, se rezan la doctrina y persinarse, y se levanten y dicen (chilá juclá) y en seguida se poltean se incan otra vez asta los cuatro lados 6 los cuatro puntos cardinales, con las mismas explicaciones del primero, y en seguida entren en la Iglecia los 6 pasadores se incan in medio de la Iglecia y solamente doctrina y percinarse y pasen á incarse en frente del altar del santicimo sacramento y como la explicación que fue en la puerta de la Iglecia y terminando la doctrina y percinarse y se levantan y dicen (chilá juclá) en seguida se repartan sus candelas y yá saben cada qual a onde le toca a encenderlos sus candelas los municipales desde la puerta de la Iglecia se regresan y pasen al Juzgado en sus puestos, solamente el Síndico los acompañan los Señores pasadores en la Iglecia.

Los pasadores al terminar sus compromisos pasan a reunirse en la Iglecia en el lugar que le dicen ante los justicias y de allí se regresan con sus incaciones en los lugares á donde fué cuando entraron y pasan en el Juzgado á dejar sus servilletas á los Señores Municipales y tambien se incan ante la mesa de los Alcaldes y explican las mismas condiciones como fué en la Iglecia y la doctrina y percinan y se levanten y dicen (chilá juclá).

El Alcalde 1º les ofrese de sentarse.

Los pasadores les indican á los Municipales que yá terminaron sus compromisos.

Los Municipales dan sus agradecimientos y se incan ante los pasados, y al mismo tiempo les indican muy atentamente el Síndico á los 6 pasadores, que nó es la última, si nó es aprincipiar sus costumbres como lo que señalaron los antepasados, y nó setros jamás lo asemos de suprimir, el día 9 de Diciembre los esperamos

con nuestras voluntad y cariñosamente, en dicha cofradía que es el día que señala la ley, y así es que gustosamente de esperarlos en la cofradía, ahora como que Dios nos dió licencia y en seguida al mismo tiempo pasaremos al Juzgado para las elecciones para la personalidad que integran los empleados en dicho Juzgado.

Los pasadores dicen así: si Dios nos dá la santa vida pues nosotros nó tenemos ningun inconveniente de asernos presentes.

Los pasadores se levantan y dicen así: Señores Municipales; ruegan á Dios aquí en sus Despachos.

Contestación de la Municipalidad, muy bien y agradecido por ustedes, así como binieron así tendran que ir despacio y Dios que les acompañan y entre ambos dicen (chilá juclá).

Los seis pasadores desde esta fecha queden sabidos y daran cuenta con los auxiliares de los cantónes para que convocan con sus gentes que se presenten el 9 de Diciembre al Juzgado a las 9 a.m. á elegir los nuevos Municipales para que en una unidad ó voto popular que se haga en ese día.

Día 9 de Dbre.

Los seis pasadores y el Secretario natural pasan á reunirse en la casa del primer pasado, y en ese momento llega el Síndico atraerlos los pasados con las mismas condiciones como el primer costumbre, llegan tambien los tamboreros, y los pasados y demas, pasan en la cofradía con las mismas explicaciones y costumbre que como fué al anterior, terminando, se bienen al Juzgado, cuando salen en la cofradía con las mismas explicaciones condiciones como fué primere, y al llegar al Juzgado los Municipales, los seis pasadores y el Secretario, se sientan todos, y el Secretario se prepara con los trabajos, en ese momento el Alcalde ordene el pregonista que sale en la circulación de la plaza llamando á los

auxiliares y a todos los vecinos que se presenten al Juzgado á dar sus votos, y al estar unidos los auxiliares y mas vecinos.

- 1º El Alcalde 1º declara que quede abierto el acta siendo el tales horas.
- 2º El Secretario recibe los votos en verbal de la persona que desean para el Alcalde 1º, Alcalde 2º, Síndico, y los siete Regidores, pero a presencia de los ~~Regidores~~ Municipales y los seis pasadores que digan.
- 3º Se principian con los cinco mayores, esos cinco mayores son los Jefes de los alguaciles que prestan sus servicios en la Municipalidad ladina ó sea en el Juzgado primero Municipal en este pueblo.
- 4º Ahora con los otros dos fisdales del convento que tambien prestan sus servicios como Jefes de los alguaciles ó chajales del convento, terminando la elección se pone de que horas, y al mismo tiempo los auxiliares y los vecinos pasan con el Alcalde 1º Municipal á dar cuenta que se iso la elección por los Municipales Indigenas y salieron electos, y la presentan una nómina de las personas electas, y tambien le dejan suplicada al mencionado Alcalde que no se permita algun cambio de los personas electas.

El siguiente día, el Secretario saca una copia del acta para remitirla al Jefe Político Departamental y otro al Alcalde 1º Municipal de ladinos de este pueblo, para su aprobación de las personas electas, y siné da la aprobación de las personas, entonces se hará nueva elección.

Ahora la comunicación que se asen a los individuos que quedaron electos como Municipales asta el 22 de Dbre.

El día 15 de Dbre. el Alcalde 1º manda el Síndico y el segundo Regidor con los 6 pasadores en sus casas, cada una y tambien con

el Secretario, a ponerles y á suplicarles muy atentamente que el día 22 de Dibre. tendran lugar de pasar en la cofradía del Niño y Padre Eterno á las 7 a.m.

Los pasadores ofresen sus servicios que sí.

El día 22 del mes de Diciembre á las 6 a.m. se reunen en la casa del primer pasado los demas pasadores y el Secretario, el Síndico y el segundo Regádor llegan en ese mismo momento en casa de los pasados juntamente con los tamboreros atraerlos los Señores pasados y compandoles pasen en la cofradía á las 7 a.m. y alX llegar siempre con sus mismas condiciones y explicaciones, y tambien cuando salen en la cofradía y pasan al Juzgado como á las 9 a.m.

Ya estando en el Juzgado á las 9 h.a.m. el primer Alcalde publica muy atentamente en nombre de la Municipalidad a los Señores pasadores que se sirvan tomar el desempeño darles el conocimiento devido del cargo á cada unas de las personas que yá estan electas.

El primer pasado contesta que sí, y pide que se dá lectura del acto anterior, El primer pasado manifiesta, que como es costumbre que ásta en la tarde tienen que pasar en la casa del primer Alcalde como el segundo Alcalde, a poner en sus conocimiento, que desde el día de la elección señalada por la ley, an quedaádo nombrados.

El primer pasado, ordene el Síndico con dos alguaciles atraerlo en su casa el Síndico electo, y les manifiesta que lleve su vara el Síndico, y al llegar en el Juzgado el Síndico electo le dice al primer pasado.

El primer pasado le abla el nombrado y le dice que se sienta.

El primer pasado le emþasa decirle así: Señor, sírvase oir nuestras molestias que le mandamos a llamar con el Síndico, ahora, nosotros como pasadores y tanto como á los Señores Municipales nada no ocultamos ni es en parte de nosotros, sino solo para el divido

cumplimiento de nuestras obligaciones, y así es que en el día de las elecciones que manda la ley, los vecinos principales y alcaldes auxiliares, estuvieron de acuerdo y elegido á Ud. de Síndico Municipal de esta Municipalidad para el año entrante, así es que Ud. nos perdone que le hacemos de saber cuyo cargo y el día 31 de este mes de Diciembre á las 20 horas se sirva tener la vovdad de esperarnos en su casa juntamente con su estimada Señora, y será con el mismo Señor Síndico se le manda a acompañarle para pasarse en el cabildo de esta á tomar posesi6/n de su puesto.

Contestaci6n del Síndico nuevo dice así: Señores pasados y Municipalidades, no tengo con que pasarme la vida en este servicio que ustedes me dicen y estoy sumamente pobre y ademas que no soy competente de ese cargo.

Los pasadores mandan el Síndico nuevo á su casa con el mismo Síndico y los dos alguaciles, nó dan lugar que able y protesta, y con los dos alguaciles le mandan el nombramiento que son 25 de cacau, con una pepita de zapote que se llama zapollul y un pan entre un platillo y tapado por una servilleta á entregarlo a su esposa en su casa. Ahora se mande atraerlo el segundo Regidor, y los otros Regidores, los mayores y los dos fiscales pero ea con la misma explicaci6n como lo que le manifestaron á el Síndico, terminado. Siendo á las 5 de la tarde.

El primer pasado, acompa^oña el 1^o Alcalde con el bast6n y otra vara que le llaman Cruz vara, con estos Señores se ba un individuo ó sea hijo del primer Alcalde que es costumbre, el individuo lleva los seis cuetes, un platillo con 25 granos de cacau y con 16 centavos antes le dicen \$10, y una botella de aguardiente y al llegar en la casa del electo. El primer pasado le dice así:

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Señor dispense, nosotros seremos bisitantes un momento.

Contesta, pasen adentro, siéntanse.

El primer pasado le saluda pero muy corto y le hace saber luego de su comisión y le dice así: Señor, dispense nuestras molestias que le venimos á quitarle el tiempo, desde el día de la elección que la ley lo señala, el pueblo tubieron en una unidad acuerdo de nombrar y elejido de primer Alcalde del cabildo ó en el Juzgado para el año entrante, pues yó como pasado, unicamente cumplo de mi obligación de nuestras costumbres, y nó crea de mi parte, ya Ud. sabe bien de estos gargos que es el pueblo elijan los Señores Municipales, y así es que Ud. recibe el señal que es nuestra costumbre que han dejado nuestras antepasados; luego lo ponen á su presencia el platillo con 25 granos de cacau, con los diez pesos ó 16 centavos y luego le empiezan darle por copitas el aguardiente y lo mas pronto se queman los cuetes en el patio y nó le dan tiempo que el electo abla, y si en caso el electo se alliega y no quiere aceptar el cargo, y tambien no quiere tomar el aguardiente, lo dejan en una mesa juntamente con el cacao y los 16 centavos, y solo le dejan explicado que el día 31 del presente mes á las 20 horas tiene que la vondad de esperarnos en ésta, juntamente con su estimada esposa para que tubieran la vondad de acompafiarnos de pasar al cabildo de esa hora á tomar posesión de su cargo.

Si contesta ó no el primer pasado, el Alcalde y el ayudante, se regresan.

Y si el Alcalde electo acepta el cargo, si toma el aguardiente entre ambos con el pasado y el Alcalde y asta su esposa el electo lo llaman y los acompafia de tomar el aguardiente, y si es tan vondoso el electo los sirve con vevida, chocolate y aguardiente, bastante alegres.

Terminando esto el pasado y el Alcalde se regresan ya es muy tarde, el Alcalde manda el ayudante á dejarlo el primer pasado en su casa y el Alcalde pasará en su casa tambien.

La misma fecha y hora, pasan el segundo pasado y el segundo Alcalde y tambien un ayudante en la casa del electo que es el segundo Alcalde, y son las mismas costumbres que llevan y las mismas explicaciones terminado con el segundo electo.

Día 31 de Dbre,

A las 4 a.m. se reunen los Señores Municipales en la cofradia ó en la casa del primer Alcalde á onde está el Niño y Padre Eterno. juntamente con sus Señoras y preparan sus mismas costumbres y á las 6 h.a.m. el Síndico y Regidor y los tamboreros pasan en la casa del primer pasado atraerlos, tambien yá deben estar reunidos y el Secretario, puesto que la comunicación que les han dado ~~han~~ ase ocho dias.

Y al estar reunidos los pasados, el Síndico se inca ante los pasados y les dice que pasaran en la cofradia del Niño y Padre Eterno, y contestan los pasados que está bien, y se bienen y pasan en la cofradia, con las mismas condiciones del saludo entre ambos y tambien con las mismas condiciones de los servidos que les asen terminando eso.

El primer Alcalde les suplica á los seis pasadores que tubieron la vovdad de adornar y arreglarlo nuestro Niño en su andia, para pasarlo en la Iglecia, y los pasados contestan que sí está bien, y empiesan adornar el Niño y yá estando arreglado los seis pasados y la Municipalidad pasan en la Iglecia a dejarla el Niño, y en seguida se regresan los seis pasadores y la Municipalidad ~~axaxa~~ los pasados en sus casas la Municipalidad en el Juzgado, en ese momento los Alcaldes mandian á llamar el Síndico nuevo y los Regidor-

es, estos ya deben estar reunidos en la casa del primer Alcalde nuevo, y al llegar al Juzgado, segun inventario que se lleva, y al estar entregada tambien los útiles que lleve dicha cofradia del Niño y Padre Eterno, estando ya entregado los útiles y recibidas, conforme el inventario, entonces entre ambos de los Síndicos se extiendan una constancia, que estan conformes los útiles entregados y recibidas. Ya solo medio día pasen los municipales en el Juzgado, y ya en la tarde todos los nuevos municipales les sirven de un almuerzo á cada uno de sus relevo que siempre es costumbre.

Ya siendo á las 5 de la tarde, se reunen los ochovez, que son los que adornan y llevan como cuidadores del Padre Eterno y ya cuando estan adornando el Imagen se manden llamar á los pasados, el Síndico y un Regidor, pasan atraerlos, y cuando llegan con las mismas explicaciones y costumbres, terminando eso ya son como á las 6 p.m.

La municipalidad en unión de sus esposas lo despiden y agradecen y se incan ante el Imagen, los municipales, les dicen á los pasados que tubieran la vondad de esperar los un momento y á los ochovez que se sienten y á todos los ayudantes, y les hacen de servirles a todos con unas copas a de aguardiente. Son las 7 h.p.m.

La municipalidad se preparan y se incan ante los pasados y les dice, Señores pasados que tubieran la vondad de ordenar á los ochovez de levantar nuestro Padre Eterno, los pasados ordenen que lo levantan nuestro Padre Eterno, y se vienen al Juzgado, en cada esquina se paren con el Imagen y queman cuetes y tambien á los ochovez que llevan al Imagenes les dan unas copas de aguardiente y á los Señores pasados, llegando al Juzgado á las 9 p.m., y en la mesa de los municipales, y los mayores más 2 fiscales del convento que llevan sus varas y sus ayudantes á cada unas, el Alcalde

1º y 2º por medio de tambor, al llegar en sus casas, como por ejemplo en la casa del primer Alcalde le dice el primer pasado quien bá con el Alcalde 1º y le dice, Señor Alcalde, nosotros llamados y levantadores, y así es que se sirva levantar y acompañarnos de pasar en su puesto al cabildo y a su muy estimada esposa; contesta que está enterado, y los ayddantes de los Alcaldes pasan á levantar á onde esté y de allí empiezan á tocar tambores y pasan al Juzgado, y al llegar al Juzgado lo ponen á sentarse, entonces el Alcalde entrega la vara al primer pasado, el primer pasado lo pone en la mesa en órden y así seran los otros, al estar todos y las varas todas en órden en la mesa.

El primer pasado ase el llamamiento de nuestro Señor Jesucristo y á los Santos fieles difuntos pero ablando un seremonio de los que Dios á dejado los tribunales, cofradías y otras costumbres importantes, cuatro veces lo vendice las varas, terminando.

El primer pasado, lo llama el Alcalde viejo dandole las gracias por sus servicios prestados, y al mismo tiempo llama el Alcalde nuevo y le entrega la vara en su mano, y le dice así:

Señor Alcalde, tenga la vondad, de aserse cargo de la vara y conocer su puesto, cumpla y sea activo de las ordenes superiores y aserlos siempre en páz el pueblo y con el cuidado nó tomar durante ~~xx~~ de su tiempo en servicios y al nó aser así perderá su honrades y además le tocará alguna pena y multable, y le dicen s sientase.

Así seran los otros, terminando, los municipales viejos se retiran, y se llevan sus candeleros y al mismo tiempo lo ponen la de los municipales nuegos. Son 10 h.p.m.

El primer pasado ordene á los ochoves que lo levantan el Padre Eterno y que pasaran en la cofradía del primer Alcalde, y tanto

como vinieron que en cada esquina se descansan con el Imagen y quem-
an un cuete y los ochoves les dan aguardiente, llegando en la co-
fradía á los 12 de la noche.

1º Lo coloquen en su lugar el Imagen Padre Eterno.

2º Alcalde 1º manifiesta á los pasadores y ochoves que se sientan
y les sirven con aguardiente y en seguida chocolate y vevida, eso
está preparado por ayudantes de sus esposas los Señores Municipales,
terminando y dejando colocado bien el Imagen Padre Eterno en su
lugar, entonces los Señores Municipales se incan ante los pasados,
agradeciendo y al mismo tiempo les indican que ellos son los en-
cargadores de dichas costumbres y que tubieran la vondad de que los
esperan otra vez en la mañana en la misma cofradía para pasar en la
Iglecia á recibir el Nino y colocarlo en la cofradía.

El Nino lo han pasado en la Iglecia en el día ó sea el 31 de
Dbre. por los pasados y los Alcaldes antesesoras.

Se retiren los y los ochoves y pasan en sus casas a descansar
lo mismo los Municipales.

Día 1º de Enero año nuevo.

A las 5 a.m. se reunen en la cofradía los Señores Municipales
y sus esposas y preparen vevidas y chocolate, ya siendo a las 6 a.m.
el Síndico y un Regidor pasan en la casa del primer pasado, atraer-
los, juntamente con el Secretario Indígena, cuando yá estan reunidos
los pasadores, el Síndico se inca ante ellos, suplicándoles que
pasaran en la cofradía del Padre Eterno, y se levantan los pasadores,
y empiezan tocar á los tambores y pasan en la cofradía, y al llegar
en la cofradía con las mismas explicaciones y costumbres como
principiaron los municipales pasados, terminandolos de servirlos,
los municipales se incan ante ellos y se incan ante los pasadores,
les suplican de pasarse y acompañarse en la Iglecia á recibir el
Nino para pasarlo en la cofradía/

Contestan los pasados, que esta bien, y se pasan en la Iglesia á recibir y regresan llá son las 9 a.m., al llegar en la cofradía lo dejan colocado en su lugar el Niño, despues de eso, les hacen de servirles á los pasadores con vevida.

Los pasadores les dejan indicado al mismo tiempo á los Señores municipales, que entre 20 días pasan en la Iglesia a dar sus agradecimientos y presentar sus presenciales y á tomar parte ante los fieles difuntos.

La municipalidad contestan, que está bien y agradecen^{de} las buenas explicaciones, y tambien las mismas costumbres y al mismo tiempo á los Señores pasadores, tanto como ahora así tendran la vondad de venir otra vez en esta cofradía.

Los pasadores se levantan se incan ante el Niño y Padre Eterno y se pasan en la casa del primer pasado á dejarlo el primer pasado y de allí se retiran los demas pasados.

Los municipales pasan al Juzgado, y tanto como el Srío.

1° conocer sus puestos, nó hay justicia.

2° día al reglamento de sus obligaciones cada unas.

Alcalde 1° la justicia todo, menos de comiciones, nombrar Alcaldes y mayordomos de la cofradía, y mozos para caminos.

Alcalde 2° lo mismo como el cargo del primer Alcalde.

Sindico, entiende con las personas particulares que soliciten mozos pagados, un moze gana 13 centages diarios, y está encargado tambien cuando los Regidores les toca de ir adejar un preso al Quiché y vá en orden á los Regidores de esa comisión/

Los Regidores les toca nueve cantones á cada una y en cada canton ay un auxiliar y los Regidores cuentan con el Auxiliar cuantos mozos le toca cada semana para los caminos públicos, y los auxiliares tambien los llevan en orden su gente en el cantón.

Día siguiente,

Los Municipales pasan en la casa del primer Alcalde, segundo Alcalde y el Síndico á visitarlos y aponerles en conocimiento que se llevaran de acuerdo, y segun ordenes por las autoridades, se comunican entre ambos Municipales, terminando pasan al mismo tiempo con el Sacerdote al convento á ofrecer tambien sus servicios.

Día 12 de Enero

En este día el Alcalde 1^o ordena al Síndico y un Regidor para que pasen en sus casas de los 6 pasadores á comunicarles que tubieran la vondad de pasar en la cofradía el día veinte del presente mes, cuando pasan el Síndico y el Regidor en la casa del primer pasado dicen así

Señor primer pasado con su licencia de Ud.

Contesta el primer pasado dice que sí y sirvase de sentarse.

El Síndico le saluda y en seguida su Señora y demas familias y por último sus difuntos padres y en seguida la que cristo dejó resucitada y tanto como á los primitivos, personales, ect. et.

Empieza el primer pasado y lo dá la traducción como esplicó el Síndico. El Síndico le explica al primer pasado así.

Señor pasado el objeto de nuestra presencia que aqui le venimos aquitar el tiempo, se incan ante el pasado, y que el Alcalde 1^o suplica á Ud. y a los demás pasados, se sirvan pasar á la cofradía el día 20 de este mes, que ustedes seran las que pasan á ensender nuestras candelas en los altares y ante los difuntos en la Iglesia.

El primer pasado contesta que sí y nó hay ningun inconveniente de pasar en la cofradía y al mismo tiempo indican que preparan 78 candías de puro sebo á medio centavo cada unas, El Síndico agradece de las esplicaciones que le indicaron por el primer pasado y regresen á dar cuenta al Alcalde primero lo que manifestó el primer pasado.

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Día 20

A las 4 a.m. se feunen los municipales en la cofradía del Padre Eterno juntamente con sus Señoras, y siendo ya á las 6 a.m. el Síndico y un Regidor acompañada los tamboreros pasan en la casa del primer pasado, al llegar piden permiso y entran adentro y se incan ante el primer pasado y le dicen así

Señor pasado sírvase perdonarnos aquí nos mandaron los Señores Alcaldes, para que ustedes tubieran la vondad de pasarse en la cofradía del Padre Eterno.

El primer pasado contesta que sí y dice tambien un momento cuando sino estan preparados ó falta uno entre ellos, y al estar listos

Los pasados se levantan y empiezan á tocar los tambores y se bienen ó pasan en la cofradía, y al llegar en la puerta de calle, luego sale el Alcalde 2^o con su vara y con un Regidor quemando incienso á encontrarlos en la puerta los Señores pasados y se paran en la puerta bien formados y dicen (chilá juclá) y entren/^{en} el patio, y luego salen la Señora del primer Alcalde y la del Segundo Alcalde se incan en frente del cuarto á onde está el Niño y Padre Eterno, y el primer pasado les dice así: Señora primera sírvanse de perdonar que aquí les venimos avanzar y con lisencia de ustedes nos pasamos á vicitar nuestro Niño y Padre Eterno.

Las Señoras contestan que está bien y que Uds. lo tienen, el primer pasado les pasa la mano en la cabeza bendiciendolos y dice (chilá juclá) y enseguida pasan adentro á onde está el Niño, y el Alcalde 1^o debe estar esperandolos adentro y dicen (chilá juclá) y se incan ante el Niño y dicen así

Padre Niño Ud. nos perdone, que nuestro personal lo avanzamos á Ud. nosotros como pasadores nos han llamado los Señores municipales, con que hoy es el día señalado por nuestros antepasados que nosotros seremos los que encabezamos el cuerpo municipal para pasar un momen-

to en la Iglesia, a presenciarlos los referidos municipales y ellos seran recibidos las varas y capixalles ante los fieles difuntos, y Ud. niño nos perdone, rezan la doctina y percinan dicen chilá juclá entre ambos los pasadores con los de la municipalidad, y de allí se incan el Padre Eterno, con las mismas explicaciones condiciones, y se levanten y el Alcalde 1º les dice á los pasados que tubieran la vondad de sentarse.

El primer pasado le saluda el primer Alcalde y enseguida el segundo Alcalde y Síndico y a todos los Regidores, les saluda sus esposas, hijos, hermanos y familiares, sus difuntos padres y madres se acuerdan de ellos, estos saludas que asen es unicamente entre palabras así con el Alcalde, terminando eso, el mismo pasado dise y hace un seremonia de los que cristo resucito antes y todo lo que dejó en este santo mundo, y acordar tambien que icieron los primeros personales en este santo mundo, terminando eso, ahora, el Alcalde 1º ase la traducción le saluda el primer pasado, y los demas pasadores, esposas, hijos, familiares, y acordar de sus fieles difuntos padres y madres, y la misma seremonia como lo que manifesto el primer pasado, terminando.

El Alcalde 1º les dice á los pasadores que tubieran la vondad de esperar un momento, contestan que está bien, les sirven con vevida y chocolate, terminando, el primer pasado pide las candelas que habia indicado al Síndico cuando fué las comunicaciones y se les entregan en la mesa á suá presencia el primer pasado.

El primer pasado los arregla en una servilleta y de allí los llama la presencia de los primeros personales que como ellos son los que supáeron formar esto de la costumbre, y en seguida ruega á la presencia de cristo y como él dejó todo lo que es costumbre, terminando cuatro veces se hace la vendición sobre las candelas por el primer pasado, terminando pide seis servilletas y reparten las

candelas entre los seis pasadores y cada una sabe á onde pasen á ensenderlos las candelas, unos en los altares y otro ante los difuntos en la Iglecia, terminado eso, se preparan los pasados y los Señores Municipales, se levantan y dicen y se incan ante el Niño, y dicen así.

Padre Niño en este momento pasaremos en la Iglecia á cumplir nuestros deberes y nuestros compromisos de pasarlos los Señores á la presencia de los Imagenes y á los Santos difuntos; y se sirva Ud. Niño de acompañarnos su presencia en nuestra Parroquia, así como nuestra ida, así será nuestro regreso, doctrina y percinación. y se levanten y salen, salen otra vez las Señoras y se incan en el mismo lugar y como las mismas explicaciones del primer pasado les dice así: Señora primera y segunda, sírvase dispensar isimos nuestras faltas y buyas á la presencia de nuestro Niño y Padre Eterno, y en este momento pasaremos en la Iglecia, y ustedes quedense aquí y ustedes seran los dueños de nuestra cofradía del Niño y Padre Eterno y les pasa otra vez en la cabeza vendiciendoles y salen formados, y en cada esquina se paren y dicen (chilá juclá) y hasta en la puerta de la Iglecia y se incan en la puerta & dicen así el primer pasado; Señores cuidadores animas venditas sírvanse dispensar que les avansamos tanto como la presencia de los fieles difuntos justicias y á nuestras Santos Imagenes y nuestro Señor Sacramento, aquí venimos á presentar la presencia de los Señores Municipales nuevos que recibieren la vara y que Uds. seran sus principales defensores durante el año, y que Ustedes les vendicen sus personales y tambien les rogamos que nó les pasará alguna cosa mala en el Juzgado, tanto como ellos y así sera sus familiares y sus bienes inmuebles, la doctrina, percinación, y dicen (chilá juclá), y se levantan y se voltean y se incan otra vez, así seran los cuatro puntos y con las mismas explicaciones, terminando, regresan los

Alcaldes con sus varas, y pasan al Juzgado, y los Señores pasados juntamente con el Síndico, a que á onde le dicen pacaman otra vez y ante los justicias y en frente del altar del sáctimo Sacramento, pero con la misma explicación como fué en la entrada, terminando sus explicaciones la doctrina percinación y dicen (chilá juclá) y de allí se repartan para a encender las candelas á onde les toca a cada una, y al regresar terminando sus compromisos, primero en la Iglesia se reúnen y de allí pasan al Juzgado á dar cuenta á los Señores Municipales, pero primero se incan en frente de la mesa y con las mismas explicación, si hay unas palabras más pero nó es tanto, terminando resan la doctrina, percinación y dicen chilá juclá, el Alcalde 1º les dice, un favor sirvanse sentarse,---.---

El primer pasado les dice á los municipales, que nó ubo ninguna novedad, y que Dios dió lugar para sus costumbre, y que nó es la última si nó así será en los días señalados por nuestros antepasados, y al mismo tiempo dáján explicados los pasados á los Señores Municipales que tenga mucha honradez, y actividades de cumplir las ordenes de las autoridades Superiores.

Otra explicación, antes de salir ó despues de la vendécida de las candelas en la cofradía, el primer pasado le explica al Síndico y á los Regidores que tenga la mayor vigelancia del asea de la casa de la cofradía, varrer diariamente, adornar el cuarto de los Imagenes, cambiar las flores en los floreros, y poner candelas o encender en las mañanas y en las tardes y poner ó incienso, y últimamente les deja explicado el primer pasado al Síndico y á los Regidores, que nó tomen aguardiente ~~maxxi~~ y que nó se disgusten por el servido que les tocó sinó que hagan lo posible de dicho servicio para que así como recibieron así será cuando entregan todos sanos.

Los Señores Municipales dan sus agradecimientos á los pasados por los favores explicaciones que dejaron, y al mismo tiempo les explican y suplican á los pasados, que cuando llega el día de las costumbres siempre estaran con ellos, y ellos son los llamados para selebrar ciertas costumbres como ahora, se incan los Señores Municipales ante los pasados. Terminando los pasadores se levantan y se incan otra vez en frente de la mesa de los Municipales y dicen así: E Señores dueños de los primeros personales de este Juzgado, Ustedes nos dispensan que Dios quiso y dió lugar que terminamos nuestras costumbres para sus pasos de los Señores Municipales presentes, y así como entramos así devemos de regresar, doctrina, percinación y se levan y ~~ma~~ dicen chilá juclá y salen á dejarlo el primer pasado en su casa, y como icieron en el Juzgado así tendran que aser en la casa del primer pasado, y de allí regresan los demas pasados para sus casas, término.

La doctrina como se dijo de la primera costumbre, así será en todas al terminar cada costumbre de esto.

2. Court cases recorded by Pedro Ajanel Calal,
the Chichicastenango escribiénte in the Indian juzgado

Tomás Pol del cantón chucabaj. - El día 21 de marzo del presente año se presentó ante el alcalde de Quindimias luego se inició, que, viéndose en contra su mujer que no sabía tejer, ni hilar algodón, pidió que se mandara a citar para el alcalde se llamara la atención, el alcalde luego la mandó a llamar y se presentó la mujer. - Juana Quiración. - El alcalde de Quindimias luego le dijo que si era cierto que ella no sabe tejer ni hilar contestó la mujer que ella sí sabe tejer e hilar que todo lo expuesto por su marido son falsos, por que el hombre no le daba hilo para tejer ni algodón para hilar que lo que quería hombre que la mujer comprara el hilo y algodón para tejer e hilar.

Oído todo lo expuesto por la mujer luego el alcalde de Quindimias ~~le~~ le llamó la atención al hombre diciéndole que le diera hilo y algodón para tejer e hilar. - De El alcalde de Quindimias le dijo a la mujer que si el hombre ^{no} le da hilo y algodón que se presentara inmediatamente al despacho de su cargo para castigarlo al mencionado muchacho.

Chichicastenango, Diciembre del 940

Tomás Grave del cauto'n paguilla. —
 Demandó a Sebastiana Morales el 20 del
 mes de ~~Noviembre~~ Noviembre del presente año, en
 la mañana a las 9 horas, se presentó como
 de costumbre saludando al alcalde Quindige-
 nas y luego se inició en el piso y expuso los
 motivos de la queja; que el día 19 del pre-
 sente mes ^{incudor} la Sebastiana Morales ya mencio-
 nada, no quiso arreglar el almuerzo y siendo
 que es su ~~marido~~ ^{marido} mujer, pide que se
 mandara a llamar ~~la~~ ^{la} dicha mujer, para
 que ante el alcalde de Quindigenas dijera si
 quiere seguir viviendo maritalmente con
 él, o no, pues mejor si se separan, el alcal-
 de de Quindigenas la mandó a llamar a
 la ~~señal~~ demandada para que el día
 siguiente se presentara a su despacho a las
 8 horas, — Se presentó la mujer a la hora y
 día indicados, luego se inició en el piso, pregun-
 tando que para qué la necesitaba, el
 alcalde de Quindigenas luego le dijo que por-
 que no quería arreglar el almuerzo de
 su marido, contestó la mujer; que ella
 ya había preparado el almuerzo, que todo
 lo dicho por su marido eran mentiras, ~~pero~~
 que el demandante no quiso almorzar.

con ella ese día; y no quiso almuerzo por-
 que con su querida almucero' por que ya
 le quería separar de ella por eso vino a
 mentir al alcalde de Quindígenas.—

Ambos estaban presentes, el alcalde de Quin-
 dígenas le preguntó al hombre que si él que-
 ría seguir viviendo con ella, o no contestó
 el hombre que ya no quería seguir vi-
 viendo con ella.— El alcalde de Quindígenas dis-
 puso separarlos, entonces el alcalde lo que
 hizo, que el hombre le regaló a la mujer
 un guipil, un gorrajé y una faja por
 el tiempo que estuvo viviendo con él.—
 Todo lo testado no valen.—

Chichicastigo. — 1940

Dec. 21, 1938 Luis told me that José Rosales is in prison for receiving stolen coffee. He paid 2.50 a qq. for some coffee, and bought 200 qq. (80, he says); caught with the goods because he had some of the coffee still in finca bags. He was given two years in prison, and is now waiting for me to try to get him out. He has \$25.00 ready to pay a fine, but the judge won't take it, and says he'll have to serve all his time. Mariano, his brother-in-law, squealed on him, says Luis (who is a half brother of José) Nemesio is still in prison, too, waiting for me to come to get him out.

Nov. 29, 1938. The laundress received report that her large dog was killed (poison) by juzgado, even though license was paid. She went to see about it; if true, she'll go to Quiché to complain.

Nov. 30, 1938. Tina hasn't settled the dog affair yet. The Intendente has been away to Quiché.

Dec. 1, 1938. The Intendente told Tina he'd investigate the poisoning. Yesterday two hens of hers died of poison. They've been tossing poison in the patios...

3. Religion

General Notes

The notes immediately following were written after a month in Chichicastenango.

Religion

Nominally Catholic, of course, the religion of the Indians is a mixture of Christianity and so-called paganism. Yet everybody including the Padre appreciates that they are among the most pious of people. Very reverential of sacred things, there is little doubt that they consider the Church the most sacred. The building, the figures of saints and of Christ, and the padre himself, are objects of great veneration. The church in the pueblo is but one of the "churches" of the Indians. Scattered throughout the cantones are small shelters, some consisting of a semicircle or rocks, or of racks and brush, some sheltered a bit more securely, at which the Indians, and especially the brujos, come to perform small rites. There is nothing but the shelter -- no paraphernalia permanently present -- but the Indians think of them as sacred places. Favorite places for these outdoor churches are on the summits of hills, and especially on the cerros which are small possibly artificial (they look so to me) mounds that have some connection with ancient times. Reminiscent of archeological remains ~~xxx~~ is the notion that it is best to worship on high places; and interesting to archeologist and ethnologist alike is the fact that figurines and other things like artifacts that the Indians find in their corn-fields are considered sacred, are called "idoles" and find a place in their worship.

Most important in worship are candles and incense. One of the chief products for sale in the pueblo, in the stores and in the market, is a multitude of tapered white candles, of various sizes; another is the package of copal, wrapped in neat packages of corn-husks, for incense. Any day, and at almost any hour, one or a small group of Indians may be seen on the steps of the church (or of both churches in the pueblo) with a cluster of candles and a brassiere of incense before him, kneeling and speaking aloud, presumably praying, at a rapid rate and in a fervent tone. Within the church there may be dozens, and on market days scores of men and women, candles set up and incense burning, in rows facing the altar.

I know little about them, but two things more -- connected -- enter into the religious life; fiestas and cofradias (religious fraternities). The two most important fiestas have their center in the pueblo -- one in the Spring (around Easter) and the other celebrating the day of the patron Saint -- Santo Tomas -- from the 16th to the 21st of December. On these occasions nobody works, everybody dresses up and comes to town to dance, to pray, and to drink. Besides, there are minor fiestas celebrated in town; for example, when the Ladinos have their novena for Concepcion, ending up as quite a fiesta, the Indians also indulge in private little fiestas in town. In the Cantones there are special fiestas, some celebrated in certain cantones only, some more general. Rather general ones, I think, are at Corpus Christa (May 30th), St. John the Baptist, in June, and at Christmas Eve. In these fiestas the people of a canton, or those who wish, get together in the house of some man who is well-to-do and has a large place, have a marimba and drum, firecrackers, etc. These fiestas are paid for by popular subscription. In Mactzul 4th, St. Martin's is celebrated (in November). I am not sure of any of this, but it appears that there are fourteen cofradias, eight of them consisting of eight men and ~~six~~ their wives, each from a different canton, and six of them having only six men and their wives in their membership. Each cofradia seems to be connected with a religious ~~marimba~~ saint and has charge of the fiesta. They are organized politically with an alcalde, second alcalde, etc. The Ladinos have separate cofradias, some of them for the same fiesta. All have annual shifts of membership. Beyond these vagueries I know little. I remember that at the Ladino fiesta of Concepcion the dancers and marimba went first to the home of the outgoing alcalde of the cofradia, then to that of the incoming, then to those of other members.

Fiestas are extremely important in the social life of the Indians and the Ladinos alike; dances are rehearsed in advance, marimba bands are imported, elaborate costumes are made or rented, and a good time is had by all. The fiestas really have very little connection with the Church. It happens that at the Ladino Concepcion fiesta, a large number of children (including a few Indians) took their first communion; masses are better attended; the church-bells ring incessantly; a ~~maraca~~ drum and flute are played almost 24 hours a day from the church bell-tower; saints from the church are carried in procession. But the padre has little to do with it all, and it is a ladino or an Indian affair. As a matter of fact, speaking about the Indians now, the priest or the church have little to do actually with any of their religious activities; the church is used for a praying-place (along with others) all the saints inside are treated as idols. That is about all. Of all of the sacraments, only baptism is taken by the Indians; marriage formerly was sanctified by the church, but a recent law requiring prior ~~with~~ civil marriage (with a fee) has stopped marriage ceremonies entirely. As far as I can find out, funerals and burials are purely Indian affairs. Baptisms furnish the chief income of the padre; I should have mentioned before that the institution of ~~compadres~~ compadres, padrinos, etc. is very strong, and functions among other times at baptisms. Perhaps even when there are no children in sight a man may choose a compadre (and the wives are comadres) who will be the padrino of his children. The relationship of compadre is the closest thing to a family relationship there is; the two entire families are brought into closest friendship, with many friendly obligations entailed....

Religion among the Indians is all mixed up with divination and curing, etc. by the brujos. There are these medicine men in all of the cantones, and perhaps some living in the ~~quintones~~ as well. How many there are altogether, I don't know, but I can make a rough estimate from some data I have collected. In Chuamanzana there are eight (all men), in Agua Secundid only one man; in Chucum likewise there is only one man. In Semeja second, there are five men and one woman brujo, in Mactzul 4th only one man, in Keabaj only one that I could discover. There are five in Chucalibal, eight (men) in Chuabaj, and perhaps as many as 30 in Paxot 1st (including five women). My guess from these figures is that there are at least three hundred brujos in all and that there may be as many as six hundred.

The question of how one becomes a brujo can be answered best by the specific cases that I have. There are only a few cases of brujos learning from their relatives; only one where there is a trace of definite inheritance of the information from father to son to son. That is in Chumanzana, where Gaspar and Francisco Morales learned from their father; Gaspar in turn taught his two sons, Pascual and Gabriel. In addition, the same old man taught another grandson of his, Pichol Morales, and a non-relative Pasual Solis. In Chucalibal, Manuel Basel learned from his father Salvador. In Paxot 1st, Tomas Cac learned from his brother of the same name, who, however, learned from a non-relative. One brujo in this canton now has a son learning from him. That is the total of brujos who have learned from relatives. All the rest have learned from friends, either in the same canton or in others.

Notes (1) -26-

There is one man (Manuel Ventura of Agua Escondida) who became a brujo after his marriage, learning from his father-in-law. But since I have some data on 49 brujos, the eight or nine who have learned from relatives do not add up to very many. I should like to get thorough statistics on as many cases as possible, showing just how many brujos who had sons taught them to be brujos, and why the others didn't. Now I can say only that most brujos have learned from non-relatives. I have conflicting information on the payments involved; I have been told that payment is required by the teacher even if he is one's own father, and I have been told the contrary. That the student pays his teacher when he is a non-relative is certain. The candidato studies with the brujo perhaps a few days a month for several years, and the price that he pays may be as much as \$1.00 a day (a twenty-four hour day). I have been told that it is possible to learn to be a brujo in a month's intensive study, and in this case the charge would be less than the thirty dollars.

Brujos are hired for births (one for the mother, one for the child), at marriage, as described, and also at time of sickness. At all of these times they either go to one of the altars in the country (or to the church) or to the home of the person, set up candles, burn incense, and deliver incantations and prayers. Their duties seem to be a combination of praying and divining; and the divining aspect is partly pure chance and partly simply an interpretation of the native calendar. I can describe the process of divination (or at least one of them) first hand, because a brujo, uninvited, drew out his paraphenalia one day to show us.

It was in a room at the Mayan Inn, and first I had to close all of the windows and doors and set up a little table for his use; it was to be in strict privacy, with only Tomas Ventura (who had brought him and who is a good friend of his), Mrs. Tax, and I present. From his bag the brujo (Manuel Ventura of Agua Escondida) drew out a cloth in which his paraphenalia was wrapped and laid it out on the table, very carefully. The next few minutes were spent in arranging a number of "idoles" in a half moon before the brujo, facing him. On the outside he placed a row of the largest flints and arrow-heads, then a row of crystals, beads, a small metal figure of a horse, some stone figurines, coins, and a metal crucifix. A string of white beads was then laid across the half-moon, and the stage was set.

In the space in the half-moon, the brujo put down a pile of red beads -- made of what I don't know, but they come from the "coast". He then breathed on his hands and passed them over the beads, saying something meanwhile. Then he took a small handful of the beads and put them to one side. From this pile he took out sets of four beads each and laid them out so:

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With so many out, there were but two left, and this was the number that counted in the divination. After explaining what it meant, he repeated the same process with the beads three times more. The

second time three beads were left over, the third time two again, and the last time also two. The meaning: Unless the same number is left all four times, the signs are neither good nor bad, but middling-good. So it was here. If the beads should come out even (four left over, or none, as one cares to look at it) all four times, it is a very bad sign, and means death for the patient for whom the divination is made. If three should be left over all four times, it is a bad sign that means the patient has an enemy. If two should be left over all four times, it is also a bad sign that means that there is fighting between husband-wife, or father-child or something of the sort. (I take it these last two instances give the cause of the sickness: an enemy, witchcraft, or fighting in the family that angers the powers). If but one bead should remain with each of the four trials, it is a very good sign, and the patient will certainly recover.

In more natural surroundings, it is likely that candles and incense, as well as the idols, would form part of the setting for the divination. We also had the opportunity to witness the operation of this same brujo in curing a sick person. We knew that he had a boy in Agua Escondida who was ill, and ~~he~~ the brujo wanted to go back there one day to perform his "costumbres" for the boy; however, he said that he would, if we wished, do it close to the pueblo so that we could see it. Of course we consented, and made arrangements to meet them at seven-thirty that evening. No one was to know about it, because the other Indians would be incensed if they knew that foreigners were witnessing the ceremony. For his own part, the brujo seemed to have no compunctions; the witnesses would apparently not effect his patient, and it didn't seem to matter at which altar he did the costumbres.

At seven-thirty Tomas and the Brujo came to the Inn, and we left with them. It was very dark and I took a flash-light to light our way. We walked through the pueblo and out into the open country on the path to Quejel which we knew very well. Several times we withdrew to the side so that we would not be observed by passing Indians. Finally, a few yards off the path, we came to one of the "country churches". There was a semi-circle of large stones surmounted by branches of pine, and within which, on the stones, were evidences of the candles, incense and flower-petals ~~from~~ of previous ceremonies. It looked almost as if the stones were still hot; but the brujo felt the ashes on the stones and said that they were not. He took out a candle from his bag, lit it, and set it up in the center of the semicircle near the back wall, and he started to speak out loud in Quiche. He kept talking steadily for a good twenty minutes, apparently going through a long, set incantation which contained the name of Jesus Christ intermittently, and which he inserted the names of the patient and members of the patient's family. All the time he was setting up more candles until there were some thirty, and at one point in the proceedings he unwrapped several packages of incense, and made a little bonfire of them, in front of the altar, taking some of the hot coals of incense and putting them in a brasier, which he then swung through the air as he talked. On occasion he crossed himself, and put his fingers to his mouth as if kissing them, and then raising his hand to heaven.

name of place: futsil

While all this was going on, the brujo was entirely preoccupied with his incantations, but Tomas had at the very beginning

seated us to one side back of the altar, being sure to keep us behind the pine branches so that passersby would not see us. Even so, the night being dark, and the altar brilliantly lit by the candles and the fire, Tomas seemed to think that there was some danger, and when, on several occasions, Indians passed up the path with their torches, he made us crouch down low behind the rocks. None of the Indians came close, however, and Tomas explained that they never do. As the rites wore on, and all of the candles remained upright and burning, Tomas told us that it was a good sign that the boy would recover. When it was finally over the brujo almost snapped out of his reverie, and told us that everything was well. On the way home we discovered that his fee for the night's work was, as usual, five cents. Needless to say, we added some of our own to this.

This brujo is very successful and claims to have saved the lives of thirty people already. Tomas swears by him, and for all major ailments in the family, always calls upon him. Yet it seems that no medicines are involved and that praying can be done at any distance from the patient. Sometimes the people pay him as much as ten or fifteen cents, if they are well-satisfied, and for a real case, he gets as much as two hundred pesos (\$3.35). If the patient is saved, he may even get more, but if the patient dies, he gets nothing at all. For a failure, the brujo is not blamed, however, since then it is God's affair.

He divines for marriages, too, the young man or woman asking him to determine if they are beloved or if they will be deceived. He also gets five cents for this. Before building a house or entering into any negotiation, the brujo is consulted to see if it will be all right.

4. Cofradias have charge of the santos and the fiestas for the santos.

There are fourteen cofradias, and eight of them have 6 men and their wives while 6 of them have 8 ~~wix~~ men and their wives as members. The membership changes annually. Each year the 1st Alcalde furnishes the santo with a new costume, and the cost is made up to him by the other cofrades. Each santo ~~thas~~ has some 20 or 25 costumes. The officers and their duties follow:

- Alcalde 1a Orders the Alcalde 2a on all matters of costumbre. His wife orders the wife of the Alcalde 2a in all kitchen matters.
- Alcalde 2a Gives orders to the Mayordomos, as his wife does to the wives of the Mayordomos.
- Mayordomo 1a He is the treasurer, buying the necessary articles for the Cofradia. His wife cooks the meat.
- Mayordomo 2a Keeps an eye on the Mayordomo 1a. His wife makes the chocolate, coffee, and atol.
- Mayordomo 3a Brings the pine-needles and flowers for the house. Wife makes tortillas, tamales, and cleans dishes.
- Mayordomo 4a Helps the Mayordomo 3a. Wife cleans the kitchen and makes fire.
- Mayordomo 5a Cleans street, patio, and corridor of the house. Wife helps above wives.
- Mayordomo 6a Helps Mayordomo 5a. Wife helps above wives.

The headquarters of the Cofradia are in the pueblo house of the Alcalde 1a, who lives there all year. The Cofrades collect there every Saturday night to replace the pine-needles, etc. and decide what they have to buy the next day. Then at 4 A.M. they come again; the women work in the kitchen, the men get water, etc. according to their positions. Breakfast is from about 6 A. M. to 7 A.M. and then the men go together to the church for Mass. They return to the house for lunch. In the afternoon go out to the plaza or ~~place~~ ~~where~~ ~~the~~ ~~men~~ ~~have~~ ~~their~~ ~~meetings~~

Tomas Ventura, C. Cofradias, cont'd.

They have candles lit for the santo, and do costumbres morning and evening on Sunday. At the time of any fiesta they have fiesta for their santo for three days. At the time of their own fiesta, they have it for eight days. They have to buy many supplies for the fiesta, including a bull to be killed and a couple of dozen rockets.

Normally a man starts with a low office in a cofradia and in the course of years gets higher, but not by special merit, and there is no necessity for this procedure. If he does work up in this way, it takes years; having an office for a year, resting for two years, having the next office a year and again resting perhaps for three years, and so on. He may go on thus until he is Alcalde Indigine.

But being appointed to a cofradia is more an obligation than an honor. These offices represent some of the work that has to be done and a man must serve if called. Some of the obligatory services, and the order in which a man usually takes them, follow:

1. Alguazil (appointed by canton)
2. Mayordomo of Cofradia (appointed by Ind. municipality)
3. Mayor of alguaziles (appointed by Ind. Mun.)
4. Regidor (appointed by Ind. Mun.)
5. Sindico (appointed by Ind. Mun.)
6. Alcalde 2a of Cofradia (appointed by Ind. Mun.)
7. Alcalde 2a of Municipality Ind.
8. Alcalde 1a of Cofradia
9. Alcalde 1a of Municipality Indigine

And the person may become

10. Principal (by vote in the canton)

Cofradia	Cofrades		Alcalde 12, 1935	Fiesta Dates, 1935
	Men	Women		
Santo Tomás	6	6	Jose Sta Xal (Mactzul)	Dec 17 - 24 incl
San Sebastian	8	8	Miguel IK (Chunima)	Jan 17-24 incl. Feb 20-27 incl
San José	8	8	Francisco Xon (Agua Escondida)	Mar 14-22 incl
Sacramento	8	8	Antonio Ticum (Chupol)	June 17-24 incl.
Rosario	8	8	Miguel León (Saguilla)	Oct 3 - 10 incl
S. Miguel	8	8	Tomas Ren H. (Checlumal)	Sept 25 - Oct 2 incl
Jesus Nazarena	6	6	Gaspar Velasquez (Chucalibal)	All of Lent Mar 7 - Apr 20
La Cruz	8	8	Salvador Cuin (Mactzul)	Apr 30 - May 7 incl.
San Geronimo	6	6		
Santo Marto	6	6		
Concepcion	6	6		Dec 4 - 11 incl
Octavo de Rosario	6	6		
Padre Eterno	6	6		Dec 31 - Jan 2 incl
Encarnación	6	6		

Miguel Squero

as follows.

Table 7

Cofradia	No. Men	No. Women	Santos	Fiesta
Sto. Tomas	6	6	1 Tomas	Dec 17-22
S. Sebastian	6	6	1 Sebastian	Jan 20-
S. Jose	6	6	1 Jose	Mar 15-19
Sacramento	8	8	1 Sacramento 1 Asencion	June 11
Rosario	8	8	1 Virgen de Rosario 1 Virgen de Candelario	Oct.
S. Miguel	8	8	1 S. Miguel 1 Tomas de Aquino	Sept. 29
La Cruz	6	6	1 Cross 1 Virgen de Dolores	Sept. 14
Padre Eterno	6	6	1 Padre Eterno	Jan 1
S. Geronimo	6	6	1 S. Geronimo	Sept. 30
Coronacion	6	6	1 Virgen de Coronacion 1 V. de Espirito Santo 1 Padre Eterno	Aug.
S. Pedro Martes	6	6	1 San Pedro Martes	May 5
Octavo Rosario	6	6	1 Octavo Rosario	Oct. 10
Concepcion	6	6	1 Virgen de Concepcion	Dec. 10
Jesus de Nazareno	6	6	1 Jesus with cross	Sept. 14

Santo Tomas may be used as a typical cofradia to show the internal organization. The officers, with their duties, follow:

Alcalde la. (nabe alcalde; wife, t/unabe). He has to give firewood, the dishes for the kitchen, and materials for the santo. At the end of the year the other members pay him for the wood (sometimes 1500 pesos) and also give him dishes to replace those he has used.

He is, like the others, appointed by the Alcalde Natural, the Fiscal, and the artix. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ "Companero de Fiscal". The appointment, made the last day in October, takes effect the last day of the fiesta, Dec. 21st.

He has in his house in the pueblo the Santo, which carries in its hand a small santo). If the six members are good, they will contribute to buying a new costume for the santo, which means 150 pesos for 5 varas of "plush" (750 pesos all together), and adornments for \$5.00 or \$6.00 apiece.

Since the santo doesn't like the darkness, a candle must be lit every night, and this costs a dollar a week.

He has to saty in his house all year; when Miguel was Alcalde la he had a house in town, but lived so close by in Chinima that he came home often for an hour or two.

This job means an investment of cash, although the

Alcalde 2a, (ukap alcalde; wife, t/u ukap) He can go to the monte, but comes every Thursday and Sunday, and on the days of any Cofradia for fiesta; for example, in June they have a couple of day's cosumbre for Sacramento.

His job is to tell the third mayordomo what has to be done.

Mayordomo 3a, (ro/) (wife, t/uro/). He is more important in his activities than the Alcalde 2a. He orders the other Mayordomos

A few weeks before a fiesta, he brings the fiscal to the corredor of the cofradia and gives him a jiara of atol; the fiscal has to see that all is well. If the Alcalde Natural is angry with the cofradia because they don't respect him or they don't keep the street clean, the fiscal goes to check up on them and bring them to time.

Mayordomo 4a (ukax; wife, t/u ukax) When there is a fiesta, he and his wife go early to the house of the Fiscal-Secretary, taking a jiara of atol and of bebida, to bring him and his wife and family to the cofradia. They pray and then the ukax salutes the Alcalde 1a. The wife of the fiscal goes into the kitchen to the wife of the Alcalde 1a and they sit together. Then the Mayordomo 3a comes in and gives them a jiara of atol.

He cleans the street with his broom; he has to get pine-needles, and branches to ornament the door-way.

A few weeks before the new election, he goes to the Alcalde Natural to ask what day ~~is~~ the latter will come to the cofradia to make the appointments before the santo (with the Secretary coming to write down the names).

Mayordomo 5a (ro'; wife, isek'ro'). He is a sort of servant to the others, doing what he is told, buying what he is told in the stores and market. If the ukax is not around, this man does his work.

The mayordomos take turns in the work: 1st week, ro/ and ukax; second week, ro' and uk'ak', then ro/ and ukax, etc., etc.

The wife is a servant in the kitchen in the same way.

Mayordomo 6a (uk'ak'; wife, t/u uk'ak') Under the 5a. When there is a fiesta, he rises at 2 A.M., calls for the 5a. Both then go for the 4a; the three for the 3a, the four for the 2a. And all go together to the Cofradia where the 1a is. (Wives all go along).

Where there are eight members, there are 2 more Mayordomos, who help in the work; they are uwuk' marton (wife isek uwuk') and the uwax/ak (wife, isek uwax/ak). isek and t/u are interchangeable prefixes for the wives.

If a man is 6a this year, the next few years he is nothing; then he may be named 2a or 3a or something. When ro/, in a few years he may be named residor; then maybe 2a.

Santos in the pueblo. In the house of Tomas Ren are San Antonio, San Juan, and San Pablo.

In the house of one Tol there are Natividad, Santiago, and Santa Maria. These santos are siblings.

In the house of one Panjoj is San Gaspar; this santo is owner by a man from Chiche named Sukuki.

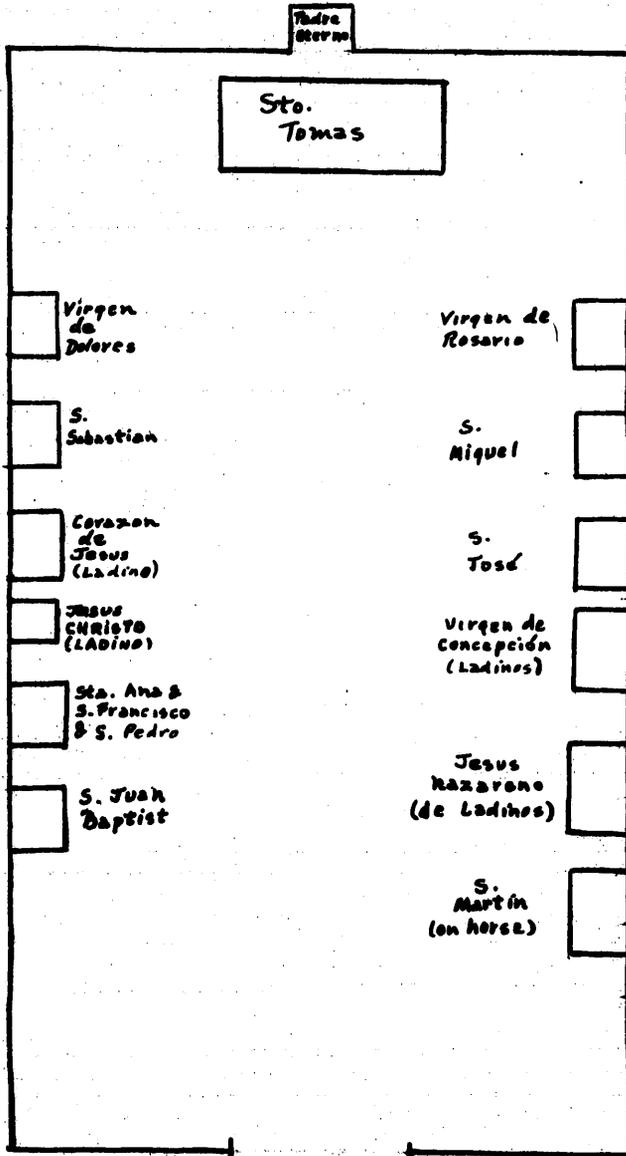
These santos are visited on Sundays. When the day of the particular santo comes, many more people visit the house and there are processions as well. The owner of the santo is like a permanent first Alcalde; everybody gives him money for the santo, to be used for candles, costumbres, clothes, etc.

In Lakama, one Miguel Calvo has some six or seven santos which he inherited from his grandparents.

In the Church there are both Ladino and Indian santos. Ramos, San Augustine, San Jose, San Miguel, Rosario, San Juan Baptista, Santa Ana, San Sebastian, Santo Tomas, and a Christ (as well as a santo of vomiting whose name Tomas forgets, and several others he cannot remember) are Indian santos. Jesu Nazarena, Virgin Concepcion, and Corazon de Jesus (and others he cannot remember) are ladino santos. [See plan of church, p.]

For the church santos there are no processions; people come any time to pray before them, asking for things or doing costumbres. These santos do not need clothes, but they do need paint occasionally. The job of painting a santo is volunteered by different Indians, who take the santos from the church to paint them.

SANTOS IN IGLESIA



Tomas Ventura C

Santos are many and varied in Chichicasteñango. Besides the important ones in the Church, in the Cofradías, and in the private houses, there are many odd ones.

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There is a santo (in the Pueblo, in the house where San Juan is kept) in the form of a dog. When one's dog is sick, one goes there to place candles and do costumbres to cure the dog.

In the same house there is a santo in the form of a bat; and when the bats are bothering the animals the owner goes and does costumbre here so that the bats will quit coming.

In the house of Santo Tomas there are two santos in the form of eagles; and if eagles steal animals, one does costumbre there to stop them. There are no santos in the form of crows or rabbits, and when they bother the milpa, costumbre must be done in the altars in the mountains, with idoles.

In the house of Jesus Nazarena there is a santo in the form of a chicken; when chickens die or don't lay, the owner comes here for help.

There is a santo in coyote form in the house of Rosario; and people come here to ward off coyotes. In the same house there are two children (santos) ("niños de Belem") and they are efficacious for childbirths. Santa Ana is the special

patroness of childbirth; pregnant women do *costumbre* here (or have it done), especially when they want twins or triplets.

The wind is bad in July, and can ruin the *milpa*; *costumbre* is done with Santiago to ward off this trouble.

In the *Cofradia* of San Jeronimo there is a wooden snake on the table (in addition to the *santo*). This snake sometimes comes to life, crawls around awhile, and finally enters a hole in the back of the *santo*. The witness of this will die in eight days (meaning a week). One time, about 3 years ago, a *cofrade* from Pocohil was thinking evil thoughts, such as that he didn't like to serve the *santo*, when all of a sudden the snake came to life, crawled around, and finally entered the *santo*. The man went to the kitchen and told everybody what he had seen. In eight days he died. His family told this story to Tomas' father. San Jeronimo is the patron on liquor; if I am sore at a man I can hire a shaman (of any type) to do *costumbre* at this *santo* to make the other person drunk so he will be put in jail.

There are lots and lots of *santos* here. In one of the private houses here there is a pair of naked *santos* of opposite sex posed ~~fornicating~~ performing the sex act. People go there to do *costumbre* to get mates.

There is a *santo* near the cemetery that is good for bad eyesight. Tomasa Ventura Pixear went there once with a shaman and did *costumbre* and had her eyesight restored. The room there is full of silk; since eyesight is often impaired from sewing and weaving, offerings of silk are brought to the *santo*.

Miguel Ignacio

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Santos. In Calvario there is a Jesus Cristo, an Ascension, and two large Crosses. In Church there is a Padre Eterno, a Sto. Tomas, a Virgen de Dolores, a S. Sebastian, a Corazon de Jesus (Ladino), a Jesus Cristo (Ladino), a Sta. Ana, a S. Francisco, a S. Pedro, a San Juan Baptista, a Virgen de Rosario, a S. Miguel, a S. Jose, a Virgen de Concepcion (Ladino), a Jesus Nazarena (Ladino), and a S. Martin (on a horse).

In addition, there are the following in the Pueblo:

Santiago -- house of Tol

Sta. Elena -- house of Manuel Domingas

S. Juan Baptista,

S. Antonio, and

S. Lazaro -- house of Tomas Ramos

Sta. Catarina -- house of Manuel Ajanel

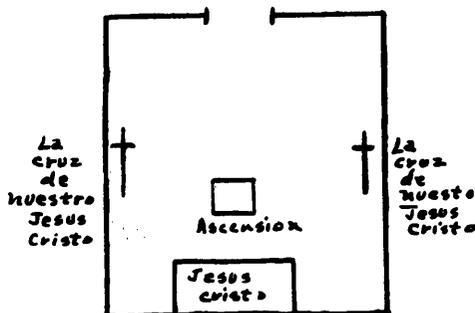
Sta. Isabel -- house of Juan Ramos

S. Francisco -- house of Juan Mercario

S. Lucas -- house of ???

Many houses in the monte have their santos. Miguel has S. Miguel, S. Salvador del Mundo, S. Juan Baptista, and S. Jose. Most houses have their santos.

Calvario



Santos (Tomás Ventura)

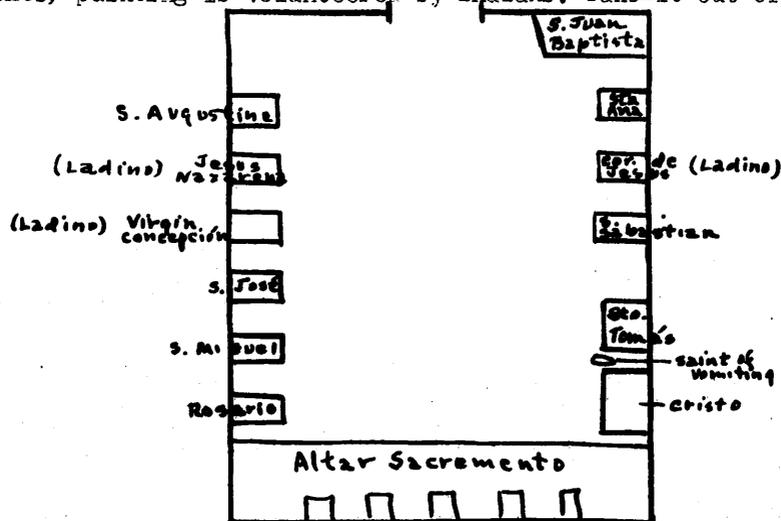
S. Antonio)
 S. Juan) Tomás Ren
 S. Pablo)

Natividad)
 Santiago) Tol
 Santa María)

S. Gaspar - Panjoj (Owned by Sukuhi of Chiché)

Go to these saints every Sunday; when it is Saints' Day, many more people, and there are processions. The owner of Saint is like a 1^o alcalde. Everybody gives money to saint, used for costumbres, clothes, etc.

Miguel Calvo of Kalama has some 6 or 7 santos there, inherited from his grandparents. ~~For church saints, no processions. People come any time to pray before them, asking things and doing costumbres. They don't need clothes, painting is volunteered by Indians. Take it out of church to paint.~~



Plan of church.

Miguel Ignacio

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Novenas are made for the home santos either on the day of Corpus Cristi or San Martin. The novena is started nine days before the day, and ended on the day, about 5 P.M. Every afternoon, there are candles and incense before the santo (on bended knees) for the general good of the family and property. Some people hire shamans, but Miguel handles the novena himself.

On Corpus Cristi they go to Pascualabaj with a shaman to do costumbre; this in the morning. Half the families do it on Corpus, half on S. Martin.

Miguel Ignacio

Yoga. After some argument, got him on the subject of "promesas". He says they use the words, which mean "pedir licencias", and that they give masses for it -- Vigilio, for the Spirits, and Jubileo, for God. The last time Miguel did this was when his first wife died. One wife (2nd of polygamous marriage) died in childbirth, and the other two years later of fever. Then he gave two viglios and one jubileo to keep others of the family from dying. They were successful.

20 pesos for Vigilio, 200 for Jubileo

The masses are made in the church, and cost 200 pesos apiece, with the Padre making mass and the whole family attending. This is always on Monday, which is the "day of spirits". (Tuesday is day of San Pedro Martes; Wed., of S. Miguel; Thurs., day of lord Sacramento; Friday of Virgen Dolores; Sat., of Our Lord Rosario; Sunday, of the Holy Ghost -- day of rest."

Monday is always a good day; even if bad in the Calendar.)

San Juan, San Antonio, and San Pablo are patrons of domestic animals. But the day of the first (San Juan, June 24th) is celebrated. There is some fiesta in every house where there are domestic animals -- usually a three-day fiesta, with liquor, 12 rockets, etc. In the house in the pueblo where the santo San Juan is there is a special fiesta those three days, and many people come.

June 20th is Corpus Christi -- patron of all crops -- and all families with milpa have fiestas for three days in the monte, each having rockets, liquor, etc. In the pueblo there is some fiesta then also.

Nov. 11 is San Martin, patron of the earth, houses, etc. It is celebrated in all homes.

Sometimes there is a community fiesta for a canton, in which case the fiesta is held in the house of the Principal, with all of the houses contributing to the cost. Last year Quejel had one ~~luxury~~ ^{in May} for the first rains. There was no marimba then; only candles, incense, and rockets. Drums and marimbas scare off the rain.

When it doesn't rain, all of the cantones contribute for a mass and fiesta in the Pueblo. The people also drink in the cantinas, then, but nowhere is there marimba. Many shamans also pray for rain then, and three or four days after the Mass, rain comes.

In every house where there is a harvest, there is some fiesta -- to celebrate the good harvest. The shaman sets up candles in the four corners of the maize-house, and one in the center, and thanks God then and there.

There are also fiestas in the homes for births, marriages, and deaths.

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Dec. 7, 1938 -- In the evening there were many rockets, for this is the last evening of Concepción novena; tomorrow is the day of Concepción. A different citizen is in charge of each night, and the last night is always Adán Amézquita's; since he is the richest man in town, it is always the gayest night. Abel Rodas has the cofradía this year; tonight the santa is taken from his house to the church.

Dec. 7, 1938 -- Two young ladinos came to borrow clothes for the dance tomorrow in which they dress as women and in other masquerade costumes.

Dec. 8, 1938 -- Much fiesta in town (Concepción). There are two dances. One is the ladino dance, the convite; the other mostly of Totonicapán Indians living here; it is the Mixqueño dance, and they dress as Indian women of Mixco. Our mason, Cruz Tax, is the owner or leader, but he himself doesn't dance. They promised to come to our house to dance, (partly because we contributed 25 cents), but later they were too drunk and tired to come all this way and they sent apologies instead.

Dec. 8, 1938 -- The evening in town very gay. Juan went and reported many many there, including Indians from the monte, even though this is a ladino fiesta. There were elaborate fireworks, and Juan brought home some conchonflies, little pieces of cane with powder in one end, which, when ignited, sends the tube whizzing wildly around. 10 cts. a dozen.

Mar. 17, 1939 -- Stopped at Ignacio's and found out date in Indian calendar (10 Noj); when Diego reported the date Miguel said, "Ah, what's why there's bullia in town". (It is the 4th Friday also, however). He added that it is a good day.

Miguel Marroquín of Mactzul 4th:

Families have fiestas on S. Martín and Corpus Christi; his family doesn't because they go to the finca over the time of S. Martín at least.

February 26, 1939. Blessing of maize. Went into the church and walked along with the priest (Father Rossbach) while he was blessing maize brought by Indians. There must have been several hundred Indians with maize (1-1/2 cents each cob to the priest.) For each 1-1/2 a cob, holy water and a prayer, mentioning a name which the priest told me was the name of an ancestor expected to help in the next harvest. Some people had as many as half a dozen cobs, and gave different name for each. The last name mentioned in these cases sounded to me like "comin." If the Father hadn't told me what the names were, I would have thought they were of owners of the maize --in some cases owned by various relatives or neighbors and sometimes held in common by the family. I found Pascual Ren outside, but he couldn't answer my questions.

Mar. 2, 1939 -- Stopping in Church, noticed that no maize was there to be blessed,

Mar. 5, 1939 -- In the Church found half a dozen Indians with maize for blessing, about a hundred others.

Mar. 15, 1939 -- Eliseo Rodas told me that in the cantones they have Mass for all the people's crops with maize, beans, squash, abas, wheat, potatoes, etc. all nicely spread out in a nice rancho for the purpose. There is a nice pine-covered path for the priest, etc.

Mar. 19, 1939 -- In the Church I saw many Indians praying. There was no maize, but some had a cent and a half ready for the response, awaiting the priest.

Ladino Fiesta

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Nov. 29, 1934 -- This is the first day of the novena for Concepción for the Ladinos. Awakened at 3:30 A. M. by the sound of a flute and drum from the church, and also intermittent fireworks. This was all to continue for ten days.

Dec. 8, 1934 -- Last day of the novena; Ladino fiesta in town. Saw masked costume dances in the plaza, then to the home of the outgoing alcalde of the cofradia of Concepción, then to the home of the new, etc.

Mar. 15, 1935 -- This day, Friday, is a fiesta day (the second Friday in Lent). In the morning we went to Mass in Calvario; the church was packed with Ladinos, and only a few pueblo Indians were present. The Indians have their own fiestas and don't bother with those celebrated by Ladinos. A marimba played in the park outside Calvario, and didn't play sacred music, either.

Diego Mejia Keabaj says home fiestas are held on Corpus Christi only; costs about \$15.00 and not everybody likes to make them.

Holy Week

Palm Sunday, April 14. Awaited Redfield. Market larger than ever, since this is Palm Sunday. Huge quantities of everything, and especially a lot of turkeys and a large honey-market. Redfield came at noon; in the afternoon went for a walk around town. Saw Tomás Gonzales in his booth in the market, first. Then saw T. Ventura, Sr., who said he would come tomorrow. Walking down Calle del Padre, saw Pascual Ren and family. He talked a blue streak of phrases for 15 minutes in his poor Spanish. Then we passed a house in a back street from which marimba music was issuing; going into the patio we saw that a sort of rancho, a 3-walled open shelter all covered with leaves, was standing. It was empty, but in the patio men were standing around drinking chiche (?) from half-gourds. Edging closer, I took a drink from one of them and passed the cup to Redfield. Then, carefully edging in lest we be thrown out, we entered the house. At one end was the Saint (Jesus Nazarena--for this was the cofradía) and in front of the saint were two men selling aguardiente over a table. They were apparently cofrades. We were told that Chiche was dispensed free, but one could buy aguardiente. A marimba was loudly playing in the corner and people were dancing. There were no couples: men and women danced alone, and since most of the people in the room were in the last stages of intoxication, dancing was a matter of falling around rhythmically. We soon left, and proceeded to walk through los callijones, the houses of which are today occupied by the Indians. On the way back we came upon a young Indian, in the violent stage of intoxication, quarreling with a woman and trying to beat her. She seemed frightened but able to hold him off. Nevertheless we decided to interfere, and came up to them. With this the Indian--who, although in peculiar costume of long trousers and shirt, turned out to be a local Indian and the woman his wife--turned upon us with a tirade which seemed to be meant against all foreigners and us especially, and in which Holy Week seemed passionately to find a part. He was waving his arms at me as if he would have liked to strike me but didn't dare; but one hand brushed my face. He turned into the house and his wife went in with him. He closed the gate to the patio, and there we were. As we walked down the street wondering what her fate would be, we saw the local chief-of-police with a squad. Hailing him, we told him about the drunk and with no more ado they went into the house and took the man off to jail.

Police busy and jails must be full; for all the cantinas are crowded (not to mention less secular cofradías) with drunken dancing Indians. There are new cantinas set up for the occasion, too. One is across from our house and it is crowded. The marimba goes full blast almost continuously. We saw Tomás Pixcar, drunk, and talked to him; then he went into the cantina. He was being guided by a young Indian in a pink shirt.

In the evening, we went to the Plaza. Unlike other Sunday nights it was by no means deserted. One commerciante was still in business and others had left up the poles for their tents. The marimba was playing and

the people promenading as usual.

With the shouts of the drinkers and dancers mingled with the incessant marimba pouring through our windows we went to try to sleep.

April 15th, Holy Monday. Last night was difficult. We couldn't sleep for the noise, for one thing. Our boy Juan came in at about 10 p.m. and went to bed in his room. He has, since Dr. Redfield came, the hall room leading directly outside, rather than into the patio. We finally fell into fits of slumber when at about 2 A.M. we were awakened by a rattling at the outside door in Juan's room. I arose to notice first that Juan's bed was empty, and second that somebody was trying to open the padlock on the outside. Opening the window I saw that Juan was dead drunk and that other Indians were trying to open the door to let him in. Since they couldn't, I told them to come into the patio, and I went out to open the door. I had to carry Juan in and put him into bed.

In the morning, miraculously, at about 7:30 he woke up and--bleary-eyed but apparently sober--he arose and went to get our breakfast. Actually, I was ill and somebody else brought breakfast while he slept at the cook's house for awhile.

We went out to take a walk over to the Ignacio's. On the way, we heard, from a house, the beating of a drum and the playing of a flute, and we ventured to enter. This was another cofradía (Sacramento) and in the corredor, among other Indians, were the drummer and flutist. The drum and flute are both Indian (as are the players) and they kept up an alternation like this: a phrase by the flute, ending with one by the drum; then another by the flute and the drum, and the sequence repeated over and over again. (This same team, with the same tune, led the Ladino processions we had followed Friday nights this lent; and also sat atop the church for most of 8 days and 8 nights last December for the Ladino Concepción fiesta.)

We entered the house timidly and saw that, as usual, the ceiling was decorated with cut paper hangings, and also some three stuffed squirrels hanging among the decorations (horizontal position). There was the saint at the end of the room, and all around, on benches, Indian men were sitting; on each side seemed to be the cofrades. Some of these were praying out loud, and since the others were solemn and silent, it seemed to be a prayer-meeting. No marimba, no drinking, no dancing.

We went on to Chinima and asked Diego and Miguel about the squirrels, but they said they were for decoration, and they could use (if they wished) such stuffed animals.

After lunch, old Tomás Ventura was at the door with his wife and children and two of his son's children. Tomás was intoxicated, and after he sat down and we had passed the time of day he patted his wife and told us she was triste because 3 days ago her (and his) youngest child

had died. It was difficult to understand what more he was saying (aside from repetitions of this) but it appears that when they came to bury the child, they didn't have their "title" to their mausoleum and they had to bury her in the ground. At this point he began to weep. We found it difficult to meet his trying situation for him, so I passed out cigarettes and later some coins. The subject did not change easily, but finally he volunteered that in Quejel they were putting on the Dance of the Bolladores and today were bringing in and erecting the high poles. Finally he said there was marimba at his house--in the pueblo--and we quickly accepted his invitation to go there. We thought he might not be able to navigate the distance, but we finally arrived.

In the house we went into a decorated room (much like that in the cofradías) and he sat down at the marimba (the usual Indian type, with gourds, small and rattly) and began to play, with 3 sticks, some Indian melodies. In the middle, he stopped to show the small idoles (he called them matfin) he had on the table, explaining that the large stone axe-head (or what was it?) was the "chief one." We were interrupted in his next song when Gertrude and Tomasa (who had come after lunch to weave) came to announce that Diego's son (Miguel) was at the house to tell us to come for the house-warming ceremonies. We left, and as we were passing out young Tomás came into the patio. I asked him about the child who had died and he said it had occurred 6 days ago. Also, he said there would be 3 boledor dances in Quejel tomorrow: at his uncle's (Juan Ventura), at Pixcar's, and at Tomás Xon's (the principale).

--See description of house-warming ceremony elsewhere-- (Pp. 45-6)

Tuesday, April 16.

We prepared to go, in the morning, to Chitatal in one of Clark's cars. We took Juan with us, and by arrangement picked up Tomasa at her house. It was Tomasa's first ride in an automobile, and from the beginning (she was sitting in front with Gertrude) she was literally frightened sick. Especially going down barrancas she covered her face with her servieta and removed it only to see if we were down yet. She never said a word, except to answer a question about her health. We finally came to Sta. Cruz, and after a few minutes went East on the road to Chitatal. We alighted from the car at the West end of town and walked, stopping in at every other house on the way--on the pretense of asking directions to the Alcalde's house or to those of old friends that Andrade and we had met--to view the people and how they live. Everybody was pleasant and cordial to us. Finally--after a walk of at least a mile, for the town is strung along the road--we came to the little store of the old couple. They greeted us very cordially and we talked for almost an hour. The old man had, since we were there last,

dug up an old book on religion that he said told all sorts of good things of ancient times. It was printed, in Spanish, and although the title page was missing, I judged it to be (from the type and yellowed paper) 100-150 years old or older. The old people--especially the man--are of Spanish type with no discernable trace of Indian except in the woman's coloring. We tried to get some trace of Chitatul history from the old people, but except for the fact that their grandparents, even, were natives here, and there was a tradition of great age to the settlement, nothing much could be gleaned. Of their customs, we were told that the people marry among themselves or outside; that the Santo in this room is owned by the old man who is an alcalde of the cofradia for it and has been for many years; that these people had moved from another house only a year ago because the previous one was bad (since their son died there). We could see that they lived like the neighboring Indians, working in their milpas, getting lefia, and grinding corn. In the kitchen a dark beauty, their daughter they said, was grinding corn on the piedra de moler; the ~~woman~~ old woman herself, when we had come in, was measuring a Quichelefa for a huipil which she later began to sew on an antiquated machine. We left again, entranced by the simplicity and beauty of Chitatul life, and went back to Sta. Cruz.

We stopped at the Jefetura to inquire of the Jefe about my lost passport; after (R and I) we waited some 15 minutes for the General, I decided to go and ask the Secretary instead, and I soon received the good news that the passport was in his possession, that he had instructions to "inscribe" me, and that he was only awaiting the papers on which to do it. I would get the passport in a few days, he said.

We went up to see my friend, the Padre, then, but found him out; leaving word that we would be back after lunch, we set out for the ruins of Utatlan. We came finally to a mound some 50 feet high, with not a sign of the cut-stone walls, or staircases that Stevens, had pictured a hundred years before. It was depressing to see such a ruin of a ruin, but we decided to take our lunch in the shade of some trees.

Returning to Sta. Cruz, we went to the convent (approached through the Church) to see the Padre. He greeted us cordially, we delivered a bottle of wine to him, he took ~~us~~ us to the roof of the church so that we could get a view of it and the town. Then we examined the baptismal records, where it appeared that the early baptisms were of people with Spanish surnames; the Baptisms (records) for Sta. Cruz went back further than those of any of the other towns in the parish. After drinking beer with the Padre, we took our leave and came back to Chichicastenango.

Juan stayed in the car when we went to the Padre's, but Tomasa came with us, staying always demurely in the background. When she was given some beer she decided she didn't like it, with the first sip, and drank no more.

Wednesday, April 17th. Tomás having told us that the pole-dance would be held this morning, he obtained horses for us and we went, with Juan, to Quejel; after negotiating the great barranca we arrived at Tomás' house. Nobody was home except Diego's wife, who was in the kitchen. Tomás bawled her out for something, and then Diego came with the news that the scheduled dances were cancelled (or postponed) apparently because of our coming. We rode to look at the poles. One was erected on the land of Tomás Xon, the Principale, and this dance was supposed to have been given by Juan Pixcar; another was given by Tomás Ventura R; and a third pole, not yet erected, was lying near Tomás' house on the land of Juan Martín. Tomás was angry, calling the people "brutes" and especially criticizing Diego (his brother) for not having come to town to notify him of the change. He proposed that we ride on to Chontola, where he knew that bailes were being given.

We rode on to Chontola, crossing the border in about half an hour, and there in the distance we saw a pole erected; but the frame was absent and it was apparent that nothing was going on. So we turned back. We noticed that on many of the slopes charred trees were lying, in some cases with remains of milpas interspersed. It appears that on hillsides the soil is not fertile enough to support continuous milpa; trees are cut and burned and left to rot, and the milpa may be used for some 5 years, and then the process must be repeated.

In our travels Tomás got off at an altar to show us some sticks that had been used to whip some adulterer; after the whipping (by the marriage intermediaries) the sticks which contain the persons' sins are brought here and costumbres done with them. Juan volunteered the information that when he was a child he had been so whipped by an old woman (shaman) because he was sick with "colentura", or fever.

We came back to Tomás' house for lunch, for Tomás said he would have some bread and honey for us. He had sandwiches, but Tomás laid out a table in the corredor for us. We divided our sandwiches with the family and partook of the honey-smears white bread. Soon afterwards we left again for the Pueblo, but only when Tomás had determined that he and his friends would be sure to have a dance for us tomorrow.

In the Pueblo, at about 4 p.m., a procession led by the band went through the town. A glass coffin containing Jesus, carried by ladinos, came after the band; a large cross was carried by Indians who didn't let their hands touch it (using red servietas wound on the wood to hold it). A few Ladinos and Indians followed the procession. Earlier in the afternoon a shouting crowd followed Judas (an Indian in a hideous mask) around the streets. In the evening there was a procession of the large Christ (who had paraded on Friday and belonged in the house of an Indian from Totonicapan) surrounded by masked ladinos representing Jews and gesturing with fake spears as if to stab Jesus. No music here; only noise-making with rattle instruments.

Thursday, April 18. We left early for Quejel, and came to the pole at the place of Juan Martín. Last night they had erected the 45 ft. pole, placing it in a some 3 foot hole and reinforcing it with sticks. A separate piece that we had seen in the house yesterday was on top of the pole, fitted over it. A group of men, including Diego's brother, was beginning to hoist the square frame onto the pole, and by climbing the pole with the help of ropes and later, of ladders lashed all the way up, they finally (at about noon) got the frame up, fitting it into the free-turning crotch so that it could revolve, with pressure.



Redfield and I went down the fields to a point where we could see the other two poles also. Only one other was complete visible, and we noticed there were hardly more than a dozen people around it. The more distant one got off first, with two men coming around-and-down on the ropes. The nearer one seemed undecided, or in trouble, and shortly after noon, leaving two men up the pole, all of the bystanders there left and went in the direction of the distant pole. We went back to Tomás place.

While we had been gone, the first trial here had been made, not too successfully; and when we returned, a second was undertaken--also poorly because the weights of the performers were unequal. Finally a couple of men were successful and came down all the way. One of them, Martín himself (the Jefe of the boys of the baile), was especially good and earned applause. The way the thing works is as follows: one boy sits on top, although this doesn't seem to be essential; two others climb up and hold the ends of the rope. The rope is wound evenly around the center pole and the two ends hang over the frame. The men "take off", kicking themselves free and propel through the air clockwise. Their weight pulls the rope, which unwinds and sends them and the frame around, at the same time that they go downward. When they reach the ground the game is over.



In the evening we went out to see a procession that we were told would take place with 3 Virgins. The procession never came off because, Juan told us, the Santos weren't ready. But passing by the Evangelical Mission we saw a prayer-meeting in progress with some 9 women and 2 men listening to a sermon. We walked around until it was over, when we came up to meet the missionary. In America, it turned out, he belonged to some Methodist group to which a missionary in Tonicapan also belongs. He was, until some 7 years ago, in Sta. Cruz but has been here since

with his wife--a Ladina from Sta. Cruz. He told us that the mission here--31 years old--has not been at all successful with the Indians, and that there are few Ladino converts. This, he said, is because the Indians won't have anything to do with something foreign. Nevertheless he admitted that other missions--around the lake, for example--are more successful, and with Indians.

April 19 - Good Friday.

This was a busy day with processions and ceremonies. Judas--an effigy in Sololá costume, with another effigy, supposedly his son, on his back--was hanging from the doorway of the church. Indians and Ladinos were in the church, and on the plaza (rather on the South side of the Plaza) groups of them were gambling--Ladinos generally with knuckle-bones and Indians with flat pieces of wax. We went to Pascual's house in Chucam, where we were greeted well. In one of the rooms--in which was hanging an electric light bulb--a Christ was decorated, with "idoles" at the base and various fruits nicely arranged and also hung above. A solitary cob of corn was also in evidence. A large candle was burning on the table, before the Santo. Pascual said everybody had costumbres for his Santo on this day.

Bread, smeared on both sides with honey, was served us. We talked for awhile, saw Pascual's bee-hives, and took photographs; we received an invitation to come tomorrow afternoon for a little family fiesta; then we left. We stopped next at the home of Tomás Gonzales, and he took us into a room with a similarly decorated Santo. We talked while, and Tomás brought out some texts he is making for me, yet incomplete. Gertrude meanwhile went into the kitchen. Tomás' wife gave birth about 10 days ago and was lying now before the fire; pieces of turkey, on spits, covered with acheote, were broiling over the fire. Tomasa Felisa, who had just left, had prepared the turkey.

We went next door to Tomasa's house. Tomasa came out to meet us and suggested that she walk home with us. It appears that she had come while we were out, and when we arrived home there was a large dish of bread-and-honey from her for us. We gave her a glass of jelly to take home. I left the room to give Gertrude a chance to communicate a message to Tomasa. Yesterday, in Quejel at the dance, Tomás Ventura had privately conversed with Gertrude on the subject of Tomasa. He complained because Tomasa avoids him always. He told Gertrude to ask Tomasa if she would live with him as a second wife if he gave her a house in the pueblo. This message Gertrude now delivered; but the answer was "no" for Tomasa feels she will be simply his mistress. It appears that Tomás Gonzales once made her a like proposal. Tomasa asked Gertrude to please deliver this message, and then she left.

Pedir la buena cosecha de maiz, trigo y frijol:

En la casa se hace una comunicación al mundo y para la entrada de la Iglesia diciendo que día y que hora está presente en el mundo y en la Iglesia de poner su costumbre.

A las 8 P. M. sale uno en el patio de su casa y se inca y dice así:

At tios quinaguilló quinató, saj la ri acaibal nu cau
Ud. Dios me mirará me hoirá vengase tu vista mi padre
terno atgó chilá Chicañ xune ri nucau Cristo
Eterno estas allá arriba al cielo, también mi padre Cristo
ral ri cuchuch María xune ri cablajul ojlañul tiox
hijo de nuestra madre María, también los doce trece Santos
kocuxic enabé etaranic chij gua cucau Cristo, xune
con alas adelante en atras tras nuestro padre Cristo, también
tictioxes kocuxic eko pari sutz mayul, arébari
los Dioses angales (tienen alas) estan en nube nublina, y lo
jullup quielgulloc ri quij, ri jullup ucañbal quij, ri
del mundo onde sale el sol, el mundo onde calle el sol, el
uroxcut jullup y xune ri ucañ jullup, sañbalá
tercera parte del mundo y también el cuarto mundo, vengase
ri cucaibal ri tiox juniepañ sin cuñi cuñuch eko pari
sus vistas los Santos cuantos son sus presenciales estan en el
cañ xune eko pari jullup, xune ri nimagtac mesa
cielo también estan en el mundo, también los grandes cerros
eko chugua jullup ticañ, xune ri nimactag ixog
estan ante el mundo llano, también los grandicimos mujeres
achi ecom patalom excó churí jullup ticañ,
hombres encargados encargadores estan ante el mundo llano,
xune eco pari setal samiento, xune ri jullup rijau
también estan en las casas habitaciones, también el mundo duñe

el medio cuartillo milpa trigo frijol pilell chilacallote
 ri mer cortil abix trico quinac pilei cok
 guicolles tambien el primero personal los que bieron los que
 mucun xune ri nabé guinac ri xiquiló ri
 oyeron, estubieron contento, ante de sus bienes inmuebles,
 xictó, xequictic chuguirí sin cumbil,
 se icieron de bastimento de vevida de vestias de ganados
 xehuxré ajgua ajjá ajquiej, ajguacax,
 vengase sí, yo Tomás Gonzales, estoy ante este mundo Patzibal
 quixes ajbá, in " " , inkó cá chugua jullup "
 los llamo los llamaré en aire en el frillo sus presencia
 quix siquij quixnutruj pari neulil teulil ri iquij
 presenciales, tambien mis madres mis padres, mis abuelas,
 igualxic, xune ri enuchuch enucau, eguatit, ~~xxx~~
 mis abuelos venganse, la del mio solamente incienso y humo
 enumam sajbalá, aregua sigué xasin pom xa subuc
 los llamaré esto los asiento sí, la del mio mi voluntad lo
 quixnusi quij guí quixnucubá guí, aré gua sigué in nucana
 daré el agradecimiento el obsequio ante el gran de día el
 quinllá guare tios gua sí llojsip chuguí gua jinimlaj quij gua
 gran de día el dos canil pedir reclamar mi medio mi cuartillo
 quiep canil uriyxic utzonxic ri numer ri nucortil
 mi bastimento mi vevida ante el mundo Pocohil ó Chucalpul
 ri nuguá guaquía churi jullup " " "
 para manecerlo ante el día de allí pasará en la puerta lugar
 cunimcubej cog chugua junquij terí quincaxic chiguajá colval
 ante los Imagenes y ante el llamado luna estrella, tambien ante
 chicuí ri tugox y chiquiri ajauc chumil, xuc chicuí
 los primeros personales como lo que dije aquí tambien así será
 ri nabetac guinac sugua xinbij guaral xuc gé chilá

aje

es igual palabra, no hay calumnia intrigas lo haré mundo
 xá junam tzij, mamko^t julum cuban quinbanó jullup
 perdoname, tambien el sullo mi casa habitacion, solamente el Dios
 chamunac, xune ri agué nu selal semiento, xeubá ri jun-
 te salve María llenaa eras de gracia onde esta el llamado Dios
 calamlá Santamarilla nojnac chicras la cuf mi jau tios
 es el bien unirse queremos, Ud. Jesus Ud. Santa María entre la
 guech utz ucajriçloclajhalá, lal jesus lal santamarillá mi cal-
 mujeres ablará entre (ensima) nosotros nosotros pecadores amen
 capoj chautla chupam cuguí oj ajmac "

Jesus.

" .

Makxixi.

Ojo -- onde dice quiep canil, si nó en ese día se puede en
 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, y 9 no pasando porque si es 10, 11, 12, y 13
 dicen que la creencia de los primeros antepasados que lla son días
 inábiles que no hay yá ningun aprovechamiento.

Estas comunicaciones se hasen cuatro veces ó sean cuatro días
 y al siguiente día es el día de poner la costumbre en el mundo
 y en la Iglecia, y si el individuo es tan infelis y queriendo
 trabajar y lograr sus buenas aprobachamiento de la vida son nueve
 veces las comunicaciones como lo que se íso al principio.

Los materiales que se usan eso depende la voluntad de uno,
 como por exemplo 5 ensartos de pom, 9 candelas de á centavo, 4
 onzas de insencio, 4 onzas de azucar, un poco de rosas, 15 cent-
 avos de aguardiente; y en la Iglecia en los altares ante los
 Imagenes y ante los fieles difuntos 15 centavos de á medio cent-
 avo a cada una de las candelas por todo y 4 onzas de incienso,
 un poco de rosas para los difuntos.

Terminando las comunicaciones ó llega el día de la costumbre, muy de madrugada pasa uno en el mundo, terminando pasa en la Iglecia y por última en el calvario, en el calvario ante el Señor son 3 ceras de á centavo, 2 onzas de incienso y un poco de rosas.

Las explicaciones en el mundo es así

E mundo Pocohil sientase sí (blank), estes el día estes la
 E jullup " tuyulbatá meson, aré quij aré
 hora ó comunicado ante sus presencia presenciales sientase
 ora guá incubinaclac churi aguj agualxic culcunulá
 sí un momento mi espera
 jubicná sin guaybaxic.

doctrina percinación, y en seguida los prepara los materiales los encenderá las candelas y ya estando preparado entonces empieza sus rogaciones y dice así

E mi padre Eterno estas allá arriba tambien mi padre cristo
 E nu cau termo atkó chilá chicaj xune ri nucau "
 hijo de nuestra madre María, tambien los Santos (van) adelante
 ral ri cuchuch Marillá, xune ri tiox enabé
 y atras por nuestro padre cristo, tambien los que tienen
 etaranic chij gua cucau cristo, xuc cocuxic
 alas hijos de nube mublina dorado sus presencia platiado
 eral sutz mayul ora quij plat
 sus presencia, tambien los Santos andan al cielo andan en
 quij, xune ri tiox quebinic chicaj quebinic
 la tierra, tambien los veinte treinta tres mil mundo llano
 chuchuleu, xune ri jumguinac ojlaful mil jullup tica
 los de dinero, tambien los treinta y tres mil Encargados
 ajpuac, xune rijunguinac oxlaful mil ecom
 Encargadores hombre idalo, mujer idalo (pura piedra) berdiones
 patalom achi igg, oxuc igg raxjinjoj
 sus presencia presenciales estan en los cerros, tambien
 quij cuhuch ecó chutacrimesa, xune

estan en las casas habitaciones, tambien los enterrados en
 ecó patac ri selal semiento, xune ri muculic pari
 la tierra mundo llano, los del dinero, los de bastimento
 uleu jullup ticaaj, ajpuac , ajguá
 bebida, tambien los primeros personales se icieron de los
 ajjá , xune ri nabé tac guinac xeux ré ri
 medios cuartillos ricos, los de milpas los del trico los
 ajiner ajcortil eballomab, ajhabix ajtrico aj-
 del frijol, los de caballos los de ganados los de chivos
 quinac, ajquijap ajguacax ajchij
 los de gallinos, tambien se icieron de (negocios) comercio
 ajhec, xune xehux ré ajtrat
 comerciantes, (los del) telar, los del torno, cuantos son sus
 ajbinel , ajtlar, ajtornó , junicná sini-
 presencia véngase sientase, mi padre Dios mi padre mundo,
 huch sajbalá culalac, nucau tios nucau jullup
 mis padres de los primeros personales, ia del mio ---
 nucau ix nabetac guinac , are gua si gué ---
 he tocado de llorar tristeza, hambre y con sed, estamos
 nu racom ri uguiej viz , numic chiquijchi, oj-
 desnudos, con mi mujer con mis hijos, talvez mi suerte talvez
 sanalic, ruc ri nuguaxaquil, ruc ri nugalqual, craj nuquij craj
 mi fortuna ó será falta del agradecimiento, pues ahora mi
 gualxic ó ne in falta churi ré tios , erecnuaguacamic nu-
 padre Eterno sos Dioses, tambien Ud, mundo tambien el llamado
 cau termo ixtios , xune lal jullup xune ri ajau
 encargado encargador tambien los primeros personales, yo
 ecom patalom xune ri nabé tacguinac, in
 pido yo reclamaré, en sus pies y manos, - yo será el (de los
 quintó in auintzonbej, pari iguacan y cap, - inbá ri aj-

bienes) inmuebles yó seré la de los terrenos, yo seré el dueño
 mebil, inbá ri ajllup, inbá ri rajau
 de dinero, yo seré el dueño los de la costumbre, yo seré el dueño
 puac, inbá ri rajau ri chac patan, inbá rajau
 de negocios comercio, yó seré el dueño el amarillo masorca blanco
 ri binel, inbá in rajau ri can jal sac
 masorca (azulado) negro masorca, tambien el trigo nó siempre de
 jal rajguach jal , xune ri trico mat junac ré
 mirarlo de la pobresa con mi mujer con mis hijos cerro silla
 chiuguilbej gua pobril ruc guaxquil gual cual jullup mesa
 lo perdonas mis faltas, yó lo daré lo de la mesa yo lo preparó
 casach numac, in quin yá ri ugui mesa in quinguicó
 que es nesecidad necesario que es lo que daré mundo perdona-
 suri curij cutzonoj suri quin ya hó jullup chanu-
 me talvez no es mi fortuna és pero yó lo compro lo cambiaré
 mac craj ne maugualxic taj pero inquinloco quinquexó
 su presencia mundo lo perdones mi falta, sadarlo el mal quitar-
 ri sinuhuch jullup casachnumac , esxog ri itzel esxog
 lo la pobresa encima nosotros, es lo quedan la (claridad ó)
 ri pobril chiguij , aré qillaic ri usquil
 dinero de Dios, la (claridad ó) maiz, trigo, etc. mundo, la clari-
 tios, ri usquil jullup, ri
 dad del trabajo costumbre, la claridad de comercio, la claridad
 usquil chac patan , ri usquil binen , ri usquil
 (bienes inmuebles) animales, dinero, etc. tambien los primeros
 mebil . xune ri nabé
 de personales los que miraron el bien y bien, los que fueron
 bac guinac ri xiquiló ri utzil chomal, ri xiquietic
 contentos sus cuerpos corazones, ante de sus cinco de sus diez,
 sin cux canimá , churi sin cujop calaju,

de sus siembras de sus bienes (de sus cosas) de sus negocios de
 sin cuticcom sin cumbil sin cutral sin
 sus trabajos costumbre, y la de ustedes Señores primeros de per-
 sin cachac patan , ec nu sini gué ajguap nabé tac gui-
 sonales, no bajó ante sus cuerpos corazones en la des-
 nac , man xicajtaj chu siniguanimá pari cax-
 cojida tierra nó está celebrando en esto ante el sol luz,
 lan uleu allí cabariguic caguá chugua quij sac,
 y esto será lo pediré en tus pies y manos Señores perdonar mi
 la marec nuguaguin rijbej pari iguacan icap ajguap usachic ri
 falta, tambien Ud. mundo, sientase, tambien nuestro padre esta
 numac, xune lal jullup, culnulé , xune ri cucau ko-
 allá al cielo tambien los primeros y atrazados atras de Ud. padre
 chilá chicaj xune ri enabé etaranic chij lal cucau
 cuanto será sus presencia, olerlo si lo de la mi seria, Señores,
 junic pá sinihuch , chisicaj cut gua si me bil ajguap ,
 -araré
 no es terminar esto sino lo prepararé lo arreglararé, lo de la mesa,
 man uquisic tiguá xane quin guicná quin batzná , gua ugui mesa,
 arreglamento mi presencia mi presencial cuanto será lo que rogué
 uhom xic siguij sinugüch junicpá gua curiybej
 mi presencia presencial tambien su presencia presencial mi
 sin quij gualxic xune sin quij raxic ri nu-
 mujer, talvez ella sera tiene su suerte fortuna, por eso mundo
 guaxquil, craj ne aré ko' ri sinu quij raxic, xanerumal jullup
 claro a su presencia cual de nosotros lo darán el bien y bien,
 sac chahuch jachinchiqué quillagui ri utzil chomal,
 solamente será un elada agua frío agua es del nuestro padre cristo
 xencunu guarí sin joron já teu já rech gua cucau cristo
 lo dejó ante el cielo ante la tierra, sirvase, y tambien tal-
 xullá canoc chugua caj ugich uleu , occunulé, exuc jeñ craj

vez en una hora dos hora estaré allá en la casa lugar ante los
 pari ora quiep ora inkó chilá palá já colval chicuf ri
 doce, catorce de altares, tambien ante las animas, que es lo que
 cablajul cajlajuj chaltar, xuc chicuf ri animas, suguá xin bij
 dije a tu presencia mundo es igual palabra, es perdonar de mis
 chachí chachuch jullup xajunau tzij , é usachic banuri-
 pecados, solamente Dios te saive , persinación.
 numac , xeubá ri jumcalamlá, romal.

En caso que si llegan otras personas en el mundo ó en el cerro,
 para eso se lleve el aguardiente hay que invitarlos con unas copitas,
 terminando, se biene y pasa uno en la Iglesia y se inca en la puerta
 de la Iglesia y dice así. --

E (delicado) pecado casa pecado lugar, tambien los cuidadores
 E aguasjá aguascalval , xuné ri chajnel
 cuanto será sus presencia estan amontenados, lo del mio lo
 junicpá sinihuch ixmulunic aré gua sigué chin-
 haré de mis faltas lo avanzaré de sus presencia presenciales,
 bau có gua guil numac chinguvebej cori sini iguij igualxic ,
 tambien me encaré ante los primeros personales, tambien lo
 xune xuc chinmajéná chicufri nabe guinac , xune xuc
 dare el paso dos paso ante los Imagenes estan presentes ante
 chinyach cori jomjaj camjaj chicuf ri tiox erumelic churi
 el altar solamente un favor, solamente un bien lo del mio, solo
 altar xac nutocop , xac nu utzil guasigué , xá
 por el ambre y sed con mi mujer mis hijos, estamos desnudos
 churi numic chiquijehi luc ri guaxquil gualcual, ojsalanic
 y desnudos Señores, perdonar es mi falta, solamente Dios te salve
 ojchanalic ajguap , ucuyic bari sinumac, xeubá ri jumcalamlá,
 María, percinación.
 romal.

Pase a incarse uno ante el lugar que le dicen (de los primeros personales) es en frente del altar de San Miguel, es la misma explicación, solamen el llamamiento que le dicen así.

E primeros personales, blanco pelo cabeza, dormidos huesos,
 E nabé tac guinac , sac eugui cujolóm, gürlantacbac,
 despertados huesos, dormidos cabezas despertados cabezas,
 gaslic tac bac , güinac tac jolom caslic tacjolom ,
 ixcoaco sus presencia ixcoaco sus presencia, los avansare la de
kacoj quij Kacoj cuhuch , chinguobej cori sini
 sus presencia presenciales Señores, tambien lo daré esto
 ichí ihuch ajguap , xune chinyan coguá
 el paso dos paso ante el padre Eterno, tambien el
 jomjoj camjoj chuguí gua cucau termo , xune ri
 llamado luna estrella Señor Sacramento, tambien el padre
 ajau ic chumil Señor Sacramento, xune ri cucau
 nuestra cabeza Santo Tomás, Señores y la lo del mio sola-
 cuguí cujolom Santo Tomux, ajguap arec nu guasigua xá
 mente bien y bien lo que solicito Señores dispensar mi
 utzil chomal gua quin riybej ajguap usachic nu-
 falta solamente doctrina percinación/
 mac xeubá ri juncalamla romal.

Pase uno en frente el altar del Santisimo sacramento, y dice así.--

E llamado luna estrella encargado encargador vengase la de
 E ajau ic chumil ecom patalom upetic banuri
 sus vistas mi padre Sacramento, Señor Santo Tomás, mi padre
 si caibal nu cau Sacramento, Señor Santo Tumux, nucau
 Eterno, tambien cuantos son sus presencia Señor vengase.
 Termo, xune junicpá si nihuch Señor sajbálá.

la lo de mio mi padre, he comunicado a tu presencia presencial
 aré gua sigué nu cau, incubinac loc chura qui agualxic
 y estes el dia hora esto mi padre Sacramento me incaré ante
 lamaha recut qui ora guá nu cau Sacramento chinmajeic chachi
 tu presencia Señor, la lo del mio hevenido ante el mundo
 chahuch Señor, aré gua sigué nupetic chugua jullup
 Pocohil, pedí el favor ante mi bastimento vevida tambien en mi
 Pocohil, xin tagua cotoc churi sin guá guaquia xune ri sin
 cinco dies, tambien en mi (bienes) inmuebles, tambien de mi negocio,
 jop lajuf, xune ri numebil, xune ri sintá trat
 mi padre Sacramento, y así será la de tu presencia presencial
 nucau Sacramento, la majec nu gua chachi chahuch
 mi padre Sacramento perdonar mi falta, la del mio soy pobre,
 nucau Sacramento usachic ri numac, are nugua sigué in meba,
 me ha tocado el ambre sed , estoy desnudo con mi mujer
 nuracom gua numic chiquijchi, insañalic ruc ri guaxquil
 mis hijos Señor Sacramento, yo seré lo deseo lo solicito
 gualcual Señor Sacramento, incut quin riybej quintzombej
 ante el mundo tambien ante usted Señor Sacramento, dispensar mi
 chugua jullup xune chahuch Señor Sacramento, usachic ri
 falta, tambien dispensarlo su falta de mi querida esposa, tambien
 numac, xune usachic ri umac ri nu Sanusacramento, xune
 mis hijos, sera en mí ó será es de mi mujer lo daran mi
 ri gualcual, la chuijcut la chij onuri guaxquil quillagui nu-
 padre Sacramento, yo lo diré el juramento, lo preparare lo daré
 cau Sacramento, in quin bij ri jormento, quiniguico quinyá
 lo de la mesa, bástá de la pobresa que me hatocado Señor Sac-
 ri ugui mesa, xajef cheri mebil nuracom Señor Sac-
 ramento lo perdonas mis pecados solamente esto una piasecita dos
 ramento casach numac xaxhix xeubá gua jun racau quiep

piecesita tres piesecitas candelas para de su vista mi padre
 racau oxip racau cantelá rech si ua caibal nucau
 Sacramento perdoname, percinación
 Sacramento chanumac, .

En seguida pase ante el Imagen la virgen Rosario, con la misma explicación y una candela, lo mismo ante lo virgen dolores, San Miguel, San Sebastian, San José, San Agustín, San Esquipulas, la virgen Concepción, Jesus Nazarenus, San Martín, San Pedro, San Juan, al Señor del Calvario, en la cofradía del Padre Eterno y el Niño, San Pedro Martir, San Jerónimo Doctor, la virgen Octavo Rosario, la virgen Encarnación y la virgen Concepción, y despues ante los primeros personales fieles difuntos en la misma Iglecia cuatro candelas y como las mismas explicaciones ante los Imagenes, en seguida ante los justicias, tambien cuatro candelas, y ante los comunales difuntos y ante los animas cuidadores que le dicen, en la puerta de la Iglecia estos cuatro lugares, son las mismas explicaciones y las mismas candelas que son cuatro en cada lugar, unicamente se deja dicho en la puerta de la Iglecia que sin ninguna falta entre veinte dias estará presente otra vez y con las mismas rogaciones, terminando se regresa uno para su casa yá bien cansado de tanto ablar, y terminó; sin falta entre 15 dias empieza otra vez las comunicaciones y cuando llega el día de aser y adejarlo la costumbre en el mundo es el siempre día canil, porque la pedida es de dinero, mais, frijol, bienes inmuebles y animales, por su parte del hombre, si se puede y si nó, talvez que sea por la suerte de la mujer.

Cuando uno quiere que solo dinero pide á Dios y al mundo y á los Santos y ante los fieles difuntos es el día 8 6 9 úsiquin.

Estas costumbres si puede uno mismo lo hace, y sino buscará una persona de su confianza que lo haga pero es mucho los gastos, gastos por los materiales de la costumbre y gastos de los trabajos del chuchecajau.
 Terminó

Quando se pone y dan Respuestas

Creencias de los primitivos indigenas, cuando hay alguna enfermedad consultan bien con unas de los chuchcajau por medio de los pilolles.

Si el padre familiar de la casa ó la madre está enferma ó cualquiera de los familiares pasen á consultar con un chuchcajau para que haga por medio de sus pilolles las pruebas en que consiste la enfermedad del enfermo, o sea quien sea, y si esto dice que es por parte de sus difuntos padres ó abuelos ó sea algunos hermanos ya recién muertos, entonces viene y regresa uno adar cuenta al enfermo, y segun lo que dice, y si el enfermo malo mandará otra vez á ponerle su conocimiento al chuchcajau que haga lo posible en que sentido lo ayudará de salvarlo. El chuchcajau tendra que hacer sus pruebas por su parte si salen las pruebas casadas, si trabajará por el enfermo, y aunque salen casadas pero si tiene varios presentimientos el chuchcajau en sus cuerpos malos que ya es convenio de muerto, entonces el chuchcajau ará nada más pidiendo perdon á Dios no tiene que aumentar nada, con el perdon que pide solamente con el incienso pero buscan un cerro a onde no hay mas ocupación para otros chuchcajau. Y como se á dicho, que si es por parte de sus padres ó abuelos muertos entonces el chuchcajau pide cuatro onzas de incienso para aser seis veces comunicaciones al mundo á pedir la salvación del alma del padre ó abuelos, y dicen así en dialecto, como por exemplo Juan Xirám esta enfermo y su enfermedad viene porque no se ha acordado á sus difuntos estaran sufriendo algun castigo de Dios ó por los malos que hicieron en el santo mundo durante su vida permanente.

Jose, Tomás, Juan Xirám está enfermo y le dice así á su mujer ó a cualquiera de sus hermanos ó familiares ó sus hijos.

lo mio muchacha no estoy bueno lo siento esto ya ase tiempo,
 Arebá sigué alí inutztañ quinnahó areguá yá ujerchic,
 es mi gargante se junta llá, me empiro en las noches, este
 are ri nucul culatzpijric rip mas quinintijic chacap, aregua
 tiene contenido, haga favor apreguntar con el Señor Sebastián
 kohubé, chaná utzil jatapé ruc ri lutá Poxiclá
 Equilá, que aga pruebas por mí que es su contenido mi enfermedad,
 xhipajá chipajá quiñ suri ubé guanullabil,
 ad

Contestación de la mujer:

(trátase de arreglarse la mujer)
 Está bien me iré luego / ya me boy muchacho cuanto
 utzbá quinbenuguá chanim, quinbená alá junicpá
 lo daré al chuchcajau llevalo un peso para preguntar
 quinllá cheri chuchcajau, chimabic jun peso tabalré
 la palabra dos palabras, muy bien lla luego, muy bien,-
 ri jupaj capaj ; jahé quinpebá , é,-

Ya llegó en la casa del chuchcajau y dice así:

Con permiso Señor, muy bien véngase perdoname Señor tengo mande
 Pauch tat , é sojlá chanumac tat konutacquil
 con Ud., muy bien sientase, muy bien, perdoname Señor, la del
 uclá , é catculoc, é , chanumac tat , aregua
 mio me mandó el hombre con Ud. para pedir la palabra dos palabra
 sigué xinutacloc gua achí uclá quintacoguá jupaj capaj
 ante su vara punto está en sus pies y manos Señor perdoname,
 chugua chacpatan kopari aguacan acop tat chanumac,

Contesta, talvez hay enfermo de Uds.

laj kollap chigué,
 Pues si el hombre Señor dos tres dias lláase es su
 xane aré gua achí tat quiep oxip quiñ chiguari tzi aré ri
 gargante se junta Señor perdoname, ! a Dios!, lo voy haber.-
 ucul quilatzpijip tat chanumac , atios , quinguil banuná.-

Si Señor perdoname,

etat chanumac ,

Empieza con sus oraciones condiciones y en seguida con las pruebas
~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ de los pilolles y terminando sus
 pruebas y más sus condiciones, dice así

Muchacha lo que veo yó dice la vara punta también la seña
 alí arebá quin guil in cubij guapatan xune ri seña

lo dan ante mí en parte de ánimas esto lo han tenido el

quillai^o chinuhuch pari ánimas guá chaptal guí gua

hombre muchacha, así aseserá Señor perdoname, y que lo aré

achí alí, alé la jelá tat chanumac, suc nuriquin

a esto, es avisarle a tu marido si no hay agradecimiento

banguaché, aré javij cheri aguachjil la mancotretios

adado a sus madres padres, y lo que diga que se acuerda allá,

uyahom chiqueri uchuch eucáu, suc nuri cubij chuchivochilá,

ó librarlos un poco sus abuelas y abuelos talvez sienta un poco

oné quetorjubigg ri erutit e umam laj cuná jubigg

la justicia enfermedad le ha tocado,

gua calbaltzij uracom,

deja el peso en la mesa y dice así,

perdoname Señor para preguntar la de esta palabra, esta bien

chanumac tat tabal coré gua jupaj, jahé

dios lo dará su repuesta, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ya me irá Señor perdoname

tios chillague ucaxel; quinbe pená tat chanumac

muy bien,
 8

a dar cuenta al enfermo:

con permiso muchacho, Sí, lo que dijo el Señor en parte de

pahuch alá, ó, arébá cubij ri tutá pari

ánimas en sus manos tus madres padres estan (presos) detenidos

animas pacucap ri achuch acáu etzapilic

en sus idas regresas, así, - tu debes acordarse si nó hay
 churi sin cubic outzelijic, ó, - atcumela cachobó que mancat

as dado (agradecimiento) á ellos tus madres padres, pues nó
 allahom chiqueri achuc acau, noj ma-
 hay eso és lo que dice el Señor, hágase favor muchacha bas
 cotbá aré nubá cubij ri tuta, chavanábá utzil alí catbe-
 otra vez á decirle al Señor en que sale entra ante mi ayuda,
 chic quibij cheri tuta su ri quelguí cogui churi sin tohic
 llevarlo cuatro osas incienso muy ben, -
 chamabic quijep onsas isenso é , -
 la mujer tiene que regresarse con el chuchcajau, si el enfermo
 es malo y sigue pior

muchacho voy a decirle al Señor muy bien

alá quinbijná cheri tutá - é -

llega la mujer con el chuchcajau

perdoname Señor fui aser mi mandado lo que dice el hombre,
 chanumac tat xinagua nutacquil aré nu cubij gua achí
 cierto dice el Señor no hay agradecimiento he dado á
 tziij cubij ri tutá mankot retios nullahom
 ellos mis madres padres y que haga favor el Señor en debe
 chique ri enuchuch enucan, chunac utzil ri tutá suri
 salir de mi defensa (ayuda), lo dijo Señor perdoname, muy bien
 quelguí cheri sinutohic, xubij lok tat chanumac, ebá
 lo que te diré a ti muchacha se nesecita incienso luego lo
 arenu quinbij chagué alí rajauxic si pom chanim quin-
 haré una comunicación y se mirara esto si esto será lo que
 banó jun cumpixión ecalajcunuguá que arégua xicbij
 dije se aliviará esto la enfermedad (justicia) á el hombre;
 cuyá jubic guá gua catbaltzij cheri achí;
 pues sí Señor perdoname que no haga dos corazones de su ayuda
 jejenuré tat chanumac muban quiep acux cheri sinutohic
 al muchacho Señor perdoname, siempre será lo arreglamos de
 ri alá tat chanumac , jicyancut quik chomaj ri

tus andadas Señor perdoname, muy bien, - es lo más luego avisan
 sina biubal tat chanumac, é , - aré chanim quibij
 si se empiora ó si se alivia un poco si Señor ya holli me voy
 que quinintijic ó ne cullajubic é tat xintó quinbé
 irme.

pená.
 regresa la mujer á su casa á decirle al enfermo lo que dijo el
 chuchcajau.

El chuchcajau ará las comunicaciones segun las horas si en su
 casa en el patio ó en el mundo de un cerro a onde nó asen muchas
 costumbres y dice así

mundo plano, perdones mi pecado me incaré a tu presencia tambien
 jullup tica_j casach numac quinmajchic chahuch xune
 ante la nube nublina tambien el llamado Santos aire ***-, el lo
 churi Sutz mayul xune ri ajau Manuel Lorenzo , aré gua
 mio aré mi falta los llamaré, tambien nuestro padre está allí
 sigué quinbanumac quix nusiquij, xune gua cucau kochilá
 al cielo cuantos sus presencias presenciales, en adelante y atras,
 paca_j junicpa sinichí / sinihuch , enabé etaranic,
 tambien el dueño el mundo onde sale el sol, onde calle el sol,
 xune ri rajau ri jullup relvalquij , ucajbalquij ,
 tercera parte del mundo, tambien el cuarto mundo, tambien el
 uroxcut mundo , xune ri ucaj jullup, xune ri
 dueño camino, camino vecinal jollas barrancos, tambien el primero
 rajaube joc jul siguan , xune ri nabé
 comunicador arreglador dueño el oscuridad y las noches, tambien
 jumminel chomanel rijau ri cucum acap , xune
 los Dioses estan, en la santa luz tambien los que estan enterrados
 ri tiox ekó pari quij sac xune ri é muculic
 en el mundo plano, y tambien lo aré mis faltas los llamaré
 pari jullup tika_j, e xuc quinban guanumac quenusiquij

los Santos (fieles) difuntos el primer espíritu lo ha recibido
 ri Santos ánimas ri nabé animá uchapom
 la vara, también el segundo, Sindico, también los ochos Regidores
 ri bará, xune ri ucab , antivo , xune ri guajxaquip raxtorip
 (cuerpos) municipales, también lo aré mis faltos pecados los
 calpules , xune quinban gua guil numac que-
 hago sentarse los primeros segundos Señoras Señores de Gon-
 nucubá ri jumay camay echuch etat e Gon-
 Zales, para venir sus personas personalidades, yo los comunicaré
 zal , upetic ri sini gualgual ipoclañil , in quin suebá
 ante Uds. la del pobre sus hijos Tomás Gonzales le hatocado la
 chihuch aré gua mebá igualcual max cunzal uracom gua
 pena justicia enfermedad la atos, y yó é encargado la santa
 toj guacatbaltzij gua ajop, incut nu guecam gua chac
 costumbre, pidieron la palabra dos palabra en mis pies y manos
 patan , xictariju jupaj capaj pari nuguacan nucap,
 y lo que se mostro ante mi presencia, no hay el agradecimiento
 arecut xáquitunic chinchi chinuhuch, mancot guare tios
 adado de sus presencia presenciales, cierto es, talvez estan
 ullahom cheri siniquij igualxic , tzijcut , craj exco
 ante la pena, y también estan ante el hambre y sed --, y la
 chugua toj pena, xune ixkó chugua numic chiquij chí, arecut
 del mio lo haré testigo ante este pobre, solo doy la de sus in-
 gua sigué quinbanó chinimtal chij gua ", xaquinllahó ri sinu nu-
 cas incaciones, y también lo daré lo de la mesa ante de Ud.
 bal uxuculbal , e xuc quinllagua si nuguiri mesa chachí chahuch
 mundo plano, y también ante los primeros personales, también los
 jullup ticaj, xuc chicuri nabé tac guinae , xune ri
 reyes justicias para libertarlos sus presencias presenciales
 rey justicias rech utoric ri sin cuquij calxic

sus madres y padres el pobre, estes el llamado llamamiento
 ri uchuch é ucau gua mebá, arec nu sicbal turbal
 para arreglarlo el pobre solo incienso, para Uds. Senores y
 uhomxic gua mebá xa sinpom , iguech ajguap
 dame la Señá y presentimiento se sera lo que digo ó nó esto
 challacut ri seña guelecano, la aré gua quinbij ó ne man-
 sáá, no soy lo que pido el gran pena por su suerte fortuna
 haretaj, intoj cojtaguic ri nimal pena chij ri uquij ralxic
 el pobre, Dios lo perdone mis pecados yo solo por la costumbre
 gua mebá, tios casach numac in xá chugua chac patan
 é áncargado de allí lo haré el testigo por el pobre Tomás
 guecan xachí quinban ri canoguinaç chij gua mebá max
 Gonzales, para arreglarlo si su del su libra (desatarlo)
 cunzal , uhomaxic cut ri sinu uquiric
 libraci3n (desaserlo), Dios lo perdones mis faltas tambien el dueño
 usolic , tios casach numac xune rajau
 y principales primeros personales tambien el dueño del atos
 uguinquil nabé tacguinaç xuné rajau ri ajop
 como lo que le atocado el pobre solamente dios te salve Uds.
 pasuri uracom gua mebá xeubari juncalamlá lal
 Santa Maria llenas eras de gracia onde este llamado Dios es el
 Santamaria nójnac chicras lacui mijau tios guech
 bien unamiento queridicimo el Jesus el Santa Maria entre los
 utz ueajric loclajhalá lal jesus lal Santa Marillá mi cal-
 mujeres ablará entre ensima nosotros pecadores amen jesus.
 capoj chantla chupam cuguf ojhajmac " " .

Y como se ha dicho estas comunicaciones son seis veces, seis
 dias como per exemplo 28 de Marzo se principio la comunicaci3n á
 las 6 a.m., mañana á las 12 del dia, el dia siguiente á las
 6 p.m. y el otro dia á las 12 de la noche y así sigue las otras

comunicaciones, si el enfermo sigue mejor ó así como está, y si de los tres días de las comunicaciones; se empiora el enfermo se para las comunicaciones, y si es así como se ha indicado, entonces se llevará con mayor actividad el chuchcajau de las comunicaciones, y como el chuchcajau á ordenado la mujer del enfermo que entre los tres días daran cuenta segun el resultado del enfermo y como por ejemplo 31 de Marzo llega la mujer en la casa del chuchcajau y le dice así

Con permiso Señor, muy bien - perdoname Señor vine con Ud.

Pahuch tat, é .- chanumac tat xinpé uclá

la de mi mandado as dicho Señor perdoname, es lo mismo aré nugua sin tacquil avinvic tat chanumac, xucnuchicuf

el hombre, está bien la de mi comunicación es bueno la ri achí , é utzbá are nugua nucumpixión utz gua

seña ante mi, muy bien Sr, y la que te diré a ti muchacha, le rital chinuhuch, e tat , arecnú quinbij chagué alf ,

digas a él hombre, lunes lo preparen lo de la mesa alludarlo caij pechegua aahí, lunes quiguico ri sinuguiri mesa utohic

luego para mirarlo que es lo hace la enfermedad al enfermo, chanin rech quiquilló suricubanó gua catbaltzij chegua llap,

muy bien Sr. perdoname, cuanto es lo de la mesa nuestra

é tat chanumac , junicpá ri ugui mesa ri sin

(materiales) costumbre, lo mirare esto lo aré los pruebas cuanto

cucotzij , quinguil pená quinpajnij junicpa

pondré, muy bien Sr. perdoname.

quic cojó, e tat chanumac.

tiene que haer las pruebas segun lo que el chuchcajau dice así.

media libra incienso cuatro onzas ante el mundo, cuatro piezas

nucajlibra isenso quijep onsa chu jullup, quijep racau

candelas cuatro reales acompañado aguardiente, y rosas, y en la

cantelá toxtun quirechbalaj sinaguardiente, si ronxix, arec-

casa (Iglesia) ante los nueve altares tambien ante los prim-
 palajá chicuf ri bilejep chaltar xune chicuf ri nabé
 eros personales, seis pesos candelas de a dos reales su
 guinac, guaquip peso cantelá cacap real
 valor, acompanando cuatro pesos para el responso, y un poco
 rajil, quirech balaj quijep peso rech ri ixponxo, y sinjubic
 aguardiente lo pondre en la casa (Iglesia), muy bien Señor
 aguarriente quic cojó palaja , é tat
 ya hollí, lo trairé, le diré a el hombre, lunes es, nuestro
 xintó , quincamloc, quinbij achá , lunes cut, aregua
 mandado martes muy madrugado lo pondré en el mundo, de allí
 cutacquil martes ninlajhacap quin cojó chujullup , teri an
 pondré en la casa, muy bien Señor perdoname, siempre vendre
 quincejó palajá , e tat chanumac, quinpellancut muy bien.
 é .

el chuchcajau sigue con sus comunicaciones de las horas como se
 ha dicho, solamente la última comunicación en la tarde el lunes,
 por última de sus explicaciones de la comunicación dice así.

E mundo plane, tambien el rey y principal está allá, al cielo
 E jullup ticaaj, xune rajgual uguinquil kochilá , chicaaj
 padre Eterno tambien hijo de nuestra madre María, tambien el
 cucau termo xune ral ri cuchuch Marilla, xune ri
 hijo de nube nublina tienen alas (los angeles), tambien el
 ral Sutz mayul kocuxic , xune ri
 llamado manuel Lorenzo, tambien el libertador mundo, crisi-
 ajau Manuel lorenzo, xune ri tornel jullup, cur-
 ficado, tambien los Imagenes estan en el santificado casa lugar
 sam , xune ri tullox eko pari aguasjá colval
 tambien los primeros personales, tambien sus madres sus
 xune ri enabé guinac , xune é uchuch é
 padrer el pobre los primeros (segundos) llamados de Gonzales,
 ucau gua mebá jumay camay é cunzal ,

ya solo mañana día hora nos esperaran ante de darlo lo de la
 xabá chuguec quij ora cojillvaxic chuguiri sinullaic ri ugui
 mesa su carino vondad el pobre Tomás Gonzáles libertarlo ante
 mesa ulocbal ueux gua mebá max cunzal utoric chugua
 la (Justicia) enfermedad le atocado su suerte fortuna ---,
 calbaltzij uracom ri sinu quij ralxic,
 llo soy lo que pido el favor ante Uds reyes principales
 incut quintagua tocop chihuch rajgual uguinquil,
 solamente la doctrina etc.
 xeubá ri " " .

Entre estos seis días de las comunicaciones si el chuchcajau
 tiene algunas malas señas ó en sus sueño, lo llama inmediato
 la mujer del enfermo y le explica, entonces, el chuchcajau
 tiene que aser sus pruebas en que sentido lo alludará el en-
 fermo, y si ~~háxanfarmaxalxanfarmax~~ se puede cambiar las ex-
 plicaciones, y si bá conforme el enfermo y no habiendo nada de
 malas señas, entonces se sigue.

Es día lunes como fué señalado, llega en la casa del chuchcajau
 la mujer del enfermo á dejarle las candelas y otros materiales
 mas, y al mismo tiempo lo obsequian alguna cosa al chuchcajau y
 también le preguntan cuanto es su trabajo, entonces el lo dirá
 si se paga luego ó ásta el enfermo se alivia, depende el modo
 del chuchcajau, y hay otros que luego piden sus trabajos que
 20 ó 30 pesos, por que tambien hay otro pensamiento entre los
 chuchcajau, que ellos separadamente dan una costumbre para que
 él no lo deja gravar mas el enfermo.

Siendo yá el día martes 2 de Abril al manecer pase el chuchcajau
 en el mundo con las costumbre ya indicado y dice así y se inca luego
 E mundo plano lo perdones mis faltas, estes el día hora
 é jullup ticaaj casach numac , arec nuquij hora

lo hé sentado si tu presencia presencial mundo, un momento
 nucubau loc ri aqui agualxic jullup, jubicbaná
 mi espera , doctrina y percinar,
 sin guaybaxic, " " "

entonces se prepara de encenderlos las candelas en el cerro y
 brazas para el incienso, entonces se inca otra vez y dice así,
 esto ya es poca la explicación.

E mundo plano siéntase tambien que venga su mirada nuestro
 é jullup ticaaj culbalá xune upetic ri acaibal ri
 padre esta allá arriba (cielo) tambien su mirada de nuestra
 cucau kochilá chicaaj xune ri ucaibal ri cu-
 madre María, tambien el hijo nabe nublina, tambien el llamado
 chuch Marillá, xune ri ral sutz mayul /, xune ri ajau
 (etiox Mocuxic sajbalá')
 Manuel Lorenzo, tambien los Santos andan al cielo, tambien
 " " , xune ri tiox quebinic chicaaj, xune
 ante mundo plano, tambien los treinta , treinta y tres
 churi jullup ticaaj, xune ri junguinaclajuj, junguinac oxlajuj
 el vendicado casa lugar para los Santos tambien la de él
 ri águasjá colval rech ri tiox xune ri rech
 nuestro padre Cristo, tambien el crucificado mundo plano lib-
 ri cucau Cristo, xune ri curzan jullup ticaaj tor-
 ertador desatador sus presencia presenciales vengame, y tambien
 nel quirnel ri sincuchi chhuch sajbalá , arebá
 los dueños personalidades el camino, sanjas barrancos, grande
 gua erajau uguinquil ri bé joc jul siguan , nin-
 agua cte. pequeño agua cte,, tambien el llamado encargado
 cuá -- chut euá , xune ri ajau ecom
 encargado muchacha idalo mujer idalo, véngase el rey la en-
 patalom alí igg ixoc igg , sajbalá ri rajgual ri
 fermedad y pena sntase tambien los santos estan en la casa
 Foj ri pena culalac xune ri tiox eco pari jácolbal

lugar, tambien los primeros personales, tambien las Señoras
 xune ri nebá taaguinac , xune ri echuch
 y Señores fieles difuntos de Gonzalez es para venir si sus
 etat jumay camay é cunzal upetic bari sini
 presencia presenciales tambien los del Rey de la culebra
 gualgual ipoclañil xune ri rajgual ri camatz
 reumatismo arrojamiento disenteria tos siéntase para lo de
 choquej xohoj pamaj ojop culbalá chugua
 la mesa oler y oler no hay grandesa solo pobreza de cariño
 sinuguiri mesa usicxic ueocxic man cot unimal xamebil tzaltzil
 dará el pobre Tomás Gonsales le hatocado la enfermedad y pena
 cuyá gua mebá max gunzal uracom gua toj gua pena
 libertarlo yá basta con la (justicia) enfermedad le hatocado el
 utoric cut xajeri chegua catbaltzij uracom gua
 pobre, esto cierto tiene sus faltas pecados como es hijo
 mebá , areguá tzij koril umac xami ral
 chile, hijo de sal hijo de vestimento hijo de vevida no
 ic , xal atzam ral gua ral já man-
 digamos que es igual con el Dios, no Señor, ami lo olvides
 cojchataj junam ruc ri tios, nó tat , in casach
 mis faltas hise el testigo por el pobre libertarlo
 numac xinban ri cananguinac chijgua mebá utoric
 es su presencia (suerte) y fortuna Señores, solamente doctrina etc.
 cut ri sinuquij ralcic ajguap , xeubari junicalamlá ".
 pasan en la Iglesia, primero en la puerta se incan y dicen así
 E dueño principal solo los avansaré de sus presencia
 e rajau uguinquil xanuchin guocbejcogg ri sini iquij
 presenciales adentro de la elada casa lugar estes el dia hora
 igualxic chupam gua joron já colbal arec nu quij ora
 que he (asentado) comunicado ya de sus presencia presenciales
 gua incubinigg logg churi sini gualgual ipoclañil
 solamente la doctrina, etc
 xebá ri junicalamlá "

persinación, entra asta en medio de la Iglesia a onde le dicen
ante los justicias, se inca y como las mismas explicaciones
como fué en la puerta, y en seguida en frente del altar del
Santisimo Sacramento y dice así.

E Señor perdonaras lo borras mis faltas estes el día hora
e tat cacuyá casacho numac arec nuquij ora
que he comunicado lo é (asentado) comunicado sus presencia
guá insucbinacloc nucubanloc ri aqui
presenciales mi padre Eterno Sacramento, nuestro Rey las
agualxic nucau termo Sacramento, cuguf cu-
cabezas apostol Santo Tomás, tambien el apostol San Pedro
jolom " " " , xune ri " " "
San Pablo, San Mateo, Santiago, San Gabriel, San Rafael,
" " " " " " " " "

tambien los angeles apostales cuantos será sus presencia
xune ri angeles porpet junicpá sinihuch
le daré una pies dos pies lo del hilo ante de sus
quin ya cogg juracan quiep racan gua sin batz chuiri sini
ojos y la del mie no hay calumnias calumniante, esto calum-
icaibal arec gua sigué mancot julum cubam , aré julum
nia calumniante la enfermedad y pena le hatocaco el pobre

gua toj gua pena uracom gua meba
Tomás Gonsales le hatocado la amarilla tos blanca tos, su
max cunzal, uracom cana jop sac ajop ,
libertad es, talvez ahecho falta de sus pasos, tambien
utoric cut, craj unom falta churi sinu bimbai, xune
de su día fortuna, tambien de sus liberaciones sus presen-
ri sinu quij raxic, xune ri sincutoric sin cuquij
cias presenciales de sus madres y padres, por eso esto
calxic ri e uchuch é ucau , xané rumal cunugá

darlo lo de la mesa ustedes Dioses lo despiensen mi
 ullaic gua sinu gui ri mesa ix tios quisach nu-
 falta. doctrina y se percina.

mac . " " " " .

y pasan en otro altar á ensender otras dos candelas, así seran
 ante los altares ó ante los Imagenes y en seguida ante los prim-
 eros antepasados en frente del altar de San Miguel, y de allí
 en las gradas que le llaman ese lugar ante los justicias y en
 seguida, otro en frente del altar San José, deben poner en dos
 partes las candelas, para los fieles comunales ánimas y para los
 difuntos padres, abuelos y familiares del enfermo, y por último
 en medio de los pilares de la entrada de la Iglesia que es para
 los cuidadores ánimas, las candelas son cuatro en cada una de
 estos lugares, puestos en una servilleta juntamente con el peso
 de dinero, si hay rosas tambien lo ponen, en los principios o
 sea ante los primeros antepasados, es igual explicación como
 fué ante los altares de las Imagenes y así será ante las justic-
 ias, solamente por ultima de explicación dicen así

dispensación de mi falta Alcaldes justicias primero, segundo,
 usachic banumac alcaltip justicias nabé , ucab ,
 Sindico ocho Regidores, llamamiento es sus presencia

antivo guajxaquip chiroxtarip, usicxic bari sin cuchi
 presenciales sus madres y padres el pobre Tomás Gonzalez le
 cühuch ri é uchuch é ucau gua mebá max cunzal
 hatocado la enfermedad y pena, onde estaran de sus presencia
 uracom gua toj gua pena, jagui cunugui ri sin cugual-
 (polvos) presenciales (polvadas), talvez estan en la
 gual upogljajil , craj ekó pari
 enfermedad y pena, talvez estan preso sus presencia presenciales
 toj pena, craj tzapilic sin cuchi cühuch

por esto es libertarlo sus presencia (día) presenciales
 xane rumal utoric sin ouquij calxic
 (fortuna) las Señoras los Señores, Señores justicias (alcaldes)
 gua chuch gua tat , ajguap justicias
 dejando este agradecimiento, dejando este responso ante
 ullaic cagua juretios , ullaic cagua ixponxó chi-
 ustedes Señores, solamente doctrina etc.
 huch ajguap , xeubari juncatamlá " .

Es la misma explicación ante los que le dicen caman lugar ante el
 altar de San José, unicamente las últimas explicaciones como se
 dijo antelos justicias y en seguida el llamamiento de sus difun-
 tos padres abuelos y familiares del enfermo y dice así -

E Señores primeros segundos de González de Señoras de Señores,
 é ajguap jumay camay écuza echuch etat
 vengase sus presenciales onde estara cuanto seran sus preseneia,
 úpetic banurisinicojical jagui ixcuguí junicpari sini cojical
 la lo del mio es bueno y es el bien lo haré a este pobre sus
 arecnugasigué xautzil chomal quinbau chegua meba igua-
 pies y manos Tomás Gonzalez le ha tocado la enfermedad y
 cau icap max cunzal uracom gua toj
 pena, lo pusieron en mi y ami presencia de su defensa (desatarlo)
 pena, xicyá chinchí chinihuch ri sinu quiric
 defenderlo (desenredarlo) libertarlo el pobre lo ise ver
 usolic utoic gua meba xinguilcut
 ante la costumbre pilolles, parece ahecho falta ante ustedes
 chugua vara punto , pachari unom falta chihuch
 Señores cierto será talvez né hay de sus acordaciones por
 ajguap tziycunuguá craj mankoc sini natixic ru-
 él, solamente esta llenado á él ante el día lue Señores,
 mal, xaclogg guá nognac ri aré chugua quij Sac ajguap,

y la sus presencia (día) presenciales (fortuna) talvez
 arecut ri sini iquij igualxic craj
 estan en la enfermedad y pena, talvez estan en hambre y sed
 ixko pari toj pena, craj ixko pari numic chiquijchi
 ante de sus ida regreso Señores, ami lo dispensan mi falta
 churi sini ibic itziljic ajguap, in quisach numac
 como testigo por este pobre sus hijos lo han dejado ante esta
 incanaguinac chijgua mebé igualcual illahom cachugua
 dia lus, Señores, y haganlo el bien favor bastará con la
 quijsac, ajguap, chivanacut ri utzil chomal xajerí chegua
 enfermedad y pena le hatocado el pobre que haga otra vez
 toj pena uracom gua mebé chunachúa
 su falta, - cierto lo de la enfermedad (justicia) enfermedad
 ri umac, - tzij arenegua catbaltzij llabil
 siempre estará para mirarlo, únicamente ~~era~~ castigarlo el
 jic koguá chusinquilie, xatband sinu urapxic gua
 pobre Señores dise (agados) de sus cuerpos corazones
 mebé ajguap pix ri sini ucux iguanimá
 Señores estes lo de la mesa esto Señores sirvanse olerlo
 ajguap arecnu sinuguiri mesa guarí ajguap quix siconcut
 de la miceria poquito su voluntad de corazon de sus hijos
 chugua mebil tzaltzil ulocbal ucux gua igualcual
 lo dará el responso de sus cuerpos corazones sirvanse, doctrina.
 cullá gua ixponxó churi sini ucux iguanimá okcunulá, " "

Se pase en la última ó sea en medio de los pilares en la entrada
 de la Iglesia con las mismas candelas como á los principios y
 tambien son las mismas explicaciones como se dijo ante los just-
 icias y la ultima explicación, terminando ~~así~~ eso inmediatamente
 pase uno con el sacerdote á pedirle perdon que pase a decir unos
 responsos, cuando llega al sacerdote se le dicen los nombres de

los difuntos padres abuelos y familiares y en los otros lugares se explican los llamados, terminando, el bhuchcajau deja explicado en cada lugares á onde fueron los respuestas que nó es la última sino siempre estaran presentes, y decir ante los difuntos padres del enfermo, así.

denlo la seña si es bueno lo que dije (ise) Señores, dispenchiyacut ri retal gue utz gua xiubanó ajguap , ucull-sación de mi falta solamente doctrina persinarse.

ic bati sinumac xeubari " " .

por la señal de la Santa Cruz ante el Dios padre nuestro, romal retal " " pugui ri tios cacaxel ,

Dios hijo nuestro.

tios ucojol xel .

Sale ahora en la puerta de la Iglesia es cuando se quema el incienso y cuatro candelas y dice así.

E dueño la casa lugar tambien los cuidadores miradores oidores, é rajau gua já colval xune ri chajnel ilnel tanel , tambien los sesenta los del lunes los del jueves los descojidos xune ri roxcal chiajlunes ajjueves ajcholom (linnados) dias descojidos (linnados) costumbre (vara de la) quij ajcholom tiempo,

tambien los desnudos peñados los que estan por hambre sed , xune ri sanalic chanalic ri ekó churi numic chiquijchi, tambien los que estan en la enfermedad y pena, los de la cadena xune ixkó pari toj pena, ajcalena cornio los que dan enfermedad y pena, tambien los que sacan ajcornó ri quillá ri toj pena , xunexti ri esaltar enfermedad y pena, y la lo del mio los é asentado yá Señores toj pena, arec nugua sigué ixnucubam cunulog ajguap

pedir esto la palabra dos palabra y la del mio ise el utallic cunugua jupaj capaj arec nugua sigué xinban ri

testigo por el pobre Tomás Gonzalez, le atocado la amarillenta
 canaguinac chij gua mebé max cunzal, uracom gua canajop
 blanca tos, estes el dia hora sus libraciones sus madres sus
 cacajop, arec nu quij hora sincutoric ri ecuchuch
 padres, y lo di el agradecimiento el responso
 ecucau, xinllacut gua retios gua ixponxó
 libertarlo sus presencia presenciales en el sufrimiento, pena,
 utoric ri sinquij calxic pari toj pena,
 y a así será la de ustedes Señores, háganlo el bien favor por
 la magecut gua sinigué ajguap, chinacut ri utzil chomal
 el pobre, bastará de la enfermedad sirvanse olorlo si --
 chegua meba, xajeré chegua pena, quixcok_onaj cut
 dueños principales, si hay falta, y sino es esto lo que
 rajgual uguinquil, gue ne kon ri falta, one manaretaj gua
 estamos aciendo, solo dán la seña tambien en mis sueños ante
 cojtajaníc^{xa}, ~~sax~~quillá gua retal xune pari nuguaram chin-
 mi ante mi presencia solamente el diostesalve María y percinación.
 chi chinihuch, xeubá ri juncalamlá y romal.

Cada terminaciones de estas costumbres ahonde dice, xeubá ri juncalamlá, es la doctrina cabal como al principio ó sea al pie de la primera costumbre. Esta costumbre entre quince días se hace la segunda vez, tanto como las comunicaciones y como la costumbre de materiales así será no hay que aumentarlo ni quitarlo, pero si el enfermo sigue lo mismo ó un poco aliviadamente, y si el enfermo sigue malo entonces, cambian modelo. Si el chuchocajau muy bien practicada, tiene inmediato señas en sus sueños en que parte y en que contiença enfermedad del enfermo.

Termina.

House-building Ceremony

(April 1935)

455

The tiles had finished burning yesterday and now were being put up on the roof of the new house. We went over there to see, and were told that all would be finished by about noon. We asked Miguel if there would be some sort of ceremony and he said yes--he would go into the house and pray and with incense swinging in hand would go to each corner of the house. Would he have a shaman? No. Others sometimes do, but he knows his stuff. We asked if we might come and he said yes. The housebuilder--who was in charge of the whole construction, hiring the tile-maker and the mozos and being paid \$55 for all -- called to us from the roof as we left--Would we bring some alambique when we came?

We went on to Chinima, stopping on the way for 2 bottles of alambique (at 50 cents). Then we went to the new house. There--the house completed--were collected the house-builder, several of his helpers, Diego and 2 or 3 of his children. Miguel--though it was his house--couldn't come because he was busy baking bread. The house-builder (who is past-alcalde of the Cofradía Padre Eterno and wears the sun on his saco) was taking charge of the ceremonies, but we had to await the bringing of some copal. When this arrived from Diego's house, the house-builder took up the incense-carrier and, crossing himself and standing in the doorway of the main room, he began to pray, mentioning Jesus Christ.

Soon a glass (which he had asked for) arrived from Miguel's house and he poured some of the whiskey into it and sprinkled it

House-building ceremony, cont'd.

across the threshold and some perpendicular to it, making a sort of cross. Then, still praying, he sprinkled liquor in each of the corners of the room. Then he went into the smaller room and repeated the process.

Then he took a drink himself and next one of his men took one. Then, seated in the larger room, all of the men took round after round of drinks (and also smoking cigars that we had bought). Miguel walked in just as the second bottle was being emptied, in time to get a glass. We all this time sat on a beam in the room and were offered neither smokes nor drinks.

Finally we saw that the liquor was gone and the ceremony over, so we went home.

Origin Story. The following is the only myth, legend, or tale that could be obtained from Tomas; probably because it is the only one he knows. It was told him by his father, and is kept as alive as it is because it is repeated in certain ceremonies.

Jesus Christ was born in the night in Jerusalem, as we know. San Jose and the Virgin Maria were his parents. They were merchants (comerciantes) and they travelled together. They asked many rich people to let them stay in their houses, but the people refused because they thought Jose and Maria were thieves. Eventually they came to the house of one rich man and asked to stay in their house. They were told that they could not remain there, but they could, if they wished, stay in a stable (una rancha) where the sheep, cows and other animals were kept with their herders. So they went there.

At about three A.M. or a little later, when the star Antigao came out, Maria gave birth to a boy with stars on his palms and forehead and who lighted up the world. All of the herders came to see the child, and immediately the owner (patron) of the house came.

That night it snowed very hard and the child was very cold, so that it stiffened as if dead. The herders ran for the animals; and the sheep and the cows breathed (likwix) onto the child's body and warmed it, and the child revived. Then Jesus blessed these animals; but the horses and mules, when they had come, had not believed that the child was God and instead of breathing on him they had eructed at him. God was angry with these animals and said that they would never be eaten by man but would have to be beasts of burden always.

Christ preached to all the people who wished to listen, but some were bad and would not hear him. He wandered around and

visited 5000 pueblos and 5000 churches and 5000 gardens all over the world. When he encountered a blind man on the road, he told him he would be cured the next day, and the man would be cured; when he met a deaf man, he would tell him that he would hear the next day, and the man would hear.

The Jews were very angry when Christ preached to the people, and they took him to a penitentiary of pure stone -- and imprisoned him in a dungeon without light or water. God left his cell, and when the Jews would look in to see if he was still there they saw the light of a firefly, in the dark place, and they thought Jesus was sitting there smoking a cigarette.

After twenty days they no longer saw the firefly, so they thought Jesus was dead. Now Jesus changed the penitentiary into a large church with altars, pine-needles, flowers, masetas, idoles, candles, incense, santos, etc., etc. And when the Jews went to the penitentiary to see if Jesus was dead, they saw the church. Maybe this was the first church in the world. The Jews wondered "What are all these things?" and were angry and went out to look for Jesus so they could capture him again.

There was a small road in the mountains and God was running on it with the Jews in pursuit when he saw a woman in a house off the road. He asked if he could come in, and the woman said, "With much pleasure" and admitted him. The Jews were coming quickly, and Jesus hurried into the house. There were some chicken eggs in the house and God told the woman he would bless them. He did so, and instantly the eggs were young chickens. He then went outside, where he saw a ramos plant (a grass) and he hid behind the plant; the grass covered him over, so when the Jews came up they couldn't see him.

The Jews came up and asked the woman where Jesus was -- saying that they knew that he had passed that way. The woman said that he had passed there twenty days before (arguing to herself that the chickens couldn't have grown so big in less than twenty days). The Jews passed on rapidly.

Then Jesus came from hiding and went again on the road. The Jews came back, and when Jesus saw that they were upon him, he climbed a tree. The Jews had the custom of always looking at the ground: they couldn't look straight ahead or upward; so they did not see Jesus in the tree. But they saw his shadow, and beat it with a stick until they thought they had killed him. Then they passed on.

Jesus came down from the tree and lay down in its shade. Then he blessed the tree that it should serve for cacao. Instantly there was cacao. He told the people (the good Jews who were his followers) that the cacao should serve in cofradias, in marriages, and for borrowing money and and maize.* Then the virgin Maria came up to him, and because Jesus was thirsty she gave him some water in a glass. God bless the water and it changed into liquor, so that it should serve later for cofradias, marriages, money, etc. Then Maria went away.

Jesus began his wanderings, through the towns and mountains, again. The Jews finally found him and put him in the penitentiary. Then they took him from prison and took him to the mountains to make a cross. They came to a large tree, from which to make the cross. The Jews began to try to chop the tree down with

*To borrow money or maize, you put cacao beans and a coin in a dish, cover it, and send it to the man from whom you wish to borrow; if he takes it, he will lend the money. If he doesn't want to lend the money he won't accept the dish.

their axes; but each chip that flew away fell into a spring and became a snake (which came at the feet of the Jews) or a frog, or a toad. These were bad signs for the Jews, and they said that Jesus wouldn't die then. They then asked Jesus to cut the tree himself, and he agreed to do so. With one blow of the ax a chip came off and fell in the water and became a fish (this is why we eat fish during Holy Week). The next chip became a quetzal, a very large one. The next became a large chicken. With each subsequent chip came another food animal.

The tree was finally felled by Jesus, and the Jews made a cross. Jesus had to drag the cross to another place. They stopped on the way to eat. The Jews wrung the neck of the chicken and put it in a pot to cook. They cut off the feet and the wings and they had pure meat, and then they put the chicken in a large leaf with much pepper. Then they sat down to lunch on the chicken, but as they all sat down around the dish the chicken turned to life and scattered the pepper in the eyes of the Jews who were immediately blinded. There were other Jews around, however, and not all were blind, so Jesus did not escape from them. As they walked along again, Jesus bearing the cross, the Jews kept whipping Jesus, and every drop of blood that he bled along the road became an ocote tree. There were many cacti (moros) in the road, but they parted in Jesus' path.

Finally they came to the spot, and they crucified Jesus. While nailed to the cross, Jesus miraculously turned around completely, exposing his back, and from his back came maize -- white, yellow, and black -- and beans and potatoes and all the other food plants. Then Jesus died.

Jesus was buried. But three days later, a little before 3 A.M. (when the rooster's crow) Jesus was resurrected and he went to heaven. There was a large stone over his grave, and Jesus stood on it and with one foot "took off" for heaven. There remained his footprint on the stone.

Jesus stayed three days in heaven, and then he came back to earth to judge the living and the dead. The earth was overturned and the Jews all went to Hell. (Later he went to heaven again and the dead were made living, but Tomas isn't certain of this). On earth Jesus ordered Cofradias, churches, santos, idoles, costumbres, marriages, etc., etc. but since all the other people (the Jews) were dead and in Hell, only the Apostles were here to be ordered about. Jesus had a crown of metal thorns (espinas). There were no people on earth except the Apostles.

Jesus ordered, when we came, that there be a garden in each of the five thousand pueblos of the world. In one garden he ordered the thirteenth (and lowest) apostle to be the gardener. This gardener's name was Adam (at'an). Adam was very sad. The second apostle saw this and asked him if he was happy or sad. Adam said he was sad, because he had no company, such as a woman. The second apostle told Jesus, and Jesus said it would be well to look for a woman for Adam.

Jesus came to earth and made Adam sleep soundly. Jesus and the twelve apostles had a conference. Jesus asked the first apostle what they should do about getting a woman for Adam. The reply was that they should cut some flesh from Adam's palm. But Our Lord Jesus said this would not do because then the man would hit the woman with his hand. He asked the second apostle, who advised cutting the flesh from the sole of Adam's foot to make

a woman. Jesus said no, because then Adam would kick her. The third advised that they should take it from Adam's brain and head. No, replied Jesus again, for then the woman would order Adam around. The fourth apostle suggested that they cut a hole in Adam's left chest -- the hole to be cut in the shape of the vagina -- and take pieces of the heart, lungs, spleen, etc. together with the flesh cut out, to make the woman. It should all be cut out of the left side, because if it were from the right side the woman would be higher and could command the man; the piece of heart should be taken so that the man will have a "good heart" for the woman (i.e., love her and not fight with her. To this all agreed, and Jesus blessed the pieces which had been cut from Adam and laid to his left, and immediately there was a woman.

Jesus told Adam to wake up, and Adam did so, and rose -- not knowing from whence came the woman. But he took the woman with him. Jesus told Adam that when in their garden roads, the woman should always walk first. (Today all Indians have their women walking ahead of them).

In a short time (perhaps three months) the couple saw a snake in the garden (mazacuata, a non-poisonous local species of constrictor). Adam and his wife didn't know what life was; nor did they have clothes.

The snake inserted his tail into the woman's vagina and moved it around, so that the woman felt the tickling there. The woman liked it and wanted it to continue, but the snake said, "No! Adam has one." The woman said to Adam, "Come to me with that!" This was the first time. Later came children, midwives, etc.

When the first child was born, Jesus told them they should

baptize it and all future children in the church because the snake had entered the woman first, and it was an animal, and this was bad unless the children were baptized and made Christians. Only when baptized would the children be people (i.e., Christians).

There must have been baptism here before the Conquest, although it may have been of some other kind from that now practised.

Bad people, such as robbers, slanderers, etc., God sends to Hell. The Evangelists (Protestant missionaries) say that if one believes in the santos -- which they say are simply made by carpenters -- one will go to Hell. This Tomas does not believe.

Tomas Ventura C.

Santo Tomas. This is the closest thing to an origin myth, aside from the one on the Creation and Jesus.

It is said that long ago Santo Tomas (the image) lived in Santo Tomas la Union, Suchitepequez; he had his family there, and they all had costumes something like those we have here. (Even today in La Union the women wear knee-length blue skirts, but a huipil different from those here, and the men wear short blue trousers and a sacco like that of Ladinos). Santo Tomas didn't like it there on the coast; he wanted to come to Chichicasteango, which is in the exact center of the world. So he came up to Poochil with San Jose, San Sebastian, and the other ten santos.

Tomas Ventura G. Santo Tomas

This was during the rains, and it lightningd and thundered so on Pocohil that the people all came to see what was wrong there. They found Santo Tomas on the ground, and they carried him and San Jose and San Sebastian to the pueblo to the accompaniment of marimbas, rockets, etc. Then Santo Tomas read from his book and told the people that there were other santos -- companions of his -- still on Pocohil. He told the people that he would remain with them in Chichicastenango.

Santo Tomas then told the people that he had left a rock in Santo Tomas la Union, and if they would accompany him he would go back to get it. They went to la Union, where they found the huge rock which Santo Tomas said was the patron of all the fruits on the Coast. They began to carry this rock up to Chichicastenango, but just as they were getting it to the top of the mountain above Chupoj, the rope broke and it rolled down again and came to rest in a river. That is why the fruits are on the Coast, and not in Chichicast

Tomas has seen this rock, and he says it is very large.

There were two brothers, both Santo Tomas, and the smaller of the two went to Chiche. It is said that one of the early Padres there said, "What do you want with this little santo!" and struck at it. In two days the Padre died.

Tomas Ventura C.

Bees were people before the Flood. In the Flood they decided to go under the ground in boxes to save themselves from the water; but God didn't want that, so he made them animals. Now they are particularly "dangerous" or "delicate", and if a man has fights within his house, his bees will leave him. Very few people keep bees, not for this reason alone, but also because it is expensive to keep them up (they must have candles and incense once a week). But of course on Holy Week everybody uses honey, so there is some profit, if one has good luck.

Immortality. Six years ago, Sabastian Burbon (then some 45 years old) of Chontola, died suddenly in bed. He was survived by five grown sons and their wives, his own wife, etc. He died at five or six A.M., and the following afternoon, having been washed and dressed by older relatives, he was taken to the cemetery in the pueblo. Before the bearers got the coffin out of the patio of the house, however, they heard a movement within indicating that the body had turned over in the coffin. Sabastian's sons opened the coffin and found their father alive -- well and with nothing wrong.

Everybody was very happy.

Sebastian insisted that he had been merely asleep, and he said that he had had a dream. The dream was as follows:

He found himself in an open plain, and two men (then dead) whom he recognized as former regidores of the juzgado were there and they grabbed him and began to beat him. They whipped him with sticks until, going before their lashes, he came to a place where there was a dead horse, with buzzards flying all around it. There also was an old man whom he recognized as his grandfather or great-grandfather who had been Indian alcalde in his lifetime and whom he remembered. This old man now said to the regidores, "Why are you bringing this man; his time has not come yet; his time will be in five days!" He then told Sebastian to enter the anus of the horse, and when he objected, the regidores whipped him until he did enter and actually go through the horse. When he got through the mouth, and out, he found that he was awake.

Of course everybody realizes that Sebastian had not dreamed; that he had died and been in the next world. Five years later Sebastian did die (this was the meaning of the "5 days") and has remained dead. He was buried as usual, in one day, but the people were a bit frightened about it.

Years ago one Santo Solice, Principal of Panimache, also died and came to life again. He told this experience to Tomas about three years ago, so Tomas has it first-hand.

It seems that some ten years ago Santo had fever and in a few hours he died in his bed. When he died he saw many many regidores around, and these grabbed him and with whips drove him to the chapel in the cemetery. Inside the church there was a bench and he was told to sit down. He saw many dead people around, much like the crowd in the plaza. There was a Padre there who was going around baptizing all the people. The Padre was all in white instead of black. Solice's turn came last, and when the padre saw him he said, "This isn't time for you" and put him under his robe back of him. Then all of the people left the church, and the padre opened the window and Santo went out of the window and at that moment revived and became alive on the table where he had been placed after death (the table having candles around, and incense).

Solice said that he had been asleep, but the people know better.

Tomas thinks (and, having discussed it with others he thinks it is generally thought) that when people die they go to the plain first and then to the Church for baptism. Maybe Santo doesn't remember the Plain part.

The notion seems to be that the spirit (or the heart) can leave the body at times even when the person is still alive: there is a buzzing of the ear when the soul comes or goes. But the person has no ill effects and goes on living as before.

When a person dies, his spirit (probably in human form) goes somewhere, while his body turns to ashes in the grave. But some-

how the body is connected with a horse, probably in the sense that the spirit sees the body as a horse.

When a person dreams -- and all Indians here dream -- that he is ~~theys~~ riding ^a white horses, and maybe even riding ~~theys~~ it to the church in the cemetery, it is a sign that he will die shortly.

A few native terms in this discussion:

heart (corazon) ...	wan'me'
spirit (espírito) .	san'til
corpse	ka men'aq
animal's spirit ...	k'o usan'til
the church	rit'ito'
calvario	ruk' a'kau pa kal bar'io
church in cemetery.	kal bar'io pa kum sant
heaven ,.....	k'ax
spirit going to heaven...	k'ek't'i k'ax

ts about animals. The horse is a compadre of the coyote.

Horses are always put near the chickens and the sheep, so that when a coyote comes the horse will not let him in. The horse tells the coyote, "No, coyote, I can't let you eat a chicken, because the owners put me here to guard them."

Cows are also compadres of the coyote, and guard the animals in the same way. In the four corners of all corrals are placed skulls of horses and cows as protection from coyotes.

Coyotes and dogs are enemies.

You cannot kill a coyote with a gun of any kind. The gun simply won't fire. Also, if a man meets a coyote when he is alone and he tries to shout, his voice will not come. But if a man removes his trousers the coyote will become frightened and will run, while the gun will work and the man will be able to shout or anything.

When out in the monte with a rifle, Indians always hang some dry chile from the rifle-stock.

Cadejo is the Spanish term given here to xalbal, which is a being that comes from the ground in the night in the form of some animal. To pass over the cadejo means death in a week. To surmount the danger, it is necessary to make the sign of the cross with the left hand.

Encanto is the Spanish term applied to a sage/ol -- a little spirit man of some kind. When thinking evil thoughts, these little encantos come and beat a person with whips (chicotes).

Encantos sometimes come and whip unfaithful spouses.

Before going to bed, one should cross oneself and think of God; if not, if a person thinks of a sweetheart or thinks other evil thoughts, an encanto will come in the night and administer a whipping. Five or six years ago a brother-in-law of Tomas' father was living with his wife at this house (Tomas'). There was a mozo around too, and he was having an affair with

the wife. One night the woman rose at about 4 A.M. and went out to the córrador. She was grabbed there by the encantos who administered so severe a beating that she soon died. Before she died, however, she told what had happened. She had been on her way to meet her lover when encantos about two feet tall, red in color and with gold in their hair came up and beat her with chains of pure gold.

Snakes can give people money. Tomas once was told a story of a poor comerciante who was returning from the Coast and he stopped with his companions at Argueta to sleep. He fell asleep bemoaning his poverty. In the middle of the night he was awakened by the touch of a huge snake. The man drooled into his hand and held it out for the ~~man~~ snake; the snake ate the saliva, and then gave the man some boxes that were on his (the snake's) back. The man opened the boxes and found them full of money. The comerciante's companions attest the truth of the story, but Tomas isn't sure it is true.

About a year ago Tomas, with Tomoas Gonzales, Mr. Clark, and some tourists went to the ruins at Quiche. They all passed up the hill, with Gonzales at the end of the line and Tomas just ahead of him. There is a cave near the top and in passing everybody looked in but saw nothing, until Gonzales drew up and let out a shout. He said there was a monstrous snake inside. Tomas came to look, but neither of them could see anything. They were very worried, because to see an animal and have it disappear means death to the person who saw it. The two of them made a thorough search and finally found a large snake. Tomas wanted to kill it, but Gonzales was afraid, and he asked Tomas not even to mention the incident to Clark.

Quiche ruins, near Santa Cruz, are well known to the Indians.

One Ismael something-or-other of Santa Cruz told Tomas some eight years ago that for many nights Tecum, Quiche, and other characters of the old days had appeared to him in dreams and had told him every time to go alone at night to the ruins and to enter the cave there. He decided to try it, thinking he might find some silver or something. One night he therefore went alone to the ruins and entered the cave with an ocote torch. He went farther and farther inside, as far as he could. At the end of the cave he saw, in person and all decked out, Tecum, Quiche, and other Princes, and he talked with them.

Tomas doesn't believe this story entirely; he is an agnostic. But this man told everybody his experience and now is one of the most important Principales in Santa Cruz and everybody considers him the representative of the old kings.

Many people say that Quiche and Tecum are still living, and Tomas believes it -- or at least that their spirits live at the ruins.

The Heavens.

Diego says he knows little about the stars. The moon is a woman, "mi abuelita", wati'. The sun is a man, ~~mi~~ "mi padre", nekaw. The sky is kax, a cloud, suts', the earth, ulew, a star, t/umil. The Great Dipper is wakup k'inabal; the morning star is simply "Santiago".

kal/ik. When a horse ~~is~~ or other animal dies, it is a sign that somebody in the house will die. If the owner of the house dies, all of the domestic animals will die in a year. You go to a shaman and ask why all the animals are dying; he divines and decides it is because the owner has died. So he has to do costumbres to keep the rest from dying. Without these costumbres, not only the animals, but the widow and children will die. The shaman finds a good day, does costumbre in the monte, also goes to church to do them, and gives a response.

If somebody kills an animal in the road, it is a sign that somebody in his own house is sick and will die. Better to pass snakes and other animals than to kill them. If one's luck is bad, God won't grant his prayers. If a person is rich, of course that means his luck ("suerto") is good.

If somebody kills the kal/ik of a person, that person will die. Nobody knows what his kal/ik is, but it is always a particular animal. A person can also have a star for a kal/ik, and when that star falls, the person dies. Maize may also be a kal/ik (this aftersome argument after a question; the affirmative answer being based on the fact that when a person dies his fields don't produce a harvest.) Since when a person dies, his money disappears, money can also be a kal/ik.

If you are pretty sick, the zajorin prays to the spirits, but if it is the kal/ik that is causing the trouble because he is a ~~ka~~ zajorin, the patient has to learn to be a zajorin to get better. If a man is a thief because his kal/ik is one, he will be safe from trouble. But if a man is a thief, and his kal/ik is not a thieving animal (such as coyote, wildcat, buzzard, etc.) he will be caught, or fall into a barranca or something.

Souls and dreams. Sebastian Ignacio (Chinima) died about three years ago at four or five in the afternoon. He had been very sick. He had been dead about an hour, and all the relatives had come, when he woke up. He asked the people why they were crying, and they replied, "Because you have been dead an hour". He said, "I was only asleep" and told his dream.

He said that he went to the cemetery and at the gate of the cemetery were some sheep. Inside he saw many people -- dead friends, and some very ancient people. He passed in and among them. They told him to go on and finally he saw his father, who said to him, "What are you doing here? It isn't your time yet." His father then began to whip him, driving him to the gate, and then he woke up.

In a dream (wut/ik') it is the spirit roving around and passing through these experiences. If in a dream you see something bad, it means something bad will happen to you.

Ancestros. The spirits of the ancestors is translated:

kanma kakut/ kakaw i ka'it kamam

If you dream of your ancestors, and if the dream is good, it is a good sign; if the dream is unpleasant, sickness will come.

A person is buried with all his clothes, for otherwise the soul would come back to get his things and the descendants will see the dead in their dreams.

Souls of the ancestors sometimes come in dreams to give advice. Sometimes the soul comes and says he's in jail. Then one must go to a shaman to do costumbres and pray, especially to the spirit alcalde, to get him free. Later, in another dream, the soul will say that he is out of jail.

Gloria (Heaven) is just like this world, no better or worse, with the same kind of physical features. Some say that some

spirits (of bad people) go to Hell. Maybe there is nothing at all in that place. A person knows what has become of a dead relative through dreams. If the relative is in Hell, you go to a shaman and have him do costumbres, and also give responses in the Church. Then later, in a dream, the soul will tell his relative if he got to Heaven. The soul always hunts around and manages to find a relative when it needs help.

Awal/ik is the native term given to the animal counterpart of a person, a concept often referred to as nagualism, which term is unknown to Tomas. 475

Sabastian Ventura's father, in Quejel, was very healthy and perfectly well when, one day, he passed the chicken-house of his place. In the evening he saw that the chickens were afraid to enter their place. He called some of his neighbors to help him see what was in the chicken-house. Inside they found a large snake. The man was afraid to kill the snake, but one of the others took a stick and broke the snake's back. The snake was thus killed. In the night in a few hours Ventura complained of a backache, and in a few hours (at 6 A.M.) he died. The snake was his awal/ik.

One of our mozos once went with a water-jug to get water. He saw a squirrel in the branches of a tree. The same day the squirrel fell from the tree and broke his head. The man brought the body of the squirrel home. At the house, in the evening, he complained of a headache, and began to have a bad nose-bleed. The next day he died. The squirrel was his awal/ik.

If a man dies, his awal/ik will die immediately, but if the awal/ik dies, the man will soon follow.

A person never knows who is his awal/ik; he may dream of and thus know the species, but never the particular animal. If a black magician wants to kill a man he can do costumbre to call the animal to his house, where he will then kill the animal and thus the man.

An awal/ik cannot be a domestic animal; only a wild one. It is better to have a snake, coyote, tiger, or other fierce animal for an awal/ik than it would be to have an incompetent dove or sheep or something. A buzzard isn't a good awal/ik either, because then the man will be lazy and a thief. Dogs and cats are good ones, for they don't let themselves be killed easily.

stars are not awal/iks; rather, they are people's spirits (almas). (Maybe the spirit is also within the person, but more certainly it is a star). The sun and moon are spirits of all men.

Fiestas. San Juan Baptista, San Antonio, and San Pablo are patrons of domestic animals. But the day, or the first (San Juan, June 24th) is celebrated. There is some fiesta in every house where there are domestic animals -- usually a three-day fiesta, with liquor, 12 rockets, etc. In the house in the pueblo where the santo San Juan is there is a special fiesta those three days, and many people come.

June 20th is Corpus Christi -- patron of all crops -- and all families with milpa have fiestas for three days in the monte, each having rockets, liquor, etc. In the pueblo there is some fiesta then also.

Nov. 11 is San Martin, patron of the earth, houses, etc. It is celebrated in all homes.

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Pascual Ren

Ralfik - Three years ago a woman of Pocohil (her father is called Sebastian Martin) was wanted for a wife by a man; he bothered her for months, but she didn't want him. He was from Chucojom. He was angry, and one day when he met her on a road in Pocohil he spoke to her again and asked her why she wouldn't have him. He decided right there, and he told her, that he would kill her so that he wouldn't have to meet her any more and become so unhappy with each meeting. He turned around to pick up a large stick, and when he turned back the woman wasn't there. Instead there was a zopilote, that immediately flew away. The man was in a great fright, and the woman was in her house. She said it was her ralfik that saved her; she had turned into a zopilote for a while. Pascual says the woman remembers this experience. The man later told everybody that her ralfik is a zopilote, and warned men not to marry her. She is still single. Why it is bad to have a zopilote for ralfik I don't know.

A woman from Tecpan is said to have a coyote for ralfik, and she too is single. But this is just gossip and Pascual doesn't know about it.

Pascual has no idea what his ralfik is, since he never dreams of animals. He dreams usually of a sweetheart in Lemoa or Quiche -- he's not sure -- a beautiful girl. Sometimes she is angry with him and other times she is happy with him. In the dream he never sleeps with her; he is always just talking or walking with the girl. Pascual's wife thinks this woman is his ralfik, but she isn't sure. She is a single woman, but He has never met her. If he ever does, of course she'll recognize him, and since in his dreams she always wants to marry him, they will probably get married.

Pascual's wife dreams every second or third night of a large

Pascual Ren - Ral/fik, cont'd

black cat entering the room. She wakes up, and Pascual gets up and looks all around with the flashlight and there is nothing there. It is her ral/fik probably. Otherwise she dreams of people and other things, like buying in the market.

Tomas Ren, Pascual's on, dreamt a couple of times that he was flying, without wings or anything, through the sky. Pascual told him his ral/fik must be an eagle or a zopilote. The boy figures that if he gets into trouble sometimes he can fly away.

Pascual's father has had dreams of being in the cemetery with only dead people around. The interpretation is that he will die soon. It is hard to understand though, because his spirit goes out and always returns. If you dream of the dead, in a few days you will get sick. Pascual's father is always quite sick.

If you dream you are mounting a horse, that means you will die; the horse represents, because it carries one, a coffin. Many people "die" and go to the cemetery, where the regidores take them to the alcalde, who says it isn't time yet. He may tell them that they have another day, or two or three. Then these "dead" people are whipped out of the cemetery and they wake up. Each extra day granted means a year, a few hours equal a few months, etc.

Robbers who steal or house-break in the night have coyotes for ral/fiks.

Men who have many women probably have dogs for their ral/fiks.

People who never bathe probably have monkeys or pigs for ral/fiks.

A clean person may have a cat for ral/fik.

A beautiful woman may have a dove or other graceful bird.

Santos don't have ral/fiks, Pascual thinks. He doesn't know

whether the statues are Santo Tomas (and the others represented) or if they are just images and Santo Tomas is in heaven. Likewise he doesn't know about Jesus, but he is quite sure that there

Hot and Cold is a classification well recognized for foods.

There are some foods which must be classified as in-between as well. Tomas is uncertain about the classification of people into "hot" and "cold"; people are hot at times and cold at other times, and some are hot or cold most of the time, of course; but he doesn't have a crystallized notion of people as naturally hot or cold as such. Nevertheless he can state the rule that a cold person needs hot things, and a hot person (especially one with fever) needs cold things. Most definitely, a woman with child, or at child-birth needs hot things.

Lists of hot, cold, and medium foods, the first two more or less in order of their intensity, follow:

Hot (<u>miq'en</u>)	Medium (<u>sakli'</u>)	Cold (<u>xrən</u>)
chile, <u>iq</u> (peppers)	atol, <u>xot'</u>	pork, <u>aq</u>
sweatbath, <u>tux</u>	tortilla, <u>lex</u>	turkey, <u>no's</u>
aguardiente, <u>war</u> (whiskey)	tamale, <u>su'</u>	oranges, <u>rinax</u>
chicken, <u>ak'</u>	pigeon, <u>palomu'</u>	lemons, <u>lima</u>
beef, <u>waka'</u>	mutton, <u>t/ix</u>	banana, <u>saqul</u>
coffee, <u>kape</u>	allotes, <u>mukun</u>	water, <u>xa'</u>
garlic, <u>axos</u>	goat meat, <u>k'asik'</u>	sugar, <u>asukal</u>
limes, <u>limoni'</u>	lima beans, <u>ka/lenknək</u>	eggs, <u>saqmol</u>
honey, <u>uwalt'e</u>	beans, <u>kenaq</u>	papaya, <u>siqat</u> don't eat
panela, <u>kab</u> (crude sugar)	potatoes, <u>saqwut'</u>	chilicallote, <u>q'oq'</u>
lard, <u>manteka</u>	platano, <u>nimsa'ul</u>	pineapple
chocolate, <u>t/oklat</u>	rice, <u>aros</u>	tomato, <u>pi'</u>

for most sicknesses like stomachache, and also coughs, colds, and headaches. Cold things, while they can ruin the stomach, are good for fevers. Cold things should not be eaten by a woman with child. A list of hot and cold things follow:

HOT	COLD
chicken	turkey
beef	pork
honey	mutton
lime (the fruit)	oranges
chile	lemon
chocolate	water (when cold)
coffee	beans (planted with milpa)
hot water, or water from hot-springs, such as Chocoya	yesterday's tortillas, etc. (actually cold)
beans (between-rows)	platano and banana, but on the coast they are hot!
maize foods	sugar
panela (crude sugar)	bread
milk	lard
cinnamon	
pimienta (black pepper)	

Hot and Cold.

Cold:

hail - coldest thing
 meat of the turkey
 beans - those planted between rows of corn
 lemons
 rivers of water in the street due to heavy rain
 an axe or machete when it has been out over night
 mud - when it has been around a few days
 yesterday's tortillas and tamales
 people with cold hands
 cold water

Hot:

sun and fire
 chicken
 beans - planted with corn
 pork and beef
 mutton
 white potatoes
 white bananas
 platanos
 limes
 oranges
 eggs
 warm water
 atol
 fresh tortillas and tamales
 people with warm hands

A cold person should eat warm things, and a warm person should

7. Dances. When one or a few persons want to give a dance, they are the "authors" of it, and that honor costs them \$15 to \$50 apiece.

The following are the dances known here:

1. Toro, with dancing and chanting, requiring an MS. [torito]
2. Conquista, with dancing, chanting, mock war, requiring an MS. [Akum]
3. San Miguelito, with dancing only [səngalit]
4. Palo boledor, with special "pole dance" [wife']
5. Venado, with dancing only. [masat]
6. Moro, with dancing, chanting, and mock war, requiring an MS. [Kristiano]
7. Culebra, dancing with live snakes. [kaler]

Each dance (except 4, and especially those with chanting) requires a teacher, who must be hired by the authors. If there is chanting, the teacher usually possesses or rents the MS that goes with the dance. The teacher earns a few thousand pesos (60 pesos to \$1.00) for his work.

The group giving the dance begins to rehearse in Spring, and they rehearse 2 or 3 days a month in the canton home of the chief Author for some eight months. The dances are then given at the following times and places:

- Oct. 31 (All Saint's) at Cofradia Santo Tomas, all day
- Nov. 1 At cofradias S. Jose, S. Sebastian, and Sto. Tomas, picking up these santos as they go along and performing in the streets on the way to the Church.
- Nov. 2 All day in the patio of the Church.
- Dec. 17 All day in pueblo house of chief author
- Dec. 18 All day at Cofradia Sto. Tomas
- Dec. 19 Cofradias S. Sebastian and San Jose, $\frac{1}{2}$ day each.
- Dec. 20 Cofradias Sacramento and Rosario, $\frac{1}{2}$ day each
- Dec. 21 Cofradias La Cruz and S. Miguel, $\frac{1}{2}$ day each
- Dec. 22 All day in patio of the Church
- Dec. 23 Cofradias S. Jeronimo and Jesus Nazarena, $\frac{1}{2}$ day each
- Dec. 24 Cofradia Rosario all day
- Dec. 25 Inside Church, all day

From the 18th to the 25th of December, of course, the fiesta ⁸² of the town's patron, Sto. Tomas, is celebrated.

There were years when 10 or 15 companies danced in one year. Now there are very few. In 1934 there were no local companies, although a Toro company came from Chiche. On Dec. 1, 1934 with Tomas we witnessed a dress rehearsal of this company in Chiche, in front of the church. The masks would make one crazy if costumbre wasn't done for it; we saw the rehearsal for that purpose; a shaman was in the church waylaying the danger.

Days Ignor

Dances. When a group gives a dance, such as la Conquista, they start in about April and have eight rehearsals of three day's each. Then they have three days more of rehearsal in costume for All Saint's Day; then twelve days of the dance during Santo Tomas.

They begin on the 17th of December, and don't finish until the Octavo, the 27th, making some 11 days in all:

December 17, A.M.	in front of the Church
F.M.	in house of the "owner" of the dance
December 18, 3 A.M.	et seq. To the house of Santo Tomas, then San Sebastian, then San Jose
December 19	Sanramento, San Miguel, and Rosario
December 20	Jesus Nazarea, La Cruz, and Padre Eterno
December 21, A.M.	Procession, then the rest of the day in front of the Church.
December 22	First to house of 1st Alcalde Indigine, then to 1st Pasado. Then in front of the Church
December 23	first to Santo Tomas, then San Sebastian and San Jose
December 24	to Alcalde la of sacristanes, then to San Geronimo
December 25	In front of Calvario, then in front of the church.
December 26	to San Sebastian Santo Tomas, San Sebastian, and San Jose
December 27	in front of the church and then in the house of the "owner" of the dance.

Diego Ignacio Dances, cont'd

Estanislao Luis of Lemoa has an old MS of la Conquista; he will make and sell a copy for 500 pesos, but won't let the original out of his hands. Vicente Osario of Lemoa has an original MS of the Toritos.

It costs a lot to give a dance. The author has to furnish liquor, etc., when asking men to join him. Then at the first rehearsal he has to furnish food and everything. For subsequent rehearsals all contribute to the expense.

The manuscript of the Historia de los Toritos was in the possession of Carlos M. Ishcol, who had it from his father. Diego bought it and has it now. Diego also copied the Historia de la Conquista in 1932 from an old MS from Santa Cruz, now in possession of Ismael Lopez of Lemoa; he got this copy in exchange for the loan of his Toritos.

A portion of the Spanish text of El Baile de "La Conquista" is reproduced in Appendix V. (pp. 904-931). This is taken from Proyecto del Monumento a Tecun Uman.

DANCES, Cont.

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Dec. 4, 1938 -- Sunday; very "lively" market; the dance of the Conquista was going on in front of the Church.

Dec. 17, 1938 -- Late in the afternoon went to town for a little while and watched the dances (Conquista, Voleadores, S. Miguel) and the plaza a little.

Dec. 17, 1938 -- Early in the morning saw Tomás Ventura (old informant whom I haven't seen in years) going with drum and flute up the road to Pocohil. He just greeted me and went on. Later, seeing them going back, I intercepted him and he explained it was for the "coheteria" (rocket-society, I think) that they went to do rituals on Pocohil. He was now mounted on a horse that he had had sent up for him.

December 19, 1938. Three dancing places in the town.

Quietzaltenango marimba in the Theater for the rich ladinos. The Tecpán marimba for the poor ladinos (but dancing most male-female in European fashion. The Totonicapán marimba for Indians and a very few ladinos: dancing all ways, predominantly Indian. This last a very messy drunken affair.

December 21, 1938. Juan reported that a dancer of the Voladores fell from halfway up the pole and that he was just a bundle of broken bones with his head all caved in. He was dead, but for some reason (probably drunkenness), his heart wouldn't stop beating. He was taken to the cemetery where there are first aid facilities. Mrs. Noz confirmed the story, having seen the fall. The dance stopped.

December 22, 1938. Gertrude went to town this afternoon, and reported that Amezquita and others deny that the dancer yesterday died: only his face was a little scratched. Juan says there seems to be a difference of opinion.

6. The Calendar, Shamans, and Divination

The notes immediately following were written after a month in Chichicastenango.

The Calendar

Although the information was volunteered, it took several days to get the native calendar from the brujo. This was due in part to the fact that Tomas had to act as interpreter and he knew nothing about it himself. However, after making a device consisting of two card-board circles, the larger one showing twenty days, and the smaller (revolving upon the other) showing thirteen days, I was able to deal with the brujo directly and so straightened the whole thing out. As it happens, nothing startlingly new was discovered. The days of the twenty-day period are numbered:

1 -- <u>xun</u>	8 -- <u>wacakxip</u>	15 -- <u>olaxux</u>
2 -- <u>kiep</u>	9 -- <u>bilixip</u>	16 -- <u>waklaxux</u>
3 -- <u>ucip</u>	10 -- <u>faxux</u>	17 -- <u>wuxlaxux</u>
4 -- <u>kixep</u>	11 -- <u>xulaxux</u>	18 -- <u>waxcaklaxux</u>
5 -- <u>xop</u>	12 -- <u>kuplaxux</u>	19 -- <u>baloxlaxux</u>
6 -- <u>uaxkip</u>	13 -- <u>olaxux</u>	20 -- <u>xummak</u>
7 -- <u>wakup</u>	14 -- <u>faxlaxux</u>	

(it seems rather surprising that there is apparently^a decimal system of counting; I would have expected a vigesimal one, more or less).

The days of the thirteen day period are named, but since they agree with those given in Schultze-Jena, there is no need to repeat them. One thing of interest, however, is that the correlation with our calendar as given with the brujo does not agree with that given in Schultze-Jena. It was on December 3rd, and this brujo insisted in spite of all argument, that it was kiep eh, the second day of both

the twenty and the thirteen day periods. Carrying on the correlation given in Schultze-Jena, however, it came out that Dec. 3, 1934 should be xop eh, or the 5th day in the 13 day period and the 2nd day of the 20 day period. Thus there is a difference of three days of the short period. This does not mean that they are three days off, of course, but rather 120 days (xop eh comes 120 days after kiep eh, or, of course, 140 days before). Now the bruje insisted that all of the brujes reckon the same, and that Dec. 3, 1934 on our calendar is kiep eh.

In Chichicastenango nobody except the brujes seem to know anything about the calendar; it apparently does not enter into the lives of the Indians as a whole. Yet the calendar is important, for the days are either lucky or unlucky for various purposes. The bruje told us what the lucky days were, but he didn't go through the entire 260 days. If I may number the days of the short period from 1-13 and ~~those of the long period from 1-20~~, ^{beginning with} ~~and~~ ^{bats} the following are some of the days (day of short period given first, then that of long period):

1 -- 1	good day			
2 -- 2	"			
3 -- 3	"			
4 -- 4	" (for earth)			
5 -- 5	" (for money)			
6 -- 6	" (for ances- tral spirits)			
7 -- 7	"			
8 -- 8	bad day (family fights)	8 -- 1	9 -- 2	
9 -- 9	"			
10 -- 10	"	9 -- 17	10 -- 18	
11 -- 11	"			
12 -- 12	Good day (idols)	13 -- 17	13 -- 1	
13 -- 13	"			
1 -- 14	bad day (family fights)	11 -- 19	13 -- 12	
2 -- 15	good day (honest people)			
3 -- 16	bad day (death)	13 -- 13	13 -- 14	
4 -- 17	good day (for beasts)			
5 -- 18	good day (for corn)	5 -- 1		
6 -- 19	good and bad (ill, but if cured, O.K.)	Worst days:	9 -- 20	
7 -- 20	bad day (unfaithful philanderers)	8 -- 10	13 -- 16	

The brujes seem to consider the calendar as one of their best stocks in trade; they know it well, or at least this one does, for he was able to repeat the 260 combinations in order -- and I checked him. I also read to him a number of text-passages from Schultze-Jena, and he recognized them for what they are; but it is apparent that they are extreme abbreviations of all that the brujes say on the occasions mentioned. Also, parenthetically, we discovered a number of errors in Schultze's translations of the texts, as well as a lot of statements that do not ring true for Chichicastenango.

Diego
The calendar. Diego not only knows the day-names and how the 488
calendar works (although not a shaman) but he has written the

succession of days for several years, both of the past and into the future. He keeps adding to this list (written in a notebook together with the Gregorian date) and can always tell what day it is in the native calendar. Since he knows something of the good days and the bad days, his calendar sometimes saves his hiring a shaman. His list of days (from memory) with their connotations, follows:

knil good day for milpa, money, etc.

tox bad day; sickness, etc.

tse bad day

bats good day, for learning; start learning this day

eh good day for milpa, money, etc.

ax

i/ good day; the world

tsekin good day, for money, etc.

axmak

nox

dixa/

kuak

axpu

imuc

ik good day; the large idol at Pascualabaj is called ik;
good for camahuiles (seeds used in divination)

okubal

kat

kan

kame

kix good day; the spirits

Feb 22 1935 - wafaxip ax [Diego's child born]

Sept 4 1932 - kixep eh [his daughter Rosa born]

The Calendar. Juan, recited the calendar with fair accuracy;
ventura

but since he told me that today, Feb. 1st, is xun eh, one
doubts his general efficiency. He learned his trade from
Diego Cutillo of Pocohil, no relative of his. His father
was not a shaman. When he was 26 (he says, and now is sup-
posed to be 56) he studied for a year. He does nothing but
practice this art now, and has mozos for his milpa.

He says there are three kinds of shamans: (1) ax its, (brujo)
a black magician; (2) ax santo lunes, white magicians who
do costumbres only Monday and Thursday; and (3) ax t/ulom iz,
white magicians. The majority are the last. The first and
last know the calendar.

The days are: (*According to Juan Ventura*)

ax -- "one's luck" good for prayers with candles, incense, etc.
i/ -- "earth" good.
tsekin -- "money" good.
axmak -- "day of spirits" good.
nox -- "intelligent man does bad things" bad.
dixa/ -- "Women and men" bad
kuak' "slander and gossip" bad.

axpu "bad heart; unhappy because deceived". bad.
imu/ "fighting" bad.
ik' "day of idoles" good.
okubal "enemy will do harm" bad.
kat "angry fighting person" bad.
kan "work well for good or bad" bad.
kame "a noble person" good.
klex "for animals" good.
kanil "for agriculture" good.
tux "sickness" bad
tse "sex mad" bad.
bats "good for costumbres" good.
eh "pray for all that is good" good.

Feb. 9, 1935 -- We were treated well at Pascual Ren's house. One of the first things he brought out was a composition book in which he had the calendar-cycle written out. It appears that he had copied it from a list that another Indian had made (either Diego Ignacio or Tomás Gonzales -- we couldn't get it straight --, the former is another school teacher and the latter the Indian Secretary), and he was learning it. He is not a brujo, and it is remarkable that he should be interested, apparently as a matter of curiosity.

Diego Ignacio This day, May 2, 1935, is kublajuj iq'. It is a good day. There are people here today from Rabinal who have come to Pascualabaj. They came today because today is the special day of Pascualabaj, like the day of its santo. All iq' days are good for Pascualabaj, and this one especially. Iq' himself is here. At Chupolchich iq' also resides, and there they sacrifice animals. i/ and kame are good days for Pocchil. Also kiex, + eh

A white magician is called t/ut/karaw (zajobin); a black magician is called ax its' (brujo).

THE CALENDAR, Continued.

Day List, according to Lucas Mijea

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Xun bats | 1. xun bats |
| 2. kiep eh | 2. kiep eh |
| 3. ucip k'an | 3. ucip ax |
| 4. kixep ax | 4. kixep ic |
| 5. xop ic | 5. xop tsehin |
| 6. wahip nox | 6. wakib waxmuq |
| 7. | 7. wahut nox |
| 8. ucahxp dixac | 8. wacahib texac |
| 9. belixep kuck' | 9. belexep kuak' |
| 10. laxux axpu | 10. laxux axpu |
| 11. xulaxux imuc | 11. xulaxux imic |
| 12. kublixux ix | 12. kublaxux ix |
| 13. oclaxux ukubal | 13. oclaxux ukubal |
| 14. | 14. xun kat |
| | 15. kiep kan |
| | 16. ucip kanil |
| | 17. kixep kicx |
| | 18. xup knil |
| | 19. waxip tux |
| | 20. wahup tse |
| | 21. wucakip bats |

THE CALENDAR, Continued

List of days furnished by Lucas Mijea (from memory) together with
 their connotations:

- xun bats - good day. When brujos receive titles. Day to do costumbres and pray.
- kiep eh - good day. A child born on this day will be intelligent, have a good name, etc.
- ax - bad day. A child born on this day will be trastornado.
- ic - good day. child born will be a good worker and successful in business.
- tsehin - bad day. child born can be only a bad brujo.
- axmak - good day. child born may be a good brujo or other things.
- nox - good day. child born will be an intelligent and competent man
- dixac - bad day. child born will like the other sex, etc.
- kuak' - good day. child born will be a hard worker and know his business.
- axpu - bad day. Sickness; the ancestors want child to die to get spirit with them.
- imuc - bad. No respect for parents, grandparents, brothers and sisters:
- okubal - good. A day for praying for corn, sheep, money, etc.
- kat - bad. A man "insultativo", trastornado
- kan - good. Sometimes things will come out all right, sometimes bad
- kame - good. So good that everybody will come to be taught (because does everything so well.)
- kiex - good. For costumbres, to pray for things.
- knll - good. (For crops). Pray successfully
- tux - bad. Sickness
- tse - bad. Sex-mad.

NOTE: Connotations given by Lucas Mijea do not agree with those given by Juan Ventura

Day List according to Juan Ventura of Quejel -- brujo

Feb. 1. Xun eh
kiep ax
ucip ic
kixep Tsekin
xop axmuk
wakip nox
wakup tixac
wacaxip kuak'
bilixip axpu
laxux imuc
xulaxux ik'
kaplaxux okubal
oclaxux ket
xun ken
kiep kame
ucip kix
kixep kanl
xop tux
wakip tse
wakup bats
wacakib eh

Tomás Gonzales

Chuchcajan - "defensor" - calendar, divination.

axits - "Malos engaños" - Some know calendar; none divine.
No candles, incense, masses. Work at night.

Consult another chuchcajan if the first brings no results in a week or two.

If a man doesn't ever put a candle or make responses in church or elsewhere for his ancestors, his dead parents may not like it; they may have left the man a lot of things, and they may now be suffering in heaven. So they punish the descendants.

The chuchcajan looks for a hill where not many people come.

If ancestors have been bad when on earth, they are punished in heaven; and just as a man in jail notifies his sons to help him, so they want to bring their plight to the attention of descendants.

Sicknesses of god: fever, cough, "palludismo", "virguela", "sarampión", dysentery.

Other things are caused by black magic. Insanity, something happening to part of the body, etc.

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	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160
Laxux	tux 140	ike' 141	staxball 142	axmak 143	tsu 144	tux 145	ike' 146	staxball 147	axmak 148	tsu 149	tux 150	ike' 151	staxball 152	axmak 153	tsu 154	tux 155	ike' 156	staxball 157	axmak 158	tsu 159	tux 160
Xulatur	tse 141	staxball 142	axmak 143	tsu 144	tux 145	ike' 146	staxball 147	axmak 148	tsu 149	tux 150	ike' 151	staxball 152	axmak 153	tsu 154	tux 155	ike' 156	staxball 157	axmak 158	tsu 159	tux 160	
kuplaxux	hats 3 142	nox 143	tsu 144	tux 145	ike' 146	staxball 147	axmak 148	tsu 149	tux 150	ike' 151	staxball 152	axmak 153	tsu 154	tux 155	ike' 156	staxball 157	axmak 158	tsu 159	tux 160		
oelaxux	eh 4 143	kean 17	diviac 18	hats 19	kean 20	diviac 21	hats 22	kean 23	diviac 24	hats 25	kean 26	diviac 27	hats 28	kean 29	diviac 30	hats 31	kean 32	diviac 33	hats 34	kean 35	diviac 36
Xun	ax 5 148	keame 18	kuaki' 19	eh 20	keame 21	kuaki' 22	eh 23	keame 24	kuaki' 25	eh 26	keame 27	kuaki' 28	eh 29	keame 30	kuaki' 31	eh 32	keame 33	kuaki' 34	eh 35	keame 36	kuaki' 37
keixp	re 6 109	keix 19	axpu 19	ax 20	keame 21	kuaki' 22	eh 23	keame 24	kuaki' 25	eh 26	keame 27	kuaki' 28	eh 29	keame 30	kuaki' 31	eh 32	keame 33	kuaki' 34	eh 35	keame 36	kuaki' 37
weip	tsokin 7 110	kenil 20	axpu 20	ax 21	keame 22	kuaki' 23	eh 24	keame 25	kuaki' 26	eh 27	keame 28	kuaki' 29	eh 30	keame 31	kuaki' 32	eh 33	keame 34	kuaki' 35	eh 36	keame 37	kuaki' 38
keixep	axmak 8 111	tux 21	ike' 21	tsokin 22	kenil 23	axpu 24	ax 25	keame 26	kuaki' 27	eh 28	keame 29	kuaki' 30	eh 31	keame 32	kuaki' 33	eh 34	keame 35	kuaki' 36	eh 37	keame 38	kuaki' 39
Xop	nox 9 112	tse 22	staxball 22	axmak 23	tux 24	ike' 25	staxball 26	axmak 27	tsu 28	tux 29	ike' 30	staxball 31	axmak 32	tsu 33	tux 34	ike' 35	staxball 36	axmak 37	tsu 38	tux 39	ike' 40
wayip	diviac 10 113	hats 23	kean 23	nox 24	tsu 25	tux 26	ike' 27	staxball 28	axmak 29	tsu 30	tux 31	ike' 32	staxball 33	axmak 34	tsu 35	tux 36	ike' 37	staxball 38	axmak 39	tsu 40	tux 41
wakup	kuaki' 11 114	eh 24	kean 24	diviac 25	hats 26	kean 27	eh 28	kean 29	diviac 30	hats 31	kean 32	eh 33	kean 34	diviac 35	hats 36	kean 37	eh 38	kean 39	diviac 40	hats 41	kean 42
wacaxip	axpu 12 115	ax 25	keame 25	keude 26	eh 27	kean 28	eh 29	kean 30	diviac 31	hats 32	kean 33	eh 34	kean 35	diviac 36	hats 37	kean 38	eh 39	kean 40	diviac 41	hats 42	kean 43
bilixip	minic 13 116	re 26	keix 26	axpu 27	ax 28	keame 29	ax 30	keame 31	kuaki' 32	eh 33	keame 34	kuaki' 35	eh 36	keame 37	kuaki' 38	eh 39	keame 40	kuaki' 41	eh 42	keame 43	kuaki' 44

3/7 4/26 1/13 6/6 7/11

slawur	kame	kuaki'	eh	kam	divie	tats	kat	not	tse	stuhul	apmak
52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
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kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'	eh	kam	not
736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747
kuak	apmu	ap	kame	kuak'	eh	kam	divie	kuak'</			

Diego Ignacio (Informant)

Shamans. Tomas Sente is the best zajorin for divination, curing, etc. One Tomas Ventura of Quejel and one Nicolas Cumes of Mucubalcip are also very good. These are the three that Diego patronizes.

Once when his wife was sick Diego went to Tomas Ventura, who told him it was because they hadn't done costumbre for the weaving (Diego's wife weaves a lot, for sale). They should have done costumbre for Santa Caterina, the patroness of weaving. The shaman told Diego to buy candles for all the santos (1 apiece, or 10 cents worth in all) and four ounces of copal (incense). The shaman then went to all the Santos, placed candles, and did costumbres. Diego's wife got better.

Diego gave Ventura 25 cents for the job; the fee is entirely voluntary, and one gives as much as he pleases. But if one didn't give the shaman anything, then the next time you asked him to do something, he might agree to do it, but he never would.

Nicolas Cumes did costumbre last year for ~~his~~ Diego's masks and costumes. (Diego makes masks and costumes for the dances, for sale). Cumes did costumbre for Santo Tomas, San Sebastian, San Jose, and also in the monte, at Pocohil.

Lots of people come to Pocohil -- from here and also from Chiche, Lemoa, Tecpan, etc.

informant: Personal Rev

Phonemic transcription

by M. J. Andrade

32	.
7	/
8	/

tʃutʃ ɣaw or ax tʃu'lon ɣix = ^{most important} white magician
 { ax u tsan xjub or ax 'santo luns 'santo xwebs
 or ax u sant kax → (of secondary importance
 white magician)
 ax its = black magician

Juan Ventura

(JUAN)

Since he_A is a shaman, he was asked to find a lost article of laundry. He took out his divining camahuiles and separated a handful in groups of four, first apparently for practice (it came out eight groups of four with two remaining) and then took a finer cloth on which to do the work. He rolled up his sleeves, placed four idoles on the cloth, and then separated another handful into groups of four, having one left over this time. He repeated this four times more, getting 1 over, then 2, then 1, then 2 again. He kept on, and the next time they came out even. He counted the days of the calender on these groups until he came to kixep tsekin. He separated the camahuiles again, acted as if he were going to start counting again (as they came out even) and didn't. He tried again, and again he came out even, and this time, starting with xun 1/, he counted to u/laxux dixad. He through the seeds again and two were left over; the next time he came out even, and counted again, starting with xun tsekin and going to o/laxux kuak'. He tried again, came out even again, and counted from xun axu to o/laxux kan. Again he tried it, and this time, with a remainder of 2 he counted from xun kame to some day I didn't catch.

The next time, 2 were left over again, and he started counting with xun kame to o/laxux bats. The next time he started with xun eh (have 2 seeds over again) and went on and on, completing the 260 day cycle and still going. Finally he skipped from o/laxux bats to o.laxux ax, apparently unwittingly, and in a short time he ended suddenly. He began to separate the camahuiles again, one time after another, getting 3 left over first, then 2, then 3, then ~~was~~ none, then 1,

Juan Ventura divination, cont'd

and again 1, then 2. Now he announced his decision: he is not sure if the piece of laundry is lost or if the laundress has it. If I will have costumbres done, maybe I shall get it back. ^{Upon my} /Asking what costumbres, he turned to his camahuiles instead of answering and divined once more. He came out even this time. The formula, he told me, is this: If 1 is left over, every time he divines, I'll find the article.

if 2 is left over, every time, I'll find it.

if 3 is left over, every time, I'll never find it.

if none are left over, every time, he can't be sure.

But in the light of this, the whole process didn't make sense; and no further questioning helped....

Mar. 18, 1939 -- On the way home stopped at Ignacio's again and gossiped for almost an hour. Found that Gonzales is a graduate zajorin now, that both Pascual Ren and wife do divining, and that Francisco Pixear, another literate, is learning. Only Diego seems not to be interested in learning. He says I could learn for about \$5, that most of it is the calendar. He says the number of shamans is on the increase.

Miguel Ignacio

Monte shrines. The important shrines (besides the numberless smaller altars in the cantones) follow:

1. The cave ohpulgich (canton Chujulimul) is on the border of Tecpan. Iq' (day name) is in the ground there. I/, sh, tsekin, ax, and kame are all mountain beings connected with this and other places. This place good for milpa and animals.

2. Maria Tecum (Semeja) is on the Solola border. There is only a cross here. Equivalent in meaning to (1).

3. Poohil (Poohil); no being "buried" here; there are just crosses where people do costumbres. For merchants especially

Miguel Ignacio Mountain shrines, cont'd

4. Muebalcip (Muebalcip). Like Poohil; for milpa, animals, and merchants.

5. Pamatias (Sanctom, near Chucam). Like above; for milpa and animals.

6. Pascualabaj (Chinima). iq' is in the ground here, as well as others (like (1)).

7. Xepoohol (Xepoool). A cross in a cave, for milpas and animals.

8. Quejel (Quejel). Only crosses; milpa and animals.

9. Calpul (Chulumal). Same

10. Sta, Catarina (Xeabaj). Same.

11. Mactzul (Mactzul). Same.

12. ~~Ruxuk~~ Paxot (Paxot). Same.

BRUJOS

Jan. 26, 1935 -- The calendar-date here has been a bother; originally, when I took the date from the brujo, I had no reason to think either that he was lying or that he didn't know. But later I casually asked him the date one day and what he told me didn't jibe with his own previous correlation -- nor with that of Momostenango. So today I decided to pin down this same brujo; I could have gotten another but I am interested to see what is wrong with this fellow. I pointed out all inconsistencies in what he had told me, and he agreed they were there. It finally became apparent that he simply doesn't know that aspect of the calendar well, and actually doesn't know what day on the calendar (that he otherwise knows well) it is. The point was rather proved when I asked what day tomorrow would be, and he admitted he didn't know. Now the padre had told me that Sunday would be a big day for the Indians -- wacaxip-k'ix -- and since the brujo didn't know even that (which, by the way, jibes with the Momostenango calendar dates) it showed he doesn't know very much. That he wasn't acting dumb, simply, is evidenced by his chagrin -- and his friend Tomás' chagrin, at my discovery of his ignorance. Yet this boy is supposed to be a pretty good brujo, which leads to the question of how well even the brujos know the calendar here -- and to answer that we need more brujos. Whether the Father's statement settles the question of whether the calendar in Chichicastenango coincides with that in Momostenango is a question, once it is remembered that he was a priest in Momostenango for years and may simply be assuming they are the same. The chances are that he is right, however.

Jan. 29, 1935 -- Decided to give my brujo friend a good test and at the same time to get the calendar on record, so had him make a recording of the 260 days in order. Tomás decided to help him by supplying him with twenty stones to be markers. Even so he made several mistakes.

Jan. 31, 1935 -- In the afternoon Tomás brought one Lucas Mijea with his wife. Lucas claimed to be a brujo, and it appears that his wife knows something too. The wife sat on the floor (I have never seen an Indian woman take a proferred chair) and helped Lucas when he was in doubt. Between the two however they knew little enough. It may be that the brujo didn't care to tell me -- or it may be that he really isn't a good brujo -- but I got nothing straight and found a number of outright errors. When he did a divination for us -- he was anxious enough to do one -- it looked as if he were deliberately faking, and I had to let him go, since I could not immediately win his confidence.

Feb. 2, 1935 -- Tomás brought another brujo, this time an old man -- one Juan Ventura, and an uncle of Tomás. Trying to get more and better information on the esoteric side of the culture is not working out very well. I am beginning to suspect that the brujos aren't very clear about anything, and information will have to be collected more indirectly. I shall bide my time and not try to force things. I have never even gotten any agreement on the date, although I have strong suspicions that it is the same as that at Momostenango. In trying to straighten the matter brujos have told me that they would have to ask others, since occasionally they get drunk and forget where they are on the calendar.

Tomasa Dolores

The story of Dolores Nix: She was the cousin of Maria Nix, a pretty girl of 25 or 28, unmarried. She was always very bravo and fought with many people. She sold coffee in the plaza, just as Maria Nix does now, and one day she accused Diego Batz' wife (also known as a great troublemaker in town) of stealing two cups from her coffee stand. When they were called before the alcalde to settle the fight, the alcalde fined the wife of Diego Batz \$10 for her part in the quarrel, but Dolores was let off free, because she ~~is~~ was a querida of the alcalde. Soon after Dolores died of calentura. Diego Batz' wife herself told Tomasa then, "I had to pay \$10 but I am alive; she paid nothing but she is dead. It is because I hired a brujo to ~~make~~ her sick, and that is why she died."

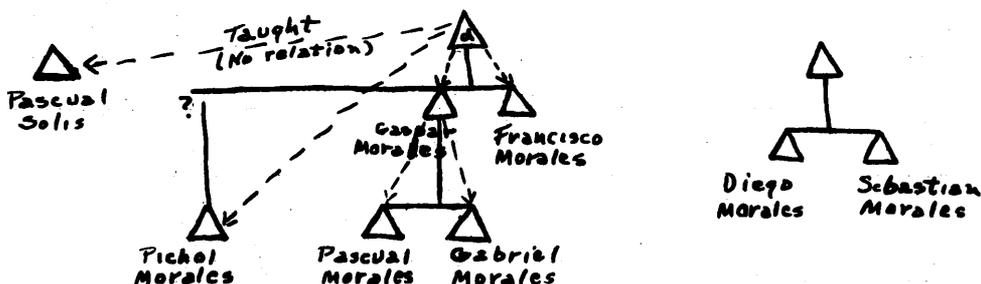
Tomasa asked me if I knew that there are brujos there.

Black Magic

Isabel -- whose parents come from Sta. Cruz, who still wears that costume, and who works in the house of Ladina Mrs. Francke, is a bad girl, playing with love affairs. This afternoon she was being bothered by a boy on the corner in front of the house and picked up a stone to throw at him. Missing him, she hit an Indian passer-by -- known to be a brujo -- on the ankle. He was angry and threatened to go to the juzgado. But instead he put the stone into his bag and threatened to harm the girl. Keeping the stone is apparently the important thing to Juan Cutillo who ~~talks~~ comments on the incident: it is obvious he will use it in some way to work harm on Isabel.

BRUJOS, Continued

Diego Morales, principal of Chuamanzana says there are eight brujos in his canton:



When learning from other than father, pay \$1.00 a day (of 24 hours) to teacher. A few learn in as little as 30 consecutive days (then the charge is less); most brujos study one day a month for a year or two.

Martín Feliz of Chucam. Says there is only one brujo in Chucam; Manuel Ventura. Manuel's father is dead, but was probably a layman, and Manuel probably learned from somebody in another canton.

Tomás Tol, of Semeja 2nd, knows nothing of the calendar nor what day he was born in. Tomás says there are 6 brujos in his canton, 5 men and one woman:

- (1) Pedro Tol;
- (2) Tomás Chom (Doesn't know where he learned; doesn't know if father--now dead--was one);
- (3) Manuel Chom (brother of Tomás Chom) doesn't know where learned;
- (4) Manuel Suey. Learned from a friend, Juan Pakajoj, of the same canton (now dead);
- (5) Tomás Sipriano. Doesn't know where he learned but his father was not a brujo;
- (6) Petronila Ordoñez (on genealogy), who learned from a man friend.

BRUJOS, Continued

Sabastian Canil of Paxot 1st says there are about 30 brujos in Paxot 1st. He knows only 10:

- Brothers (
1. Sabastian Canil, learned from a friend, Sabastian Cutio, of another canton.
 2. José Canil, learned from a friend of another canton.
 3. Jeronimo Aj, from Sabastian Canil, a friend.
- Brothers (
4. Tomás Cac, learned from Tomás Nix, a friend from another canton.
 5. Tomás Cac, learned from his brother.
 6. José Tumax, learned from No. 3.
 7. Diego _____ ? Learned from Jeronimo Catia, of the same canton, a friend.
 8. Martin Xiciac, who learned from a friend. Has grown up sons, none of whom are brujos. Martin learned from Sabastian Tun of another canton.
 9. Jeronimo _____ ? Learned from José _____ ? of the same canton, a friend. He has a son who is now learning from him.
 10. _____ Kos, who learned from José _____ ? of same canton, a cousin. He has four grown sons, none of whom are brujos.

There are 5 women brujas:

1. Ana _____ ?, who learned from an old Juana _____ ? of the same canton. Has 3 daughters, none of whom are brujas.
2. María Suiy, learned from the same Juana _____ ? Has 2 sons, neither of which is a brujo.
3. Anastasia _____ ? from Petronilla _____ ? of the same canton. Has 3 young sons.
4. Ana Talea learned from the same Petronilla. Has 5 children, none of which are brujos.
5. Ana _____ ? learned from _____ ? Terrekis of the same canton.

Sabastian doesn't think female brujos are so good. Midwives are used, and some are brujos, but not all.

BRUJOS, ContinuedFrancisco Bosel of Chucalibal:

His father's brother, Salvador, is shaman, who also taught his son, Manuel, who has thus far not taught his sons.

Besides Manuel, in genealogy, Juan (Principale) and Francisco Yetás are brujos who learned from a man in Sololá, in a neighboring canton.

Sabastian Set, learned from Juan Yetás, a friend.

Josepha Morales (), who learned from the Sololá man above.

These are all the brujos in town.

Diego Mejía of Xeabaj:

No shamans in Xeabaj, he says ; Tomás Ventura says Gaspar Calva is one, but doesn't know where he learned--probably on a finca.

# 27 1/2	<p>Juan Tzun maybe learned from his father. ..</p>	<p>tad [very] ax it's</p>
# 14	<p>Pedro Ramos learned from a man in Poohits, Jose Mercaris.</p>	<p>chuchuk (Huttsakaw) zojorin (medium good)</p>
# 29	<p>Mmanuel Ventura learned from man in Patzibal.</p>	<p>zojorin (good)</p>
# 17	<p>Pedro Pagnajoj From Juan Ramos de Chulumal 15</p>	<p>zojorin (good)</p>
# 23	<p>Juan Loris from father of Tomas (Luis) Gonzales of Chucam.</p>	<p>zojorin (good)</p>
# 15	<p>Tomas Pagnajoj. learned from Sebastian Loris de Sijala.</p>	<p>zojorin (good)</p>

ax k'ix
 very good

Quejel Brujos. (wife always accompanies husband. -- if woman is bruj, husband accompanies her)

Tomas Ventura

5 PD

Home	Name	learned from	
Quejel #1	Sebastian Pixcar		black
#1	Jose Pixcar	Sebastian Lator #71	white
#2	Miguel Tol		black
#4	Tomasa Tol		white
#5	Jacinto Tol		white
#6	Mamuel Mijia (very white so)	Probably on finca	black
#11	Sabastiana Ventura		white
#12	Sebastian Mijia	Mamuel Mijia (#6) his brother	black
#14	Gaspar Ventura	Sebastian Lator #71	white
(Chico) #18	Sebastian Morales		white
#22	Maria Xiloj		white
#30	Sebastian Cuteres		white
#30	Francisco Cuteres	Father (#30)	"
#30	Mamuel Cuteres	" "	"
#30	Sabastiana Cuteres	" "	"
#32	Tomas Ventura R		negro
#32	Anastasia Tol	on Chiche	negro
#34	Tomas Tol Tuen		blanca
dead #36	Gaspar Mercario	man from Sta. Maria Chiquimula	negro
#39	Juan Ventura	Diego Cutillo (Pochil)	blanca
#41	Tomas Xirun		negro

Inquil #	Name	Parent #	Race
#49	Tomas Ventura the older.	Tomas Ventura R. (Inquil #32)	negro
#58	Mamel Tol		blanco
#71	Sebastian Luster		blanco
#84	Jose Cumies		blanco
#89	Tomas Set	his mother	blanco

510/2

6

1. Conception

Conception can occur with one act of sexual intercourse if it happens to be the right time in the month. Since nobody knows at what time that is, conception requires that regular intercourse should go on -- to hit the right day.

In the case of an unmarried woman, engaging in irregular sexual intercourse, there will be, after conception, menstrual periods for three months, followed by nine months, usually, of pregnancy. Cases of married women are more complex: there are some women who have children at intervals of a year, others at intervals of two or of three years. Sexual intercourse occurs regularly except during menstrual periods and the ten days or so after the birth of a child. After conception

occurs for the first time, there are three ensuing months in which menstruation occurs. Then there are nine or ten months of pregnancy followed by childbirth. Thereafter, if it is a child-a-year woman, conception occurs again immediately, followed by one or two menstrual periods and further pregnancy. But if a baby-every-two-years woman is involved, there is a period of twelve months when the woman has no monthly periods and yet has not conceived. Then follows a menstrual period or two (indicating that conception has again occurred) followed by another period of pregnancy. (SEE CHART, ^{P. 512} A)

With a three-year woman, there is a period of two full years when the woman is neither pregnant nor does she menstruate. But after conception, and before pregnancy, in every case there must be at least one menstrual period to clean the body out for the baby.

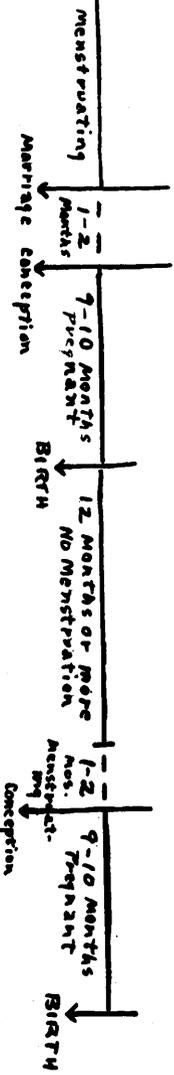
CONCEPTION &

CHILD BIRTH

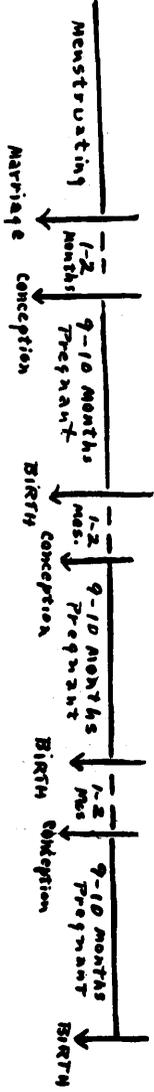
Concept of 2-year woman & 1-year woman

Inferward (probably)
Tomas Ventura

2-Year woman:



1-Year woman:



Paragraph

Conception - There must be intercourse five or six times before there will be conception. The "alimento" won't "se reunu" in one time. There is such a small amount of semen that it won't join the "aboloita". There is nothing particular in the woman, but it takes a lot for the man's semen to take effect. Never have intercourse in the daytime, only morning or night. After a woman has conceived (she knows because the blood has stopped), she no longer wants intercourse. It is really only in the last three or four months of pregnancy that there is no intercourse.

If a woman has a different man every night, there will be no conception because the semen gets all mixed up inside and it is difficult. A woman needs one steady husband to get children.

There are no calendrical good or bad days for conception as there are for births.

Conception of a Boy or a Girl

It is said that in old times a man would always sleep on the right side of his wife. Tomas does not, as it happens, but perhaps most people still do. It is said that to mount a woman from the right side will beget one a boy, and to mount from the left side, a girl. Tomas, having three girls

and no sons, wants a boy badly. Unfortunately, he doesn't know what it means to mount from the right side: his or the woman's right.

2. Pregnancy

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young inexperienced woman will be mystified by her symptoms until she is told what they mean. When the woman knows that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. Thereafter she goes easier on her work, so that, for example, she will grind her corn very slowly, and weave more leisurely. The pregnant woman is treated with great consideration by her husband and the rest of the household. Any of her food whims should be satisfied; she tells her husband what she wants, and if he is not the head of the house he transmits the desire to him who is, and it is satisfied. Tomas' wife, Juana, likes pork and chicken, platanos, aguacates, and every few weeks a small glass of liquor (too much would cause an abortion) besides tortillas, tamales, atole, etc. She eats everything in small quantities, and if one of her whims is unsatisfied there is apt to be an abortion. If the baby is aborted at about six months, it dies; at seven or eight months, it lives but will be abnormal mentally and/or physically; at nine months, it will be all right. Tomas' wife has given birth at 10 and 11 months and the children have been all right.

During the first month, the husband arranges with a shaman, male or female, to have the customary rites taken care of. Unlit candles and incense are placed near the woman's bed, and after a month the shaman takes these very candles and this incense with which to do his praying. He usually chooses a day at the full moon, or the new moon, but manages to pick one that is lucky in the native calendar. Santa Ana is the patroness of pregnant women, and she is in the church in the pueblo, so the shaman is apt to go there to pray. But he may also do the costumbre in one of the cofradías or at an altar in the monte. His prayers are for both the mother and the child.

Tomás Ventura G. Pregnancy, cont'd.

In about the sixth month the husband arranges for the services of a midwife. He may approach her in her canton home, her pueblo home, or in a cantina in the pueblo. Coming in, he takes ten cents from his pocket and greets her with the time of day and says "I wish to talk with you". Presenting her with the money, he gets on his knees and informs her that his wife is "body-sick" and that he would like her, the midwife, to visit her. He asks, perhaps, "Will you have time to come in four days?" and she, replying in the affirmative, will thus end the interview and come to the pregnant woman at the appointed time.

When the midwife comes, she treats her patient in private, massaging the outside of her abdomen and seeing that everything is all right. Every two weeks or a month she returns to give necessary treatments, staying the day each time.

Feb. 13, 1935 -- Tomás' wife is better; in the middle of last night she aborted, having taken some herb. A midwife is in attendance now just as for a childbirth.

Personal
 Lea

~~Incident~~ . In four or five months the husband is told by his wife that she is "mala", and she asks him to talk to a partera. He goes to Maria Perez in the pueblo; he takes ten cents and goes to her house; he asks "please excuse my coming here; I come to ask you to see about my wife who is sick; here is ten cents for your needs. Will you come to my house today or tomorrow?" While he is talking to the partera, if she says she has time for this matter, the man gets on his knees, pours her a glass of liquor, and puts the money on the table before her.

The partera comes and fixes the sweat-bath. Nude, the partera and pregnant woman enter the sweat-bath. They have a big pottery

kettle of warm water, and they throw handfuls of hot coals. The steam comes up, and the partera sort of fans the woman with leaves. Then, in the bath, the partera rubs the woman with oil. This is done several times; then the partera sees how it effects the woman. If she becomes sick in the bath, the partera calls the husband and tells him so that he will see to it that her work is lightened. The husband will then probably ask a brujo to do the favor of doing costumbre because his wife is sick (according to the partera). On bended knee he gives the brujo liquor and five cents. The brujo does the divination. If it comes out all 4's it means the sickness is dangerous; if it comes out one of two, one of three, etc., it shows nothing is serious. He also uses the calendar, and if he comes out on a good day, it is good, if not, bad. If everything is all right, he goes with the husband to the monte to do costumbre, taking incense, candles, flowers; the brujo asks that everything be well.

Pascual Ren. Pregnancy, cont'd.

Also the brujos look over the husband's body, rubbing the arms, legs, etc. If a muscle jerks on the left side, it is a bad sign, if on the right side also, it is neutral, and if only on the right side, or not at all, it is a good sign.

Pascual happens to have this potentiality on his body; and when anybody is sick, he watches his body to see if the person will live or die. kuxpa means a sign; kigoi katik is this muscle-jerking, one of the kuxpa. All sajorins have this phenomenon on their bodies; Pascual also happens to have it, but other laymen don't.

If the divination is good, the brujo tells the husband not to worry. He warns him, however, that if the woman should get sick again, he should come back and he (brujo) will find a good day for more costumbres to help her.

After administering the bath, which takes a couple of hours, the partera goes home. She has advised the woman not to grind corn or weave at all, that she shouldn't carry water and that she shouldn't walk far and hard. She should eat early so that her stomach will not be troubled, but not eat too much, especially avoid red-colored fruits, because red food has spines that will hurt the child. This refers to a particular fruit, kiag'in kneg. Also potatoes from here are no good; certain red ones grow here; other potatoes, as from Chiantla, are good. Some women like to eat very much cheese when they are pregnant, others like meat in large quantities, or much bread. *(Pascual's wife likes cheese & bread & beef, pork, & chicken -- not turkey).*

Toman's edition C

Childbirth. When the time approaches the husband or somebody else goes to call the midwife and she hurries over ("for the blood is coming"). When the child is born, the husband is around the house to be on hand to run errands or for emergencies; but he does not see what is going on. The woman in childbirth lies flat on her back on a mat on the floor, with her legs spread. The midwife immediately washes the woman, and the child in a bowl of warm water. The umbilical cord, which she has cut with a pair of scissors, the midwife later buries in the cemetery in the canton.

The midwife remains in attendance for ten days, bathing the woman morning and night. The mother drinks quantities of chicken broth to strengthen her. Even after the blood has ceased to flow, and the ten days are up (and the midwife has gone) the woman continues to bathe daily. Meanwhile, the woman sleeps alone, and the other children sleep with their father. Fifteen days (really two weeks) after the birth, husband and wife, with the new baby and other small ones, again sleep together.

The baby is nursed for several years, and if another comes in the interim, each is nursed at one breast.

Diego Morales of Chuamanzana says that at the birth of a child, there is one brujo for child, another for the mother. They burn incense, always with idoles.

Childbirth. At two months the wife tells her husband; and at five months the husband's father (if he lives) or older brother, if there is one, or if not, the husband himself goes to the midwife. There is a midwife in Chinima, Tomasa Sut; but Diego's father always goes to see Maria Perez, who lives in the pueblo. He takes eight cents with him and says, "Good day (or Good afternoon), my daughter-in-law is five month's sick; can you come to see her?" She replies, "All right; I shall come in the morning (or this afternoon) to see her." He then gives her the money to pay for the costumbre that she has to do (she has to buy candles for a penny or two and place them before a santo and pray for the mother and child) and for food for herself.

The first thing done is to give the woman a sweatbath. Every month or two thereafter the midwife comes. She gets her food when she comes. At the 9th or 10th month the woman's time comes, and she tells her husband (perhaps even in the middle of the night). The husband himself goes for the partera. She may be asleep. He awakens her and tells her that his wife is "bad". The midwife gets up quickly and they go together.

Naming

The midwife and the woman stay alone together in one room, while the husband and the children stay in another room. Perhaps at six A.M. the child is born, and they call the husband in. [Diego then runs to his father to bring him, and they immediately give the child a name. The first son is named for its father's father; the first daughter for her father's mother; the second son for ^{his} ~~his~~ mother's father, the third for his FFF, the fourth for his MFF, the fifth for his FFFF, the sixth for his FFF, and so on. The subsequent girls are named in parallel

manner. The term for "named after" is ka/el. Women can have up to twenty children. Diego has no notion of a limit of twelved being desirable, and no idea that six sons and six daughters are ideal. He prefers equal numbers of boys and girls, however, whatever the number. ~~Manakakana~~ He considers sons preferable to daughters in that they help their father when they grow up; the son-in-law doesn't help his father-in-law once he has the woman. Sons are a disadvantage, however, because land and houses are needed for them, whereas women get married and go away and require nothing more.

After-the-birth, when the name is given, the midwife says something and then bathes the child in luke-warm water. The mother (who gave birth while lying on a mat) now goes to bed and stays there for ten days. The midwife comes every afternoon and massages the mother's belly from both sides forward and then binds it tightly with a man's-type sash.

The midwife also gives the woman sweatbaths (temascal, tux) and she beats her with leaves to make her even hotter. The umbilical cord has been cut with a scissors, and when, in four or five days, it falls off, the baby is also given a sweat bath. If it is a boy, he is seated on a bench in the sweat-house, and if a girl, she is lain on a mat. But the baby isn't actually given a sweatbath, for they do not put water on the hot stones; rather the child is bathed with warm water.

After ten days the woman gets up. She has been sleeping apart from her husband and children, but now they sleep together again; if there are two young children, one sleeps between the parents, the other on the other side of its mother (apparently because each wants to be near its mother). For three or four months husband and wife have no sexual intercourse.

Naming is done at the time of birth, without ceremony. The first child, if a boy, is named for the father's father, and if a girl for the father's mother. The second boy is named for the mother's father, and the second girl for the mother's mother. If a child dies, the first subsequent child gets its name. Later children get any saints' names, the father deciding which, and the mother agreeing. Often several children of the same parents have identical names, when -- if it is deemed necessary -- they are distinguished by nicknames, which are usually only the Indian equivalents of Spanish names. When a child is named after an ancestor, he may also be generally known by the surname of that ancestor.

Most of the Indians register the birth the Saturday afternoon before the baptism; Tomas, however, always does so immediately after the birth.

Tomas Ventura

Parteras (midwife) -- occasionally accompanied by husband, when in middle of night

- 2^{uzijl} #3 Anastasia Tol
- 2^{uzijl} #7 Anastasia Ventura The Best one
- 2^{uzijl} #22 Maria Xiloj
- 2^{uzijl} #11 Sebastiana Ventura
- 2^{uzijl} #4 Tomasa Tol
- 2^{uzijl} #29 Tomasa Pixcar
- 2^{uzijl} #61 Sebastiana Tixta
- 2^{uzijl} #56 Margarita Dix
- 2^{uzijl} #73 (nun) Sebastian Sucunur

birth. Usually a few days after the birth, the father or the head of the house goes to get a padrino (god-father) for the child. If it is a first child, a friend or acquaintance who is capable of being a padrino is chosen. Otherwise, if he is still alive, the padrino of the first child is chosen again for subsequent children.

The father goes to the canton house of the padrino with some cacao beans and 25 cents; presenting the gift, and kneeling, the father asks the padrino if he will baptize his child. The padrino, agreeing, asks when he should come, and some near Saturday is then decided upon.

That Saturday morning the padrino comes to the canton house of his prospective god-child. He takes the child in his left arm, makes the sign of the cross over him (with his right hand, the thumb being crossed over the index finger and the other three fingers extended) and says prayers over the child for an hour or two. The child is then taken back to its mother, and water is brought for the padrino to wash his hands. The table is set for the padrino, and he eats alone. Before he leaves, he talks (in religious vein, or giving advice) to the head of the house. He never speaks thus to the father. He prefers to speak to the parents of the parents, or with an uncle; if these are all dead or absent, he may even speak to a younger brother. When he leaves, he is given a large quantity of food as a present to him and his family; and it is proper to send a mose home with him to carry this load.

The next day, Sunday, the padrino leaves his canton home and goes to his pueblo house; the child's family take it, too, to their pueblo house. At noon the padrino comes to get the child. The father gives the padrino money (about 75 cents) to cover the cost of baptism, and the padrino takes

Baptism. At 9 A.M. of the morning in which his last child was born, Diego went to the juzgado for a certificate. This was some three weeks ago, and the baptism has not yet occurred. A year ago the padrino that Diego had for his previous children died, so they have to get another one. They will get Francisco Buchon of Chitimit. Diego's father, in about two weeks, will ask Francisco when they meet in the Plaza in the pueblo (and bring him 10 cents). The Saturday following, the god-father will come here to Chinima in the morning to do costumbres, will get some lunch to take home with him, and the next day (Sunday) at 11:30 A.M. he will come for the child and take it to Church to be baptized. Before and after this trip to the Church, the padrino is given a gourd-ful of atol, but no liquor and no money (except for the expense of the baptism).

Miguel Ignacio

Baptism. Miguel is a padrino of baptism (god-father), and gives this description from the padrino's point of view.

The father comes into the house and says "Good Day" and asks him how his family is. Miguel replies, "Well, thank God, there's no sickness here." The father says, "Now I have come to you to ask a favor. In my house we have a baby. I want you to be padrino for the child. A week from Saturday I wish you'd come to my house and wait there."

Miguel replies, "With much pleasure; I shall go there if all is well and if I am not sick, pray God." The father takes out ten cents and gives it to Miguel. "We are poor", he says, "Here is only ten cents." Miguel takes the money with thanks.

The day before the Saturday appointed, the father comes to Miguel's house to see that all is well. If he is sick, Miguel says, "I am not well; perhaps we had better wait until next week". If he is well, however, he promises to fulfill the engagement on the morrow.

He may go to the father's house either in the morning or the afternoon. If in the morning, he arrives at 8 or 9 A.M. and says, "Good day, compadre; good day, comadre; excuse me, I have come to do what I was asked to do; may I enter?"

"Good, enter with much pleasure, compadre," they reply, and Miguel asks the father, "Have you told my comadre that I shall carry the child?" The mother then brings the child to Miguel, who takes it in his arms. Miguel says, "Excuse me, I want to pray now to God for my son (or daughter)" and he commences to pray aloud for four or five minutes; he asks the cofradias that the child should become a great cofrade, that he should become a good worker, a good merchant, etc. He prays to all fourteen cofradias -- asking that perhaps the boy will be Alcalde some day, or Alcalde of a cofradia, or Secretary, or a shaman, or a padrino, etc.

If the child is a girl, he prays instead that she be the wife of the alcalde, or Secretary, etc, and that she be a good weaver, shaman, madrina, "If God will give life".

"Now I am finished," he tells the father; "Ask my comadre to come to take the child away". She comes and takes the child, saying, "Very well, compadre." The father says to Miguel, "Sit and wait a minute", and brings him a gourd-ful of atol, some lunch, and a large dish of bread. Miguel drinks the atol and eats some of the food; the rest he later takes home with him.

He stays an hour or two at the house, and then thanks his host and says, "Now it is over, but maybe tomorrow I shall return to this house if I am well and you are well; tomorrow at about noon I'll come to take the child to the church, where it will get the holy oil and holy salt." Good, is the reply, "We shall await you -- I and your comadre."

Sunday, at noon, Miguel comes to their house in the pueblo. He salutes them and asks if all is well and says, "Now I have come as I told you to take the child to the church; tell my comadre that I want to take the child." The comadre brings the child to Miguel, and he takes it to the church. After the baptism he takes the child home; the father is waiting, and Miguel says, "Compadre, here I am with the child; he has received the holy oil, holy salt, and the water of benediction. Maybe if God gives life to the child, ~~and~~ you should teach him the doctrine so he will not say any bad things." "Well", replies the father, "I shall be careful." The father then gives Miguel a gourd-ful of atol and he goes.

Miguel is padrino to so many people that he doesn't remember them. However, in the last 5 years he hasn't had a case. He has no very good reason for this; first he said it is because his first wife died; then that he doesn't care for all the work, going to the monte, etc. He says people don't come to ask him because they know he will not accept. (It is possible that nobody asks him because of his relationship to tourists, and the general enmity towards him and his circle).

Compadres de Baptism -- Tomás Ventura C.
(Wives are comadres)

- Quejel No. 26. Tomás Xon (and wife comadre)
For very many people because he is Principal
and respected.
- Quejel No. 39. Juan Ventura . Learned from Tomás Ventura (No.53)
- Quejel No. 53. Tomás Ventura. Tomas Xapex (Chucam -- 1st Secretary
Indigine ., who founded the office) now dead, taught
him.
- Quejel No. 32. Tomás Ventura R. (Both wives comadres)
- Quejel No. 9. Sabastian Ventura
- Quejel No. 71. Sabastian Lastor
- Quejel No. 49. Miguel Ventura
- Quejel No. 84. José Gumes

5. Children's Sleeping Habits

Tomas
Vandura

~~Up to the age of eight years, children of both sexes~~ sleep in the bed of their parents. ~~After~~ After that, the boys find a sleeping place in other rooms or in another house of the establishment. The girls must always sleep in the same room as the parents, usually in another corner. If the parents are vigilant, as they should be, the girl will remain virgin until her marriage. Girls may be married at any age over eight or nine, but their sex life may not begin at that age.

6. Menstruation

A girl the first time may or may not tell her mother; if not, she asks her girl friends, who tell her what to do. The first menstruation occurs at 15 years. Diego has a daughter 14 years old, and "of course she hasn't menstruated yet".

There are no customs for menstruation or puberty, but a woman takes sweat-baths each of the three days of her period, and she takes her clothes to the river (never a well or pila) to wash them.

Menstruation is called "en su luna", ret/ik'. There are different classes of women: those who get ^{children} ~~women~~ every year, those who get them every two years, three years, etc. Diego's wife has a child every 2-2½ years. A one-year woman menstruates for two months after her marriage, then has nine or ten months of pregnancy; then after the birth, ^{two} ~~nine or ten~~ months more of menstruations, etc. A two year woman will menstruate regularly before marriage, and two months more after marriage. Then there will be nine or ten months of pregnancy without menstruation, then the birth of the child, then twelve months without menstruation; then two months of menstruation and a period of pregnancy again.

Tomás Ventura C.

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Menstruation occurs always with the new moon, never with the full moon. After some discussion, Tomás admits that since some women do not menstruate regularly, they may not always do so with the new moon. However, his first contention holds for his wife.

During this period the husband sleeps apart from his wife, in another bed. The woman takes sweat-baths every day. Tomás' family owns a water-bath in addition to the sweat-house, the water-bath consisting of a gasoline barrel set into the ground, and his wife takes a hot-water bath each day during her periods as well as the sweat-baths. Only a few families have apparatus for water-baths.

Some women never menstruate: Tomás' sister, Juana, for example, has never menstruated -- and Tomás knows this because she told his wife, who told him. Juana was married at the age of twelve or so, had her first child two years later, and now, at 34, has seven children.

Tomasa Feliza, Informant

Menstruation. Mother tells child about it. No costumbres. Wear nothing. (Special

Pascual Ren, Informant

Menstruation. There is no menstruation (of a married woman) except before pregnancy. The blood is there to wash the body out for the baby. Menstruation is dangerous to the health. This is one reason women should marry.

MARRIAGE

The Notes immediately following were written after a month in Chichicastenango.

Sol Tax 527

Notes (1) -21-

I shall discuss brujes -- what little I know about them -- later; but since they enter into marriage-ceremonies, I must explain that a brujo is a shaman (what Schultze-Jena calls a wahrsager). The process of getting married consists of two parts; getting the brujos to pray, and doing the "costumbre". I have no evidence that brujos act as match-makers in Chichicastenango, but they may in some cases. In cases that I have, it appears that the boy and girl become acquainted one way or another, and if the parents approve they get together. The costumbre, in this case, consists of periodical visits of the boy to his fiance's home, where he works perhaps a week every month for two years; also, brujos come periodically to the girl's home (paid for by the boy's family). My information about marriage is extremely unsatisfactory, and I can only relate a few accounts given me.

The last marriage that occurred in Chumanzana, according to its Principals, was between Jacinto Marcoario of there and Maria Tevelan of Camanibal. They had known each other for two years and their parents had approved of the match. For two years Jacinto worked and lived in Maria's home for a week each month. Gaspar Morales of Chumanzana was the brujo for the boy and Francisco Morales (his brother, and of the same canton) for the girl; Jacinto's parents hired both brujos for the two years for \$12.00; each month the brujos prayed at shrines or at the girl's house -- for the whole two years.

Martin Pelis of Chucam was married when he was fifteen and his wife ten. Her father was not living then; he worked for the girl's mother one day a month for a year, gave her meat, bread, tomas, and chocolate, but employed no brujos. Now he doesn't give her anything (marriage fifteen years ago). *Of girl's father had been living he would have had to go through whole costumbre. Had no brujos because girl's mother was poor.*

Tomas Tol of Semeja was fifteen when he married, and his wife ten. (one cannot believe these age-figures, however). He did the "costumbre" for only one year because his parents arranged it so. During the year, he and his fiancee didn't live together as man and wife.

Miguel Marrogin was 10 and his wife eight when they were married; he doesn't remember whether he did the costumbre or not because he was so young....

Diego Mijea of Xebaj didn't do the costumbre at marriage, has nothing to do with brujos, claims he knows none -- didn't have one at the birth of his child. Just doesn't like all that....

Sabastian Canal (a young man of 22) says that three and a half years ago, when he was herding sheep for his father in the neighborhood where his present wife was herding sheep for hers, he had an affair with the girl. His father found them together after six months and told him that he'd better marry the girl, so he (the father) spoke to the girl's father about it. The latter, who hadn't known of his daughter's conduct, whipped his daughter six times; so Sabastian went to see a brujo to have him do something so that the girl wouldn't be whipped again; the brujo did his costumbres for fifteen days. Then Sabastian's father and the brujo went to the girl's father and fixed everything up all right. Everybody was agreed to the marriage, so the same day Sabastian moved to the girl's house, bringing food and drink to her parents. He stayed...

Notes (1) -22-

fifteen days, for the harvest it happened. Then after that he came each month for one day with presents, and when he came he and the girl lived together. After six months he took the girl to his house and the marriage was completed. He had hired a brujo, and he officiated -- or rather said prayers -- at both the girl's house and his. The same brujo attended at the birth of their child....

It appears that in marriage the payments, apparently in services and in paying for the brujos, goes from the side of the boy to the side of the girl. This bears out the general patriarchal tendency of the society. It is of course by no means comparable in extent to the Islamic pattern, but in many respects Chichiatenango society -- its economics, material culture, and family life -- is reminiscent of Arabia and North Africa. In one other respect there is a resemblance -- for the kinship terminology is generally of the descriptive variety.

Tomas V. ...
C

Courtship and other customary procedures relating to marriage

occurs only with a girl's first marriage, no matter whether or not that man has been married previously.

The first necessity is for the young man, or his father or older brother, to gain the initial consent of the girl's father. The following description assumes that the young man himself is bold enough to get the interview.

On Thursday or Sunday, when everybody involved is in the pueblo, the young man will accost the girl's father, perhaps in the market-place, and say "I wish to talk to you". The father may turn away (knowing what to expect) saying, "No, no, I am busy now". The young man will follow him, and, catching up with him again at some convenient place, induce him to come with him to a cantina to talk. In the cantina, the father sits on a bench and the young man orders a bottle of liquor and a glass; he then kneels before the old man and, offering him a glass of liquor, asks him to drink. Should the man accept, it means that the suit is accepted. But, instead, the girl's father may simply rise and leave the cantina, and the young man, and the suit is refused at this point. Of course, the father may refuse to enter the cantina in the first place, and then nothing more can be done.

But the man, in the cantina (in a back room which insures some privacy) may not leave his daughter's suitor precipitously, and at the same time he may refuse to drink. Then the young man, kneeling with the glass of whiskey in his hand, must press his suit with argument. He tells the man of his virtues

and his prosperity. The old man can refuse to drink indefinitely, but if things have gone this far he usually puts a number of questions to the youth, lets him suffer awhile, and then drinks, giving the boy his provisional approval. But he tells him that he will want to talk it over with his family, consult a shaman, and also talk it over with the boy's father and mother and older brothers and their wives (with whom his daughter would have to live and who could do her good or harm) (the girl doesn't know how to cook or to weave, and the boy's mother and his older brothers' wives have to teach her) and that he will think the matter over. The old man sets a date for his answer, and matters are so far arranged.

Then the suitor, having won his point, treats the girl's father to glass after glass, and even bottle after bottle of liquor (meanwhile not drinking a drop himself) until intoxication ensues. The young man then takes him to the pueblo house of the old man, if he has one, or his own if there is none, to spend the night. If he shouldn't take care of him in this way, and the girl's father should be arrested (which would undoubtedly happen) the young man would have to pay his fine (about \$1.25). If neither the suitor nor his prospective father-in-law has a house in the pueblo, they go to the house of a friend, or remain overnight in the cantina.

Thus the young man doesn't usually return home (in the canton) until Monday morning. His father is naturally angry with him. The young man has brought a bottle of liquor home, and now, after greeting his father and receiving a calling

down, he begs his pardon and leads his father and mother into the bedroom, where the parents sit on the bed and the boy kneels before them. He pours a glass of liquor for his father and says, "I failed to come home for a very good reason; I talked to a man about marrying his daughter".

"Who is the girl?" asks the father. The boy tells him (such and such from such and such a canton) and then offers the glass of liquor first to his father, then his mother, both of whom drink. The parents do not try to turn the boy from his purpose; he has the say-so as far as this part is concerned. Since the father is the head of the house and (while all contribute to his purse) doles out money for food and clothing, he then asks the boy how much he has spent on liquor for his suit. The boy may reply that the cost was \$1.00, or \$3.00, and his father will then reimburse him. The father then asks "What answer did you get?" and the boy replies that the girl's father wishes to speak to them, his parents. "And when will this be?" is the next question, and the reply is usually "Sunday".

The boy's father first gets a shaman to work for the family to prevent the ^{girl's} boy's father from backing out. Then, the next Sunday, in town, he and his wife call at the house of the girl's parents, bringing liquor with them. If the the girl's parents are now not agreeable to the match, they do not permit the boy's parents into the house. Rather, when the door is opened to the visitors, they crawl to them on their knees and kiss their hands, following which the boy's people leave. If they are allowed into the house, the boy's parents drop to their knees and each kisses the hand of each of their hosts and the

Tomas Ventura C. Courtship, cont'd

visiting father pours a drink and offers the cup to the girl's father, saying "My son talked to you last week about marrying your daughter". The parents of the girl drink the liquor immediately, raise their visitors from the floor, and ask them to sit down. When the bottle of liquor is finished, the girl's father gives money to a boy ^{of the house} and send him out for another bottle. They all dring together, alternating in "treats" for some time.

Finally the girl's father says to the boy's father, "When will you and your son and intermediary come to my house in the monte?" The other may answer, "This Thursday", but the girl's father may be busy then and he will say so, and suggest "Make it Monday -- a week from tomorrow". If this is agreeable, the boy's parents then leave. (The "date" is always for Monday or Thursday; the rest of this narrative will assume it is Monday).

Retracted
Marriage arrangements are always concluded at the canton home of the girl's family. Both parties choose marriage intermediaries, who come to their respective homes in the canton on Sunday evening before the Monday decided upon. The boy's party, consisting of himself, his father and mother, the intermediary, and a man who, since he carries supplies and also the scote torch to light the way, we shall call the torch-bearer, leave the house at about 3 A. M. (depending on how far they must go) and arrive at the girl's house at about 4:30 A. M. First the kneel in the patio and pray (kneeling in a line, with the torch bearer at one end and the mother at the other, and the boy, intermediary, and father in this order between them) -- first to the East, then the West, then the North, and lastly the South. Then the man

remove their hats (which they wore in travelling) and don their ^{coats} head-pieces, while the intermediary puts on in addition a special cloak which he has for the occasion. They then rap on the door, and the girl's father, awakened, bids them wait a minute, ^{and} in the girl's family dresses in the same manner as the boy's.

The boy's party enters and finds the following set-up: there is a little table on which are candles, incense, and "idoles" (archeological remains now used in worship) forming the kind of shrine. Off ~~the~~ sides of the table ~~xxxxxxx~~ are two parallel rows of chairs. In the left row are sitting (reading from the table out) the girl's intermediary, her father, and her mother. The boy's party enters, prays a moment at the shrine, and then all sit down, the intermediary in the first chair, the father in the second, followed by the mother, the boy himself, and the torch-bearer [*tagon*]

There is also a stool between the rows of chairs, and the visitors place upon it a dish of cacao beans with some money. The two intermediaries begin to recite the story of Adam, alternating passages, and they go on in this way for a long time. When this is finished, the boy's intermediary tells the torch-bearer to pour out the liquor. He then sprinkles some over the idoles, then gives a glassful to the other intermediary; when the latter has finished drinking, the boy's intermediary gives a glassful to the girl's father, then one to the girl's mother. The torch-bearer then pours a glass ~~for~~ and gives it to the intermediary of his party who passes it to the boy's father; the next glass goes by the same route to the boy's mother; and the next (skipping the boy himself) to the torch-bearer.

The intermediaries do a lot of praying, and this lasts until about 6 A.M. Finally the girl's intermediary takes up the dish of cacao which has been given to their side and hands it to the girl's father who places it on the table with the idoles.

The girl's party then kneels before the boy's party and the father says, "We will give our daughter to your son, but you have to take care of her and watch over her so that your son won't fight with her". At seven or eight o'clock the girl's family gives breakfast to the visitors. The girl herself has not been present at any of the proceedings, and she does not now have breakfast with the two families, but otherwise all eat together.

Practical arrangements for the betrothal period are made after breakfast. This period consists of regular visits with gifts of food brought by the boy and his parents and intermediary. The boy's intermediary therefore asks the girl's how long it will be before the marriage, and the reply may be one or two or three years (or even six months) depending on the age of the girl or other factors. Then they discuss the frequency of the visits in this period, the girl's side having the final say-so. This depends partly on the length of the period (the shorter the period the greater the frequency). If the period is three years, the visits should come about every two months; if one year, every month. Assuming the interval is about two months, the first visit would come eight weeks from the Monday on which the arrangements are made (always on the day of arrangements).

The betrothal period is usually referred to as the "costumbre", or "dging costumbre". Each time the boy's party -- the same five who came to make arrangements -- comes with certain prescribed articles of food for the girl's family, and the boy himself brings

something for his fiancée. The rest of the party leaves again after lunch, but the young man remains at the girl's place and works with his future in-laws for from 4 days to a week. During these days he lives with his fiancée as if they were married.

Since the young people do sleep together, it is best to have marriages arranged between people of about the same age; thus an eight year old girl would get a husband of eight or nine; and if an older man gets a virgin wife she should be about fifteen.

The first visit, the boy's party brings a large basket of bread, much chocolate and sugar; in addition the boy brings about ten cents worth of bread for the girl. The second trip they bring a large pot of large pieces of meat, and the boy brings a pound of meat for the girl. They also bring a basket of tortillas and tamales. This present is repeated on the subsequent visits.

The the boy and his family does all these costumbres, the girl's father is supposed to give his daughter five new complete costumes when the period is over. If he isn't wealthy enough to afford this, the boy will not do the costumbres for so long. In this case the boy's father furnishes the bride with her new clothes (at least one costume), giving them to the girl's mother to be given to the girl. The bride always comes to her husband, at the end, in new clothes and leaves her old ones for her younger sisters. If the girl's father is rich, he will give her blankets, a grinding stone, dishes, etc. in addition

During this betrothal period, the boy's father hires a shaman to say prayers one day in each of the regular intervals.

If the bride becomes pregnant during this period, the betrothal is cut short and the bride passes to her husband's house for the

birth of the child. A child should be born in its father's house.

The marriage feast occurs with the last of the regular costumbre visits. The same party comes from the boy's house to the girl's place, where the feast occurs. In addition, other of the boy's relatives and friends come. The boy's family brings all of the food.

The marriage feast usually lasts about four days. During the first day the young men of both sides kill and cut up a steer, and of course there is marimba, liquor, and other festivities. But meanwhile, in the house, rates involving the boy and the girl are carried out.

On one side of a table sit the boy's intermediary and his wife; on the other side sit the girl's intermediary and his wife. Tied to the table legs are a rooster, on the boy's side, and a hen on the girl's. The young people come up; the bride takes the rooster in one of her arms, and the groom takes the hen in one of his; they kneel before the boy's intermediary, who lectures them and finally puts a ring on the finger of each. Then the young couple do the same with the girl's intermediary; but between the two kneeling ordeals they rest a short time. The rings are the gifts of the intermediaries, and the couple keep them (each having two). The marriage intermediaries finally are awarded the chickens, however.

On the second day, in a similar ceremony the intermediaries together present a necklace to the couple and put it around the necks of the two, binding them together for about an hour.

If there is to be a Church wedding, on the third day the young people go to the juzgado to be married civilly and then go to the Church to be married by the padre. This may end all

of the festivities; usually, however, there is no legal or ecclesiastical marriage and the feasting lasts another day.

The wives of the intermediaries, during this feast, help female relatives of both parties with the cooking. The mothers of the principals themselves do not work in the kitchen.

The betrothal costumbre and the marriage feast occur whether the principals live in the same canton or not.

There are three types of marriage; in some cases, and these "marriages" have occurred only in the last few years, the couple simply go to live together; in other cases there is only the "costumbre" marriage described above; and in still other cases there is legal-religious marriage (with or without "costumbre", but in practically all cases with).

With well-to-do people, it costs the boy's family from \$50-\$100 to marry off a son; and if the girl's parents furnish her the clothes they should, it costs them about as much.

Tomas himself was married without any ceremony. He tried to get Juana's father into a cantina, but he would not go. A few days later Tomas induced Juana to come with him to his house, and her father searched for her, he says, in vain. It wasn't until 10 months later that Tomas saw his father-in-law again, and then Tomas gave him \$20 to soothe his feelings, and eventually everybody was satisfied.

The intermediaries Tomas refers to in Spanish as "padrinos", (the native name is t/inimtal, different from that of a padrino of baptism) but this is a coincidence in his Spanish. It is a special office for marriages only, and the intermediary is not compadre with the father of the son or daughter (although during the final marriage feast they address each other by this title.

*t/inimtal koxlom [man's intermediary]
" " malom [women's " "]*

Diego Ignacio

Marriage. At 14 or 15, a boy's father will begin to look for a girl for him.

Diego, in 1915, was fifteen years old when his father made marriage arrangements. Tomas Ventura was Secretary then and lived in the pueblo. Diego knew nothing of what was going on, but his father went at 4 A.M. one morning to ask for Ventura's daughter. Miguel (his father) was accompanied by Diego's mother and Sabastian Saquo, the intermediary ("testigo", t/inintal). He took along some cacao beans and two seeds of the sapote together with some whiskey and twenty-five ~~cents~~ *pesos* which was placed on the cacao beans. The intermediary was the one to speak.

When they returned, Diego's mother told him where they had been and why. Diego was agreeable and said nothing.

Later Diego called on Tomas Ventura in his office and said "Good day, father (nekaw)" and spoke to him about other things. After a month they took a large pot of cooked meat, a basket of tamales, and other things, to Ventura's house in the pueblo. The next month they took a lot of bread, chocolate, and sugar. The Venturas always gave the visitors lunch.

Besides the testigo, there is a ~~k'ampax~~ "padrino of marriage", compaye ret/ k'ulnem, but Diego says that he is used only for Church marriages.

A week after the husband takes his wife to his home, he takes her (with tamales, cooked meat, etc.) to her folks' place for a day and a night. After that, on fiestas, he should bring them, or send them, certain things. He used to go himself, but now his eldest daughter goes, and during Holy Week takes bread, tortillas, and fish, and on Santo Tomas takes the small bread-cookies, sweets, etc. Diego could send the things by a mose instead of his daughter if he wished.

Miguel Ignacio

Marriage. Miguel was 15 or 18 years old when he was married.

His father and mother went once to the parents of the girl and the cacao was not received because the girl's folks did not know if the match would be agreeable to the girl. The second time Miguel's parents went they were received and it was arranged that a week later Miguel should take the girl home with him. When they went for the girl, they brought the lunch with them. Otherwise they did no costumbre, nor paid any money. It happened that the girl's father was dead and she had only a mother, who "had a good heart and let her daughter go". When the girl's parents are bad, however, there is plenty to do to get her.

In the case of the marriage of Miguel's daughter Sebastiana, Tomas Gonzales wrote a letter to him asking if he could marry her; and if he could, he would send his father to ask for her. Miguel replied, also in a letter, that it would be all right and that they awaited his father with great pleasure -- at 3 or 4 A.M. Monday morning.

Monday morning Tomas Gonzales' father (also named Tomas) with his wife and an intermediary ^{ffinitel} (necessary unless the man himself knows how to ask for a woman) came to Miguel's house. The Ignacios knew who it was knocking at the door, so Miguel's

wife rose and opened the door and ~~and~~ told them all to enter and then found benches for them to sit on and told them to wait. Then Miguel got up, and they all greeted each other and asked after each other's healths.

The intermediary talked, and said, "Excuse us that we come at this hour to disturb you in your sleep. We are not authorities; we have come to see and to learn. A woman and a man have met in this house. The gentleman (Tomas Gonzales., Sr.) has a boy in his house and he is now old. The boy was in this house and saw and has the intention of marrying your daughter. The gentleman is well in his house; they have to eat, and they have everything. They want to ask for your daughter since all people marry and every man looks for a wife. This is what we want, why we came -- to ask you if you will do us the great service of giving us your daughter."

Tomas Gonzales put in, "My son has sent you a letter, and you said you would give your daughter; therefore we came to you. Excuse us the bother, but that is why we came."

Miguel said, "Well, I can tell you now, on my part I say Yes because I know you well and I know you are good in your house. If another had come I would not have accepted the words; I would have said, 'You may return again, and then perhaps I shall accept the cacao'. But for you, I will take the cacao now." There was a dish of cacao with 20-25 pesos, and Miguel took it. (There was no liquor).

The intermediary said, "In two weeks we shall return; will you do us the favor of awaiting us here?" Miguel said all right, we'll be here, and they all left. It all took only an hour. When liquor is brought it takes longer.

It was understood that the customary period would be six

months because the interval was to be two weeks; if the interval were one month, the period would be one year.

Two weeks later, Monday, Tomas, Sr. and his wife came alone, bringing a basket-ful of tamales and a pot containing some ten pounds of cooked beef. (They might have brought chicken or turkey, but never pork, which is not used in costumbres). The second time they came they brought bread. Thereafter they alternated between meat and bread. Only sometimes they were asked to stay for lunch.

The last period in the six months, they came with the intermediary to ask if it would be good to take the girl. "All right," said Miguel, "When you wish." They replied that they would come the next Monday.

The next Monday Tomas, Jr. came with his father and mother and the intermediary. Tomas did not bring a load of wood with him (as he should have according to custom) but gave Miguel 5 pesos instead. They all came in the morning, with tamales and meat. They saluted, and gave the food to Miguel's wife. They stayed for lunch. They said that they came for their daughter-in-law. The intermediary said, "Here is your son-in-law". Tomas' father said, "Don't worry about your daughter; we'll take good care of her." The girl's belongings, clothes, etc., were put into her husband's bag, for it was the custom that he carry them home. They left after lunch. All of the people at Miguel's house cried as the bride left.

The next Monday the young couple returned to have lunch here, bringing tamales and meat with them, and then went home again. Afterwards they came to this house only for Holy Week and Santo Tomas, staying over night here. (When a couple has a lot of children, they stop these visits).

Company ref
Kulnem =
padrino de
casamiento

The bride's father gives her one complete new outfit. When she gets to her husband's house they have the new costume for her and she changes into it. She keeps the old costume, of course.

A Church wedding costs some 4000 pesos, because then you have to have a fiesta. You give 200 pesos to the authorities, 50 pesos to the Padre as well as 200 cacao beans (20 cents worth) as a gift to him. At the fiesta, the whole family of the boy comes, but only the father and mother of the girl are there. This costs a lot of money, for the food. The fiesta lasts from Saturday through Tuesday, and the wedding comes on Tuesday. On Saturday they kill a bull; on Sunday afternoon the couple go to Church to confess; on Monday, at 3 P.M., they go to the juzgado; at 7 A.M. mass on Tuesday they are married.

Miguel was legally married to his second wife; but in his case the Alcalde came to his wife's house in the pueblo to marry them, because she was a Quezalteca and they were ashamed to go before everybody with differing costumes.

Marriage. Trouble in Juan Cutillo's house. Four months ago his little sister was married. Following costumbre, for six months previous the boy's parents had brought presents once a month. They kept accounts and all amounted to \$9.00 worth. Now the girl has left her husband and come back home. Since she did not bear a child, her father-in-law is demanding return of the \$9.00. This morning it seems as if they may agree to wait a few years, when the girl may want to go live with her husband again (she is only 8 years old). They may go to Quiche to the judge, so if they do pay the money they will have legal evidence; Juan's family won't do it here because the Alcalde is prejudiced. Juan is very disturbed about the matter because the boy's father is a brujo and may do something bad to his mother.

Later in the same day: They have settled the matter for \$6,0

MARRIAGE

Jan. 23, 1935 -- Tomás Ventura has made a number of records himself, and one of them is advice to a newly-married couple (and it is remarkable for showing off Tomás' character -- or how much is cultural? --, for in the record he might be a Kawakiutl Indian -- or the opposite -- for his attitude toward money and life). You should treat your wife well, he says to the boy, because if not she may leave you, and you will have lost all the money you have spent on her -- and besides, when you want another, do you think her father will let you have her for nothing? Also you must be careful with your children, and keep them well; for while when a young animal dies its parents may simply leave it by the roadside, humans cannot throw dead children over barrancas; they must bury them and it costs money.

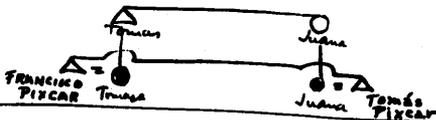
Jan. 26, 1935 -- Talked to Juan Gutillo a few hours; he has a sister whose age he gives as from 7 to 9 who is married. On asking him if they live together he said yes, but as to the question of living together as man-and-wife, the answer was different. Until the couple is older (the boy is about 13), the sleeping arrangements (they live in his house) are as follows: first, the boy's father, then next to him the little girl, next to her the boy's mother, and then the boy. Juan himself (about 15) has tried to get one of Tomás Ventura's half-sisters for a wife, he admits, but Tomás objects because he has no milpa.

Brothers marrying sisters or related girls

Tomás Ventura C.

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Quejal #1. Francisco T. Pixcar married Tomasa Ventura; his brother Tomás married Juana Ventura. 1st cousins:



Quejal #1. 2 Pixcar brothers of Chulimal married two Pixcar sisters here. (maybe blood relatives too)

March 20. Tomas Ventura wanted to marry her, but she was only 10 years old at the time -- and he's 18 or 20 --, and she didn't want to. Every ~~Indian~~ Indian man (married or unmarried) has a querida, and the reason Tomasa doesn't want to marry is because she fears that the man will be mean to her, not one is faithful, and in general she is afraid of men.

She explained her attitude of friendliness to Juan Cutillo, our 16 year old house boy on the grounds that he is just a "patojo". She seems to admire his knowledge of Spanish; it seems sort of a new experience to her to have so close domestic contact with a boy outside her own family; she asks all kinds of questions about him. Where is he now? What is he going to do when we go away? How old is he? And always she adds that he is a good boy, he knows Spanish.

Tomasa says her brother scolds her for not getting married; but her mother doesn't urge her to get married. She says all the men she knows and who want her are bravos or have other wives or sweethearts, and the idea of such a marriage is repulsive to her. She asked me if in my pueblo the men are that way, too.

The minute an adult Indian man enters the room she becomes tense and very much abashed; she explained that this is because she is afraid of men.

This whole conversation was the result of Tomas Ventura's being in the room for awhile; when he left she began to confide in me. To bring out her point about the unfaithfulness of the men here she confided that her step-father, Juan Xaper, has gone to live with another woman in a nearby canton, that he has been gone from her mother's house for 10 days and that before he left, when her mother scolded him for having another

Tomasa Felisa, Continued

woman, he hit her with a stick and with his machete and then left the house. The mother was left with their two children and so went to the juzgado, and now Juan Xaper must contribute to the support of the children.

March 22. This morning Tomasa told me about the men who want to marry her. Miguel Ignacio is one: he sends her notes every day, but she doesn't accept them. He is old, has twelve children, has a wife living, and had two others before; he was polygamous, and wishes to resume that condition. Tomasa asked me how old I think Miguel is; I said 58. She looked rather surprised and said he looks like 60. Also Juan Ventura (brother of Tomas) wanted her, but she wouldn't marry him because he has already had seven wives (he is now 26); he has two now and hits one of them. He throws her around

Tomasa Felisa

by her braids (she is the mother of his two children). There are other men from the monte who want to marry Tomasa, too.

March 23

We spent the day working today, Tomasa on her huipil and I Tomasa Felisa

on the corte. In the afternoon the Morley party was here. Tomasa was not at all timid when they watched her work. She is much more shy of Indian men who happen to come into the room when she is working than she is of Don Sol or of foreigners.

Informant: Tomasa Felisa

Domestic Life

Tomasa's father died when she was small. Her mother is now married to Juan Xaper; the family lives at the mother's house (left her by her first husband.)

When Juan Xaper left the house of Tomasa's mother he was owing Tomasa \$6, the balance on \$10 he had borrowed from her so that he could buy some land. Yesterday Tomasa went to the Juzgado with her mother to complain about the money due her. The alcalde had Xaper brought in (this was Thursday and on that day most everyone can be found in the market-place), ordered him to pay up his debt, and reprimanded him for not sooner paying back money borrowed from a woman.

Later he came back to live with his wife, and kept paying the debt. When he returned, Tomasa said her mother wasn't in favor of it, but after all the children were his, too, so if he wanted to come back, why not let him[

Several years ago Tomasa fought with Diego Bats' wife. At that time Tomás Pixoar was the other woman's sweetheart (he is the father of her child), and Tomás was asking for Tomasa in marriage. One day the two women met and Diego's wife began to scold Tomasa saying; why do you want to marry Pixoar; Tomás Gonzales is your querido. Whereupon Tomasa hit her. Diego's wife reported it at the juzgado and the two were taken to the jail, only for an hour or so. Now they talk to each other again, but Tomasa wanted me to understand that Diego's wife talked to her first. She trembled as she told the story; it must have been a bad experience for her.

Tomasa

Mon. Dec. 12th, 1938.

Juan was talking about Tina's lover (She is living with Tomás Xirun, but has this man Enrique on the side.) Enrique's mother had a string of some 25 lovers; Juan worked in her house for awhile and can string off all their names in order. She was married at first and went to live in Salcajá; had two children and procuró that they died; fought with her husband because already had compromiso with another man. Then here had many including old Amezquita who left her property; also General Corado (now Jefe Político), Rodolfo Rodas, and many others. Now she lives with man who is intendente in Zacualpa.

Her son, Enrique, Juan says, is very handsome. "Then what does he want with a married woman?" "Can't get anything else because of his mother's reputation.

Yet there's no great morality among the judges: Jaime Pensabene has had a mistress--and children by her--for many years. Don Abel has two children by two women -- one an Indian, whose son is a baker called Manuel García Rodas.

We know our seamstress has five children or more, each by another man. She changes continually -- and all the men are married and "respectable".

Household	Total	Marriages in Force										Marriages Terminated					
		1946-50	1941-45	1936-40	1931-35	1926-30	1921-25	1916-20	1911-15	1906-10	1901-05	1900 or earlier	Death of Man	Death of Wife	Separation		
Total	173	136	21	63	35	9		3	8	6	1	142	37	185	24	5	11
1	12	9		4	5								3	1			
2	3	1			1								2				1
3	2	2		1	1												
4	4	2		1								1	2	1	1		
5	2	2		1	1												
6	1	1			1												
7	3	2		2									1				1
8	1	1		1													
9	1	1		1													
10	1	1											1	1			
11	2	1		1									1	1			
12	1	1		1													
13																	
14	1	1		1													
15	1	1		1													
16	1	1			1												
17	1	1	1														
18	1	1											1	1			
19	1	1		1													
20	1	1											1				
21	1	1		1													
22	3	2			1								1	1	1		
23	1	1		1													
24	3	3		2									1				
25	3	2		1									1	1	1		
26	3	2			2								1			1	
27	1	1											1	1	1		
28	3	2		1									1	1	1		
29	1	1		1													
30	4	4		3									1				
31	2	2		1									1				
32	5	5		2		1	2	None	1	1			1				
33																	
34	3	3			1	2	None		1	1			1				
35	1	1											1	1			
36	2	1		1									1	1			
37	3	3			1	2	None		1	1							
38	1	1		1													
39	3	3		1		1	2	None		2							
40	2	2		1									1				
41	3	3		1									2				
42	3	3			1	2	None		1	1	1						
43	3	2		1								1	1	1			
44	2	1		1									1	1			
45	1	1		1													
46	3	1		1									2	1		1	

8. Residence

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Residence is, generally speaking, strictly patrilocal. The daughter, when she gets married, leaves the house of her father and her brothers, and may return there only two or three scattered days in the year. If she leaves her husband, however, she goes right back to her old home, and if her father isn't living, she lives with her eldest brother (who has the ancestral home). If when the woman leaves her husband she has young babies, she usually takes them with her to her father's house; but when the children

reach the age of 7 or 8 they go back to their father's place, their father usually being married again. While the young children are with their mother, if she does not marry again, their father has to send money -- perhaps \$2 a month -- to the head of their house for their support. If the woman marries again in a few months, however, she usually takes the children with her and then her new husband must support them.

If the wife is bad, the husband, when they separate, will not allow her to take the children, no matter how young they are. Rather, he hires a wet-nurse (at a few cents a day and food) for them, and the wet-nurse may either take the children to her place or come to the father's place by the day. Often, however, the father will look for another wife -- a woman with milk -- to take care of the children. Also, if a relative of the man, preferably living in the same household, has milk, she will nurse the infants (free, of course). This relative may be the man's mother, or his sister, or any other.

Residence, continued.

If the husband is bad, the mother may keep the children even after they are seven or eight years old. But the children have some choice in the matter (and eventually inherit their father's property). If the children are with the father, they visit their mother often, usually when all are in town on Sunday. Likewise the father separated from his children receive frequent visits from them, in the pueblo.

Assume that man A is married to woman b, and they separate because man A is at fault. Man A gets another wife, and woman b gets another husband. If man A finds that his second wife is no good, and he wants woman b back again, he can go to her place when her new husband is away and, if she is willing, take her back with him. The other man may be very angry, but he

can do nothing. The first husband has a right over his wife that is not lost; where there is a civil and church marriage the right is real, since even civil divorce is not obtainable without the consent of the husband.

If woman b does not want man A, he may pay a shaman \$5 or \$10 to do costumbre to make her like him and hate her new husband. The shaman may make a drinker out of the new husband to accomplish his purpose. This shaman is a white magician; if he is not successful a black magician may be called and one way or another he will break up the woman's new home.

If a man dies, and leaves no children, his wife will go back to her father's house. If there are children, the widow stays with the children in their father's house, which of course becomes theirs.

Des. Spain's Residence. Usually the woman comes to live with her husband; but sometimes, if the man has no land or for some other reason, he goes to live at his wife's place.

Sometimes a very bad woman will leave her husband, and leave her babies with him too; but a decent woman, when she leaves her husband, takes her babies with her. The man has to send

her money or food for the children. When the children are older, they get their father's heritage; usually the boys at least come back to their father's house.

If a man dies, and leaves both land and children, his widow should remain on his land with the children. If the widow wants to go off with another man, the children remain here with their grandparents or other relatives. Sometimes, when a man dies, the father of his widow comes to take his daughter with him, because he doesn't want her to stay there; but if there are children, the children must stay on their father's land.

If a man's wife dies, the children will remain there with him, and if necessary he will get a female relative or an outsider to nurse the children.

Informant : Diego Saquic of Chupol 2nd

Matrilocal Residence

In his canton are cases of matrilocal residence (found in census). In one case six daughters and six sons all have spouses and children there. He says, "When they wish it" the daughters bring their husbands there.

Informant: Tomás Ventura C.

Matrilocal Residence

Quejel No. 34 -- Juan Mijea married Manuela Tol Tun and he came to live at her father's place, and the couple have a child there now. The reason given is that he has no land in Chipaca.

Quejel No. 63. Juan Calbo (Chontola) married Juana Tol (Quejel) and lives here "because he has no land."

9. Polygamy is comparatively recent. Sabastian Saquic of Chicua (now in Camanibal) -- the First Passado (Principal) -- was the first man to take a second wife. This must have been eighteen or twenty years ago, since Raimundo Aguilar was padre then, Tomas was in school then and used to get lessons from the Padre, and Tomas' father was Secretary of the Indian Municipality. Saquic was the Indian Alcalde then. His first wife was in Chicua then, with their 7 or 8 children. But during his year of office they were all living in the pueblo. For some reason, because perhaps she had land and a house, he married a widow who had a daughter. She and her daughter (who was perhaps 15 or 17 years old) came to the pueblo and lived with Sabastian and his family. He lived with both the mother and daughter. (That he lived with the daughter is proved by the fact that everybody said so, that he didn't deny it, and that she had children, ~~xxxxi~~ presumably by him).

Tomas says more men do similar things, making polygamy possible.

The people said, "Well, here he is, with 2 or 3 wives; and he is Principal and Alcalde; we can do the same". A few people said it was bad, others that it was a good thing. Nobody thought of saying it was bad enough to remove Sabastian from his offices. Since then, Sabastian has acquired more wives.

Tomas Calvo of Pocohil was probably the second man to have more than one wife. He is a corporal for a finca, has about 8 mules, and is fairly well to do. He had a wife living with him in Pocohil when he saw that Saquic had so many wives. He looked for another wife, and picked a woman in Chujupen who had land, a house, and two daughters. He married her without "costumbre"

and in addition began living with her two daughters (who were aged about 15 and 18 respectively). These women continued to live in Chujupen, and ~~the~~ Tomas spent alternating weeks in Pocohil and Chujupen. About a year later he married an Indian servant-woman of Ladinos in the pueblo and took her to his Pocohil home. A few months later he met a woman from Lakama who had a house and children by a previous husband there. He married her. She stayed in Lakama and he goes out there once in awhile. He has children by all six of his wives.

He is corporal with about 8 mules; well-to-do.

There are a great number of other cases of polygamy, many in Quejil. The alcalde could put these polygamous men in jail, or could make them drop a wife, but since there are children this is impossible. The alcalde could announce (he has proclamations read in the plaza on market days) a future prohibition of plygamy, but he never has -- perhaps because the alcaldes are afraid of Sebastian Saquic. When Saquic himself was alcalde, women came in to complain that their husbands were taking other wives. He said to the, "Go home; you have clothes and food; what else do you want?" Now the alcaldes judge if the husband is supplying the needs of his first wife, and if so he will not put his foot down on another marriage.

Nevertheless, about three years ago Saquic wanted to be alcalde again and the people would not have him.

Polygamy is not always the man's doing. In Chicajom lives one Juan Suiy, whose wife had twins. There had been several children before, and now she told Juan that she was tired from having too many children and didn't want any more, and she would no longer sleep with him since she feared that she might have twins again. Juan told her that he would look for another

wife because he needed a woman. She replied, "All right, but I'll look for one for you that I will like". She then talked to the father of a girl of about 20 years and, when she had his approval, she asked him if he wanted costumbre for his daughter. He said no, so the wife gave him a present of \$10 for the girl and took her home. This happened a year ago, and everything is all right now. He is a shaman.

Tomas Panto of Chontola (a compadre of Tomas' father) married a girl, and when her father died he married her mother too. There are many cases of polygamous marriages with mother and daughter. If the wife has no brothers, her father's land goes to her when he dies -- so if the husband marries the mother too it simplifies matters: the land she lives on is, in effect, his -- so why shouldn't she be also?

There is always a "first" wife, and if more than two, a "second" and a "third", etc. The eldest son by the senior wife inherits the father's house. Even if the junior wife is the mother of the senior wife this is true. Sabastian Panjoj of Chicajom married a girl first and then her mother and has children by both -- and the son of the daughter is considered to be "superior" in this sense ^{to} than that of her mother.

If a man has two wives and by some chance his eldest child should be by the second wife, he would not inherit the house; rather, the oldest son of the first wife would inherit leadership in the family. This is because the second wife didn't work with the husband so long.

Sabastian Son of Chulumal has four or five sisters as wives; the eldest was married with costumbre, and the others not. In this case, even though a younger sister has an older son than

the first wife has, the son of the first wife will inherit. If the first wife has no sons, then the eldest son of the eldest other wife inherits.

Polygamy demoralizes the young people generally, even if they themselves do not become polygamous. For example, in Chicua 1st, where there is a lot of polygamy, there are many other "bad marriages". In one case (Sabastian Baquic's sons) two boys have married the two daughters of their father's sister. Asked why they do such things, the young people say, "Well, our parents marry several women, so why can't we do this?"

Miguel Jimenez Polygamy. 40 or 50 years ago, Tomas Tevelan of Patzibal was the first man here to have two wives. He has been dead some thirty years now. He was neither a Principal nor Alcalde.

Tomas Ventura C. of Quejel was polygamous and has already had three wives: Juana, his present wife; Manuela Cao of Pacho; and Maria Panjoj of Chuabaj.

Polygamy in Chiche presents about the same problem that it does in Chichicastenango; and there are political factions there too, based on the same thing.

There is a Principal there by the name of Geronimo Tsok, who has a wife living with him in a canton. He has a house in the pueblo, and in the house lives a Lemoatecan with his wife (also from Lemoa). The man from Lemoa is very poor. Geronimo lives much of the time in the Pueblo, since he is a shaman. When he is in the Pueblo, he lives in that same house, and he and the Lemoateco change off sleeping with the woman, or even sleep in the same bed with her. More usually the Lemoateco sleeps alone on the floor. There are many children by the two men. When Geronimo's wife comes to town, she stays in another of Geronimo's houses.

Geronimo was deposed from his office as Principal some eight or ten years ago for this business; but he still has the support of two cantons.

Polygamous marriage

- Inejil #32 Tomas Ventura R. & Maria Luy and Anastasia Tol (84 years)
- Inejil #34 Tomás Tol Tun & Marta Pérez (sterile) & later Lucía Ventura. (84 years)
- Inejil #37 Diego Ventura married Maria Buchon & later Maria Martin. (84 yrs)
- Inejil #39 Juan Ventura married Michalla Luy (children) & much later Tomas, Cabel. [45 yrs]
- Inejil #41 Jose Mercario married Petronila Pérez, who was sterile; then he took a woman from Pocehil. [5 yrs]
- Inejil #48 Tomas Ventura married first Maria Cabel & then when her d. by 1st marriage grew up he married her. [8 yrs]
- Inejil #49 Tomas Ventura married Mamula Morales & later married 2 sisters from Totomocapan, in turn. [3 yrs]
- Inejil #54 Juan Ventura married Mamula Cuteres (as 5th wife; ~~so~~ lazy, so married Maria Gonzales at same time; [3 yrs] Maria ran away, so he married Anna Set. [10 months] now has 2 wives.
- Inejil #63 Jacinto Tol married Maria Perez, & when her 6 yrs. old daughter by another grew up, he married her too. [1 yr]

 year
 month

POLYGAMY

Informant: Tomasa Feliza.

Tomasa says that Tomás Calva (Chuchupen) has three wives now.

He had four but one died.

Informant: Pascual Ren

Manuel Mateo, (Patzibal) has two wives: 1st wife Natasa, 2nd Juana.

The second has no children. Have lived polygamously for four years.

Pascual says people began to be polygamous about 40-50 years ago,
and the people consider these men animals.

Tomasa Feliza related the story of Tomás Pixcar and Tomasa Ventura as she knows it. They are both of Quejé. Tomasa was married to another man but she liked Pixcar, ran after him, and told him that when he picked a wife, she wanted to be the one. Later, Pixcar hit Tomasa's husband and Tomasa went to live with Pixcar. Now Pixcar, who drinks a lot, is mean to Tomasa, has many queridas, and threatens to get himself another wife because Tomasa doesn't bear him any children. He often throws Tomasa around by her braids. When I asked Tomasa Feliza about the first husband of Tomasa Ventura Pixcar, she said he is a good man but he doesn't know Castillo.

Tomasa Feliza says that within the marriages of Diego Ignacio and Tomás Gonzales, Juana (the wife of Diego) and Tomás had an affair together. (Tomás is married to Diego's sister). She says both Diego and Tomás' wife know about it, that the child, José, (at Diego's house) is really the son of Juana and Tomás Gonzales. How does Tomasa know this? The wife of Tomás Gonzales told her, as she tells her many confidences. And when I asked Tomasa how they can be sure Diego is not the father, she gave me two reasons:

1. The boy's face is exactly like Tomás Gonzales.
2. When Juana was giving birth to the child, Tomás Gonzales gave her \$2.00.

Informant: Tomás Ventura C.

Marriages with "foreigners"

- Quejel No. 2. Miguel Tol and Sabastiana Ventura Chiche
- Quejel No. 49 Tomás Ventura married two women from Totonicapan
- Quejel No. 50 Tomás Ventura ran away and married a girl from (and lives at) Nahuala, Sololá
- Quejel No. 54 Manuela Tol married a man from Chiche
- Quejel No. 89 Tomás Set and Anasastia Tzok of Chiche

Sororate - Levirate

- Quejel No. 1. Tomás Pixcar married Tomasa Ventura, and when she died, her real sister Manuela.
- Quejel No. 49. Tomás Ventura married two sisters polygamously.

10. Adultery in cases of legal marriage can be taken care of by the civil authorities. In cases where there is no marriage at all there is no constituted authority to deal with adultery. If there are children, and they are registered at the juzgado, of course, there is a legally recognized common-law marriage. In these cases, however, the Indians are usually too unsophisticated to take up matters with the town authorities.

In cases of costumbre marriages, however, there is a definite customary procedure involved in the punishment of adultery. The Indian municipal authorities are involved, and so are the marriage intermediaries. If one of the parties is unfaithful, his or her parents, and especially his or her intermediary is supposed to administer a whip-lashing (about 25 lashes) and in the case of a woman (as happened a year ago in Gamanchaj) ~~the~~ her intermediary's wife may stuff chile into her vagina. If the parents and intermediary of the guilty party condone the offense they are deemed guilty with the guilty party and the Indian officials may send them with the guilty party to jail. In any event, for a second offense, the guilty party goes to jail. Some people consider the jail punishment less severe than the lashing, for they can pay their way out of it.

The marriage intermediaries are supposed to interfere with any serious trouble that besets the marriage, judging disputes, etc. and trying to keep the marriage going.

In cases of adultery the co-respondent is also lashed with the guilty party.

About a year ago a sister of Tomas' wife had 25 lashes for having relations with three other men.

Also, about a year ago, there was an interesting case of adultery in Quejel, and it demonstrates the justice of the system.

Tomas being unfaithful to his wife, she would go to the judge to punish it.

José Cumes has a son Tomás, who is married to a Tomasa Ventura. They used to live in the same household, but Jose also owned land and a house close by. Jose owned many sheep, which were kept in the other house, and he told his son to go there with his wife to live, so they could guard the sheep from the coyotes.

Tomas had a friend, who lived in Chucam; the two often travelled together and were very close. One day they were both in the pueblo, and Tomas' friend said to him, "You know there is a fiesta in Quejel right near your house, with marimba, liquor and so on; what do you say we go there tonight?" Tomas told him that he couldn't do this because he had to take care of his father's sheep. The Chucam boy urged, "Your father won't see you; we'll go at night and he'll never know." Finally Tomas agreed. That night they went to the fiesta, and Tomas became quite drunk, while his friend stayed sober. Then the "friend" went over to Tomas' house, which was dark and in which his wife was alone in bed. Silently he got into bed with Tomasa who, since it was dark, thought it was her husband.

After awhile (but too late) Tomasa, who was smart, noticed that her bed-mate was wearing his saco, whereas her husband never did. She said, "Why are you wearing your sacco?" The man could not answer, for fear that his voice would be recognized; and while they were still in bed Tomas came home. The friend, when he saw Tomas entering, ran off in such a hurry that he left his trousers behind.

Afterwards Tomasa denied guilt, since she had thought the man was her husband. The husband was angry, but there was nothing he could do. The intermediaries of the couple later gave the "friend" 25 lashes for his part in the affair; Tomasa was not punished, but Tomas received 6 lashes for having gone to the

fiesta and left his wife alone and unprotected.

The moral of this story is that "Friends are that way", and a similar story is told to support the contention. This happened last October 4th, the fiesta of San Francisco. There were two good friends -- who always travelled as comerciantes together -- in Canton Chupol. One's name was Lastor and the other Morales, and each had a wife. For San Francisco there was a big fiesta in Tecpan, and Morales said to Lastor one day, "You bring your wife to Tecpan for the fiesta and I'll do the same". Lastor agreed. In Tecpan, the four of them had one room. The two men began to drink, but Lastor drank much more than Morales, and he and his wife got very drunk. Then Morales said to Lastor, "Let us go out and get more liquor", and Lastor agreed. They met the patrol outside, and the drunken Lastor was taken off to jail. Morales went back alone, and said to his wife, "Let us go out and hear the marimbas". They went out and met her father. Morales told his wife to remain with her father awhile, and he went back to the room to Lastor's wife, and he took her by force.

In the morning Lastor got out of jail and he and his wife went to the juzgado to complain, and finally Morales was jailed and in addition paid a fine of 1000 pesos (\$16.66).

Tomas Ventura C. Unfaithfulness is punished by the spirits as well as by people.

If a man is unfaithful to his wife, he gets sick in a few months. He then has to confess his fault to his wife, and also to God, by getting a shaman to do costumbres for this. In a few days he gets well again. If a woman has been unfaithful, she will be in perpetual labor, and her child will not be born, until she confesses to her husband and to a shaman. Then in a few minutes her baby will be born.

Adultery, Cont.

Two years ago this happened to Tomás; he was ill, confessed to wife and through shaman, and got better. These illnesses always result from secret infidelity.

Diego Ignacio

Adultery. If a woman is unfaithful to her husband, the man can beat her and send her away if he wishes. He may go to the juzgado, where they will call in the other man and either make him take the woman in or put him in jail. The father of the woman may also take his daughter back to his place.

If they do not go to the juzgado in the matter, they call in the testigos (intermediaries), and they and the girl's parents come to the man's house. They argue the matter to see where the fault lay. If the woman is at fault ~~the~~ her testigo calls her down. The guilty person (the procedure is the same if the man commits adultery) may kneel before his intermediary for an hour or two getting a calling down.

The parents of the guilty one may ask his or her testigo to whip their child; otherwise the testigos do not do so.

The "other man" or "other woman" have nothing to do with the intermediaries -- and are involved only in the juzgado.

Adultery: Tomasa Feliz. Tomasa says that within the marriages of Diego Ignacio and Tomás Gonzales, Juana (the wife of Diego) and Tomás had an affair together. (Tomás is married to Diego's sister.) She says both Diego and Tomás' wife know about it, that the child, José, (at Diego's house)

Tomás Tol, Principal of Semejá, 2nd.. says there has never been a murder or theft in this canton during his life. He never heard of a case of adultery. No crime. Divorce occurs; he knows of two cases in his canton, but doesn't know the reason for them.

✓ Sickness requires treatment by a shaman. When a man is sick, the family calls one in. The treatment depends upon the sickness, but there is always practical medicine in addition to costumbres. Shamans use herbs, and make teas for their patients. They also have medicines for external ailments. Shamans (or some of them) also know how to set broken bones and put on splints of wood or cane. The shaman in a serious illness comes every day to see the patient; he does costumbre in the house with candles, incense, idoles, etc. He may also do costumbre in the church or on the church steps, or at one of the altars in the monte. If the patient gets worse, he gives more medicine and does more costumbre. As the person is dying, the brujo (shaman) is in attendance, doing costumbre; but at the last the matter is up to God. When the person dies, the shaman has nothing more to do.

Sickness. When a person is sick, a shaman (zajorin) is called, without money or cacao or anything, and he agrees to come. He performs a divination and does costumbres. Some shamans have herbs, and use them too. If a man has a broken arm, they call a shaman who is able to set bones; but after setting the bone this shaman always divines, etc. in addition.

Death, There are no costumbres done at the death of a person. The family gets together, some cofradia -- or at least a cofrade -- comes to pray, and some old person, a non-relative, washes and dresses the body.

✓ Death. When the person dies, messengers (members of the family, or mozos) go to all the relatives and tell them of the death and tell them to come to prepare for the burial. The corpse is placed on a table in the middle of the room. **The friends**

Diego Ignacio -----

and relatives all bring candles and incense and a little money (never food). They all go to the kitchen and eat, with no special food.

The immediate family (father, mother, children, siblings) go into the patio while other relatives prepare the body. If the deceased is a man, only males prepare the body; if a woman, only females; if a child, only youths; if a youth, old people; and if an old person, old people only. The clothes are removed from the body and the body washed with soap and water (the pot from which can be used later for animals but not for human needs). Then brand new clothes are put on the deceased (and if the death is sudden, these may have to be purchased from neighbors who have some on hand). The body is then placed in the coffin, which has been bought or borrowed.

The door to this room is then opened and everybody comes in; they all sit around and drink liquor and talk and stay up all night. The immediate female relatives of the deceased do not work in the kitchen, but other women cook and at dinner time the food is brought in and all eat.

After the all-night vigil, and after breakfast, neighbors and the far-relatives carry the coffin to the pueblo, and all of the relatives and friends come along. They take the coffin to the family's pueblo house, and then all but the close relatives go to the cemetery where friends and acquaintances dig the grave. Then they go back to the house to get the body; they carry it to the cemetery, stopping at each corner for a moment and passing the church, where the pall-bearers turn the coffin around several times before passing on. Around the grave, everybody drinks a little liquor and some is sprinkled on the coffin.

The coffin is then lowered into the grave by means of ropes. Every person present throws a handful of dirt into the grave, which is later filled and a wooden cross placed above. Those who have mausoleums are buried in them.

Later in the day the close relatives go to the Church with a shaman who does costumbre to send the spirit on its way. Then all of the people meet in the family's house (in the pueblo) to eat. In the room there are benches all around the walls and the people are segregated by sex and age (males are on the benches, with groups of old men, youths, and boys, and the women are in the middle of the room). After dinner a large jug of liquor is brought out; the eldest brother and a couple of mozos go around serving large glassfuls of liquor -- going first to the shaman, then the father, if he is alive, the uncles, etc., going first to the old people, then to the youths, then the boys, and then the women. This is repeated through the night, and everybody drinks heavily. The next day those who are able go to their homes in the monte, the others stay until they sober up.

People go to the cemetery every All Saint's Day.

There are no mourning customs; there are no special clothes or insignia of mourning, and even the closest relatives have no restrictions placed on their behavior.

If the widow has no children she may marry again in two or three weeks. If there are children the widow doesn't usually marry again, since they have the land that must be taken care of. With children but no land, the widow could remarry in a few weeks.

Death. His first wife died in childbirth on a Sunday morning.

Immediately he went to the pueblo and went to the juzgado and to the Padre and also bought a coffin. Then his family and friends came, some 70 people in all.

His brothers (who are neighbors) immediately took her body to another room and placed it upon a table. Later, when the coffin was brought, the body was placed inside and candles lit and placed around. Everybody then sat around the room. They stayed there all night, drinking liquor which Miguel had around the house. A ladino band played all night.

In the morning, Diego Gutillo of Pachoj washed the head of the corpse, and a woman changed the clothes. (The washer-of-the-head is any man who will do it; most people are afraid, but somebody is usually willing. This man and the woman who fixes the body get there lunch here).

At two or three P. M. everybody went to the funeral, friends and relatives carrying the coffin. They took the body to the Church first and the musicians played a response. The coffin was turned around four times to disperse the spirit. They then took the body to the cemetery and buried it in the mausoleum that they have.

In the coffin ~~are~~ placed cigarettes, cigars, a bottle of liquor, new clothes (or the best a person has; weaving materials if the woman was a weaver; personal belongings. Some people put money in, too, but the Ignacios do not. Some also put in some corn, wheat, and bread, but not this family -- maybe, says Miguel, because they get too drunk to think of it.

There is no mourning at all. In a month or two the widower can look for another wife, and the widow another man. There is no objection to Sororate-Levirate, but nothing for it.

Genealogies and Kinship Terminology

I have obtained some ten genealogies from different cantones in Quezhe. The first point that comes out in them is that the remembered families are comparatively small; the average remembered family (dead and alive) consists of 28.5 persons, with a range of from 50 to 11. Several factors contribute to this: (1) the infant mortality is high, and when people do not grow to maturity they (a) are not themselves remembered and (b) do not have children; (2) So many people have gone to the fincas, and when they remain there some time their children, if not they themselves, are forgotten; (3) there is a strong tendency to forget the relatives through females because they are ~~an~~ living in different cantones and may never come into contact with one. That there is a weighting on the father's side is true as far as collateral relatives is concerned; however, lineal female relatives are about as well remembered as lineal male ascendants. Bilateral family feeling apparently is strong enough to overcome in part the effects of patrilocal residence and patrinyimic custom.

One difficulty about doing anything with genealogies here is the great uncertainty of names; in the first place there is a very limited number of surnames that repeat themselves over and over again, especially in one canton -- so that in Quejel for example there are many ~~xmjakix~~ Venturas who consider themselves unrelated. At the same time there is an even more limited number of Christian names. Tomas (Santo Tomas is the patron saint of Chichicastenango) is answered to by a large number of men, for example, and the combination Tomas Ventura is repeated over and over again even in the same canton. It is difficult to know about whom one is talking, therefore. To make it worse, there are many many cases in which two sons of the same parents (and even three) are given exactly the same name. In the family they often call the eldest by the proper name and the younger by a nick-name, but not always. And in giving genealogies, the names are repeated very calmly without apology.

What is even worse is that there is a peculiar custom of not only naming a child for some immediate ancestor as far as the Christian name is concerned, but ~~naming him~~ as far as the surname is concerned also. Thus if my father's name is Tomas Tol, but my mother's father's name is Juan Morales, I may be named Juan Morales, and the Tol utterly forgotten. Informants have done this numberless times in genealogies. The result of this is that there is no telling by names alone any family connections.

This last factor made very uncertain the conclusions from one type of inquiry: the attempt to discover if the cantones consisted originally of patriarchal families, bearing the same surname, or several of them. I rather think that the idea of surnames is an introduction since the conquest, and the fact that there is this confusion may bear out this supposition. On the genealogies that I obtained, I have information on the cantones from which the various people come; although I had hoped that this might give some clues as to the relations of cantones and families, ~~it~~ their chief value is to show where wives are obtained and how strongly patri-local the Indians are. Taking the information off the genealogies, there are the following marriages:

Cases of	No.	Man FROM	Woman FROM	
TOTAL	85			
	Total 12	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX	
Same Canton	1	Chuamanzana	Chuamanzana	
	1	Chupol	Chupol	
	1	Semeja 2nd	Semeja 2nd	
	1	Mactzul 4th	Mactzul 4th	
	1	Xeabaj	Xeabaj	
	1	Pocohil	Pocohil	
	3	Chuabaj	Chuabaj	
	3	Chutzorop	Chutzorop	
		Total 19		
	Contiguous Cantones	1	Chuamanzana	Sachvichol
2		Chiban	Chulimal	
2		Semeja 2nd	Semeja 1st	
3		Mactzul 4th	Mactzul 1st	
2		Mactzul 1st	Mactzul 4th	
1		Paxot 3rd	Paxot 1st	
1		Paxot 3rd	Paxot 2nd	
1		Chucalibal	Sachvichol	
2		Sachvichol	Chucalibal	
1		Chucalibal	Chumanzana	
1		Chuabaj	Pachoj	
1		Chutzorop	Sachvichol	
1		Chupol 2nd	Chujulimal	
	Total 27	Ag		
Nearly Neighboring Cantones	1	Agua Escondida	Sacpulp	
	1	Sacpulp	Lacama 1st	
	2	Agua Escondida	Chupol	
	1	Chucam	Chinima	
	1	Semeja 2nd	Chicajom	
	3	Mactzul 4th	Mactzul 3rd	
	2	Mactzul 4th	Paxot 1st	
	1	Mactzul 3rd	Mactzul 4th	
	2	XXXXXXXXXX	Comanohaj	
	3	Chucalibal	Ohieua 1st	
	2	Chucalibal	Chutzorop	
	1	Comanohaj	Sachvichol	
	1	Comanohaj	Chutzorop	
	1	Chutzorop	Chucalibal	
	1	Chuabaj	Chicajom	
1	Chuabash	Chutzorop		
1	Chuabaj	Ohieua 1st		
1	Pocohil	Masubalcip		

Cases of	No.	Man From	Woman From
Total	21	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX
	1	Chumanzana	Chunima
Fairly	1	Chumanzana	Agua Escondida
Distant	1	Chumanzana	Sacpulp
Cantones	1	Agua Escondida	Chuchicapa
	1	Agua Escondida	Pajuliboy
	1	Agua Escondida	Chontola
	1	Chupol	Chuabaj
	1	Agua Escondida	Chunima
	3	Semeja 2nd	Pocohil
	1	Semeja 2nd	Chuabaj
	1	Semeja 2nd	Chutzorop
	2	Xeabaj	Pocohil
	1	Xeabaj	Saquilla 2nd
	1	Chuabaj	Panimache
	1	Chuabaj	Comanchoj
	1	Chupol 1st	Chuabaj
	1	Pocohil	Xeabaj
	1	Xeabaj	Saquilla 1st
Total	6		
	1	Sachvichol	Fanquias
Most	1	Chunima	Chicua 1st
Distant	1	Chupol 2nd	Chicua 2nd
Cantones	1	Chupol 2nd	Chicajom
	1	Chupol 1st	Pocohil
	1	Chupol 1st	Semeja

It is to be noticed that there is no case of marriage outside of Chichicastenango; there are a few such, I feel sure, but none have appeared on the genealogies collected. There are only 12 out of eighty-five marriages within the canton; but that cannot be interpreted in terms of exogamy, since the populations of the cantones are small and many within a canton are related by blood and so do not intermarry. By "nearly neighboring cantones" is meant a distance of two or three cantones; by "fairly distant" is meant is meant four or five cantones away; by "most distant" is meant simply farther than that. It is apparent that there is a strong tendency to marry somewhat close to home, and indeed I have talked to many men who do not even know the names of people in very distant cantones. I imagine that any geographical marriage tendencies can be explained on the basis of relatively frequent social contacts the closer the cantones are together.

Of marriage rules the genealogies brought out little; there are no cases of blood-relatives marrying, and it is probably forbidden -- although there are many cases of intermarriage of people with the same surname, even when they live in the same canton and offer the presumption of relationship which is, however, denied by the informants. There are a few cases of brother-sister exchange, and one case of three brothers marrying three sisters; whether such marriages are considered very good, I do not know -- since informants, when asked such a question, usually reply in the affirmative anyway (as mine did). Sister exchange was actually referred to as "cambiado" once; and it appears that to exchange daughters doesn't exempt the families from any of the ceremonies connected with marriage. In the case of brothers marrying sisters, I was told that the parents were good friends and wanted this.

Kinship Terminology

579

There is pretty general agreement as far as the terms are concerned, but the system as I have it is not complete ~~ah~~ because I have not had the opportunity to get it from women, and the terms are in many cases different for a female-speaking; however, I can more or less construct the pattern of the whole from what I have.

There is a limited number of primary terms, and all other relatives are called by combinations of these. In one's own generation there are primary terms for older and younger brother (m.sp) and the same terms respectively for older and younger sister (w.sp); thus one may say that there are terms for older and younger sibling-of-the-same-sex. No distinction of age is made between siblings of the opposite sex, and there are two different terms for the brother and the sister. There is a primary term for husband and another for wife. There is also a term for a man's sister's husband, but a brother's wife is described in those terms. Whether a woman uses a comparable arrangement, I don't know.

There are terms for father and mother, but their siblings are described; interestingly, there is no distinction of age in this generation except in the case of the mother's sisters. Reciprocally a man applies distinctive terms to his son and daughter, but a woman has only one-- and a different-- term for "child".

There is a term for grandfather and one for grandmother; their siblings are described as "brother of grandfather" or "sister of grandmother", etc. making the appropriate distinctions of age. But all other terms follow an intricate system of combinations of these relatives.

Since the terms for the children of a woman are different from those for the children of a man, combinations that include the terms for children differ according to the sex of the ascendent connecting relative. Thus the father's brother's son's children are different from the father's brother's daughter's children not only in that the FBS is different from the FED, but also in the

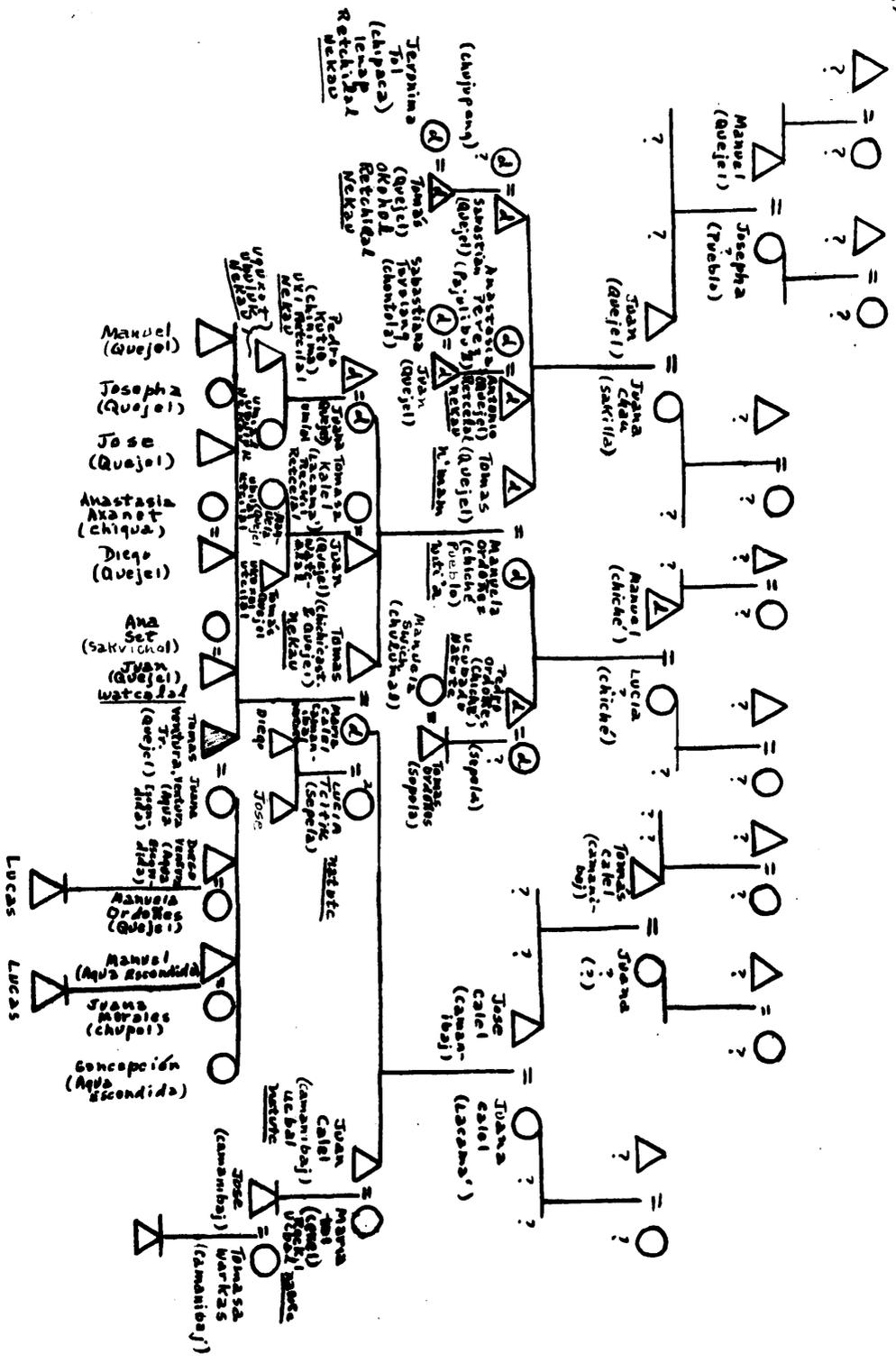
Notes (1) -23-

"child" part of the combination. But since a man distinguishes between a son and a daughter, it is apparently felt that a man should distinguish between the son and daughter of any relative, so he adds a prefix meaning "male" or one meaning "female". Also, he distinguishes these relatives according to absolute age; if the boy is mature there is a different prefix from that if he is a child; and the same with the girls. These distinctions go throughout the system of collateral relatives in generations below that of ego.

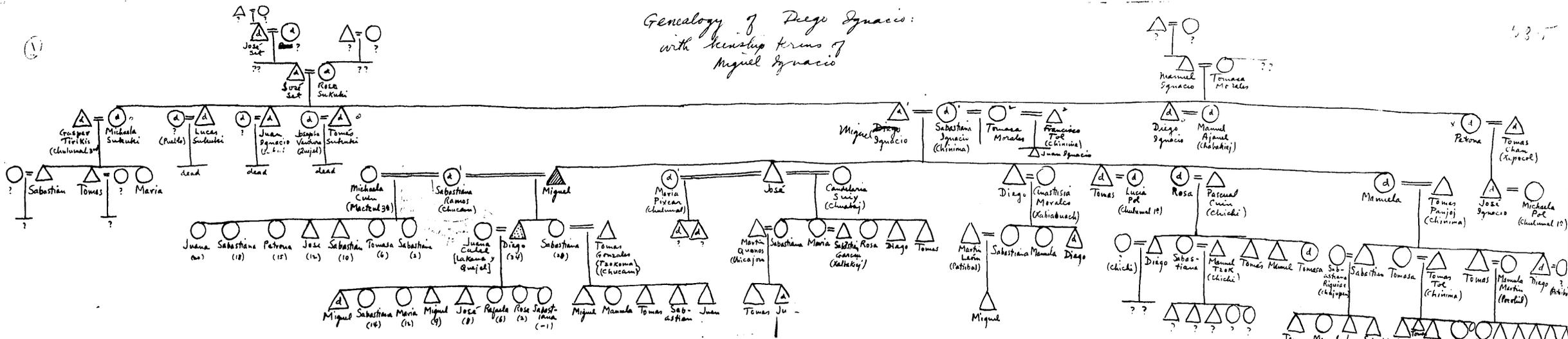
Some of the usages become rather complex, due to these factors, as a few examples will show. The grandfather's sister's son is called ala (or atci) ral krenap n'mam, which means "young male (or mature male) son-of-a-female (who is) my grandfather's sister"; his son is called ala riimam krenap n'mam if a child -- which means "young-male male-speaking-grandchild-through-male of my grandfather's sister". Fortunately, the next generation is simplified, since there is a root for great-grandchild (although it is never used by itself as "my great-grandchild"; in this case the term for the GFS is GGCh is ukin krenap n'mam, which means "great-grandchild of my grandfather's sister". Another example: A man calls his ~~xxxx~~ sister's child ali ral winap', which means in this case "young-female ~~daughter~~-of-a-female (who is) my sister". Her daughter is ali ral iral winap', which means "young-female ~~daughter~~-of-a-female (who is) the ~~xxxxxx~~ child-of-a-female (who is) my sister.

When there is a distinction of age, as in the case of siblings-of-the-same-sex, or the mother's sisters, or certain of the grandparent's siblings, the distinction continues throughout their descendants. The system is, therefore, not a simple descriptive system such as an anthropologist uses; but following its rules of distinctions of age in some cases, and distinctions according to the sex of the speaker and intermediary relatives, it is a consistent descriptive system of a sort. What the connections of the terms and the social system are I haven't yet the faintest idea; I would expect to find them not with the kinship-term system as a whole, but with the age-sex distinctions where and how they are found. One thing is certain: if there is post-conquest influence in kinship terminology it will be very difficult to unravel; if one should (for what reason I don't know) assume that there was a classificatory system of sorts here before the conquest, perhaps in conjunction with a different social organization with clans, it was not transplanted by the Spanish system -- but rather a breakdown in the old social organization was accompanied by a complete breakdown of the kinship system with a consequent rise of a quite new one. A comparative study of the Quiches might throw some light on such a historical problem.

Tomás Ventura, jr.
Genealogy



Genealogy of Diego Ignacio:
with kinship terms of
Miguel Ignacio



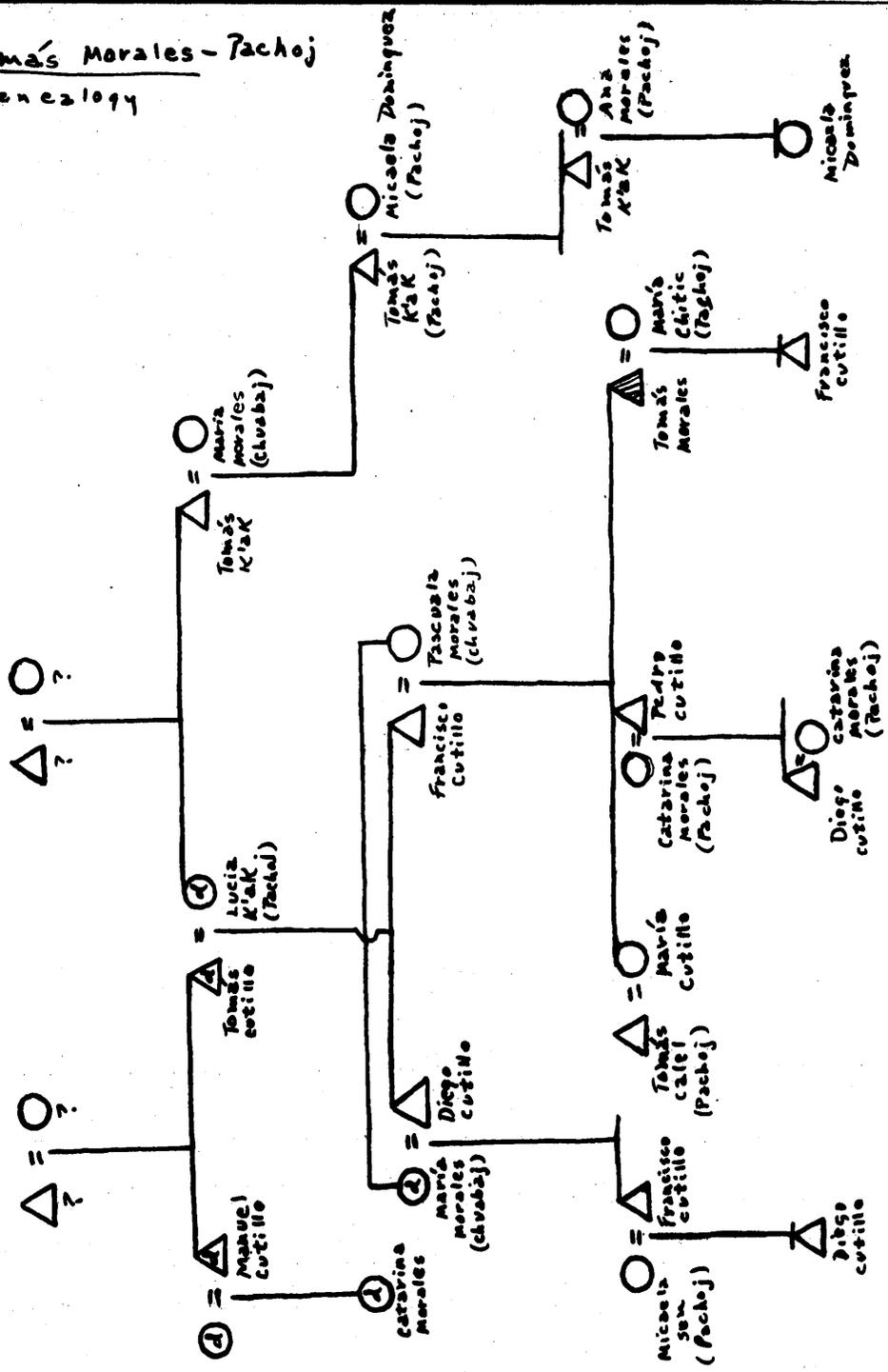
	MIGUEL CALLS		MIGUEL IS CALLED
Y.Br.	Jose Ignacio	O.Br.	Watsalal
O.Sis	Rosa	Y.Br.	Nisibal
Y.Sis	ali wanap'	O.Br.	Nisibal nabeyal
F	Nekaw	Son.	nukukol
M	nitsuf [voc. na']	Son.	wal (or wal atsi)
ald	(ali) nimayal	F.	nekaw
D	Petrona	F.	-
S	Jose	F.	-
FF	Jose Set	S.S.	zwi himam
FM	Rosa Sukuki	S.S.	"
MF	Manuel Ignacio	D.S.	"
MM	Tomasa Morales	F.B.	watsilal nekaw
O.Br.	Sebastiana (Quonos)	F.B.	utsak nekaw
O.Br.	Sebastiana (Teak)	N.B.	ucubal nitsuts
O.Br.	-	N.B.	"

	MIGUEL CALLS		MIGUEL IS CALLED
F.	Tomás Sukuki	Y.Br.	ukokol nitsak'
O.Br.	-	O.Br.	ukokol nabaial
Y.Br.	Juan Ignacio (Sukuki)	Br.	ukokol katsilal
F.O.	Michaela Sukuki	Y.Br.	ukokol nisabal
F.Y.	-	O.Br.	"
Sis.	-	Sis.	"
F.S.	Michaela S.	Br.	"
M.O.	Diego Ignacio	Y.Sis.	ralunap
Br.	-	O.Sis.	"
M.Y.	-	Son.	"
Br.	-	Sis.	"
M.B.	Diego Ignacio	Sis.	"
M.O.	-	Y.Sis.	ral nitsak
Sis.	-	O.Sis.	ral nabaial
M.Y.	Petrona	O.Sis.	witsilal
Sis.	-	Sis.	ral witsilal
M.S.	Petrona	Sis.	"
F.B.	s. of Lucas Sukuki	F.B.	ukokol witsak
S	-	S.	nekaw
F.B.	d. of Lucas Sukuki	F.B.	ukokol witsak
D.	-	S.	nekaw
F.S.	Sebastiana Tirikis	M.O.	ukokol witsilal
S	-	M.O.	nitsuts
F.S.	Maria	M.B.	ukokol witsilal
D.	Tirikis	S.	nitsuts

	MIGUEL CALLS		MIGUEL IS CALLED
N.B.D.	S of Diego	F.S.S.	ral rinap nekaw
M.Y.	Jose	M.O.	ral nabaial tse
S.S.	IGNACIO	O.Br.	netsuts
M.Y.	Diego	M.O.	atfi ral nabaial
S.D.	Petrona	O.Br.	tse netsuts
B.S.S.	S. of Diego Ignacio	F.B.	retsilal numam
B.S.D.	Diego Ignacio	F.F.B.	"
B.D.S.	Tomasa Quonos	M.F.	"
B.D.D.	D of Sebastiana	B.	"
Sis.	Tomasa	M.F.	"
S.S.	Panjoj	B.S.	"
Sis.	Manuela	F.M.	usubal wati'
S.D.	Panjoj	B.	usubal wati'
Sis.	Miguel	F.M.	(or nim u wati')
D.S.	Tol	O.	usubal wati'
Sis.	Manuela	M.	"
B.D.	Tol	M.M.	"
F.B.	S.S. of Lucas Sukuki	F.F.	ukokol nabaial tse nekaw
S.S.	-	B.S.	"
F.B.	S.D. of Lucas Sukuki	F.F.	ukokol nabaial tse nekaw
S.D.	-	B.S.	"
F.B.	D.S. of Lucas Sukuki	M.F.	"
J.S.	-	B.S.	"
F.B.	D.D. of Lucas Sukuki	M.F.	"
B.D.	-	B.S.	"

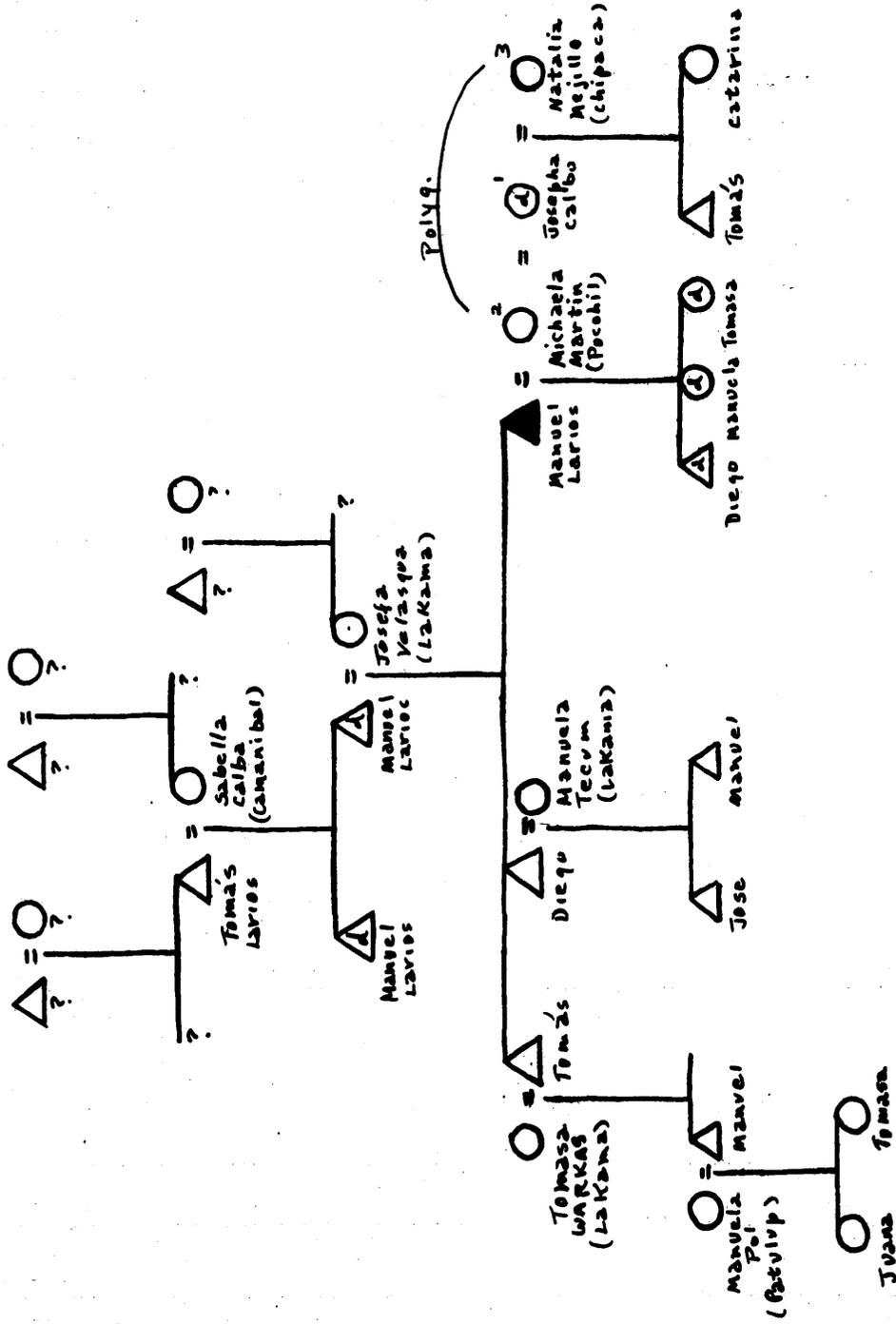
	MIGUEL CALLS		MIGUEL IS CALLED
F.S.S.	S of Sebastiana Tirikis	F.M.	ukokol wati'
S.D.	D of Sebastiana Tirikis	F.M.	ukokol wati'
F.S.	S of Maria Tirikis	B.S.	"
D.S.	D of Maria Tirikis	M.M.	"
F.S.	D of Maria Tirikis	B.S.	"
M.B.	S of Diego Ignacio	F.F.	ral runap
S.S.	S of Diego Ignacio	B.S.	ral runap
M.B.	S of Diego Ignacio	F.F.	ral runap
S.D.	S of Diego Ignacio	B.S.	"
M.B.	D.S. of Diego Ignacio	M.F.	ral runap n'mam
D.S.	D of Diego Ignacio	B.S.	"
M.B.	Jose Ignacio's S	F.F.	ral retsilal nim wati'
S.S.	Jose Ignacio's S	B.S.	"
M.S.	Jose Ignacio's S	M.M.	"
S.D.	Jose Ignacio's S	B.S.	"
M.S.	Petrona's D.S.	M.M.	ral witsilal
D.S.	-	B.S.	nim wati'
M.S.	-	M.M.	"
B.D.	-	B.S.	"

Tomás Morales - Pachoj Genealogy

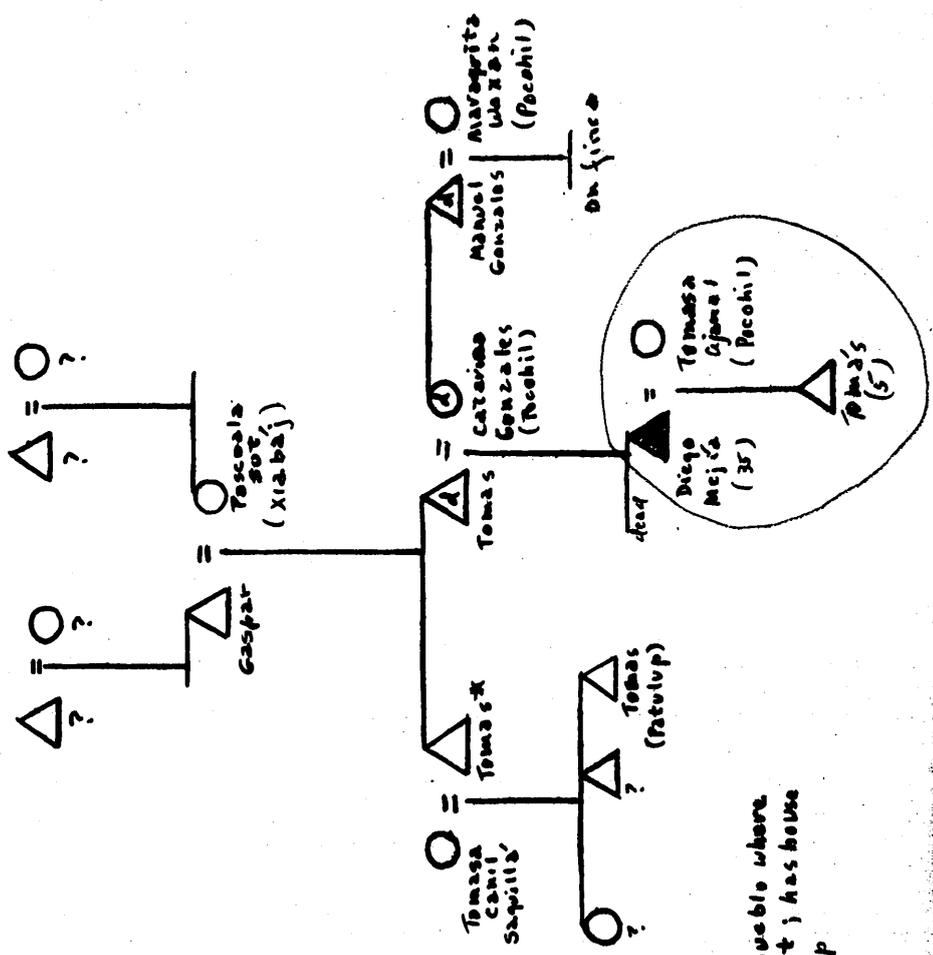


Manuel Larios
Chipaca

59D



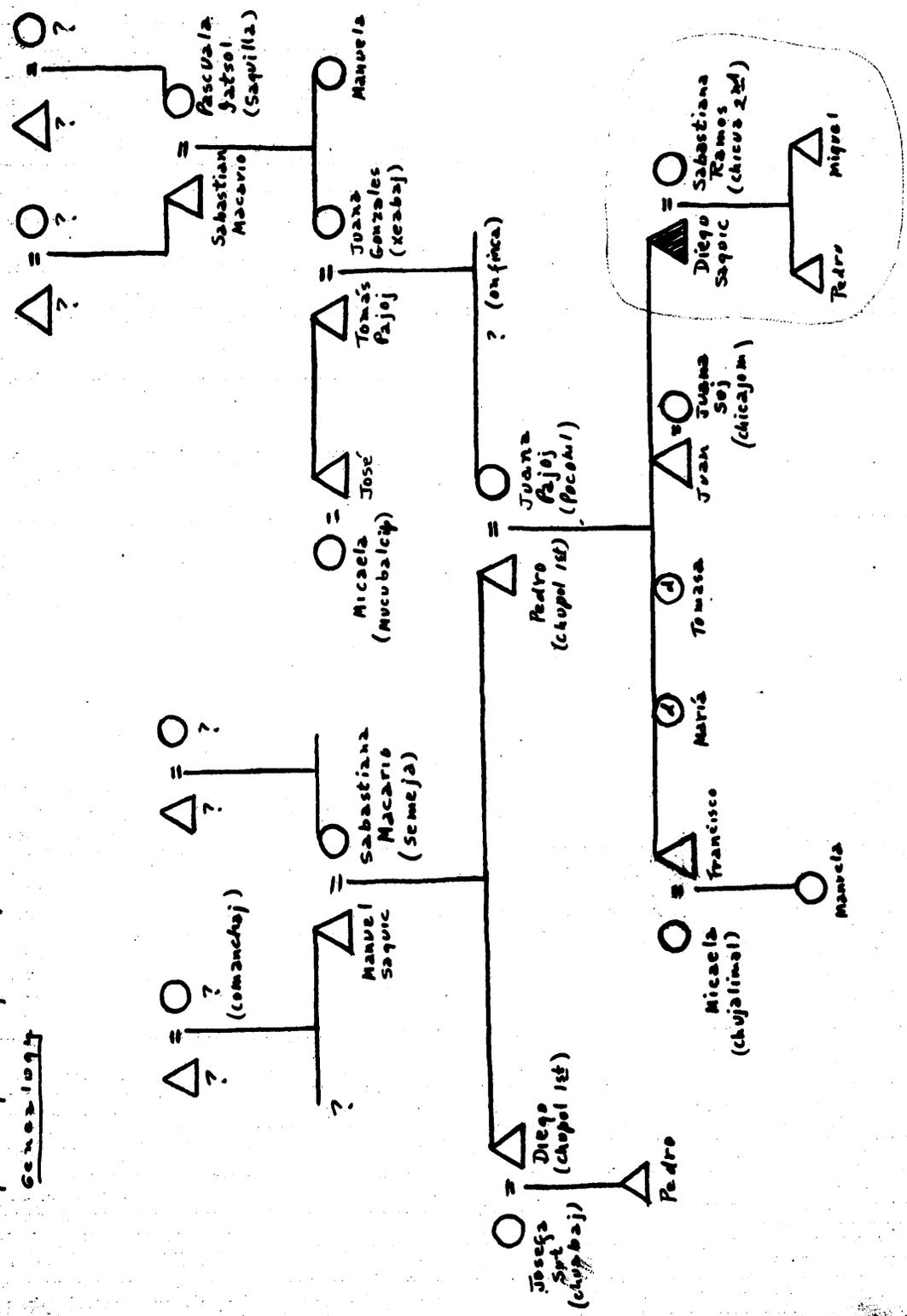
Diego Mejía of Xezabaj
 all the known of genealogy (L. says):



* Lives in pueblo where
 sells meat; has house
 in Patalup

Diego Saquic of Chupol 2nd

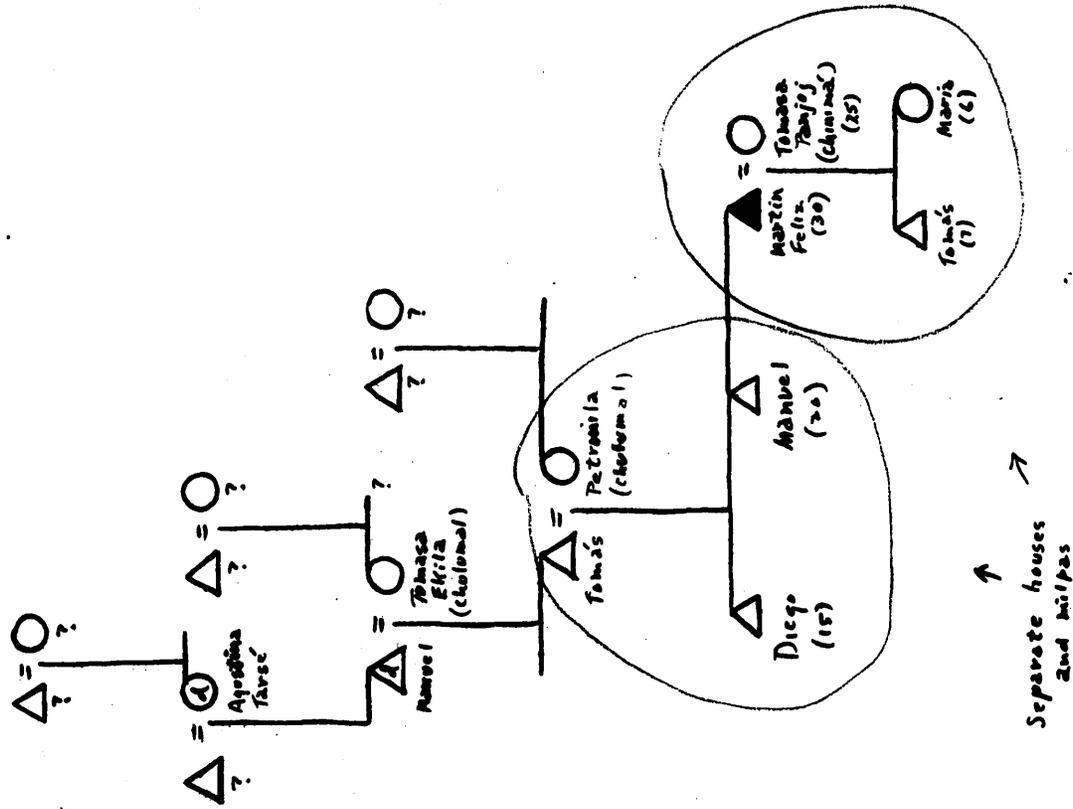
Genealogy

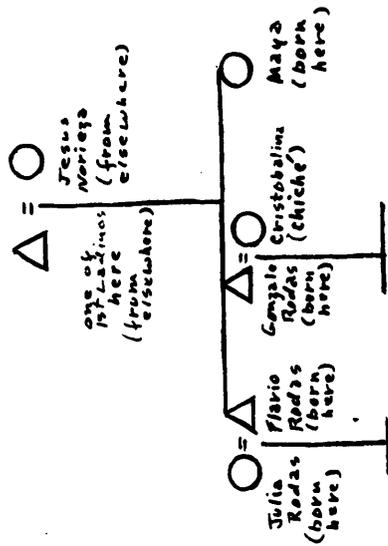


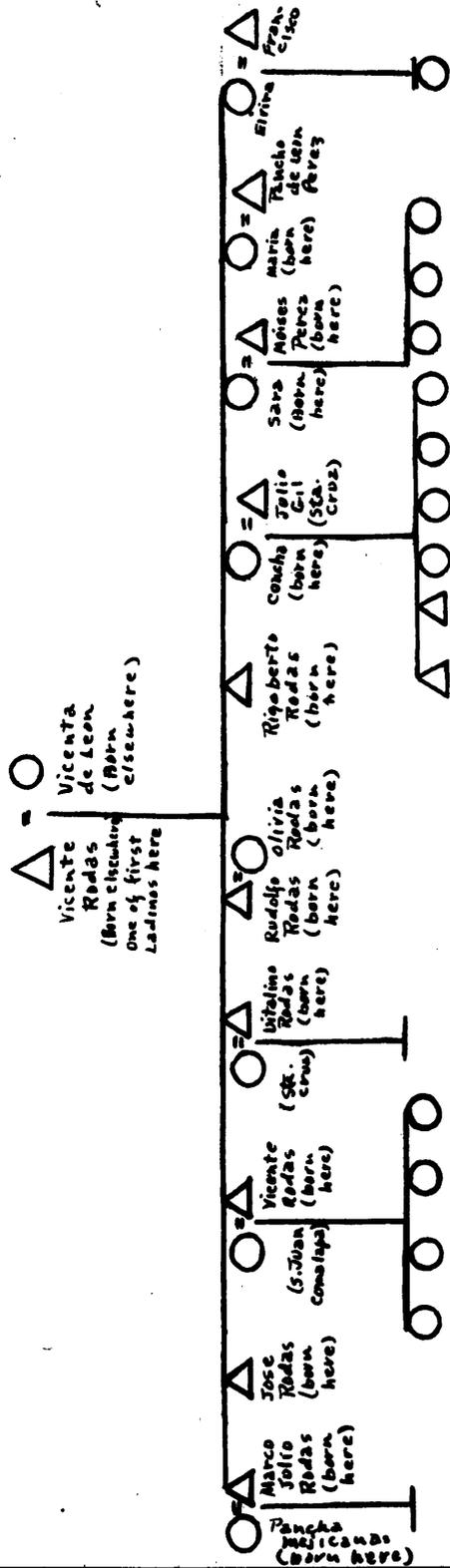
Martin Feliz of Chuca

genealogy

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my Father -- nekaw — nu gau (name for direct add.)
 mother -- ne tbutʃ — nu tʃutʃ (naʔ) in direct address
 my older brother -- witʃalal — witʃlal ✓
 my y. brother -- wintʃaqʔ — uʔtʃaqʔ ✓
 my sister -- wanap — raʔnab ✓
 my wife's brother -- nebalubʔ — nu biluk (or buʔluk) ✓
 my wife -- wisahil — wifʃil ✓
 Son (man speaking) — nahohol — nu kʔuʔxol ✓
 daughter (" ") — nimyal — nu miʔal ✓
 Child (woman sp) -- wal — (si) wal or (si) wery ✓ speaking
 to a 2d person

boy -- ala — aʔla
 girl -- ali — aʔli
 man -- atci — aʔtʃi
 woman -- icok — iʔʃoʃ

~~mother's older sister~~

(mother's) older (sister) -- retʃilal (retʃutʃʃ)

(mother's) younger (sister) -- otʃax (retʃutʃʃ) — ral u tʃaqʃ nu tʃutʃ

grandchild — winmam — u wi mam

great grandchild — nicken — u kab wifʃan mam
 — u roʃ winmam (great-great g. ch.)

grandfather -- nʔmam — nu mam

grandmother -- — tʃu nu mam

not known

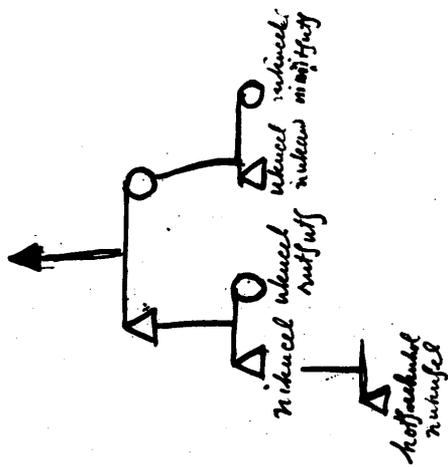
[nu kʔiʃel] direct address

retʃilal nu tʃutʃ
 ral u tʃaqʃ nu tʃutʃ

alax nu kʔiʃel (direct)

Parasitology
605

Parasitology



male.
young siblings (♂ sp) — nufak'
young siblings (♂ sp) — tak nutSak
older brother (♂ sp) — wiflal

older brother (♀ sp) — nuctal

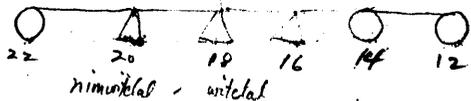
older brother (when ♀ dead) — tat [oldest sister (when m. dead)] na

oldest brother

oldest brother (♀ sp) — nim nuctal

older sister (♀ sp) — wifclal

younger sister (♀ sp) — nutcak



older sister (♂ sp) nim winap

the oldest brother (♀ sp) nim nuctal

the second ~~younger~~ brother kolik nuctal

the third brother wroc nuctal

younger sister (♀ sp) nutSak'

younger sisters (♀ sp) tak nutSak'

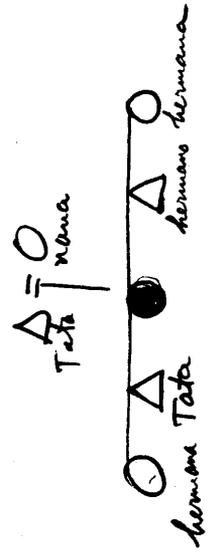
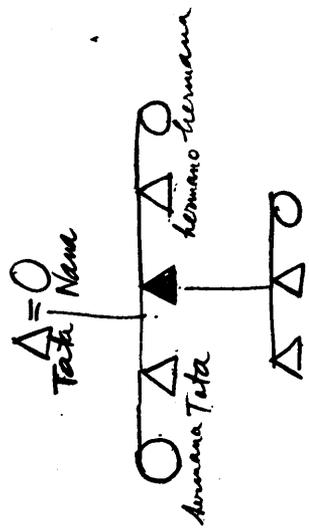
younger ~~sisters~~ brothers (♀ sp) tak nuctal

younger siblings (♀ sp) tak wifclal

younger sisters (♂ sp) tak winap

Pomés Ventura

Superimpresión
relacións de familia



Education and special classes of Indians

The reader is referred also to correspondence on social classes in Chichicastenango, Appendix III , pp. .

Tomas Ventura C.

Education. The term applied to a person who can read and write is ateap. The term applied to a person who can speak Spanish is axteatf. Tomas' judgment as to the comparative literacy and Spanish-speaking ability of the Indians follows. The grade of 100 refers not to perfection, but to the best among the local Indians.

Name	Canton	Literacy grade	Spanish grade
Tomas Ventura C.	Quejel	100	95
Francisco Pixoar	Quejel	100	95
Tomas Gonzales	Tzokoma	100	95
Diego Ignacio	Chinima	90	95
Miguel Ignacio	Chinima	85	90
Tomas Ventura, Sr.	Quejel	85	85
Maria Nix	Pueblo	80	95
Tomas Ren	Chulumal	75	85
Pascual Ren	Chucam	70	80
Tomasa Felica	Tzokoma	60	60
Juan Outillo	Pueblo		100
Manuel Ren	Chulumal		90
Tomas Sente	Faquixic		90
Tomas Calvo	Chujupen		75
Tomas Chitic	Chulumal		75

Of these, the Tomas Venturas are father and son, as are Miguel and Diego Ignacio. Pascual and Tomas Ren are brothers. Diego Ignacio is Director of the Indian School, and Tomas Ventura is the other teacher. Until recently Pascual Ren and Francisco Pixoar were also teachers in the school. Tomas Gonzales is Secretary of the Indian Municipality.

Education. Diego lists and rates the literate Indians and those who speak Spanish as follows, 100 being not perfection but the best among the Indians.

Name	Literacy rating	Spanish-speaking
Tomas Ventura C.	100	90
Francisco Pixcar	100	95
Tomas Ren	100	95
Tomas Gonzales	100	90
Diego Ignacio	100	90
Miguel Ignacio	90	90
Pascual Ren	80	80
María Nix	80	90
Tomas Ventura, Sr.	80	80
Geronimo Cutillo	70	90
Sabastian Panjoj	70	90
Pascuala Dominguez	70	90
Tomasa Felisa	60	60
Juan Cutillo		100
Lucas Chon		90
Manuel Ren	50	80
Tomas Sente		85
Tomas Panjoj		85
Juan Dominguez		85

Diego is the director of the Indian school, and teaches the higher grades. His son goes to the Ladino school, where Diego himself was educated. Diego married one of Tomas Ventura's sisters, and his own sister is married to Tomas Gonzales, but his closest friend in this group is Francisco Pixcar.

The total number of Maxefios who are literate and/or Spanish-speaking are rated by Tomás Ventura and Diego Ignacio as follows (100 being not perfection but the best among the Indians):

Indian	Literacy		Spanish	
	Ventura	Ignacio	Ventura	Ignacio
Tomás Ventura C.	100	100	95	90
Francisco Pixcar	100	100	95	95
Tomás Gonzales	100	100	95	90
Tomás Ren	75	100	85	95
Diego Ignacio	90	100	95	90
Miguel Ignacio	85	90	90	90
Pascual Ren	70	80	80	80
Tomás Ventura, Sr.	85	80	85	80
María Mix (female)	80	80	95	90
Tomasa Feliza (female)	60	60	60	60
Gerdnimo Cutillo		70		90
Sebastian Panjoj		70		90
Pascuala Dominguez (f.)		70		90
Manuel Ren	-	50	90	80
Juan Cutillo			100	100
Lucas Chen				90
Tomás Senté			90	85
Tomás Panjoj				85
Juan Dominguez				85
Tomás Calvo			75	
Tomás Chitie			75	

The Venturas are father and son; so are the Ignacios. Tomás and Pascual Ren are brothers. Diego Ignacio ^{and F. Pizar are} ~~is~~ married to ^{two} a Ventura daughter; ~~is~~ Tomás Gonzales is married to an Ignacio daughter-sister. Tomás Ventura G. had a serious affair with María Nix; he, Tomás Gonzales, and Miguel Ignacio have all bid seriously for the hand of Tomasa Feliza. (In 1936 Tomasa married a step-brother of Tomás Ventura).

The literate Indians are peculiar in many ways. There are six Indians who have one or more gold teeth, and all six are in this group. Not many Indians are expert embroiderers, yet most of the literates are, and they are the best among the Indians. (Among non-literate embroiderers^K mentioned by T. Ventura are his brother Juan, a Francisco Macario of Chulumal, Juan Panjoj of Chicua, and Diego Cael of the town.) The literates are not laborers or pack-carrying merchants, hence have time for embroidering. Tomás Gonzales was the first to embroider flowers on his coat, and Tomás the first to embroider a quetzal-bird. The literates (except Tomás Ren) form something of a social group; two years ago they gave a dance together; when they go to the Capital several of them go together. They are not bosom friends, but closer than to outsiders. With the exception of Tomás Ren, all of the literate men are pro-foreigner and pro-school. Since the majority of influential Indians oppose the infusion of foreigners and to some extent even the school, this group has many enemies. Tomás Gonzales remains friendly with all, as he must in his position of Secretary, which makes him also Fiscal of the cofradías. (Tomás Ren is also Fiscal).

The Literate Indians are peculiar in many ways. There are six Indians who have one or more gold teeth, and all six are in this small group. Not many Indians are expert embroiderers, yet most of the literates are and they are the best ones among all the Indians. (Among non-literate embroiderers are Tomas' brother Juan, Francisco Cacario of Chulumal, Juan Panjoj of Chicua, Diego Calal of the Pueblo.

The literates, not being laborers or merchants, have time to do embroidering. They have in recent years begun the practice of embroidering flowers on sacos (Tomas ~~Xantux~~ Gonzales) and quetzal birds on the sacos too (Tomas Ventura). Tomas when he once saw the quetzal over the head of Tecum in the dance of la Conquista, got the idea of cutting out a small paper quetzal and embroidering over it on his saco; others copied this, and now of course they don't need the paper cutout.

The literates (except Tomas Ren) form a social group; they have a tendency to intermarry (thus Tomas Gonzales married Miguel Ignacio's ~~son~~ daughter and Diego's sister; Tomas Ventura has had a serious affair with Maria Nix; Miguel Ignacio, Tomas Gonzales, and Tomas Ventura have all bid seriously for the hand of Tomasa Felisa). The men of this group gave a dance together two years ago; when they go to the Capital several of them go together. They are not bosom friends, but are closer than they are to outsiders.

All of the men of this group are pro-foreign (with the exception of Tomas Ren who is very anti-foreign and not on speaking terms with the other literates, even his brother; he is in prison now for anti-Cinima activities; he is friends with the old Principals and is one of the Fiscales of the

Tomas Ventura C. The Literate Indians, cont'd

Cofradias and has to stay on good terms with the old conservatives) and the two women are, though shy of foreigners, not anti-foreigner. Since there is a majority of the influential Indians who oppose the intrusion of foreigners, and to some extent even the school, this group has many animies. Tomas Gonzales remains friendly with all, however, as he must in his position of Secretary (which makes him also a fiscal of the cofradias).

Tomasa Feliza
 Maria Nix, another literate like Tomasa and of the same age, has lots of sweethearts, among them Tomas Ventura, Diego Ignacio and Tomas Pixoar. Several days ago she married a man from canton Quejel, probably because her father has long favored her marrying, but Tomasa thinks the marriage won't last and that Maria won't stay in the monte with her husband. Maria sells coffee in the plaza every Thursday and Sunday. (Tomasa does not understand "mercado" at all, always refers to the market-plate as the "plaza".)

Tomasa Deliza
 Tomasa says the naturales don't like it when some of them speak and write la castilla; they seem too much like ladinos.

Tomás is an unusual Indian. He is a member of a small group neither conservative like the mass of Indians nor Ladinoized like those who work in the hotel. He is one of the very few literates (the number of which does not include those at the hotel). The literates run in a few families: thus Tomás' father (of the same name) is an old literate; Diego Ignacio and his father -- of the same respective generations -- are also literate; Pascual Ren and his younger brother Tomás, Francisco Pixcar, two stray women, and Tomás Gonzales -- the Secretary of the Indian Municipality -- complete the list. There are about a hundred more school children who can read and write to some extent, but that is all. In a population estimated up to thirty thousand, that is not a high percentage.

The adult literates all attended, as matters of accident, the local Ladino school; the Indian school has been running for only three years and has of course turned out no graduates. Of their number every one of them ~~is~~ still has his milpa and wears Indian costume; with one exception (Tomás Ren, who is inimical to the rest and not on speaking-terms even with his brother), however, they have forsaken the masses to become friendly with foreigners. And with one other exception (Tomás Gonzales, the secretary, who manages to be friends with both sides) the masses are, largely, their enemies. The literate group themselves are not always on the best of terms, since their education has taught them a distrust of mankind, but they keep up a semblance of friendship.

Economically this small group is unique too: they have forsaken their ancient heritage of the-load-on-the-back and rarely do common labor except perhaps on their own milpas. One is the Secretary, four are "professors" in the school, one is retired, and the last -- Tomás Ventura, -- is the contact-man and guide for the Inn. Withal, they are hardly more sophisticated than their fellows and their knowledge really ends with about a fifth-grade ability to read & write.

Tomás Ventura is, in a way, as different from the others of this group as they all are from the other Indians. His face and figure, even, are outstanding; he is handsome and clean-cut, his tall figure -- which is always proud and erect -- graced in the finest of Indian finery. He somehow strikes one as if, if descendants of the ancient kingdom of the Quichés are living, he should be the crown prince. For one evening, last Fall, he was.

The representative of a steamship company that was contemplating tours to Guatemala was in Chichicastenango. Mr. Clark, who was anxious to have the Maya Inn placed on the itinerary, instructed his manager here to make as dramatic an impression on the steamship man as he could, and he told him how Tomás was to be used in this connection. When the visitor, with a companion of his, was sitting in the living room, they told him of the Quiché prince who was soon to come, by appointment. Finally he was ushered in and introduced, indeed as the Prince. The men rose to shake hands, but Tomás, tall and erect, with arms folded over his breast, simply nodded. The visitors asked him questions, to which he replied shortly; then they offered him a drink, which he refused. They, embarrassed, persisted, and finally -- with an air that said, "Well, if it will please you, I shall condescend" -- he accepted. Mrs. Rohrmann, the hostess at the Inn, by this time could not contain her laughter; she left the room. But the thing more or less collapsed when the visiting executive escaped from the presence of the prince long enough to ask her, in tone both puzzled and awed, "How shall we address him, as Your Majesty?" and she answered quickly, "No, just call him Tomás". The Inn is now on the tourists' itinerary.

Tomás is, comparatively, quite wealthy; he and his father (whose principal heir he is) own a dozen or so pieces of land in various cantones, as well as several houses in town. The Padre says that they obtained this property by usurious practices, and there is

probably considerable truth in this although Tomás is equivocal on the subject. That Tomás is a shrewd business man, shrewd enough for a man twice his 28 years, there is no doubt. He always has a number of irons in the fire and I myself have been branded with one. He is more commercial-minded than any other Indian that I have met; and these are first of all a commercial people. When Professor Andrade was here studying the language he made a number of phonograph recordings for us. A typical one was a record in which he gives advice to young people; and he says that one should be good to his wife, for if not she may leave him and do you think that you won't lose the money that you have invested in her or that you can get another for nothing? He also points out that one must take care of his family, feed it well, etc., for if a child should die he cannot -- as if he were an animal -- simply throw his body over a barranca, but must bury him, and that costs money.

I think that one must, on the whole, conclude that Tomás hasn't many beautiful thoughts. He does not love his wife, but he wants to keep her because she is an excellent worker. Yet he has never been faithful to her -- on any standards including his own. He is anxious that she shouldn't find him out, because he doesn't want any trouble; yet he has already considered that if he should be caught he would be safe from any punishment. He knows that Juana, his wife, would go to the Indian alcalde for recourse; and he knows that if she does, he would appeal from the Indian alcalde to his superior -- the alcalde -- and since Juana would never think of going to the alcalde because she can't even talk Spanish, he would have the better of any legal argument. Their marriage isn't legal, but he registered their children at the Juscado, so that it is a recognized common-law marriage; for this reason Juana could never be unfaithful to him without possible punishment from the law. He has the upper hand because he knows about such things, and he possesses means to improve

So also, Tomás is by way of being a civic slacker; there are certain services to the municipality required of every man, but neither Tomás nor any member of his family has served for many years. The enforcement of the requirements is handled through the Indian juzgado, and they cannot do anything to Tomás because he would appeal to the chief alcalde on the grounds that he has a patrón (Alfred Glark), who needs him, or else that he occasionally has to do work for the juzgado that requires his knowledge of writing. Even granting that his claims are justified, he nevertheless talks about the matter in the tone of a man who is getting away with something.

Our particular friends in Chinima are the Ignacios, and especially Miguel and Diego -- father and son respectively. -- These men, it will be remembered, belong to the literate group of Indians, and Miguel, I have mentioned, is now a suitor for the hand of Tomasa Feliza. Until this year father and son and their families have lived in the same house, but recently Miguel moved with his family to another house of theirs a few hundred yards away. When I came over, however, Miguel always comes to Diego's house so that the three of us can talk together.

Diego is the present director of the Indian school, and in this capacity he also teaches the highest grade; generally speaking, one can say that he knows at least as much as any other Indian here; he reads and writes fluently, though perhaps not as well as Tomás Gonzales, and he has a better idea of the outside world than any of the others. Miguel is not very far behind his son; for years, in his younger years, he was the Indian Secretary, and he hasn't since forgotten how to write.

Miguel is a peculiar cross between the older, conservative Indians and those who are the forerunners of acculturation. The mixture is almost a matter of layers, somehow. In his younger days he took a keen interest in the esoteric parts of his culture; he has been padrino to hundreds, has acted as intermediary in marriages now long forgotten; five times he was the first alcalde of the Cofradía of Santo Tomás, the most important here, and he was first alcalde of two minor cofradías as well. In those days he must have been one of two or three literate Indians here, and apparently it wasn't until the past ten years or so that that fact set him as one apart from the old conservatives.

It is noteworthy that his contemporary, the elder Tomás Ventura, one of the other literates of the by-gone generation (who, however,

isn't nearly as proficient as Miguel) was also, in days past, keenly interested in the religious aspects of Chichicasteango life, and he, too, was Secretary. It seems very likely that in those days a literate person was welcomed, for the Indians naturally prefer a Secretary of their own people. Since that time either these men have for some reason lost their old interest and thus the favor of the other Indians, or else for some reason they lost the favor and with it interest; or, of course, the two might well have gone together.

However it came about, Miguel today has no interest in the more revered aspects of Indian culture. He hasn't acted as padrino for many years, nor as marriage intermediary; he doesn't consider the cofradias worthy of attention. He remembers all of these things (a previous ethnographer -- Schultze-Jena -- obtained part of his material from him several years ago) but much as a mature man calls to mind a piece of poetry he remembers from his childhood. The things are not a part of him any more. His attitude toward his ancient prestige is not easy to fathom; he is rather proud of them because when it comes to matching records with another he can point to them. But it is not a wistful pride; I think he would not consider going back now to his former glory. Of course part of this is that the people wouldn't have him -- that is, for a cofradia, at least -- but it is not all of it; being active in such matters entails time, and money, too, and I think he would feel that he has much to lose and little now to gain.

Should Miguel somehow be able to make a gracious retreat back into the full culture, entailing as it would being accepted again by the leaders of the tribe, I have no doubt he would take the step. But that is impossible, of course, and I am sure he would never consent to giving himself back to his culture without being

accepted as fully a part of it. It is certainly not a matter of disillusionment with him; he still believes as much as anybody, but it is simply a matter of that sort of thing being put behind him, a part of his past.

Miguel is an old man, and his son Diego relatively young; that and what follows from it constitutes the difference between the men. Miguel has a past, and Diego has not, and therefore has no layer of half-forgotten lore. But just as the father is proud of what he once was, so would the son fain become just that. But Diego has, after all, started where Miguel left off, and it is likely that no more easily than his father could get into the culture again could Diego ever get into it. He can learn what is necessary to become a padrino, but probably nobody would send for him; he might be willing to become a cofrade, but likely he will never be appointed. He doesn't know it, but his hope for the future is his youth; as the years go by, and education spreads among the people, the culture is apt to catch up with him, so to speak, and then he will be part of it. The point is that neither Miguel nor Diego have any quarrel with their culture, but only that the leaders of society have a quarrel with them.

These men in Chichicastenango -- and I include all of the literate group -- exemplify a factor or a stage in the process of acculturation that sociologists must not overlook. They talk about "marginal men" who have passed beyond their own cultural horizon but are rendered unfit or unhappy in either their old setting or in their new one. In the cases here it is not that Miguel or Diego could not of their own accord adapt their new knowledge to their old culture -- and be perfectly happy about it -- but that others won't allow them to. There is one other case that might bear look-into on this subject: that of Tomás Ren, the literate who, for some

reason, has turned back to the old people and is most viciously opposed to his fellow literates and what they stand for in the culture. Tomás is indeed accepted into the old culture; he is a Fiscal of the cofradías at least. But in his case the truth of the matter is that all he ever had in common with the other literates was an ability to read; he has never had connections with the school or with foreigners either, and so never represented what the old people distrust. He was not in short, "taken back into the culture", for he has never left it; he could not in any objective sense be called a "marginal man". The matter of Tomás Gonzales, the Secretary, is rather difficult; he too is a fiscal, and also is padrino to many children; yet he traffics slightly with tourists (at least is for law-and-order with respect to them) and was a principal informant of a previous ethnologist. I think the secret in his case is superb diplomacy; some say he is a bootlicker to the old principales and alcaldes, but those who say so are not his best friends.

To return to the Ignacios.... Miguel has been three times married; his first wife bore him Diego and a daughter (who is married to Tomás Gonzales, a fact which may make the popularity of Gonzales more remarkable if the Indians looked upon marriage connections as we do); his second wife is still living and still bearing him children, but he was married meanwhile to a third, polygamously, who bore him two more children and then died. None of his daughters is being educated, and Diego is the only son who bids fair to emulate him.

Miguel was once rich, but liquor appears to have been his undoing and he is now heavily in debt; due to his poverty, probably, his bill for aguardiente is now more than halved (according to his own frank figures). It is said that he is patiently awaiting the

proposed cancellation of all debts in two years, when he expects to have given back to him the use of his lands.

Diego has seven children, and the boys attend the school. His land too is used by another because it is dirt-ridden, but he can live on his salary of \$180 a year plus what he earns from selling the products of his wife's loom to the tourists. Diego and his father both are excellent embroiderers; incidentally, so are most of the other literates, and since the rest of the people are not, one must conclude that it somehow goes with their intellectual dignity and their economic position. One other thing seems to go along also: gold teeth; the only Indians here who have one or more gold teeth are found in this literate group of men... I should mention that men in Chichicastenango, if they are able, embroider braid onto their wives' huipiles, and completely embroider their fajas (the narrow sash the women wear); also, they ^{themselves} embroider ~~themselves~~ -- again, if they can, and if they cannot, they either have no decoration, or hire an expert -- the decorations on their trousers and their coats. It is not the least incongruous thing here to see the men, notwithstanding their lord-and-master attitude towards their wives, sitting in the shade of the corredor -- or even in front of the Juscado -- calmly plying their needles to make the ladies' fajas.

Both Miguel and Diego make excellent informants, since they are quick and understanding, and as far as I have been able to determine, conscientious -- except when a matter strikes too close to home (thus they never told me about extra-marital affairs or the father's polygamy; and they never told me that the land to which they have title is not theirs because of debt; yet when I confronted them with evidence constructed out of their own inconsistencies they sheepishly admitted the omissions). They like to rest from

my questions by asking me about the United States, and they not only register amazement (so promptly that I sometimes think it is an act and they really do not believe me) at the time, but keep referring to the incredible facts at intervals ever after.

At first Tomasa would have nothing to do with foreigners, saying that her mother would not approve; but she finally succumbed to the promise of a daily wage. She was insistent that whatever be done be not done in her house, but consented to come to ours. Gertrude first engaged her to make conversation; but after a day it was apparent that neither her Spanish nor her knowledge of costumbres was up to that. How should she know anything, she reasonably insisted; she wasn't even married. But she did know how to weave, and this knowledge need not remain private.

Weaving is a large part of almost every Indian woman's life. At four in the morning the women of the house rise to grind their day's supply of corn; at eight breakfast is over, and then, on and off, the women spend the daylight hours at their looms. For herself the woman must weave at least two huipiles and two carrying cloths, and two more that she uses to wear on her head. Perhaps much more during the year but at least this much. Meanwhile, for her husband she must weave bandas, and sutes; also she must make servilletas and a variety of other miscellaneous pieces. Her skirt, as I have mentioned, is made in a factory, but she must tailor it with embroidery.

Tomasa is expert in all of these things, and she earns her keep -- and is relatively independant -- from her work, for she makes not only her own clothes but some for others as well. It is not easy work, for all of it is done sitting on the knees. Since grinding is also done in this position, of course the women are accustomed to this position (and incidentally an exaggerated house-maid's knees are almost the normal condition) and yet Tomasa, for one, has to rest after two hours' work.

She is, all things considered, quite a pretty girl, and many

men have wooed her. Yet, although she must be at least eighteen or twenty, she has never yet, and refuses now to, wed. For one thing she is very particular: her husband must know Spanish well, and should, if possible, be able to read and write. Not that Tomasa is herself an expert; she once went to the Ladino school here for two years, and then perhaps she could speak Spanish well, and could write creditably. But in the years that have passed she has not had much practice, and now her vocabulary is very limited and -- although she can read with some dispatch -- her knowledge of writing practically ends with her name, which she has woven into one of her huipiles. She wants her husband to know more than that. In this she must needs be disappointed, for all of the literates already have families.

She also wants a man with a goodly milpa; but above all she wants a man who will be faithful to her and will not beat her. In this quest she is herself discouraged, for she insists there isn't a good man in Chichicastenango -- that they all beat their wives mercilessly and all have other women, openly or secretly. Why, then, should she heed the advice of her brother and marry? Her mother is an example of what it means.

Tomasa's father died long ago, and she has a stepfather. The stepfather, Juan Xaper, moved into the house of Tomasa's mother, since she had the land there and he had none. But that does not dispose him more kindly towards his wife. About a month ago they had a bit of a quarrel which ended up by his beating her with a stick and with a machete; then he picked up his belongings and went off to live with another woman in cantón Zepela. His affair with this one cannot be called casual, since he already has one child by this woman. This treatment, as Tomasa says, what women must expect here from husbands. Her particular complaint against

her stepfather is that he had borrowed \$10 from her and when he went away he registered no intention of repaying it. For that Tomasa went to the Indian alcalde, who promptly had Juan brought in; the alcalde told Juan he should be ashamed of himself for owing money to a woman, and told him he would have to pay it back immediately. Juan then paid \$4 to her as the first installment. But, alas for good lessons, last week Juan returned to Tomasa's house -- perhaps to avoid repaying the rest of the money -- and there he is living again.

Tomasa will have none of this; and indeed she is very shy of men. She is ordinarily talkative and gay, but occasionally when I bring an Indian into the house -- say Tomás Ventura or Diego Ignacio -- she buries her head in her weaving and dares not even look up until they are gone. Tomás, she says, once wanted to marry her. Diego's father, Miguel, although he has a wife now and a number of grandchildren, is pressing her -- by correspondence -- to become his wife.

There is only one exception to be recorded about Tomasa's shyness. Our house-boy, Juan, is only about 16; of her list of qualifications he fits only one, since he speaks Spanish better than any other Indian. He has no land at all, But Tomasa's coming here to work, in the same house where young Juan works, has put some romantic notions into her head -- as they were long in his. At first she said the reason she didn't mind his being around (as a matter of fact, whenever he isn't around she asks where he is) is because she always saw him as a patoj, a child. But, she will admit, he is quite a young man, and, even so, she perks up, rather than jerks in, when Juan enters the room. I think she would marry our boy, but right now Juan thinks more of the possibility of going to the Capital to work -- there were it is so alegre -- than he does of settling down to spin life with a bride.

Tomasa, for all her education, is naive about the world. Especially on matters of time her conceptions are vague. One day she asked Gertrude how old she thought Miguel Ignacio -- her literate suitor -- is, and when Gertrude, knowing his age for a fact told her that he is 59, Tomasa drew her breath sharply and replied, "Oh, but he looks like 60!" One day, in the forenoon, she asked Gertrude for the time, and when she was told that it was 10:30 she asked (knowing that she was to go home at noon), "Then I am to leave?" Tomasa, as a clockwatcher, knows what a clock is, but she has no idea what the hours mean.

Her conception about such places as the United States is rapidly being clarified with contact. We are extranjeros, by which is meant here not foreigners (an Indian here would not be an extranjero, no matter in which country he travelled) but people like us. This morning she suddenly looked up at Gertrude from her loom and asked "Yo creo que en tu pueblo hay muchos extranjeros, si?" and then, "Y ellos compran muchas cosas?"

Tomasa has great admiration for those naturales who sabe la castilla, and it is one of her first requirements in a husband. There is a great deal of joking between her and Juan in my presence about marriage. Juan says he is going to see ~~xxxx~~ Tomasa's mother and asking her about marrying Tomasa; this sort of talk amuses Tomasa no end.

April 18. In Quejel today Tomas Ventura asked me about Tomasa, 692

why hadn't I brought her along, and why doesn't she ever talk to him? Then in all seriousness he asked me to ask her if she would be his second wife and to tell her that he will give her a house in the pueblo and treat her good. Perhaps he was encouraged to this when I told him that she is not shy only with him but acts the same way with Diego and all other Indian men, at least when I'm with her, and that she is friendly only with Juan Cutillo and that probably because she considers Juan a boy. Tomás says it won't be any of his wife's business if he takes a second wife, that he isn't bringing another woman to live with her. He went on more humorously, La vida es un momento. Quien sabe si despues hay mujeres ó si hay penitenciaros o que pasa allá." A woman, though, should not look for a second husband. It is very bad for her and she will have many children.

During day, Tomasa joined us when we with T. Ventura & his wife. She didn't speak to the wife much, but seemed less shy.

April 19. Viernes Santo. We visited at Pascual Ren's and Tomas Gonzales' and stopped at the home of Tomasa. She rather rushed out of the patio, and started walking back with us, so excited that she forgot her sute and had to go back for it. She had been to the house in our absence and had brought a liberal supply of the honey-sweetened bread.

Tomasa turned down Tomas Ventura's proposal. She wants to marry a man who has no other wives and who won't want any more

Tomasa Pelisa

than one. Besides he must know Spanish, and there just isn't a man around with all these qualifications. Tomas' proposal would make her just a querida

Tomasa's mother sells tortillas and tamales at the Sunday markets; tortillas are sold five for one cent. She, with Tomasa helping her, sells from 12 until 2 o'clock making about fifty cents (gross) each Sunday.

Tomasa has a horse which she bought when it was very young; she rents it out to ladinos for riding and gets twelve cents for an afternoon, for example. Indian women never ride.

Last Saturday she went with her mother to Chiche (on foot)

Tomasa Felisa

where they bought a little pig for fifty cents and a sheep for twenty pesos (33 cents); they will fatten the two animals and then sell them for \$2 or \$3, each.

Miscellaneous Notes -- Tomasa Felisa

Tomasa Felisa

Tomasa says she likes better to work with me at my home than in her patio, because it is very triste there. When I first asked her to work with me, she didn't want to because (as she tells me now) she thought we were living at the Inn and that we were tourists. Juan convinced her that we are not tourists and explained to her that we are living in a house just like any other residents of Chichicasteango, so she decided to come.

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April 11. Tomasa will be busy for some time helping at the home of Tomas Gonzales, a neighbor and good friend; Tomas' wife gave birth to a baby several days ago, and there is no one there to do the cooking.

Tomasa Delgado

Tomasa will not work all Semana Santa, because it is pecado to work that week.

April 15. Stopped with Tomasa at the pueblo home of Tomas Ventura, but she would not enter with me, too bashful. Tomas Ventura came along and was vexed because Tomasa refused to enter his house. We later went with the men to the home of Diego Ignacio. Tomasa had never been there, though Diego's wife and she are good friends, and she enjoyed her visit. She visited with the women of the household while we went on to watch the ceremony for the completion of Miguel Ignacio's house.

Tomasa Felisa

Miscellaneous Notes -- Tomasa Felisa

Tomasa Felisa

Tomasa brought a bouquet of flowers this afternoon. Says she met Diego's wife in the plaza , and Juanna told her she would like to be able to talk to me, that she understands a few words of Spanish, but can't speak it at all.

April 16. Took Tomasa to Quiche and Chitatul. It was her first ride in a car, and she was frightened and carsick. Every time we descended a barranca she hid her face in her sute and cried.

All in all, it was a great experience for her. The way back to Chichicastenango was easier; she seemed to have lost all her fear and she was no longer sick. No doubt Tomasa will long remember this day.

Tomasa Felisa

Pascual Ren's wife likes to drink. During the last fiesta of Santo Tomás she was dancing drunkenly in a cantina, her corte ^{to} fell off, and she kept right on dancing. Tomasa refers/this

Tomasa Felisa

every now and then and considers it a good joke.

Deliza

Tomasa, upon hearing that there are Indians in my pueblo, too, as she calls it, asked if they speak Spanish or lengua.

I went with Tomasa to the cantina across the street from our house and for a few minutes we watched the mob of Indians drink and dance. Tomasa says she would never go to watch without me, that her mother tells her she can go anywhere with the genora.

Tomasa Felisa
Ramón

Juan Cutillo is an Indian boy who belongs to a sort of special class of Indians, together with the Indian boys who work as waiters and room-boys in the hotel, who are rapidly becoming -- or apparently would like to become -- Ladinos. They live in the pueblo of course, and therefore, unlike the rest of the Indians, they are here to promenade on the Plaza in the evenings when there is marimba music. For these occasions, and for holiday occasions generally, they like to change their Indian costumes for suits of clothes a la Ladino. The boys in the hotel, since they earn quite a bit in tips, can afford quite nice outfits. Our boy Juan is not so prosperous, but he manages to have some clothes; a month ago tragedy ~~was~~ filled his life on that account. He had bought, for \$3.50, some yard goods from a traveling merchant, and for a dollar and a half more had had it made into a suit. It was a suit light in color, and he was very proud of it. There came an occasion when we could provide him with a trip to Quezaltenango, and of course he wore his new suit. He came back with a spot on the seat of his trousers. He took the suit to the tailor to have it cleaned, and when the trousers came back with the spot simply tremendously enlarged, he was heartbroken. Holy Week was coming, too, and he wouldn't step out of the house -- he insisted -- unless he had a new suit. We persuaded him to have the suit dyed, and just a week ago that was done, and it is now some sort of cross between gray and brown with the spot, however, almost invisible. The suit is at the tailor's now for remodelling, since it shrank a bit in the dying, but Juan insists he cannot wear it because he doesn't like the color. It appears that he will soon invest another two-months' salary in another suit.

Because this class of Indian boys takes a great pride in clothes doesn't make them unIndian; most of the Indians ^{we know}/think about their garments above most things, considering it somewhat of a disgrace not to have complete new outfits at least twice a year -- for Holy Week and for the fiesta of Santo Tomás. But these hotel boys in the pueblo are thinking of finery in terms of Ladino clothes, not Indian. There is only one matter in which even these Indians remain pure Indian: they won't wear shoes. The final distinction, in the eyes of people here, between Indian and Ladino, is that Ladinos wear shoes; and when an Indian takes to shoes he is no longer thought of as an Indian, although in one such case I was told confidentially that such and such a "Ladino" is puro natural from Sololá. Our boy Juan, like the others, would not think of wearing shoes here, although if he should leave this place, for the Capital, for instance, he would probably put them on. The Indians compromise and wear very pretty sandals -- if they are wealthy enough to buy them; there is no shame connected with them.

Juan's suit -- the one that was spotted and then dyed -- came back from the tailor today; while it could look much worse, Juan calls it ugly and swears that he cannot wear it for Holy Week. He is very put out, and at one minute talks about spending two months' wages for more material to make a suit, and the next becomes entirely discouraged and avers that he will not stir from the house, for shame, during all of Holy Week. Juan becomes upset easily, anyhow, and his mood changes quickly with his fortunes. One may well observe that Indians usually have poker-faces, and some conclude from that that they feel nothing; but Juan is an exception to the former, and most certainly to the latter.

The boy is very sensitive, and if some one of his numerous "enemies" in the pueblo says a word to him or about him, he may be off for days; since he carries a chip on his shoulder, he is "off" a good part of the time. Sooner or alter he is certain to fight with everybody -- all of the neighbors, the cook, and whoever else he comes into contact with. When he fights with the cook it is very bad for him, since then he won't eat; in fact, when he is in his hurt mood at all he hardly eats, saying that his troubles make him "bilious". But when things go right his spirits soar to the sky: he makes jokes in profusion, generally bubbles over, and eats to make up for what he has lost.

Juan is perhaps the least Indian of any Indian in Chichicaste-
nango. He has, it is true, lost none of the fundamental beliefs of his people, but on the other hand he has never been thoroughly acculturated in Indian life. He was more or less brought up among Ladinos, since his mother was a servant in Ladino homes when he was young and all of his life he has lived around the pueblo. His friends now are the Ladino boys rather than the Indians, and he speaks by far the best Spanish of any of the local Indians. He far prefers Ladino clothes (except that he will wear neither shoes nor a neck-tie) to the costume of his people.

Yet when Juan thinks of marrying (he is only sixteen but has thought seriously of it a number of times) he thinks of Indian girls; I think that if he should marry here he might go back to the milpa life of his people. But his great desire now is to go to the City; there, he thinks, it is my alegre and he could be thoroughly happy. He doesn't want to go to the City to get away from his people; I do not believe that has ever entered his mind. He wants to go because he likes to be where there are a lot of people. Chichicaste-
nango is a very triste place to him; nothing which

happens here. He thinks that in the City he could get work, either as a servant or in some factory, he could buy lots of nice clothes and be in the social whirl.

He goes to every fiesta -- here or out of town -- that he can; he looks forward to such an event as Semana Santa, which is very alegre here; naturally the disappointment about his clothes strikes deeply. As his patrones we have offered to pay half the cost of a new suit for him, but now, in his despondency, he claims he cannot buy suitable material and it is too late to have it tailored.

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Pascual Ren

The Indian School. The personnel consists of:

Diego Ignacio, director and teacher
Tomas Francisco Pixcar, teacher
Pascual Ren Xirum, teacher
Tomas Ventura, Sr., teacher

First Year - Tomas Ventura has 36 pupils from five years to seven years. He teaches them to speak Spanish, including the numbers up to 10, also the five vowels. Later he also shows them how to write the numbers and letters, but they aren't able to learn that well. When the children learn to write all the numbers up to 10 and the vowels, and their names, they go on to second grade. This first grade takes at least two years.

Second Year - Pascual Ren has twenty-six boys. He sees that they learn the full alphabet and the numbers up to 50, or if possible up to 100. He teaches them the syllables in their names, and they practice writing. He teaches them the differences between vegetable, animal, and mineral. (This may be called natural philosophy). The boys in this group are from eight to ten years old. Some get out of this class in two or three months, others in a year, and then pass to the third grade. They now know how to write the alphabet and numbers, and maybe a few words.

Third Year - Tomas Pixcar has twenty-two boys of from ten to twelve years. He teaches them grammar and also simple arithmetic. Some get all this in a year; others take two years. They then pass on to the fourth grade.

Fourth Year - Diego Ignacio has sixteen pupils ranging in age from twelve to sixteen years, all of whom know how to read and write and know some arithmetic. They now learn the map of Guatemala and Central America. He also teaches them colors and the history of the Indians here, for which he has a myth written.

Pascual Ren

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Indian School , cont'd.

The Indian school was started in May, 1932. The director was Tomas Ventura, Jr.; the teachers were Diego Ignacio, Tomas Pixear, Pascual Ren, and Tomas Ventura, Sr. The first school was in the house where we, the Taxes, now live. There were 150 pupils the first year. In the second year, the director and the teachers were the same, but only 135 pupils registered, and many less stayed throughout the year. In the third year Diego Ignacio was director, and all but Tomas Ventura Jr. remained; he either quit or was fired. In 1933 Tomas, Jr. was put in the jail in Quiche for a week and then taken to Guatemala and jailed for three months (or military service?). Then he lost his job. It seems Tomas had complained ~~to~~ about the ladino alcalde to the President; then the ladinos got their revenge by having him put in jail for something or other.

The layout of the school building is as follows:

Room 1 - Closed, materials and storage

Room 2 - Music room, nothing here

Room 3 - "Library", contains only old records of the ladino municipalidad

Room 4 - Vaccination room, Don Javier Mot and the pharmacist administer doses

Room 5,- Fourth grade, Diego Ignacio - teacher

Room 6 - Third grade, Tomas Pixear, teacher

Room 7 - Second year, Pascual Ren - teacher

Room 8 - First grade, Tomas Ventura, Sr. - teacher

The Indian school during the past year had about ninety regular students. It has four grades, normally, and the children (all boys) take from one to three years to pass from one to the other. In the first grade (taught by Tomás Ventura) the children are taught to speak Spanish a little, and they make some start on learning the alphabet and the numbers. In the second year (under Pascual Ren) they learn the alphabet and the numbers and how to write them. In the third grade (taught by Francisco Pixcar) they become pretty literate; and finally under Diego, in the fourth grade, they learn something of geography, and arithmetic and kindred subjects. Nobody has yet received a diploma.

The school has practically no equipment. Last year the Municipality gave a few dozen lead pencils to the school, and they also have a map of Guatemala and a blackboard. Among the teachers there are a couple of primers. That is all, and of course, none of the children has books. Teaching is done out of the knowledge of the teachers, who have all received what training they have in the Ladino school here, and it is the equivalent of about a sixth-grade education at home. Neither old Tomás Ventura nor Pascual Ren knows more than a smattering of Spanish himself. I once asked young Tomás Ventura, who had been a director of the school for two years, what teachers like his father could teach. The final answer that I could get was that they teach anything they happen to know.

If the two disgraced schoolteachers are not allowed to join the staff next month when school opens again, of course the institution will -- if outsiders are not brought in to teach -- be seriously crippled. How the President's demand for 500 pupils can be met with the facilities at hand (assuming that 500 boys can be rounded up for such a purpose) is somewhat of a mystery. The national government might, of course, lend a hand where the municipality does

not, and the equipment may be bought; teachers could be imported from, say Totonicapán, where the Indian language is much the same but there are many educated Indians, men and women.

Chichicastenango is, meanwhile, one of the most backward in Education of any community in the country; it is not wholly the fault of the authorities, for the Indians are peculiarly conservative in the matter of education. They -- the most part -- do not want their children in school, saying that it is better for them to stay at home and learn how to work. On the other hand, there is little doubt that if the authorities had the facilities and a strong enough desire, illiteracy could be wiped out in a generation. The Indians always bow to authority here (if a few have to be jailed in the process) and it does not seem that their stubbornness would, on the whole, ^{interfere} interfere with a school program. The authority would have to come from the higher officials of the government, however, for if the local alcalde took charge of matters the Indians would soon telegraph the President for an appointment and would be on their way to have the alcalde removed, if possible.

Diego is worried, somewhat, about his friends and his father, who have gone to the Capital to see the President. The trouble began last January. It will be remembered that there are four profesores in the Indian school: Diego, Tomás Ventura, Sr., Pascual Ren, and Francisco Piscar. It appears that the Municipality hasn't always the money to pay these teachers, but occasionally gives them some sort of Promises - to - Pay that some merchants will buy from them at a discount. It appears, however, that the Municipality does not make separate papers for each of the teachers, but rather includes them all on one. Last January Pascual and Francisco took the community note to Santa Cruz and sold it to a merchant, keeping the money and presumably intending to keep it. Diego, hearing of this, became excited and went to the Alcalde in order to force the two to pay up. But it was an error, for the Alcalde immediately jailed the errant school-teachers and in a few days they were taken to Santa Cruz (the Capital of this Department) to await trial.

Diego, as well as Ventura, were dismayed at the turn of events, for it appeared now as if their friends (and relatives -- for the families are intermarried) would languish in jail perhaps for years. Diego professed that it was all an error, that the boys had intended to give him their part of the money and that no crime had been committed. Of course the jailed boys had the same story to tell. At that time I did not know Diego, but I remember that Tomás Ventura was very perturbed; the Padre, seemed to think there was no way for the boys to get out, and everybody else here who knows the ways of the Law agreed. Tomás was more disturbed because his friends were in the same cell as the old conservative Indians from here -- their enemies -- who were there for having created disturbances the previous month about the film people, than he was about the rest of their fate.

The School, Continued

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Of course one difficulty about the whole matter was that the school was, meanwhile, half-staffed; the Jefe Politico was appealed to, but even if he would have liked to do something about the matter his hands were tied, for in Guatemalan law he has nothing to say about matters once they are in the hands of the courts. The boys therefore remained in jail for about a month until they were called before the judge; he was apparently convinced that it was all a misunderstanding and they were freed.

But they were not reinstated in the school; the term ended in March and is scheduled to begin in May and still Pascual and Francisco have not been reinstated. Apparently the Jefe has not acted favorably in the matter, so last week they decided to go to the Capital to talk with the President about their positions. The Padre advised them against it on the grounds that the Jefe might be displeased if they went over his head, yet last Friday they went to Guatemala. What worries Diego is that today a messenger from Santa Cruz came here saying that the Jefe wants to see Miguel (who accompanied the two teachers), Pascual and Francisco. Somebody, he thinks, must have told the Jefe what had happened, and he is angry and will put them all in jail. I soothed him by pointing out that the President might have telegraphed him for information in the case.

Biography of Tomás Ventura

I was born in Quejel, the 10th of November, 1906, in the small house, where we eat now; the big one and Juan's were built about 15 years ago by my father. My father had but one house, with the same milpa as now. This was his father's house, and that of the paternal ancestors. The house is more than 100 years old. My father's mother was living then. (She died 10 years ago, at the age of about 80.) My father's father had three houses and three sons and he left one to each in a written will. I don't remember the parents of my mother because they lived in Camanibal and they died when I was young. Two years later, Juana was born; Juan two years later; Diego, 4 years later; then Tomasa, 7 years later. My compadre is Tomás Xaper; I don't know the name of my comadre, his wife. He was of Chucam. Their children are good friends of mine; but they live on a finca now. The parents are dead -- he died 15 years ago and she 10. I didn't know the mother well because when he died they went to the finca. At his funeral, we all (Father, Mother and us kids) went. Sebastian Parsé of Chulumal is the godfather of Juana. I knew him well (he died two years ago) and I know the wife well. Juan has the same compadre. The same for Diego. The same for Tomasa. The reason I had a different one is because when the others were baptized, Tomás Xaper wasn't around; he was on a finca. My step-siblings have another godfather because my stepmother didn't want Sebastian.

As a young child, I worked in the fields with wheat, corn,

beans, etc. Every Thursday and Sunday, went to the Pueblo with the family. When about eight, I started to go to school every day, accompanied each day by father, who was Secretary of the Juzgado de Indigenes. Most of the children were ladinos; there were only two Indians out of 75 pupils. The other was Diego Ignacio (now a teacher in the school). Six days a week--or 5-1/2 rather--we were in school. We studied reading and writing for four years; also arithmetic and geography and the history of Guatemala. Also grammar (Spanish), spelling, etc. Then at the age of 12, I got a diploma. When there were vacations in school, I always spent all the time in my teacher's house and my father paid him. My father was educated in school, too -- the second Indian to learn to read and write. I entered the telegraphy office to learn telegraphy, but I didn't like it and left after three months. I then entered the office of the Secretary (my father) and dispatched messages, etc. and wrote much, taking care of registrations (births, marriages, deaths, etc.) I stayed there more than three or four years, working as the assistant to the Secretary of the Ladino juzgado. \$1.00 a month was the salary. This was to learn and to practice writing; the money was nothing. My father was Secretary 20 years and got \$10.00 a month. He quit in about 1920 because he didn't like it. Then he became Habilitador of the Finca San Julian, in Sololá, getting mozos for the finca. After that I worked for the Secretary of the Juzgado de Indigenes. I got the transfer through the fact that the Jefe Político knew me and ordered the change. I worked here one year, for \$10.00 a month. I gave the money to my father for clothes, food, etc. Then, in 1926,

the Minister of Agriculture came here and gave me the job of inspector of the road. The Minister had met me here, had later called me to Guatemala and given me this job for \$25.00 a month. I worked on this for two years, when I started to get mozos for two fincas.

I had known Jusna for two years. I saw her in town and visited her house. I liked her. I had told her I'd like to marry her. My father and her father were in the same cofradía. In a cofradía there are eight men and women (man and wife) -- one set from each of 8 cantones. (There are 14 cofradías.)

(Unfinished)

Dec. 6, 1938. Ladino jokes.

(1) Two young men, both Juan, broke--confer and decide to take separate paths to seek fortune, and meet later to compare notes. One went to cemetery and dug out a skull and wrapped it well and took it to a rich collector in town and after bargaining sold it for a lot as Christopher Columbus! The other, after the meeting, went out and dug out a smaller one, took it to the same man with the same story... "But here -- I have Columbus' skull!" "Oh yes, but this was when Columbus was young!"

(2) Two lazy Juans were always seeking fortunes (in mines) without working. One was smart and the other dull. A third overheard plans, and hiding in a box at the place where they went, said "Juan!" The dull one got scared of ghosts. The smart one came, heard the "Juan!" and said, "Why this must be the mine!" and when he heard "Juan!" re replied, "What" and the voice said, "You are lazy and scheming." The boys had agreed to divide the profits, so on the way home the smart one reminded the dull one and said "All right"-- I'm lazy and you're scheming."

(3) A young man went away and became educated in languages. When he came home, the father had a banquet with lots of tongues. The father said to the son, "You know lots of 'lenguas'". "Father", replied the other, "You don't say 'lengua'--it's idioma." Later the father called to the cook: "Bring out the idiomas!" ...Later, they saw a procession, with a Virgin. Father referred to the "cara"

Ladino jokes, continued.

of the virgin; the son corrected him and said it's rostro for a virgin, "cara" only for people. Then they passed a butcher shop where they saw a pig's head and the father called it rostro.

(4) A Gringo in the plaza bought aguacate; told not to eat the peeling. Threw away all but the seed. He split and ate that. Corrected, he bought a tuna (cactus) and threw away the inside and ate the thorny outside!

Later he told Gertrude of the mozo who gyped his boss by cutting the tails of 100 pigs on his way to the market, burying the tails in a swamp and showing boss how they were lost. Sold the pigs and later boss was offered them. But then the mozo had fled.

Neighbors and friends. The Indians in general do not have many close friends. It is better to have a friend of another canton rather than a neighbor. Neighbors have plenty of fights, caused by such things as animals trespassing. Tomas has a neighbor (and a relative) of the same name and things are at such a pass that Tomas shoots any of the neighbors animals who come onto his land.

Relatives fight a lot, and some of the worst enemies are brothers. One of the Pincars (of Quejel) steals maize from his own brothers, who are angry but never go to the Juzgado about it. Brothers are known to have taken action in the juzgado against brothers, however.

Miscellaneous Notes

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Feb. 24, 1939

I have found out that the Vialidad money all goes for road work, half staying in the department and half going to Guatemala; Ornato money all stays in the municipio and goes exclusively for public improvements (not such things as salaries). I still haven't found out about military service.

Feb. 18, 1938

You are certainly right about our needing to know more about neighborhood and kinship ties. I never doubted that the elementary family is very important (and I have good data on the importance of the father and eldest brother) but you remember I didn't have much respect, when I was in Chichicastenango, for the solidarity or influence of any group between the family and the formal organization of the whole municipio. My recent experience demands that that view be altered, but I don't know just how. I think still that it is a fact that positively there is no cantón or neighborhood unity; but it certainly appears as if the "vecinos" exercise a very definite veto power. That has to be gone into; and especially I am curious to know who the "vecinos" are.

This evening it is raining, a light and balmy rain -- hardly the torrent that one has grown to expect of the Tropics. But of course we are in the midst of the dry season (called "summer" here). There is some little disagreement as to when summer begins. When we came, the last of October, we were told that we were witnessing the last rains -- that the dry season here sets in about November first. But actually, it was cold, somewhat rainy and certainly misty until February. That this was unusual everybody hastened to tell us, but now we were told that "summer" doesn't set in until about January first.

Judging that the last two months have been typical of the dry season, that is a fair enough description. It rained no more than a few centimeters during that time, and it was comparatively warm and pleasant; even the nights, during which we had learned to freeze, have been pleasant. The only climatic annoyance, in fact, has been the dust; one expects that, of course, when there is no rain. And we are told that the rainy season ("the winter") sets in again in May.

The coldest temperature Chichicastenango has experienced during our stay was, a few mornings, when the thermometer dipped to the freezing point. The warmest, although of course directly in the sun one can easily suffer from sun-stroke, never was hotter than about 70 degrees Fahrenheit in the shade.

Diego Ignacio

Water. The family gets its water from a spring some hundred yards away. There are some ten such springs in Chinima, and where there are none people must get their water from rivers. In some cantons there are no posos (springs or natural wells) and people all have to use the rivers, where the water is not so clean. There are some places where people have to go long distances to a well or a river.

There are no artificially dug wells; Diego knows them from Quezaltenango and Totonicapan, but there are none here.

Roads. There are five roads going through Chinima to other cantons; none of these are automobile roads. Besides these roads, each house has its own path to the road and to the neighboring houses.

Miscellaneous

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Jan. 25, 1935 -- Andrade and we went to Quejel with Tomás. It was the final day of the harvest for Tomás and the forty mozos who were working for him were celebrating the end in customary way with a bit of a fiesta. The observations to be made were not many, except to see the spirit of it, but it was an enjoyable day.

Tomás Felipe
Candelaria Xaper, ^{Xaper's her stepfather} Juan's daughter, steals; she once stole \$2 from the house of Tomas Gonzales (a neighbor). Her father hit her with a whip, so Candelaria left home and now works for ladinos in the pueblo.

Apr 15 1935
Juan Ventura was at Diego's house baking bread for the holidays in Diego's oven.

Dec. 5, 1938 -- Manuel Riquiac said we could have two loads of firewood for sure tomorrow, and he'd talk to his wife to see if we could have half of all he has (fifty loads he estimates).

Week
A Month in Chichicastenango

March 28, 1935.

Today was an unusual fiesta-day in Chichicastenango: a new santo, bought-and-paid-for, came to stay. Preparations have been long in the making, with a new cofradia organized, padrinos of the new santo appointed, invitations emossed and distributed, and finally the streets decorated with pine-needles, arches, and flowers.

A santo may be translated into English as "a saint", and indeed this new San Luis Gonzaga is, in heaven, a certified Saint; but this santo is a particular image, and it will be difficult to convince the natives here that it is only an image. San Luis, when it takes its place in the church will -- all by itself -- be the patron of young men especially and will be prayed to as such.

A new cofradia, or religious fraternity, has been organized among the young Ladinos to care for San Luis. The Chichicastenango Indians will give San Luis the reverence due any santo, but they will never be particularly bothered with it, for they have their own santos and their own cofradias. Nevertheless, for the big reception today representatives of all fourteen of the Indian's cofradias will take part. It is probably one of the jobs they have to do, for these cofrades take orders from the Indian alcalde (the mayor) who in turn takes orders from the Ladino alcalde; and if the alcalde says they should lead the procecion of San Luis into town, who is to say no?

The invitation that we received asked us to meet San Luis out a kilometer on the automobile road from the Capital whence, presumably, came the santo. We went first to the Church, where Padre Rossbach greeted us with his usual kindness; kindness has become a virtue-by-practice with him, since for years stray scientists have made his convento (so the parish house is called in Guatemala, although nuns are conspicuous by their absence) their living-quarters and since in the past two years an increasing number of tourists have found a visit to the good Padre part of their prepared itineraries. He has an excellent collection of archeological pieces and old jades, but hardly a visitor but considers the genal priest the best piece of his collection.

Today as we walked in there were others present. There were the priests from Santa Cruz del Quiche, -- the town to the North -- and from Solola -- that to the South; they are here this week not to meet the santo but because there is a "mision" here, a sort of revival-of-interest in God. Last week the three padres were in Solola, and next week they will go to Santa Cruz. But here they all were, opportunely, to greet the santo. Both of the visiting Padres are younger than Father Rossbach, and both are Spanish in origin. The local priest has a more interesting history, which he has not forgotten; he was born a Protestant in Germany, coming here to join many of his countrymen ~~taxidians~~ as plantation-managers. He became interested in ~~the~~ philosophy of the Padres and went to the United States; before he

returned to Guatemala he was a Catholic and a priest, as well as a citizen of the United States. He was the Sage of Momostenango for many years before he came to Chichicastenango; and here, as the years have passed, he has become one of those debatable institutions.

In his library, as we entered this afternoon, we found another Gutamalan institution. This is a man too, but a Scientist who, it is said, knows ~~xx~~ more about the Indians of Guatemala than any other person; it would be difficult for another scientist to check the truth of this tradition since the man has published chiefly a little folk-tale, and that in simplified English. This scientist, arrayed in ankle-length boots covering khaki trousers, as if he had just come in from a ~~ridexaf~~ hard day's ride over these hills, is known throughout the country a The Man Who Had Come to a Plantation for Tea one Afternoon and Had Stayed for Twenty-Five Years. The story runs that ~~the~~ his host after awhile decided he had better build him a house; and years later, when its lone and then probably baldish occupant was off on a little excursion, the discouraged owner locked the house and kept the key. Since that time has been dropping into tea here and there throughout the country. He has been with the padre here for several weeks now, having passed from tea to highballs.

We chatte for awhile, and then the priests had to get ready for the procession. The Quiche priest was going along as a bystander because he hadn't brought along his robes for the occasion; as a matter of fact I was later to be confused on the road because he was wearing a necktie and I couldn't be quite sure if this was indeed our friend the Padre. Be that as it may, we went into the patio to watch preparations out there; near the Church was a congregation of half-a-dozen Indians who (one could tell from their silver staffs with insignia) were cofrades; near by were more Indians carrying, each of them, three rockets with ^{whi} to add noise to the festivities. Soon everything (or everybody) was ready, and led by the cofrades we began to walk out to the Meeting-Place-of-San-Luis, as the spot may hereafter be called for as long as eternity lasts in Chichicastenango. Following the Indians walked Padre Rossbach with his Solola Brother and a prominent Ladino of the town. Then we walked, La Senora and I, with the Quiche priest between us. Except that a high wind was blowing sand in our faces, it was a pleasant walk in the afternoon sun.

On this little walk we were able to make one of those great observations that render thrills to Ethnology. Long before we had noticed that the people of this country cover their faces with shawls or handkerchiefs or whatever is handy, and often walk down the streets in this condition. Especially when we were driving along the road, and we passed ~~xx~~ Indians, we noticed that almost invariably they cover their faces, and the faces of their babies, at our approach. We asked about this, but nobody could tell us why they did so; we finally concluded (tentatively) that the action followed from the superstition that for a white-man to look at one would bring on sickness. Now, however, as we walked along the road, a car came along and we looked in vain

f -- as we saw the approaching cloud of dust -- for something with which to cover our faces.

The car that had passed was of an expensive American make, and it belongs to the Amezquitas, a family of local Ladinos who were Pioneers in the town and had made their fortune. Now they live chiefly in the Capital, but come back for such occasions as this. They are here in full force today, and when we came to the Meeting-Place-of-San-Luis we saw too more of their expensive cars waiting for the procession. I might mention that their five expensive cars bring the total of local automobiles to seven; the two others saw United States daylight many many years ago, and one now belongs to the Padre and the other to a man who uses it as a common-carrier.

Then we finally came upon San Luis, who turned out to be a pink-cheeked youth looking fondly at a cross -- the whole thing set upon a platform and decorated with a background of frothy white cloth and flowers -- we found ourselves in the midst of a large group of Ladinos of all ages; and while we stood around waiting for something to happen, meanwhile admiring the santo with one of the two expletives known in Chichicastengo -- que bonito! (how pretty!) -- the Indians with the rockets began to shoot them off, zzzz--boom! one after another. There was an orchestra there too, chiefly Indians, and they struck up a hymn which everybody sang. Finally the parade started, ~~which~~ with four boys lifting the santo to their shoulders (especially noteworthy being one who happens to be named Luis) and following the Indian cofrades in the procession. Everybody walked along, and as we approached the town (marked by arch labelled "Viva San Luis") more people joined us. At the end of the procession came the two cars of the Amezquitas; but most of the family was walking along. For the first time I saw one of the young ladies of the clan, dressed, plucked, and powdered so that she hardly looked like a native daughter; naturally, as I stared at her, I thought what a small world it is and would they all look so if they too had had grandfathers to found a family fortune. La Señora disappointed me, however, by failing to see her beauty, and of course that smothered a Theory in its birth-bed.

The band was playing up in front, too, and we recognized, as we marched gaily along, some of our favorite local popular songs. It was a great introduction to the town, except that the white cloth fluff began to fall off at one point and we had to stop for repairs at one point, and except that the arches were built too low and before the santo could pass a man who looked like a lamplighter with his crotched pole had to raise the arch by force. Finally we marched around the plaza and approached the church. Everybody ran up the steps as quickly as they could, either in the rush to get seats or in a desire to escape ~~some~~ the many strings of fire-crackers hurled down the steps by some boys I insist should be called rascally. We ourselves took the church by stealth, getting way over to the opposite side of the stair-case, but we did not win ourselves seats and we had to stand with the crowds. Padre Rossbach had reserved seats for the Padrinos of the santo, but of course that didn't help us.

I haven't discovered just what it means to be padrino, or as we say Godfather to a santo; I strongly suspect that these honored people have either to buy the santo (they tell me it cost \$80) or else pay for the festivities. At least they paid for pretty ribbons which were passed around as "souvenirs of the padrinos". There was a hymn again in the Church, to the chords of the same brass band, then there were prayers, and then a sermon. The young priest from Solola fittingly chose for the subject of his discourse San Luis, told his history -- how he had died at the age of 23 and how much faith he had had; it appears that people in Chichicastenango do not have sufficient faith to bring them into the church as often as they should come. Then there were prayers, a collection, and another hymn, and the Benediction was history.

As we left the church we found the threshold occupied by neat semi-circles of Indian cofrades, praying in mass-formation. This was a sight a bit impressive, for it must be remembered that the Indians of Chichicastenango all dress alike -- with black coats and black shorts -- usually prettily embroidered -- and bright red head-pieces. Since this is Thursday all of the Indian cofrades are in town and actively engaged in the pursuit of Truth. Thursday is market-day in Chichicastenango, and most everybody is here to buy and to sell.

The church faces the plaza, at one end, and as we left to go home we crossed the market-place. As usual -- but not as much as on Sundays -- the plaza was teeming with Indians, men and women. In even rows the 350 merchants of everything from chickens to incense, some of them under canvas roofs, sit around displaying their wares and waiting for somebody to offer enough (never themselves trying particularly to sell). A worm's-eye view of the market would show two thousand or more dirty bare feet; but a bird would see every color -- rather stodgily woven in silk and wool -- that he could ever wish for in a feather. The market -- it and the church (or is it the Padre?) -- is one of the things that bring tourists; it is as interesting as any in Guatemala, and the pulse-throbs of its throngs of humanity entrance all of the visiting "artists" -- novelists and painters.

We went through this afternoon in the company of don Adan Amezquita, one of the Amezquitas who -- since, they tell us, his mother was an Indian -- unlike most of his family stays in Chichicastenango and takes care of their business interests. My only business with him, however, was to ask him if he wished to cash a check for me. This is one place where we do businessmen favors by giving them checks, since there are no banks and they have to get their money -- most small change -- to the City in some way. Also, when they have to pay bills they can sorely use checks, for their recourse seems to be to send the payment with an Indian messenger who may, of course, abscond. Our business concluded (since he promised to get the money from his strong-box tomorrow) we walked the two blocks farther to our Little Home.

No sooner were we inside the door when two young gentlemen (who work in the kitchen of the Maya Inn and are gentlemen only for fiestas) came, and when I asked them to be seated they were, duly, and explained the object of their visit in the polite

phrasology of Ladino Gentlemen. It seems that tomorrow night there will be marimba up the street in the home of senior Brok-amonte, and they were here to invite us. Whether it is to be a dance or just a concert we couldn't determine, but we consented -- con mucho gusto -- to go. It appeared further that the hotel people -- including Herr Rohrmann and his senora and the three artistes who are there -- will also come. In fact, it seems that this affair has been gotten up by the boys working in the hotel. These two young men promised to call for us and show us the way.

Later, when our house-boy, Juan, came in, we told him about our invitation, and he said Oh yes, he had chipped-in a quarter too, to help pay for the marimba. The invitations for the dance were sent out about a week ago (8 days ago, as they say here). A bit chagrined that we are, apparently, an after-thought, we nevertheless determined to enjoy our first party in Chichicastenango and decided to wear our best party-clothes the better to help us to put a good-face on the matter.

After dinner we went out to the Plaza, where, Juan had told us, the local marimba was to give a concert. But when we arrived nothing was happening. In the corridor of the juzgado, or town hall the marimbas were set up, and we thought we saw some of the musicians idling around, but that was all. Except that something was going on in the Church -- the something being part of the program of the misión, and we could hear the loud voice of one of the priests delivering his sermon. We vacillated between walking around the Plaza until church would be out, going to church, and going down the block to see the Rohrmanns in the Inn. We decided on the latter, but on entering the beautiful little place with decorations of hideous Maya gods we found that our friends were in the dining-room, so we went back to the plaza to await the concert.

We stood around, and finally the church-bells began to peal; in fact, we could see two young men up in the belfry ringing the bells by candle-light. This we supposed signified the ending of the church-service, and we were borne out in this hypothesis when we saw that the marimberos were called together and, finally, when they began to play. But, alas, we soon heard that the marimba was competing with a grand hymn emanating from the church. After the piece (on the marimba) was finished we saw and heard the church-bells ringing again and this was no false-alarm. Soon everybody poured into the plaza from the church and joined us in walking around.

The marimba played on. It would be hard to imagine two scenes more different than that on the plaza four hours before and this in the same place; for now all was dark, there wasn't an Indian to be seen, and all of the Ladinos -- and us -- walked around on the sidewalk enclosing the deserted square. Don Adan and his señora stopped and talked to us, confirming the matter of the check; then we mentioned that the music was bonita, and they agreed. Then they asked us if we had ever danced to marimba here, and when we replied in the negative, don Adan said they would ask us to the next party. Maybe we shall then be included in the first batch of guests. Still swaying to the tunes of the best local jazz tunes, we went home and to bed.

March 29.

The dance, for so the "marimba" turned out to be, was, let me say at the beginning a great success -- due partly, I think, to the presence of la señora. While we were having dinner Abel and Chilo (short for Basilio) -- the two young men who had tendered us the invitation -- knocked at our door to remind us of the dance and to be sure that we would be ready at nine o'clock.

These young men, I should mention, are Ladinos; that means, racially, that they are not Indians but rather some old mixture of Spanish and Indian; it means, socially, that they are the upper caste of Chichicasteango. The Ladinos are few in number, since there are only three or four hundred while the Indian population must be at least ten thousand; they all live in town, while practically all of the Indians live in the mountains around the town -- in the so-called cantones. The Ladinos are the representatives of Modern Civilization in Chichicasteango, changing their clothes with the European fashion -- thinking now in terms of centuries -- speaking Spanish, and occasionally eating canned goods. The Indians, meanwhile, have their own clothes, their own language, and never diverge from their own foods.

We managed to be ready, like school children for their first grown-up party, before 8:30. Then we were all dressed up and waiting. True, the preparations were not without incident; la señora had decided to wear a black frock, to my mind very trim, but on thinking it over she became afraid it was too dressy and bethought herself of a brown ensemble that she providently had brought down here. Unfortunately, however, this outfit was wrinkled, but since we had brought an electric flat-iron with us that problem could easily be solved. I took out the flat-iron and, removing a bulb from one of our home-made lamps, screwed the plug in the socket. Alas! immediately all of the lights went out. Fixing a fuse in Chichicasteango is not a matter of going into the basement and screwing something in somewhere; in the first place, there are no basements, and in the second place the fuse is only a piece of wire on the electrical connection outside the house. I think it is impossible to fix it except in the daytime when, you may not know, there is no current issuing from the power plant.

I feel sure we broke the law when we took the flat-iron from the trunk, for the power-plant is a municipal enterprise; we therefore hid all of the evidence and sent Juan to the juzgado to complain both for ourselves and on behalf of our neighbor who was also left in the dark. Then we finished dressing by candle light, and la señora wore, after all, her black dress. Our consciences in the matter of the lights might have hurt us more if we hadn't had so much previous trouble with the lights -- and not our fault. There was a time, several months ago, when we had lights here on an average of three days a week; worse, we lost in addition to our tempers some dozen electric light bulbs. The reason for the latter is that the power plant usually issues about 100 or 110 volts, so our most efficient light came with 110 volt bulbs; but occasionally it would shoot up to 180 or 220

volts and pf! would go our bulbs. Now we suffer with 220 volt lights on half-power.

So, to get back to the story, we had half-an-hour to ponder our handsome appearance; Juan, at least, thought it was very handsome. He takes a great interest in clothes. He is an Indian boy who belongs to a sort of special class of Indians, together with the Indian boys who work as waiters and room-boys in the hotel, who are rapidly becoming -- or apparently would like to become -- Ladinos. They live in the pueblo, of course, and therefore unlike the rest of the Indians they are here to promenade on the Plaza in the evenings when there is marimba. For these occasions, and for holiday occasions generally, they like to change their Indian costumes for suits of clothes a la Ladino. The boys in the hotel, since they earn quite a bit in tips, can afford quite nice outfits. Our boy Juan is not so prosperous, but manages to have some clothes; a month ago tagedy filled his life on that account. He had bought, for \$3.50, some yard-goods from a travelling merchant, and for a dollar and a half more had had it made into a suit. It was a suit light in color, and he was very proud of it. There came an occasion when we could provide him with a trip to Quezaltenango, and of course he wore his new suit. He came back with a spot on the seat of his trousers. He took the suit to the tailor to have it cleaned, and when the trousers came back with the spot simply tremendously enlarged he was heart-broken. Holy week was coming, too, and he wouldn't step out of the house -- he insisted -- unless he had a new suit. We persuaded him to have the suit dyed, and just a week ago that was done and it is now some sort of cross between gray and brown with the spot, however, almost invisible. The suit is at the tailor's now for remodelling, since it shrunk a bit in the dying, but Juan insists he cannot wear it because he doesn't like the color. It appears that he will soon invest another two-month's salary in another suit.

Because this class of Indian boys takes a great pride in clothes doesn't make them un-Indian; most of the Indians think about their garments above most things, considering it somewhat of a disgrace not to have complete new outfits at least twice a year -- for Holy week and for the Fiesta of Santo Tomas, the patron. But these hotel boys in the pueblo are thinking of finery in terms of Ladino clothes, not Indians. There is only one matter in which even these Indians remain pure Indian: they won't wear shoes. The final distinction, in the eyes of people here, between Indian and Ladino, is that Ladinos wear shoes; and when an Indian takes to shoes he is no longer thought of as an Indian, although in one such case I was told confidentially that such a "Ladino" is puro natural, from Solola. Our boy Juan, like the others, would not think of wearing shoes here, although if he should leave this place, for the Capital, for instance, he would probably put them on. The Indians compromise and wear very pretty sandals -- if they are wealthy enough to buy them; there is no shame connected with them. I might mention that women are always barefooted, and they would be ashamed to be seen with even the crudest sandals. Actually they sometimes wear the caites (just a sole tied to the foot) when travelling in the mountains, but on approaching the pueblo they take them off and come in barefooted.

Nine o'clock on the dot our cavaliers were at the door for us. Out into the street with them, we found half-a-dozen others -- Ladinos -- also waiting. Apparently the hosts were collecting the guests. We all walked up the street about four blocks until we came to a little house at the door of which were standing a dozen little boys waiting to get a glimpse of the party. We entered to find a room about 20 by 25 feet, without a window. Opposite the door from the street was a door to the corridor and the back yard; it should have been a patio, for all houses here must have patios, but that would require the building of more rooms on the other side of the "back-yard".

A door led into another room, in which the two marimbas were set up. Good marimbas here have at least two large instruments, though still called "a marimba". In addition this one has a drum and most possible acoustic affects associated with jazz, and a bass violin; we hear that they hope soon to add a saxophone. There were few people in the house that we knew -- in fact only a row of frowsy-looking Ladinos, seated at the other wall of the room -- besides the marimberos. The drummer is our tailor (the same one who enlarged the spot on Juan's trousers) and the bass violinist a man we have often seen evenings in the Padre's library. But due to an event of two weeks ago, we are on familiar terms with all of the marimberos.

Just as there was marimba on the plaza last night, so there is almost every Sunday evening and on Thursdays occasionally. We enjoy walking around the Plaza with the rest of the folks on these occasions, and also -- since the novelty of watching clever marimberos has not worn off -- standing near the band on the corridor of the Juzgado. That particular Sunday night we were listening and talking to the officers of the local garrison (of seven soldiers) and somebody said that the marimberos were not paid for this service to the municipality. We thought it would be nice to give them something, therefore, so we bought a lot of cigarettes and passed out packages to the musicians and also the soldiers. Our tip was apparently more liberal than usual, for that evening when we were already asleep, the marimberos -- with some soldiers -- came to our window to serenade us; and since then we have been on very friendly terms with them all.

The house in which we were this evening belonged to one of the marimba players, and has become, for the good of the business, a sort of dance-hall to go with the music. The floor is of rough stone, and as we came in it was covered with pine-needles. Our hosts, after they had brought us in, left again apparently to pick up other guests, so we were left to our own devices. We joked a little with the ladies sitting on the opposite end of the room, and otherwise spent our time surveying the newcomers. It soon became apparent that la senora was wearing the only party-dress in the place, since the ~~man~~ people at our first dance were apparently of the lowest economic stratum of Chichicastenango Ladino society. She decided to keep her coat wrapped tightly about her, therefore.

The boys were all dressed quite well, we saw as they accumulated, they were all Ladinos on the dance-floor except two Indian boys from the hotel. One of these was a little waiter, Chico, and the other a boy from Totonicapan who works in the kitchen named Humberto.

Both were well-groomed, with dark well-pressed suits, shirts and neckties -- but both of them were, likewise, bare-footed. Apparently only the Ladino-ized Indians at the hotel were taking part in this affair; on this theory there should have been one more here -- Juan Bots, a waiter,-- but he had taken a trip to the city.

The hotel is somewhat new to Chichicastenango, only about three years old; it is owned by an American in Guatemala City -- Alfred Clark, who has become, after the custom of the country don Alfredo Clark. He has lived in Mexico and Guatemala much of his life, and of this country, at least, he has become an integral part. The American in him has not been submerged, and he has started in turn a large garage, a taxi service, tourist business with some thirty limousines, and this maya inn in Chichicastenango. He has been called the Most popular man in Guatemala, and if the title is well earned, he has his Irish wit, his genial personality, and his willingness to do things for people (even if, very often, he earns dividends from his favors) to thank. He is a close friend of the Padre, and both of them say that it was to save the Padre's establishment from abuse by visitors -- for it had been the only place to stay in Chichicastenango -- that Clark built the hotel. Again, this favor seems to be earning substantial dividends.

The hotel has not been cordially received by the Indians, who had had an increasing dislike of foreign visitors who with the new hotel of course began to multiply. They had blamed the Padre for all of their troubles, but this misunderstanding has been ironed out. There was a time of great trouble here -- two years ago -- and it was not caused only by Indians, but also by some disgruntled Ladinos, but except for occasional outbursts, things are now quiet.

The hotel has served, meanwhile, for a refuge and protection for some of the -- younger, especially -- Indians who, partly due to their relations with the foreigners, are on the "outs" with the conservative mass of their people. Anybody who works in the hotel is, by virtue of that, somewhat of an outcast from his people; but of course if he had been part of the mass to start with he would probably not have joined the hotel forces. Be that as it may, the hotel now furnished them protection from their own people; Clark is a good friend of the governmental authorities, who are anxious to get the income afforded by tourist traffic, and of course he -- and they -- stand by this group of Indians.

Of this group, then, were the Indians this evening at our dance. All others were Ladinos from which they ~~are~~ are not so far different. At about nine-thirty the dancing began, to the strains of the marimba. The senora and I danced the first one, but we found that the thick pine-needles on the floor obstructed our rhythm. That was my excuse, at least; but contributing causes of my failure were that (a) the dance-step which fits marimba was new to me, and (b) I never could dance anyway. After that I was grateful when others asked la senora to dance. And I myself could observe the better what went on

around us because I did not choose to inflict myself on others.

The La senora became very popular indeed. We were, in the beginning, the only foreigners present, and the feminine stranger was apparently attractive to the natives. She danced with one after another -- although she was always limp after a dance with a bare-footed Indian since she was so afraid to step on bare-feet. Her popularity became confusing, for there were usually three or four who asked at once, and sometimes they would break in in the middle of a dance to ask for the next one. There was one young Ladino -- Felipe -- who seemed to be particularly enamoured, watching her every move with eagle eyes. He works in a "corta" factory -- the only part of the Indian costume that is not hand woven is the material for the skirt, or corta, and these are produced on foot-looms in Chichicastenango; this boy is an operator of one of the machines -- and during one dance he told la senora that he would come over Sunday to bring her a piece of corta to give her as a remembrance.

When a dance would be over, the gentlemen took their partners to their chairs. Then, after waiting a few minutes, they would become impatient for more music and would select their partners and begin to march around the room with them, thus encouraging the musicians to begin again. Usually when the music finally stopped again, the men would clap their hands and continue to march around the room to get another dance immediately. After this second dance, it was impolite to applaud....

As the evening wore on, some finceros came in. A fincero is the owner or manager of one of the large plantations (chiefly coffee) that dot the parts of Guatemala up to about 5000 feet altitude. They come up to these very-highlands to get their Indian labor, and presumably that is why these finceros were here. Liquor was passed around -- the first a local product known as aguardiente alambique, very strong and served with soda, and the second aguardiente olla not so strong and provided with no chaser. Both are clear amber and have good flavors. The finceros had apparently drunk too much, and one of them broke into a dance to ask la senora for the next one; she refused him, for a drunken German (for most finceros are German) she thought might not be the safest partner. When the dance was over he came again, and to keep him off I danced again with la senora. Later, he came again and bowed low -- and apparently soberly -- to ask once more. But by this time the stone floor had played havoc with la senora's feet, and he sat by us instead. It soon turned out that he is a Belgian, and then what had seemed like a dissipated Teutonic face looked merely Alpine.

Soon after coffee and sandwiches -- meat in large rolls of Francaise (as they call white bread) -- were served and we prepared to go. Our boy Juan, who had contributed a quarter, had been staying in the background in the patio only listening to the music for his money, and when we went he stayed behind. Of our ~~hosts~~ two Ladino Gentlemen, one was sober enough to walk us home. Later we were to learn that the party lasted three hours longer; our hosts had paid for the marimba up until 1:30 A.M. but the finceros "bought" them after that until four o'clock and made it possible for the party to continue. The band of nine men charged \$1.25 an hour.

-11-

March 30.

Reading this diary one would judge that an ethnologist's life in Chichicastenango is a succession of parties and parades. But of course the chief pursuit is trying to learn something of the culture of the Indians (as well as of the Ladinos). When we came here, last November, we were not certain that we would stay any length of time, and made a hurried survey of Chichicastenango preparatory to making similar studies elsewhere. We did, indeed, pack up and leave for a few weeks in December, but after visiting a number of other places we decided, for better or worse, to take up headquarters here, and here we have stayed. The time has been spent, since, in talking to the Indians and visiting the cantones.

This morning, for example, Tomas Ventura of Canton Quejel -- who has been a favorite informant and guide -- came to the house to work over some matters of Indian economics with me.

Tomas is an unusual Indian. He is a member of a small group neither conservative like the mass of Indians nor Ladinoized like those who work in the hotel. He is one of the very few literates (the number of which does not include those at the hotel). The literates run in a few families; thus Tomas' father (of the same name) is an old literate; Diego Ignacio and his father -- of the same respective generations -- are also literate; Pascual Ren and his younger brother Tomas, and two stray women, and Tomas Gonzales -- the Secretary of the Indian Municipality -- complete the list. There are about a hundred more school-children who can read and write to some extent, but that is all. In a population estimated up to thirty thousand, that is not a high percentage.

The adult literates all attended, as matters of accidents, the local Ladino school; the Indian school has been running for only three years and have of course turned out no graduates. Of their number every one of them still has his milpa (corn-patch) and wears Indian costume; with one exception (Tomas Ren who is inimical to the rest and not on speaking-terms even with his brother) however they have forsaken the masses to become friendly with foreigners. And with one other exception (Tomas Gonzales, the secretary, who manages to be friends with both sides) the masses are, largely, their enemies. The literate group themselves are not always on the best of terms, since their education has taught them a distrust of mankind, but they keep up a semblance of friendship.

Economically, this small group is unique too: they have forsaken their ancient heritage of the-load-on-the-back and rarely do common labor except perhaps on their own milpas. One is the Secretary, four are "profesores" in the school, one is retired, and the last -- Tomas Ventura -- is the contact-man and guide for the Inn. Withal, they are hardly more sophisticated than their fellows and their knowledge really ends with about a fifth-grade ability to read and write.

Tomas Ventura is, in a way, as different from the others of this group as they all are from the other Indians. His face and figure, even, are outstanding; he is handsome and clean-cut, his tall figure -- which is always proud and erect -- graced in the finest of Indian finery. He somehow strikes one as if, if descendants of the ancient kingdom of the Quiches are living, he should be the crown prince. For one evening, last Fall, he was.

The representative of ~~him~~ a steamship ~~company~~ company that was contemplating tours to Guatemala was in Chichicastenango. Mr. Clark, who was anxious to have the Maya Inn placed on the itinerary, instructed his manager here to make as dramatic impression on the steamship man as he could; and he told him how Tomas was to be used in this connection. When the visitor, with a companion of his, was sitting in the living room they told him of the Quiche prince who was soon to come, by appointment. Finally he was ushered in and introduced, indeed, as The Prince. The men rose to shake hands, but Tomas, tall and erect, with arms folded over his breast, simply nodded. The visitors asked him questions, to which he replied shortly; then they offered him a drink, which he refused. They, embarrassed, persisted, and finally -- with an air that said, "Well, if it will please you, I shall condescend" -- he accepted. Mrs. Rohrmann, the hostess at the Inn, by this time could not contain her laughter; ~~but~~ she left the room. But the thing more or less collapsed when the visiting executive escaped from the presence of the prince long enough to ask her, in tone both puzzled and awed, "How shall we address him, as Your Majesty?" and she answered quickly, "No; just call him Tomas!" The Inn is now on the tourists' itinerary.

Tomas is, comparatively, quite wealthy; he and his father (whose principal heir he is) own a dozen or so pieces of land in various cantones, as well as several houses in town. The Padre says that they obtained this property by usurious practices, and there is probably considerable truth in this although Tomas is equivocal on the subject. That Tomas is a shrewd business man, shrewd enough for a man twice his 28 years, there is no doubt. He always has a number of irons in the fire, and I myself have been branded with one. He is more commercial-minded than any other Indian that I have met; and these are first of all a commercial people. When Professor Andrade was here studying the language he made a number of phonograph recordings for us. A typical one was a record in which he gives advice to young people; and he says that one should be good to his wife, for if not she may leave him and do you think that you won't lose the money you have invested in her or that you can get another for nothing? He also points out that one must take care of his family, feed it well, etc., for if ~~an~~ a child should die he cannot -- as if he were an animal -- simply throw his body over a barranca, but must bury him, and that costs money.

I think that one must, on the whole, conclude that Tomas hasn't many beautiful thoughts. He does not love his wife, but he wants to keep her because she is an excellent worker.

Yet he has never been faithful to her -- on any standards including his own. He is anxious that she shouldn't find him out, because he doesn't want any trouble; yet he has already considered that if he should be caught he would be safe from any punishment. He knows that Juana, his wife, would go to the Indian alcalde for recourse; and he knows that if she does he would appeal from the Indian Alcalde to his superior -- the alcalde -- and since Juana would never think of going to the alcalde because she can't even talk Spanish, he would have the better of any legal argument. Their marriage isn't legal, but he registered their children at the jugado, so that it is a recognized common-law marriage; for this reason Juana could never be unfaithful to him without possible punishment from the law. He has the upper hand because he knows about such things, and he purposely keeps his wife in ignorance.

So also, Tomas is by way of being a civic slacker; there are certain services to the municipality required of every man, but neither Tomas nor any member of his family has served for many years. The enforcement of the requirements is handled through the Indian juzgado, and they cannot do anything to Tomas because he would appeal to the chief Alcalde on the grounds that he has a patron (Alfred Clark) who needs him, or else that he occasionally has to do work for the juzgado that requires his knowledge of writing. Even granting that his claims are justified, he nevertheless talks about the matter in the tone of a man who is getting away with something.

Yet, as far as we are concerned, we like Tomas; he is intelligent and straightforward, and above all more conscientious as an informant than anybody we have dealt with. But the reason we like him, for all that we sometimes come to despise him and his fine clothes, may well be the remembrance of our first days together. When we first came to Chichicastenango we decided to go first with him to one of his houses, in far-off Chicua. It was harvest-time there, and his family would be there for a few days.

After a tedious five-hour ride on Tomas' mules, tedious in spite of the clear pure air and the heroic scenery, we finally arrived near to his house, standing by itself in a little valley in the hills. We had heard that the Indians in the cantones were very hostile towards foreigners, and that nobody except the priest had been this far into the country; there was supposed to be a superstition that white people have the evil-eye or something of the sort, and naturally we were a bit apprehensive about our reception. But as we approached we heard a marimba playing, and as we came into the house we saw that one room had been decorated inside and out with pine-needles and branches and that the marimba was there in our room for our special benefit. The boys around began to set up our cots and things, the children came in and began to play, and everybody -- including the usually very-shy women -- was more than casually cordial. We warmed to the entire family in our few days there, and I suppose we saw them all at their best.

A week later we went to Tomas' ancestral home in Quejel, preparing ourselves to stay indefinitely. The same atmosphere

was created for us, but circumstances were a bit different. Tomas had known, of course, that we were coming to stay, and he had insisted that everything would be all right. He did not tell us much about his household, however.

The house which served as the family dormitory ~~was~~, like most Indian houses, a sturdy adobe building with a tile roof, and neither plaster, windows, or more than a hard-dirt floor worn almost to cement by generations of use. It had, in a sense, three rooms. The central room, opening onto the corridor (which was separated by a small space from the corn-fields that surrounded the house), is so large that -- in the light that filters through the door -- the far corners cannot be seen. It was only after we had been there over night that we discovered a setting hen in one of the corners. Off of this large room, and opening into it only, is a bit of a cubby-hole of a room. The third room, opening also onto the corridor, is small and, since it is used for a corn-crib, almost filled with layer upon layer of cobs of corn.

Tomas, his wife, and their three young daughters usually sleep in the large room. His father and step-mother with their seven small children usually squeeze into the small room off of it. A brother and his wife sleep in the corn-crib. Tomas, in consideration for his foreign guests, had cleared the large room for us, taken out the bed-clothes and most of the belongings of his family, and prepared to sleep also in the corn-crib. When his father came home from teaching school Tomas had a little conference with him; apparently afraid that we wouldn't have enough privacy, Tomas had decided that the little room should be vacated, and soon we saw his step-mother taking out their bed-clothes and preparing -- they too -- to sleep in the corn-crib. That made some sixteen, by our hastily compiled census, who were going to sleep with the maize. Protests unavailing, we determined that our "indefinite stay" would become definitely terminated the next day. Whatever else we had, we were dealt a lesson in hospitality that has made us look with kindly eyes on the short-comings of our Tomas.

Tomas has had his troubles, too. Three years ago, when the President of Guatemala was through here, we have heard, he took a liking to Tomas and when the Indian school in the pueblo was opened Tomas was made its Director. After two years in this position something happened (accounts differ) and Tomas either resigned or was fired, and went to the Capital for three months either to school, to jail, or to do service in the army. He says he doesn't want to work in the school because the pay is small and often not tendered and the fines for coming late in the morning are large and always exacted. He has troubles also because of his associations with foreigners; last January, after a particularly trying period, he was afraid to go to Quejel from the pueblo and was even considering taking a position as waiter in the Inn so that he could live there for protection.

Nor has the course of his true loves always been smooth. His childhood sweetheart was denied him by her father, even when she bore him a child. Later he had to elope with Juana, or he could not have married her; and when her father finally

caught up with his errant daughter Tomas settled matters by giving him a gift of \$20. Of late Tomas has had another disappointment. The most literate woman in Chichicasteango lives in the pueblo; for about a year she and Tomas had had a little romance, chiefly by correspondence, which came to a more personal climax last December during the fiesta. Tomas then wanted her to live in one of his houses in the pueblo and be his mistress as secretly as possible; but her father wanted her to get married. Finally, a month ago, she compromised: she would marry the man her father wanted, and go with him to his canton; but after a few weeks she would leave her husband and come back to Tomas in the pueblo. Thus everybody would be satisfied. But not Tomas; he didn't care to have a woman who had given herself to another. He said that if she went with this man he would be through with her. She went anyway, and true to her promise is now back in the pueblo; I think that by now she has salved the wound that Tomas suffered by her defection. But I am afraid for the future, since there is reason to believe that the young woman is practicing her penmanship with another of the literates....

We get along well with Tomas, and he makes a good informant, especially on such matters of economics as we talked over today. He knows the market well, and he has a good notion of what other people earn. Rather typical not only of him but of others here as well, he has a much clearer idea of a man's pocketbook than he has of his age. On the matter of ages Indians here -- and Tomas with them -- cannot make even close approximations; nor can they be at all consistent or logical. It is nothing for them to tell me that a man is thirty-five and in the next breath that his father is forty; many times I have been told that a certain woman has children ranging from two years of age to forty-five. The latter may not be only a confusion about years, because when I tried to point out the impossibility of a woman's having a child at the age of fifty-five, they promptly affirm that she can indeed -- and don't you know the old woman so-and-so (muy vieja) who just had a baby?

But on matters of income and outgo it is difficult to trip up Tomas; he knows exactly how much maize an adult consumes in a day, and he knows how much it costs at all seasons of the year. He can even be made to understand such a notion as that of "balance of trade".... But meanwhile he is of little use in esoteric matters for, by his own admission, he takes little interest in them.

What I started to say is that life is not all marimbas here; unromantic work fills the days.

March 31.

Sunday, and of course the day most "alegre" in Chichicasteango. It is the day when most of the Indians, and their families, come to town; that it is Market day may be, essentially, the prime factor, but it is by no means the only one. Since the Indians do come to town on Sunday they engage in the many pursuits that always take place in the pueblo. Take baptisms for example.

Every baby must have, of course, his padrino, which would normally be translated simply "godfather". The business of being a padrino is among the Indians here, however, something of a specialized profession. A man who sets up as a padrino must know certain prayers and procedures, and since a limited number of men apparently care to learn them, each padrino may be godfather to hundreds or perhaps even thousands of people most of whom he has long since forgotten. The custom is that the padrino chosen for one's first child is chosen also for succeeding children as long as he lives. In any case, he often lives in a distant canton from the parents of the baby and the natural place to approach him is Sunday (or sometimes Thursday) in the town. This is done shortly after the child is born, and the asking is always done with ceremony, including a gift of a little money.

When the padrino accepts his charge he arranges to come to the canton home of the child on a Saturday -- in a week or two or three. There he comes and, amid ceremony, takes the child in his arms and prays for a half-hour or more; a lunch is meanwhile prepared for him and he takes the greater part of it home with him to his family. The next morning the padrino comes to get the child at its parents' home in the pueblo, and after taking of atole (a corn-gruel) he alone carries the child to the Church where the priest baptizes the young one. When he brings the child home again he usually presents him with a new garment of some kind.

There may be as many as fifty (or even more) baptisms on a single Sunday, since every child must be baptised -- lest they be animals. The story that goes this is wrenched, not without some damage, from the Bible. It seems that after Jesus Christ had created Adam, and later Eve, they were very innocent; it was the serpent who first awakened Eve's desire, and instructed her, so that when the first child was born to Adam and Eve they had to baptise it to ward off the influence of the snake. Be that as it may, baptism is the only sacrament the Indian normally takes, and it is very important. The pueblo must be the scene of the ceremony because the padre and the church are here.

The church finds its great use among the Indians in two other ways on Sunday. First of all, the cofradías are active every Sunday and all of the cofrades of each go in a group to mass. Very few of the rest of the Indians attend mass, but this is one of the duties of cofrades -- for the sake of their saints. The cofrades, who march to the church bearing their insignia of office on staffs, may be seen also during the day in the church or on its steps, always praying. But the church, and especially on Sunday, is also the theater of more pagan ceremonies, and

at almost any time of the day Indians may be seen before their lighted candles, and before the saints, swinging braziers of incense, doing their costumbres, as the Indians say. They may be individuals praying for themselves, or they may be medicine men trying to affect a cure or trying to drive the soul of a deceased person from this world; or they may be sorcerers using the House of God for their nefarious purposes. Every visitor to Chichicastenango carries away an impression that must take long to be forgotten of the colorful market one the one hand and the church steps -- over which hang clouds of burning incense -- so close to it on the other. Lest those who read books, or who travel, ~~may~~ accuse my eyesight, I must mention that there is another church -- the Calvario -- opposite the iglesia on the other side of the plaza; and except that it is smaller, a view of it on Sunday duplicates that of the church.

Glowing paragraphs have been written about such views in Chichicastenango -- notably by Aldous Huxley and by John Dos Passos as well as the inevitable feminine travellers who write books and things. But ethnologists cannot toy with such things; we are like the black zopelotes that hover over the municipal meat-market to pounce upon any stray piece that they may find. Like them, we cannot pause to toy with the colors on the plaza, and for such reasons and worse must beg to be excused. Nevertheless, I shall add that such views furnish more poetic people their inspirations; today there is an American artist who, while Indians curse beneath their breaths, has set up his easel near the church. Chichicastenango is certainly destined for the magazine covers.

There was a time, not many months ago, when the Indian curses escaped their breaths. Tourists were insulted, one woman going so far as to pick up a rock as if to throw. Although then the foreigners were the chief objects of anger, even Chichicastenango's lone cameraman was assaulted, although for years he had snapped pictures unmolested. The history of this excitement goes back farther than a year. The Indians, a year ago last December, were already perturbed over the growing influx of staring tourists, not to mention nosy ethnologists, when a film company came from Hollywood. Apparently they thought that they were in the hospitable South Seas, and during the fiesta of Santo Tomas -- the great days in the lives of the Indians -- they casually trained their cameras, even in the church, and more casually herded the bewildered Indians into their mob-scenes. It must be that the Indians were then too amazed -- knowing nothing of what it was about -- to do anything about it; but apparently they burned with resentment that had hardly been quenched when this last December -- again for the great fiesta -- another film company appeared.

What did it matter that these artistes were more careful, more feeling, that they even paid Indians to form their mobs? The Indians probably felt that this encroachment was to become part of the ceremonies, and they wriggled under the parasite. A newspaper in the Capital later wrote, under glaring headlines, that riots had occurred and the film-people assaulted. But

the Indians respect the Law far to much to resort to such violence. Verbal insults were enough to bring some to the penitentiary; meetings and demonstrations, others. And with the leaders in jail -- where they still live -- demonstration settled to sentiment. Although there was a time, during this troubled period, when we were advised not to go into the mountains -- and there was a time then when surely merchants went to the point of refusing to sell their wares to foreigners -- conditions are now back to what must be considered a normal, if not cordial, state. Enough so that the American artist can go about his painting unmolested.

And while tourists and artists try to penetrate their inscrutable brown faces, The Indians go about their business. Sunday is the day when the political leaders meet in the juzgado to transact their business. To be seen on the plaza are a few old men with a blazing suns embroidered on their sacos; these are the Principales, one from each canton, the Indians' former alcaldes, and above all the six Pasados, former principales and alcaldes who are politically highest in the Indian community.

The pasados hold their offices for life; they are graded in rank, and when one dies, and the others elect a successor, those remaining all move up a notch. These are offices of highest honor, and of relatively great power; but these are troublesome times, and it seems that groups of young men are becoming politically potent and may even be able to replace one or more venerable old pasados with their younger blood. Especially now may things be expected to reach a crisis, for the Number 1 pasado is very old and very sickly and it is expected that he will die almost any day. When he does politics will probably broil.

This old man, whose name is Sabastian Saquic, has seen politics embroil his office many times in his career, and if there should be renewed conflagrations around his grave it would be only fitting. years ago, when he was more vigorous, he took a second wife; some say that he was the first to become polygamous in Chichicastenango. Since he was so powerful no sanctions could be applied; but opposing factions formed and demanded that he be removed from his office. What happened can hardly be reconstructed, but his forces won a partial victory: he retained his office, and much of his power, but the other side has since obtained representation and power enough to keep a balance politically between the factions.

Sunday is the scene of less momentous events in the pueblo too. Romances ripen, friends meet, people drink. Late this afternoon a young man, very embarrassed, half carried an old man, almost dead drunk, past our house and up the street. We followed them and saw that two blocks away he led his charge into a house, and that was the last we saw of them. The manner of the young man was especially noteworthy; he didn't seem to be annoyed, he was very gentle and sometimes seemed almost helpless. He wasn't so much ashamed, but he wore a very embarrassed smile. He might be the old man's son, but more likely

he is a prospective son-in-law.

Marriages are often arranged by the parents of the young people, but often too the young man has fixed his heart or his mind on a girl and asks his father to arrange matters between them if he can. It is not rare, either, for a young man to have a heart stout enough to take things into his own hands. Then he will accost the girl's father in the market, most likely on Sunday. Perhaps he will say simply "Good afternoon, I would like to talk to you." And the older man, with some knowledge of what is coming, might say that he is busy, and walk away through the market-place.

The boy, however, usually know what he wants and tags after the man; he accosts him again and if his sweetheart's father is not utterly opposed to him as a son-in-law he will induce him to enter a cantina (shall we say "tavern"?). This much won, the two enter a back-room, or a bench to one side, and the boy buys a bottle of aguardiente, and with bottle and glass in hand gets down on one knee before the father and offers him a drink. Now is the time when the boy may suffer; either because the old man really doesn't want the boy for a son-in-law or because he wishes to tease him and make him suffer -- or perhaps because he doesn't want him to win too easily -- he steadfastly refuses to drink. The boy may remain there on his knee, glass and bottle in hand, for hours, arguing his merits; but finally, when things get along this far, the man agrees to entertain the notion. All he promises is that he will talk over the matter with his wife and that on the next Sunday the boy's parents might come to see him.

Then, indeed, he drinks; and he drinks more, and more, at the boy's expense, until he is quite drunk. The boy remains quite sober, for reasons of necessity, for it is now his business to take the man home safely. In Chichicasteango drunkenness is countenanced up to a certain extent, but if in the evening when the patrol moves through the street they find a drunken indian they take him to the jail. If the prospective son-in-law, now, does not care for the intoxicated man, and if the latter is taken to jail, the boy will have to pay his fine -- not because there is any law to that effect, of course, but because he is, after all, trying to keep on the good side of this man above all others.

So this shamefaced young man we saw this afternoon might well be a young suitor who has taken the very first step in arranging for his marriage. If so, he is in for a bit of a nuisance tomorrow. It is quite likely that he will have to stay in the pueblo over night, and when he comes home in the morning he will meet silent glares on the faces of his parents. When they ask him where he has been, he will beckon them into the house and tell them in private. He has asked a man for his daughter. That explains everything, but what did the man say? He will think it over. And who is the man, and which daughter? Very well. And when are we supposed to come over? Good, and how much did you spend for liquor? The boy's father, who keeps the purse of the family, gives him the money he has spent -- for he has probably borrowed it. Then he sends for a zajorin, or

medicine-man, to ask him to do costumbres to prevent the girl's parents from deciding unfavorably.

The girl's father, meanwhile, when he recovers, goes home to his wife and discusses the matter with both her and his eldest son -- who will be responsible for matters if he dies. They may also mention the matter to their daughter to get her reaction. What they are most interested in, aside from the virtues of the youth himself, is conditions at their boy's house, for it is there that the young couple would live after marriage. The girl is likely very young, and is not yet fully acquainted with household duties and such techniques as weaving, so that it will be up to her husband's mother, and the wives of his older brothers, to teach her. Their quality is therefore a strong consideration. But with all this, here too they hire a zajorin to forecast for them results of such a marriage.

The next Sunday, again in the pueblo, will be for these people a critical day. Perhaps in the afternoon the boy's father and mother will knock at their door. If they have decided unfavorably ~~they will~~ the girl's parents will crawl on their knees to open the door, and, seeing this, the visitors will excuse themselves and go away. But if not, they will greet their prospective relatives and invite them in. The latter, having brought a bottle of aguardiente, will drop to their knees and offer a drink. But the hosts will bid them rise and be seated, and then they will drink. And when that bottle is finished the girl's father will send ~~the~~ a boy for another; and thus in the cheering atmosphere of liquor the first arrangements will be made. The girl's folks ask, "And when will you come to see us in our home in the montes?" and the reply will be, "Next Thursday, or do you prefer the following Monday?" The following Monday may be preferred, and with the engagement for a future meeting made, the visitors will leave, to go to report success to their son.

Sunday in the pueblo, thus, is more than a Day; it is a multitude of climaxes, a sort of temporal nerve-center of the scattered organs of Chichicasteango life.

April 1.

On Monday the Scene of Life shifts from the town to the mountains. The pueblo is something of a deserted village: There is a little street on the south end of town that is often called Los Callejones; it borders the huge barranca to the east of town, and the street narrowly follows its contours. There are no cross-streets, and from end to end it is lined by a continuous row of low white-washed houses. During the days when there are markets, all of these houses are athrob with life, for the friends and relatives of the Indian owners come with them from the markets, there to establish headquarters for the mid-day meal and for their market-purchases. In these houses, as in many others in the Pueblo, the babies await their baptisms, the bodies of the dead are brought to await their burial, and nervous parents prepare their first marriage-marriage arrangements.

But on Monday morning, the street is like a white sepulchre; there is not a person to be seen, not a sound to be heard. Under the afternoon sun glistens, but rather vacantly, the whitewash of the stones. Somehow, after Sunday, there doesn't seem to be a scrap of evidence that these are human habitations; there is no stray dust, even, and the soft wind must play with itself. The street looms up before one -- when he has succeeded in finding the hidden paths that lead into it -- as a picture made for him himself; it has the same apparent function that a newly discovered archeological site. The artists have not yet found it.

The theater has shifted to the cantones, and in the pueblo only the alguaziles'sweeping the debris left on the Plaza by yesterday's market give evidence -- if self-destroying -- of what was yesterday.

On Monday the travelling merchants are off again to the Coast or to the Capital to sell what they have bought here and to buy for the next markets here. On Monday the people are back to work on their milpas, and at their weaving and their trades. And Monday is the principal day for doing the marriage "costumbres".

The parties to the proposed marriage have made, a week ago yesterday, an appointment for today. Before dawn, the boy's parents arouse themselves; they have engaged a marriage intermediary -- who, like padrinos, must know special prayers -- who has spent the night with them. So accompanied by him and their son who wishes to marry and often a mogo to carry their burdens and also to light their way with the torch of coote, they walk to the home -- often miles away -- of the girl's parents.

Early, in the first gray of dawn, they come to the house, and in the patio they kneel in a row and pray -- in turn to each of the four cardinal points. If they have been wearing the straw hats that they often do in travelling, the men remove them and put on their woven suts; and the intermediary puts on a special cloak for the occasion. Then they knock on the door.

The girl's family has, meanwhile, engaged an intermediary also, and are prepared for the knock-on-the-door. They rouse themselves from their sleep -- the three of them, for the girl whose future is to be decided takes no part in the negotiations -- and soon are ready to open the door.

In every Indian home one can find, neatly arrayed on a table, a varied assortment of idoles; these are all ornaments and utensils of the older civilization here (de antigua, as they say) dug from the cornfields at various times. But they are not recognized as utensils, but are known as sacred objects, idols. In all Indian costumbres they have their place, along with candles and incense and santos. And now, for the matter of arranging the marriage, they are set on a table in neat semi-circles. From the right side of the table extends, now, a row of low chairs or stools, on the first one of which is seated the girl's intermediary, on the second her father, and on the third her mother. From its left side extends a row of chairs opposite these; and when the boys party is admitted, its intermediary sits opposite that of the girl, his father opposite the girl's, his mother opposite the girl's; then the boy himself takes the fourth seat and their mozo the fifth.

All is as quite and as ceremonious as the brightening sky to the east. The visitors have brought with them a dish of cacao-beans, sacred as money in ancient times and now simply sacred so that a few coins are placed on the beans when the dish is placed on a chair before the girl's party. The two intermediaries now solemnly recite, to each other in turn, the story of Adam and Eve and the creation of the First Marriage. This over, the boy's intermediary asks the mozo to pour out the aguardiente; first he takes a glass in the contents of which he sprinkles over the idoles; then, in turn, he gives glassfuls to the other intermediary, the girl's father and her mother. The he can drink himself, to be followed by the boy's father and mother and the -- passing over the boy, who does not drink -- mozo himself.

The intermediaries do a lot more praying, and then that of the boy hands the dish of cacao to the girl's father who places it on the table with the idoles. It is nearing seven or eight o'clock, but before breakfast is served to all present, the girl's parents kneel before the boy's party and formally consent to give them their daughter -- with the stricture that they take good care of her. After breakfast, practical arrangements are made, with the intermediaries doing the talking. How long the betrothal period is to last is decided by the girl's folks, but normally it is set for a year.

The boy's people go home after breakfast, but the boy himself may remain for a few days, working with his father-in-law and often living with his future bride. And in a month, on Monday again, and once a month thereafter -- always on Mondays -- he will come again with his parents -- until the days of the final marriage-feast. Each time the boy's family brings presents of food, which they help to eat, and each time the boy himself brings additional tidbits to his bride. And on the last Monday of the year they come as usual, but bring their relatives and friends.

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Somewhere in the mountains of Chichicasteango, this day, ~~taxing~~ a marriage-feast is being celebrated. Rather, it is starting today, and will continue until Wednesday or Thursday. There are many people there, with marimba, liquor, and general feasting. Today the young men are killing a bull for the feast, and the first ceremony is taking place. The two intermediaries are there, with their wives; that of the boy is sitting on the right side of a table, and that of the girl on the other side. Tied to table, on the right leg, is a rooster; on the left leg is a hen. The girl -- her part in the proceedings now fully recognized -- takes the rooster in her arms, while the boy in like manner takes the hen. Then together they receive advice from the intermediaries in turn. Finally each intermediary places rings on the fingers of bride and groom, kneeling, and ceremonies for today are ended.

Tomorrow the intermediaries will place a single necklace about the two principals, the better to bind them. Wednesday, if they wish, the young people may go to the Juzgado and then to the Church to be married; but this is rare. On Thursday everybody goes home (or first to the pueblo), the boy and his family now accompanied by the bride -- who has been fitted out with a new costume and perhaps many things with which to set up house-keeping. The girl begins a new life.

If, on week days, the pueblo is no longer the hub of Indian life, at least in our house there is a two-room circus. Today I went to canton Chinima, near the pueblo, so that only one room contained a performance. In that room la senora almost every day entertains -- or is entertained by -- a young Indian woman called Tomasa Feliza. She is an expert weaver, and to learn her art was ~~the~~ la senora's excuse to bring her here; and while she is indeed learning to weave, she is at the same time drawing a picture of Tomasa.

For months we had been trying to meet -- socially or in a business way -- some Indian woman who could speak Spanish. The supply of Spanish-speaking maxenas, is, however, strictly limited to two. One is the same girl I mentioned as the sweetheart of Tomas Ventura whose marriage-for-convenience inconvenienced him; we didn't for a long time know these circumstances, which probably interfered with our negotiations since Tomas was the chief negotiator. Then when we brought matters to an issue, we found the bird flown to the hills. Meanwhile, to mix metaphors, we had aimed another stone at Tomasa; and our intermediary in that case being also unsuccessful, we finally took courage into our hands and went to Tzokoma to catch her in her nest.

At first she would have nothing to do with foreigners, saying that her mother would not approve; but she finally succumbed to the promise of a daily wage. She was insistent that whatever be done be not done in her house, but consented to come to ours. La senora at first engaged her to make conversation; but after a day it was apparent that neither her Spanish nor her knowledge of costumbres was up to that. How should she know anything, she reasonably insisted; she wasn't even married.

But she did know how to weave, and this knowledge need not remain private.

Weaving is a large part of almost every Indian woman's life. At four in the morning the women of the house rise to grind their day's supply of corn; at eight, breakfast is over, and then, on and off, she spends the daylight hours at her loom, or preparing the threads for the loom. For herself she must weave at least to huipiles (blouses) and two clothes that she uses to carry things in, and two more that she uses to wear on her head. Perhaps much more during the year, but at least this much. Meanwhile, for her husband she must weave bandas (sashes) and sutes (head-pieces). Also, she must make table-cloths and a variety of other miscellaneous pieces. Her skirt, as I have mentioned, is made in a factory, but she must tailor it with embroidery.

Tomasa is expert in all of these things, and she earns her keep -- and is relatively independent -- from her work, for she makes not only her own clothes but some for others as well. It is not easy work, for all of it is done sitting on the knees. Since grinding is also done in this position, of course the women are accustomed to this position (and incidentally an exaggerated house-maid's knee as almost the normal condition) and yet Tomasa, for one, has to rest after about two hour's work.

She is, all things considered, quite a pretty girl, and many men have wooed her. Yet, although she must be at least eighteen or twenty, she has never yet, and refuses now, to wed. For one thing she is very particular: her husband must know Spanish well, and should, if possible be able to read and write. Not that Tomasa is herself an expert; she once went to the Ladino school here for two years, and then perhaps she could speak Spanish well, and could write creditably. But in the years that have passed she has not had much practice, and now her vocabulary is very limited and -- although she can read with some dispatch -- her knowledge of writing practically ends with her name, which she has woven into one of her huipiles. She wants her husband to know more than that. In she she must needs be disappointed, for all of the literates already have families.

She also wants a man with a goodly milpa; but above all she wants a man who will be faithful to her and will not beat her. In this quest she is herself discouraged, for she insists there isn't a good man in Chichicasteñango -- that they all beat their wives mercilessly and all have other women, openly or secretly. Why, then, should she heed the advice of her brother and marry? Her mother is an example of what it means.

Tomasa's father has long since died, and she has a stepfather. The stepfather, on Juan Pixcar, moved into the house of Tomasa's mother, since she had the land there and since he had none. But that does not dispose him more kindly towards his wife. About a month ago, they had a bit of a quarrel which ended up by his beating her with a stick and with a machete; then he picked up his belongings and went off to live with another woman in canton Zepela. His affair with this one cannot be called casual, since

he already has one child by this woman. This treatment is, Tomas says, what women must expect here from husbands. Her particular complaint against Juan is that he had borrowed \$10 from her and when he went away he registered no intention of repaying it. For that Tomasa went to the Indian Alcalde, who promptly had Juan brought in; the Alcalde told Juan he should be ashamed of himself for owing money to a woman, and told him he would have to pay it back immediately. Juan then paid \$4 to her as the first instalment. But, alas for good lessons, last week Juan returned to Tomasa's house -- perhaps to avoid repaying the rest of the money -- and there again he is living.

Tomasa will have none of this; and indeed she is very shy of men. She is ordinarily talkative and gay, but occasionally when I bring an Indian into the house -- say Tomas Ventura or Diego Ignacio -- she buries her head in her weaving and dares not even look up until they are gone. Tomas, she says, once wanted to marry her. Diego's father, Miguel, although he has a wife now and a number of grandchildren, is pressing her -- by correspondence -- to become his wife.

There is only one exception to be recorded about Tomasa's shyness. Our house-boy Juan is only about 16; in of her list of qualifications he fits only one, since he speaks Spanish better than any other Indian. He has no land at all. But Tomasa's coming here to work, in the same house where young Juan works, has put some romantic notions into her head -- as they were long in his. At first she said the reason she didn't mind his being around (as a matter of fact, whenever he isn't around she asks where he is) because she always saw him as a patoj, a child. But, she will admit, he is quite a young man; and even so she perks up, rather than jerks in, when Juan enters the room. I think she would marry our boy; but right now Juan thinks more of the possibility of going to the Capital to work -- there were it is muy alegre -- than he does of settling down to milpa life with a bride.

Tomasa, for all her education, is naive about the world. Especially on matters of time her conceptions are vague. One day she asked la senora how old she thought Miguel Ignacio -- her literate suitor -- is, and when la senora (knowing his age for a fact) told her that he was 59, Tomasa drew her breath sharply and replied, "Oh, but he looks like 60!". One day, in the forenoon, she asked la senora for the time, and when she was told that it was 10:30, she asked (knowing that she was to go home at noon), "Then, I am to leave?". Tomasa, as a clock-watcher, knows what a clock is, but has no idea what the hours mean.

Her conceptions about such places as the United States are rapidly being clarified with contact. ~~They~~ We are extranjeros, by which is meant here not foreigners (an Indian from here would not be an extranjero no matter in which country he travelled) but people like us. This morning, she looked up at the senora from her loom and suddenly asked, Yo creo que in tu pueblo hay muchos extranjeros, si? and then, Y ellos compran muchas cosas?

April 2.

Today, as yesterday, I went down to Chinima. Chinima is a small canton to the southwest of the pueblo. Scenically, it is somewhat apart from the others near town; most of Chichicastenango is referred to ordinarily as "mountainous", but actually the greater part of it is only slightly hilly but very broken up by deep gorges. Infact the Guatemalan highlands are generally best described as a high plateau cut up by these deep barrancas. But there are some hills, and the highest in Chichicastenango is called Pocohil, and it is Pocohil rearing its greenness an the background of Chima that gives that canton the appearance of a fertile little valley.

Our particular friends in Chinima are the Ignacios, and especially Miguel and Diego -- father and son respectively. These men, it will be remembered, belong to the literate group of Indians, and Miguel, I have mentioned, is now a suitor for the hand of Tomasa Feliza. Until this year father and son and their families have lived in the same house, but recently Miguel moved with his family to another house of theirs a few hundred yards away. When I come over, however, Miguel always comes to Diego's house so that the three of us can talk together.

Diego is the present director of the Indian school, and in this capacity he also teaches the highest grade; generally speaking, one can say that he knows at least as much as any other Indian here; he reads and writes fluently, though perhaps not as well as Tomas Gonzales, and he has a better idea of the outside world than any of the others. Miguel is not very far behind his son; for years, in his younger days, he was the Indian Secretary, and he hasn't since forgotten how to write.

Miguel is a peculiar cross between the older, conservative Indians and those who are the forerunners of acculturation. The mixture is almost a matter of layers, somehow. In his younger days he took a keen interest in the esoteric parts of his culture: he has been padrino to hundreds, has acted as intermediary in marriages now long forgotten; five times he was the first-Alcalde of the Cofradia of Santo Tomas, the most important here, and he was first-Alcalde of two minor cofradias as well. In those days he must have been one of two or three literate Indians here, and apparently it wasn't until the past ten years or so that that fact set him as one apart from the old conservatives.

It is noteworthy that his contemporary, the elder Tomas Ventura, one of the other literates of the by-gone generation (who, however, isn't nearly as proficient as Miguel) was also, in days past, keenly interested in the religious aspects of Chichicastenango life, and he, too, was secretary. It seems very likely that in those days a literate person was welcomed, for the Indians naturally prefer a Secretary of their own people. Since that time either these men have for some reason lost their old interest and thus the favor of the other Indians, or else for some reason they lost the favor and with it interest; or, of course, the two might well have gone together.

However it came about, Miguel today has no interest in the more revered aspects of Indian culture. He hasn't acted as padrino for many years, nor as marriage intermediary; he doesn't consider the Cofradias worthy of attention. He remembers all of these things (a previous ethnographer -- Schultze-Jena -- obtained part of his material from him several years ago) but much as a mature man calls to mind a piece of poetry he remembers from his childhood. The things are not a part of him any more. His attitude toward his ancient prestige is not easy to fathom; he is rather proud of them because when it comes to matching records with another he can point to them. But it is not a wistful pride; I think he would not consider going back now to his former glory. Of course part of this is that the people wouldn't have him -- that is, for a cofradia, at least -- but it is not all of it; being active in such matters entails time, and money too, and I think he would feel that he has much to lose and little now to gain.

Should Miguel somehow be able to make a gracious retreat back into the full culture, entailing as it would being accepted again by the leaders of the tribe, I have no doubt he would take the step. But that is impossible, of course, and I am sure he would never consent to giving himself back to his culture without being accepted as fully a part of it. It is certainly not a matter of disillusionment with him; he believes yet as much as anybody, but it is simply a matter of that sort of thing being put behind him, a part of his past.

Miguel is an old man, and his son Diego relatively young; that and what follows from it constitutes the difference between the men. Miguel has a past, and Diego has not, and therefore has no layer of half-forgotten lore. But just as the father is proud of what he once was, so would the son fain become just that. But Diego has, after all, started where Miguel left off, and it is likely that no more easily than his father could get into the culture again could Diego ever get into it. He can learn what is necessary to become a padrino, but probably nobody would send for him; he might be willing to become a cofrade, but most likely he will never be appointed. He doesn't know it, but his hope for the future is his youth; as the years go by, and education spreads among the people, the culture is apt to catch up with him, so to speak, and then he will be part of it. The point is that neither Miguel nor Diego have any quarrel with their culture, but only that the leaders of society have a quarrel with them.

These men in Chichicastenango -- and I include all of the literate group -- exemplify a factor or a stage in the process of acculturation that sociologists must not overlook. They talk about "marginal men" who have passed beyond their own cultural horizon but are rendered unfit, or unhappy in either their old setting or their new. In the cases here it is not that Miguel or Diego could not of their own accord adapt their new knowledge to their old culture -- and be perfectly happy about it -- but that others won't allow them too. There is one other case that might bear looking into on this subject: that of Tomas Ren, the literate who, for some reason, has turned back to the old people and is most viciously opposed to his fellow literates and what they stand for in the culture. Tomas is indeed accepted into

the old culture; he is ^a/Fiscal of the cofradías, at least. But in his case, the truth of the matter is that all he ever had in common with the other literates was an ability to read; he has never had connections with the school or with foreigners either, and so never represented what the old people distrust. He was not, in short, "taken back into the culture" for he has never left it; he could not in any objective sense be called a "marginal man". The matter of Tomas Gonzales, the Secretary, is rather difficult; he too is a fiscal, and also is padrino to many children; yet he traffics slightly with tourists (at least is for law-and-order with respect to them) and was a principal informant of a previous ethnologist. I think the secret in his case is superb diplomacy; some say he is a boot-licker to the old principales and alcaldes, but those who say so are not his best friends.

To return to the Ignacios.... Miguel has been three times married; his first wife bore him Diego and a daughter (who is married to Tomas Gonzales, a fact which may would make the popularity of Gonzales more remarkable if the Indians looked upon marriage connections as we do); his second wife is still living, and still bearing him children, but he was married meanwhile to a third, polygamously, who bore him two more children and then died. None of his daughters is being educated, and Diego is the only son who bids fair to emulate him.

Miguel was once rich, but liquor appears to have been his undoing and he is now heavily in debt; due to his poverty, probably, his bill for aguardiente is now more than halved (according to his own frank figures). It is said that he is patiently awaiting the proposed cancellation of all debts in two years, when he expects to give back to him the use of his lands.

Diego has seven children, and the boys attend the school. His land too is used by another because it is debt-ridden, but he can live on his salary of \$180 a year plus what he earns from selling the products of his wife's loom to the tourists. Diego and his father both are excellent embroiderers; incidentally, so are most of the other literates, and since the rest of the people are not, one must conclude that it somehow goes with their intellectual dignity and their economic position. One other thing seems to go along also: gold teeth; the only Indians here who have one or more gold teeth are found in this literate group of men.... I should mention that men in Chichicasteango, if they are able, embroider ~~at~~ braid on their wives' huipils, and completely embroider their fajas (the narrow sash ^{of} the women wear); also, they embroider themselves -- again, if they can, and if they cannot they either have non decoration or hire an expert -- the decorations on their trousers and their coats. It is not the least incongruous thing here to see the men, ~~however~~ notwithstanding their lord-and-master attitude towards their wives, sitting in the shade of the corredor -- or even in front of the jugado -- calmly plying their needles to make their fajas.

Both Miguel and Diego make excellent informants, since they are quick and understanding, and as far as I have been able to

determine, conscientious -- except when a matter strikes too close to home (thus they never told me about extra-marital affairs or the father's polygamy; and they never told me that the land to which they have title is not theirs because of debt; yet when I confronted with evidence constructed out of their own inconsistencies they sheepishly admitted the omissions). They like to rest from my questions by asking me about the United States, and they not only register amazement (so promptly that I sometimes think it is an act and they really do not believe me) at the time but keep referring to the incredible facts at intervals ever after. I think that I enjoy my hours with the Ignacios more than those with any other Indians, and indeed more than those with many of our countrymen.

This evening, just after I had come home, I was called to the door to admit none other than la senoras swain-of-the-dance last Friday night. It was Felipe to bring the piece of corte that he had promised for a souvenir. Very brazenly he asked if la senora was home, and I said yes and had him sit down. Then, cruelly, I sat back to watch him try to make conversation. As a lady should be, la senora was kind, but all that finally developed from fifteen minutes' talk was that it is hard work, questa mucho, to make corte. Finally he left, as graciously as he could....

For dinner this evening the cook sent over tacos. Tacos consist of cooked-ground meat rolled in tortillas and then fried until the tortilla-crust is brown and crisp. Since tortillas tostadas are too our taste anyway, I need hardly say that we like tacos. Some would say that we are unfortunate in our choice of cooks, but they are those who value Adventure above Life. Our cook is a curious misfit in Chichicastenango society, and a story goes with her.

Some years ago she was the cook on a large finca run by Americans; house-bay on the same finca was one Tomas Xirun, a pure Chichicastenango Indian. She, Christina something-or-other, was a Ladino who had never been near Chichicastenango; but she is a very attractive woman. And one day, in the course of events, Tomas and Christina decided that they were in love and ran off together -- to Chichicastenango. When the Inn opened here Tomas became the head-waiter, and here he has stayed. Peculiarly -- what with having been long away and also bearing the distinction now of being the only Maxeno who is more or less married to a Ladina -- he is the only Indian at the hotel who seems to have no desire to go somewhat Ladino himself. And she, on the other hand, has hardly mixed in local society and always feels somewhat apart from it, what with having come from the city and all.

There is probably something true about the gossip that goes on about her relations with others (and her husband, when such things are told him, replies that he doesn't care because he likes her) but for all that she is a good cook and is well-trained to American cooking. In fact, Tortillas, tamales, tacos, and -- at our request -- chili are the only native fare we get, unless one includes the black-beans. But our cook deserves attention chiefly as another Chichicastecan phenomenon,

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an Americanized city Ladino married to an Indian!

We have had better luck with our cook than with some other of our help. The laundress does her work well and quickly, but is far too grasping to suit. She has a little daughter about ten years old who seems to be her mother's business manager. The people are very poor; apparently the mother cannot keep a husband, and all of her children are by different men, and the reason they are poor now is that she is currently out of a man. The little girl is probably the greatest little go-getter in Chichicastenango, if not the World. She never plays, but is always running around bothering people for one thing or another, and in the process leaving behind all of the normal shyness of a little girl.

Charges for laundry run by the piece, and her current complaint is that we don't have enough. In the beginning we always tipped her liberally, but soon she not only took that as a matter of course, but considered it part of the charge for the laundry and began to insinuate that she should have tips. She also fell into the habit of coming every day and asking for advances on the next laundry, until they were several weeks ahead of themselves and we had to call a halt.

Every time the little lady came, or most of the times at least, she would sidle up to la senora in very confidentially breathless tones, and say "Dispense, todavia no hay vestidos para nosotros?" asking for old clothes, and each time she would get the same answer: that when we leave there would be some. The girl's protestations of how sad her mother would be when we -- and our trade -- should leave would have sounded better if they did not try to cheat us at every turn, in little things, but very annoying.

We learned that our laundress is comparatively the epitome of honesty, however, compared with the Ladino carpenters with whom we have had dealings. Furnishing a house in Chichicastenango is a matter of calling in a carpenter (for the furniture brought to the market by Totonicapan Indians is generally too miniature for our use), and since the carpenters are poor they demand advance payment for each piece so that they can buy lumber. They glibly promise things for three or four days, but no amount of prompting can elicit the finished products for weeks, or sometimes even months. Francisco is the worst offender. We ordered six chairs from him (since he insisted that those the Indians brought are no good -- and indeed they aren't, for, made without nails, they come apart); we waited weeks, and he made one excuse after another. We soon discovered that the reason he was waiting was that he had ordered six chairs for us from the Indians -- at 10 cents apiece! When the chairs finally arrived, we received them, and when I accused him he just didn't ever come any more, and since we had a table coming from him I didn't press the accusation. Finally, in order to get the table, I threatened to go to the alcalde; and in a few days the table came, but the legs were -- and are -- so crossed that they fit only for a tailor-shop.

These so-called simpler cultures, too, can give grey hairs.

April 3.

This evening it is raining, a light and balmy rain -- hardly the torrent that one has grown to expect of the Tropics. But of course we are in the midst of the dry season (called "summer" here). There is some little disagreement as to when summer begins. When we came, the last of October, we were told that we were witnessing "the last rains" -- that the dry season here sets in about November first. But actually, it was cold, somewhat rainy and certainly misty until February. That this was unusual everybody hastened to tell us, but now we were told that "summer" doesn't set in until about January first.

Judging that the last two months have been typical of the dry-season, that is a fair enough description. It rained no more than a few centimeters during that time, and it was comparatively warm and pleasant; even the nights, during which we had learned to freeze, have been pleasant. The only climatic annoyance, in fact, has been the dust; one expects that, of course, when there is no rain. And we are told that the rainy season ("the winter") sets in again in May.

The coldest temperature Chichicastenango has experienced during our stay was, a few mornings, when the thermometer dipped to the freezing point. The warmest, although of course directly in the sun one can easily suffer from sun-stroke, never was hotter than about 70 degrees Fahrenheit in the shade. Real extremes are unknown here; the Indians have never known snow (although they have seen large hailstones often) and I am sure they have no idea (unless they have been down to the Coast) what really hot weather is. For ourselves, even with climbing barrancas in the afternoon sun, we have not, this "summer", felt on ourselves a bead of perspiration.

Of course it is the combination of tropical latitude and a high altitude that makes the temperature what it is; it is only a few hours -- it could be walked easily in two days -- to the Coast and real tropical heat and humidity. Many of the Indians go to the Coast on business, and they dread the climate there; those who go to the fincas to work are expected to die off rapidly from what is recognized here as an unhealthy climate.

Topographical conditions render Quezaltenango even colder than Chichicastenango; there, during the summer even, it is not uncommon to have water freeze over night. The Capital, on the other hand, with an altitude of about a mile or less, is warmer than Chichicastenango; Lake Atitlan, the beauty spot, has a climate much like that of the Capital, and all things considered -- such as the clear blue water surrounded by volcanic peaks whose colors and whose shadows change with every hour of the day and night -- the Lake probably has no peer as a very pleasant place to live.

The rain this evening -- a pleasant Spring rain of large splashy drops coming as it does at the end of Summer -- is the aftermath of a typically sunny day. When it is clear in Chichicastenango the sky is white and seems far above the blazing sun; the line is sharp between it and the distant gary mountains on the northern horizon.

This morning la senora and I went to Tomasa's house in Tzokoma to watch her begin a new huipil. She really began the huipil last week, at our place, but that was simply to prepare the thread. Huipiles are made on a base of either brown or of white cotton, this one of the former. The cotton is bought in the local stores on skeins, and the first process is rewinding it onto balls; for this a wooden revolving frame is used -- the skein placed over it and the ball wound by hand. The thread in its original condition is untwisted, and since this is not considered strong enough for use, the next process is to twist it all; and this matter took the better part of a week of Tomasa's time. She used a long pointed stick, the bottom point placed in a pottery bowl to reduce friction, and the thread very cleverly twisted by catching part of it on the top of the stick and spinning the whole as if it were a top. The thread twisted, it had to be wound again on a ball, and was then ready for the preparation of the warp.

At her house this morning another piece of wooden apparatus came into play; a long board with a number of upright poles placed regularly on its flat surface. The twisted thread has to be wound around these poles after a certain pattern, and for a full-sized huipil no less than 400 full revolutions must be made. When this process was completed Tomasa next prepared a bath for ~~the~~ what would become the warp; she mashed up a certain root and diffused a bowl of water in its essence; then carefully lifting the threads off the poles so as not to mix them up, she soaked them thoroughly in the solution and finally wrung them out. The threads were then stretched between poles run through the loops on the end and left in the patio to dry.

In the afternoon brought the now-dry warp to our place to begin the weaving. One end of the loom (which consists primarily of the warp-threads stretched between the end-poles) is always fastened, with a rope, to a pole of the corridor (or in our house to a nail in the wall) and the other, with a leather strap, around the waist of the weaver. The loom then had to be prepared by tying ~~a~~ each of the under-threads to a stick so that they could be pulled up or let down for every other process of drawing through the threads of the woof. In all a half-dozen sticks are necessary to keep apart the upper and lower threads in their various configurations.

The weaver always kneels before her loom; and her day consists of drawing the long shuttle back and forth between the threads of the warp which, between each motion, must be shifted. The ends of the huipil are simply of solid brown cotton, but the central portions are woven with red wool and the silk vari-colored design is placed in by manipulations with the fingers. The sleeves of the huipil are made later, when the body is finished, and the whole -- if the weaver works steadily at her task -- takes about three weeks. For this work, unless the huipil is for the woman herself or for her children, the weaver can earn up to two or three dollars.

Diego was over in the afternoon, too. He is worried, somewhat, about his friends and his father, who have gone to

the Capital to see the President. The trouble began last January. It will be remembered that there are four profesores in the indian school: Diego, Tomas Ventura, Sr., Pascual Ren, and Francisco Pixcar. It appears that the Municipality hasn't always the money to pay these teachers, but occasionally gives them some sort of Promises-to-Pay that some merchants will buy from them at a discount. It appears, however, that the Municipality does not make separate papers for each of the teachers, but rather include them all on one. Last January Pascual and Francisco to the community note to Santa Cruz and sold it to a merchant, keeping the money and presumably intending to keep it. Diego, hearing of this, became excited and went to the Alcalde in order to force the two to pay up. But it was an error, for the Alcalde immediately jailed the errant school-teachers and in a few days they were taken to Santa Cruz (the Capital of this Department) to await trial.

Diego, as well as Ventura, were dismayed at the turn of events, for it appeared now as if their friends (and relatives -- for the families are intermarried) would languish in jail perhaps for years. Diego professed that it was all an error, that the boys had intended to give him their part of the money and that no crime had been committed. Of course the jailed boys had the same story to tell. At that time I did not know Diego, but I remember that Tomas Ventura was very perturbed; the Padre seemed to think there was no way for the boys to get out, and everybody else here who knows the ways of the Law agreed. Tomas was more disturbed because his friends were in the same cell as the old conservative Indians from here -- their enemies -- who were there for having created disturbances the previous month about the film people, than he was about the rest of their fate.

Of course one difficulty about the whole matter was that the school was, meanwhile, half-staffed; the Jefe Politico was appealed to, but even if he would have liked to do something about the matter he hands were tied, for in Guatemalan law he has nothing to say about matters once they are in the hands of the courts. The boys therefore remained in jail for about a month until they were called before the judge; he was apparently convinced that it was all a misunderstanding and they were freed.

But they were not reinstated in the school; the term ended in March and is scheduled to begin in May and still Pascual and Francisco have not been reinstated. Apparently the Jefe has not acted favorably in the matter, so last week they decided to go to the Capital to talk with the President about their positions. The Padre advised them against it on the grounds that the Jefe might be displeased if they went over his head, Yet last Friday they went to Guatemala. What worries Diego is that today a messenger from Santa Cruz came here saying that the Jefe wants to see Miguel (who accompanied the two teachers), Pascual, and Francisco. Somebody, he thinks, must have told the Jefe what had happened and he is angry and will put them all in jail. I soothed him by pointing out that the President might have telegraphed him for information in the case.

One might wonder at local Indians going to the Capital to talk to the President; but this has apparently become quite

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a pattern in the Republic. When ~~President~~ Jorje Ubico became President, some two years before Franklin D. Roosevelt came into office in Guatemala's sister Republic, he instituted a New Deal; among other reforms he let it be known that anybody at all could obtain ~~affian~~ an audience by the simple expedient of telegraphing for an appointment. No problem is too insignificant for him to discuss with his countrymen, and no countryman too insignificant to discuss it with him.

President Ubico, from all reports, is a remarkable man; for one thing he is thoroughly honest and demands that all of his subordinates be likewise. When he came into his term of office he had an auditor go over all of his properties and his wealth and made his financial position public; the presumption is that when he leaves office all the world will be able to see that his wealth will have increased only by his legitimate salary, or what is left of it. It is not easy for him to break the tradition of graft in his petty officials, but according to all accounts he is succeeding admirably.

There is a story that one of his close friends -- with whom he used to spend weekends fishing -- was an official of one of the Ports. One day he told the President that he was short in his accounts by some thousand dollars or so. The President told his friends that if he himself couldn't make it up by the time the auditors came he should let him know, and he -- the President -- would lend him the money. But for some reason the official did not heed the advice, and the auditors came and found the shortage in the books. The official told them that it was all right -- that the President knew about it and they needn't worry. The auditors telegraphed the President and told him of the shortage and what the official had said. The reply was to have the man arrested, and to this day the official is in prison -- a symbol of the President's integrity.

The Indians here like the President; some of them say that he is a pure Indian -- which, since he isn't at all, shows that they feel he is thoroughly on their side and that there must be some reason for it. About ~~two years ago~~ three years ago the President came to Chichicastenango and among other things demanded the opening of the Indian School. There is a story that while he was talking to the Ladino officials of the town, the Alcalde made some disparaging remark about the Indians and the President, much incensed, is supposed to have struck him. The Alcalde almost lost his life by resisting, but finally some of the President's aides dragged him bodily from the room and locked him in the jail. The President was here several months ago (again looking into the matter of the schools and demanding that this May they be opened with 500 pupils) and he appears a thoroughly upright, commanding, intelligent, and gentlemanly figure. The fear of most people in Guatemala is that the Constitution will stand in the way of his re-election; that document calls for a six-year term and no re-election, but a movement is afoot to change it to allow General Ubico's re-election.

The Indian school, during the past year, had about ninety regular students. It has four grades, normally, and the children (all boys) take from one to three years to pass from one to the other. In the first grade (taught by the elder Tomas Ventura)

the children are taught to speak Spanish a little, and they make some start on learning the alphabet and the numbers. In the second year (under Pascual Ren) they learn the alphabet and the numbers and how to write them. In the third grade (taught by Francisco Pixcar) they become pretty literate; and finally under Diego, in the fourth grade, they learn something of Geography and arithmetic and kindred subjects. Nobody had yet received a diploma.

The school has practically no equipment. Last year the municipality gave a few dozen lead-pencils to the school, and they also have a map of Guatemala and a blackboard. Among the teachers there are a couple of primers. That is all, and of course none of the children have books. Teaching is done out of the knowledge of the teachers, who have all received what training they have in the Ladino school here, and it is the equivalent of about a sixth grade education at home. Neither old Tomas Ventura nor Pascual Ren know more than a smattering of Spanish themselves. I once asked young Tomas Ventura, who had been director of the school for two years, what teachers like his father could teach. The final answer that I could get was that they teach anything they happen to know.

If the two disgraced school-teachers are not allowed to join the staff next month when the school opens again, of course the institution will -- if outsiders are not brought in to teach -- be seriously crippled. How the President's demand for 500 pupils can be met with the facilities at hand (assuming that 500 boys can be rounded up for such a purpose) is somewhat of a mystery. The National government might, of course, lend a hand where the municipality does not, and equipment may be bought; teachers could be imported from, say Totonicapan, where the Indian language is much the same but there are many educated Indians, men and women.

Chichicastenango is, meanwhile, probably the most backward in Education of any community in the country; it is not wholly the fault of the authorities, for the Indians are peculiarly conservative in the matter of education. They -- the most part -- do not want their children in school, saying that it is better for them to stay at home and learn how to work. On the other hand, there is little doubt that if the authorities had the facilities and a strong enough desire, illiteracy could be wiped out in a generation. The Indians always bow to authority here (if a few have to be jailed in the process) and it does not seem that their stubbornness would, on the whole, interfere with a school program. The authority would have to come from the higher ~~and~~ officials of the government, however, for if the local Alcalde took charge of matters the Indians would soon telegraph the President for an appointment and would be on their way to have the Alcalde removed, if possible.

April 4.

Market-day again, since this is Thursday. Since all of the Indians come to town on Market-day, the best that an ethnologist can do is to have them over to the house. So Tomas came. I have been bothering Tomas to try to get me some manuscripts that are supposed to be in the hands of certain Indians. These manuscripts relate to the history of the Conquest of Guatemala by the Spaniards, and are used by the Indians in their dances celebrating that event. Tomas says that a certain man in Chicua has one such manuscript, and he has promised to try to buy, borrow it, or rent it for me. The difficulty is that if the man knows that the paper will fall into the hands of a foreigner he will probably not let it go; yet if I have to leave it all to Tomas I am sure that he will make a goodly profit from the transaction. I would not mind being held up, however, if I could be sure of getting what I want; but Tomas has been very dilatory. Sunday he said he would go to Chicua and try to find the man; now he says the Indian was away Monday and he will try to find him in the Plaza today. Since he said the same thing Sunday, and last Thursday, I am losing faith.

I, too, had a piece of business today that is becoming rather bothersome. When we received our Guatemalan visa we read on it that people who stay here more than two months must register with the Foreign Minister; and if when the two months are up they have failed to comply, a fine of \$200 will be assessed. When we came to the country the United States' consulate reminded us of this and advised us to go immediately to register. We went, but were told that we could not register until the two months were almost up (the idea being perhaps to tempt the foreigner to forget?). When the time came ~~we~~ were travelling through the Western part of the country, so (since the Foreign Office had told us that we could register at any Departmental Jefatura) we stopped in at Santa Cruz del Quiche to do this duty.

The Secretary there told us that we would have to leave our passport and our visa with him so that he could send them to the Capital (with \$2.00), and he brought out the book of rules to show us that this was proper. Not seeing anything else to do, we obtained a receipt for the papers and the money and left them with him. Of course we immediately wrote the Consulate in the Capital to apprise them of the temporary loss of the passport, and they said they would look into the matter. Some time later the Consul wrote that the Foreign office didn't have the passport yet, so we wrote to the Jefe in Quiche about it. He said he had sent it to Guatemala.

Fortunately we had to be in the Capital soon afterward, and with a representative of the Consulate we went to the Foreign Office to see what had happened. After half a day we were told that they had the passport, and were trying to decide whether it would be necessary for us to register, since we were here on a scientific mission. In a short time the decision would be made and they would either call us to the Capital to register or else would send our passport to us.

Weeks went by and nothing happened, so I wrote again to the United States Consul who soon replied that he had sent a man to the Ministry where they said that, although they remembered having seen our passport, they had no idea where it then was. The Consul advised

that we communicate with the Jefe who would certainly do something about the matter. So about two weeks ago I decided to conduct matters through official channels and took up the matter with the local Secretary, who immediately wrote to the Jefe himself. This morning I went to see the Secretary again, and he told me that -- he wouldn't understand why -- he had received no reply; he promised to write again this afternoon. But in the end I suppose that I shall have to go to Quiche and match diplomacy with somebody.

The Secretary here is a young Guatemalan who has spent some months in the United States and who talks some English. He is not a native of this town, and came here only this year to take his position. The job of Secretary is different from that of Alcalde or any of the others in that it is salaried and the Secretary has more work than glory. This man is apparently a Professional Secretary who will go somewhere else to act in the same capacity when he tires of Chichicastenango....

As I have mentioned, the Ladinos have one set of officers and the Indians another; but this is not quite accurate, for the so-called Ladino officials are the recognized officers of the entire municipality -- Indian and Ladino. The Indian government is subsidiary to it, and one should, strictly speaking, refer only to the Ladino Alcalde as "the Alcalde", and the Ladino Secretary as "the secretary". The other important officers are the Second Alcalde and the Treasurer; all of them are elected every year and take office on the first of January.

The inauguration ceremonies are held as close to midnight of December 31st as possible, and aside from the swearing in of the new officials, the chief matter of business is that of reading a very long report on everything that happened the previous year. Then the report is signed by anybody present (besides the officials) who cares to have his name recorded forever afterward in history.

The present Alcalde is probably the best-looking young man in town; he owns the little hotel that, before the coming of the Inn, was the only place to stay in Chichicastenango. His duties are those both of administrator and justice-of-the-peace, and his position one of some honor. Nevertheless he is not above earning an honest penny. Several weeks ago I told him that I wished a census of the merchants in the markets, and he kindly consented to get it for me. I told him that I would pay ~~anybody~~ the man who would do the work, and when it was finally completed -- and I came to settle-up -- I could not be sure (since he discreetly evaded my question as to whom had done the work, and since he was assiduous in bargaining on the unknown's behalf) whether he had made the census himself or had had somebody do it for him. I am not prone to suspicions, fortunately. Then I suggested that he recommend a man to help me work out the census of the entire pueblo, and in this matter he promptly suggested himself and said that he would help me to get the occupants of the various houses and what he didn't know he would send somebody to find out. I hope that, since the local officials are not paid for their services, that such opportunities come to all Alcaldes.

Juan's suit -- the one that was spotted and then dyed -- came back from the tailor today; while it could look much worse, Juan calls it ugly and swears that he cannot wear it for Holy Week. He is very put out, and at one minute talks about spending two month's wages for more material to make a suit, and the next becomes entirely discouraged and avers that he will not stir from the house, for shame, during all of Holy Week. Juan becomes upset easily anyway, and his mood changes quickly with his fortunes. One may well observe that Indians usually have poker-faces, and some conclude from that that they feel nothing; but Juan is an exception to the former, and most certainly to the latter.

The boy is very sensitive, and if some one of his numerous "enemies" in the pueblo says a word to him or about him, he may be off for days; since he carries a chip on his shoulder, he is "off" a good part of the time. Sooner or later he is certain to fight with everybody -- all of the neighbors, the cook, and whoever else he comes into contact with. When he fights with the cook it is very bad for him, since then he won't eat; in fact when he is in his hurt mood at all he hardly eats, saying that his troubles make him "billous". But when things go right he spirits soar to the sky, he makes jokes in profusion, generally bubbles over, and eats to make up for what he has lost.

Juan is perhaps the least Indian of any Indian in Chichicastenango. He has, it is true, lost none of the fundamental beliefs of his people, but on the other hand he has never been thoroughly acculturated in Indian life. He was more or less brought up among Ladinos, since his mother was a servant in ladino homes when he was young and all of his life he has lived around the pueblo. His friends now are the Ladino boys, rather than the Indians, and he speaks by far the best Spanish of any of the local Indians. He far prefers Ladino clothes (except that he will wear neither shoes nor a necktie) to the costume of his people.

Let when Juan thinks of marrying (he is only sixteen but has thought seriously of it a number of times) he thinks of Indian girls; I think that if he should marry here he might go back to the milpa life of his people. But his great desire now is to go to the City; there, he thinks, it is muy alegre and he could be thoroughly happy. He doesn't want to go to the city to get away from his people; I do not believe that has ever entered his mind. He wants to go because he likes to be where there are a lot of people. Chichicastenango is a very triste place to him; nothing much happens here. He thinks that in the city he could get work, either as a servant or in some factory, he could buy lots of nice clothes and be in the social swirl.

He goes to every fiesta -- here or out of town -- that he can; he looks forward to such an event as Semana Santa, which is muy alegre here; naturally the disappointment about his clothes strikes deeply. As his patrones we have offered to pay half the cost of a new suit for him, but now, in his despondency, he claims he cannot buy suitable material and it is too late to have it tailored even if he does buy it.

We had some news today: it appears that Sabastian Saquic, the number 1 Pasado, finally died last Monday. I would have supposed that such news would travel rapidly and that there would be some excitement among the Indians. But neither Diego nor Tomas knew anything about it until today, and now that they know it doesn't seem to excite them particularly. It is true that neither of them is a fair sample of the tribe. No doubt the people important in the Indian political structure were fired by the news of the death of Saquic and are busily engaged in political manipulations in the matter of naming a new Pasado.

Yet it seems to be true that even important news cannot travel through these mountains very rapidly, and it must await the coming of the next market day to gain wide circulation. I might mention that on market days all official announcements are made by the Secretary who acts as a town-crier by going about the Plaza at noon and reading what he has to say at every corner. This is all a matter of Indian news and orders, of course, and the Indian secretary it is who reads the announcements in Spanish and translates them into Indian.

What will happen politically now that Saquic has finally passed on my informants, at least, don't know. They are, like everybody else, waiting to see. Tomas seems to think that the non-Polygamous faction will get a place; but he knows that things are upset now and that the younger politicians may put something over. To get the best information I shall have to go to Tomas Gonzales, the Secretary; he is the Indian Juzgado all the time, of course, and since he keeps all of the records he should know what goes on. The only difficulty with dealing with Gonzales is that -- since he is busy in the office all day, and is, moreover, shy of having dealings with foreigners there where the principales and alcaldes are -- one must work with him in the evenings, and more or less surreptitiously. Not that we mind that, but naturally he does to some extent. Nevertheless we have had some profitable evenings together, and probably shall have more.

Late this afternoon we went over to see the Padre. There was with him a young American who, we later learned, had come with his fiancee -- whom, however, he had married civilly in Mexico some days before -- and her parents to be married by the priest. It appears that church marriages in Mexico are difficult these days.

The Padre is tired because, with a group of some thirty Indians he had walked up to Pocohil, to conduct a mass I suppose. The Padre conducts masses in various of the cantones on occasion (one or a group of cantones have masses in their own highest-topographical-point occasionally; probably each canton feels that for the good of their milpas they should do special costumbres about once a year, so they call the Padre for a mass, have the shamans to costumbres, have marimba, liquor, food, and in general a bit of a fiesta) and in this way manages to reach most parts of his parish. Of course he usually goes on horseback, but Pocohil is quite close to the pueblo and it makes a pleasant, if strenuous, walk.

There was Marimba again on the Plaza tonight; and since this is an off-week as far as tourists are concerned, the manager of the hotel and his wife came to join these ~~musicians~~ walking around the Plaza and later they paid us a visit. ~~xxxxxx~~ The name of the habilitador was, when he was born in Germany, Hans Rohrmann. He is one of those men with nine lives, who barely recovers from one close-call before he has another. At fifteen he entered the great war, at sixteen was an officer with medals and wounds. After the war he was a champion tennis and soccer-player. Then he came to Guatemala and finally became a finca manager in ~~Saban~~ Alta Verapaz, his name naturally becoming, now, Don Juan Rohrmann. The stories he tells about Alta Verapaz and the Coban region there are intriguing, but his own is no less so, for he appears to have suffered one accident after another and finally to have lost his fortune and, when he married a French finca-owner's daughter, his German friends as well. Finally he brought his wife to Chichicastenango (just six months ago) to run the Maya Inn.

One war story of his stands out in my mind. He was the officer in charge of a company stationed on the Eastern Front, and across a river the enemy were camped. But just across the river, on a little hill, there came a young French officer who brought forth drawing materials and began to map the German position. The German soldiers debated what to do about it. They could not cross the river, of course, for fear of being killed, so obviously they could not take the Frenchman captive and destroy his information. At the same time none of the soldiers, all young men, felt like shooting him in cold blood. They idled for hours in the matter, talking about the young man on the other side, and the parents and perhaps sweetheart he had left at home. Finally Lt. Rohrmann decided that something had to be done or, eventually, the German detachment would be destroyed. Regretfully the men agreed that the Frenchman would have to be shot. The Germans drew lots, and the lieutenant himself drew the distasteful assignment. So he manned one of the machine guns, took careful aim, and riddled the enemy with bullets. Later, don Juan, now with his pretty French wife, says that he obtained the name of the French soldier and wrote to his father (through Switzerland) to France, telling him the circumstances under which he had to kill his son and expressing his deep regret. Later the Frenchman replied, asking Juan to tell him exactly where the death had occurred so that, the war now being over, he and his wife could go to visit the scene.

Most of the foreigners in Guatemala are Germans, and a great many of them have now followed der fuhrer; when we were in Quetzaltenango, before Christmas, we were -- in the hotel dining-room, the only outside witnesses to the annual Christmas banquet of the Nazis of the region. In fact, since our little table was at one end of the room -- almost touching the end of the festive board -- we were, in effect, at the head of the table. This was somewhat ironic, we felt, since under no circumstances could we ever show an Aryan race-card. But of course Guatemala is a land of strange ironies.

April 5.

I went over to Diego Ignacio's house and had a piece of good luck. While waiting for Tomas Ventura to get me ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the manuscript that I spoke about yesterday I had heard that Diego had a copy of one himself. I asked him this morning what he has, and to my surprise he not only has a good copy of the Historia de la Conquista, but in addition he has an "original" manuscript of the Historia de Toritos. This manuscript he bought three years ago from a man in Santa Lucia Utatlan (Solola) for 500 pesos (about \$8.33), who himself apparently copied it from some older copy; the Conquista Diego copied himself two years ago from a manuscript owned by a man in Santa Cruz, and obtained the privilege by letting the other copy his Toritos. Both of these I am going to have photostated, but I shall wait until next week, when Diego is going to Lemoa for me to try to get two manuscripts that are owned by Indians there.

These various manuscripts, often different versions of the same story, have commercial value because the owner of one can teach the "lines" of the "history" to Indians who are giving a dance. For this his fee may be as much as a thousand pesos, but of course a good teacher has to know the dance steps too.

Although there are seven kinds of dances known in Chichicastenango, and occasionally performed, there are only three of these which, containing dialog, have manuscripts to go with them. These are the Conquista, Toro or Torito, and the Moro. The manuscript that goes with the Moro dance I have not been able to trace here, but probably somebody in the neighborhood probably owns it.

These dance-dramas are done with the players all masked and specially-costumed. The human characters always represent Spanish conquistadores, or at least Spaniards of that era (except the black moores of the dance Moro, who possibly have black-faces, although I have never seen such masks here); the costumes have much velvet and silk, as well as silver and gold thread and bright pieces of round metal to reflect the sun. The masks are pink-faced, usually with gilded mustaches and beards. Bulls in the dance Torito have tails and masks with horns, of course.

For a group of Indians to undertake one of these dances is a task of almost a year; they organize the dance at about this time of the year, get together at the home of the chief "author" who, the first time, furnishes all of the food and drink for three days. Then, once a month thereafter they get together for three days to rehearse (but the company as a whole supplies the food). At these rehearsals, when the lines and the dance-steps must be learned, they do not appear in costume; but at one of the rehearsals (such as one of the Toritos that we saw in Chiche last year) they put on their costumes and dance outside the church while shamans do their costumbres in the church so that the masks won't make the dancers crazy.

The first real performances are held for three days for the fiesta of All Saint's Day, the first of November; and then in December, for some eight days in the fiesta of the Patron, Santo

Tomas, the dance is given daily -- some days at the pueblo home of the "author", others at the houses of the various cofradias, and others in front of the Church. The last dance of the year is given on Christmas day, inside the church, and then the company breaks up.

Depression has hit these dances, for while in years gone by there would be some ten companies dancing in one year, now the dances are given but rarely. Last year not one was performed in Chichicastenango, but the Toritos was given in Chiche and the company came here for Santo Tomas. Two years ago the literate group here (Diego Ignacio, Pascual Ren, Francisco Pixcar, and Tomas Ventura, Jr.) gave the Toritos, but Tomas says that they will not give a dance again because as things are the people wouldn't like it. Of course they are poorer now than they were in 1933 too.

In the Torito manuscript that I have, the characters are twenty-two in number: el amo (host or master of the house), el mayordomo (the steward), el caporal (corporal or ringleader), el negrito (small black-fellow), fourteen vagueros (cow-herders), and four tobitos (young bulls)

Appendix I - Extracts from correspondence with Robert Redfield

Care of

Alfredo S. Clark
7 Ave. Sur y 18
Calle Oriente
Guatemala, C. A.
November 21, 1934
~~October~~

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Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am writing this at Chichicastenango, early Wednesday morning, in the hope that it will get to the boat this Saturday. The last time I wrote you we were preparing to take the truck out here, and indeed everything since has followed our schedule pretty well. The only unlooked-for occurrence has been a piece of rather good luck in finding an entee to the Indians here...but I'll start at the beginning.

Clark hired for me a young man called Raimundo Hernandez, a ladino, to drive our truck. (It is obviously impossible for me to drive here; have no license, know ~~know~~ rules, don't know the way). He is a very good boy and knows the country exceedingly well (he says he has driven the road hundreds of times, and he does seem to know every nook and cranny. Naturally, we enjoyed the scenery and got a good idea of the country as well; but you have taken the trip and can appreciate all of that. That was last Wednesday, and we were tired when, late in the afternoon, we arrived at the Inn. From what I understand, when you were here, the Inn was managed by by a drunk-and-dope-fiend, but know there is a fine middle-aged German named Rohrman and his French wife. Both have lived in Guatemala all their lives, in Coban, and he especially knows that country very well, and has furnished information about the Indians there. He was for many years Finca manager, and also he built the road for the government. But his experience bossing Indians seems to have been extraordinary, for he seems to have become their good friend in many ways, and his help when I get up into that country will be I think valuable.

At first I didn't like the Inn, pretty and modern as it is, simply because of my objection to tourist places, I think. Now that we have been away, and are back again, I appreciate it mightily. Three things happened during our first stay in Chichicastenango: we met the Padre, we went to Quiche and met the General, and we met Tomás Ventura.

I had your letter, and one from Alfred Clark, for the Padre; but since Herr Rohrman has become very close to him, probably neither was essential. We were very well received (with my two quarts of whiskey which the Padre, exercising his droll humor, thought should have been twenty-four, but which, I pointed out, were better than none) and in the days that followed became, we think and hope, very good friends. Everybody in Guatemala City seems to be in disagreement about the Padre and said they are curious to await our opinion. After a few days it seems to me that there can't be much argument about his sincerity; the only question is "sincerity about what?" I don't suppose that he is in agreement thoroughly with his superiors, but he is at bottom a religious man who has his own ideas about forms as well as about missionary work. Of his intelligence I have no doubt. On the subject of his character in other respects, I shall withhold judgment until I know him better. Meanwhile, he seems very sympathetic with our project, although Rohrman suspects that he is a bit jealous of us, since before we came he was the only man who has been among the Indians in the Can-

tones. It may be, but he didn't demonstrate it in any way, and has given us full co-operation.

He painted a very gloomy picture for us, and I have no doubt it is a pretty true picture. In the cantones many of the women and children have never seen a white man, and they have a superstition that to have one look at them (with blue eyes specifically) is eventual death. To have a white man touch one of them would bring on pretty immediate sickness. In general they fear, distrust, and resent foreigners. ~~They~~ They hate ladinos, of course, and there are none at all in the cantones; but in some ways foreigners are even worse. I noticed myself that in the pueblo here the Indians would never greet us or look at us with any friendliness at all, and on the road up here it was the same thing. Later, on a mule-trip, we passed many Indians, and when we greeted them they looked stolidly ahead -- except once, when, in answer to my smiling "buenas dias" an Indian gruffly replied, "Pasa, pasa, hombre!" which rather chilled us. Our intention to study in the cantones was not, and has not, been dimmed, however, as you shall see.

The General (Jefe Politico) was in brusque and jovial mood when we found him in Quiche, and favorable toward us less because he had impressive documents from the city than because Clark had sent a letter and also some parts for his car with us. He gave us a circular to the Alcaldes and Commandantes. Back in Chichicastenango, on showing this to the alcalde, I received a similar one to the Principales of the cantones. I hope never to have to use this, however.

Clark had told me about Tomás Ventura; in fact you may know him, since he is usually hired as a guide for people in the hotel. In case you don't, he is a young Indian of 28 and handsome mien, literate and intelligent. Rohrman brought him to town for us and I hired him for a guide; according to Clark (from whom I have since received a note) I made an unprecedented bargain with him -- his services, four mules, and Friendship for \$50 for a month. With this entourage, we would go into the Cantones, where he has houses and property scattered around, and begin our studies.

It is time for the mail, so you will have to await the next letter (which may possibly come when this does) for the story of our first trip from which we returned last night. Things, as you shall see, are starting very well for Chichicastenango....

(to be continued)

Sincerely yours,

See T64

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Alfredo S. Clark
7a Av. Sur y 18 Calle O.
Guatemala, C. A.
Nov. 21st, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

(Continuation of previous letter).

We finally got away with two pack mules, riding mules for Gertrude and myself, Tomas and a helper, Saturday morning, for a trip to Chicua, a far-off canton about nine or ten miles south of the pueblo. I don't know if you travelled any through this country by mule, but you can imagine that progress is very slow; it was almost sunset when we arrived in the particular little valley that belongs to Tomas. All along the road there was no sign of hospitality, and after what the Padre and others had said about the attitude of the natives, it was not without some trepidation that we approached the little group of adobe houses. A few hundred yards before, however, Tomas' brother Diego ran out to greet us and escort us in; in the courtyard women sat weaving, and looked up at us and smiled as we came in and dismounted. We were led to one of the two rooms of the main house, where a surprise was in store for us. We had heard a marimba in the distance; now we saw that a marimba orchestra (marimba and drum) were ~~being~~ playing in our very room, and that the room was clean and bare, the floor completely covered with pine-needles, and the doorway decorated in the same way. We entered, and small boxes were placed before us for chairs. The mules were unpacked meanwhile and our cots set up. We continued to sit and smile, very pleased of course, and the little children came in and, especially when we gave them pennies, became very friendly.

After half an hour, we were tired of the monotonous tune on the vibrating marimba (they didn't play songs, but just went on and on) but didn't know what to do about it. Nobody spoke a word of Spanish except Tomas, and I finally thought I could settle things by giving him some money for the musicians. He stopped the music then, and we prepared to eat something. The situation was very peculiar. We had brought utensils and some staples of food, and Tomas told us we could use the fire in the other room. I asked if we could get some eggs or a chicken or something, but it appears that nothing was available, so we just made some coffee and ate it with crackers. There was no intimation that we were expected to eat with the family, and as a matter of fact we preferred to start our own housekeeping for various reasons; the only trouble was that there was nothing to eat. Later, we went into the other room and they gave us some roasted corn, which was greatly appreciated. In the evening, everybody came into our cuarto where the marimba started up again, and we talked as well as we could to everybody -- there was a lot of laughing and good humor (I had cheap cigarillos and puros -- cigars -- to hand out) and all went well until bedtime; then everything was all right except that we almost froze to death.

The next day I learned all about the family, the Canton, and a number of things about Tomas; we obtained some so-called limons which tasted like nothing, some onions and a cabbage. All were expensive because scarce; only in the market are

fresh foods really obtainable, and the market is in Chichicastenango on Thursdays and Sundays. We had a fire built in our room, good for cooking and warmth, but bad on the eyes; our chief trouble was that we were not sufficiently organized to have our work done for us so that we could do ethnology -- that and the fact that there really wasn't enough food. Communication was not sufficiently easy between Tomas and us to make such arrangements gracefully without hurting the feelings of the family. Our Spanish isn't half bad, but it appears that our Spanish is different from Guatemaltecan Spanish. Numberless words, especially for common things, are different, and dictionaries weren't of much help. I had to draw a picture to get us some bananas from the market; how should I know that a banana is called "guineo" in these parts? So it is with at least half the words. Tomas speaks, reads, and writes Spanish probably better than any Quiche; yet his vocabulary is weak, or else very different, and it was often hard to make ourselves understood. Needless to say, of course, we are hardly the best Spanish-speakers in the country ourselves....

At any rate, although ethnologically things went well, personally we weren't always very comfortable; and we came back last night for several good reasons: (1) we had seen as much as profitable of the Chicua part of the municipio, (2) Tomas and his entourage are moving today to Tomas' more permanent home, his ancestral home in fact, Quejel, and it would be wise for us to move anyway, (3) We needed to make preparations for a longer stay -- get more food, etc., and make arrangements to have a servant in our place at Quejel. Tomas is moving his family today, I am getting my notes and correspondence up to date, and tomorrow or more probably Friday we shall go to Quejel. I have arranged with Tomas to have a servant for our use all the time -- it will be his brother Diego who is a nice boy and can be made to understand the meaning of the word cleanliness and who will be paid 15 cents a day -- we are going to take an oil stove with us, kindly lent by Mr. Rohrman, and we shall have arrangements to get good regularly.

I am enclosing a sketch map of the municipio; I made it myself, from observation and information, and I don't know how accurate it is. But it does for my purposes and it will give you an idea of our movements. But as far as distances are concerned, the map gives no good idea, for it is topography that is important. Quejel, for example, would be about thirty seconds from the pueblo by air; I doubt if it is more than half a mile away. Actually, if you ask an Indian, he will say it is a league away (three miles, I think); and it takes a full hour by muleback. It is separated from the pueblo by a tremendous ravine that you may remember, and the path down and up is very tortuous. Economically (on our standard) it is very close, for I am sure a boy will go back and forth with a message for five or ten cents.

I might tell you a bit about Tomas, who is I imagine the closest of the Quiches here to a "marginal man". He says that he is one of eight adults here who is literate and has any notion of things on the outside at all. All he knows about geography are the names of the surrounding countries and vague notions of the United States where his tourists come from; Europe to him is a name that may stand for a city or a country. Yet he has been to the Capital; in fact the president's wife, when she was here, took a liking to him.

He seems to run things around here as far as guides are concerned, probably because he is connected with the Inn, and they are the people who want guides. Here ~~is~~ he was referred to as the "Prince" of the Quiches, and I was puzzled as to what was meant until I heard the story. It seems that a few weeks ago a couple of high officials of the United Fruit Company were up here dickering with Clark about tourists, and Don Alfredo had the bright idea to impress them with Tomas. Clark told them that Tomas ~~is~~ the Prince of the Quiches, from a long line, etc., and he had Tomas dress in his best native garb. Now Tomas is a princely looking fellow anyway, tall and handsome, and he must have looked the part all dressed up. These men were in the living-room here with Clark and the Rohrmans, and the prince was announced. He came in with arms folded and head high, stood at a distance and very haughtily stood silent and motionless. The men arose to greet him and he still stood frigidly; they spoke to him and he answered briefly. After a few minutes they invited the prince to drink with them, and Tomas refused. After some urging, he consented with a gesture that said, "Oh, well, if it will please you!" (Always the courtesy of royalty). Meanwhile, Mr. Rohrman had left the room because he could not control his laughter, and Mrs. Rohrman soon followed. She was followed by a worried United Fruit official who with great seriousness asked her, "When I speak to him, shall I say 'your highness'?" That was too much for the lady, and she answered, "No, just call him Tomás!"

Tomas' father is a school teacher here, called a "profesor" by his son; but he is not above walking to Chicua with a pack on his back (as he did once when we were there) or coming to the hotel to sell weaving that his wife (Tomas' step-mother) did, or (I hear) getting drunk occasionally. He is another of the eight literates (the others are either "professors" or Indian officials). I should mention that many children can now read and write.... Tomas himself, from contact with tourists or for other reasons, is curious about the world, and an apt pupil. When I explained the facts of ~~physical~~ physical geography to him (the positions of the earth, sun, moon, etc. by means of oranges and lights) he asked "Where is heaven; where does Jesus Christ live?" Quien Sabé came in handy, but I can't tell if Tomás was serious or not.

I took his genealogy and got the kinship terms, and found him an exceptionally intelligent informant on any standards. He also showed an understanding of maps, when I was making mine. I exchanged information with him on customs among his people and mine, and he talks readily on any subject, and should make a good interpreter. One thing of exceptional interest that I shall look into. I was telling him about the old Maya civilization in the Peten, and he told me, out of the clear sky that in the old days it was ice-cold up there. I asked him where he had heard that, and he said that the Brujes (shamans) told him -- that they all knew it, because it was part of the information handed down to them. I suppose it is true, and maybe it is ~~knew~~ known to the scientific world; if so, the archeologists will no doubt be interested.

The government census calls the cantones "caserios" but they are not villages or hamlets in the ordinary sense. They are simply sections of the country, the boundaries usually small streams or dry ravines, enclosing perhaps fifteen household groups each surrounded by a piece of farm land and other lands where firewood

is obtained. Ownership of tracts of land is entirely private, and once when I was with Tomas, he could not find enough firewood on his land, but he stoppooed looking when he came to the boundary. Here are estates comparable to our farms, then, and in some cases at least there is no greater distance between farms in different cantones than between those in the same one. What is a cantone then? There are usually natural boundaries; each is in a valley or two or three contiguous valleys, and often there is intervening space; whether this is owned by somebody, I do not know, but I imagine it is. Furthermore, there is some sort of political organization, with a Principal and Alcalde Auxiliare heading each, under the jurisdiction of the Alcalde of the whole municipality, who is in the pueblo. But there is apparently no social life in the cantones as such, at least none formalized: there are no fiestas, no funerals, no baptisms. I don't know about marriage exactly, but brujes (who are important in the marriages) are scattered in all of the cantones.

Actually, I imagine that the municipality is the really important social unit (aside from the household); there are no markets except in the pueblo, no churches, no fiestas, etc. Although some people never get to the pueblo, most of them do, and certainly all of the men. Life was described to me so: Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday everybody works in the fields and around the house; on Thursday, there is market, and people go to town to buy or sell; Friday and Saturday are work days, and on Sunday, again, they go to market. Besides, they go to town for other occasions. The whole municipality centers about the town, therefore. It would appear, therefore, that to make a thorough study of Chichicastenango would entail a study of the whole of its 30,000 people, or good samplings. Whether I shall attempt such a thing or not, I don't know. Another point: marriage appears to be usually out of the canton and always patrilocal; this at once gives cantons a sort of patrilineal family unity, and at the same time ties a web of family relationships through the whole municipio.

Two other little points may interest you. One is that while Clark and Mrs. Jessup said unhesitatingly that Brujos descend from father to son invariably; yet Tomas says that they never do. Are there two different cultures involved in the controversy? I don't know yet. The other is that in a very lousy article in the November 1934 Harper's Bazaar, one Mary McDuffie Hampton says (p. 173) "When a girl marries...he comes to live with her....The people practice a true system of trial marriage" Is she just cracked, as I suspicion? Or are there Indians in this neighborhood so opposite to the Chichicastenango natives? Maybe we'll know some day. There are lots of little things coming up all the time to make life interesting.

This has been a long enough letter; if I missed something important it will probably come up in the Diary that I am sending along; if not, in later notes. I feel very optimistic yet. We have good connections, and it may take some time for the other people to learn to tolerate us, but as long as Tomas has friends, apparently it will be all right that far. We shall be around this place until after the big fiesta (Dec. 17th) anyway. Then it will probably be better to move on for awhile and only maybe come back here for intensive work. But all the plans

Best regards to all from Gertrude (who is doing well, by the way) and me.

Sincerely, S. S. Taylor

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Care of
Alfred S. Clark
7a Ave. Sur y 18a Calle O.
Guatemala, C.A.
December 2, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Just the day after I wrote to you last, I was a bit discouraged over things around here; but the past week has erased all that and I can again write in optimistic strain. You remember that when I wrote last Friday we were preparing to leave for Quejel for a somewhat lengthy stay. Tomas said that his house there was larger than at Chicua and that we would be comfortable. What he did not emphasize is that the occupants of the house are considerably more numerous too, and it turned out to be quite a mess. The house in which everybody sleeps consists of three rooms: one is a very large one, constituting more than one-half of the whole; another is a very tiny cubby-hole off the large room and entered only through it; the third is a medium-sized room in which there is a large corn-crib taking up practically all of the space. Now ordinarily Tomas' father, wife, and seven little children sleep (in some mysterious manner) in the tiny cubby-hole; Tomas, his wife and three children sleep in the large room, which is also the living room for the whole family; a brother Diego and family sleep in a separate little kitchen-house. Anyway, when we arrived, Tomas cleaned up the large room for us, spread pine-needles over the floor and so on; surveying the situation, I asked him where he would sleep, and he said in the corn-room. Meanwhile, we found that, having the common-room of the house for ourselves had the disadvantage of giving us no privacy at all; Tomas must have sensed this, and soon began ordering everybody to stay out; this meant that the family had no place to come into from outside. What was worse all round was that when Tomas' father came home in the evening he arranged with him to move his family's quarters into the corn-room so that they wouldn't interfere with us. You can see that the hospitality was perfect; but you can also see that to stay there for a week or longer was an intolerable prospect: no less than twelve people sleeping around the margin of the corn-crib! Tomas insisted that it was all right, but that was his courtesy; and we sensed some bickering between him and his father. We decided that it was all wrong and we would leave the next day. We arranged the departure so that we should not hurt his feelings (people were coming to the Inn for the weekend, and we sent a message to Mr. Rohrmann to send us a message that a wire had come for us that some of our friends were coming) and things went all right.

I have had a chance since to make an examination of the housing situation in Quejel and other cantones, and it appears to be a fact that there is nowhere room for us. There are no villages at all, so no extra houses that are usually found in villages; most everybody has just about enough room for his family -- and since most of the houses have just two rooms, we would be taking half of what they have. It is therefore apparent that for any protracted stay we would have to build ourselves a house (a matter of a hundred dollars or so) and it is obvious that that is impossible until we determine where we want to stay for at least six months. That is therefore not for the present, since I want to see more of the country before settling down.

Two immediate problems confronted us when we came back to the Pueblo: one, how to continue our work here, and two, how to manage

things financially. The first matter has been settled very well, all things considered, and is the reason for my optimism. Tomas, who is a jewel, has been rounding up his friends from all of the cantones, and has been bringing them to us here or to Quejel; it is an hour's ride to Quejel for us, and when it is more convenient for the informant to get up there than here, we have been going to Quejel in the morning and returning at night. We have had excellent informants from a number of cantones in this way, and gradually we have been learning more and more of the culture. I am sending a first batch of notes to you this week, and you can judge for yourself our present status as far as ethnology is concerned. I am persuing the genealogical and statistical methods and I find that I can get the information I wish in this way. At the same time, I intend to make a thorough (as thorough as a couple of weeks will allow) study of Quejel as a sample canton on and off during the next two weeks. I think I can do as well by staying in the pueblo nights as any other way, considering that I am at this time bound to be a bit superficial anyway.

707

a/c Alfredo Clark -
7^a Ave. Sur y 18^a Calle O.
Guatemala, C. A.

December 15, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am writing this from Quezaltenango. Under separate cover (so sent because it might get lost and I'd like to know if it does) I am sending you my notes and the third section of my Diary. The latter will more or less explain our movements, but briefly they were these: since a film company arrived for a few weeks to Chichicastenango, and since their presence there would seriously interrupt my work with the Indians, as well as, possibly, prejudice ~~against~~ them against me -- since they and we are all Americans and since they hate the movie people -- we decided it would be a good time to extend the survey to the West a bit. Therefore we started for San Francisco El Alto on Monday, but went on to Momostenango when we found the Padre absent for a few days. In Momostenango we stayed for three days at the awful hotel, met the Padre (Francisco Knittel, formerly at Solola) and Ernest Lang, got along well, learned something, and left Thursday. Padre Francisco came with us to San Francisco, where we met the Padre; since he will not be there until after the 22nd, we just made connections and got an invitation to come after Christmas. Then we came down here to go to Huehuetenango, for which town we are leaving tomorrow.

Since I hadn't expected to go directly to Momostenango, I didn't think to ask Father Rossbach for a letter to Father Francisco; but he gave me a package of whiskey to take to him whenever we should get up there, so we had a sort of introduction. Besides, Tomas was along and knew him. We were disappointed therefore that he was rather cold when we first came. However, after we were settled in the hotel, and the danger of our bothering him was over, he warmed up considerably and we have no complaint to make about his hospitality. However, both of us dislike him, partly because of his personality, partly because of his obvious lack of intelligence, and partly because of his attitude toward his parishioners. The contrast was too strong, I think, after knowing Father Rossbach; the latter has a warm gleam in his eyes when he talks about the Indians, or when one comes into his office. The sincerity of his attachment to the Indians, and his priestly fatherliness towards mankind in general is very apparent. With Father Francisco quite the contrary is true; he despises the Indians, saying "they live with the pigs and like pigs" and seems to have no concern for their welfare in this world or the next. When he passes them on the road, and the take off their hats and bow before him to be blessed, he generally goes right on walking and talking and taps them on the head with the blunt end of a pencil -- afraid to soil his hands I suppose. When we came upon the body of an Indian who had been killed by a fall down a barranca, I naturally expected him to do something about it, but he kept his distance, said nothing, and just laughed at the poor fellow for having been drunk. I am sure that the only reason he is here is because, as he said himself, it is an easy and a free life. He has a contempt for ethnology too, and -- this should make you share our feeling about him -- mentioning that he had seen Chan Kom, expressed the greatest contempt for such details about a silly village that can't possibly interest anybody anyway. I didn't feel like arguing, but I did defend you and the

profession I think very creditably. Why should I want maps, and why study the cantons, etc., etc.? I pointed out that Momostenango make blankets and Chichicastenango doesn't (or Santa Maria, the eastern neighbor, doesn't); and he said that's because they have hot springs in Momostenango that are useful for blankets. But do all the cantones make blankets? Yes. But some of them are just as far from the springs as are some cantones of Santa Maria; and why should they and not the Santa Maria people there make blankets? That presented itself as a problem to the padre, and he could no longer pursue his objections to details and maps. But of course his contempt for ethnologists is probably increased, so there....

You described Lang to me perfectly, with one error; he does like to talk about the Indians, and I suspect he had a toothache when you saw him. I think I sold him on ethnology when I started to get information from him on economic matters. He kept repeating to us (thank god for Gertrude and her German with him; I think it went over big) "No one has ever been interested in this before!", and he was very anxious that I get it all down, and straight. As a matter of fact, he does know a lot about the Indians, although he showed an elemental lack of ethnological training by handing me a ladino informant for kinship terms. My chief complaint against Momostenango (besides the hotel and the fleas) is that we didn't get to meet a solitary Indian to talk to; but Lang told us that when we want to return we should write two weeks in advance and he would have Indians for us. I should like to return, but nobody could drag us back to that hotel; if we can make arrangements with Lang to board there, I think it would be a good place to spend a month or so, because the comparisons and contrasts with Chichicastenango are striking. The Indians there all seem to speak Spanish, they are not shy of foreigners, they seem much less reticent (or at least they all greet one pleasantly); they have schools in all the cantones (thus also giving the cantones "capitals"; the women come to town to market and so on, the division of labor is different, with the men making the women's huipils and doing all weaving; the calendar seems to be known by practically everybody and used in daily life, while ours is almost unknown; they have white and black magicians -- all sorts of differences.

Schultze got his calendar from Lang, and he got a lot of other things from the same source; Lang doesn't think he's so hot -- says he listened too much to Flavio Rodas; also it is apparent to me now that Schultze mixed up Momostenango and Chichicastenango all the time, with no warrant. By the way, when you read my notes you will see a discussion of a discrepancy in the calendar correlation between my informant and Schultze. I checked up the dates by asking Indians in Momostenango and they all agree with Schultze's correlation (really Lang's I suppose); so he is right for Momostenango; if I'm right too, it's very interesting that the two regions are on a different date. How about the places between (Quiche, Chiquimula)?

Anyway, we had a gemutlich time with Lang, and left for him and the Padre to drink a bottle of whiskey that I brought for Padre Carlos. In San Francisco we met the latter, and he seems nicer personally than his brother: we cannot visit him until after Christmas, however, since he will be gone. San Francisco El Alto is certainly the most beautiful spot in the world, isn't it? Anyway, we are going to Huehuetenango in the morning (I didn't accomplish anything of direct ethnological significance in Quezaltenango; only saw the Jefe, al-

alcalde, etc., arranged to get some maps (I think the alcalde is so impressed that they may have maps made), got into the newspapers, got letters of introduction to Huehuetenango, and wrote notes, itinerary, and letters) and we'll see what we can see up there....

I'm beginning to think seriously that we'll do our first intensive study in Chichicastenango. Quiche presents as good an orienting ground as anything, and Chichicastenango is as good a place -- possibly the best -- as any in which to get the fundamentals. Besides, we have personal reasons for liking the place, not the least of which is our fondness for Tomas. I am certain now that the pueblo is a better place to settle than in a canton, and if we have to build a house I certainly wouldn't do it in a canton. In the pueblo we can buy one and remodle it, or build one, or rent one, or part of one. Obviously we wouldn't want to stay in the Maya Inn, which is a bad influence for ethnology in many ways -- and besides, we couldn't afford it. But a house in the pueblo would be another matter; we have ladino and Indian connections both, and I imagine it would be foolish to waste them. Please tell me what you think....

I hope you find the notes all right; I had thought at first simply to copy my notebook, but I decided it would be better for me in organizing my thoughts and better for you in telling you what I have if I made some attempt to organize the material. Lots of it is obviously the result of ignorance rather than knowledge, but what can be expected after a few weeks?

I suppose that you will get this letter during the holidays. Both Gertrude and I hope you have, have had, or will have a good Christmas and that the New Year will bring you even more than the last year did.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

726

a/c Alfredo S. Clark
7a Ave. Sur y 18a Calle O.
Guatemala, C. A.

Dec 24, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

We are back in Chichicastenango; having discovered that a rolling stone gathers only mosos that have to be paid, we are, until something happens to drive us away, here to study Quiche. Not that the prospects for the moment are overly bright, but we have hopes that time will heal wounds and everything will turn out happily. I'll tell you the trouble in a moment; first to report our activities of the past ten days....

When last I wrote we were bound for Huehuetenango; from a personal point of view the trip wasn't so pleasant, but ethnologically it was everything that I could have hoped for. The hotel there ("Galves") is run by a German couple, but they seem to have gone native and have perfectly succeeded in ruining a very nice place. To be short, the man is a conceited pig and his dining room a sty without pretensions even.... But the neighborhood is an ethnological paradise just crying to be decently studied. I wish I were a nice liar so that I could give a glamorous account of our travels in Huehuetenango; actually, we stirred from town only once, and that when a travelling salesman offered us a free ride to some archeological ruins. But I am not at all sorry, and feel that we exercised admirable self-control. With my funds as they are, I could plan only a few days there, and no expensive entourage; it happens fortunately that the city is a great center for Indians from all over the department, that there are always many of them in town. So it occurred to us to do a good survey right there, and I hired a mozo to round up Indians from different places -- one or two at a time -- to come and talk to me. In this way I covered as much territory as a romantic tourist does in three weeks. It is true that I had some extremely stupid informants, but that cannot be blamed onto the method. The men were sometimes very shy, and twice they dashed out and away before I could put them at their ease; it probably would have been a bit better had I come to their homes instead of they to ours, but not enough to make it pay in the survey.

We spent three days there, and then returned to Quetzaltenango (there are automobile roads to no place else) where the strain of the food and the rough travelling laid me low for a day. This travelling had been done, by the way, on a station-wagon that carries freight and mail through these parts. I recovered sufficiently to take a trip (on Clark's recommendation) to a couple of towns west of Quetzaltenango -- Concepcion, S. Martin Chili Verde, and (just passing through) S. Juan. I did this to discover the western limits of Quiche (at least in that section) and to discover what I could discover.

By that time I found that the chief trouble with the survey I was making was that I didn't know enough yet about the culture of the country; it began to seem as if I would get more for my money after being thoroughly versed in, say, Chichicastenango language and culture. When I finish writing up notes of the survey and send them to you you can judge for yourself how successful I was; I am not sorry I went a-travelling,

for I picked up some good bits of information and I got a very good general idea of the highlands that is useful in orientation. But to keep it up now seems a waste of time and money -- especially the latter, for whatever impression you may have gotten, travelling is expensive here.

Anyway, we decided to go back to Chichicastenango rather than to go, say, to San Marcos for awhile. It happened that the cheapest way to get back here was to take a station-wagon to Solola (that which runs to the Capital) and trust to luck that we could get a car from there; we spent the night at Tzanzuyu, therefore and found the scene very beautiful; it was too short a time to do any ethnology, and we didn't even cross the lake because it was Sunday and no regular boat was running (and there was no sense in spending money for a special one for a short visit). We had timed our return to Chichicastenango well, and Sunday was the day the film-company was leaving; it happened that they were coming to Tzanzuyu for a few days, so in the midst of moving them down, we were able to get a ride up. So everything was all right.

Now to the troubles. I have mentioned the film company before; they came here to make a blurb of Burroughs' Tarzan and the Green Goddess, or Tarzan in Guatemala, or whatever it will be called; most of the scenes were made here, but some will be on the Rio Dulce. I imagine it was partly Clark's doings that they came here to Chichicastenango; certainly he didn't discourage them (for which you can hardly blame him, with a thousand or two at stake). Yet he must have known it would cause a flock of trouble, and it did. Taking pictures of the fiesta and other things kicked up a row that crystallized just on the day we came into real anti-foreign sentiment. There was no violence toward whites here, although unprecedented verbal insults were hurled at the hotel's guests on Sunday; but feeling is high. The padre is suffering from it especially, and has found it necessary to go to Quiche to get the support of the Jefe. I was told that two hundred of the leading men from the cantones moved en masse Sunday afternoon to the office of the Secretary and insulted and protested ~~loudly~~ loudly, but nobody seems to have a very clear idea of what's what. What bothers me as much as anything is that Tomas Ventura (who worked for the film company as chief-rounder-up of the Indians) has aroused a great deal of sentiment against himself. I hear they have threatened to kill him, but he laughs it off. Mr. Rohrmann insists that one day last week they lay in wait for him and beat him up, but he shows no signs of it....

Tomas has many friends, of course, and there is a faction of the Indians who are not anti-foreigner; he tells me that everything will be all right and our work can go ahead. Now I am not thinking of physical danger; we are still safer here by a long shot than in Chicago. But I don't know how long it will take for this hard-feeling to subside enough for me to get the most out of the ethnology. You might think that we would find it better to go to some other place, and you may be right; but we are anxious to settle down and learn Quiche as a starter, and I am hopeful that the Indians will get used to us around here and be able to distinguish us from tourists and movie-men. Anyway, we like these Indians and want their good will.

I imagine the thing to do is to feel our way slowly; if things turn out badly for the work, it would be too bad to have made preparations to settle here. We certainly would like to know something by the time Kidder comes, and we are anxious to get going at the language as the opening wedge to the inside of the culture. We don't yet know a thing and it's plenty discouraging sometimes when we think of the wide-open spaces ahead.

How long do you intend to stay in Guatemala when you come in July? Are you coming alone? And so on.... I imagine that when the end of July comes 'round we'll be thinking we'd like to come home, but such stray thoughts can be bridled.

Enclosed are the two 5 centavo pieces (I think the ones you want). Since it would complicate the Washington bookkeeping a bit if I put the 10 cents in the expense account, will you ask Mrs. Redfield to accept them, please, as our contribution to the blouse?

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tay

713

Chichicastenango, Quiche
Guatemala, C. A.

January 1st, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Please note, first, the address above; since we are settling here more or less permanently the above address will reach us most quickly and at the same time save Mr. Clark some trouble. We plan to be gone occasionally for a week or two or three at a time (for work in San Francisco, for example, or in Nebaj) but even so this is our best address.

I have three special topics today: The Indians vs. Foreigners about which you may be worried, How to Live, and a word about Goubaud. Concerning the first there is little to say except that matters are quiet -- have reached an equilibrium I suppose. The Indians have done no more demonstrating or insulting, but there hasn't been any occasion; some are still in jail. Tomas goes back to Quejel most evenings, but he admits he won't go unless accompanied by some of his friends; yet he insists that only a handful are anti-Foreign and anti-Tomas. That Tomas is scared is evidenced by one thing. He is proud and wealthy; Clark years ago offered him work in the inn, which he spurned. Yet when Clark was here last week Tomas very seriously asked him for a job as waiter in the Inn. It seems to everybody quite apparent that he wants the protection that it affords; at least that he wants to live in the pueblo. Clark deferred to me, and Tomas next wanted to be sure that I had several months work for him so that he could live in the town. I therefore made an arrangement with him, to pay him fifteen dollars a month and I told him that it would be for at least two months. He was then very well satisfied, and has hired mozos to do his work in the mountains and will stay here beginning about a week (I think you know that he has a house in the pueblo) from now. Furthermore, he is getting all of his friends work here; for example, the young man who was until today Secretary at Chiche has taken a job as a waiter; he is one who helped the motion picture people. I think that the Inn is now conceived of as the point-at-issue, and Tomas and his friends are not evading it.

I don't believe anything particular is going to happen; it doesn't look to me as if things are approaching a crisis -- rather that the crisis has passed and things will ease off gradually. If no issue arises for a long time I predict that I shall have nothing particular to write on the subject.

Getting ourselves fixed here to stay has been -- and is -- somewhat of a problem. When Mr. Clark was here he made us what was for him no doubt a great concession; he offered us room and board for \$90 a month. I told him, as I have written you, that we don't think the hotel would be quite as good for our work as a house in the pueblo. Even if it were, however, \$90 is more than we can afford. What with insurance and debts, not to mention clothes, we might just about break even at that rate, but no better. And if we can't save a little in the field we'll be in a bad way generally. But what choices are open to us? We can possibly get a house in the pueblo and fix it up comfortably; running expenses would be down, but the initial cost spread over six months would

bring it up very much. The cheapest solution that I can figure is rather a peculiar arrangement that we shall probably have to accept. The only available place in town that has a floor belongs to Father Rossbach; it consists of one very large room, but there are two additional rooms without floors. All three rooms we can have for \$3.00 a month. There is a good Ladino cook in town who will cook all of our meals for us for \$5.00 a month -- and will do it in her kitchen so that we won't have to build one -- besides the materials. We can get a boy to do all of our work (including carting the meals) for \$3.00 a month. That sounds very cheap until one begins to add things up. To show you how things are, I'll make a rough estimate.

Initial Expense

Furniture: beds can be built for about five dollars apiece; mattresses are hard to get, and cost all the way from \$3 for native straw ones to about \$20 for a fairly comfortable one. We would try some way or other to get by on \$25 for beds. Wardrobes and things have to be made, and cost about \$6 apiece; smaller cabinets about \$1.50; desks and tables about \$2 or \$3 apiece; all the chairs we need about \$3. A mirror, I hear, costs about \$5.00 here (or rather in the city). Altogether it appears that we couldn't furnish that room for less than about \$50. Possibly less; I have tried to rent things from Clark, but he has nothing extra, and there is no such thing as a second-hand store even in the city..... 50.00

Furnishings: Blankets can't be had as cheaply as one might suppose. We have a few thin ones from the Ricketson's, but (our house-boy will need some too -- he will sleep on one of our Carnegie cots) we would need at least two good ones (\$6.00 Momostenango ones) and two cheaper ones. \$20 for those. Washbowls and pitcher and miscellaneous pottery will come to about \$3.00. A couple of pillows will be at least \$6.00. Dishes will account for another \$3.00. I don't see how these things could be bought for less than 35.00

A water filterer -- an absolute necessity that everybody here has, at least 8.00

A small gasolene stove for making tea and coffee that can't be sent over practicably 8.00

Wiring for electricity (fixed price) 3.00

\$ 104.00

XXXXXXXXXXXX

Running Expenses (per month)

Wages (cook \$5.00, boy \$3.00, laundry \$2.00).....	\$ 10.00
Groceries (including firewood)(consensus of opinion).	25.00
Rent	3.00
Electric lights	1.75
Miscellaneous (such as coal for braziers)	2.00
	\$ 41.75

From the enclosed itinerary you will see that we have been spending most of our time since I wrote to you last learning the language. I wish there were some way of memorizing nonsense-syllables, because then I think it would be easy; unless we are being greatly fooled (and I suppose Andrade will show us that we are just plain ignorant) the grammar is the easiest imaginable. After three days I got so that I could make up sentences -- and quite complex ones, too -- from my notes, and be easily understood by the Indian boys around the hotel. Of course Tomas is an exceptionally good informant, I'm sure, but I know that I could never do that well with German composition after three days -- even with a grammar all written for study.

As soon as we know a bit more of the language, we are going to cultivate the women in Tomas' family (and Gertrude will especially); they understand no Spanish at all, and working with them will do us a lot of good with the language as well as give us a lot of information we can't get from men very well. We want to work very hard the next two months, so we know something and can begin to branch out a bit.

When we get to the city we can settle all of our accounts, with Clark and others and can make up an expense account; you can expect it within two weeks, I think. As for the notes -- well, you may say that if I wouldn't spend all of my time writing you nonsense I might get them in sooner; but I answer that this is New Year's night and by rights a holiday anyway -- and all spare moments are taken with preparing for the next day with Tomas; but you will get another batch soon now.

And what would you do if you received from me a letter all on one page?

Best regards to everybody....

Sincerely,
Sol Tax

P.S. I hope you take seriously my hints about money-in-the-bank. I should hate to have a check come back all the way to Guatemala.

The University of Chicago

The Division of Social Sciences

January 2, 1935

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

Mr. Sol Tax
c/o Alfredo Clark
7a Avenue Sur y 18 Calle Oriente
Guatemala, C. A.

Dear Sol:

I have received your letter of December 15, your Diary, covering November 21st to December 15th, and your Notes, pp. 1-30. As usual, I will transmit the Diary and the Notes (one copy) to Dr. Kidder, who will then send them to Washington for filing.

May I suggest that you put the place in which the entry is written in the margin of the Diary, under the date -- not in every case, but where it would make it easier to follow your itinerary?

Under separate cover I send you new blanks to be used in preparing expense accounts (which, note, are to be sent in monthly hereafter), and forms for receipts for expenditures.

I found your notes exceedingly interesting and evidence of excellent results, for the first exploratory period, and in view of the many difficulties to be encountered. There are so many points of interest in your first report that I am not going to begin to comment on them. I will say merely that I, at least, am very pleased with the quality and quantity of this first note-summary.

Kidder (who leaves for Guatemala about January 15th) wrote me expressing some slight surprise that apparently you were going to make your intensive study in the Chichicastenango region, in view of the fact that that was where two ethnologists had already worked. He went on to say that he realized that this very fact was some reason for doing more work in the same place, and that he had entire confidence in our judgment. I replied that it was not yet decided where you were going to settle, that you would do more exploratory surveying before deciding, but that, as he said, there was some wisdom in building on a foundation already made.

I expect you to exercise the big share of the responsibility in making this decision. I think, however, that when the decision is made, we must have excellent reasons for the choice. One consideration will obviously be that of practical expediency -- that is, where access to the subject-matter is made under favorable auspices and with suitable living conditions. You will agree with me, however, that this reason alone is not going to be enough, short of impossible practical circumstances in other areas. It seems to me that the most important single consideration will be furnished by the "frame of reference" in which you

January 2, 1935

see your intensive study to lie, that is, will be determined by the larger problem with reference to which you are doing ethnography.

If that frame of reference is merely the spatial and recent temporal relations of the Guatemalan cultures, then I suppose any place is as good as another in which to begin, and mere expediency will be determining. But if I know you, you are not long going to be satisfied with a merely historico-geographical frame of reference. Some problem in social anthropology is going to begin to take definition as a frame of reference for your ethnographic work. For my part, I do not care what it is; you must feel it grow upon you in the light of your scientific predilections and of the materials with which you have to deal. It may be a comparative morphological study of Mayan cultures, such as R-B has done in Australia and elsewhere. That would be interesting and highly worthwhile. There is the interesting problem involved in asking the question, Why, in Guatemala, did the Spanish-Indian contact produce two folk cultures, while in Mexico, generally speaking, it produced one? There is a group of interrelated problems in the accommodations achieved in terms of caste, class and ethnic group out of Spanish, Indian and recent European contacts -- the Indian, ladino, European "race-relations" problems. There is apparently a possible special problem in the contributions of competition on the one hand and tradition on the other to the division of labor and the economic organization of the highlands. And there must be many more groups of questions, each one of which can be asked, not merely in Guatemala, but in other places and times, and so come to form a guiding-frame for investigation, -- a first hypothesis.

In short, I have only two suggestions: that the decision be made partly in terms of a preliminary interest in one or more such problems, and that you are sure you have visited and sampled enough of Guatemala before making the definite decision.

(Robert Redfield)

Chichicastenango, Quiché
Guatemala, C. A. 718

January 17, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I have three of your letters to answer; I sent you a note by regular mail, but it wasn't sufficient to discuss the problems you mention -- also, expense account, itinerary, and notes are coming by regular mail.

We spent a few days in the city last week, collecting our belongings and making some purchases incident to settling here. Dr. Andrade arrived when we were there, so we were able to welcome him to Guatemala. Since he wanted to study Quiché I suggested that he come here, where I had connections and informants all ready for him. He has been here a week now and I think is making progress; at least he has the phonetics all worked out. Naturally he will be a great help to us.

Prof. Andrade has met Goubaud and talked to him, and shares my opinion of him completely; he is very favorably impressed with his intelligence and knowledge -- and on the subject of native linguistics too. I told him the subjects of our communication respecting Goubaud, and he is anxious to get him to do linguistics if he can. I am awaiting your reaction to the suggestion that I made and of course have said nothing to Goubaud. Andrade is going to live with us, starting a day or two from now, and it seems to me that if we are going to get Goubaud interested and start giving him some training, the next two months would be an ideal opportunity -- with both Andrade and we here.

We are fairly decently settled now and getting to work on ethnology again; We have been making many more connections, and now we have had the good fortune to get hold of the only female in the municipio who knows Spanish well -- is, in fact, literate. She is about 19 and unmarried; I am hoping that she will be to Gertrude what Tomas has been to me. I have succeeded in breaking away to some extent from Tomas' circle, to make wider my acquaintance with the Indians, and, I hope, in making more good friends. I realize that this is not the kind of community in which one can know everybody, but I want to get to know a cross-section intimately. Don't think that I have lost sight of objectives here: eventually I want a really intimate study of this place, but it will have to be a different kind of "intimacy" than you achieved in San Rom.

Which leads me, of course, to the topics under discussion. In your letter of January 7th you suggest that we take a vacation, or at least get away from this place for awhile. We won't follow your suggestion for awhile, anyway, if for no other reason than that I don't want to miss the very trouble you want us to get away from. Think of this: the Padre tells us that some seventy years ago when water was first brought into the village the local Indians refused to have anything to do with it, that Indians had to be brought in from outside (families and all) and there were veritable riots because the Indians thought these outsiders might stay. When the Electrical plant there were also violent objections. When the Mayan Inn came -- with the beginning of Foreigners -- you know yourself

what happened. With each innovation the conservatism of the Indians was shocked (and by the way the Padre claims that a small Ladino element leads them on, which is interesting in itself); they thought something bad was going to happen, especially that their children would die. It always wore off in a few years, of course. Now the last, perhaps the greatest shock was the coming of the foreigners two or three years ago and this hasn't worn off yet; such occurrences as the coming of film-people and now weekly batches of tourists tend to perpetuate it. Now it must be remembered that the Chichicastenango Indians are an extremely strong in-group who won't countenance marriages even with other Indians if they can help it; they want their own customs and no interference. The Padre feels that they are putting up their last fight -- instinctive, he calls it -- for racial (or cultural) life. Assuming that a broad and representative sociological surge is being enacted, I want to be able to define it and put it into non-mystical terms. What are the causes and the symptoms of whatever is occurring here; if their euphoria is disturbed by a feeling that their culture is being swept away, and the foreigners are the "goats" now, as the padre thinks -- here is a chance to see what it means when euphoria is disturbed and all that. Whatever is the truth of what is happening, it is probably one of the important stages of culture-contact. You don't really want me to miss it, do you?

In a previous letter you wished to know my reasons for picking Chichicastenango to study. As far as previous work is concerned, I think we are all agreed that it is an advantage rather than a disadvantage; in this case, it is really neither (unless Miss Bunzel will publish a lot of good stuff) for Schultze-Jena, the more I see of it, appears worse and worse. And now that I know a bit about the language, it seems that even the texts are pretty bad; Andrade can explain the linguistics only on the grounds that Schultze-Jena is a geographer.

Aside from the question of the local Crisis, there are many good reasons for picking Chichicastenango as a starting place for work in Guatemala. I have outlined the Quiche situation in my second batch of notes (or as you call them, note-summaries); For a series of Scientific problems it seems desirable to get a foundation in Chichicastenango, rather than in Momostenango or San Francisco. It may be that it is better in Nebaj or another place farther North in this department, but from what I can learn of those places I imagine not. Chichicastenango is of greater importance, judged on local standards, than Nebaj, for example. Geographically, the Totonicapan cultures are more central, but historically they have suffered influences that stepped them up on the acculturation scale. Aside from those "scientific" problems, there are the historical problems, and Chichicastenango has the advantage of being the scene of the discovery of the Popul Vuh; to see what is remembered of the contents of that will be of interest to many, and Chichicastenango seems to be the safest place to do that.

Why Quiche instead of Mam, for example (or for that matter places in the South or East) as a section to work? For one thing, it is central in the group of Highland cultures; but chiefly there is the accident of our having come here first and having seen specific problems that have bearing on general problems. Besides, it is most readily available. These may not be the best of reasons, but right

now they seem to me sufficient.

I suppose that we could have made a longer survey and visited all parts of the Republic and perhaps have satisfied you more. I know that we could spend the next six months in travelling and learned something all the way. I have two good reasons for not doing so; one is money, and when you see our expense account you will appreciate that. We could burn up about \$2000 travelling around this country -- with no effort at all; and I think I started to work to young in life to be able to do that with pleasure. My conscience hurts as it is. The other reason is more lovely: I think that we can get a lot more out of travelling if we do it in the form of short and definitely-planned-with-a-specific-purpose excursions as we know more and more about one culture. I know that we shall begin to get hunches about what we ought to find in a particular place; or at least we'll be curious about a certain region for reasons that will come up in our work ~~here~~ here. Then it will be more profitable to spend our time and money to make an investigation. I look for a sort of intermittent swinging from intensive to extensive work and back again.

As far as a long-time view of researches in Guatemala, I think that I could map out a pretty fair program for several workers for at least five years if that much is wanted. I can't imagine doing much more than ~~me~~ cornering a section of the country and working out some special problems in three short years. Naturally, I am hoping that you will be able to expand down here. Andrade has become interested in working out a good linguistic map (which will be to some extent a cultural map) and due to the economic nature of the country -- through which, by settling for periods in well-chosen towns, one can get linguistic informants from wide areas -- I think it can be done accurately in a comparatively short time. His work and our work will, I think, work in very well together.

The expense account-blanks have not yet arrived, and I have had to send an accounting without them. I saw the voucher-forms that Andrade has, and they present a problem; there are laws in this country which require stamps on all bills and receipts, and are very complex, and I don't know how it will work out. Besides, the vouchers are in English, and you can't blame a person for not wanting to sign something he can't read; how about getting a batch printed in Spanish?

Best regards to everybody....

Sincerely yours,

Chichicastenango, Quiche
Guatemala, C. A.
February 12, 1935

721

Dear Dr. Redfiöld:

As to estimating expenses for the remainder of our stay here this year, a problem is presented. I think that we could stay within any budget you can give us, but the more you can give us, up to a certain point, the more we can do. If we stay in Chichicastenango and give up the idea of travelling, I think we could do it for about \$475 from January 1st. That would include mule-trips and the like around here. If we took one excursion, say to San Francisco El Alto for a few weeks (and Momostenango) the total would be run up to \$550. If we should go to the Lake for a week (and there are reasons why this would be valuable) it would run the cost up to almost \$600. That is the budget which you have set. There are at least two other trips that -- if they could be worked in -- would be of value; one is to a Finca, preferably that in San Marcos (and if done at the same time as the San Francisco trip it wouldn't cost more than \$25 more); the other is to Coban, in which I know you and Dr. Park are interested. That would be advisable this Spring only if you are thinking seriously of doing a study there, for it ought to be checked first; and it would cost a lot of money. It would be best to do that say just before we leave, since one must go to the Capital first; or else wait until we have to be there for some other reason. But pos-

sibly you might want to reserve that trip for yourself (and Dr. Park if he comes). If so, that possible expenditure is removed; if not, it would cost us about \$100 more.

I have given you as low figures as I can, and you see that we can do all right on the \$600 allotted -- with limited travelling. Don't think that I am asking for more money; we can spend our time very profitably in Chichicastenango and there are no personal complaints -- especially since the weather is now fine and this has become a very pleasant place. But you may as well know now that travelling around this country is a very expensive business, and for me to cover it as I should like to is going to cost us, eventually, more than you have thought. I have a strong urge to run around this country and exploit all of its possibilities, but I am suppressing it. I resist the temptation because I know I can get more out of travelling when I know one place well. You can't imagine how rich Guatemala is sociologically; in fact I am only now beginning to appreciate it fully.

I'll give you a local example that will probably get you as excited as it has us, but I shall have to ask you to keep part of the information to yourself for Andrade's sake -- since he wants to check up on it a bit before astounding the Linguistic World (or anyway the Romance Language World). Here: I have told you that in practically all of the pueblos there is a healthy ladino population. These ladinos never do manual labor, such as carrying loads or working in the milpas (although they have milpas and hire Indians to work them). There are the store-keepers, loan-sharks, and habilitadores and in a sense exploit the Indians. They form a sort of caste, and are the Spanish-speaking part of the population. That much is common knowledge. Now I have also mentioned that north of Chichicastenango is the town of Santa Cruz Quiche (the Capital) which has quite a Ladino population; and northeast of Chichicastenango, and east of Sta. Cruz is Chiche, a town whose permanent residents are practically all Ladino. All of these ladinos follow the regular pattern, and in the municipios of these three pueblos the population is chiefly Indians.

But there is a peculiarity. In the municipio of Santa Cruz Quiche, between the pueblo of that name and the pueblo of Chiche, there is an aldea called Chitalul. The first peculiarity of this place is that it is a real "aldea" -- a small village -- rather than a mis-named canton. The second peculiarity is that it is entirely ladino (although ladinos are otherwise found almost solely in so-called pueblos). The third peculiarity is that these ladinos work their own milpas, carry loads, go to market, etc. exactly as if they were Indians! The fourth peculiarity is that these ladinos (and this is the secret part for the time being) apparently speak a sixteenth-century Spanish, probably the only people in the world who do. The fifth peculiarity probably will explain all of the others; whereas the ladinos of the pueblos around here have come here within about the last hundred years (Stephens says there was only one of them here when he passed through) the population of Chitalul have been here from time immemorial (and the Indians here recognize that difference).

What might not one find if he should study this town, in relation to Indian culture, early Spanish culture, and the rest of the

ladinos? Now that's the sort of thing that one finds in this country; I don't imagine that this particular neighborhood exhausts all possibilities. Besides abnormal ethnographic and linguistic conditions that abound here -- now that Andrade has been here we are sure that this little country has more in it to be studied linguistically than any place ten times its size -- there are all these little things that I imagine will keep popping up around us, each one potentially a classic study in something or other.

That's why I am so tempted to explore around, and at the same time so anxious to learn more with which to explore. Of course we intend to spend a little time at Chitalul anyway, but it would probably take months to do a decent study of the place, and I suppose it will have to wait. But if I am not mistaken, we shall not be able to scratch the surface of possibilities in ten years; what we need here ^{is} more ethnologists and sociologists....

Things are sailing along quite smoothly now, but I am getting the sort of thing that cannot be written up in any form until it is completed. I have tried to get more on brujeria, but it wasn't very successful and I have decided to let that sort of thing come naturally; that is, when I get a good lead in the course of other work I shall follow it up. Meanwhile I am doing my favorite kind of work, getting concrete facts about people and where they live and what they do and why. This means maps and censuses and so on. I intend to make a thorough study of the pueblo (in itself, ladino and Indian, and in relation to the cantones) and of at least two cantones as I can in the time I have here. That is the only way, I think, in which one can get a concrete knowledge of social organization, economics, and politics as they are actually practiced here. As I said, I think that common beliefs and religious and magical practices will come out in due course (on the theory that they permeate everything).

As for the language, we are doing the best we can, but don't be too disappointed if, when you come, we cannot speak it. I might mention that there is no local white-man or ladino who can speak it, although there are some who are supposed to be able. Ernesto Lang, as nearly as I can make out, speaks Momostecan only to get along well with. It is hard for me to imagine that in six months (or maybe in five times six months) we will be able to speak it well enough to get into the feelings and beliefs of the Indians in their own language. It is hard enough to do that, I suppose, when both the ethnologist (or sociologist) and the subjects have the same native language. We shall have to try, however, for the Spanish spoken here is pretty fragmentary.

You can't imagine what a relief it is to have it warm here; the last few days have been the first in which we haven't shivered more or less all the while -- and huddling over a stove in the evening isn't conducive to good thinking or working. Now for the first time the weather is something like what we were led to expect, and we are hoping it stays so. We hear that you have had quite a spell of cold up n' th, but remember, when your lip begins to curl with contempt, that you have steam heat.

Best regards....

Sincerely yours,
Sol Tur

P. S. I forget to explain why it might be advisable to go to the Lake for a time. Aside from the natural interest surrounding linguistic and ethnological conditions at the Lake (and the linguistic boundaries are by no means settled) there may be an opportunity to study the Chichicastenango trouble down there. Clark is very soon starting construction of a hotel at S. Lucas Toliman (which may or may not be a Zutugil village) on the Lake. Heretofore this village has not been opened up to tourists at all, but by the time we come back next winter I am sure it will be flooded with foreigners. Now it might be very instructive to go down there when they are starting construction of the hotel. Everybody will understand that a large hotel for strangers is going up, and I am willing to bet that if there is any strong reaction at all it will be favorable. I am also willing to bet that some time during the next winter, when the tourists have invaded the market-place and the church, there will crystallize an anti-foreign sentiment. My notion is that unless they have had recent past-experience in that sort of thing people don't realize what contact means, and the business that the process of construction brings will make them lean favorably towards the new hotel. Later, when the tourists come, there are sure to be some people who are displeased, and some more who are in some way hurt by the business (and maybe even disgruntled at being fired or something) and they will play upon the superstitions of the ones who are indifferent (not necessarily consciously and maliciously) and adverse sentiment will develop quickly. Naturally, I would like to see this going on, if it will go on; and if I am wrong I want to see why. Therefore a visit to San Lucas while the hotel is going up, to see not only the general sentiment but to note who are the people benefitted to start with (for future reference) might be well worth the trouble and expense.

I think that Clark's activities (which are increasing in scope yearly) are the important developments that are going on in these towns now. Trade contacts do not seem very important; it is true that some small merchandize from the outside world has entered the markets, but since the pattern of the people seems always to have been the acceptance of articles of trade from the outside when they are able to buy it -- little distinction being made now between articles from other parts of Guatemala and things from Europe or Japan or the States -- this type of contact here does not have much effect on their mentality. How much effect it will eventually have on the culture, I do not know; they are negligible now. To show that economic contacts don't bother the people, I might cite an interesting fact: in the pueblo, some Ladinos have set up a corn-grinding mill, and a great many pueblo Indians bring their corn to be ground. The Indians recognize that the corn is ground better and I have had no evidence at all that there are any objections to the machine. I think that almost any material improvement could be introduced without trouble today; what seems really to bother the Indians is new social contacts.

so5 Tax

P.P.S. Will you please have about \$200⁰⁰ put in the bank for us? If you want to do or if you can -- have say \$400⁰⁰ put in, it will save us bank charges of a dollar a month or so. This is not necessary, however.

so5 Tax

Chichicastenango
Quiche
February 19, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am feeling very optimistic these days, notwithstanding the fact that we are again having freezing weather, so -- although I haven't anything particular to say, I'll say it.

In the first place, we took a trip up to Chitatul, the Ladino town that I wrote about. Andrade was disappointed, for although they speak a somewhat different Spanish, older in some few respects than regular Guatemaltecan (and a lot more refined, he says) it is not of any particular importance. But I was not at all disappointed: the people are as different from the ladinos around as are Spanish peasants, and as different from Spanish peasants as we are. Racially they seem almost pure-blooded Europeans, with lots of blondish people around; physically they are much healthier -- much more wholesome looking -- than these Ladinos; in fact it was only after the contrast that we came to realize what a degenerate lot we have here. I venture that morally they are miles above these wholly lazy, dishonest, weak Ladinos of Chichicastenango. The whole difference (maybe) comes from the fact that the Chitatultecan are workers; and it is literally true that in their physical lives they are as much like the Indians as it is possible to imagine. It was almost a relief to see their round smiling faces under loads of leña, or over the grinding-stones. We were greeted very hospitably, and Andrade did a good job of opening the way for work there for us or somebody else. I do not want to appear over-enthusiastic about these people, but I do think they represent a phenomenon; apparently they have contempt for other Ladinos (and probably vice-versa) and at the same time do not mix with the Indians. If they were wide-spread they would be a middle-caste; they seem to be Spaniards with Indian material culture, and probably a lot of the rest, while the Ladinos here are mixed-bloods with (if I may be unanthropological) no culture. All three of us can testify that we felt a great mental or spiritual relief (or something) when we saw them and talked to them.

Some day I shall write you something about the Ladinos here, and I think you will understand.

We have been coming along very well in the work; I have been studying the canton Quejel rather intensively, and am getting some very concrete ideas of what's what. Just to pick out one thing that I have found is that there is extensive and open polygamy, with one man having as many as six wives; in two different cases men are living with both a mother and her daughter-by-a-first-husband, and in one of the cases, two daughters! (and you know that Brenda Seligman -- if I remember correctly -- bases her theory of kinship on the prohibition of just that). Nor does there seem to be any disapproval of any of that. Yet (and I'm just feeling for something here) polygamy is not institutionalized in the sense that it is in Africa, for example. I don't quite know what I mean by that, but light may come

I just remembered -- I suppose you will need some more money

Sol Tap

3rd 726

Chichicastenango, Quiche
Guatemala, C. A.

March 19, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Yours of the 26th received, with the final accounting for my thesis, etc. I suppose you have received the second check for \$75.00 that I sent you, which makes it \$150 in all; since you have spent \$170.30 on my behalf, I still owe you \$20.30. I may as well wait until you come here to pay you, since you probably would have trouble cashing a check in Chan Kom anyway. Meanwhile, I thank you heartily, trusting that it is a PhD who is doing so....

I have little excitingly new to report; I have been working with 4 different informants last week and this, and am rapidly filling in my ideas of this place. Meanwhile, Gertrude is now spending eight hours a day with one of the two literate women I have made such a fuss about; her name is Tomasa Felisa (I have mentioned her before under the name of her step-father, Xaper), and we now find that the extent of her literacy is the ability to write her name; she used to know the alphabet, but has forgotten it. Her Spanish is remarkable for its lacunae, and that is easily explained on the grounds that she probably doesn't have a chance to use it from one year to the next. Gertrude is using her ability to weave (she is among the best weavers here, I think) as an excuse for getting as much of her view of the culture as she can; but meanwhile, Gertrude is also learning the technique of weaving (without any technical terms, however, since neither of us knows the warf from the woop....)

For the past month I have been trying to figure out the relation of this culture to the distinction between folk and urban people or what have you. If it is a matter of folk-beliefs, these people have them all right; if it is a matter of complete naiveté, they have that too -- as complete as one can imagine (and that goes for every last person here too). I have been trying to decide how "integrated" the cultures and the personalities are; and of course I have been handicapped by the lack of objective criteria by which to judge -- those unfortunately not having been provided in my education. The culture runs along very smoothly largely because there is as excellent a political organization as one can imagine; economically the people get along so-so; religiously there seems to be fair unanimity and troubles are easily solved. On the other hand, there seem to be as many conflicts as in Chicago; the culture is not that simple little one we like to think a Folk has -- in fact, I should be willing to gamble right now that it has all the complexities of a rural community of ten thousand in Illinois. Furthermore, I do not believe that its complexity can be explained on grounds that Chichicastenango is a cog in a larger economic machine. My personal hunch is that it can be explained on the grounds simply of size; no person knows a tenth of the people in the municipio, and there are no smaller units that

I can recognize as "cultures" in any sense. The only thing that holds the culture together -- makes it as homogeneous as it is -- is the political organization and the limitations imposed by little outside contact as well as a strong conservatism.

Those elements that make Chichicastenango seem "primitive" I think may be explicable entirely on the grounds that the people are abysmally ignorant; the wisest Indian here doesn't know as much about the world as a child among the Fox, for example. Right now one would consider the Fox a folk people because of their homogeneity as an in-group and because of the self-sufficiency of their own culture (socially and religiously); but on any criteria of sophistication -- that does not, however, affect the culture -- they would not be folk people. Well, if here one must call Chichicastenango a folk culture on just the opposite criteria, then something may be funny about the whole conception. There are lots of possibilities, of course, and I have formed no final judgment; but I shall be very glad to have the chance to talk about the matter with you.

I am not taking any texts of prayers, but I am discovering just where all of the prayers occur, and next year in just a few days all of the prayers can be recorded in two or three days. I think that will be much better. I might say that this is one of those cultures where there aren't any folk-tales; I am quite sure that old people never tell their children any stories; rather, they go in for advice and "doctrines" as they say. I think that the only myth there is here is the mixed catholic story of creation, etc., starting with the birth of Jesus and ending with the birth of the first child of Adam and eve. I don't think that they have mixed up any of the old mythology (such as is found in the Popul Vuh); if they really ever had any of this, and the Popul Vuh is about the only evidence -- and that may have been a story of the princely class in Utatlan only -- is seems to be lost. The present myth is not pure Catholic, but extraneous elements are very easily explicable as new ones worked in to fit the culture and explain customs here.

By the time you come, I shall have a very good picture of the economic and social life, probably most of the political and religious organization and notions. What I shall lack, of course, is a view of the personality of the typical person here -- since I can't talk to a typical person. Our view of the culture will be objective, rather than subjective; of course I should like to have both, but I assure you it is a physical impossibility short of about ten year's residence here -- if then. I am disappointed, but I think that we had illusions on the subject, and that had we known we should never have expected to get the culture through the native language. There is a possibility that it is our fault, and there is no way for me to answer such an accusation except to tell the accuser to come and try it himself. But I may add another point: assuming

that I were a Fortune (and I have a tendency, deep in my heart, to treat his statements about his powers as I do those of a Spiritualist) and that by this time I could converse pretty decently in the language, how much farther along would I be? I should still have to spend months getting the objective picture, and when I finished that I wouldn't trust my own analyses of people or their personalities from my knowledge of the language. It's dangerous enough to draw conclusions about how people think back home. In the long run I suppose objective evidence -- of behavior, not words -- is a prerequisite to anything's clicking in ethnography.

These arguments may sound like nice rationalizations, and maybe they are; but I have always thought that social science will never be able to deal with anything but objective phenomena and that our business is to figure out what they are and how they can be used to our ends. Sure, speech is objective -- but then only if you have the whole speech, and not your impressions from a stray conversation. I can't help but notice that your work on Chan Kom (however much knowledge of the language -- on Alfonso's part, at least -- may have helped to give you the elusive spirit of the culture) depends for all of its conclusions on perfectly tangible observations.

Nevertheless, I hope that one of these years I can stay in a place long enough to learn the language as well as Malinowski, for example, knew that of the Trobriands; then I shall be able to see for myself how much truth there is in our ethnological rule that you have to speak the language to do good ethnography. Maybe I am wrong.

I have no idea how letters get from Guatemala to Yucatan; probably they go to New Orleans first, but I hope you get this one -- and those in the future -- before I see you here....

We are both well, the weather is very nice; the pueblo is alagre, what with fiestas of sorts every Friday now. I hope you will be here for Holy Week; it is the second big fiesta of the Indians here.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

Panajachel,
Guatemala, C. A.

November 22, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfiäld:

I received your air-mail of the 15th half an hour ago. It must have been delayed by the Fair in Guatemala City or else Pan-American is slowing up. Anyway, I'll try to answer your question concerning Winds, and hope I am not too late.

I can say unequivocally that in none of the material I have from Chichicastenango is there the slightest indication of any belief that there is a connection between the winds and disease. Aside from the fact that it never came out in any other connection, I have the evidence of direct questioning to make me quite positive that no such beliefs exist among the group that I studied. I read Chan Kom in the field, you remember, and I naturally became curious about this very thing; and I tried in a number of ways to find out if the Chan Kom belief exists in Chichicastenango.

All of my informants were questioned at various times, and the closest I came to getting a positive answer was when Diego said that the wind, blowing dust as it does, causes coughs and colds, etc. I have this recored in the notes I gave you as follows:

The winds bring some sicknesses; a light wind is all right, but a strong wind is dangerous. The wind causes coughs, colds, fevers, and headaches.

But that is absolutely all he could say on the subject, and he was thinking in very naturalistic terms.

I am sure there is no particular fear of the winds among the Indians in Chichicastenango. I did not question the ladinos on the subject, unfortunately; I do know that they are afraid of the cold much more than the Indians are, but I have never heard any reference to winds. That is poor evidence, but just now I have asked Juan Outillo if he has ever heard of an idea among ladinos that wind causes diseases (and I explained things to him carefully and know that he understands) and he says he has never heard of such a thing.

As for the Indians, I have been with them in quite strong winds and they have never done anything about it. On the contrary, I know that they are afraid of rain, or at least they take sweat-baths often in the rainy season or when it rains in the dry season.

I shall inquire here in the next few days and if I find something like Chan Kom I shall write you air-mail.

I. The Race Situation in Guatemala generally.

A. Historical background.

1. The Maya ^{and other} Indians in the Highlands of Guatemala
 - a. Supposedly migrant, but probably not.
 - b. The "kingdoms" & relations to each other.
 - c. The culture; not very narrow -- wide interrelations, even with Mexico.
2. The Conquest - 1524... Pedro Alvarado.
 - a. Cruelties & breakup of political cultures; no love engendered. Tough, bad conquistadores.
 - b. Missionaries: adoption of Christianity & changing of old native culture.
3. The Colonial period.
 - a. Inter-marriage -- influx of colonists
 - b. Indian subjection & origin of social classes.
 - c. The Spanish Colonial System: allowed Indian cultures to go their way, independent in a sense but under Spaniards & mixed blood.
4. The Republic: very little difference for most Indians; gives Spaniards & ladinos more room for pol. and Church relatively untouched (the Orders are). Now ideal of progress in all aspects of culture, and slowly the backwoods will be civilized. In this process the Race Situation is significant.

B. The "Races" -- ("sociological")

1. Indian relatively pure, usually has costume & language. But is physically distinguishable in most cases.
2. Ladinos theoretically mixed blood; but officially everybody not an Indian is "ladino"; and an Indian judged more by costume, language, & general culture than by race. Unofficially a person can become a ladino if he changes clothes, speaks Spanish, marries ~~and~~ a ladino & lives better. In a large town most people won't know that he was born in "moke"

3. Pure Spanish -- descendants of early colonists are aristocrat, many are rich, but they are in the capital almost exclusively.
4. Foreigners -- Recent introduction; few thousand Germans, Americans, French, etc.
5. As Social & Economic classes these races function today. At top of ladder in country are the Old Spaniards & the Foreigners; at bottom are Indians. But throughout the hinterland, in the little towns, where Ladinos & Indians mix, they become the problem.
6. Distribution of Indians & Ladinos: map. There are large ~~regions~~ regions where there are no Indians, & others where almost all Indians. Map made by municipalities -- % for each Mun. in shaded area. Since have print to draw, explain that municipalities are the smallest important territorial divisions in the country. Indians differ in costume & dialect & culture by municipalities. Also, municipalities are of different types. I am going to describe racial situation in one municipality chiefly, but remember the Chichicastenango represents a town country -- town's ladino type of municipality.

II. Chichicastenango & its races.

A. Town and Country

1. Population, Ind & Lad.
2. Indians in cantones
3. Ladinos in town
4. Town is Economic, political, Religious, social center of Indians. It is vacuum that fills twice a week & for fiestas with its inhabitants.

B. Two Cultures.

1. Differences in material well-being: standard of living
2. Ladinos & Indians as economic classes: hacendados & mozos.
3. Ladinos & Indians as social castes: diferencia original labor slavery. Political systems - coronels
4. Differences in intellectual level.

C. Relations between the classes.

1. Practical lack of interbreeding and marriage (notwithstanding immorality -- or maybe because of it ladinos have women).
2. Economically ladinos exploit Indians & ^{in turn} bring them goods.
3. Politically relations are formal & official. Indians run our govt & Indian alcalde takes orders for ladino alcalde.
4. In fiestas & santos, generally each group has its own & doesn't bother with the other, of course when a big Indian feast comes everybody gets the noise; when ladino feast, only ladinos & town Indians.

5. The ladinos are the conductors of civilization to Indians. They are slow but eventually must be considered an outpost of civilization. They go to city, read newspapers & books, etc. & ~~get~~ get ideas. ~~They do~~ But that doesn't directly influence Indians so much as the bringing of Spanish & of new goods. Eventually, however, it must...
Here culture doesn't go out to Indians from town to town: but simultaneously in all places where there are ladinos, from city ladinos to town ladinos to Indians.

D. a 3rd Class: Foreign Indians. Come in and find work in trades. They are intermediate: economically are tradesmen not mijos; materially open better off; intellectually, speak Spanish well; socially live in town & move rather with poor ladinos than with local Indians. They most often marry among themselves. ~~They are conducting class between ladinos & Indians.~~

E. Variation in the classes.

1. Ladinos. Rich ladinos (Camezquitos) are big city folks now, up to the minute in style, etc.... From top extreme there is a gradual change to the lowest poverty and rags. From wealthy landowners to poor washwomen. They are one group because no place to draw lines: yet except that they share common language and type of clothes, there's more difference between highest & lowest ladino than between some Indians & poor ladinos.

2. Indians. a. Differences in wealth of course.
b. Conservatism & liberalism, but important groups split off are

A. The literate group. Some 20 Indians who speak Spanish well (& this not too well) and a dozen who can read or write a bit.

What happens to a literate is he gets proud & doesn't care to do common labor. Few jobs open to intellectuals, so takes up with tourists. Indians don't like tourists - no don't like literates. But not because they don't like literates. There's one ~~poor~~ literate on the unliterate side.

Literates intermarried, feel themselves superior. Are progressives: want to learn, don't mind tourists, deplore barbarism of their people, start fashions in clothes, & get gold teeth. But not ladino-izing. None would take extreme in town.

Monte Indians

B. The ~~Hotel~~ group. Servant group. Chiefly hotel boys & some miscellaneus. They associate chiefly with ladinos & foreign Indians, since they are pueblo Indians & have no mispas. Are not unpoor & are rich enough to get ladino clothes. aren't educated but like city life, etc. & not the miles ~~no shoes~~.

The University of Chicago

The Division of Social Sciences

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

November 14, 1935

Mr. Sol Tax
c/o Carnegie Institution
12 Calle Oriente, No. 7
Guatemala City, Guatemala

Dear Sol:

The meeting last Tuesday of the seminar on racial and cultural contacts was devoted to discussion of the four reports which had been delivered up to that time. Each of the four faculty members of the seminar prepared a written memorandum of comment on one of the four reports. Your report fell to Blumer. I enclose a copy of his comment.

In the course of subsequent discussion it was suggested that another interesting question would be whether or not there is a difference in the religious fervor and the degree of religious organization as between the Chichicastenango type of community and the Atitlan village type of community. This suggestion follows, no doubt, notions of Durkheim and Mauss to the effect that where people occasionally come together to celebrate religious rites their religious activities may be more elaborate and extensive than in the case where they persistently and continuously live next to one another. I don't know whether or not there is anything in the idea.

Dr. Kidder has provided another \$150 to you and has sent the check directly to the Guatemala office. Please inquire there for it. Will you let me know if this \$150, with the \$150 deposited in the bank some three weeks ago, will be enough until January 1, or if not, about how much more is necessary.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

RR:DM

Sel Tax - Guatemala

A short summary of what I regard to the central part of the report may be given first. Preliminary to the consideration of one of the municipios, which are cultural as well as political entities, there was given a brief statement of the history and peoples in Guatemala. The country, which had been part of the Mayan kingdom, was conquered by the Spanish conquistadores. Colonists came in after the conquest. There seems to have been an appreciable amount of intermarriage between the colonists and the natives, with some cultural contact, particularly on the side of religion. Apparently little effort was made to break down tribal customs, interest being confined merely to the destruction of the political organization of the ancient kingdoms. It was remarked that linguistic acculturation has not occurred until recently. At the present time there are three major groups in Guatemala, organized into a hierarchy; the pure spaniards at the top; the Ladinos, a mixed blood group, having an intermediate position; and the native indian population at the bottom. The indians were indicated as having a population of 1,300,000, the ladinos, 700,000. The difference between the ladinos and the indians, we were informed, is primarily by culture, rather than by race, especially in the form of language and costume.

The municipio has been the primary object of Mr. Tax's study. As mentioned it is both a cultural and political unit. Mr. Tax described briefly three kinds. First, one in which the town is inhabited by ladinos, with the indians living on farms around the town. While the indians have houses in the town they come in only for purposes of mark-

eting or for fiestas. The ladinos are middlemen and the indians are laborers. Second, a type of town similar to the first except that there are not ladinos as residents. The indians live on farms surrounding the town, and occupy their houses in it only during markets and fiestas. Third, a town inhabited by both indians and ladinos, with the indians going out to the farms surrounding the towns.

The municipio which Mr. Tax studied was of the first type. The town is the political, religious, and social center. While the officials of the town are ladinos, there is a parallel political organization for the indians. The ladinos constitute a stabilized group of superior prestige, the external earmarks of which are clothing and language. The indians are a servile group who accept their lower status and who show deference to the ladinos. We are informed that there is little miscegenation between them. Their relation is essentially a caste relation.

The indians of each municipio are distinguished from one another by costume and by local religion, each group having its own saints and fiestas. In the municipio studied by Mr. Tax there are a number of indians who have migrated from other municipios. This group of indians is advanced better economically than the local group, speak Spanish and are literate. Their association (outside of their own group) is more with poor ladinos than with the local indians, and their religion approximates more that of the ladinos.

There are two other indian groups in the town. One is a small group of local indians who are literate, progressive, deplore the "barbarism" of the other local indians, and stand apart from them. They are indicated as having started some new fashions. The other group, known as the pueblo indians, consists of a few local indian boys who work in hotels or are servants. They wish to associate with ladinos and with the foreign indians, and have changed their costume to the extent of wearing ladino clothes with the exception of shoes. On market and fiesta days they revert to the wearing of the local indian costume. We are informed that both of these groups of indians are looked on with disfavor by the regular body of local indians.

The account given by Mr. Tax was primarily a description of the people and their external organization with reference to one another. There was lacking any statement of specific problems guiding the descriptive efforts. Consequently, in my comment I wish merely to indicate some problems suggested by the account, which to me seemed to be important, and to consider them in relation to the field of culture and race contact.

What interested me most was the way in which the various indian groups and the ladinos become organized to one another. My impression (even though it may be erroneous) is that this process of organization is definitely guided by a caste principle so that the emergence of new groups leads merely to their becoming encysted as separate units, without seriously endangering the caste organization. This may represent an important generic pattern, taken in the development of relations between ethnic and cultural groups. It seems to

stand in contrast to the character of those racial situations in which emerging groups champion a position which threatens the existing order. In some situations of ethnic or cultural hierarchy, a new group representing individuals of a given stratum seeking to gain a higher status, endeavor to secure acceptance by and identification with the upper stratum. Their inability leaves them bitter and disappointed, disposed to challenge the position of this upper stratum, led to question the whole order which supports the existing group relations and ultimately to attack this order by championing the cause of the lower stratum to whom they are assigned by the upper stratum. Consequently, they become threats to the existing social structure.

From these few remarks there would seem to be two general lines along which stated relationships may develop in the association of ethnic groups. If so, I should like to know the condition which gives rise to the one and those which give rise to the other.

In the study being made by Mr. Tax I should like to know whether the local Indians who are tending to raise their status and to withdraw from their own group are changing their attitudes toward the Ladinos; whether they cherish hopes and ambitions of being identified with the Ladinos, whether they are showing signs of disappointment and bitterness, and whether they are becoming reflective about the whole order of life and are becoming disposed to question it. I should like to know how the Ladinos view these new groups, how they accept them, whether they continue to identify them with the Indian group, out of which

they come, or to give them special recognition as a superior group, but still to exclude them.

Further, I should like to know how this process of emergence of new groups of indians is taking place elsewhere in Guatemala, particularly where it has gone on previously, and to see whether it is resulting in a questioning of and attack on the caste structure. If a difference is discovered along the line of what I have referred to as the second pattern of status relations, then it would be interesting to endeavor to isolate the conditions under which the one pattern gives way to the other.

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Panajachel,
Guatemala, C. A.

December 1, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield,

I am enclosing our November expense account, and also the latest leaves from my Diary.

I have received your letters of November 11 and 14. Dr. Ricketson told me that \$160 is coming for me, but to date it has not been received. You will notice that I have already accounted for some \$28 of that amount, but I am confident that we shall be able to get along on the remainder until January first. I hope, however, that more money will surely be deposited to my account on January first (or second), since I shall probably be short in the bank if it isn't. You see I may have to pay the Simmons bill, and the New Orleans grocery bill by check at about that time.

Thank you for the copy of Dr. Blumer on the paper I gave. Reading his account makes what I said sound a bit thin; it seems to me (and my memory may be faulty) that I did myself raise the problem which Mr. Blumer purports to suggest himself. But that doesn't matter. If I may now, I would like to discuss briefly the question of castes in Chichicastenango. I think in the first place that the social classes are not nearly as caste-like as the impression of them may be (partly my fault, no doubt). Each of the classes tends to be endogamous, they lead different economic, political, social, and intellectual lives, and each is self-conscious of its identity. There is some degree of servility in the attitude of the lower to the upper (although, I am sure, no real feeling of inferiority). But on the other hand, there is no oppression, or consciousness of oppression; except where money is influential there is the same law for both groups; a ladino does not lord it over an Indian (and for every service which an Indian performs for a ladino he expects pay). Thus conditions are really quite different from those in the American South. Indians are considered poor and uneducated, but I have never heard of them spoken of as an inferior people. Thus you don't have the present German-Jewish situation.

As for the Chichicastenango groups being castes in the sense of Indian castes, there is of course no comparison. There is complex of religion or even of cultural tradition to back up the class distinctions; there is no feeling of unsurmountable barriers. Although cases of intermarriage are indeed rare, I feel convinced that little more than uplifted eyebrows would accompany the news of one. The ladinos naturally look forward to "good" marriages, and marriage with an illiterate, poor, town-homeless Indian would not be a very good one. Does that call for a caste-explanation of the endogamy?

Dr. Robert Redfield (2)

Now I have never referred to the classes as "castes", although I have sometimes used the expression caste-like. Hereafter I think I shall steer clear even of that, because I see how misleading it can be. Being economic and intellectual classes, they naturally are also social classes; and because the same class is both richer and better educated, on the whole, there tends to a super-sub organization. When, coupled with this, there happen to be certain cultural differences (such as the presence of windows in ladino homes and their absence in Indian homes -- regardless of wealth, and I must point out that nobody would object to an Indian's cutting a hole in the wall of his house, but he simply doesn't see the ~~same~~ point in it; and such as the prejudice of the Ladinos ~~against~~ against working in the fields or ~~of~~ carrying cargo, no matter how poor -- and this may be explained on the grounds that due to the Indians' lower standard of living such work would not bring enough to the ladino to keep him as he is accustomed to be kept) which we in our culture recognize as being associated with higher and lower, it is no wonder that the system in Chichicastenango has many aspects of a stratified organization. But essentially, I don't believe that it is one in the caste sense.

A clear understanding of this I believe will answer Mr. Blumer's questions. The intermediate groups (the literates, the foreign, and the servant Indians) do not, of course, form intermediate castes, but are simply intermediate in some respects which, in my report, I tried to isolate. Furthermore, there is no "cherishing of hopes and ambitions to be identified with the ladinos" on their part. When they are like the ladinos in some respects they are immediately identified with the ladinos in those respects. Nobody is trying to keep them down, so of course no bitterness is engendered. There really is no "system" for them to become reflective about, unless it is the Capitalist system, and the Indians are thorough capitalists. Any Indian not a miser quits carrying loads when he can afford to; also, he hires some other Indian to do his odious municipal services when his time comes. His race or costume doesn't keep him poor; it is lack of capital goods to start with that does, and he knows it. Any Indian could send his children to school (everybody encourages it) and thus give them intellectual background; most of them don't want to, any more than they want to become ladinos in any other cultural way. They were taught to approve of their own way of life.

When a man gets into one of the intermediate groups, he usually congratulates himself on it (for by being there he recognizes that in the respect that he has become like a ladino he approves of ladino ways) but there is nothing for which he yearns that he cannot get (except riches). The intermediates can hardly be bitter, therefore, against the ladinos; they are, if anything, more sympathetic. Whether the ladinos, on the other hand, "give them special recognition as a superior group, but still...exclude them" is a question

Dr. Robert Redfield (3)

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which, I trust, will now be seen to have been based on a false premise.

How much of the confusion about Chichicastenango is my fault, I do not know. Certainly some is. No doubt the members of the seminar were translating the situation I described into situations elsewhere that were more familiar to them. I deeply regret that I did not consider that that was the case; I should certainly have tried to emphasize the dissimilarity to castes, rather than the similarity, of the Chichicastenango groups. I hope that this discussion does something to correct my error.

Incidentally, I shall have a lot to say, I think, about social groups after this year's work. I am beginning to see that there are other types of ladinos than those in Chichicastenango....

Except that it is very windy here, and I am suffering from sore-throat and head-cold, things are going along very well. This field-season looks as if it will be very productive.

Best regards to all our friends from Gertrude and me.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

The University of Chicago

The Division of Social Sciences

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 13, 1936

Dr. Sol Tax
Panajachel
Guatemala, C. A.

Dear Sol:

This is a belated reply to your letter commenting on Dr. Blumer's remarks as to your report before the seminar.

The central question of fact raised by your report to the seminar and Dr. Blumer's comment upon it seems to me: Is there a general cultural pattern of hierarchially arranged status-groups to which newly established groups tend to conform? I do not know whether there is, but it seems to me that the Chichicastenango ethnic groups are, by your own account, much like castes. Certainly there is not a completely worked out caste system, as there is in India -- and as there is, perhaps, nowhere else. But you say "Each of the classes tends to be endogamous; they lead different economic, political, social and intellectual lives, and each is self-conscious of its identity. There is some degree of servility in the attitude of the lower to the upper...." In these words you have summarized the characters that make these classes approach close to castes. It does not seem to me necessary to a caste-society, that there be a belief in the inherent inferiority of the subordinated group. It seems to me that absence of consciousness of oppression, rather than its presence, is a character of a caste-society.

It seems to me illuminating, rather than misleading, to point out the respects in which the Chichicastenango situation, while not a rigid caste-system, is a race-class system with many caste-features.

I wonder why you pick out the matter of windows to illustrate the cultural differences between the Indian and ladinos when there are so many more important differences: costumbres, marriage customs, etc. And I wonder if your explanation why the ladinos do not work the fields is wholly adequate in view of the occasional very poor Indian, and especially in view of the agricultural ladinos at Chitatal. Further, it seems to me that if economic advantage controlled marriage-choice without the influence of class- or race-preference, we would find marriages between poor ladinos and wealthy Indians. And finally, if there is a status-system basic to the social situation and influencing changes to conformity with itself, I would not expect the people to be reflective about it, but rather to take it for granted without much reflection. There might be occasional resentment against the exploiting case (remember the drunken Indians who vituperated the ladinos!) just as the lower castes in India complain about the Brahmins.

As for the status, interests and possible sense of conflicts of the "new groups," I feel we do not, at least I do not, know enough to say anything.

I showed your letter to Elumer and he comments as follows:

"On reading what Dr. Tax says, I realize the great danger to one, like myself, who tries to interpret something that he knows very little about. Dr. Tax has an intimate knowledge of the groups in Chichicastenango - my knowledge is confined to what he said, and apparently, even here I failed to understand properly what he meant to say.

"Nevertheless, I still feel that there is value in studying the relations between the various Indian groups and the ladino group in this municipio, from the standpoint of the principles of caste and class. I should agree with everything that you have written, and would add to them merely one or two statements.

"It is my impression that the following are true: that the indian group and the ladino group are status groups standing in a subordinate-superordinate position; that the fact of birth rather permanently identifies an individual as belonging to one or the other of these groups; that this identification is made both by the individual and by others; that the individual follows the practice and code of his group, and is expected to do so by others; that marriage inside of one's own group is just taken for granted, and hence, that intermarriage is scarcely thought of, much less occurring; that each group has essentially an established occupational role; that there is an exclusiveness in the case of each of these two groups, as is suggested by the lack of intermarriage, bilateral political organization, and divergent ceremonial practise. Such traits I judge to be traits of a caste relationship, although the question of what particular label one is going to use is of no special importance.

"What I do think is of importance, however, is the question whether the emergence of new groups in such a society seems to threaten the existing organization or scheme of relations between groups. In what I would call a class society, the appearance of a new class always upsets the equilibrium and leads to an attack on the existing hierarchy; in a caste society the emergence of new groups normally leads to their encysting in new positions without challenging or disturbing the prevailing organization. This is why I raised the question concerning the new indian groups in Chichicastenango. From what Dr. Tax has written in his letter I gain the impression that the new Indian groups have followed this latter pattern by becoming accessory status groups who do not challenge or exert a strain on the existing social organization. I still feel that it would be of importance to see whether this is true of Indian groups elsewhere in Guatemala."

Yours sincerely,
Robert Redfield
Robert Redfield

Panajachel

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Jan 20, 1938

way to Solola at the same time.

I don't suppose I'll need a power-of-attorney or anything just to buy land; as far as I know, the buyer's signature is nowhere required, and money is legally acceptable, isn't it, under any name the payer chooses to give....

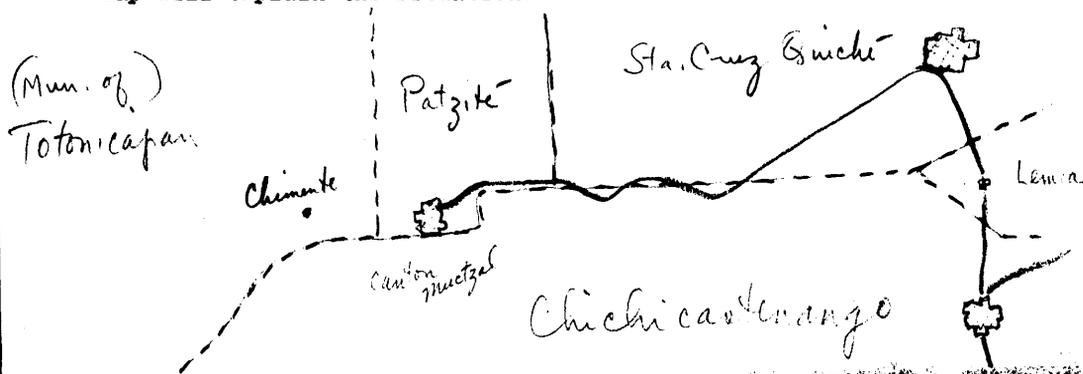
Well, to Chichicastenango. I went Tuesday and came back Wednesday evening, and I covered a lot of territory. Only time will tell how successful I was, but (aside from others I mentioned) one interesting possibility was opened up. I would like your advice. But first let me explain the whole situation. I am, as you know, looking for a place in a cantón of Chichicastenango that is on or near an automobile road; one other necessity is that among the families in the neighborhood (and I want some immediate neighbors, of course) there should be at least a couple of people who speak some Spanish and at least one who knows enough to be able to help me positively. Now there are only four automobile roads that pass through maxefio territory: one is the road from Tecpan to Los Encuentros, which crosses and recrosses the Chichicastenango-Solola line; I explored that road two years ago with a different purpose in mind, and I don't think much of the possibility--for one thing the Chichicastenango places are a million miles from both Tecpan and Los Encuentros, and for another I found no evidences of Spanish-speaking, and breaking in there and living there would both be more difficult than on the other roads.

The second road is from Los Encuentros to Chichicastenango and the only place on that road is in Chicua. This place has advantages; it is near Los Encuentros (thus near to mail and telegraph), there is a

school there, with a ladino teacher (thus signs and evidences of rudimentary civilization and the breakdown of anti-stranger prejudice) and most important there is a young Indian who is literate and who not only could but would help me. Actually, since last year I have been trying to break into this fellow's household group, and I spent a lot of time with him this visit. He says his folks are willing, but the vecinos object strongly and of course his family can't buck public opinion. I would have to build a house there, and that would require a real break-in. I left this up in the air, hoping that gradually public opinion (with my repeated ramming) would gradually hush; and this boy is still trying--with the promise of work--to do something for me; the chief trouble is that the boy is young (seventeen or so) and doesn't have the makings of a Zola. If necessary I may be able to push that possibility to some favorable conclusion, however.

The third road is from the pueblo to Chiché, and fairly close to the pueblo there is a good population strewn along the road. I tried that last summer, too, and was completely rebuffed; later Juan Cutillo tried on his own hook just to buy a piece of land, but he tells me they remembered that he had been with me and they don't want to sell to foreigners (people are not reconciled to the tourist invasion and have a feeling that I'll start a Mayan Inn when I come). Even if somebody else should buy me a piece of land there, however, I wouldn't be in a very good starting position, would I? That road, by the way, has the advantage of being reasonably near to town, and being a very pleasant place to live; but I haven't been able to find any other great advantages--that is, the people are not more Spanish-speaking than elsewhere and there is (as far as I know) no particular person who could help me. Tomás Ren lives in that cantón, and he is one of the most literate maxefios; but as it happens he is the only anti-foreigner among the literates. His brother is Pascual, with whom I worked, but Tomás himself has served time in the Quiché jail for instigating that trouble against the film company three years ago. Anyway, he is teaching school in Chiché now (as is Tomás Ventura) and I don't have any idea if he could be of help to me.

The fourth road (that between the pueblo and Lemoa is unpopulated) is between Sta. Cruz Quiché and Patzité. From a previous trip I knew that the road passes through maxefio territory, and yesterday I explored this. Twice the road is actually in Chichicastenango lands, but in both places there are no homes in sight. But (and this was news to me that I missed on my last trip) I found that upon arriving in the town of Patzité itself one is only two blocks from the boundary line (at the top of the hill) and maxefio houses start immediately. Perhaps the following sketch map will explain the situation:



Now just assume that we were living in the town of Patzité (where a house might be found and fixed, or one built without difficulty, of course) and see where we would come out. We would not be living right with maxefios, but in all probability we could make friends with them and we would be close enough for frequent visits; I do not know (and seriously doubt) if there are any Spanish-speaking families or bright young men among the close Chichicastenango households--but on the other hand there may be some in Patzité itself, or some Patzité Indians who would partially serve. I would not fool myself into thinking that our life with cantón maxefios would be nearly as intimate as, say, in Chicué (assuming we could get in there) and I know I could not make as good a study of the cantón of Mactzul as I could of Chicué (assuming that we were accepted into the latter at all). That much on the debit side as far as original purpose is concerned. Now about the advantages. I needn't mention that it would be more pleasant ~~personally~~ and perhaps safer to live in Patzité than, say, in Chicué; let's not talk about the really private aspect of the business now -- at least until I hear what Gertrude says, for she may see some great disadvantage to set off the advantages. Consider the business end alone.

You know that perhaps after the next field season we ought to (I think) get out of the Midwestern Highlands and break into another region. Well, if we should do that, our experience even with this region would be perhaps more limited than it should be, for I would have studied only one community of that whole Quiché area. We'll be better off for Cakchiquel and Zutugil, of course, but that doesn't help us for the other. But a residence in Patzité would broaden the scope of the study considerably as far as wide acquaintance is concerned. A kilometer away is Chimente, an aldea of very-important Totonicapán, and probably a typical example of the industrial municipios of Totonicapán Department (and we haven't studied an industrial community, you know); there I already have good connections. On the other side is Quiché itself, about which I know nothing. I might get a good enough little sample to see what differences there are from Chichicastenango, if nothing else. Then there is of course the cantón of Chichicastenango that is so close. And finally there is Patzité itself. You may remember that the municipio of Patzité (which has no more than about 300 households all told --it is a vacant-town municipio too) is a sample of Santa María Chiquimula, which is a very important large place that is inaccessible and practically unknown to whites; Patzité was cut off from the mother-municipio by the Departamento line, and ~~thus~~ the people are Patzité are in every sense (I am led to assume) Chiquimultecos. So I would be getting some information on (call it) Chiquimula.

At the same time I would get another case, like that of the Lake, of distinct municipios with the most intimate of contacts. Patzité is an important market-center for the region. Also, I could study the strange phenomenon of economic specialization in a very good instance; Chimente is pottery and some woodwork; Quiché is hats; Patzité is wide-range commerciante (and some hats and also sewing-machine men's shirts); I don't know what that cantón of Chichicastenango is.

You suggested last year that I find a place in the monte in Chivhicastenango in which to write up Chichicastenango on the ground, so to speak, and not try to do a real study there, but just naturally soak in a lot. Now I may be able to arrange that (the difficulty is really more of time, when you come down to it, than anything else) and I have not--with all my arguments for Patzité discarded the idea. But what would you think about doing more or less the same thing in Patzité instead? Which of the two possibilities do you think would give more to our program?

~~other fellow's (and indeed my driver was going a bit fast on local standards and had he been sharper witted he might have turned off to the right~~

Panajachel

Feb 6, 1938

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city, it might still be good enough. So we might save there too. I certainly do not intend to go to the city to get the car fixed anyway; I am having the headlight lens sent up, and also parts for the horn. (There are two horns, so no great rush).

Anyway, I went up to Chichicastenango on Thursday (coming back in the evening). First of all I found that Patzité lacks an essential requirement: a civilized Indian in Mactzul. I had the Secretary (who is a young Indian who was a school boy when we lived there) make inquiries of the officials from that cantón, and I was pretty well convinced that there is nothing doing. I didn't, therefore, go to Patzité but rather decided to concentrate energies on Chicué. On the way up I stopped in Chicué and found that they still didn't want me. A certain one of the Indians there by the name of Tul, however, finally was forced by my arguments to agree to sell or lend me a piece of his land provided I would arrange to pacify the neighbors. So I decided to make an issue of that particular land and see what there was to do about it.

In town, therefore (having banished ~~Chicué~~ Patzité) I talked to the Indian Alcalde and other officials and more or less got them in a co-operative mood. The young secretary was a help, and also the presents we left in the school that time. Furthermore, the Principal of Chicué (Manuel Macario) who tried to do something for me last year and reported failure, was brought in--it was a market day--and finally promised to talk to the people of the cantón. But nobody would believe that the land owner would really sell me the land, and they said there was nothing to do anyway un-

less the landlord were brought in on the matter; so it was finally decided to send a regidor after Tol and that we should all meet in the juzgado again the next day (Friday). I wanted Macario to come with me to Chicua, but he said that it would be suicide to be seen with me at this stage of the game and everybody would claim he was starting the trouble. The regidor went with me so I could point out the house (he himself lives in another canton in the neighborhood) but he wouldn't leave the car near there for fear of being seen.

The result was that al fin the next day the landlord was away and couldn't be found to be taken to the juzgado. But my trip was not wasted, thanks to what I think is a good idea. Thursday evening I suddenly bethought myself to take advantage of my social position in Panajachel, and I called on, asked, and finally obtained the services of Miguel Yach, who is the First Principal here. I went to him with customary gifts-when-asking-a-favor (my first experience on the asking end) and he agreed to accompany me in the morning to Chichicastenango to talk for me. Now Miguel is the First Principal more or less by succession (an older principal has given way to him) but if there were an election here I'll wager he'd win anyway--or if not Democracy doesn't work. He is by all odds the finest looking and the most refined and the smoothest-talking Indian that I know here; he is a natural leader and also the richest Indian in Panajachel. I figured that if anybody here could do me good, he could.

He did, too. He convinced all the officials that I am a good fellow and would do no harm. I could understand what he said because the context was so clear--incidentally he had no linguistic troubles himself that I could see--and the chief points were (1) that I am a Catholic, that I contribute to masses, etc., have painted santos, participate in cofrades costumbres, and so on; and (2) that we are friends of the Indians, live among them and help them in many ways and have nothing to do with or in common with the ladinos. We had to wait around all morning for the empty-handed Regidor, and during all that time Miguel talked to the officials on and off individually and collectively; and I feel sure that I now rate pretty well with them. If, as I suppose they will, they talk to others, then my position will be pretty good in Chichicastenango in general even though I fail in what I now am trying to do.

And I think that I shall fail, and that in failing I'm going to learn a couple of month's worth of Chichicastenango ethnology. Here is what happened next: we left Chichicastenango at noon and stopped at the Tol house again on the chance that the owner would be home. I took Miguel with me. Only the mother of the man I talked to, and his wife, were home. And when we came they began to berate us furiously, saying that the man would not go to the juzgado, would not sell land, or anything. Muy bravos, especially the mother. We retreated to the nearest neighbor's house to find out what the trouble was. There there was a man, and he told us that I had made a big mistake the morning before: I had talked to the man, but his father is still living, and when the father came home and heard about the promise to sell land, he had been furious, had said that his son only wanted the money for drink and that if he sold he would have him put in jail. (By the way, I didn't mention that it was decided in the juzgado that this man would be called to the juzgado the next day to be talked to, and I would come some time later to see what the result was). Anyway, that looked pretty bad, so--since these neighbors were more tractable and the man we were talking to had no father--I decided to start work on him for a piece of his land. The family continued amable (to the extent of serving pinol which tasted good but had all sorts of black specks in it, probably only cinders) but after half an hour of argument the case looked pretty bad.

The man said he was in the same position as the rest of the neighbors and he opined that nobody would sell nor lend me a piece of land. In the first place, selling or lending would be equally bad, because I was putting a house on the land--and obviously the kind of house they could never use--and it would be lost to agriculture. But actually their house lots are small (running 30 or 40 feet by about three hundred, except for the barranca in back) and everything aside from the house-site is cultivated; and the families are large. It appears that the land of which the house occupies a part is (as with us) in a different category from lands elsewhere which the family owns and cultivates; it is the part that has to be divided among the children. I remember it was so in Quejel when I worked around there; the inheritance system is to divide each plot of land among the children, or at least the sons; and obviously the land near the house is especially needed and treasured.

Even apart from the fact that I am a stranger (and a ladino) there are good reasons for not wanted to sell such land, therefore. I suggested that with the money I give them for, say, a cord of land, they can buy much more elsewhere; but you see why that proposition doesn't appeal. The reason given me in rejection of that proposal was that nobody is selling land; then when I suggested that I would buy some ladino land (there is some nearby--but not near houses) ~~they~~ could and give them four cords for one, they could not refute me. But on thinking it over carefully, I can of course refute myself on the grounds mentioned above. I think that is the real situation (even though the Indians cannot or do not explain it that way but rather fish for excuses) and if it is, then I can see that it will be next to impossible to get the kind of land I want no matter how I manage to pacify the neighbors.

After talking to this man for some time, I finally gave up for the time being; and to keep the question open I told him to talk the matter over with his brothers and his neighbors and to see what he could do, and I would return later. I confess though that I am at a loss now.

I can get land in Chichicastenango that is apart from the clusters of homes; but that isn't what I want. As a matter of fact, I can buy a house and land that is almost across the road from the Chicua school, and I could there take advantage of the services of this boy Manuel Conos who at present is assistant school-teacher. But I won't be living right with the Indians (and the cluster of homes in which he lives is several kilometers away. That house was offered to me for sale, with some land, at \$125; it is owned by Eliseo Rodas who lives in town. It was once occupied as a store and cantina, but is at present unoccupied; I might (probably can) get the price down considerably. Of course the house would require considerable alteration, and it would be almost as much work and expense as building a new one; but not as much. It is right on the automobile road, which is no advantage; but with all the disadvantages, that may turn out to be the only alternative in Chicua.

But anyway, for all my failure, I am getting some good insights into how things work there (including the relations of the juzgado and of the canton principal to each other and to the people in the cantones. Maybe we'll just spend next year trying to buy land!

I plan to go up again in a few days and maybe I can get farther along in some direction or other. I have moments of discouragement, but I manage, as you see, to take matters philosophically. I want very much to be able to leave by the end of March anyway; so I want to make a decision as quickly as possible. Best regards. Sincerely,

Sol Tay

751

Panajachel,
Guatemala, C. A.
February 18, 1938

Dean Robert Redfield
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Bob:

Yours of the 8th and the 11th received, thank you. While your last letter, carrying your suggestions about Chichicastenango, was in transit, things suddenly developed here: and your suggestion that I might give up hopes of Chicua was a fitting anti-climax.

Last week I made a trip to Chichicastenango and Patzité and ~~Rutzi~~ Chiché; it was a last-straw trip. I took along a compadre and we found (1) that Chicua if not impossible is certainly most highly improbable. (2) it is indeed true that I would have no maxefio help in Patzité (I had only the word of others before, but I certainly took most of a day to make absolutely sure), and (3) there is practically no chance on the Chiché road and in Chiché itself--which I had suddenly thought of as a possibility. That was on Thursday; and over the weekend I considered matters and finally concluded that I should probably have to move my thoughts closer to the town.

Then on Sunday a letter from Gertrude (it seems that both of you saw my Chicua position better than I did myself) suggested that I try a place in the cantón of Pacho, where the Ignacios live. (You remember it, I'm sure: it is one of the cantones that I studied to some extent). And then, add coincidences, I received a visit on Monday from Owen Smith, the son of the finquero Gordon Smith; and he had a proposition for me. It appears that he and Carlos Sanchez have been scheming to start a sort of Indian Center in which there would be a library and textile collection for study and to which the Indians could come for medical, agricultural, and other friendly help. They have picked on Chichicastenango for their center, and more specifically they have picked on the Gates property in the cantón of Pochil, which is just beyond Pacho and about a kilometer from the town. Smith said that if it should happen to fit in with my plans, they would like to have me do a study in that canton, living in the Gates house; his point was that I would attract the Indians and after I am gone they will continue to look upon the place as a friendly refuge.

I was non-committal both because I didn't know how the Institution or Gates would feel about a hook-up however vague (Sanchez has seen Gates and gotten his enthusiastic permission to use his property) and because I didn't remember how close the Gates house was to Indian homes. So Tuesday we went up there and first of all I saw that the Gates house was well situated. But I also saw (what I had forgotten about) that almost a next-door neighbor of the Gates place is a "country home" of Abel Rodas of Chichicastenango; and I determined to make inquiries about that too. When things happen they happen together, and as soon as I got into town, Abel Rodas came running after me offering that very house for rent! I told him I would let him know.

Then I wrote to Dr. Kidder (who has been approached on the Smith-Sanchez plan and is said to approve) asking him which he would prefer for me.

I explained that since some connection with the Mayan Society was involved, I could not make a decision that might commit the Institution. Also, he might want to co-operate actively with the Smith-Sanchez scheme; so I left it to him. Since then I have been twiddling my thumbs (as far as Chichicastenango is concerned) awaiting a reply. It should (or could) have been here yesterday. When it comes, I shall go to Chichicastenango and make arrangements; I suspect that Dr. Kidder will prefer me to take the Rodas house and avoid complications; since it is so close to the Gates house, I should be serving the Smith-Sanchez purposes almost as well there anyway.

You are certainly right about our needing to know more about neighborhood and kinship ties. I never doubted that the elementary family is very important (and I have good data on the importance of the father and eldest brother) but you remember I didn't have much respect, when I was in Chichicastenango, for the solidarity or influence of any group between the family and the formal organization of the whole municipio. My recent experience demands that that view be altered, but I don't know just how. I think still that it is a fact that positively there is no canton or neighborhood unity; but it certainly appears as if the "vecinos" exercise a very definite veto power. That has to be gone into; and especially I am curious to know who the "vecinos" are.

I don't think Bateson's system would work very well in Chichicastenango. The few literates I have known do not come from typical families; however, there are some new literates now, products of the Indian school (the others are extraordinary products of the ladino school to which a "typical" Indian would never go) and I may very well find that they will be more useful. This business of coming back to a town a generation later promises to be very interesting.

Appendix II. Correspondence with
Dr. Ruth Bunzel

754

Columbia University
in the City of New York

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

June 25, 1940

Dr. Sol Tax
University of Chicago
Chicago Ill

Dear Dr. Tax:

J. J. Augustin has finally agreed to publish my Chichicastenango mammscript as a trade book, and since it was originally written with this sort of publication in view, I am glad, in a way that it has turned out this way, much as I would have enjoyed and profitted from collaboration with you in a joint publication. I am going to remind you now of your kind offer last fall to go over the manuscript once more and give me your worst ciriticisms. Undoubtedly there are many errors, and I should like to correct them. I should be very happy to include any comments you might wish to make on specific points or general interpretation, wherever a statement of conflicting views would be profitable for the general reader." I trust that you will be willing to read it once more. If so, please let me know when and where I should send it to you.

Yours very sincerely,

Ruth Benzel

September 19, 1940

Dr. Ruth Bunzel
Department of Anthropology
Columbia University
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Bunzel:

I am sorry to have kept your MS so long; in the press of work I was not able to work on it steadily. That fact will, I hope, also excuse the choppiness of my comments.

My comments are in two parts. First, there is a page-by-page commentary on little points which you may find useful. Second, there is a general commentary on the differences of methods we apparently employed and some indication of the differences of conclusions we reached. This isn't as complete a statement as I would have liked to prepare; but if you are as interested as I am in following up these questions in the interests of improved methodology, I shall be happy to complete it. Meanwhile, you are at liberty to make whatever use of these remarks that you wish.

I have enjoyed reading your monograph and have been amply repaid for the time that I spent on it. I only hope that you will be able to take into consideration the general questions that are raised by a comparison of your material and mine.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Page 1. One of the two usual approaches is from the east, through
 1st
 para- Teopán and Los Encuentros, the other as described.... Sol-
 graph olá is rather of tierra fría than of the "garden country
 around Lake Atitlán" and the way of life is in many res-
 pects more akin to that of Chichicasteango than of the
 lake towns. The towns of the Lake are not always located
 "in sheltered hollows near running water", since S. Pablo
 and Santa Cruz are not in hollows and since none of the
 towns of the south shore have running water nearby. The
 "carefully tended and irrigated gardens" are confined chief-
 ly to Panajachel and parts of Sololá above which tower no
 volcanic peaks. The volcanic peaks on the south shore of
 the lake are not "barren": Tolimán is planted with milpa
 almost to the summit, and San Pedro is wooded.

12th
 line

Los Encuentros is not merely an estanco; it is more im-
 portant as a telegraph office, which was founded in 1876
 and in 1935 did \$94.50 worth of business.

Last
 line

Only one outlet of the lake has been found. F. W.
 McBryde has included a lengthy discussion of the geography
 of the region in his PhD thesis (U. of California).

Foot-
 note

The estanco is literally a "monopoly". There are some
 very substantial buildings housing estancos. A tienda is
 of course any store. If, as you say, the liquor sold in
 estancos was usually bootlegged in 1930-32, the fact should
 be dated, because it is not true today. Since such a state-
 ment is a slap at the authorities, wouldn't it be safer to
 cite your authority? After all, the government-licensed
 distilleries turned out over 177,000 bottles of liquor in
 1932 in the Department of Quiché, and it might be objected
 that you cannot determine what proportion this is of the

total consumed.

Page 2 Your statement that the Divide is a cultural boundary,
2nd that costumes, for example, change before the boundary of
Para- Chichicastenango is reached, does not check with my own
graph observation. Do you mean that some Indians of the municipio
 of Sololá wear Maxefio costumes?

Ruguxá The water in town is really not taxed. The water system
Page 7 in in Chichicastenango is municipally owned, and those who have
3rd it piped to their houses pay for it.
line

Page 8 Rather than "The city is...a stronghold" wouldn't it be
line 14 more accurate to say something like "Judging from descriptions
 and from the ruins and the site, the city was...."?

Page 10 The blouses are technically not embroidered, the decor-
2nd ation being woven in.
line

Page 11 This was a false report. Calvario has been open to
Footnote everybody throughout these years.

Page 12 I am surprised to read this. By 1934 the Thursday market
2nd line was in every respect but size ~~xxx~~ similar to the Sunday
 market. Also, informants indicated that that social functions
 of the market on Thursday as well as Sunday were traditional.

2nd para- The dual organizations have not been abolished; in Chichi-
graph castenango the Indian juzgado still functions as before.

3rd para- The only place photographing has been banned is inside
graph the church itself. Tourists still aim their cameras in the
 market and wherever else they wish. Do you really think
 that the Indians were once markedly more friendly to Whites
 and that they have "withdrawn"?

Page 12
Foot-
note

Apparently the use of the term ladino in Guatemala does not derive from the meaning "crafty and cunning." Velásquez' dictionary gives as the first (obsolete) definition of the term, "Versed in an idiom, speaking different languages fluently" and Antonio Batres Jauregui (Vicios del Lenguaje y Provincialismos de Guatemala, p. 81) says

"The word (besides having in a metaphorical sense the meaning of astute, crafty) meant in old Spanish 'the romance or new language,' from which it was derived that those who spoke one or more languages besides their own were called ladinos, and thus the Indians who spoke ladino (or CASTILLA as they themselves call it) were called ladinos. The meaning of this word is now extended to all those who in these countries are not Indians, or even when they are Indians, do not retain their language or customs. In this sense ladino is a colloquial Guatemalan word, and is used with this meaning in the population statistics of the country, which are always mentioning indios and ladinos."

Page 13
2nd para-
graph

This statement appears to me to be a little strong. The Ladinos of Chichicastenango do not till the soil themselves, but most of them are landowners and derive a good part of their income from agriculture. What proportion of their income this is, I do not know. In some parts of the highland provinces, of course, the Ladinos derive virtually their entire income from the soil, in some places tilling it themselves. Furthermore, you do not mention that in Chichicastenango there are Ladino artisans (carpenters, tailors, weavers, etc.) and the stores and bakeries are run by Ladinos.

The sentence about the rackets should be dated, since all of them are virtually out of existence today. (I confess that I do not understand what is meant by the "political

patronage" racket, unless graft by office-holders is referred to; I have probably been shielded from the facts of life.)

Footnote Dual organization not abolished, as mentioned above.

Page 14 Shouldn't a note to the effect that this whole system
2nd paragraph) was abolished in 1936 be added? (A handy reference to the laws involved is C. L. Jones, Guatemala, Past and Present, University of Minnesota Press, 1940.) Incidentally, I am very curious as to who uses the terms obligador and capitan; the only corresponding terms I have ever heard are habilitador and caporal, and Sr. Antonio Goubaud of Guatemala tells me he has never heard obligador and capitan either in this context.

Page 15 I have no contrary information, ~~xxxx~~ and do not question
12th line the fact, but how is the notification of a death at the finca made to the local church? Or doesn't it matter how long after the death the bells are rung?

Page 16 Your prophecy that the Indians would not work without the
Foot-note debt system appears to have turned out wrong, although I suppose the complementary anti-vagrancy law is a partial explanation for why Indians still go down to the fincas.

It is apparently not accurate to say that "An export tax of \$1 on each quintal of coffee forms the chief source of (government) revenue". In fiscal 1931 the total government income was over ten and a half millions; the export tax on coffee brought in less than a million and a half. Further, export taxes were imposed long before the recent stabilization of currency -- that on coffee at least as early as 1895. (Jones, p. 220).

The last sentences of this footnote can be brought up to date.

Page 17 5,000 feet is not the absolute limit of coffee; but
Line 17 relatively little grows above that altitude.

Foot- You misquote me slightly; the 1921 Census, which was
note 2 my source, gives 25,137 of whom 628 are designated Ladinos.

Page 18 The Amézcuitas also own the flour mill north of town,
1st par- at least a dozen substantial pieces of real estate in
agraph town, at least one house in Guatemala City. A trip to
Mexico City is not beyond them. They would be rich even
on Iowa standards. I would agree with the general statement,
however.

Last pa- Don't you think the last sentences are rather strong,
ragraph especially since it is difficult to attribute motives to
the government? Actually, I do not think that the author-
ities listen to the Indians only because of fear; since
earliest Colonial times the Indians have appealed directly
to the highest authorities, and apparently ideals of jus-
tice and the right of petition are traditional. Actually,
in my little experience with cases, the President has not
hesitated to turn down the Indians when he cannot give them
what they want.

Page 19 It is not important, but do you recall what the "taxes"
1st para- involved in the story were? Was it the new road tax that
graph was instituted in 1932?

2nd pa- I think you are mistaken when you say that the Ladinos
ragraph do not practice marriage. It is true that the proportion
is not great, but it is much greater than among the Indians.
I do not have marriage statistics for Chichicastenango,
although they are available. The published statistics do
not cross-classify by "race" and Department. However,

throughout the Republic the percentage of Ladinos legally married is much greater than the percentage of Indians married. For example, in 1932 there were 2,567 Ladino marriages and ~~22x~~ 1,367 Indian marriages -- although there are twice as many Indians as Ladinos. An indication of the real situation in the Dept. of Quiché may be had from the statistics on births. "Legitimate" births are results of legal marriages. Figures for 1938 for the Dept. of Quiché are

	Ladinos	Indians
Legitimate	429	147
Illegitimate	514	5,972

line 19
and foot-
note

Marriage certainly isn't a pre-requisite to "the sac-raments of the Church"; is it? Certainly not to baptism, confirmation, or holy orders! And the Catholic encyclopaedia doesn't mention it as a prerequisite to the taking of even extreme unction. Re the case mentioned in the footnote, I find it difficult to believe that the priest married the old man without a prior civil marriage; that has been illegal since the time of Harries (1877).

P. 24,
1st line

Since there are other crops besides milpa, I suppose milpa and "tilled fields" are better not made synonymous.

Last pa-
ragraph

Do you have your source for saying that "common lands ... were apportioned among the different cantones"? I have suspected that this was the case, but have sought in vain for evidence.

Page 25
line 13

What is meant by the statement that the map in the juzgado is "not authentic"? That it is no good, only a copy, a fake, or what?

Page 26

Page 26
1st lines

I cannot avoid the conviction that there is a linguistic confusion involved here. The Indians do indeed refer to their country establishments as their montes. But monte does not have the dictionary meaning of "mountain". Rather in this context it means something like "place", so that Mi monte equals "my place in the country." Do the Indians refer to their homes as mi juyup? I am inclined to doubt that they do; but if they do, I agree that your interpretation is correct, for juyup is generally used in sacred contexts. Since I was given other words for "house", I question whether it is called by the same word as shixasxax a hill or shrine on a hill.

Page 28
Line 13

Exactly what does mata mean here? If this is a way of saying "a piece of land", then why the "one mata, or two matas"? If a reference to a corn-plant or tree, what does it mean?

Bottom
of page

Since the eldest son inherits the ancestral home and also authority in the family, what are the circumstances in which he will relinquish his natural rights to the ancestral house and allow it to be torn down and divided? (If he refuses to help his brothers build houses?)

Page 29
footnote

Since licenciado is in Spanish countries a recognized title or degree, mightn't a word of explanation here avoid confusion.

Page 39

Shouldn't some of the statements made have qualifiers, as indicated in later discussion? For example, "When a man marries, his wife comes to live in his father's house". (Usually). And "Marriages are arranged by the parents" (Usually). Also, mightn't you indicate more clearly that the

-7-

statement in the second paragraph that "They are finally won over by gifts" is part of native theory, not your conclusion? In the following pages there are similar statements of the same nature.

Page 40. "That is expensive." What is?
2nd line

line 10 What is meant by the statement that "The woman is not expected to have personal preferences"? That women aren't particular? That they aren't expected to have likes or dislikes? That her preferences are not taken into account? (In any case, is the statement borne out by the evidence? You say, p. 39, that parents customarily refuse once in the girl's name, and that, p. 43, she cannot be coerced; therefore aren't girls known to have personal preferences which are, moreover, honored?)

Page 45. Isn't the second sentence of the Las Casas quotation irrelevant to the point made here?

Page 49. The limit of eighty pound loads when carrying for
1st line Europeans is new to me; we have had frequent occasions to hire moses, and they always talked about carrying 6 arrobas (150 lbs.); in many cases I am sure that the loads we gave them came close to that.

Page 50. The reader would get the impression that Chichicasten-
2nd lineango furnishes professional cooks. ~~Maxaxpanxaxax~~ I have never heard of a Maxafia cook, and I think your statement is intended to apply to Indians in general; but I don't know.

Page 51. Do you think that trees as such have a sacred char-
Footnoteacter? When beams are brought in commercially, there

certainly is no shouting. In the case cited there was ceremony probably because (a) the beam was for the church and (b) it was a communal enterprise. Trees brought in for the pole dance are also treated ceremonial, but again they are not ordinary.

Page 53
Footnote
2

Present regulations about ordinary military service are the same as those described. The novelty is in the organization of a separate native-costume militia, Los Voluntarios.

Page 55
Lines 4-6

My information is at variance with the statement that "even the poorest country residence consists of a number of separate buildings, at least one of which has a tile roof..." Our observation was that perhaps a majority of country homes consisted of one building, often divided into two or more rooms. Even chicken coops, corn-cribs, and sweat-baths are often built onto or into the house. Further, a number of ~~low~~ cantones of tierra fria have only thatched-roof houses. I was told that proper clay was lacking in those cantones, and also that thatch is warmer than tile.

Page 56
Line 3

A typographical error must be involved in the statement that adobes are eight inches thick. Four inches is the usual thickness. 12x18 inches is a pretty small adobe; larger ones run about 14x24.

Line 4

Shouldn't you make it clear that in respect to being plastered, the house described is distinctly atypical for the Indians? I believe that only Gonzales and Ignacio have plastered houses.

Page 57

5th from
last line

Husband and wife do not customarily sleep apart, according to my information.

Page 71
Line 2

Mightn't a better translation of awas tas be "holy tree" or something of the sort? B. de Bourbourg translates Santa Maria into Quiché as awas María. Incidentally, the myth about the cacao is part of a larger myth that several informants knew.

Page 73
1st par.

Do you infer that all or most Indian houses have separate galas (i.e., rooms besides those used for eating-cooking and sleeping)? I think that such rooms are not typical. (Incidentally, our experience agrees with yours, that food is not offered casual visitors; an exception is that during Holy Week bread-and-honey are served; also, I was once served pinole on a passing visit in a Chicua house.)

Page 76
1st paragraph

Wouldn't it be better to date your description of the weather? There is considerable variation from year to year; for example, the dry spell that you describe as coming in September usually comes earlier than that.

Page 80
2nd line

There must be some error involved in the statement that in fertilized fields a "fair yield" is 7 quintals of maize and 2 quintals of beans. Using your figure of 1200 sq. yds. to a cuerda, there are about 4 cuerdas to an acre. Seven quintals per cuerda is thus 50 bushels per acre--a phenomenal yield even for Iowa. I suppose that actually the average yield in Chichicastenango is about two quintals per cuerda. Even ladines are pleased if they get 3 quintals from a well fertilized field, and several Indians told me last year that they had gotten only one qq per cuerda.

4th line

What do you mean by "crop rotation"? Letting lie fallow?

6th from end line Achiote (not achote) is arnotta.

Last line Do you mean that agricultural produce forms the basis of Chichicastenango trade? (Cf. p. 114, first paragraph: "small amounts of corn" are exported). Don't you think that middleman activities are more important?

Page 81 3rd line Do the Indians sell any appreciable amount of firewood outside? Or are you thinking of sales to local Ladinos as "exports" also?

6th from bottem Aren't the two planting seasons related to differences in altitude? (i.e., the early planting done in high country near Los Encuentros, and the May planting in the region around town?)

Last line I am very doubtful that it can be stated as a rule that in fertilized fields five seeds, and in barren fields four seeds, are planted. Aren't all but the best three stalks pulled out when they come up, so that the richness of soil wouldn't be a determining factor anyway?

Page 84 Shouldn't you date the time-table? In 1935 heavy rains did not begin until the first of May, and planting (in the pueblo region) followed. (Also, what is "sweet corn"?)

Page 90 Footnote 2 Can't sienyas be translated "crops"? or even "fields"?

Page 92 Line 6 I cannot understand what you mean when you say that San Martin is not a Spanish saint. Isn't he as much a Spanish saint as Santo Tomas or Santa Maria or most of the others? He is a recognized Roman Catholic saint (St. Martin of Tours, Nov. 11th) and a "Book of Saints"

says that many churches and towns all over Western Europe are under his patronage.

Page 94 The location of Santiago is not made very clear; the
line 14 saint is in a house in the town owned by an Indian named Tel.

Page 96 Hadn't this better read "Fields are fenced during the
line 8 crop season or protected by hedges of maguey" (since maguey is fairly permanent).

line 19 Figs are also fed maize, aren't they? (Cf. next page).

Page 97 Does the presence of pigs necessarily indicate a surplus
of corn? Corn that is fed pigs is often bought, as a matter of business, since the investment is usually profitable.

Page 98 Only the last loop around the waist is embroidered, the
Line 13 rest of the woman's belt left plain.

7th from Were there only two skirt-material weavers in 1932? In
end line 1934-5 there were a half-dozen. (Incidentally, now a Maxefio has a loom for skirts in his monte home, and another Ladinoized Maxefio has one in town.)

Page 103 Have you seen Flavio Rodas' Simbolismo Maya-Quiché, devoted
6th line to the Maxefio costume designs and their supposed relations to social organization? I haven't been able to figure out how much of this is sound, but probably there is something to it.

Footnote Where did you get this interesting information?

Page 105 Wool is woven by women into huipiles, sutes, etc., but
3rd last of course secondarily.

Page 106 Also exported are the wool rodilleras. Hats are also
Line 19 made in Chichicastenango, and some are exported.

Page 107 Not all men can cut and sew their own garments (nor can
3rd line all embroider). Tailoring is something of a trade; thus

Tomás Ventura once brought to our house a tailor to cut the material for a costume of his; thus also, Miguel Ignacio does some tailoring for others.

Page 108
4th line

Did you mean to give the impression that the tannery is Indian owned and operated? It is a Ladino establishment, but of course some Indian labor is used.

3rd paragraph

The establishment is a tile and brick factory; it is not really in the adobe business. Adobes are always made virtually on the house-site because of the difficulty of transporting them. Tiles and bricks are usually made near the house-site too, and the reason this "factory" can flourish is that it is so close to town, where building is always going on. (Of course it is not a factory in any special sense: the owners-tile makers live there.)

Page 111
15th line

There is some mistake, since there is no San Gabriel at the Lake. Anise is grown chiefly in S. Antonio Palepé.

5th line
from end

Wouldn't you qualify the "every young man"?

Page 112
Line 16

I suppose you mean the Port of San José? But all of the salt certainly doesn't come from there; I have forgotten the name of the place, but salt is manufactured far to the west of S. José and distributed chiefly in Mazatenango for the western trade. (Salt is also made in Sacapulas).

Last paragraph

Isn't there some error here? There may be some special cloth woven in Huehuetenango (I do not know) but it certainly isn't the cloth used for shirts in San Pedro la Laguna. The shirt material of S. Pedro is woven by Pedranas in S. Pedro; in Atitlán there is a footloom that makes the same kind of cloth. The thread is spun in Pantel and tie-died in Malcajá.

Page 113
1st paragraph

The thread is tie-dyed exclusively in Salcajá, I believe, and the material referred to is woven in Salcajá, Totchi-capán, Quezaltenango, probably S. Cristóbal, and perhaps elsewhere. None of the processes involved appear to be very secret....

2nd last line

Chinicua is the official spelling.

5th last line

Besides Chichicastenango, Momostenango, Quiché, Chiché, Mahualá, Sololá, S. Lucas Totimán (and no doubt others) have semi-weekly markets.

Footnote

A second use of the term feria is more general -- a municipal exposition and secular holiday, although often built around a religious fiesta.

Page 119
Line 6

The reader may infer that travelling on mail stages is an extravagance of the rich; actually, of course, the cost of passage is made up for by the saving in time, so that if the merchant has sufficient capital he will take a stage as a matter of good business.

Line 8

The term "inns" may be misleading. The merchants get pasada in any of a number of houses, stores, cantinas, etc. The charge is a half-cent or a cent, or sometimes nothing or the gift of a fruit.

Page 120
Line 14

Are you sure that monthly receipts in the market averaged \$600 a month? If so, it is a mystery what has happened since. In 1938 the total was \$3,246.09, for an average of \$270.50. The rates in 1938 were about the same as those mentioned for 1930, so one must conclude that either the market was twice as large in 1930 or that collections were made twice as efficiently. Neither seems reasonable in itself. Did you get a market count?

Page 141 I believe that properly a marimbero is one who makes
Line 9 marimbas, a marimbista one who plays them.

Last line Is a tamborero either a drummer or a chirimía-player?

Page 142 A word is emitted in the second sentence?
Footnote

Page 150 Shouldn't your statement that "In Guatemala (Response)
2nd pa- (the Response) is always associated with ancestor worship
ragraph and native sorcery" be considerably more confined geog-
raphically?

Page 151g Are you sure you have the right hamlet, "San Barthele"?
9th line I cannot locate it anywhere in the neighborhood.

Page 151h The reader might be equally mislead into supposing that
footnote you think that the Indian standard of living is anything but
very low -- any way it is figured. Wages are roughly 1/20th
of U. S. common labor rates, and prices run from about 1/4 to
3/4 American prices for ordinary necessities.

Page 154 It would be interesting to compare texts of the Catholic
Footnote prayers of Chichicastenango with the Quiché translations of
the same prayers that appear in Bourbourg (Grammaire de la
Langue Quiché, vii-viii).

Page 170 The school situation is not made very clear. Diego's son
6th last ~~was~~ was one of three children attending the Ladino school in town.
line At the same time there was inaugurated (in 1931, I believe)
an Indian school in town and two Indian schools in the cantones.
You mention the latter on P. 180. I do not know the Indian
attendance in the schools during the years you were there; but
surely the attendance in the catón schools was virtually exclus-
ively Indian, wasn't it?

Page 175 The spelling is Seigá.
15th line

P. 177
1st line. Wasn't the apology perhaps necessary because the girl had surreptitiously hidden a gift of food?

P. 181
Line 8 It is not clear whether you or the people of the City are saying that the system of education costs practically nothing. It is also not clear whether the statement is intended to apply to all rural education or only to Indian education, or to education in Chichicastenango especially. (Actually, in fiscal 1930-31 Guatemala spent about Q1,500,00 on education; that was 12% of the total budget including debt retirement. How much went for rural education I do not know.)

3rd last
line Can you really say that Tomas Gonzales' Spanish is "distinguished"? In comparison with that of other literate Indians, it may be; but it doesn't seem distinguished on any other standard. I also wonder whether the sentence that follows is not misleading. Of the 25,000-odd Indians of Chichicastenango there certainly aren't more than about 25 "thoroughly at home" in Spanish, and probably less than that. My informants couldn't think of more than 21 who spoke Spanish reasonably well, and in 1935 there were only 14 adults who could read and write -- and that number included some only technically literate.

Page 182
Line 3 Should there be a double "not" here? I am confused by the implication of this paragraph and of the footnote. If you infer that it may be convenient for the alcalde not to be able to speak Spanish so that he will not have to account to the higher officials, how is this reconciled with the statement that the Secretaries have the real power? The Secretaries speak Spanish and are the medium through which higher officials approach the Indian authorities. Is it

perhaps the Secretary, in his quest for power, who tries to keep Spanish-speaking men from becoming alcaldes? Of course the system of succession precludes that possibility; but I cannot understand just what your implication is.

Page 187 "Generally" a mayordomo is already married. Isn't marriage a pre-requisite to becoming a mayordomo?
Line 10

Page 197 I cannot help but feel that you take the threat to run
Last par- off with a Ladino more seriously than the Indians possibly
agraph can. I have never heard of a case of a Maxefia girl eloping with a Ladino; in fact, in my records I find no case of a Maxefia girl living with a Ladino. Yet the reader may get the impression that such cases are frequent and therefore to be contended with by the Indians.

P. 199 Do you intend the words Kalpul and Chinimtal to appear to
3rd line be synonyms? On P. 201, line 4, there is the same combination.

P. 202 Isn't it more likely that the allusion is to actual cacao
footnote beans left on the table?

P. 210 Isn't the fact that the mother-to-be lives with her mother-
Line 13 in-law, often far from her mother, a reason why she turns to her husband's mother ~~the~~ rather than her own?

P. 217 Doesn't the wife have some part in the cofradia rituals --
Line 8 at least if these rituals are considered as including care of the santo, preparation of ritual food, etc.?

P. 231 I suppose it is not "always the women who leave" for there
Line 2 are instances of matrilocal residence.

P. 290 This is not clear to me. Is the term compadre rather than
Footnote padrino used by a child to refer to his or her godfather? And does the godfather respond in the same way? In the text (p. 292ff) the padrino calls his godchild "my daughter" and never comadre.

Page 292
Lines 3-4

Shouldn't "his" and "him" be rather "her"?

Page 317
Line 8

January 20th is the day of S. Sebastián celebrated in Chichicasteango.

Page 322
Line 2

The Secretary who assisted the Ladino alcalde (and who now assists the Intendente) was a Ladino. The Indian Secretary in the Indian juzgado of course also assists him, but the reader may confuse the two. In the Ladino juzgado there is also usually an Indian escribiente who does clerical work.

P. 323
2nd par.

Don't you think it would be wiser and fairer to cite the evidence for this statement? You appear to be making what amounts to a criminal charge against the individuals who were in office in 1930-32. I suppose it is based on something substantial?

P. 324
Line 10

Are you sure the labor was unpaid? If so, should the same statement be applied to Plantation labor which is certainly always paid for (if only in advance)?

2nd paragraph

Again, wouldn't it be well to cite your source of information?

P. 337
Line 2

Isn't it misleading to call the cantones "hamlets" which may give the impression of being little villages rather than rural areas?

P. 511
1st line

Why is the sarabanda illegal?

P. 525
6th line

While I agree that mythology is scanty, there is a little more than just the cacao tale (which is part of a longer "biblical" story).

2 1 2

When I arrived in Chichicasteango in November of 1934 you had already spent two seasons there. None of your material was, however, available; all that I knew of what you had done was gleaned from your letter of January 28, 1935 to Dr. Redfield:

"The problem in which I was especially interested was that of acculturation, of which the religious system is the most spectacular phase. (On the question of) magic I have pretty full data, including a great deal of text....

"I also did a good deal of work on the more or less Catholic side of the picture -- the ecclesiastical calendar, descriptions of fiestas, the ritual of the cofradias (very curious, that), the doings during Holy Week. Naturally I have some general ideas as to why we find the particular integration that we do find.

"Besides this, I have a fairly complete but too superficial picture of the formal structure -- material culture, agriculture, industry, trade, social organization, including what little remains of the kinship system, political organization. The material on political organization seemed to me particularly suggestive, but not definitive."

This general statement gave me nothing of the substance of the data that you had collected, of course. The result was that, for better or worse, my work that first season was done independently of yours.

I did have the advantage of Schultze Jena's book on the Quiché, and I attempted in the field to verify his statements wherever possible. It was apparent, however, that our data would not overlap very much, for Schultze Jena appeared to be interested in recording the knowledge of ritual specialists while I was more interested in the general culture -- economics, sociology, political and religious organization, etc. -- that he treated but fragmentarily. I did note that some of his conclusions did not square with the information I could get from informants; for example, I tried in vain to get indications of the important role played by

the ancestors that in Schultze-Jena appears to amount to ancestor worship.

When I finished my first season in Chichicastenango (eight months) I felt that I had done little more than become oriented. I had extensive notes on many phases of the culture, but my information was spotty and much of it not sufficiently checked. I was not prepared to draw definitive conclusions. It was only during the next three years, when I worked on other communities in Guatemala, that I began to make some sense of what I had observed in Chichicastenango. Then, in 1938, we returned to Chichicastenango.

Meanwhile, Parsons had published Mitle and had cited some of your Chichicastenango data. Here were hints of what you had uncovered, and I noticed especially the emphasis on soul and sorcery and the connection between them. Later, I was struck by your statements in the Boas volume (General Anthropology, 337-8, 348) on frustration, sense of guilt, and so on. I began to think that I had not been in Chichicastenango, for my notes gave me few indications to support a picture such as you drew. Finally, Flavio Rodas' little book on Simbolismo Maya-Quiché appeared at about that time; he describes the costumes in terms of class system (of professionals for the most part) on which I had little comparable data.

When we returned to Chichicastenango we had a number of ideas to test and some specific holes in our data to fill. Our field season was unfortunately cut short; but I came away with the definite impression that my general view of the culture (now reinforced by knowledge of other Guatemalan towns) was not as faulty as these various hints had caused me

her weaving there; we were also frequent visitors at her mother's house in Tzokomá. Tomás Gonzales we used sparingly (because you had used him so much) but he wrote out several texts for me and gave me juzgado information. A Maxefio boy named Juan Gutillo was our house servant both seasons in Chichicastenango and he also went to the Lake with us; his family lived in town and we came to know them well. In our second season we came to know a number of people in Chigua, especially a young man named Manuel Conos who supplied me with some data.

Minor informants were numerous, and ^{far} widely separated cantones; some of them I talked to for only a few hours, and some for several days. Most of them I had to talk to through an interpreter (Tomás Ventura).

3. Virtually all of our work was done through Spanish. I spent several weeks learning Quiché, but gave it up when Dr. Andrade came. Except for the texts that Gonzales wrote out, I took no accounts or prayers or stories or anything else in text. I wrote down the substance of what informants told me in Spanish or English. Andrade had his recording equipment and recorded a wide variety of verbalizations, including prayers; only a small part of this has been transcribed, hence made available to me.

4. I made a poor map of the municipio, including canton boundaries, a good and complete map of the town including houses and land boundaries, and fair maps of the cantones of Quejel, Chiamá, Chucam, and Facho, and poorer maps of others including Chigua. On these canton maps households and land boundaries are marked.

5. For all of the Indian houses in town I found out the name of the owner and the occasions on which the family uses the house; also the canton in which they live. The Ladino authorities helped me make a census of all the people living in town. For cantón Quejel I have a complete census, including information on where the various families live when they go to town, occupations, professional specialties, cantones from which wives or husbands came, etc. For Chucam and Facho I have similar data, but not so reliable; for a half dozen other cantones I have fragments of the same kind of data.

6. I collected pretty complete genealogies of the families of Tomás Ventura and Miguel Ignacio, and less complete ones of a dozen others. These all include data on the canton into which the individuals were born.

7. With informants I went over the various aspects of the general culture (life cycle, inheritance, folklore, kinship system, politico-religious organization, etc.) in most cases getting comparable statements from two or three. I did not exhaust any of the subjects, however. With several shamans I discussed the calendar and divination, but I did not come to know a shaman very well. I witnessed only one curing-ritual (by a shaman from cantón Agua Escudida) and did not get the text of his discourse. I was present at several divinations done for us privately.

8. With the help of the authorities I took a complete count of one Thursday and one Sunday market (same week), including information on what the vendors brought and where they and their merchandise came from. For the Maxefio vendors I found out the cantones of most of them. I also obtained (from informants) data on routes taken by Maxefio merchants of various kinds, and on the economic specialties of cantones. From officials records I also took information on the amount of taxes collected in the market.

It is apparent that you made more use of informants for formal accounts of the culture, and less of census-schedule-genealogical data, than I did. Also, you covered ritual thoroughly while I virtually neglected it.

Our main informants, when not identical, were drawn from the same portion of society--the small literate group living close to town. Whether you used informants from "the masses" as well, I do not know; I used a few, and sparingly. Your main informant, Tomás Gozales, is certainly the equal if not the superior of mine, Tomás Ventura. As Secretary of the juzgado Gozales has special information on the political organization; as cofradia secretary he is familiar with the inside rituals; as zajorín he knows diving and medicine ritual; as ^{Padrino and} land-dispute settler he is familiar with special procedures and rituals and sees family life during crises. Tomas Ventura speaks Spanish about as well as Gozales, and reads and writes almost as well; he is, moreover particularly clear-headed, understanding, and conscientious as an informant. He has been a school teacher, and his father was Secretary of the juzgado; but on the whole he is strictly a layman and a part of the ordinary society. It is reasonable to suppose that our use of such different main-informants accounts in part ~~xxxx~~ for the difference of kinds of materials we collected. Only in part, however, because we both used the

same secondary informant Miguel Ignacio and you obtained texts of rituals from him and I did not. Considerations of relative opportunity aside, I suppose that I did not get texts of rituals because I was more anxious to get other types of information. I was more interested in the political factions, say, than I was in cofradía orations. Judging from the fact that a number of your conclusions about Chichicastenango society and psychology were drawn directly from texts of rituals, it would be easy to say that my results suffer accordingly. But it may also be that your dependence on such materials throws your picture out of perspective. It is the settling of that kind of question that I think is important for ethnology.

In at least one respect the difference in our views of Chichicastenango culture cannot even be ascribed to differences in informants, interests, or anything else that I can see. It is most remarkable because it concerns the place in Maxeño society of the very group of people that both of us knew best, i.e., the Gonzales', Ignacios, Venturas, et al. You apparently believe that these families are part of the "aristocracy" (p. 353) and that they are a select group that have gone to school to become Secretaries and other specialists. As such they are not regarded as Ladinoized (p. 170). Nor do you think of these Indians as atypical, for you are willing to generalize on information about them. (For example, you say that the idea of contraceptives is not repugnant to the Indians because Tomás wanted some - p. 167 - and you describe what I suppose is the Gonzales house as a typical one, - p. 56.). On the other hand, I came away with the view that the literates form one of two atypical groups, the other being the group of servants for Ladinos. I realized that the Literates

are specialized occupationally -- being ~~xxxxxxx~~ either school teachers or juzgado secretaries or retired teachers and secretaries. It seemed natural that they should make use of their special knowledge occupationally. I knew also that in some cases the son of a literate also became literate, and that also seemed natural. In one case two brothers were literate although the father was not. That there were several intermarriages in the small group ~~xxxxxxx~~ and that the families were socially close I also knew, and could explain on grounds of mutual interests and numerous contacts. A number of other peculiarities are common to these families (or at least some of them); for example, of the six Maxefios with gold teeth, all are literate; also, a disproportionate number are expert embroiderers and leaders of fashion in men's clothes. But I had no evidence that (a) the literates were drawn from the richest families or (b) from the families of principales or politically potent or (c) that these families were literate from "way back". I saw no reason to suppose that these families hadn't become literate for the most part accidentally, or that they were part of an "aristocracy" except insofar as their special talents and occupations set them aside and above. On the other hand I did see reasons for assuming that in many respects growing from their literacy these people are not typical maxefios. In the first place I noted that they make use of Ladino law and the Ladino juzgado in ways that typical Indians do not, and that they tend to adopt Ladino methods of gaining wealth. In the second place, their connections with town life are closer than those of most Indians. In the third place, they are willing and able to deal with Ladinos and foreigners and in a crisis are pre-foreign and anti-conservative. And finally they tend to be ladinoized in ideas and in

tastes to a larger degree than other Indians (excepting of course the servant class). They are certainly more sophisticated. The extent to which they are representative culturally, or their degree of atypicality where fundamental cultural items are concerned, is a question that cannot be answered unless informants of other strata of society can be used to the extent that these can. I was unable to do that; but it seemed to me that unless otherwise shown, the presumption is that the literate Indians are not typical Muxeños and hence that information about their personal experiences cannot be immediately transferred to other Indians. If, as you indicate, their peculiarities are those of a traditional class of society, this view would need altering; but I cannot find evidence either in my notes or your monograph to warrant such a change.

Of the numerous specific differences between your data and mine, some obviously represent small variations in the culture; you cite an account by one informant, and the accounts that I have from others are somewhat different. This is, of course, to be expected. Before citing examples, I should emphasize that the statements from informants that you have are much more complete than those I have; but specific statements may still be compared. This, at least, is how my information on Courtship stacks up with yours:

You begin your account with the formal asking (p. 40), but indicate (p. 193) that preliminary assurances of acceptance have been obtained. From my information it is probable that this initial consent is more important, and often more formal, than you indicate. Somebody in the boy's family (he himself, his father, or older brother) apparently gets this initial

consent before ~~then~~ the elaborate ceremonies begin. If the boy himself does this (probably infrequently) he has a more difficult time of it than would his father because he is not of respectable age. But self-assured young men like Tomás Gonzales and Tomás Ventura have done it -- and such men might not even have advised their fathers in advance. Tomás Gonzales wrote his prospective father-in-law a letter proposing the marriage, and Miguel answered in the same way, after which the parents got together in customary fashion. Tomás Ventura tried to talk to his prospective father-in-law in the plaza, but the man wouldn't listen; thereupon Tomás induced the girl to go to his house with him, and not until 10 months later (according to Tomás' story) did he meet his father-in-law again; and then he gave him twenty dollars in lieu of the usual gifts. Tomás Ventura's account of how a boy gets the initial consent of a would-be father-in-law is as follows:

On Thursday or Sunday, when everybody involved is in the pueblo, the young man will accost the girl's father, perhaps in the plaza, and say "I wish to talk to you." The father may turn away (knowing what to expect) saying, "No, no, I am busy now." The young man will follow him and, catching up with him again at some convenient place, induce him to come with him to a cantina to talk. In the cantina, the father sits on a bench in a back room (insuring some privacy) and the young man orders a bottle of liquor and a glass. He then kneels before the old man and, pouring him a glass of liquor, asks him to drink. Should the man accept, it means that the suit is accepted. But instead, the girl's father may simply rise and leave the cantina and the young man and so reject the suit immediately. Of course the father may

refuse to enter the cantina in the first place, and then nothing can be done.

But the girl's father may not leave the suitor precipitously in the cantina, and at the same time he may refuse the proffered drink. Then the young man, kneeling with the glass of liquor in his hand, must press his suit with argument. He tells the man of his virtues and his prosperity. The old man can refuse indefinitely to drink, but if things have gone this far he usually puts a number of questions to the youth, lets him suffer awhile, and then drinks, giving the boy his provisional approval. But he tells him that he will want to talk it over with his family, consult a shaman, and also talk it over with the boy's parents and his older brothers and their wives (with whom his daughter would have to live and who could do her good or harm -- the girl doesn't know how to cook or weave and the boy's mother and his older brothers' wives have to teach her), and that he will think the matter over. The old man sets a date for his answer, and matters are so far arranged.

Then the suitor, having won his point, treats the girl's father to glass after glass, and even bottle after bottle of liquor (meanwhile not drinking a drop himself) until intoxication ensues. Then he takes his prospective father-in-law to the latter's house in town, if he has one, or to his own if the old man has none, to spend the night. If he should not take care of the man in this way, and the girl's father should be arrested, as would undoubtedly happen, the young man would have to pay his fine of about \$1.25. If neither of the two has a house in town, they go to the house of a friend, or remain over night in the cantina.

Thus the young man does not usually return to his cantina home

until Monday morning. His father is naturally angry with him. The young man has brought home a bottle of liquor and now, after greeting his father and receiving a calling-down, he begs his pardon and leads his father and mother into the bedroom, where the parents sit on the bed and the boy kneels before them. He pours a glass of liquor for his father and says, "I failed to come home for a very good reason; I talked to a man about marrying his daughter."

"Who is the girl?" asks the father. The boy tells him (such and such from such and such cantón) and then offers the glass of liquor first to his father and then to his mother. Both of them drink. The parents do not try to turn the boy from his purpose; he has the say-so as far as this part is concerned. Since the father is the head of the house and (though all contribute to his purse) doles out money for food and clothing, he then asks the boy how much he has spent on liquor for his suit. The boy may reply that the cost was \$1.00 or \$3.00, and his father will then reimburse him. The father then asks, "What answer did you get?" and the boy replies that the girl's father wishes to speak to them, his parents. "And when will this be?" is the next question, and the reply is usually "Sunday."

The boy's father first gets a shaman to work for the family to prevent the girl's father from backing out. Then, the next Sunday, in town, he and his wife call at the house of the girl's parents, bringing liquor with them. If the girl's parents are now not agreeable to the match, they do not admit the boy's parents into the house. Rather, when the door is opened to the visitors, they crawl to them on their knees and kiss their

hands, following which the boy's parents leave. If they are allowed into the house, the boy's parents drop to their knees and each kisses the hand of each of their hosts and the visiting father pours a drink and offers the cup to the girl's father, saying, "My son talked to you last week about marrying your daughter." The parents of the girl drink the liquor immediately, raise their visitors from the floor, and ask them to sit down. When the bottle of liquor is finished, the girl's father gives money to a boy of the house and sends him out for another bottle. All drink together, alternating in "treats" for some time. Finally, the girl's father says to the boy's father, "When will you and your son and intermediary come to my house in the monte?" The other may answer, "This Thursday," but the girl's father may be busy then and he will say so, and suggest "Make it Monday-- a week from tomorrow." If this is agreeable, the boy's parents then leave. (The date set is always for a Monday or Thursday).

I judge that in respect to marriage customs there are many variations in Chichicastenango. That is why such statements as that "The invariable rule...is that the father of the young man ...goes to the father of the girl" (p. 190) appear to me dangerous. Another such statement (p. 196) is that "The first offer is always refused." Diego Ignacio told me that his father and mother went with marriage-spokesman Sebastián Saquic to ask old Tomás Ventura for his daughter for him. (Ventura was then in the Juzgado and living in town, and he and Miguel may well have had a preliminary talk). They took along liquor, cacao beans and two sapequilla seeds, and presented 25 pesos in coins on the dish of cacao. The offer was not refused and Diego was told about it

the next day. The general accounts that you give and that I received differ even in the gross "time-table" involved. Gonzales (from whom I assume you got the text starting on p. 198) says that ~~after~~ the first formal asking is on a Thursday or Monday morning; Ventura, in the account cited above, said that formal preliminary consent is had in town on Sunday, and then formal negotiations are held on Monday or Thursday morning. In Ventura's view there would be no possibility of refusal on the Monday or Thursday visit, therefore; but Gonzales describes the girl's parents as refusing the first time then.

The following is Ventura's account of the Monday or Thursday visit, analogous to your text of pp. 198-202:

Betrothal arrangements are always concluded at the cantón home of the girl's family. Both parties choose marriage spokesmen who come to their respective homes in the cantón on Sunday evening before the Monday decided upon. The boy's party, consisting of himself, his father and mother, the spokesman, and a man who carries supplies and lights the way with a torch, leave the house at about three A.M. (depending upon how far they must go) and arrive at the girl's house at about 4:30 A.M. In the patio they first kneel in a line -- torch-bearer at one end, boy's mother at the other, and the boy, spokesman, and father in that order between them -- and pray first to the East, then West, then North, and lastly South. The men then remove the hats they wore in travelling and don their tzutes; the spokesman puts on in addition a special cloak he has for the occasion. They then knock at the door. The girl's father, awakened, bids them wait a minute, and the girl's family dress in the same manner as the boy's.

The boy's party enters and finds the following set-up: starting at each side of the table on which are the idoles, candles, incense, etc. run two parallel rows of chairs. In the left row, reading from the shrine out, are the girl's spokesman, her father and her mother. The boy's party comes in and prays a minute at the shrine and then sit down, the spokesman in the first chair, the father in the second, and the mother, the boy himself, and the torchbearer in that order following. Between the rows of chairs the visitors place a dish of cacao beans with some money. The two spokesmen begin to recite the story of Adam, alternating passages, and they go on in this way for a long time. When this is finished, the boy's spokesman tells the torchbearer to pour out liquor. He then sprinkles some over the idoles. Then he gives a glassful to the other spokesman and when he has finished he gives one to the girl's father and then to her mother. The torchbearer then pours a glass and gives it to the boy's intermediary who passes it to the boy's father; the next glass goes by the same route to the boy's mother, and the next -- skipping the boy himself -- to the torchbearer. The spokesmen do a lot of praying, continuing until about 6 A.M. Finally the girl's spokesman takes up the dish of cacao brought by the boy's party and places it on the table with the idoles. The girl's party then kneels before the boy's party and her father says, "We shall give our daughter to your son, but you must take care of her and watch over her so that your son will not fight with her." At seven or eight o'clock the girl's family gives breakfast to the visitors. All eat together. (The girl herself has not been present at any of the proceedings; nor does she eat break-

fast with the two families.)

Practical arrangements for the betrothal period are made after breakfast. This period consists of regular visits with gifts of food brought by the boy, his parents, and his spokesman. The boy's spokesman therefore asks the girl's how long it will be before the marriage; the reply may be six months, a year, two years, or three years, depending on the age of the girl and on other things. Then they discuss the frequency of the visits in this period, the girl's side having the final say-so. The frequency depends chiefly on the length of the period, the shorter the period the greater the frequency. If the period is three years, the visits should come about every two months; if one year, every month. Assuming the interval is two months, the first visit would come eight weeks from the Monday on which the arrangements are made (always on the day of the arrangements).

From this account it appears that statements (pp 41, 201) that the first time the boy comes is when the girl is finally taken home is subject to qualification. There is probably considerable variation in the matter. Tomás Ventura's account goes on to relate how the boy goes with his parents at each of the gift-bearing visits. It is very circumstantial:

The betrothal period is usually referred to as the *costumbre*, or "doing *costumbre*." Each time the boy's party -- the same five who came to make the arrangements -- comes with certain prescribed articles of food for the girl's family, and the boy himself brings something for his fiancée. The rest of the party leaves again after lunch, but the young man remains at the girl's place and works with his future in-laws for from 4 days to a week. During these days he lives with his fiancée as if they were married.

Since the young people do sleep together, it is best to have marriages arranged between people of the same age; thus an eight year old girl would get a husband of eight or nine; and if a virgin girl gets an older man, she should be about fifteen.

On the first visit, the boy's party brings a large basket of bread, much chocolate and sugar; in addition, the boy brings about ten cents worth of bread for the girl. On the second visit they bring a large pot of cooked meat and a basket of tortillas or tamales, and the boy brings a pound of meat for the girl. This gift is repeated on the subsequent visits. The boy and his family do all these customs, and the girl's father is supposed to give his daughter five new complete costumes when the period is over. If he isn't wealthy enough to do this, the boy will not do the customs for so long. In this case the boy's father furnishes the bride with her new clothes (at least one costume), giving them to the girl's mother to be given to the girl. The bride always comes to her husband, in the end, in new clothes, and leaves her old ones for her younger sisters. If the girl's father is rich, he will give her blankets, a grinding stone, dishes, etc., in addition.

During this betrothal period the boy's father hires a shaman to say prayers one day in each of the regular intervals.

If the bride becomes pregnant during this period, the betrothal is cut short and the bride passes to her husband's house for the birth of the child. A child should be born in its father's house.

Obviously, this account is not necessarily more accurate than that of your informant; it does illustrate, however, the necessity of drawing conclusions on the basis of accounts from

several or many informants. Your statement, for example, that costumbre gifts "are repeated five or six times, at intervals of two months" (p. 40) probably needs qualification. Miguel Ignacio told me that in the case of his daughter's marriage to Tomás Gonzales, "It was understood that the costumbre period would be six months because the interval was to be two weeks; if the interval were one month, the period would be one year." Diego Ignacio told me that in his case the gift-interval was one month (I did not find out the period). Another example is the lumping together of atol, pulique, meat, bread and chocolate (p. 40) when it is probable that at least sometimes these are not all brought together. Diego Ignacio said about his marriage, "After a month they took a large pot of cooked meat, a basket of tamales, and other things, to Ventura's house in the pueblo. The next month they took a lot of bread, chocolate, and sugar." Miguel Ignacio said of the Gonzales family that "Two weeks later, Monday, Tomás, Sr. came ~~xxxx~~ with his wife bringing a basketful of tamales and a pot of cooked beef. (They might have brought chicken or turkey, but never pork, which is not used in costumbres). The second time they came they brought bread. Thereafter they alternated between meat and bread." Of course Ventura's statements cannot be safely generalized either; for example on this last point he says that after the first gift of bread, the rest are all of meat. For another example, his statement that the spokesman and the whole party come with each gift probably doesn't represent the most general practice. (On the other hand your statement -- p. 40 -- that "it is always the mother of the boy who comes with the gifts" is probably not justified either, and contradicts even your informant's statement on p. 204).

A case in which our respective informants' statements are not contradictory but ~~mutually~~ complementary is to be found in a comparison of the account of the final marriage feast (pp. 205-6) with that given me by Tomás Ventura, which follows:

The marriage feast occurs with the last of the regular costumbre visits. The same party comes from the boy's house to the girl's place, where the feast takes place. In addition, other relatives and friends of the boy come. The boy's family brings all the food.

The marriage feast usually lasts about four days. During the first day the young men of both sides kill and cut up a steer, and of course there is a marimba, liquor, and other festivities. But meanwhile, in the house, rites involving the boy and girl are carried out. On one side of a table sit the boy's spokesman and his wife; on the other side sit the girl's spokesman and his wife. Tied to the table legs are a rooster, on the boy's side, and a hen on the girl's. The young people come up; the bride takes the rooster in one of her arms and the groom takes the hen in one of his; they kneel before the boy's spokesman, who lectures them and finally places a ring on the finger of each. Then they rest a short time. Then they kneel in the same way before the girl's spokesman who does the same thing. The bride and groom each get a ring from each spokesman, and these are kept as gifts from the spokesmen. The spokesmen are finally given the fowl used, however.

On the second day, in a similar ceremony, the intermediaries together present one necklace to the couple, putting it around the necks of the two of them, binding them for about an hour.

If there is a church wedding, on the third day the young couple go to the Jugoado to be married civilly and then to the Church

to be married by the priest. This may end all of the festivities. However, there is usually no civil or church marriage, and the feasting goes on another day.

The wives of the spokesmen help female relatives of both sides with the cooking during the feast. The mothers of the principals themselves do not work in the kitchen.

It is apparent that neither your informant nor mine told the whole story. This is, of course, what we might expect. But even putting both stories together, we still have no data on how common such "costumbre marriages" or marriage feasts are; how often is the whole thing gone through with? which elements are most frequently present in marriages? That is aside from the question of how reliable or how typical of the culture our informants are. I have dwelt at this length on differences in accounts of marriage customs given by your informant and mine simply to show that Maxefies even of the same small group of society do give different accounts; and therefore that therefore it cannot be assumed that a description by one of them can be used directly and without other evidence in a description of the general culture.

Since you appear to base some of your conclusions partly on accounts of customs given by single informants, it might be profitable to cite an example that ~~shows~~ may show to what degree such an account reflects universal practise. Your informant's description of housebuilding ceremonies is something I did not duplicate; but the statement on P. 62 beginning "When the house is completed" may be compared with the following eye-witness account (from my notes) of a ceremony that itself may or may not be representative:

(Apr. 15, 1935). Dr. Medfield, Mrs. Tax, and I stopped at the house of Miguel Ignacio, who has been building a new house for himself. The tiles were being put on the roof, and we were told that the house would be finished by noon. We asked Miguel if there would be some sort of ceremony, and he said Yes: he would go into the house and pray, and with censer in hand would go to each corner of the house. Would he hire a shaman? No; others sometimes do, but he himself can do what is necessary. He told us we might come, and as we left the tile-layer called to us from the roof, Would we bring some alambique when we came?

With two bottles of alambique we returned to the new house in the afternoon. The house was completed, and inside were gathered the house-builder (who had laid the tiles) and his helpers and Diego Ignacio and three of his children. Miguel couldn't come because he was busy baking bread. The house-builder, a past alcalde of cofradia Padre eterno, was in charge of the ceremonies, but we had to await the bringing of some copal. (My notes say ~~smak~~ copal, but it more probably was estoraque). When it arrived from Miguel's house, the house-builder with lighted censer in hand stood in the ~~main~~ doorway of the main room and began to pray. Of the prayer we could understand only Jesu Cristo. While praying, a glass for which he had sent arrived from Miguel's house; he filled it with liquor and while still praying sprinkled it in a line across the threshold and then in another line perpendicular to the first, making a cross of sorts. Then, still praying, he sprinkled liquor in each corner of the room. Then he repeated the process in the other room of the house. Then he took a drink himself, and one of his helpers seconded him. Then, seated in the

larger room, all of the men took round after round of liquor (and smoked cigars that we brought). We meanwhile were seated on a beam and were offered nothing. Just as the second bottle was being emptied, Miguel came in -- in time for a drink.

When the liquor was gone, we saw that the ceremony was ended, and we left.

In this case there were no rockets, no candles-burned-before-the-tools, no meal served the mason. How common is the fuller ceremony your informant describes?

The informant method itself has, of course, its natural limitations and cannot be expected to answer such questions reliably. But it is difficult to interpret elements of the culture without case materials fortuitously or methodically obtained. For example I may refer to the question of the "bride price" which you discuss on P. 41. I think there may be some difference in this respect between rich people and poor. Among the rich the conception appears to be one of gift-exchange, as you indicate. Tomás Ventura said that with well-to-do people it costs the boy's family from fifty to a hundred dollars to marry off a son, and that if the girl's family furnish her the clothes they should, it costs them about as much. I do not know what happens in such a case if divorce occurs: would the wife take back all her new wardrobe? Your statement (p. 44) that "there is no return of the brideprice" may possibly apply most generally, or possibly only to the rich. The following case, from my notes, ~~xxx~~ concerns poor people:

Trouble in Juan Cutillo's house. Four months ago his 8-year-old sister was married. For six months previous the boy's parents had brought presents once ~~xx~~ a month. They kept accounts and all amounted to \$9.00 worth. Now the girl has left her husband

and returned home. Since she did not bear a child (Juan's reasoning) her father-in-law is demanding the return of the \$9.00. This morning it looks as if they may agree to wait a few years, when the girl may want to go to live again with her husband. Or they may go to Quiché to the judge, so that if they do pay the money they will have legal evidence; Juan's family won't do it here because the alcalde is prejudiced. Juan is very disturbed about the matter because the boy's father is a brujo and may do something bad to ~~mixx~~ the mother.

(Later in the same day): They have settled the matter for \$6.00, with a promise of no hard feelings, hence no sorcery.

It seems difficult to conclude that the gifts are "in no sense a bride-price." More specific case material is obviously required to answer such a question with assurance. Why did Tomás Ventura give (as he says) \$20 to his father-in-law after his elopement -- "in lieu of ~~gifts~~ the customary gifts"? How true is it that the girl's parents "have nothing to say concerning the amount of the 'price'"^(p. 41) in view of Ventura's account of the negotiations undertaken?

Nor can informants' accounts alone be expected to give adequate information on the prevalence of work-service (p. 42). Of four poor men with whom I had interviews on the subject (besides one who "didn't remember" and another who said he had done no *costumbres* at all) only one said he did not work at all in the house of his fiancée. One worked for one week each month for two years; one day a month for one year (when he also brought gifts of food), and the third for two weeks at harvest time when his clandestine affair with the girl was discovered, after which he came to work

one day a month for six months (also bringing gifts). It may be suspected that among poor people, at least, work service usually replaces part of the commodity-gift, since such substitution would be to the advantage of both ~~parents~~ families. But again, cases are needed -- not only to get the facts, but to interpret them. To see whether this is fundamentally a system of gift exchange or bride-price, a wide variety of cases might show us the circumstances in which service ~~was~~^{is} substituted for goods, and the equality or inequality of the gifts involved.

In such matters as preferential marriage (pp. 45-6) it seems to me that objective records must supplement informants' statements. You indicate that you depended upon case material when you say that neither the sororate or the levirate "is found at the present time" (45), but you give no ~~in~~ clue to the number of cases available. No cases of the levirate and only one of a ~~sororate~~^{marriage} sororate (Tomás Pixcar married Tomasa Ventura and when she died he married her first sister Manuela) turned up in the fifteen more-or-less complete genealogies I collected. Cases of sororal polygamy seem to be more frequent: in Quejel a Tomás Ventura is married to 2 sisters from Totoniacoacán besides to a local wife; in Patzibal, Manuel Mateo is married to 2 Maxeña sisters; in Pochil, Tomás Calvo is married to 2 sisters as well as their mother; I ~~was~~ was also told that Sebastian Sen of Chulumal has "four or five" sisters as wives (only the first married by costumbre). Marriage to both a mother and her daughter-by-another-man also seems to be fairly common: there are two cases (in 89 households) in Quejel alone; in one, another Tomás Ventura married María Galel and when her daughter grew up, he began to live with her also; in the other, Jacinto Tol married María Páres and when her 6-year old daughter

grew up, he took her too. I have mentioned the case of Galvo in Pocchil; he married a widow and began to have children by her two daughters almost simultaneously. I was told by several that old Sebastian Saquic (the Principal) of Chicua married a widow and then her daughter; Tomás Ventura's evidence that he lived with the daughter is that everybody said so and that she had children presumably by him. Tomás Panto of Chontolá married a girl and then when her father died he married her mother too. (Tomás Ventura explained such cases by saying that if the wife has no brothers, her father's land comes to her when she dies, so that if the husband marries the mother too, matters are simplified: the land on which she lives is in effect his, so why shouldn't she be also? In at least three of the cases, the woman and her daughters did indeed own the land on which they lived.)

The most common type of preferential marriage seems to be sister exchange; and the term gambiado was employed by two informants voluntarily. Genealogies brought out that Tomás and Sebastián Bosel of Chucalibal married Ana and Tomasa Guarcaas of Comanchaj (brothers and sisters respectively); in Quejel, two Pixcar brothers married two Pixcar sisters of the same cantón; in Mactzul 4th, there are three Marroquín brothers married to three sisters of the same surname from Mactzul 3rd; Diego Morales of Chuabaj and his brother's son, Manuel, married two Suy sisters of the same cantón; two Cutillo brothers of Pacho; married two Morales sisters of Chuabaj; in Quejel, there is a case of two Pixcar brothers marrying two girls who are cousins (FSD-MBD) to each other. Since my genealogies are very incomplete, there are undoubtedly many cases of this general kind.

Of perhaps special interest is a tendency for sons to bring wives from their mothers' cantones. (This suggests that the

presumptive old social organization -- "Los hijos casaban con los parientes de la madre," Fuentes y Guzman, p. 32 -- is not all gone). Tomás Feliz of Chucam married a woman from Chulumal, his mother's cantón; Diego Mejía of Xabaj married a woman from Pocohil, his mother's cantón; Manuel Ventura of Agua Escondida married a Juana Morales of Chopol, the cantón where his mother was born to a woman of the same surname; both Tomás and Diego Larios, brothers, of Chipacá married women of Lacamá, their mother's cantón. The tendency works the other way, too, girl's marrying men from their mothers' cantones: Sebastiana Macario of Chuabaj married a man from Chutzorop, her mother's cantón; Sebastiana Ignacio of Chinimá married Tomás Gonzales of Pacho, her mother's cantón; Tomasa Bosel of Chucalibal married a man from Chutzorop, her mother's cantón; and Tomasa Marroquín of Mactzul 1st married a man from Mactzul 4th, her mother's cantón. Leaving out of consideration cases where the data is equivocal because both father and mother are of the same cantón, such marriages "back into the mother's cantón" account for about a fourth of all of the cases of marriages that turned up.

It is apparent that the small amount of case material that I have supplements and in some cases contradicts the conclusions that you draw concerning marriage customs and preferences. The difference may be partly that between theory and practise; but if your statements represent ideals in the culture, I must point out again that informants differ on the details of the ideal. I could make this point also with respect to statements that you make about the disposition of a widow's children, about polygamy, and especially the contentment of plural wives, about property rights in the family, about inheritance, and about another a number of other elements of culture.

I must repeat that I do not mean to infer that my material is better than yours, or more voluminous; it is rather in large part a different kind of material -- objective records supplement less complete informants' accounts. But -- and again I am repeating -- it gives a somewhat different slant on some elements of the culture. For example, one of your important observations is that in Chichicastenango there is an under-the-surface atmosphere of jealousy, antagonism and spite (p. 213) in the family; bitterness and discord are hidden beneath a smooth surface of respectful courtesy. This is fundamentally due to the jealousy of brothers and their rivalry for land, but this is really a transfer of hatred for the father which eventually results in rebellion from his authority and the division of the land, which is the symbol and means of power. (pp. 258-61). This general observation appears to be based on a number of smaller observations and especially on the texts of prayers and ceremonies that you collected. I confess that until I read your MS, I was ignorant of the whole psychological complex of family life that you describe. That the course of domestic life was not always smooth (any more than it is among us) I knew; but that domestic difficulties ~~sankaxka~~ were so patterned, I did not know. The first question therefore is, how much did I miss -- or to put that another way, how justified is your generalized observation? The second question is, why did I miss what I did and why did you over-generalize or misinterpret, if you did?

In answer to the first question, I cannot but feel that I missed something, but that you overemphasize and over-gen-

eralize the complex that you describe and which is no doubt a factor in Maxefio sociology that I did not find. To substantiate my feeling I should have to present a good deal of data to show that you overemphasize the economic importance of land in Chichicasteango and that you misinterpret and make too much of the custom of dividing the land before the death of the father; I would naturally not be able to show that you overemphasize conflict and hatred in the family, for I may be misled by the superficial "respectful courtesy" about which you write. If my data should succeed in this object, however, we still wouldn't know how much emphasis should be placed on the psychological complex that you observe; a properly balanced picture of the culture would still be lacking. I do not know if we have any methodology by means ~~we~~ of which we could settle such a question with a presentation of evidence that would satisfy an exacting reader. And yet without it we allow my half-picture of the culture ~~and~~ or your half-picture of the culture to become part of the literature on which hypotheses of our science are to be tested. If both half-pictures are published, with no attempt made to ~~bring~~ focus them into one, they are apt to cancel ~~with~~ each other out and both your work and ~~mine~~ will ~~we~~ lose much of their usefulness. Perhaps additional fieldwork by one cognizant of all of the materials we have both collected is what is required.

What strikes me as essential for the methodology of our science is, therefore, to attempt to answer the second question so that ethnographers can profit by our mistakes. If, as seems likely to me, I failed in not getting necessary

texts of rituals (which as you say can substitute for mythology) while you were misled by taking them too seriously and without/a ^{collecting} complementary body of objective material, or by getting too much from one man who might have projected his own personality difficulties into all situations -- if such were our errors, then we should recognize them so that they can henceforth be guarded against.

You say, "If it seems that this account of family quarrels is exaggerated, exceptional and misleading, one should read the texts of religious rituals carefully for the many references that they contain to family discord." (p. 255). I have read the texts with care, and I agree that there are many such references; still, I am not convinced. In the first place, there is no independent evidence that the text references necessarily reflect cultural facts rather than stylized ways of referring reference. Perhaps "my enemies and slanderers among my relatives and companions" doesn't mean that enemies are expected especially among relatives, but only that they are expected among the people with whom one has social relations. "Enemies and companions" might be inclusive in the way that "mountain-plain" is. Possibly when the diviner guessed that the patient had had a quarrel with his "family or relatives" (p. 257) he was not thinking as literally as you believe he was.

But even if I am wrong about this (and I would not press the point) the texts of prayers and rituals must still be treated with caution as not always reflecting cultural facts directly. Obviously, the statement in the baptismal ritual addressed by the padrino to a little girl that "you will

have charge of the sowing of the corn and wheat and beans" would give, if interpreted directly, a false idea of the economic activities of women. Is it not barely possible that some of the references to domestic difficulties are of the same nature?

But even if this objection is overruled (and again I would not press it) there is still the important fact that most of the texts come from a single informant, and it is not impossible that for some reason he is quarrel-conscious. This possibility is increased when one compares the texts on wife-leaving-husband as given by two informants (pp. 231-4). I imagine that the first text is from Tomás Gonzales, and it emphasizes the quarreling and bad feeling in the house that the wife left. The other account informant seems to pay little attention to that and emphasizes instead the difficulties in love and the folly of appeasement. If the first text is indeed Gonzales', it is of a piece with the other texts from him in this respect; and the fact that the other informant failed to emphasize the bad feeling in the family may be an indication that Gonzales is particularly -- possibly abnormally -- conscious of it. Another evidence of this is, of course, that we -- who had little contact with Gonzales -- were after all never impressed by the importance of family quarrelling. Our informants had different things uppermost in their minds. A number of Indians were asked to speak freely into the microphone and we have the phonograph records of what they said; not all of them are translated, but those that are do not lend support to your thesis. For example, Tomás Ventura ~~made a record in~~ made a record in

which he gave advice to young people. I don't know what Gonzales would have thought to say on the subject, but what Ventura said was quite in his character: one should be good to his wife, for if not she may leave him, and do you think that you won't lose the money that you have invested in her or that you can get another wife for nothing? He also pointed out that one must take care of his family, feed it well, etc., for if a child should die one cannot, as if it were an animal, simply throw his body in a barranca, but must bury him, and that costs money. Ventura is shrewd and money-minded, and the texts I would expect from him would have a quite different tone from those you got from Gonzales.

What assurance is there, therefore, that Gonzales' point of view is shared by most Indians? Perhaps it is, but how can one be at all certain? It can be argued, I suppose that the texts of rituals were learned by him from others and that they must represent cultural crystallizations. But if so, one should find greater similarities between his texts and those published by Schultze-Jena. Rather, it appears that the shaman has considerable ~~latitude~~ freedom to improvise orations.

You attempt to answer this general question about your informant in your footnote on P. 257. But your argument is not conclusive. In the first place, just because Gonzales has no brothers doesn't mean that his notions about sibling rivalry represent the cultural norm; other personal experiences may have made him abnormal in this respect. It is possible that his profession as inheritance-dispute settler is itself enough to give him an exaggerated view of the amount of family

discord in Chichicastenango and a special fear of having two many sons. A probate or domestic-relations judge might possibly be a poor informant on questions of inheritance or family relations.

It seems to me that there may be a special danger in a too-good informant, for in giving the whole story he may be inclined to weave the experiences of many cases into one and give an ideal picture never approached in reality.

But I repeat again that I am not attempting to say that you are wrong in your conclusions; only that I wish we could know the extent to which you are right. I have been trying only to give you a sample of the differences in point of view that we took away from our studies of Chichicastenango with suggestions as to the reasons.

Before I end I would like to raise a question on a very specific point, and that is your use of the word World and the conception that the natives deify something which is best translated as World. It happens that Tomás Gonzales (of his own volition) wrote out for me two texts in Quiché with interlinear Spanish translations; and reading your texts with his in mind, it seems fairly clear to me that Gonzales' mundo refers to the altar in the monte that the shaman uses. You write (p. 524) "The word which I have translated as 'divine world' appears in the texts as the Spanish 'mundo'." But in the texts he gave me, the term jullup appears in the Quiché portion, and the term mundo as its Spanish translation. "Jullup" of course means hill or mountain, and the altars of course are often on hill-tops and bear the same names as the hills. Schutze-Jens's "erigott" also appears to be a translation

TOWN AND COUNTRY IN CHICHICASTENANGO

To the casual observer in Guatemala, Chichicastenango is a large and almost entirely an Indian town in the Highlands. This is quite true in a sense, and entirely so if one is thinking of the municipio of that name. However, the municipio consists of a town and a large area of scattered farms and homes referred to as the cantones, or the monte; and most people, when they think of Chichicastenango, are thinking of the town. If one is indeed thinking of the town-proper, it must be pointed out that the majority of the permanent residents are not Indians at all, but ladinos, a group which may be described as, racially, an old stable mixture of Spanish and Indian.

Santo Tomas Chichicastenango, the full and proper name, has an area of some hundred square miles, but it is so cut up by hills and huge ravines that it is a hard day's journey by foot between its farthest extremities, some fifteen miles apart. Aside from the town itself, which of course occupies an infinitesimal part of the whole area, the municipio is divided into sixty-four cantones. These cantones are political subdivisions, but have little social and religious cohesion and no individual economies. It can be said with almost complete confidence that between the individual households of the cantones and the entire municipio there are no social or cultural units.

The entire municipio is, however, a cultural unit distinct from its neighboring municipios. Chichicastenango has its own political system (except as it forms a part of the Republic) its own economic specializations (entering into the wider economic or commercial network) its own religious organization and ideology

(excepting where Christian Catholicism impinges) its own dialect, its own social usages, and its own unique costumes. Obviously, there are certain similarities as one goes from municipio to municipio; but Chichicasteango has a complex of its own, and, moreover, it knows that it has, and the people feel a strong ethnocentricity.

But the unity of the whole in most respects depends upon the intimate relations of all of the Indians, and of the culture itself, ^{to} upon the town. The remarkable fact is, therefore, that practically no Indians live in the town-proper. There were, according to the last census (1921) 24,509 Indians in Chichicasteango; yet, aside from a few "foreign" Indians who have come into the town, and aside from the officials who live in town during the year of their office, there are not a dozen Indian families living in the town-proper. The town is large, containing several thousands of houses, but the great majority of these are owned by Indians who live in the cantones and use them only when they come to town for market-days and fiestas. The bulk of the permanent population of the town consists of ladinos, about 600 in number; they form something of a bourgeois caste, and all of them are town dwellers. With the exception of two school-teachers, no ladinos live in the cantones.

Thus, aside from its being geographical, the distinction of town and country is by way of being a racial division (with the cultural differences that here go together with the racial). But withal the distinction has something of a temporal element; for on market days (Sundays and Thursdays) and for the titular fiesta, the Indians come in droves from the country to the town. Sunday, for example, thus half signifies "the town", and Monday, in normal

Indian life, is one of the ordinary canton days. So thoroughly imbedded in Chichicastenango ~~society~~ is this duality that one ^{the culture} could describe ~~it~~ almost entirely in terms of the parts played, respectively, by the town, (or in the town) and in the cantones.

Considering economics, for example, it could be pointed out that subsistence is based on the growing of maize and beans, in the monte, that the surplus is sold, or a lack made up by buying in the market in town. Such necessities as salt, peppers, coffee, cacao, cotton, and such luxuries as tropical fruits and many vegetables, must be bought in the market. Even when neighbors have the same thing to buy and to sell, respectively, they come to the market to do so. Common laborers obtain their work through the municipal government in the pueblo. Even more important, since a good part of the income of the Indians comes from their activities as merchants, Indians leave their canton homes to buy products in the local market to sell abroad, or else go abroad to buy things to sell in the local market. The market, together with the stores run by ladinos (not to mention the plantation representatives who recruit labor) make the town the commercial center of Chichicastenango, while its production and consumption is confined almost entirely to the surrounding country.

The political organization is complex, and mixed with the religious. Each of the cantones has an auxiliary mayor, whose chief duty is to round up labor when required by the municipality; he must go to town on market-days to get his orders from the Indian Mayor, who has several assistants and lives in town during his tenure (one year). There are many other officials and town servants under the mayor, and all of them must be in town on certain occasions. Over all there are six Indian Principales, who

meet in the town every Sunday, and under whom are Principales in each of the cantones. In addition, there are fourteen religious fraternities, each with six or eight members, the duty of which ~~are~~^{is} to care for the non-church santos and the fiestas for each. The membership in these changes yearly, and headquarters of each are in the town house of ~~the~~ its First Mayor. The members must all come to town to attend to the ceremonies each Sunday, and of course the First Mayor lives in town the entire year. The members of the fraternities are part of the political organization, under the Indian Mayor and the Principales; and the succession of a man from office to office in the entire system includes the offices in the fraternity. The chief offices are passed around from canton to canton (in fairness, not so much because of the honor connected with them as because there is expense and work involved). Throughout, thus, the town is the center of operations for a political organization that is spread evenly through the cantones.

The same may be said for religion and magic. Scattered through the monte are a number of altars, some more important than others, at which the shamans perform their rites. But the church in the town is in many respects the most important altar, and the santos in the church and in the ~~the~~ fraternities (being the most important) are especially sacred shrines, so that the shamans often find it necessary to perform their rites in the town. Praying in the church and before these santos ~~are~~ constitutes a most important adjunct of market-day. Furthermore, while there are small fiestas, and occasionally masses (when the priest comes) in the cantones, the important fiestas are celebrated in town and most of the masses in the church there. Therefore, although in routine rituals and feasts the monte have their permanent place, the town

for important and extraordinary events must be considered the religious center of Chichicasteango.

In the customary procedures surrounding occasions such as baptism, marriage, and death, the theater of operations moves back and forth between town and country.

Usually two or three weeks after the birth of a child, its father (or the head of the house) goes to the canton house of the man he has chosen for its god-father, and asks him to assume that office. Perhaps the next Saturday (if nothing intervenes) -- but always on Saturday -- the god-father comes to the canton house of the child and performs certain ceremonies and in exchange receives some lunch and a quantity of food to take home with ~~him~~ him. The next forenoon (Sunday) the god-father comes to the pueblo residence of the child's family (they having meanwhile come to town) and takes the child with him to the church for its baptism.

Betrothal and marriage are much more complex and allow for considerable more variation. At its simplest the customary marriage requires four interesting chapters. First, the young man approaches his prospective father-in-law in the plaza in town, and if he is fortunate he will induce him to come to a cantina (saloon); there, with some ceremony the young man offers his guest a drink, meanwhile making his request. Perhaps after hours of talk the older man accepts the drink and gives provisional consent, and then accepts many more drinks until the young man (who has remained sober) has to guide him to his town home. This is the first step. Now the young man has to tell his parents, who call in shamans and who the next Sunday call upon the girl's parents in their town house. ~~again~~ If the latter are still agreeable, the guests will be received with ceremony and a date made, either for the next Thursday or the fol-

lowing Monday, for a meeting in the bride's canton home. The second step, and the part played in the town, is now completed. On the day decided upon, the boy's parents with a marriage-intermediary and the boy himself come at about dawn to the girl's house. There, with very elaborate ceremonies, the bride is promised, and at breakfast the conditions of the betrothal period are decided upon. The betrothal period consists of such early morning visits by the boy and his family at regular intervals as that on which these arrangements were made and always on the same day/(perhaps every month or two or three) for six months or a year or two years; and each time the boy's party comes they bring certain types of food. The boy may also remain to work for his future father-in-law for a few days each time.

Finally, the betrothal period over, there is a feast prepared in the bride's canton home, and relatives and friends come to celebrate some four days, at the end of which (and after certain symbolic rites have been enacted) the bride is taken ~~km~~ by her husband and his family to her canton home. She stays there, but on certain occasions both return to the woman's original home in the monte with food for her family.

Death, assuming that it occurs in the monte home, as it usually does, is first celebrated with a wake in that home. The next morning the body is carried to the pueblo and placed in the deceased's town house while friends go to the cemetery to dig the grave. After the burial ~~they~~ all of the friends and relatives in attendance meet in the town house ~~af~~ again and sit around and drink liquor all night after which those who are able go about their business.

As far as Indian life is concerned, most of the activities

occurring in town come simultaneously with the market days, and especially with Sunday, which is the more important of the two. This seems to be because almost everybody comes to town on Sunday anyway, and it is convenient then to do other things. It is on Sunday especially that the cantinas are full to overflowing, with marimbas playing and Indians of both sexes dancing or lying in drunken stupors.

On ordinary days, when the scene of life has shifted to the mountains, the town is something of a deserted village. There is a little street ~~marked~~ in the south end of town that is often called Los Callejones; it borders the huge barranca to *the* East of the pueblo, and narrowly follows its contours. There are no cross-streets, and from end to end it is lined with a continuous row of low whitewashed houses. On Sunday it is a throb with life, headquarters of a thousand Indians and a dozen climaxes. But on Monday morning the street is like a white sepulchre; there is not a person to be seen nor a sound to be heard. The whitewash of the stones glistens vacantly under the afternoon sun. Somehow there doesn't seem to be a scrap of evidence that these are human habitations; there is no stray dust, even, and the soft wind must play with itself. The street looms up before one as a picture made for oneself alone.

To see the Plaza on Monday, deserted and bare, it is difficult to believe what it might be, for only the alguaziles sweeping away the debris of the market give evidence -- if self-destroying -- of what was yesterday. But on Sunday the plaza is teeming with Indians, men and women. In even rows the seven hundred merchants of everything from chickens to incense, many under canvas tops, sit and display their wares. A worm's-eye view would show five

thousand or more dirty brown feet; but a bird would see every color -- roughly woven in silk and wool -- that he could ever wish for in a feather.

Just as the town is more than just a town, so Sunday is more than a Day; it is a multitude of climaxes, a sort of temporal nerve-center of the scattered organs of Chichicastenango life.

Soi Tax

(Panajachel, Guatemala)

Nov. 10, 1935

DIARY 1934-35.

(1934)

- October 21 -- Arrived in New Orleans 1:00 P. M.; Hotel Bienville, full, shuttled us to the Roosevelt. Sunday, and no business transacted.
- 22 -- In the morning, to the Guatemalan Consulate, where visas were obtained. In the afternoon to Tulane University, where Dr. Elom's secretary, in the absence of Elom, had us shown around the museum and library of the Department of Middle-American Research. Also obtained copies of The Year Bearer's People, Tribes and Temples, and Soledad, etc. At 5 P.M. to Dr. Elom's home; received well, we were presented with the above books on condition that publications of mine should be given to the Department, we were assured of Tulane co-operation and given advice about Guatemala; also, we met Mr. and Mrs. Robert Smith of the Uaxactun project who were to sail on the Zacapa the next day. In the evening, wrote to Dr. Redfield and others.
- 23 -- At 11:30 A.M. boarded the Zacapa, which sailed an hour later. Later, talked to Mr. Smith, who promised to introduce me to Sancho Latur, Guatemalan proctol of foreign affairs, and also to others.
- 24 -- At sea
- 25 -- At sea
- 26 -- Forenoon, put in at Belize; short shore excursion
- 27 -- At Puerto Barrios, up at 6 A.M. to get out baggage, pass immigration authorities, and have breakfast. Ashore at seven to get handbaggage through customs, catch train at 7:40 for Guatemala City. Arrived Guatemala at 6:30 P.M., went to Palace Hotel. After dinner, a letter to Dr. Redfield and some to others.
- 28 -- Sunday, no business. Moved in afternoon to Pension Guarroult.
- 29 -- Registered at U.S. Consulate-General, who informed us of the necessity of registering at the police-nacional, at the Foreign Office, and at the Municipalidad. At the police office, found we would need more photographs. Went to the Customs office and released our trunk. In the afternoon, met Robert Smith and Alfredo Clark at the American Club, where Smith gave me a visitor's card. Had a long talk with Clark who approved plans to make a preliminary ethnographic survey and who gave valuable advice on how to do it. Strongly advised to use the Carnegie motor-truck if Dr. Ricketson will allow it. Dr. Ricketson will not return for a week. Made an appointment with Smith for the next morning.

- 30 -- We (Mr. Smith and I) finally were able to see Mr. Sanch Latur just before noon; we asked him for a letter for me to the Jefes Politicos of the Departamentos, and he said he would be glad to comply if he had a letter requesting same from the American Legation for his files. In the afternoon we went to the Legation and obtained the letter from Mr. Hanna (the Minister) -- to be ready the following morning. Spent some time in the Carnegie offices, and then we worked out our expense account in the evening.
- 31 -- In the morning, took the letter from the Minister to Mr. Latur, who said he would have his letter requested ready in the afternoon. In the meantime, had pictures taken, took one to the Policia Nacional, and then tried in vain to register at the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Municipalidad. There is a penalty of \$200 for not registering before two months, but they calmed now that we could not register until "almost two months". The Municipalidad required registration at the Foreign office before giving us a sedula. Received from Mr. Latur the letter to the Jefes Politicos, signed by Mr. Skinner Klee, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Spent the evening working over the Monografia Del Departamento de Guatemala.
- November 1 -- All Saints Day, and no business with officials possible. Mr. Clark sent over a Mr. Goubaud, with whom we spent a good part of the day going over the material on Guatemala which I have. He is well-informed, knows the literature well, has visited Indian villages for the express purpose of studying linguistic differences. Interested in ethnology, he would like to make it a life's work; he promises to be of considerable assistance, therefore. Later, went to see Mr. Clark (for whom Goubaud is working) and obtained considerable more information.
- 2 -- Went with Goubaud to his study to see the material he has collected, and his library. Then with him to meet Sr. Villacorta, who heads the Societe de Geografia e Historia; Villacorta apparently knows Goubaud well, and received me very hospitably. He seems interested in ethnology and is exceptionally pleased at having received Chan Kom. He introduced me to his librarian and promised all assistance. We then went to the Statistical office of the Ministry de Fomentas, and arranged to get Census reports and maps. Goubaud had lunch with us, and then I had a thousand index-cards made -- 500 in 5x8 and 500 in 3x5; the former I plan to use as an index of villages, with all available information put on them, to be added to in the survey (map of village, notes on costumes and some customs, perhaps kinship terms to serve as an end in themselves and to be criterion of linguistic relationship. Saw Clark again.
- 3 -- Received Census Reports at the Statistical office; found that best maps were available at the Coffee office of the

the Department of Agriculture. There we went, and obtained two "coffee maps" which include the last boundary-settlement. Took the maps to the Map Department of the Fomentas ministry to be corrected (since a new Departamento -- Progreso -- has been added, and Solola cut down). This would be done Monday morning. Went to see Clark to ask about Goubaud; Clark said he could spare him if I wished to make arrangements to him him work with me, and he thought it was a good idea. Later wrote to Redfield on the subject. In evening visited Mrs. Jessup, who has MS on Indian tales.

4 -- Sunday. To Archeological museum and to the zoo. (Forgot to mention that we previously had gone to see the large relief map of Guatemala at the Hippodromo; it is good, but the horizontal scale is 1/10,000 while the vertical is 1/2,000 -- emphasizing the height.)

5 -- Obtained corrected maps, saw Clark, prepared the correct-map of Guatemala for enlarging into six sections of the highlands. Arranged with a young engineer to pantograph the map in this way so that I could have the enlarged maps to fill in villages, etc. in the survey. I shall eventually have six maps, each 24X24 inches, and overlapping at all boundaries, arranged so that each contains chiefly an ethnological area with surroundings. Began to work over the census reports.

6 -- Began to compile statistics of the villages on the cards. The plan is to take the cards to Clark, and to Mrs. Ricketson, and to others with miscellaneous information and to organize it by villages. In evening, made an appointment to see Dr. Ricketson in the morning, he having just arrived.

7 -- Met Dr. and Mrs. Ricketson in the office. Had a good talk. Ricketson said I could use the truck at least until the first of the year, and also some other equipment that Carnegie has here. He, also impressed by Goubaud, highly approved of the project to take him along. In afternoon and evening, took care of some correspondence, and wrote this itinerary-diary. Plans now are to complete the card-index of villages and on the tenth and eleventh to take two excursions into the northern parts of this Department to begin the survey. On these trips it is hoped that we will be able to see what kinds of information are collectable, so that plans for the future can be made more specifically.

DIARY II

(1934)

- November 8 -- Having negotiated to get maps of the Departments made, attempted to find maps of the municipios at the Department of Fomento. Learned that such maps are in existence, but a letter to the Minister of Fomento required. Obtained a letter to him from Dr. Ricketson. Spent part of the day making the card index of villages, etc. In the evening, to the Ricketson's for dinner; until about 1 A.M. spoke about Guatemala with them and Mr. Fenton, another guest. Mr. Fenton, who lives at our pension, has a finca in San Marcos, most of whose Indians coming from Comitancillo, a going Indian village. In other conversations, considered the possibility of making a study at some later date of Finca acculturation down there. Mrs. Ricketson kindly lent a list of Indian villages with distinct costumes.
- 9 -- To the Minister of Fomento with the letter, only to discover that information about maps of municipios was wrong. Worked on card-index part of day. To Goubaud's for dinner, with some good information.
- 10 -- This is the President's birthday. Last night there was a concert in the decorated street in front of his house; it was a complete holiday. Early in the morning the Pension packed us a lunch, we got ~~around~~ the Carnegie truck, and went, with Goubaud, for a day's trip into the Northern municipios of Guatemala. After some time over treacherous roads, arrived at Chinautla, where I mapped the town, obtained notes on the costumes, and tried to get the kinship terms. This was an attempt to see what problems we are up against in a quick survey. It appears that the Indians have their distinctive kinship systems even so close to the Capital, but it would take a long time to learn it. So with other non-material aspects of the culture. Then farther north to San Antonio Las Flores; driving up to the Juzgado, we were greeted by bayonets, since it is apparently illegal to drive so far into town; once having met the alcalde and secretary, they were very cordial, however, and gave us linguistic and geographic information of the surrounding country, and took us into the houses so we could examine the costumes. Thinking to get a sample of living conditions, we bargained for the best room available in town, and all seemed glad at the prospect of our coming to remain. We prefer a survey first, however. Learned that in the long run mules are more practical than motors for a survey, that no survey can be hasty and get anything.
- 11 -- Worked on the card index most of the day; finished about 1200 of them, all that we will do for the time being. In the afternoon, talked to Goubaud, who decided it was impossible to work with us for the time being. Our decision was that it was time to begin our survey, without him. Saw a religious procession in the evening. (Sunday).

- November 12 -- Talked first to Dr. Ricketson, then to Mr. Clark about our plans. Both agreed that it would be well to start West soon, preferably to Chichicastenango. The former offered us use of cots, blankets, utensils, etc., as well as the truck to get there; the latter found a chauffer for us, and promised a special rate at the Maya Inn as long as we would have to be in the Pueblo. Decided to drive to Chichicastenango with all of the equipment, to send the truck back, and to survey the country on mule-back. Spent part of the afternoon at the Customs, getting out some halozone which had arrived from New Orleans (there was none in the city when we were there). Returned to Mrs. Jessup her MS on Guatamalan folklore, having read it through. Made preparations to leave on the 14th. Went over index-cards of Chichicastenango with Clark, who gave us names of people in those places where he knew some. Clark also prepared letters to the Jefe Politico and to Padre Rossbach for us to take.
- 13 -- Spent part of the day getting through the red tape at the Customs office. Went to Ricketson's office to pack up equipment; then to his home for additional. To Benjaminson's Grocery for food supplies for the survey. Had a box made for the index-cards, got the chauffer to help pick up things and pack. The chauffer is Raimundo Hernandez, ladino from Salama, a nice and useful boy who knows the country very well.
- 14 -- Away at 7:30 for Chichicastenango; passed through Mixco, Chimaltenango, Tecpan, etc., getting as good an idea of the country as possible, stopping over for short looks. Arrived in the afternoon at the Inn in Chichicastenango, where arranged room and board for both for \$4.50 a day, very reasonable all things considered. Went to call on Padre Rossbach, presenting letters from Redfield and Clark and -- introduced by Mr. Rohrmann of the hotel -- very sympathetically received. Talked long about possibilities for working here.
- 15 -- To Quiche with the truck. Presented letter from Clark, and letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Jefe Politico; well received, he also gave us a circular to the Alcaldes and Commandantes of the Municipios asking their cooperation with us. Back in Chichicastenango, made arrangements with Tomás Ventura to get us pack- and riding mules and accompany us on our trips. Decided to remain in this territory for a month, so arranged to keep him that long. Prepared to leave on the 17th. Spoke again to the Padre, who is pessimistic about our reception by the Indians; all agree that Ventura is the best man for us.
- 16 -- Talked with the alcalde here, who gave us a letter to the Alcaldes auxiliares and the Principales of the cantones of the municipio. Padre Rossbach talked to Tomas Ventura in our presence, giving him instructions about dealing with the Indians in their relations with us. Padre still pessimistic, and thinks that we may fail entirely; meanwhile gives us advice as to how to act.

October 17 -- Tomas didn't come until after 9 A.M. because he had to bring his mules from Quejel and they strayed on the way. Finally packed everything and got away by 10:30 with a packed lunch. Over very difficult mountain trails, went East to Quejel, then Southwest to Camanibal and Chuabaj, through Chicua 1st and into Chicua 2nd, where Tomas has a house and where his family is for a while. Got a very good idea of the country, but all along the way, Indians morose and inhospitable. Arriving near Tomas' home at sunset, heard a marimba, and coming into the courtyard saw women busy weaving, all signs friendly; surprised when shown to a room all clean and neatly carpeted with pine-needles -- the room in which the marimba is playing, for our entry. Children come in and are friendly as are the women; our things are set up by Tomas and the others and after giving everybody presents, marimba stops and we prepare some coffee. Family eats in other room and leaves us to our resources. In the evening, long conversation in our rooms with everybody assembled. Tomas is only Spanish-speaking person. He is one of few literates among some 30,000 Indians, and is intelligent. Spent a cold night.

18 -- Went around with Tomas, getting more intimate view of the topography; started to make a map of the municipio from what I had seen and from information supplied by Tomas. Food a problem, for nothing available here (since foods are obtainable only in the pueblo on market day) but get a chicken and manage all right. Roasted corn and tortillas furnish the Indians with five short meals a day. Took Tomas' genealogy, got some kinship terms; observed cooking and weaving operations, and made as close friends with everybody as cigars and the lack of language permitted. In the evening, everybody (and the marimba) in our room again, and sounded them out on ethnological questions; also trying to get an idea of their world-horizons. It seems that as far as this group is concerned (Tomas' wife and children, his brother and his wife, a neighbor and hers) ethnological enquiries should not be difficult. Only 10 households in Chicua, and no very good friends of Tomas, so decide to remove operations to Quejel, where we would stay much longer; this, Tomas' ancestral home, seemed to offer opportunities and has the advantage of being closer to the pueblo.

20 -- Continued observations in Chicua, and visited Sajvichol, Chumanzano, and Camanchaj; saw the relations of the cantones and their human-geography. Prepared to leave in the morning for the Pueblo to prepare for a longer stay in Quejel; found we needed many things to make life liveable and work profitable.

20 -- To Chichicastenango again, by the same route of necessity. Arrived in afternoon, and made arrangements with Tomas to prepare a place for us in Quejel, and to get us a servant to take care of fire, cooking, cleaning, etc. so we should have time for ethnology. Tomas to move his family on the 21st, to prepare for our arrival on the 23rd, when he would come with mules for us.

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1934

- November 21 -- Spent most of the day on correspondence, writing itinerary and a letter to Dr. Redfield explaining the situation.
- 22 -- Made preparations for leaving, making purchases at market, finishing correspondence. Also went to the Alcalde's office to see about getting a map of the municipio that people claimed they had. The map, it appears, has left the pueblo to be fixed.
- 23 -- Tomas was a bit late in the morning (having been at a fiesta in Quiche the night before, having drunk a bit too much, and having now come directly from there without having slept) but we boarded the mules at ten A. M. and after an hour and a half arrived at Tomas' house in Quejel. The outlook for staying there looked depressing immediately, for there were only three rooms, one very large, one tiny, and one used as a corn-crib. The large one had been vacated for us, and Tomas, his wife, and his three children, and his brother Diego and wife would have to sleep in the corn-crib. The room for us was anything but comfortable, and as the small room led from ours, we would have no privacy because Tomas' father, wife and seven children slept in there. But when we learned a bit later that the family of Tomas' father was also moving into the corn-crib to give us the privacy, it looked very ill indeed and we began to regard ourselves as pigs. We called on the principale of Quejel in the afternoon, and tried for awhile to make our place ~~liveable~~ livable. In the evening, the principale returned, and there was there also one Manuel Ventura, a medicine-man of Agua Escondida who played the marimba for us. He was not above doing common labor, either. The night was very bad, for we found that although Tomas had done his best for us, the fleas were bad and it was impossible to sleep. Also, our consciences hurt considerably at the inconvenience to which we were putting the family, and we decided that we should have to make other arrangements. The week that we planned to stay there became an impossibility, and it appeared better to commute to Quejel from the pueblo; also, there was the justification that since we were making a preliminary survey, and the pueblo was the center of town, it would serve us, perhaps, better. Quejel is not a village, but a series of farms....
- 24 -- The principale of Chuamanzana, another canton, came in the morning, and I spent four hours talking to him, getting some information of value. In the afternoon, we made a graceful exit from Tomas' home and returned to Chichicastenango. There we made preparations to stay at the Inn to complete our survey of the municipio, and wrote to Mr. Clark to get a better rate for the Institution.
- 25 -- In the morning, brujo Manuel Ventura came as an informant. In the afternoon Martin Pelis of Chucam came to

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give information. See notes for results.

- November 26 -- In the morning, Tomas Tol of Semeja was the informant; in the afternoon, Tomas Ventura was there alone, and talked about costumes. (see notes.)
- 27 -- Miguel Marroginn of Mactzul 4th was the informant in the morning. In the afternoon, Tomas came again alone. (see notes) Did correspondence (a letter to Dr. Redfield) in the evening.
- 28 -- Had an appointment to meet the brujo in Quejel. Went there for the day, but the brujo never came. Instead, talked to Tomas and family, started to map Quejel.
- 29 -- Thanksgiving day. This is the first day of the Novena for Concepcion for the Ladinos. Awakened at 3:30 A. M. by the sound of a flute and drum from the church, and also intermittent fireworks. This was all to continue for ten days. In the morning an informant from Chiche (the Indian Secretary) came, and with his help started to map Chiche, also get his kinship system and other information. In the afternoon, an informant from Xeavaj, another canton. For dinner, the Jefe Politico arrived from Quiche to go to Church and have our Thanksgiving turkey with us. As old friends by this time we had a good conversation.
- 30 -- Francisco Bosel, alcalde auxiliare of Chucalibal, came as an informant. In the afternoon, Tomas began to give us his autobiography and other information.
- December 1 -- To Chiche by mule, where witnessed the market, the Torre dance given by the Indians, the market, and the town.
- 2 -- (Sunday). A Dr. Bryan of the Los Angeles Museum was at the Inn and we had some conversation, especially about Padre Rossbach. The principale of Chuabaj, Tomas Morales, came to give information. In the evening, the brujo came with information. A slight earthquake.
- 3 -- Brujo from Agua Escondida came, we finished the calendar; in the evening, with him to toutsil, a place near the pueblo where the brujo did costumbres for a sick patient. (see notes)
- 4 -- Worked with Tomas on map of the municipio. In the afternoon, Diego Saquic of Chupol came with information.
- 5 -- Worked with Tomas on a map of Quejel.
- 6 -- Worked with Tomas on a map of the Pueblo.
- 7 -- Sebastian Canal of Baxot 1st came with information. In afternoon, worked with Tomas, clearing up the kinship system. In evening, to Concepcion fiesta in home of Indian family from Totonicapan.

December 8 -- Last day of the Novena; ladino fiesta in town. Saw masked-costume dances in the plaza, then to the home of the outgoing alcalde of the cofradia of Concepcion, then to the home of the new, etc. Ladinos very friendly to us. Worked with Tomas on and off during the day. Have been seeing Padre Rossbach almost every day for a few minutes or longer.

9 -- A film company from Hollywood arrives with a Chimpanzee and a Tarzan; they intend to stay here several weeks and shoot a picture using Chichicastenango people and getting the fiesta. Apparently this will be a lost city in Africa when it gets into the cinema. Since the people are greatly offended to have the motion picture people here, it seems best to leave, lest we become merged in the minds of the Indians with the movie-people. Decide that this is excellent time to go to San Francisco and Momostenango and points West to carry our survey farther. Spend the day making preparations. Arrange to hire the padre's automobile, buy whiskey for Padre Knittel, send telegram to him, etc. Also try in vain to complete the writing of notes which has been going on slowly in-between times.

10 -- In the morning at nine o'clock started for San Francisco El Alto; Tomas came along for the ride, to return with the car on arrival. First stop Quiche to take care of registering for residence in Guatemala. It will be remembered that there is a fine of \$200 for not registering within two months; in the Capital they wouldn't let us because they said we should wait until 2 months almost up. Here found the Jefe out of town, and the secretary showed us the regulations which said we'd have to send passport and visa to the Capital with \$2.00. After getting a receipt for all, decided to leave the papers there to be sent to the Capital. Through Totonicapan ~~and~~ where stopped to see the market, through San Cristobal, to San Francisco El Alto. Here found that Father Carlos Knittel is not in town, and decide that since there is no place to stay but with him, we would go on to Momostenango. Left a note for Father Carlos and left.

Arrived at 2 P. M. in Momostenenago; went to Father Francisco Knittel's place; since he had no room for us, and since he said Ernesto Lang had none, he sent us to the Escobeda Hotel for room and meals. Rather chilled by the padre's reception, we gladly went. Later we met Herr Lang and saw more of the Padre, whose attitude soon changed to great friendliness. That afternoon we took a walk with the padre to see some riskos and what he calls burning-places, or toutsils; on the way met Lang (who is a sort of coroner) with the body of a man who had fallen or been pushed down the riskos and killed. Saw funeral procession for this Indian. Noticed the striking difference between Father's Rossbach and Knittel in attitude toward Indians. The latter has little interest and when they stop to be blessed he barely does it -- with pencil instead of finger -- in passing.

In the evening, at Lang's home with the Padre; Lang very cordial and a willing informant about the Indians, and we get some good information. Had so much before dinner (of good food and drink) that we didn't have to partake of the unsanitary fare at the hotel. There at 9 P.M. to a flea-infested bedroom.

DIARY (4)

1934

- December 16 -- Having arranged passage with the mail-freight car to Huehuetenango -- for \$5.00 the round trip -- we left at ten A. M. After Olintepeque the country was practically bad-lands, and after Sija more so. After Sija only the hamlet of Chiquival separated us from Malacatan, in Huehuetenango; we stopped there long enough to determine that the language is Quiche (as is that at Sija). We arrived in Huehuetenango late in the afternoon and went to the Galves Hotel. The place is pretty and should be comfortable; but it is wretchedly managed by a German named Apel. Before dinner we had time to stroll about the town and country, and to watch part of a soccer game. Huehuetenango, the farthest city to the northwest is eminently civilized, which ~~is~~ among other things -- a fine relief map of the Department in the plaza. In the evening we met an American botanist named Skutch (connected with one of the Harvard institutions) had had been working (collecting) in this region for months, and he gave us some good leads. Partly on his advice, partly because circumstances seemed obviously to warrant it, we decided not to tour the Department by mule-pack in this visit. Instead, we decided to hire Skutch's mozo (Skutch was leaving in the morning) and have him bring informants to us -- Indians from all sections coming into the city daily. In our ride to Huehuetenango we had picked up a young Indian who was injured; we had paid his passage (25 cents) in exchange for information; he was from San Marcos (San Miguel) and spoke Mam; I asked him to come the next morning with other Indians from his neighborhood.
- 17 -- The San Marcos boy did not come; but the mozo did, and he began to bring in informants. The first was Pascual Lorenzo of Santa Bulalia; we obtained general information about his pueblo and his village of Mancutae -- costume, economics, etc.; his genealogy was taken, and his kinship terminology rather unsatisfactorily obtained. Almost an hour was spent in trying to get information on the calendar. I finally concluded that he simply didn't know it. It seemed apparent that Sta. Bulalia is Quiche. The next informant was Pedro Jose of San Miguel Acatan, but before I could gain his confidence he eased himself out and ran off. In the afternoon the first informant was Pasoual Garcia of San Juan Ixcay from whom all I succeeded in getting was an unsatisfactory set of kinship terms and the numbers up to twenty. He claimed they could count no further. One difficulty with informants was their lack of adequate Spanish; I might mention that in the city and surrounding villages the Indians have lost their language -- as well as costume -- while the Indians who came in from the North spoke very little Spanish. This informant apparently speaks ~~Mam~~ Quiche also. The next informant was Juan Mateo of Patalcal, an aldea near San Mateo Ixtatan; I was more successful in getting numbers, but unsuccessful in getting trustworthy kinship-terms and entirely so with

DIARY (4) -2-

the calendar. The informant seemed to be rather Quiche than Mam linguistically also.

Two informants came together after this. One was Salvador Jose of Soloma (Mun. of San Juan) and the other Juan Domingo of Concepcion. I had been afraid to have two together, but it worked out most successfully, since they recognized differences in language between them and each was anxious to have his recorded correctly. I was successful in getting the numbers recorded and also the kinship terms. The comparisons are interesting, and appear in the Notes. Again I tried in vain to get the calendar, but after much tussling and arguing back and forth I was for the first time successful in making them understand, at least, what I wished. Then they told me that only the shamans know the calendar, and they promised to bring one in the morning. Both were apparently Quiche.

- 18 -- In the morning Salvador Jose returned with the medicine-man -- one Sebastian Rapaial of San Juan Ixcay. After haggling over the fee to be paid the shaman (which came finally to eighty cents) I proceeded to get the calendar. I not only got the 260 day calendar straight, but also the eighteen months (simply numbered, however. Also, I got the correlation of their day with ours: this day Oc too. Also I got lucky and unlucky days, etc.; but I was unable to find out anything about ceremonies connected with the calendar.

In the afternoon came Diego Martin of ~~Ex~~ Checoche in the municipio of San Juan Uritan (San Juan Atitlan in the Census Report). From him I got numbers and kinship terms again -- the latter poorly -- and failed with the calendar.

He seemed to speak a language closer to Mam than Quiche. Late in the afternoon came Abeline Ramires, of Todos Santos. Although the most colorful informant -- with his flowing beard and red-and-white striped trousers, and also the most willing, the information I got from him was limited. I got the numbers all right, and found that he also seemed to speak Mam; but the kinship terms were too much. I took his genealogy and it turned out to be by far the largest I have had in Guatemala, but even then I couldn't make him understand what I wanted. I think Todos Santos would make a good study, from what I did get.

Before dinner we took a ride (a guest from Guatemala, with a car, drove us free of charge) to the restored pyramid a few miles from the city. The only thing of importance that we did besides that was, earlier in the day, to call on the Jefe Politico, who greeted us well and promised every co-operation when we should come to study.

- 19 -- The whole day spent riding to Quetzaltenango in the mail-truck. After three days of very bad food this ride was too much and we were both ill when we arrived. We rested in the evening.
- 20 -- Hired a car to take us to Concepcion, San Martin Chili Verde, and San Juan, all West of Quetzaltenango. In Concepcion and San Martin we stayed several hours and -- from Indians around the Jugoado -- got good information on econ-

DIARY (4) -3-

- omies and language. It appears that both are Mam, and are the first towns west of Quezaltenango that are; here is one dividing line between Quiche and Mam. It was too late when we arrived in San Juan to get any information, but we saw the alcalde and an American Missionary (woman). San Juan is without much doubt Quiche. We arrived back in the city quite ill and decided to rest and recuperate. We learned that a bus which goes twice a week to the Capital would leave on the 22nd, and by taking it to Solola would afford us the cheapest transportation back to Chichicastenango. We arranged to take this bus.
- 21 -- Spent two hours in the Jefe's office in Quezaltenango getting information and statistics. Then started to organize notes and to make a map to go with them. Recuperated.
- 22 -- Up at 5 A.M. to take the bus to Solola. It was a long hard trip and almost noon when we arrived at the hotel in ~~Rx~~ Tzajuyu (Panajachel). Wanted to take the boat to Santiago Atitlan, but the regular one had left earlier and an "express" was too expensive. Heard that the film company was coming the next day and decided it was time to go back to Chichicastenango. Went to Panajachel, did little else.
- 23 -- Sunday. Saw the market in Panajachel; then, a car coming with film people, we rode back with it to Chichicastenango. During the day all of the film company gradually left the place. We began to hear that the Indians were very angry at foreigners. Saw Tomas Ventura and arranged to start working on the language.
- 24 -- Worked on notes and correspondence. Hear more of trouble with the Indians. Fourteen have been imprisoned for assaults on those who helped the motion picture people. Tomas Ventura, who not only helped them but other foreigners such as me is especially disliked by the anti-foreign group. How serious the matter is nobody can say, but Tomas thinks it is a matter of a fanatic few and will not last long.
- 25 -- Christmas Day. Worked with Tomas on the language.
- 26 -- Deciding to settle here, inquire about places to stay. It appears that there are few. Mr. Clark is here, and suggesting that we remain at the Inn sets a price of \$90 a month. This is too much, and besides the Inn doesn't appear to be a good place to work -- considering the attitude of the Indians, or many of them. In afternoon, drive to Chiche with a Mrs. Clark and party -- who are here for a few weeks. See another Torre dance.
- 27 -- Worked on the language with Tomas again; then on maps. Where to live still a bothersome question. There are few if any suitable houses vacant, and to furnish one of these, then to hire a cook and house-boy all for from four to six months makes it too expensive also. Figuring up it comes out about as high as the Inn. To furnish a house and to eat at the Inn makes it even higher. Yet it appears best to get a place outside.

DIARY (4) -4-

- 28 -- With Mrs. Clark to San Francisco El Alto. We had planned to go there to stay a few weeks after Christmas; but later we decided that we had better settle down and learn Quiche before our time slips by. On the little survey that we made we found that we ought to know more about Quiche and Chichicastenango culture before tackling other places, so that we should have more points on which to get comparative material. Now that had changed our plans as far as San Francisco is concerned, it seemed well to go to talk to the padre -- the more especially since the trip would cost us nothing but our time. We found both Padre Carlos and Padre Francis there and had a good talk. Made tentative arrangements to go to spend a month (March probably) there. Of special interest on the way were the hot baths at Totonicapan; there in what looked like swimming pools were Indians of both sexes scrubbing away in the sulphur-water at each other's hair and bodies. Rather surprised us that although these people dress thoroughly, there is apparently no shame at exposure.... Also had a slight auto accident that did little damage but ~~showed~~ showed us the way of the police in Totonicapan: if either chauffer wished to claim damages from the other, both would have to stay in jail until a commission could go with them to the scene of the accident to decide. We called our accident a draw....
- 29 -- With Tomas on the language again. Also, to relieve the monotony, began to make a map and census of the market here to see just who comes where from where to sell what.
- 30 -- Tomas on the language. The procedure is to get just enough grammar to be able to speak grammatically; otherwise, specialization is on vocabulary, etc. Enough progress so that we can write sentences in Quiche and have them understood (when we read them off) by all of the Indians around.
- 31 -- Still on the language with Tomas. About living: the Padre has three rooms in a house in the pueblo (owned by his brother-in-law) and we can rent them. There is a Ladino woman in town who once cooked on the Gordon Smith finca; we decided we might be able to manage if she would cook for us in her own home and our boy bring the food to us each meal. This would save making a kitchen, etc. We saw the woman and she agreed. If we can furnish the house reasonably it will be all right. Things here are more expensive however than is at first supposed. Some things are cheap, but others -- like mattresses and mirrors -- very high. Also we need a water filter and a small stove of some kind for coffee. Some things will be property with permanent value and perhaps can be bought by the Institution to remain in Guatemala. It will take a week, anyway, to get the place furnished, and we shall have to go to the Capital for the things we left and the new things needed.

1935

January 1 -- In the morning with Tomas on the language. In afternoon to the Padre's. At midnight last night saw new Alcaldes inducted into office. This New Year's Day--

DIARY (5)

1935

- January 2 -- CHICHICASTENANGO. Worked all day with Tomas Ventura on the language.
- 3 -- Worked again on the language, with Tomas.
- 4 -- In the morning on the language. In the afternoon and evening worked on getting the survey notes in order.
- 5 -- Worked with Tomas on the language again. By this time we have a large vocabulary, some idea of the verb forms, pronouns, etc. Have succeeded in writing compositions in Quiche that, when read to other Indians, are understood.
- 6 -- Sunday; left in the morning for the City; having found and rented a section of a house in the pueblo, having arranged to have a native woman cook for us, we went to the City to pick up our belongings and buy things necessary to a long stay in Chichicastenango.
- GUATEMALA CITY. Dr. Andrade was supposed to have arrived the previous week, but since he had not notified us of his arrival, determined to find him. After a search of an evening, found that Andrade had come a week late and was just then coming into the city; so we were able to welcome him. Had dinner with us, and a long talk.
- 7 -- to Ricketson's office, in the morning, with Andrade; then to Clark's to take care of accounts and see about transportation back to Chichicastenango with freight (Andrade's and ours). To the Consulate to see if something could be done to get my passport from the Foreign Office, where it was sent from Quiche a month before to register us. After several trips to the Foreign Office, they decided that perhaps we need not register, they would discuss it and later send me the passport -- or else, if I had to register, send for us to come to the City again. Spent some time shopping.
- 8 -- Spent a hard day shopping; spent some time with Ricketson and some at Clark's. The difficulty of getting a truck to take our equipment (some 1300 pounds altogether) was becoming apparent.
- 9 -- shopped more, and was finally successful in getting a truck to take our things to Chichicastenango the following morning, when we would also leave.
- 10 -- Enroute all day to Chichicastenango. In the car were Alfred Clark, Padre Kossbach, another gentlemen, prof. Andrade, and ourselves. We stopped at Tzanjuyu for lunch, where Andrade and I walked to Panajachel and also took a vocabulary from a Sololatecan. Then to CHICHICASTENANGO;
- 11 -- I had induced Andrade to come here to Chichicastenango because (1) he wanted to study quiche anyway, (2) he might as well do some work where we are studying so that he can be of help to us in the language, and (3) I have connections that I can pass on to him and start him quickly to work.

Diary (5) -2-

I decided to let him use Tomas for a start, since I had already trained him as a linguistic informant. Therefore this morning I introduced him to Tomas and they began to work. Meanwhile, I had work to do on notes, and I began to fill in with information from Juan Cutillo, a boy that was working at the hotel and whom we were planning to have work for us when we moved. We were awaiting the truck with our things (it was supposed to come today) to move over; but it did not arrive.

- 12 -- Furnishing a house in Chichicastenango is a matter of calling in the carpenters -- giving orders to Indians from Totonicapan for things they can do and to Ladino carpenters for things they only can do. Still awaiting the truck, time was occupied partly in this business, partly in the matter of notes. Now also we began to figure out our expense account, which, since it covered two months was considerable of a task.
- 13 -- Sunday and market-day, there were many things to take care of there, for it is the only time one can buy things in Chichicastenango. We finished the expense account and made considerable headway on the notes.
- 14 -- The truck finally came in the afternoon, but since we were awaiting the bed-spring and mattress to get measurements to have a bed made, that had to be taken care of before we could move. We prepared to move the next day; and meanwhile we spend a couple of hours with Juan Cutillo, who is interesting personally as one who -- while even illiterate and utterly ignorant of the world -- is a sort of marginal man simply because he has visions of places more lively, and who has, besides, an interesting family situation with a mother who has lived with perhaps five men (Juan's father having died when he was very young). Worked more on notes, making maps and charts.
- 15 -- Although still needing many things, we moved into our house in the pueblo, taking Juan with us. Although busy and unsettled, we managed to become settled enough to write this diary in the evening.

Diary (6)

1935

- January 16 -- Worked with Dr. Andrade and Tomas on some points of the language, settling a few little disputes and straightening the phonetic pattern. Worked on notes afternoon and evening.
- 17 -- More work on notes, which are quite a task. Spent two hours talking to Tomas on plans for the future. We were especially glad to find that there is a young Indian woman in the pueblo who speaks Spanish well -- who is, in fact, literate -- and we shall meet her to see if she can become useful to Mrs. Tax as a guide and interpreter. There is apparently a strong feeling against foreign men having any sort of contact with Indian women, and if Mrs. Tax is seen dealing with women it will serve both the purpose of getting that side of the culture and also of removing any suspicions from me on that account. This girl, by the way, is still Indian enough, if the fact that she earns her living by weaving is a criterion.
- Goubaud came with a tourist party, and after Andrade and we had spent some time with him, Andrade concluded with emphasis that he could be very valuable to us if we could make some arrangement by which he could devote his time to training and research.
- 18 -- Spent some time with Manuel Ventura, brujo, trying to straighten him on his dates; I have a feeling that he may be confused. Worked more on the notes. Although conditions are comparatively ideal for work here, I suppose, there are some difficulties. One is that except for a few hours at midday it is usually very cold here, and much of the time close to freezing -- in fact it has been below freezing several mornings. Since there is no effective artificial heat, we find our brains chilled some of the time. Another is that the electric power plant is so run that every week or so it blows out the electric light bulbs and -- since we depend on electricity and haven't provided effective substitutes -- leaves us in darkness.
- 19 -- Finished the notes in the morning. In the afternoon the batteries for Dr. Andrade's recording apparatus arrived and we watched him set it up. Since Dr. Andrade's arrival I have become steadily more convinced of the tremendous advantage such a device is for linguistics, and -- even more -- for ethnology. When I began to see, now, how it works, and with certain improvements how it might work, I became enthusiastic. Tomas saw the machine and we made arrangements to have Indians come in to ~~talk~~ talk into the microphone.
- 20 -- Sunday. A little too interested in the recording machine (which, by the way, was established immediately in our house) we spent the day listening to the Indians at it. Every text taken seemed more important to ethnology than the one before, and I began to vision an entirely new kind of ethnology, so improved over the present that there seems no excuse for not doing it.
- 21 -- Found a young man, Manuel Tsakik, an Indian who has lived

all his life in the pueblo and I tried, without too much success, to get a view of how the Indians live when they have no milpas, and also their attitude towards the Ladinos. Went out with him and my sketch-map of the pueblo filling in and correcting and taking notes on the various points.

- 22 -- Received a letter (through the Alcalde here) from the Jefe's office in Quiche asking me to come up there about the business of the passport. There I was shown a letter ~~of~~ from the Office of Foreign Relations in the Capital acknowledging receipt of my passport and the \$2.00 and saying that the matter of registration will be considered in a few days. This was nothing new to me, but it appears that in business of this kind my presence was required. Meanwhile it cost me most of a day and \$1.50 transportation. In the evening Dr. Andrade and we called on the ~~San~~ Padre; it was his Saint's day and I brought a bottle of whiskey. He had a fiesta of sorts, and Padre Francisco Knittel and Ernesto Lang of Momostenango were there. We renewed old friendships, and our invitation to return to Momostenango was repeated.
- 23 -- Juan Tsok, an old Indian from ~~Quiche~~ Chiche (who is making some recordings of prayers, etc. for Andrade) spent the morning with us giving information that will go well with the records. The more I see and hear of it, the more enthusiastic I become about the recording machine. At first the Indians were a bit timid before the microphone, but after making a record and hearing it played back immediately, they gained courage. And some of the records are really remarkable. For example, one evening we were alone with our house-boy, Juan Cutillo, and I asked him if he would like to make a record; he had seen others do so, and he acted like a young girl asked to make a test for the movies. He wanted to know what he should speak about, and remembering a scene in the market where he had bargained successfully for a pineapple for us, we told him to make up a dialog about that. Before the microphone he waxed eloquent and dramatic, and the time was up before he had bought the pineapple. I imagine that that is as good a snapshot of this culture as one would want. Then we asked him to say anything he wished, and to our surprise he filled a record with a calling-down to Tomas Ventura for not treating us right! Here he was telling Tomas in the record what he hasn't courage to say to him directly. As for that, Tomas has made a number of records himself, and one of them is advice to a newly-married couple -- and it is remarkable for showing off Tomas' character (or how much is cultural?), for in the record he might be a Kawakiutl Indian (or the opposite) for his attitude toward money and life. You should treat your wife well, he says to the boy, because if not she may leave you, and you will have lost all the money you have spent on her -- and besides, when you want another, do you think her father will let you have her for nothing? Also you must be careful with your children, and keep them well; for while when a young animal dies its parents may simply leave it by the roadside, humans cannot throw dead children over barrancas; they must bury them, and it costs money.

Diary (6) 82x -3-

I can't help but think that quantities of records of this kind will not only help in recording prayers and the esoteric information usually ~~making~~ taken in text much better, but that they will open up new fields or research --new methods of getting at cultural values, the real insides of culture. A hundred people could be asked to say anything they please, and one could get a notion of what is uppermost in their minds -- or what they think is important to say or interesting to us. The same hundred might be asked to give advice to a young man, and so on. Those tests (and I am convinced now that in Chichicastenango there would be no difficulty in making them) would furnish a better basis for making judgments than anything we now have. To ask for the same sort of statement in text -- written down to dictation -- would not at all suffice, for it is the conversational freedom of the other that makes it really worthwhile.

Besides, with a machine like this, with a crystal microphone (one that may be placed anywhere in the room so that the speaker doesn't have to speak into it) one could get whole conversations in a room, discussions and arguments, even -- if an opportunity comes -- social hours in an Indian's home or perhaps a ceremony of some sort. These things cannot be taken down verbatim even if the language is native; no matter how well one learned Quiche he could not get it down on paper even if he understood it all. With a knowledge of the language one could translate the records later -- with insufficient knowledge one could do so with help from the Indians. But all would be there. And the proof of the pudding (something which nobody can bring back from the field now) would be on records that could be played on anybody's phonograph.

- 24 -- In the morning went to the Padre's to say goodbye to Padre Knittel and Lang. Observed some more recording. Took notes from Juan Gutilla. In the afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Sterling of the B.A.E., having come to town for a day, called on us and we talked for several hours. For dinner Goubaud came over and there was more talk. I am anxious to know what disposition we can make of Goubaud.
- 25 -- Andrade and we went to Quejel with Tomas. It was the final day of the harvest for Tomas and the forty mozos that were working for him were celebrating the end in customary way with a bit of a fiesta. The observations to be made were not many, except to see the spirit of it, but it was an enjoyable day.
- 26 -- The calendar-date here has been a bother; originally, when I took the date from the brujo, I had no reason to think either that he was lying or that he didn't know. But later I casually asked him the date one day and what he told me didn't jibe with his own previous correlation -- nor with that of Momostenango. So today I decided to pin down this same brujo; I could have gotten another but I am interested to see what is wrong with this fellow. I pointed out all inconsistencies

Diary (6) -4-

in what he had told me, and he agreed they were there. It finally became apparent that he simply doesn't know that aspect of the calendar well, and actually doesn't know what day on the calendar (that he otherwise knows well) it is. The point was rather proved when I asked what day tomorrow would be, and he admitted he didn't know. Now the padre had told me that Sunday would be a big day for the Indians -- wacaxip-k'ix -- and since the brujo didn't know even that (which, by the way jibes, with the Momostenango calendar-dates) it showed he doesn't know very much. That he wasn't acting dumb, simply, is evidenced by his chagrin -- and his friend Tomas' chagrin, at my discovery of his ignorance. Yet this boy is supposed to be a pretty good brujo, which leads to the question of how well even the brujos know the calendar here -- and to answer that we need more brujos. Whether the father's statement settles the question of whether the calendar in Chichicastenango coincides with that in Momostenango is a question, once it is remembered that he was a priest in Momostenango for years and may simply be assuming they are the same. The chances are that he is right, however.

Talked to Juan Gutillo a few hours; he has a sister whose age he gives as from 7 to 9 who is married. On asking him if they live together he said yes, but as to the question of their living together as man-and-wife, the answer was different. Until the couple is older (the boy is about 13) the sleeping arrangements (they live in his house) are as follows: First, the boy's father; then next to him the little girl; next to her the boy's mother, and then the boy. Juan himself (about 15) has tried to get one of Tomas' Ventura's half-sisters for a wife, he admits, but Tomas objects because he has no milpa. Arranged to go to Juan's home in Chucam on Monday.

27 -- Checked up on my map of the market-place at the market, this being Sunday. In the afternoon went to visit the Padre and, most unusual, we were alone for more than an hour, discussing some of the problems -- especially of tourists and the Indians. It's such an ever-day occurrence that I do not usually mention it, but I manage to get to see the Padre almost every day; usually there is no time to talk, however.

28 -- Went over to Chucam with Juan; like the other Cantones it consists of scattered milpas, but it differs from most in being contiguous with the Pueblo with nothing in the way of a geographic barrier between. Juan's mother was there, but she hid when we came; although Juan is the utmost liberal as far as foreigners are concerned, and although we almost feed his mother and her family (always sending things over) so that she must think we are all right, and although Juan says his mother once worked in a German household, she is exceedingly shy of foreigners. She is not much over thirty, but is on her fifth (I think) husband; if it can be done she deserves investigation as an atypical specimen.

29 -- Decided to give my brujo friend a good test and at the same time to get the calendar on record, so had him make a recording of the 260 days in order. Tomas decided to help him by supplying him with twenty stones to be markers. Even so he made several mistakes. However all words are there and

DIARY (7)

1935

January 30 -- GHICHICASTENANGO. Wrote a letter to Dr. Redfield and mailed it with the last Diary. Worked some with Tomas and asked him to bring a brujo friend of his. In the evening Goubaud came; nothing new.

31 -- Market day; a new system has been inaugurated at the market, with marked lanes and a somewhat new arrangement of the merchants. Examined it with Tomas and then walked with him around the pueblo, making notes on places of interest, such as where the Cofradias have headquarters. Decided to make a large and thoroughly complete map of the pueblo, so that I could tell to whom each of the houses belong; the Indians own many houses here, but come to live with them only on market-days and fiestas. Who these Indians are, where they come from, and what the Indians without houses here do is a little problem. Visited with Tomas a leather-tanning factory owned by ladinos but using Indian labor; a surprisingly large establishment for this place.

In the afternoon Tomas brought one Lucas Mijea with his wife. Lucas claimed to be a brujo, and it appears that his wife knows something too. The wife sat on the floor (I have never seen an Indian woman take a proffered chair) and helped Lucas when he was in doubt. Between the two, however, they knew little enough. It may be that the brujo didn't care to tell me -- or it may be that he really isn't a good brujo -- but I got nothing straight and found a number of outright errors. When he did a divination for us -- he was anxious enough to do one -- it looked as if he were deliberately faking, and I had to let him go, since I could not immediately win his confidence.

February 1 -- Worked most of the day on the map of the pueblo, making it large enough to serve all purposes. Got all of the streets and geographical features in. Tried an interesting experiment; it seems that Ghichicastenango never had street-names (Tomas says because the officials are too unintelligent). I thought that we would make up street names of such an obvious nature that any native would be able to recognize the street by the name. For most of them we succeeded, for either streets are known more or less informally by name even now or else there are obvious names. What the street-names are like makes an interesting study. Some are descriptive of where they lead to (such as Calle Para Quiche, Avenida del Cementario, etc.); some are descriptive of some important landmark (such as Calle del Padre, where the Father lives, or Avenida San Juan, on which there is such a saint); others are named for a family that lives on them. It is of interest to note, therefore, that street-names are not purely artificial but are rather in use before becoming so formally. Another point is that a continuous street on two sides of the Plaza is never thought of as one street; also, that when a wide street suddenly narrows, it is thought of as two different streets.

In the evening I worked on the outline maps, especially on that of Huehuetenango; I now have a map which (though

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still rough) is probably the best there is. At least it is the only map I have ever seen of any part of Guatemala that includes municipio boundaries -- which are for our purposes the most important ones.

2 -- Tomas brought another brujo, this time an old man -- one Juan Ventura and an uncle of Tomas'. Trying to get more and better information on the esoteric side of the culture is not working out very well. I am beginning to suspect that the brujos aren't very clear about anything, and information will have to be collected more indirectly. I shall bide my time and not try to force things. I have never even gotten any agreement on the date, although I have strong suspicions that it is the same as that at Momostenango. In trying to straighten the matter brujos have told me that they would have to ask others, since occasionally they get drunk and forget where they are on the calendar. It may turn out that the text method is necessary here to get at esoteric beliefs and hints as to practices; I have taken a few, but having seen Andrade's recording apparatus which gets them in such superior fashion -- a brujo will talk freely into the microphone for hours -- my heart isn't in taking them from dictation.

Indisposed, I stayed in bed in the afternoon and evening.

3 -- Tomas came in the morning with the tailor. He is having a "suit" made for himself, and we asked him to bring the tailor and have it out here. The material, a long piece of heavy black wool, Tomas had bought long before; now the Indian tailor, with a stick and a piece of chalk his only tools (besides a scissors) quickly cut the cloth to fit. The rest of the day, this being Sunday, was spent in the market and just looking around. Sunday, and to a lesser extent Thursday, is ~~XXXXXX~~ "may alegre" in the pueblo, with thousands of people here (maybe exaggerated). I might mention that in the local Spanish there are four adjectives: alegre and bonito refer to anything favorable -- the former being applied to general conditions or places, the latter to specific objects or ways of doing things. The unfavorable adjectives are, correspondingly, triste and feo. Practically, no other like adjectives are used, and these may be used to express anything within the limits defined. Another odd usage is the adjective delicado, which is applied to anything with which one has to be careful for any reason whatsoever. The dictionary is of little help here....

4 -- Started to fill in the detail of my map of the pueblo, getting the ownership of every lot, what is on it, who lives there, etc. I am distinguishing between ladino owners and Indian owners by color, and keeping on file all the information I can get about every holding and about every family. There appear to be

DIARY (E) -3-

two "foreign" settlements here; one is a group of Totonicapan Indians and the other a group of Indians from Santa Maria Chiquimula. They live in more or less segregated groups, and the women, at least wear the costumes of their own towns (the men ladino clothes); as far as I can find out, there are no cases of inter-marriage and the local Indians do not mix with them much. In each case they generally keep up their own language and connections with their own towns. There are a few isolated Indians from Santa Cruz Quiche as well, usually servants of Ladinos. I have still to get complete information.

While walking near the outskirts of the town in the afternoon, with Tomas, we met a group of Indians from the pueblo of Tecpan coming into Chichicastenango from the North. We stopped to talk with the man of the party, who explained that they were coming from Chiantla (Huehuetenango) where they had gone to a shrine of some kind. I asked ~~me~~ Tomas to speak with them in "la lengua" and he did, and had a long conversation with them without any apparent difficulty. Since Tecpan is always called Cakchiquel, and this is undeniably Quiche territory, I was surprised that conversation could flow so easily. On questioning Tomas I found that he insisted that although some words were different, the language of Tecpan was no ~~differe~~ more different from that here than is that of Santa Cruz Quiche (also undeniably Quiche). Tecpan is the old capital of the Cakchiquels, in fact, and Sta. Cruz that of the old Quiche Kingdom. What could this mean about the linguistic classification in use?

- 5 - Continued working on the pueblo map with Tomas. At about 10 A.M. we found a young man from the pueblo of Tecpan who was here to sell onions, and we asked him to come with us. I took some vocabulary, and then brought him in to talk to Dr. Andrade, who -- in the presence of two natives from here -- took extensive vocabulary from him. It soon came out that aside from some interesting differences of pronunciation, and some in the usage of words, there was very little difference between the two languages (leaving the question of grammar aside -- and that cannot be so very different or there wouldn't be such ready intelligibility. We decided that on the basis of this information no linguist would consider the two languages as more than dialects of the same. Both the natives here and this Tecpan man claim that Solola is quite distinct from Tecpan -- and Solola is supposed to be Cakchiquel too. These things need to be checked up, of course. Our suspicion is that the present-day language-classifications have been overly influenced by knowledge of history -- on the assumption that each old "kingdom" had a distinct language. If they did have, linguistic change has since occurred.

- 6 -- Since Dr. Andrade wanted to use Tomas for some translations, I decided not to get another informant but rather to bring the card index that I have up to date. This, as it turned out, was a two-day job; but I think that it is worth it. It is now in such condition that

Diary (7) -4-

bit of information we can can be put into place immediately.

- 7 -- Worked on cards, finishing the job. Part of the job was to enter, for each municipio that I have already worked, not only the information I gathered but also what I could make out of the Census reports. I would like eventually to have all available information for each municipio in one place.
Hearing that an important fiesta was to occur tomorrow at Patzite, we hired mules and prepared to go.
- 8 -- We started early in the morning, through a part of this municipio that we had never seen (due west of the pueblo) and after three hours arrived in the little pueblo of Patzite. Patzite is another municipio, bordering Chichicasteango, and is about as large as Chiche (the pueblo, I mean). But in costume it is as distinct from Chichicasteango as any far-off place, and I think there are differences in language as well. One of the major peculiarities of the pueblo is that, as far as I could determine there are practically no ladinos. I was told that even the Secretary is an Indian. Peculiarly, the stores are not run by local Indians, but rather by some from Santa Maria Chiquimula (Totonicapan) a neighbor on the other side. This pueblo is often referred to as Patzite Chiquimula or Chiquimula Chiquito and seems to have a lot in common with Santa Maria. There were no dances that I could see, but there were three marimbas from Totonicapan and the whole thing was very alegre, as well as bonita. The fiesta was for the Virgen Candelaria.... We arrived back at Chichicasteango shortly after dusk.
- 9 -- Worked with Tomas again on the pueblo in the morning. In the afternoon went over to the canton of Chuecan and met Pascual Ren Xirun, one of the school teachers of the Indian school. It appears that the annual two month's vacation begins today (this being "summer" here) and the hitherto unavailable Pascual will become available for use. We were treated well at his house, and one of the first things that he brought out was a composition book in which he had the calendar-cycle written out. It appears that he had copied it from a list that another Indian had made (either Diego Ignacio or Tomas Gonzales, we couldn't get it straight -- the former is another school teacher and the latter the Indian Secretary) and was learning it. He is not a brujo, and it is remarkable that he should be interested, apparently as a matter of curiosity. He said something about an American who was here for three months about a year ago studying Indian customs. I have no idea who this might have been, but it seems that he started some interest; however, Pascual said that he had not been interested in the calendar, so it is still somewhat of a mystery. We arranged for him to come and help Andrade with translations and later (probably) to help us.

Diary (7) -5-

10 -- Market day, Sunday, again. Went over to the Plaza (as has become our policy) to buy leisurely and to talk to the Indians. It seems a good idea to be seen there, when all of the Indians are around; and with each Sunday we seem to be taken more for granted. We never go on Thursdays because then the tourists are here; now I think we are easily distinguished from them and the attitude of the Indians toward us is becoming always more friendly. These people are above all business-men, and prejudices are the more easily hurdled when (as in our case) we are living in the community and distributing our business. There may be occasional objections to selling things to "extranjeros" but that really means to casual tourists.

In the afternoon we took a walk up to a popular altar in the hills near the pueblo; somewhat larger than most, it is essentially the same as others we have seen. This one is called Pascual. It is one of the places to which tourists are taken, and half way up we were joined by two children who followed us up in the hopes of getting some money; we gave them some, and it is apparent that the tourists usually do too. One can imagine that by the time that generation grows up there will be no fear of foreigners.

11 -- Hearing that Tomas' wife is very ill, we decided to go to Quejel, so left in the morning for his house. There was little we could do except observe the state of excitement, for it appears that after six month's pregnancy she had begun to bleed. We found we could not be of much help, so we came back to town in the afternoon, the issue still undecided. The chief result of the excursion was that Mrs. Tax became a bit ill too. We all feel quite bad, of course, because the condition of Tomas' wife appears very serious and to be getting worse. There is no medical aid to be obtained at all, even in the pueblo. The only thing to do when one gets sick is to use one's imagination or call a brujo. Only yesterday we witnessed (more or less from afar) a funeral in the pueblo and when Andrade asked if I am not interested in going closer I said yes, but I'd rather wait to see a funeral until a friend or a friend of a friend died and I could be part of it. I may have such an opportunity soon, but we cannot enjoy the prospect....

12 -- No word from Quejel or Tomas. Worked at some of the notes, took a walk around the pueblo, wrote to Dr. Redfield, and now -- at 6:30 P. M. -- I finish this Diary....

DIARY (8)

1935

- February 13 -- CHICHICASTENANGO. Spent most of the day with Tomas, working on the inhabitants of the pueblo. Tomas' wife is better; in the middle of last night she aborted, having taken some herb. A midwife is in attendance now just as for a child-birth. Discovered that polygamy is widespread in Chichicastenango -- one man in Quejel having six wives, two men having married both a mother and her daughter by a first husband. Goubaud came for dinner and spent most of the evening.
- 14 -- Finished the map and census of the pueblo (with Tomas). In going over the names of the Ladinos with Andrade we found that most of them are traceable to Andalusia or thereabouts. Of the names of Indians, most of the surnames are Indian; possibly the Spanish surnames represent some old intermarriage.
- 15 -- Andrade and we went by car to the aldea of Chitatal, via quiche. We had heard that there lives a peculiar group of so-called Ladinos, speaking a quite different Spanish that Andrade thought might be very old. They are a peculiar group, we found, representing undoubtedly the oldest ladino population in this part of the country, speaking not an old but a finer Spanish than the others. They are chiefly peculiar in that their culture is to all appearances Indian; although the other ladinos in the towns around are all middle-men and do no common labor, these ~~Ladinos~~ all work on milpas, carry loads, grind their own corn, etc. Their houses are just like those of the Indians, and their own masons have built them. The people seem healthier and more wholesome -- certainly more European and better looking than the other ladinos. We talked to the alcaldes and to a very old couple (as well as a few miscellaneous people) and made good contacts for future work. We were treated very hospitably.
- 16 -- Began a study of Quejel. With the aid of the map previously made, made cards for each household, with a small genealogy of the people of each and sundry other information. Prepared to get enough information to make visits to Quejel very profitable. Tomas lives in Quejel and of course knows it well.
- 17 -- Sunday, finished the general social information about Quejel (as far as it went on the cards). In the evening there was a marimba concert in the Plaza; noted that although for the first time the plaza not deserted for the evening, there were no Indians to be seen -- only ladinos. This may be partly accounted for by the fact, that I had previously determined, that there are practically no Indians living in town, and those who come to market generally leave in the late-afternoon.
18. -- To Quejel, visiting about half the households and getting chiefly information on economics. On return the

President of the Republic passed through the pueblo and waved to us and, we hear, ordered the Alcalde to have five hundred pupils in the Indian school by May 1st.

- 18 -- To Quejel again, completing information on income, and outgo, of the households.
- 19 -- Worked with Tomas, information on the households of Quejel -- social, political, economic. Also got a pretty consistent story from him on the general political structure of Chichicastenango -- which is not the government of Guatemala.
- 20 -- Worked more on Quejel; something led to the question of death and I got two stories of people who had come back to life after being in the next world; this led to general information on the Soul, etc.
- 21 -- Worked more on Quejel with Tomas who then began to tell me his own intimate affairs, and also to answer any and all questions on sex. This is the first time his -- or anybody's here -- prudish reserve broke down.
- 22 -- Back to the Subject of Quejel, which has become a taking-off place. Now mythology came out, and I got Tomas' version of what I think is the only myth in Chichicastenango. Starting with the birth of Jesus, it ends with the story of Adam and Eve... but everything is changed to fit the culture here. In the evening prepared memoranda for Dr. Kidder who had wired that ~~he~~ he would fly up in the morning.
- 23 -- Dr. Kidder came at about 9 A. M. and we (Dr. Andrade, Mrs. Tax, Mr. Tax, Dr. Kidder) spent most of the day, and evening, discussing plans.
- 24 -- This is Dr. Andrade's last day, and he made records of phonetic importance with four different informants in the morning. Worked with Tomas a little, than had him make records, and then decided to call it a day so that we could work over the language with Andrade and help him to pack. Lectured Tomas about working faithfully; also told him that when, soon, I would get another interpreter-informant it would not reflect on him. In the afternoon saw Pascual Ren, another literate, and arranged to have him work for us.
- 25 -- Andrade left early in the morning. Worked with Tomas on general information, planning to wind up Quejel by the middle of the week for the time being.
- 26 -- Got material on marriage from Tomas, also discovered a superimposed kinship-system that I can hardly yet understand. Wrote to Dr. Redfield, then, late, finished this.

DIARY (9)

813

1936

- February 27 -- CHICHICASTENANGO. Went to Quejel for the day, visiting several new households and getting more information.
- 28 -- Worked with Tomas for the last time (for the present) completing as far as I could the picture of Quejel and Tomas' general notions of the culture.
- March 1 -- Began to work with Pascual Ren of canton Chucam, spending the entire day in Chucam getting the geographical features (chiefly barrancas) and trying to make a map.
- 2 -- In Chucam again, getting the household-boundaries on the map. This is a terrific job, since Pascual does not understand maps and in order to get anything I have to visit almost every square foot, which means much walking and barranca-climbing.
- 3 -- No informant in the morning, since Pascual doesn't care to work on Sunday -- not for religious reasons, but because the pueblo is too lively to be missed. In the afternoon I picked up Diego Ignacio in the market and spent the afternoon with him, really only preparing for future work. Diego and his father are both intelligent and literate, and I think were the chief aids of schultze-Jena. They live in canton Chinima, near the pueblo, and I would like to do a good job of that canton soon.
- 4 -- Went to Chucam again, completing the map, which includes all of the property-holdings, and the households in the canton.
- 5 -- Began to work on the households of Chucam, with Pascual, getting the same kind of information -- in the same way -- as I had for Quejel. Pascual isn't the brightest of people, and although Andrade liked him for his linguistic work, I sometimes have a hard time keeping him reasonably consistent on purely factual matters.
- 6 -- Was taken to bed with a very painful growth over the anus; since it was almost impossible to move, couldn't do any work.
- 7 -- Still in bed, but rapidly improving with treatment. Anxious to get well enough to get on a horse Friday (tomorrow) to see a fiesta in Chiche. Didn't do much but read Chan Kom again from cover to cover, mentally comparing all details with Chichicastenango. Really quite a contrast.

March 8 -- Went to Chiche on horses, but the fiests, so-called, was a great disappointment. The first Friday of Cuaresma, according to the natives if not to the Calendar, there was reputed to be quite a fiesta. But aside from the mass in the church -- attended almost solely by Ladinoes -- and a marimba in the plaza near the church, there was nothing doing. Renewed some Chiche acquaintances and came home in the afternoon.

9 -- Pascual came with the information that he was going in about two weeks to the Capital; he told me that he was going to see the President about the school, but he told others he was going to try to get a job. He is in a bad way, because he was fired from his school-teaching position here because he was accused of embezzling a few dollars and was taken to jail (this was in January); he was absolved later, but didn't come back to the school. Now there is vacation until May and he is afraid that he might not get his position again. The only refuge for the literate element here, aside from positions in the school (which pay \$120 a year) is apparently with the Mayan Inn or to the city. They constitute a progressive class that is much despised by the majority of the Indians. It would not be surprising to see some drift to the city; but this must be very difficult, since they have large families and no capital.

Tried to get more on the households of Chucam, and also on the general culture. Find Pascual a very difficult informant. Also, test a set of words that Andrade sent from Quezaltenango in an attempt to settle a phonetic problem. Also, later, tested the same words with Juan Cutillo.

In the afternoon, late, walked over to the house of Tomasa Xaper, in Chucam; she is a Spanish-speaking woman here (one of the two) and we tried to make the contact. Mrs. Tax has been having a very difficult time getting an informant-interpreter, and this time it may work. The only other girl who speaks Spanish (Maria Nix) recently married, when we were trying to make connections with her, moved to a canton and finds herself forbidden by her husband to leave or to work with foreigners.

10 -- Sunday. Wrote a report to Andrade, then went to the plaza. Talked to the Secretary, Tomas Gonzales (Secretary of the Indian Municipality) and made arrangements for him to work with me evenings when he can. He should be very valuable, both because he is intelligent (he was Ruth Bunzel's chief informant here) and because he has a lot of special information because he is in the Juzgado, and has been for years. Also, prepared to make a more thorough study of the market, and was assured co-operation from the Alcalde (ladino).

Late afternoon, a long walk through the mountains; in the evening, there was marimba on the Plaza and we walked around with the rest. Noticeable on these occasions is that only ladinos are to be seen on the plaza.

Diary (9) -3-

March 11 -- Pascual came in the morning, and I started to work with him. Having had reason to suspect his carelessness with facts, I tested him on Chucam material that he should know; it was quite embarrassing, and it seemed apparent to me that when he did not know something (even names of people) he simply made up things to fill the gaps. Now he could not repeat his fabrications, and said that he was sick and couldn't remember. I told him to go home and to bed and that I would finish getting the material on Chucam later. The difficulty about Pascual is that I can't even use his misinformation for other purposes; it is not malicious lying, but utter carelessness.

Went over to Diego Ignacio's in Chinima, and spent the day with him and his father. Both prove exceptionally intelligent and very good informants. I started as usual to make a map, and practically finished it (roughly) in two hours. Then I took the family genealogy, which is by far the most useful one I have found here. Also got some general information. The Ignacio contact promises very much.

In the evening Tomas Gonzales came and stayed two and a half hours. I think he is a reliable informant, but not as adapted to the work as either of the Ignacios. Nevertheless, he should prove a great help; I used him to start checking up on information I have from others on the political organization, and was relieved to see that it does check generally.

12 -- At the Ignacio's all day, getting kinship terms, household information for Chinima, and much general information. Work ~~at~~ most of the time with father and son together; they are anxious to get everything just right and sometimes argue a bit over it. I have a feeling of confidence in the results I get from them. In the evening, write this itinerary....

DIARY (10)

July

1935

CHICHICASTENANGO

- March 13 -- In the morning worked with Diego Ignacio on the households of canton Chinima. Politically it is officially recognized as part of Pacho, but otherwise known as a canton. In the afternoon I met Diego again, who was accompanied by Francisco Tomas Pixcar (of Quejel) and all three of us walked all over Pacho making a map, and also seeing the relations of Chinima and Pacho and surrounding cantones. Pixcar is another of the literates; he is the last but one of the literates I have worked with. The only other one is Pascual Ren's brother Tomas, and he is not on speaking terms with any of the other literates, even his brother, since he sides with the die-hard conservatives. Right now he is on speaking terms only with cell-mates, since he is in the jail in Quiche for trouble he caused when the Cinema people were here in December. It appears that I have exhausted the available literates. The advantage of these people is not their literacy, but the fact that they talk Spanish and are not opposed to dealing with foreigners. There are half a dozen other Spanish-speaking people available, and I hope to have time to check my information with them and others with them as interpreters.
- 14 -- Worked with Diego Ignacio on households of Chinima and Pacho, mostly genealogies and economics. I might mention that Indians know a man's business more than the names of his children....
- 15 -- This day -- Friday -- is a Fiesta day (the second Friday in Lent). In the morning we went to Mass in El Calvario; the church was packed with ladinos, and only a few pueblo indians were present. The Indians have their own fiestas and don't bother with those celebrated by ladinos. A marimba played in the park outside Calvario, and didn't play sacred music either. Tomas Ventura paid us a visit at home after church. In the afternoon Diego came and we worked more on households. In the evening Tomas Gonzales came and I obtained some information from his Secretarial records; I shall get more later.
- 16 -- Worked all day in Chinima; both Diego and his Father Miguel Ignacio were with me and I got miscellaneous information, checking up on a number of things. Diego is one of the best embroiderers around, and he kept at his needle-work all day. He is working on a faja for his wife for Semana Santa. Peculiarly the whole literate group goes in for embroidery, and are the best in Chichicastenango; this may be because they really don't work (as laborers or comerciantes) and so have time for dignified pastimes. More amusing; only the small literate group have any gold teeth, and nobody else. They are admired, but are only put in to replace bad teeth.

Diary (10) -2-

March 17, -- ~~1~~ Sunday. Worked over notes most of the day. In the afternoon we went to the home of Tomasa Peliz and made arrangements for her to begin working with Mrs. Tax in the morning. She seems opposed to the idea of Mrs. Tax's coming to her home to work, but she will come to ours.... In the evening there was marimba on the plaza; we learned that they are not paid for their services, so we decided to give them a present, and distributed good cigarettes among them, and some also to the soldiers of the Comandancia (7 in number) and the police. Close to midnight, when we were asleep, we were awakened by a serenade outside our window, and it continued for half-an-hour. Present were the marimberos and the soldiers, showing appreciation for the "propina". I want to present something to the Municipality, and I think a present to the Indian school would be best; the Indian school has absolutely no equipment except a map of Guatemala and a couple of primers for the teachers. A good map of the world might be all right, or some books or both. I shall have to wait until I go to the city unless someone will shop for me.

- 18 -- Tomasa came on schedule in the morning, with her weaving materials; she is making a huipil (spelled locally guipil, and maybe they are right), and will work on it here. Mrs. Tax will learn to weave and talk to her and win her confidence, we hope -- so that even if she doesn't learn to weave more and better things will come. I went to Chinima and worked with both Diego and Miguel Ignacio all day.
- 19 -- Tomasa here again. I spent the day with the Ignacios in Chinima. On the way there I was stopped on the path by an Indian with a long staff; he asked, in none too friendly tone, where I was going, and I replied honestly. Then he said, "Diego is a friend of yours then?" and when I said yes he replied that it was all right and I could go on. I asked Diego what this could mean, and he said there are a lot of crazy people here.... The Ignacios have a lot of half-mad dogs around, and this causes me too to carry a staff.
- 20 -- Pascual Ren came over and spent the day; we talked mostly on religion, dreams, etc. Tomasa was here all day and is becoming very confidential with Mrs. Tax. It appears that she won't marry because all of the men here have other women, beat their wives and what-not; to bear her out is the information that her step-father has just left her mother -- after a good beating with a stick and machete -- for another woman in Sepela. In the afternoon stopped at home of Tomas Gonzales in Tzokoma, and found Miguel
- 21 Ignacio (Tomas' father-in-law) there a bit drunk. He has spent his fortune in drink and is heavily in debt.
- 21 -- Tomasa didn't come today because she doesn't like to work on market-day. Pascual Ren was here all day, and we worked on birth, etc. and miscellaneous things.

Diary (10) -3-

March 22 -- Tomasa was here again today, and it appears that she is finally sold to the life of Ethnology. She is making a pretty good case-study; her literacy amounts to her being able to read fairly well and being able to write numbers and her name; she used to know the alphabet better. She spells her surname Felica, and everybody else spells it Peliz. She knows little about any of the culture except her home life and gossip about others, but after all she can furnish a view of her life. Mrs. Tax gets along very well with her and is doing some needle work (making a woman's skirt). I worked with Pascual Ren again, just about draining him dry of everything that I can at all trust.

23 -- Tomasa was here again.... Tomas Ventura spent the day with me, checking over matters of general economics and a few other things. I have a complete list of the merchants of the last Sunday and the previous Thursday markets -- including names, what they sell, and where they come from. The Alcalde (for three dollars) got this list for me, something I couldn't do myself because most of the Indians would balk at giving me information and there is no use starting trouble. The lists together comprise almost a thousand names, so represents a big job. With this list as a basis I am getting more information.

In the afternoon Dr. and Mrs. Morley called and we had a long talk. Dr. Morley is interested in connecting the genealogy of the Quiche royal family as given in the Popul Vuh with some present-day family, probably in Santa Cruz. I am not at all optimistic, but I promised to look into the matter at Santa Cruz.

24 -- Sunday. Spent the morning with the Morleys and their friends. In the afternoon worked over notes. No marimba this evening probably because of a so-called "mission" in town; the Padres from Solola and Santa Cruz are here to help in a week's services with this Padre. It is a ladino affair, of course.

25 -- Tomasa here all day; Tomas Ventura continued with me on work on economics and miscellaneous matters, such as the distinction of "hot" and "cold" something similar to that in Yucatan.

26 -- The Morleys came to say good-bye to us in the morning; he was in Santa Cruz yesterday and saw some of his hopes for a genealogy fade. Baptismal records don't start until 1680 or so. I told him of some manuscripts I have gotten wind of; they are in possession of the Indians and, used to learn the lines for the Conquistador Dance, etc., contain some history that has been passed down since early times. In Spanish, the manuscripts were apparently originally in Lemoa (between here and Santa Cruz) from where one was stolen by a local Indian. I shall try to get them. Worked with Tomas Ventura all day; Tomasa here too. In the evening wrote this Diary.

DIARY (11)

1935

- March 27 -- CHICHIGASTENANGO. Worked here with Tomas Ventura; Tomasa also here with Mrs. Tax.
- 28 -- Worked with Diego at his house in the morning. In the afternoon we went, by invitation, out to the Solola road to meet the new Santo, San Luis, which will be kept in the church. This took all afternoon. Met the Padres from Solola and Santa Cruz.
- 29 -- Both Tomas and Tomasa were here to work with me and the Senora respectively. In the evening, having been invited the day before, went to a dance (to Marimba) attended mostly by Ladinos and some of the Indian boys from the hotel.
- 30 -- Tomas Ventura and Tomasa came again for the day.
- 31 -- Sunday, and spent the day visiting the market and being visited by friends. Also, worked over some notes.
- April 1 -- Went to Chinima, to talk to the Ignacios; meanwhile, Tomasa was here with Mrs. Tax.
- 2 -- Again I went to Chinima; and Tomasa was here again.
- 3 -- In the morning Mrs. Tax and I went to Tomasa's house to watch her prepare the warp for a new huipil. In the afternoon she came to start the weaving. Meanwhile, Diego was also here.
- 4 -- Tomas was over; since this is market-day Tomasa, as usual, did not come. She sells totillas in the plaza. In the afternoon I saw the Secretary about trying again to get my passport, which is still missing. The American Consul wrote that the Foreign Office has lost track of it. Perhaps it is back in Quiche.
- 5 -- Went to Diego's house in Chinima, while Tomasa didn't come because she has to finish a huipil for somebody who ordered it; Mrs. Tax went over there for awhile in the afternoon. Had some luck with Diego, since I obtained two manuscripts of (a) the dance of the Conquista and (b) that of the Toros; the former is a copy of only three year's standing. He promised to try to get me older manuscripts from Lemoa. I shall try to have these photostated in the Capital.
- 6 -- Tomasa still at home working. I went to Chinima in the morning, and the hot sun was so much for me that I asked Diego to come in the afternoon, which he did.
- 7 -- Sunday. Worked on notes. Nothing new.
Tomasa here.
- 8 -- Tomas spent the day with me while Diego went to Lemoa for manuscripts. He reported that he can get the tomorrow.
- 9 -- Tomasa and Tomas here; in afternoon Diego brought old N.S.

DIARY (12)

1935

CHICHICASTENANGO

- April 10 -- Worked with ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Diego Ignacio all day in Chinima. Tomasa did not come.
- 11 -- In Chinima again, worked with both Diego and Ignacio; Tomasa came to the house to work with Mrs. Tax.
- 12 -- Worked with the Ignacios again. They are building a house, and I have been watching the tiles being made; today they started to fire them. Tomasa not here.
- 13 -- Tomasa here for half a day; expecting Dr. Redfield, I stayed in the pueblo, working on notes.
- 14 -- Sunday. Dr. Redfield came at midday. This is Palm Sunday, and the largest Market we have seen here. In the afternoon we went for a walk, met many of our Indian friends, visited a cofradia, etc. This is a very lively fiesta day, with marimbas in cantinas and many people drunk.
- 15 -- We went to Chinima, stopping in at a cofradia on the way. The ~~Rkag~~ house is being finished this morning, and we were invited to see the house-warming ceremonies. Bringing liquor, we came again in the afternoon, seeing the ceremonies. Also today Tomas Ventura, Sr., came to us drunk and we went home with him.
- 16 -- In the morning, went to Chitatal, staying and visiting with the people until eleven A.M. Then, in Sta. Cruz, saw the Secretary of the Jefetura about my passport, which is safely there and will soon be returned. Then to the Utatlan ruins, which are not much to see, where we had lunch; then we came back to Sta. Cruz and spent an hour with the Padre, who showed us the baptismal records that he has. Then back to Chichicastenango.
- 17 -- Went to Quejel to see the pole-dance which, however, did not come off as scheduled. Went over to Chentola, then back to the Ventura's house in Quejel for lunch, then back to town. A procession with Jesus-in-a-coffin and a large cross was witnessed; and then the noisy parade featuring Judas, in a mask. In the evening was a procession with masked men representing Jews gesturing with spears at a large Christ.
- 18 -- Went to Quejel again, where we witnessed one pole-dance at Juan Martin's house and two others at farther range. In the evening visited the Evangelical missionary, and American.
- 19 -- Good Friday. A large number of Indians are in Church, some more in the Plaza gambling; an effigy of Judas hangs over the door of the Church. But most of the Indians are in the cantones. We went to Chusam to see Pascual Ren; then to Tomas Gonzales' house; then to Tomasa's. We were around the Plaza and Church all afternoon; at about four o'clock in the church a figure of Christ on a cross was brought in and set up; the Crucifixion.

DIARY (12) -2-

In the evening, another procession, that of "silence"; afterwards I attended a wake for the body of Jose de Leon, who died today.

- April 20 -- Saturday of Glory. To mass in the morning, saw the Padre bless the baptismal fount and later the pila in the plaza. In the afternoon Judas (although the effigy was supposedly burned last night) in the form of a masked man rode through town and read his testament on a street corner. In the evening, having been invited by the Alcalde in the afternoon, we went to a dance for a short time.
- 21 -- At 5 A.M. there was a procession of all of the saints; Mrs. Tax saw it finishing at the church at 6 AM; the Padre was at the rear of the procession. Dr. Kidder came with his family yesterday, and we spent much of the day with him. In the evening they came for dinner.
- 22 -- We took a car and went to Nahuala, lunching on the way. In the Dept. of Solola, just South of Totonicapan, the town appears to be somewhat isolated, although a poor automobile road reaches it. We had stopped at Solola and called on the Jefe Politico and the Padre on the way, obtaining a letter from the former; but we saw no need to use the letter. Having heard that Nahuala is a difficult town to deal with, we went first to the Padre (Gonzales) who proved to be hospitable but neurotic. Meanwhile, Mrs. Tax made friends with his niece, who took her to the home of some Indians; later, we joined her. There are three families of ladinos besides the Padre (his brother and two school teachers); the Indians are averse to others, and to foreigners, but one could undoubtedly stay there several days without running into trouble. Few Indians live in the town, the rest in outlying sections such as in Chichicastenango; we failed to find any evidence to support Sanchez' contention that lands are communal and individuals change their milpa holdings from year to year.
- We left Nahuala and went, through Solola again, to Tzanjuyu, arriving there after 6 P.M.
- 23 -- TZANJUJU and the Lake. We took the boat in the morning to Santiago Atitlan. Presenting our letter to the alcalde, we were very cordially received and a policeman designated to guide us around town. It was Market Day, and lively. The town, concentrated, must have some 5,000 people, and they seem friendly enough; there are, according to the alcalde, some 30 ladino families. We witnessed a rehearsal of a dance of the Conquest that will be given for Santiago. Ending our stay we were given a ride in a dugout canoe manned by two alguaziles. When we returned, for lunch, the Kidders were at the hotel, and in the afternoon we walked to Panajachel and back along the lake-shore.
- 24 -- In a chartered launch we went first to Santa Catarina Palope, which we had to enter in canoes. The Alcalde (Jose Angel Buk) was on the beach to greet us, and he himself showed us around. The people acted as if they had not had visitors in their town before and were very hospitable. We found that only the Secretary is Ladino (with his family), and he was gone for the morning;

DIARY (12) -3-

there are only a few hundred people in the town which is concentrated, and which has all of its milpas, even, in this tiny bowl, facing the water. The people are excellent canoeers and swimmers, according to the alcalde. We mentioned that we might come to live there in October, and they welcomed us; we gave the alcalde a gift of a dollar-watch. Later we met a crab-fisher from here who seems to speak Spanish well, one Antonio Nimaushia. Also we met a Chichicasteango boy who has adopted the costume and language of this place. The Secretary's name is Jose Santizma.

We went next to S. Antonio Palopo, in the next bay Southward. This is a much larger town, but also has very few Ladinos, the secretary and the school-teachers with their families making up the number. We talked to the Secretary, showing him the Jefe's letter, and he guided us around town. His name is J. Antonio Hernandez.... The people of this town have no canoes and do not use them, although (the Secretary says) they can swim. They fish with traps, but only in the stream flowing into the lake. We saw some Atitlan merchants on the way to Tecpan; the material for the capes worn here is made in Chichicasteango and bought in Solola; the merrases are made in Mahuala and bought also in Solola. The pottery, we were told, comes from Sta. Apolonia (Chimaltenango) but it may originate in Chinautla.

We went next to San Lucas Toliman, but could stay only a short time. This appears to be chiefly a Ladino town, but is commercially important, since it is the chief outlet to the Coast. We arrived back at Tsanjuyu for a late lunch.

- 25 -- We went again to Atitlan in the morning, renewing our acquaintance with the Alcalde. In the church were a number of young girls (all, we were told, unmarried) some of them singing and the others talking to each other, before a blindfolded Christ. All we could discover about them was that this had something to do with the Octave of Good Friday or something, and that these girls are supposed to wash the church after Samana Santa. In the Jugado we heard an argument between two women. Apparently one was negotiating for her daughter's marriage when the other (her sister) said bad things about the daughter to the boy's family. Whereupon the mother had struck her and now both were in court.

We went across the bay to an archeological site, where we spent an hour collecting potsherds and then had lunch; then, through the high waves usual late in the afternoon, we went back to ~~San Pedro~~ San Pedro, where we were commercially received and met Ramon Quintanilla, the Sec'y, saw prayer-sticks in church....

- 26 -- The Kidders and Dr. Redfield left this morning; we went to Solola, visiting the Market and calling on the Jefe. The Jefe said that to see the census records and the annual reports of the municipios I would have to get a letter from the Ministerio de Gobernacion. (The reports are called "Memorias").

- 27 -- Awaiting transportation to Chichicasteango, we went to call on the Evangelical Missionary, but found only Mrs. Bunde there. Also, talked to the Totonicapan mason who lives at Tsanjuyu, and he promised to send me an estimate for a house in Sta. Catarina. Meanwhile, his wife showed Mrs. Tax how to make tortillas, and

DIARY (120) -4-

she made several. At about 3:30 in the afternoon one of Clark's trucks arrived and took us to Chichicastenango.

April 28 -- CHICHICASTENANGO. The day was a succession of callers; besides cooks and laundress and sandal-maker, Diego Ignacio came to ask about the manuscripts which have never come back from Guatemala. I showed him the school presents (which arrived in our absence) and he seemed pleased but not excited. Tomasa came to report her activities of the past week. Manuel Velasco, to whom we advanced three dollars some two weeks ago came to say he could not begin to work it off tomorrow. Tomas Morales, whom we met on Good Friday (drunk) came to ask for work. Juan Xaper, Tomasa's step-father, came with him. The tailor, the barber, and the shoemaker were also in attendance; and between callers and the market (which is large today) I took the time to write this Diary.

DIARY (13)

1935

April 29 -- CHICHICASTENANGO. I spent the day with Diego Ignacio in Chinima, while Tomasa Feliza was here with Mrs. Tax.

30 -- Again with Diego, while Tomasa here. Trying to balance the Ignacio "books".

May 1 -- Diego came here for the day, and Tomasa was also here. Nothing much new.

2 -- Spent the day with Miguel Ignacio; Tomasa didn't come since this is Market day.

3 -- Manuel Velasco came, by appointment; he is the man who contacted to build Miguel Ignacio's new house and whom we lent \$3 -- presumably to be worked off. It soon became apparent that he cannot speak enough Spanish to be able to give information. For example: when Dr. Redfield and I had talked to him a week before we had mentioned the embroidered sun on his saco and asked him if that was there because he had been in a Cofradia. He said yes, and we said that is what we wanted to talk about -- the cofradias. Now he came and pointed to the sun on his saco and said something about my wanting to know how to make one! So it was with everything; I could not be confident even of his name or how many children he has. I soon decided that if I had to spend a week working off that \$3 I would be throwing good time after bad money. So, when the day was over, I told him I would return with a recording machine and he could make records for the money.

4 -- Diego is now at the school every day waiting for people to register. As a matter of fact yesterday and today he has been doing a lot of writing. Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday were Election days here, for members of the National Assembly. The system is to get as many votes as possible for the six unopposed candidates offered. Since the Indians cannot write, their names are written on ballots and then copied into a large book, with the names of the candidates alongside each. Diego has the job of copying several thousand names (with his own counter-signature) and the names of the candidates in the books. I looked up Tomas Pixcar to use as an informant, but I found that starting today he is taking Gonzales' place as secretary for a month (Tomas Gonzales having been taken ill and asked a month's leave). Then I went to find Gonzales; he has a cold and is spending his time embroidering. He claims he is writing papers on the customs for me and doesn't want to talk to me until they are finished. Since Miguel went to Quiche to act as interpreter for some Indians who have some litigation there, I was left without an informant. I would like Ventura, but he is not to be found. I spent the day passing the time of day with my friends around town.

Diary (13) -2-

- May 5 -- Sunday; spent most of the day on the plaza and with my notes. Heard that Tomas Ventura began work today as a waiter in the Mayan Inn; this astounded me, since I did not think that his pride would permit that and also I couldn't see where it would profit him. Once before he wanted to take such a job because he was afraid to go to Quejel every day; but I do not think his danger is great now; animosities generated during the Film dispute seem largely forgotten. My only hunch is that he may be wanting a "patron" -- a job -- so he won't be drafted into service in the school. There are only two teachers now, and four are needed; many times Tomas has told me he doesn't want the position.
- 6 -- Tomas Morales, or Cutillo (one is his father's and the other his mother's name and he isn't settled on which to use) came to work to today. He is a drunk that we met on Good Friday and who seemed then to be able to speak Spanish. Actually his Spanish isn't very bad, but he is not a trustworthy informant -- even on matter-of-fact things -- and when the day was ended I sent him off. He is from P'achoj and I was able to check up some things the King Ignacios had told me about that canton and its households. Tomasa was here with Mrs. Tax.
- 7 -- Worked with Miguel Ignacio all day. Tomasa was here.
- 8 -- Like yesterday.
- 9 -- With Miguel again. Heard that Tomas Ventura had left the hotel. Some said he was fired because drunk; but Mr. Rohrmann said that he was ill and was given two days leave. I have still to see him to find out what's what.
- 10 -- Went to Tomas' pueblo house and to my surprise found him there. He is indeed ill, but not only for two days. Some time ago he suffered an injury in his loins and cannot walk well. He is taking treatments -- injections of some kind -- from the local pharmacist. I spent the day with him... The reason he gives for going to work at the hotel is his fear of vengeful Indians. He is actually afraid of being caught alone in the mountains some day by one of his enemies who might shoot him. It is hard for me to believe this, but he insists. He is not afraid to go to Quejel accompanied -- even by tourists -- but he does not want to go alone. As for my hunch, he admits it is generally a good idea to have a patron, but says that isn't his reason for working at the hotel.
- 11 -- With Tomas Ventura again.
- 12 -- ~~At Tomas' house. No informants and not much new.~~
Sunday. No informants and not much new.
- 13 -- ~~At Tomas' house.~~ At Tomas Ventura's house. Tomasa here.
- 14 -- ~~Sunday~~ Like yesterday.

Diary (13) -3-

May 15 -- Went to Tomas Ventura's house in the morning, but stayed home -- with a bad stomach -- the rest of the day. We have all been under the weather a bit the past week ("all" including the boy, Juan). Tomasa was here all day.

16 -- This being officially the first day for the Indian school, arrangements were made for me to go and present the Carnegie presents. All of the municipal officers went with me in a body, a boy carrying the Globe and books, etc. The ceremony consisted chiefly in recording the gift in the school record-book together with the fact that the school was open. The Carnegie Institution is now in the local records....

Not well enough this afternoon to go out for long, I wrote this in the afternoon. After finishing this I must find Tomas Gonzales, who said he would have his material ready for me today. I should mention that yesterday the Alcalde completed a census of the town for me, and I must go over that and collate the material with what I have.

I have been invited to go with the ~~municipal~~ municipal officers on horseback tomorrow to Saquilla to open the school. Since I have never been out that way, I shall go. Saturday I may go with them to open the Chicua school too.

DIARY (14)

1935

- May 17 -- Chichicastenango. Went with the Alcaldes, etc. to Saquilla, opening the school. This took all day, since it was a ride of almost three hours. Meanwhile, Mrs. Tax worked with Tomasa.
- 18 -- Went to Quiche by car; having not heard more about my passport, and having to leave in a week, it was necessary. The Secretary of the Jefatura, after I had waited two hours, told me that he needed another picture before he could inscribe us. I had given him two photographs as required in the rules, but now it appeared that the form is in triplicate and another was needed. I have more in Chichicastenango, and will have to come back again with it. I spent the afternoon with Tomas Ventura. Tomasa was also here. Planting was done just a week ago, and already the shoots of maize are visible; it has been raining almost every evening.
- 19 -- Sunday. Began to get notes together to see what was needed preparatory to leaving in a week.
- 20 -- Went to Quiche again, finally was "inscribed" and received our passport. In the afternoon was with Tomas Ventura again, and Tomasa was here.
- 21 -- Spent the day with Miguel Ignacio, while Tomasa came to the house.
- 22 -- The same as yesterday.
- 23 -- Spent the day with Tomas Gonzales, going over the three papers that he wrote for us. Tomasa was here.
- 24 -- The Alcalde's census I have finally worked over and compared with my own map and other materials. I spent most of the day with him, checking up discrepancies and completing the census and, finally, paying him. We are leaving early Sunday morning so spare time was put to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ going around to our friends to say goodbye. Tomorrow will be too busy with packing for that....
- 25 -- The day was spent in packing, storing furniture, and tending to other business. Then we moved to the hotel for the night.
- 26 -- We left, in Clark's baggage truck, for the city at about eight-thirty and arrived for a late lunch. We left many things to be kept for us at the Carnegie office; Dr. Ricketson has a list of them. Then we went to the Pension Guerault, lunched and rested.
- 27 -- Guatemala City. Tended to much business, such as paying bills, buying steamship tickets, etc.

DIARY (14) -2-

- May 28 -- Went to the Consulate, and found that to get a reentry permit I would have to get separate Cedula's for Mrs. Tax and myself, which entailed more pictures and some money, then could get the permits on payment of three dollars apiece. The permit would be good for six months and if we missed the deadline our money would be lost; decided it might be better to come in on a visa as we did last year. Had ~~a~~ medical examinations by the United Fruit Doctor which the Fruit Company man said we needed to get a necessary certificate.
- 29 -- Went to see Dr. Estevan, the Director of the Dept. of Sanitation to find out about malaria in Santa Catarina. Made an appointment for Friday morning, when I can get statistics. Went to call on Mr. Shlesinger, the Minister of Public Instruction, and made an appointment for Friday afternoon.
- 30 -- A holiday, Asencion, and everything is closed. Began to work out our expense account to date, and also wrote this Diary to date.
- 31 -- In the morning, went to the Department of Sanitation, where spent an hour in the Malaria division looking over the statistics and mosquitos. One Dr. Mira made an appointment to come to see me at 3 P.M. Had other business and said some adieus; at 3:30 Dr. Mira came and left with me some statistics. Then at 5 P. M. we went and kept our appointment with the Minister of Public Education, who greeted us cordially. We talked of education in general and particularly of Chichicastenango. Mr. Goubaud came to dinner.
- Tomorrow at 7:40 we entrain to Barrios, arrive in the evening and embark immediately on the S.S. Metapan, arriving in New Orleans on June 6th. Then we shall proceed immediately to Milwaukee. This is the last field Diary....

DIARY - 1938

- Jan. 2 - (Sunday) Disembarked in Puerto Barrios too late to make the train to Guatemala City. Mr. Austin gave me a letter from Robert Smith relative to the car and chauffeur. Spent the day walking around town.
- 3 - Train to Guatemala City, where the station wagon met me; Mr. Magin was there also and took me to the Pensión.
- 4 - In the morning, did many errands: post office, the Institution office, to the Customs house for baggage and radio, to the bank, to the Foreign Office for my cedula. Then repacked my belongings in the Institution office. In the afternoon I went to the Insurance Company, then to Customs where we succeeded in getting out all my belongings; then to the office of El Imparcial to renew my subscription; then to the office again to load things to take to Panajachel; then to El Cielito for oil and gas and a new tire.
- 5 - Left Guatemala City at 7:30 A.M. Going first to Agua Escondida (hereafter designated A.E.) I delivered presents to Dr. Redfield's friends, then arranged to buy a piece of land from Miguel Pérez. Continuing to Panajachel, the afternoon was occupied with getting settled at Mr. Weymann's place and in delivering presents to and renewing acquaintances with Indian friends.
- 6 - In the morning received visits from the families of Marcelino Castro and Conifacio Cululen. Went to ask Dr. Wallace about contractors, and talked to one he recommended and arranged to take him to A.E. in the afternoon. Delivered presents to the Intendente and to Lorenzo Correa; also visited the Noj and Cululen families. In the afternoon, to A.E. with the contractor. There we measured out a piece of land, and set the price with Pérez, thus informally buying the land. In the evening, a report to Dr. Redfield.
- 7 - Spent most of the morning figuring with the ~~carpenter~~ contractor whose price finally came down from \$800 to \$700, which I thought way to high. Went to seek advice with carpenter Rómulo Guzmán, but he was away in Sololá. In the afternoon I went to Sololá to obtain water-rights from Octaviano Jiménez who owns the land in A.E. which has the water closest to the house-site chosen. He gave them gladly. Also saw the priest (Francisco Francos) in Sololá, took up Atiteco Indian Andrés Tziná and brought down Marcelino Castro. Back in Panajachel I had a conference with Rómulo Guzmán who promised to help me build the house for something like \$400 (but with no contract). In the evening I had a call from Jeanette Mirsky of Columbia U. who is doing ethnology here; she asked my advice, - gave it, and she ignored it.
- 8x-
- 8 - Before breakfast received compadres Yach with traditional gifts and the baby. Then was called by the contractor who was willing to lower his price to Rómulo's \$400 estimate, but I didn't accept. Having wired to Roales to have him come from San Pedro, where he has started work, I went to meet the launch, but it was late. Meanwhile I ~~talked to~~ saw Dr. Wallace about furniture we stored with him. In the afternoon to see Rómulo who is looking for a mason, so far unsuccessfully; then to finca Sta. Victoria to see

about dry lumber; we bought some cypress boards for doors and windows. The administrator there advised having adobes made in Godines, where there is water. We arranged to go to Godinez and A.E. tomorrow afternoon. On the way back, met Rosales, who came late; had a short conference with him before he went to Sololá to be with his family.

- 9 - (Sunday) In the morning first worked on Panajachel material in preparation for a conference with Rosales in the morning. Then went to see Rómulo who has not yet found a mason; then greeted Indian friends in the Plaza. Talked to Moises Rivera who said it would cost too much to transport adobes as suggested. Then I crossed the river and visited Indian families. In the afternoon went to Godinez and A.E. where I arranged to have mozos start work on the house-site tomorrow, first building a road to the spring. Also contracted for adobes, which will be started in the morning. I also contracted with mason Leonso Tzok. Took along a tile and brick-maker from Godinez, but he couldn't find suitable clay in A.E. Then returned to Panajachel, and in Patanatic contracted for some 20 dozen reglas (like 2x4's) for the roof.
- 10 - Spent some two hours in the morning going over material with Juan Rosales. Then, taking along gasoline tins and drums for the work in A.E., and stopping at Rómulo's for a list of heavy lumber needed I started out. In Godinez started negotiations with a sawyer to get this lumber cut. In A.E. found the adobe-makers working, and also the water-road started. Then (having discovered I had bought the land at not quite the desired place) changed the land-boundaries and made a new deal with the owner. Arrived back in Panajachel at about 2 PM and conferred with Rosales in the afternoon. Rosales and Antiago Yach spent the evening with me.
- 11 - In the morning took Juan Rosales, family and household goods in a launch to San Pedro, where I went over Juan's work. He has done very well in his two weeks there. Returned for lunch and after that went to Godinez and A.E. In Godinez I contracted for heavy lumber and cancelled arrangements with the tile-maker there because his price was too high. In A.E. I found the work progressing (water-road built, and auto-road partly) and then was directed to Miguel Tzok for tiles; he told me of an Anresano who makes his. In S. Andrés I looked up this man, who was busy but who directed me to his uncle, with whom I soon made a deal for bricks and tiles. Back in Panajachel I arranged with trucker Miguel Minondo to bring quicklime from Tecpán on Thursday; he will also transport my tiles.
- 12 - Had a little time with my notes in the morning; then with Rómulo figured changes in our lumber order; then brought him the cypress boards. Went to Tzanjuyú to meet Mrs. Lovett and party, regretted a luncheon invitation, and then after lunch went to A.E. again. Stopped at S. Andrés to see that bricks were made before tiles; in Godinez changed the lumber order. In A.E. found mozos clearing the house-site; I arranged to get some rocks for the foundation. Back in Panajachel, visited in the evening with a friend from Guatemala City, Jorge Neumann.
- 13 - Spent the whole day in A.E. We pulled out some 75 tree-trunks, practically finished the automobile road, dug a pit for the quicklime and when it arrived put it in. Used the truck to bring stones, then continued with the station-wagon.

- Jan. 14 - Early to A.E. for the whole morning; finished clearing land, foundation begun. In P.M., with carpenter to Sololá to look for ceiling-lumber; also obtained permission to get sand from neighbor's land. In evening, Julián Rosales came to the house and spun yarns.
- 15 - To A.E. in early A.M. and until early P.M. Stopped Godínez to see lumber-sawyers; on way back, stopped in S. Andrés to see brick and tile maker, not working because of holiday. At house-site, received visit from Jefe Politico. Late afternoon and evening worked over notes on stories, etc.
- 16 - (Sunday) Crossed river to talk to Indians; examined María Noj's gaiter and promised attention; talked a long time to the Cululens about their conversion to Protestantism. Then to the market-place and the church, where a meeting of Principales was in session. Bought little gifts for Indians and renewed friendships with merchants, especially one from Chicua. Bought lumber from Patanatic Indians. In the evening, worked on December accounts, which I haven't had time to do.
- 17 - All day in A.E., starting walls on house. Had to be there to be sure of measurements.
- 18 - December expense account in A.M.; also preparations for first trip to Chichicastenango, leaving for there at 12:45 PM. Took María Noj to doctor in Sololá on way. Wanted to pick up Chicua merchants in Sololá, but they wouldn't come. Stopped at Chicua school about the situation there; then on to the town. Visited Indian friends there and prepared to investigate the Patzité road.
- 19 - With Viviano Casia and Juan Cutillo, to Patzité, examining possible living-places along the road (where it passes through Chichicastenango territory). Examined the possibility of living in Patzité and studying cantón Mactzul nearby. Before returning to Chichicastenango, went up the road to Chiché examining possible living-places. On the way back to Panajachel, stopped again in Chicua to talk to the Indians about living there.
- 20 - Until early afternoon, in A.E.--taking lumber up and supervising work for awhile; then to town, where arranged to have legal land-documents drawn. In the afternoon, correspondence, including a long letter to Mr. Redfield about the Chichicastenango situation.
- 21 - All morning in A.E. again, taking up a load of bricks from San Andrés. Started building the fireplace. On way back hunted up the sawyers in Godínez. Visitors in Panajachel at noon included the priest from Sololá, Pensabene of Chichicastenango, and lawyer Escobar of Sololá who gave me some ideas on local history and also promised to draw documents tomorrow, in Panajachel.
- 22 - After a letter to Rosales in the A.M., and a stop at the post office, went to A.E. to supervise work, and at noon brought back Miguel Pérez to make the documents. Straightened out legal papers in afternoon and sent Pérez back to A.E. and Escobar back to Sololá. Prepared for trip to Guatemala City tomorrow.
- 23 - (Sunday). Received sawyers from Godínez in the morning; then

talked to Patanatic sawyers and Rómulo Guzmán the carpenter. At lunch a visitor was the Jefe Político from Sololá, and we talked. At 1:10 PM picked up Guzmán and we went to Guatemala City. Arrived for tea with the Kidders, then dinner and conference.

- 24- In morning ordered cement, hardware, stove-supplies, a large plank; in P.M. picked up merchandise, paid bill at office, packed up Redfield's stationery there.
- 25 - Left Guatemala City at 8 AM; arrived in A.E. to find adobes finished and the work getting on well. In Panajachel after 1 PM, unloaded the hardware. After lunch, worked on accounts and then spent an hour making financial arrangements with Guzmán. Began a letter to RR with no time to finish it.
- 26 - Finished Redfield's letter before breakfast; then supervised collecting gravel from river bed to send to A.E. for concrete. I worked on my notes in-between times and in the late afternoon and evening.
- 27 - A long, hard day in A.E. with the carpenters. Windy and dusty.
- 28 - Mostly rested and cleaned myself up. A long visit from Col. Santiso of San Pedro; also correspondence and some clerical work.
- 29 - In town in A.M. bought boletos (paying poll and road taxes) and collected vouchers; saw the Presidential party coming through. Then made up accounts. After lunch borrowed lumber at Crespos and then worked on Panajachel notes and got additional information from Indians. To A.E. in P.M. to pay off labor, etc.
- ~~30 - Continued work on Panajachel materials; with a short trip to A.E. to pick up the accounts and pay off labor and other expenses~~
(Sunday)
- 30 - Cleaned up, went to plaza, saw lumbermen; did correspondence and rested. Planned to go to Chichicastenango ~~tomorrow~~ tomorrow, but presence of the Presidential party on the road dissuaded me.
- 31 - Worked all day on Panajachel ethnology; in evening made up January expense account.
- Feb. 1 - Started off to Chichicastenango at 6 AM, but collided on the road to Sololá; after waiting for the authorities, returned to Panajachel for breakfast, then went to Sololá to make an official report and sign papers. With carpenter to Crespo's to pick out lumber; in P.M. to town to the post-office and to look for another chauffeur. Fixed up car temporarily.
- 2 - A hard day's work in A.E., picking up lumber and stone bases on the way; not back until 7 PM and in the evening roped in to answering questions of a Mr. and Mrs. Clark.
- 3 - Off early to Chichicastenango. Stopped at the Conos home in Chious and then talked to a neighbor about getting a piece of his land. Breakfast in Chichicastenango, then to the Indian juzgado several

- times to talk to the secretary, the alcaldes, and finally the Principal of Chicua about getting land there. (Juan Tol in Chicua had promised me some if I could ward off the neighbors' ire). Inspected other lands near Chichicastenango. Bought some boards; and in the afternoon to the juzgado again, then back to Panajachel. In the evening, called on Miguel Yach who promised to go with me to Chichicastenango to talk for me.
- 4 - With Yach, off to Chichicastenango early. Stopped first at Tol's house in Chicua, then to the juzgado several times. Unsuccessful. On way back stopped at a property of -lisco Rodas, at the Chicua school, and at the home of Tol, and then at that of a neighbor of his. Then in Solola bought license plates for the car. Back to Panajachel at 3 PM. Then found Pancho Lara who agreed to drive the car. Then with Santiago Yach to see Felipe Mucun about the land of his mortgaged to me.
- 5 - Early, gave Lara a letter to the police in Solola requesting a provisional driver's license. Then took carpenters and their doors and windows to A.E. for the day. Ordered additional adobes, supervised work, paid off labor. Also sent car up the road for the heavy lumber, now cut. In afternoon, social calls in A.E. Home at 7 PM, and Julián Rosales spent the evening with me, giving me some information.
- 6 - (Sunday) Early, a letter to Dr. Kidder; then settled accounts with old chauffeur whom I sent back to Guatemala City. To town, where I bought some passing lumber. Then started Lara on repairing the damaged car. Correspondence in afternoon and evening.
- 7 - A quick trip to A.E. with Weymann, Jr. to examine fireplace; took along cargo of boards and 2x4's. In afternoon, clerical work and a visit with the Tziná family from Atitlán. Also helped a little with the car, which is almost fixed.
- 8 - Most of the day on accounts and Panajachel notes; a letter to Rosales, and an application for Lara's bond sent to Guatemala. Also visited Indians and others.
- 9 - After an early letter to Dr. Kidder about repair parts on the car, picked up lumber and went to A.E. In Godinez met a shipment of car-parts. In A.E. had to undo the work of the masons on the stove, and fixed up the fireplace. Back to Panajachel at 3 PM. Worked on notes and accounts.
- 10 - About to go to Chichicastenango, the Yaches visited and I took Santiago with me to help. At the juzgado there, found that Chicua is impossible. Went to Patzité and bargained tentatively for houses; then to Chichá, when talked to Tomás Ren about a house of his. Then in town talked to Amézquita and Rohrmann. Panajachel for dinner.
- 11 - Letters to Guatemala office and Rosales; worked on notes and also did filing, etc. In the evening Julián Rosales came with more stories.
- 12.- The whole day in A.E., taking up lumber. Had to send for more quicklime. Arranged that carpenters should board with Miguel Perez; paid off labor and masons, etc. and in S. Andrés the tile-maker. In Panajachel received Rosales' assistant from S. Pedro.

- Feb. 13 - (Sunday) Business with sawyers, brick-maker, etc. who came to town to see me. Also received Indian visitors, and the Gerwins of Guatemala City came for lunch. In the afternoon and again in the evening Owen Smith called on me re a proposed Indian center in near Chichicastenango for which he wanted co-operation; we talked over his plans for a long time and decided to look over the place in Chichicastenango, my hope being that I could use it for my work next season.
- 14 - Before breakfast sent the carpenters to A.E. to stay and work; then completed some correspondence and finally left with Smith for Chichicastenango--seeing first the Wates house in which he was interested and then the neighboring house owned by Abel Rodas which interested me more. Talked to Abel Rodas tentatively about it before returning to Panajachel late in the afternoon.
- 15 - All morning I spent with Indians across the river, calling on the Cululens and on Santiago Yach, and going with him to visit Felipe Mucón. After lunch to Sololá (in Weymann's car) to buy some hardware and to pick up the land documents. On the way back, visited a cave above San Jorge in which Indians were doing magic. Then borrowed some planks from Crespo's. In the evening worked on my notes, and correspondence.
- 16 - All morning in A.E. directing carpenters and masons, and in the afternoon did a number of local errands and wrote some necessary letters.
- 17 - Spent the day on correspondence, notes, and in clipping a six-week's accumulation of newspapers for my files. In the evening Julián Rosales came.
- 18 - Stayed in Panajachel all day, doing little errands, receiving a few visits, and mostly working over my notes and correspondence. The President came through again, and I, like the rest of the people, watched him.
- 19 - Worked at home again, all day; in the afternoon Santiago Yach came and gave me a good amount of information that I need in checking up things about Panajachel.
- 20 - All day in A.E., and Godínez and S. Andrés on the way. The house is getting along fast. At the house I entertained friends from A.E. who came to admire. I brought the carpenters home for the weekend. A letter from Dr. Kidder advised our taking the Rodas house in Pocchil, so I prepared for a trip to Chichicastenango.
- 21 - (Sunday). After some early morning errands (and a visit from compadres on the birthday of a god-child) drove to Chichicastenango for the day. There made arrangements to rent and remodel the Rodas house; then contracted for windows and doors, and also adobes, tiles and bricks, and a mason to do the work. Made arrangements to have Rodas buy lumber and lime and pay the labor. Got back to Panajachel late.
- 22 - Taking the carpenters, I spent the morning in A.E. In the

afternoon I crossed the river and visited Julian Rosales, Dr., Marcelino Can, Leonso Salpor, and others--mostly "socially" but getting some data too. That took until 6:30, and after dinner Juan Cutillo of Chichicastenango came to go over his financial condition with me.

- Feb. 23 - In the morning (and until mid-afternoon) in Chichicastenango, where I supervised work on the house and made further arrangements for its progress. Having arranged with grocer Cerwin of Guatemala City to market the local Indians' strawberries, I spent a couple of hours helping the Indians pack in and ship them.
- 24 - In the morning did local errands and also got in a little work on notes, filing, etc. In the afternoon I got out some correspondence and then rested. Then I shipped the windows of the station-wagon to Guatemala for repairs; the car otherwise is all fixed up.
- 25 - After a couple of stops in town, and after picking up lumber in Patanatic and in San Andrés and calling on the tile-maker in San Andrés, went to A. E. There everything was all right, except I had to go and find a mule-load of quicklime to commandeer. A truckload of tiles came while I was there. In the afternoon, wrote to Dr. Redfield and arranged to collect sand and more stones from the river here.
- 26 - Found I had to make another trip to A.E., and there discovered we would be short of tiles; so stopped at Sr. Andrés and bargained with another tile maker. What with errands here before leaving and after returning, the day slipped by.
- 27 - All day in A.E., taking up sand and lumber from the roadsides where it is left for us. Directed carpenters in making attic windows, stairway, putting in screening, etc. Paid off labor, masons, carpenters, etc. and returned late. In S. Andrés completed arrangements for getting more tiles.
(Sunday)
- 28 - Most of the day in San Pedro, looking over Rosales' work and installing the radio I brought down for him. His work is getting along very well. Home again, in the late afternoon I received a dozen Indian visitors who wanted various things or just to visit.
- March 1 - Went to A.E., where I expected the carpenters to be finished but they lacked half a day; also to Sololá to do some errands. There I called on a machinist who agreed to make the stove-parts for the Pocohil house. In the evening, correspondence.
- 2 - Arranged to have 2000 tiles trucked to A.E., then spent the rest of the morning on expense accounts, etc. Then in the afternoon I crossed the river to talk to Indians, visiting the Castros, the Noj's and the Gululen's. Hardly back home, received visits from three other parties of Indians. In the evening prepared the driver for an early trip to Guatemala City to bring back the Kidder party.
- 3 - Spent the morning getting my work in order. In the afternoon Dr. David Levy called to ask questions and interest me in some psychiatric experiments. In the evening the Kidders came and I had dinner with them in Tzanjuyú.

- March 4 - In the morning went with the Kidders to Sololá; in the afternoon to A.E. to see the house and try the fireplace.
- 5 - Went with the Kidders to S. Pedro, where we looked over Rosales' work, and to Atitlán. In the afternoon, went across the river to call on the Gululens; then spent an hour with the Kidders in Tzanjuyú.
(Sunday)
- 6 - To Chichicastenango with the Kidders; there I settled accounts with Rodas, and arranged for continuance of the work, which is progressing. In the afternoon we went to Guatemala City.
- 7 - All day I spent making purchases for the Chichicastenango house (and additional glass for A.E.) and doing a number of other errands. Among other things, Mr. Kidder and I called on the head of the Customs house to get a ruling on bringing in food-stuffs; also had a conference with Dr. Kidder on future plans. Lunch with Mr. Levy and a Sr. Dorion who is head of the Electric Company and a friend of the President's; he wanted to find out about my work because he thought the President would be very interested.
- 8 - After a half-dozen quick errands, we got off for Panajachel again at about 11 AM. Eric Thompson came with me, and we stopped at A.E. before completing the trip. In Panajachel I called on a Mr. Olmstead to whom Dr. Kidder had introduced me; also, Father Rossbach was at the hotel, and Mr. Neumann of Guatemala City, too.
- 9 - Went to A.E. with a load of borrowed quicklime and with the Olmsteads. In the afternoon, hired a small launch (in exchange for gasoline) and went with Thompson to S. Pedro, where I had to deliver powdered milk to Rosales. Again I examined his work, and we got back late.
- 10 - With Thompson, went for the day to Chichicastenango, where most of my time was spent going over the house and accounts for it. Also visited Indian friends.
- 11 - Spent the morning catching up on correspondence and other work. Then in the afternoon crossed the river with Thompson and visited a dozen Indian homes until well into the evening.
- 12 - Spent the day in A.E., putting finishing touches on the house and starting to clean up the yard and make a garden. Many townspeople came to see the house.
- 13 - Most of the day spent receiving Indian visitors. Also, went to the plaza and the church in the morning, and got a little work done.
- 14 - Off before seven for A. E., and not back until after 7. All day spent on levelling the yard, fixing the garden, and cleaning up the house. All finished now, and the next trip will be just to say goodbye to the people. In the evening, worked on accounts.
- 15 - Worked all day with Santiago Yach, going over stories and folklore.

- March 16 -- Started early for Chichicastenango, stopping in Sololá on the way to pick up stove-parts. There, besides supervising the building, Rodas and I had a legal document, like a lease, drawn up. Returning at 5 PM, spent an hour talking to missionaries, especially about the Gululen conversion.
- 17 - Worked part of the day catching up on newspaper clippings; part on notes; and part on scurrying around for a rain-gutter.
- 18 - Most of the day working on notes and accounts, part entertaining Indians and getting some information, part on errands.
- 19 - All day with informant Santiago Yach, completing the work on folklore that I started with him.
- 20 - Made my last trip to Chichicastenango, staying all day, and completing all arrangements for the house, which is now close to being finished. In the evening I had visitors from Atitlán, and one from Chichicastenango. I also did some correspondence.
- 21 - Spent most of the day across the river saying good-bye to the Indians; and in the late afternoon and evening there was a steady stream of Indians bearing gifts. Also, Col. Santiso was here from San Pedro. There was little time for work, but I have just about cleaned everything up anyway.
- 22 - Most of the day I spent in conference with Juan Rosales who came from S. Pedro with all his work so that I could go over it. Late in the afternoon I called upon the missionaries; and in the evening, until almost midnight, I entertained Indians who came to say goodbye.
- 23 - All day and evening spent in packing, in completing my work with Rosales, and in saying goodbyes to Indians at their homes and here (they all bring presents).
- 24 - Departed Panajachel at 8 AM for Guatemala City. Here I spent the afternoon in errands (mostly purchases of things to send back to Panajachel and Chichicastenango).
- 25 - Spent the whole day in a dozen pieces of business incident to departure.
- 26 - Last minute business, goodbyes, and packing.
- 27 - Entrained early for Barrios, and boarded S. S. Tolosa for dinner.
- 28, 29,-- Aboard ship did expense account and miscellaneous jobs.
- 30 - At 7 PM landed in New Orleans; took night train North, arriving in Detroit, April 1st.

DIARY 1938-9

(Sel Tax)

1938

October 12. - (Wed.) Sailed from New Orleans on S.S. Sixola.

15. - Docked in Puerto Barrios in the afternoon; took night train to Guatemala City.
16. - Arrived G. C. early A.M.; unpacked and rested in Pensión Gueroult.
17. - To office, Customs House, Ministers of Hacienda and Education about grocery order (with Dr. Redfield. Also did shopping.
18. - Customs house, shopping, repairing, packing.
19. - Arranged freight transportation, repacked things, did some shopping.
20. - Prepared to leave tomorrow; car repairs, shopping, packing, etc.
21. - After difficulties, got off for Chichicastenango with most of the freight in Clark's baggage car at 11 AM; stopped at Agua Escondida, picking up Mrs. Tax and going on; arrived Mayan Inn at 5:30 PM. Tried to get mozes to cartage baggage; too late.
22. - Whole day spent in carting things to the house, some 2 km. from town. Managed to get moved in by evening.
- 23.-- Sunday. Purchases in the market (furniture, etc.) and a little progress in ordering the house.
24. - Fixing the house and unpacking; masons working on installation of toilet and the whole house a mess. Can't even unpack work....
25. - Organized enough to do some necessary correspondence and odd jobs. Getting started has meant trips to town and so on, taking a lot of time. Our chief difficulty is that we have no clothes closet or cupboard space at all (the Sunday market was barren of such things). To save time and money, the mason tomorrow will dig holes in the walls to make closet and book-case.
26. - Mason worked in our main room all day; I managed some correspondence and accounts and a little miscellaneous work.
27. - Main room finished, and we moved in again; I now have place for my work, so unpacked it. Also

went to the market for more shopping. Stopped at Viviano Casio's house, where left our horses and found there would be some delay in getting them. One is lost (according to the man in whose charge it was given by Viviano) and the other sold, but not paid for, to Juan Xaper. Viviano sold the saddles and will make replacements immediately, as well as talk to both men involved with the horses.

Each trip to town of course I see and talk to old acquaintances, mostly ladinos. Greetings, no more, that I don't mention in the Diary. Talked at some length with Flavio Rodas about his Simbolismo and its translation; he says he paid \$300 to have some woman render it into English and he will bring it over for me to look at.

28. - The masons tore up the bedroom today and the house is still a difficulty; but now I am formally at work and everything is in order. Xaper came to promise the money for the horse.
29. - The house finished and cleaned by late evening. Just a week of disorder, and it seems much more. In preparation for a trip to S. Pedro, worked over the notes Rosales as most recently sent. Communications with Agua Escondida are poor and I don't know when the car will be up.
30. Sunday
- To market for shopping and visiting; fiesta in town, and we received some gifts (fiambre). Visitors in the afternoon (ladinos). In the evening, word that the car has come to take me to Panajachel in the morning; thence to San Pedro. *Totomucos with signed post.*
31. - Early to town to drive to Panajachel. Took Abel Rodas to Sololá. Launch from Tzanjuyú to S. Pedro, where found Rosales gone to S. Pablo. Took radio, Klim, and left money; looked over his maps and so on and left shortly after noon. In Panajachel crossed river to greet Indian friends and compadres, and took María and Julián Rosales home to greet Mrs. Tax. After other visits in Panajachel, returned home at 7 PM and sent car back.

- November 1. - The house now finally running. Bathroom fixed up (though not working because of a leak) and everything unpacked and in place. Worked on accounts and other odd jobs in connection with Panajachel MS. *Visited Totomucos night.*
2. - Chapter on domestic animals, number not fixed.
3. - Market and Indian juzgado, renewing acquaintance with officials. Later, work on d.m. chapter; *apt. + loc. Rosales here from S Pedro. Went over in with them.*
4. - Early, Juan Xaper brought money for the horse he had bought (and traded away); delivered documents to him. Work on d.m. chapter.

5. - To town to see if horses could be bought in Chiché today; heavy rains spoiled the possibility. Talked to Viviano and others. Home, continued on d.m. In town collected vouchers; evening did Expense Account.
6. - Sunday. To town to market and post office. In market saw Luis Noj (Panajachel) selling onions, and from him learned that the car was here. At noon left for Agua Escondida, picking up the priest and Octaviano Jimenez in Sololá. Arrived 3 PM, stayed an hour, arrived home again 6 PM and sent the car back.
7. - Monday, and a bit the worse for a cold that won't go away. Most of the day on d.a.; also visited neighbors in the P.M.: the injured Tototonicapeño whose very bad foot didn't keep him from going to market yesterday; the Iggacios--Diego and Miguel. Our farther neighbors have been coming with eggs and firewood, but so far we haven't visited them.
8. - On domestic animals.
9. - Ditto, with a trip to town in the morning to get some money sent from the city and to give Viviano that which Xaper gave me for the horse. Also some purchases in the stores and new instructions to the post office.
10. - On the d.a. chapter.
11. - Ditto
12. - Ditto. Expected the new horses from Chiché, but they didn't come.
13. - To town to market and to see about the horses; Viviano had them (bought yesterday) at his house and was putting finishing touches on the harness. Since he promised to deliver them in the evening, scurried for mosos to take them to A.E. in the A.M. Found one who would do, but later in the afternoon he came to say he couldn't go because his father vetoed the proposition. (He's an adult Indian). Went out to look for others, but unsuccessfully because (a) those who would go don't have their boletos and are afraid to pass through Sololá or (b) since they are new horses and unknown quantities people are afraid to take chances on auto roads.
14. - Got the idea to send the horses on a path that misses Sololá and the auto roads--directly to Godinez. Early, to town to find somebody, and finally made a bargain with two ladino boys willing to go right away. Sent them with a letter and hope they found the way and will arrive. The rest of the day on the d.a. chapter, and finally this diary to date.

- Nov. 15. - Continued work on chapter on Domestic animals. Visit from Abel Rodas' brother bringing a Latino from Quiché to try to sell jades, etc.
16. - Worked on D.A. chapter all day
17. - Practically finished D.A. chapter, but found some other things that should perhaps go in; leaving it for time being to begin to organize other material, especially for chapter or chapters on Kitchen & Cooking.
18. - Continued work of yesterday, culling, clipping, and organizing material. All week had two young mozos fixing path to house which is impossible to walk over in rainy weather. Today they also helped plant a vegetable garden (cabbage, brocoli, cauliflower, spinach, radishes, carrots, onions) with seeds given me by Perry-Morse seed Co.
19. - Spent day organizing the K. & C. chapter. Don Pabe the local druzist came to larp the foot of the Itonicapeña neighbor; it is still bad, and I have been seeing him often.
20. - Sunday. In AM to town to the market and stores and to Mayan Inn where money from G.C. was awaiting me. In P.M. a long visit with Diego Ignacio who came with five of his eight children. Among other matters of conversation (about old informant Tomás Ventura, he told me that after having taken to drink after his father's death 3 years ago, Tomás went crazy, but is better now) I told him some Panajachel stories to try for a reaction. Since Diego has a mask factory, I told him of how people got costumes from the lake and from the hill in Panajachel. He understood the situations well enough and said he's heard of people in distress being helped in such ways, but he had nothing further to offer; he had never heard these stories before. Then I told a Lacandon story, and although he was interested, and his children (the older boys) were amused, there was no further response. Then I told him about the hill; he said he's heard of such hills--for example the volcano Sta. María and one in Quiché--and said there's no such thing here; he volunteered that when people go to the hill, they become very fat, so he has obviously heard of cases; but he offered none. I still don't have any indication that there are stories here as there are in Panajachel....
- While Diego was here, María (the Itonicapeña neighbor) came with a couple of eggs. I asked if they had sold their pig (which was impoverishing them) and she said no: they were offered only \$7 in the market, and they will kill it a week from tomorrow for soap. When she was gone, Diego said he'd seen the pig at market, that it is worth only \$7 these days--although piglets sell for \$1--and that the woman had asked the ridiculous price of \$15.
- Did some correspondence in-between times.
21. - Worked on K. & C., not yet writing, however. This AM

MEXX

Sabastian Ignacio (Miguel's son) started work, to carry 2 bins of water from a well every morning before school. We have had trouble with our water supply and the wells near the house have now run dry. ("Wells" are accumulations of seepage at the surface).

I wrenched my back or something and find the going hard.

22. - All day on K. & C. charter. My back was a little better, but when Juventina our ladina laundress heard about it she said it was aire and prescribed cupping. Six cuppings would do it, she said. I let her try, and after three I declared myself better--and indeed I was much better. (She took an ordinary glass tumbler and with a drop of water pasted a pinch of cotton batten to an inside surface (on the side); fired the cotton with a match and applied the glass to my skin which of course was drawn into the vacuum that formed. After five minutes the glass removed by slight pressure on the flesh at the rim and the operation repeated a short distance away. Some people use a half-cent candle instead of cotton.) Iodine was applied over the circles cupped. For severe cases of aire, cupping is done front and back.

23. - Continued with K. & C. My back practically cured.... In the forenoon Owen Smith came and we spent an hour discussing his project. While he was here, neighbor Maria came with eggs; while refusing her money on account, I did give her a gasoline can at the bargain price of 5 cents (to be paid when the soap is sold) for the lard of the pig to be killed Monday.

In the afternoon, a visit from the telegraph lineman in town. He is a poor ladino who did me a favor (helping me find a mozo to take the horses to A.E.). His wife was washing clothes in the river below here, and he came just to visit. In talking, he told me of the various towns where he has worked, and talked a lot about Sacapulas and its salt industry. "Cuesites" of salt they make....

We talked about the ladino population of Sacapulas, and he said it is large. I asked "Are there many Chaboles too?" "How? What's that?" he asked, and I repeated the question using the phrase gente chancle, and then light finally seemed to come and he said, "Ah, si--hay; hay almacenes y de todo alla". My impression is that he recognizes the term chancle as part of the language but hardly as one of social class. (He himself is from Quiché, wears very poor clothes and torn shoes and is badly in need of a shave--hardly like the recognized chancles of Panajachel).

Late in the P.M., helped the cook kill our Thanksgiving turkey, native fashion. Hung it by the legs from a branch; I held both wings in one hand, the upper beak with the other while she held down the lower beak and pulled out its tongue as far as she could. The slippery tongue gave some trouble, but she finally got a grip on it and with a knife cut it off. Either the knife was dull or the turkey's tongue is very tough--but it took some sawing. S.P.O.A. take note that the bird just slowly bled to death.

While she was taking off the feathers, I asked, "Are you

going to make soup too?" After some joking about how she would make soup and how we would all eat great quantities, she said No, because it is very cold. Then I suggested "We can heat it up well in the fire and then it won't be so cold and we'll eat it quickly." At this she burst into loud laughter (she's a giggler anyway) and said, "Gold means que se hace mal al estómago". (She is a ladina from the Coasts who has cooked in native and foreign homes for years; she lives with the recently-fired head boy of the Mayan Inn.)

24. - Thanksgiving day (as well as the baby's six-month birthday). Aside from five business visitors (firewood, eggs, etc.) from neighbors which took a little time, and the turkey dinner that required a siesta, and a late afternoon rush to repair the gasoline lamps which both went bad at once, the day was occupied with the section on Cooking.

Incidentally, we had turkey soup after all. Since we have no pot large enough to roast a turkey, the cook cut it up and boiled it (then fried it); she tasted the juice and said it tasted very good and if she would put enough onion and garlic in it, it would be warmed up enough to eat. She actually put in at least two whole heads of garlic!

25. - In the morning continued work on foods, really, however, going over the first chapters to check them with this material for cross-references, etc. Also a little correspondence (Rosales, Benjaminson, etc.).

At 1:30 PM neighbor María came to tell me they were going to kill the pig; I had asked for notice, and I hurried over. the pig was already dead, but I watched the butchering most of the afternoon, checking on the description I have from Panajachel. Pedro (the Totonicapense--his name is Pedro Luis Chugway or something like that) is by profession a pig butcher, as well as a brick and tile-maker and I don't know what else, who has not been doing butchering here because of lack of capital, he says. He did the job expertly, but had only the aid of his wife because of lack of funds to hire a mozo. The reason he killed today is because he ran completely out of maize as well as money. Lack of mozo brought two results: loss of blood in the butchering, thus shortage for the perrengas he will make, and need of my assistance in the butchering.

Pedro bought the pig 11 months ago in Chiché for 50 pesos. It must have eaten \$10.00 worth of maize, but when I mentioned that it didn't seem to register as important. Pedro says he was offered \$8.00 for the animal--on credit, but he hopes now to get a five-gallon tin of larú (worth \$6) and 80 lbs. of meat (worth \$6 he says--but at 6 cents a lb...?) besides the cracklings and a little soap. He is worried about being able to market the meat because he left his screened meat-vending cage in Nebaj where he last lived; this is required by law. While I was there a ladino came to ask for two legs on credit, and Pedro said María would go and talk to his wife later. When he was gone, Pedro told me he can't give meat on credit because he needs the money now; also that the ladino wants the meat to make sherises.

I asked if he would buy another little pig; he said he wants a cow for the milk--to sell.

Shortly after I came, he asked me how much a pocket-watch costs in the U.S.--a pretty good one. I said maybe \$3 or \$4. Can't one buy one for \$3? Yes. Do I have one in the house? Yes, I have. He used to have one too, until it was stolen in Totonicapán, and now he misses it. At that time a huge sum of money was also stolen, and since it belonged to somebody in Quezaltenango, he had to sell house and beasts to pay it back. How long ago was this? 22 years. No more on the subject of the watch until 3PM when (with María's usual prompting) he asked the time and then, after a word from his wife, "De mi un reloj." Since I acted as if I didn't understand, he repeated, "No tiene un mi reloj en su casa?" I turned him down, of course. He and especially his wife are the worst chiselers I met in Guatemala.

Before María, he told me, "This isn't my real wife; she is my second. The 1st died. But we are married." Legally, too. I asked, "You are creentes, then?" Yes. Then María prompted him to ask the same question of me, and he waited a decent interval and then did. (I explained that in the U.S. we weren't exactly creentes, but something like them).

I left 15 cents for them to buy maize for tomorrow; then took a doubly-needed bath and spent the evening on business correspondence.

26. - All day on Kitchen & Cooking chapter.

27. - Sunday. In the morning to town and market; rather a tripe market, but incidentally they are all now considerably bigger than four years ago. In the afternoon, personal correspondence.

28. - All day on Cooking chapter, finally beginning the writing. In the afternoon, an interruption from a ladino painter in town who came to see if (1) I needed house-painting done (no); (2) if I would like to buy some of his paintings (maybe); (3) if I'd be interested in archeological jades, etc. (no); and (4) if we haven't any old magazines to sell (I gave him a couple).

At 6 PM Biviano Casio (that's how he spells it) came with the documents for the horses, worried because one of them says he paid \$14 instead of \$15 for a horse; he wasn't present when it was drawn up, and a mistake was made. Then he asked me a big favor: to lend him \$50 or \$60 until after the fiesta because he'd like to buy large quantities of leather in Totonicapán for his business. I told him I'd let him know tomorrow, but that we have little money. I hate to turn him down completely because the risk is little and he has done me favors.

In the evening, started to type this diary.

29. - Early, went to neighboring pig-butcher to watch soap-making. To make lye: put 50 lbs. quicklime and 5 5-gal. tins ashes in a big pot on a frame. Add water and let the lye drip through holes (3) to pot below. Cook meat

and fat in lye in half a gasoline drum on a fire in the kitchen. This will be cooking until tomorrow....

The rest of the morning on the Kitchen chapter and on writing this diary to date.

In the afternoon worked on the same chapter; also went to town for an hour to get vouchers signed, etc. In the evening began the November expense account.

30. - In the morning completed November accounts. Also visited the soap-making neighbors. At 10:30 AM the soap was still boiling away. Then completed the morning with correspondence and a letter to send with the expense account and this diary. In the afternoon went back to continue work on the Kitchen chapter.

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December 1. - (Thurs.) Worked all day on chapter on the kitchen, with some interruptions. In the morning, a visit from Miguel Ignacio, ostensibly to borrow \$1.00 (which I politely refused on grounds of inability) but perhaps more to hear the radio that his son (who carries our water) must have told him about. I played it for him, and we talked at some length. He says the Indians are now quiet, and some of them pleased, about the tourists; "If not for le Señores Turistas" who would buy the textiles?" (Of course the Ignacios are among the biggest gainers from the trade). Miguel now has 19 grandchildren; he has nine children (Diego ~~xxxxxxx~~ Mrs. Tomás Gonzales by ~~xxxxxx~~ first wife, two daughters by second wife, and five little ones by his present wife. His eldest daughter, the wife of Tomás Gonzales, has a daughter married to a local Indian, Nicolas; this boy worked at the Mayan Inn and ran up debts which Tomás refused to pay, and told him instead to go find his living elsewhere and pay his debts. Now Nicolas is in Tzanjuyú, working at the hotel; he wants his wife to join him there, but Tomás and his wife won't let her go.

Miguel served as Fiscal and as cofrade of the cofradía Santo Tomás five different years; also as cofrade of another cofradía one year. Never did lower services. He did these services with all his wives. The clothes of his deceased wives are buried with them, as per custom--including the ceremonial huipiles which were not as elaborate, he says, as they are nowadays.

Late in the afternoon, a visit from Abel Rodas. His nephew, whom he raised, will be married next month. The custom is to marry civilly first, and sleep at their respective homes that night; the next day, married by the priest, after which there is a party in which there is something to drink, music, and a dance. Then they go to his house to live. In the old days, the party went on for a week, and the host killed ~~xxxx~~ a steer, hogs, etc.

Ms. on Municipal Organization arrived from Ricketson for criticism.

2. - Typing on Kitchen chapter all day. Manuel, the little mozo came, wanting work to buy clothes for the fiesta. Put him to preparing land for transplanting vegetables.

At 2 PM was called to watch the Totonicapeños making soap; just a week after the pig killed. An interesting process, which I won't detail here. He will come out well in his butchering, getting a total of about \$14 for his processed pig.

Returning, did some more work, but didn't feel well, so bathed and rested.

3. - All day on the Kitchen chapter.

December 4. - (Sunday). To a very "lively" market in the morning; the dance of the Conquista was going on in front of the Church. In the afternoon, while our servant Juan was watching the soccer game in town, his mother visited us, and told us some interesting things about her family history: she was "given" into service to ladinos when a girl, by her mother over her weeping objections. We knew she later did the same to Juan, although she says she holds it against her mother. Her daughter is also in service, and plans to change her clothes to those of Totonicapañ. *USA... cheap... this is...*

With one thing and another, including correspondence, I get no work done.

5. - Worked all day on the Kitchen chapter. Young mose Manuel was here and I tried to find him work to earn a few days' wages, and finally thought in the afternoon of sending him to neighbor Manuel Riquiac where a lot of firewood has been cut lately to see if we can't buy some there and the boy occupy himself by bringing it over. He went over there and soon Riquiac came over (the first time) and called on us. After apologising for not having called sooner (1. sickness; 2. was away on the Coast) we came to the firewood business and he agreed to sell some (how much for his wife to decide) at four cents a load. Since I pay six delivered, that was what I wanted.

I gave him phenobarbatol for his rheumatism (which he also called trouble with his nerves) and aspirin for his cold.

Also wrote a letter to Rosales.

5. - All day again on the Kitchen chapter. Little Manuel brought three loads of firewood from Riquiac's; the wife said she would let us know about more. Then at 5:30 PM Riquiac himself came again to report on his sickness; his rheumatism hadn't been cured yet. We talked a long while. He is "caporal" for Gustavo Rodas who is labor-agent for an Herrera finca. He told me of his work and family, and I something about my work. He seems to speak Spanish very well, and I hope to make use of him later as an informant. He stayed an hour.

Meanwhile Tina, the laundress, told Gertrude that the Indians give teething babies onions to chew on (Juan later volunteered the same) and sometimes the foot of a chicken. She said some ladinos dip their fingers in cold water and rub the baby's gums to deter the teeth until later, because babies get sick and are a trouble when teething. This is bad, she says. Most ladinos give their babies bread soaked in oil and wrapped in a cloth.

In the evening Juan told half a dozen jokes that he has heard from ladinos.

December 7. - Worked all day on chapter on the Kitchen. In the evening there were many rockets, for this is the last evening of the novena for Concepción, which is tomorrow. Each night is in charge of another citizen, and this last night is always Adán Amézquita(s); since he is the richest in town, it is always the gayest. Abel Rodas has the cofradía this year; tonight the santa is taken from his house to the church.

Two young ladinos came to borrow clothes for the dance tomorrow in which they dress as women and in other masquerade costumes.

8. - Much fiesta in town (Concepción). There are two dances. One is the ladino dance, the convite; the other mostly of Totonicapán Indians living here; it is the Mixqueña dance, and they dress as women (Indians) of Mixco. Our mason, Cruz Tax (pronounced Tash!!!) is the owner or leader, but he doesn't himself dance. They promised to come to our house to dance (partly because we contributed 25 cents) but later they were too drunk and tired to come all this way and sent apologies.

I stayed practically all morning in town, at the market and watching the dance but mostly trying to buy gasoline. Finally had to go to the Intendente and get a mozo to go to Quiché for it. The Intendente is originally of Guatemala City, and seems to be a well-informed gentleman. He also promised to have the road leading part-way to our house repaired next week. Also went to see Viviano Casio the sandal-maker.

Meanwhile, Diego Macario, his wife (Tomasa) who is Gertrude's old friend, and their little son, came to call at the house. They now live two km. on the road to Quiché; Diego's mother has moved in with them, with her two youngest daughters, her three sons still living at Tomas Ventura's (their half-brother) because they will have some inheritance there. An older daughter stayed there too, but she is now 14 and "ya se juntó". Diego-and-Tomasa's boy is one-and-a-half and wears overalls and sweater; but for the fiesta of Holy Week they plan to buy him maxefie trousers.

Although the mozo went early enough, he has not returned and we have no gasoline this night.

Gertrude thought of going alone to town in the afternoon; Juan said everybody would laugh because they know she has a baby--and how appear without a baby?

The evening in town very gay. Juan went and reported many many there, including Indians from the santa, even though this is a ladino fiesta. There were elaborated fireworks, and he brought home some ganchenflines, small pieces of cane with powder in one end which, when ignited, sends the tube whizzing wildly around. Ten cents a dozen.

I continued work on the Kitchen in the afternoon and evening.

9. - Dropped writing on Kitchen to work up data on household consumption of various foods to work into the

chapter. Our gasoline, yellowish and half-a-gallon short, came from Quiché in the morning, the mozo having returned after dark yesterday. Juan, meanwhile, hired a horse to go to Quiché to buy shoes--and bought one pair at \$1.80 and a pair of football shoes at 2.25--having some 90 cents over local prices. His horse cost 40 cents (and a lazy beast, too), and he had to buy it 5 cents worth of feed.

Late in the afternoon, a visit from don Abel and his brother Gustavo. Talking about Guatemala, they said foreigners are liked here--except Germans, who are disliked partly because of wartime, mostly because they are so domineering and imperious and want to dwarf and step on employes and all natives. "If they'd won the war, we'd be nothing--under their heels"; they seemed to have little interest in what is going on now in Germany.

10. - Continued yesterday's work. Gertrude made her first trip to town....

Juan and the laundress fought about Germans. Tina prefers them to Americans because the American manager of the Inn fired her "husband" while the German always liked him. Juan, very anti-German and pro-American (he has had contrary experience with employers) objected bitterly.

To keep little Manuel working, Mims borrowed an axe from neighboring Riquiac's and started chopping a dead pine down so Manuel could cut up the branches. We were not capable, but seeing two Indians passed, we hailed them and offered four cents to chop the tree down; they ran over and in fifteen minutes did the job, overpaid.

Juan makes a distinction between gente de categoria and gente humilde, but they are not at poles. Adán Amzquita is de categoria, but not at all humilde (except with rich people). Our seamstress "tries to represent herself" as de categoria, but she is poor; she should be humilde but isn't. Now we are de categoria, but also humilde; so is don Gustavo Rodas, who is rich but very amiable and charitable to poor ladies and Indians.

11. - Sunday. To town, to market, Rodas', Viviano's, and the stores on business. The market is lively, everybody buying clothes and things for the fiesta.

In the afternoon, a little rest and a little work--concluding the job I have been on the last three days.

12. - Resumed writing chapter on the Kitchen. Nothing much happened except Juan supplying information on Indino morality in town, cases of which I wrote down.
13. - Typing on Kitchen chapter all day, with a little time out for correspondence.
14. - Continued work of yesterday.

December 19. - Back to work again, but most of the day spent on this diary. All day made nervous by presence of a young Indian cutting up a tree we have; engaged him on the road Sunday when his mother (?) asked charity, offering him 8 cents a day. Now he came and worked half at the tree and half on me. I won't recount the difficulties, except to say that he is the only Indian I know who appears to know not one word of Spanish; even Juan couldn't make head or tail out of what he said in Indian. We had one mixup after another, and when the day was over I had paid him 16 and a half cents for the job (which he finished in half-a-day although everybody said it was more than a day's work) on the grounds that I had promised that much to his father who, it turns out, is our regular firewood-carrier; five cents for a new axe-handle which he promptly broke when I guaranteed it; one cent for rent on an axe from a neighbor. But we got six loads of firewood.

20. - To complete our mystification, the regular firewood carrier came this morning and not only denied that the other of yesterday is his son, but insisted that he had never even talked to him. (How did the youth know that I had offered ten pesos for the job?). In all, I feel as if I have met a ghost, or some spirit sent to confuse me.

Woke up with a rather bad cold, and didn't get much work done in the morning.

In the afternoon came Sr. Alfredo Schlesinger of Guatemala City (journalist) and we talked for an hour about fascism on the one hand (he is Guatemala's most prolific anti-) and the Indians here on the other. He is compadre of Tomás Gonzalez, and is educating Tomás' son in Guatemala City. He says he has collected a lot of legends here, mixed Spanish-pagan (Example: Jesus fleeing from Jews hid in cacao tree and blessed it afterwards, saying among other things its fruit would be valuable as gold; and that is why at the handing-over of the staff of office of the first alcalde in the cofradia of Santo Tomás a dish of cocoa beans is handed over). Don Alfredo has a great respect for the botanical (medicinal) knowledge of the Indians, and for their knowledge of mines (In Carrera's administration all the coins were of native gold from a secret mine he knew; he killed all the miners and at his death the goose died) In Quezaltenango the Indians bring to the drugstores and sell much pure mercury; and especially for their close-mouthedness (he says that to be sure none of the secrets get out, Indian fathers tell nothing to their children until they are old).

Don Alfredo thinks Rodas' Simbolismo is pure phantasy--that the designs on Indian costumes are post-Columbian (that the double-headed eagle, for example, is Austrian); he thinks furthermore that Padre Rossbach knew nothing and that's why his promised book is never written.

December 21. - (Wednesday) In the morning began an answer to Dr. Ricketson's question's about the Chichicastenango political organization. In the middle, compadre Noj of Panajachel came with his little daughter (leaving others of the family in the marketplace selling fruit they had brought). We talked about Julián, the son working for the Redfields, first; he is indignant and wants to send him here for a spanking because of the ill service he gives; blames it on Pancho (ex-chauffeur). Says he will sell Julián's property to pay back swindled money, etc., etc. Another piece of business was about daughter María, still "engaged", still not married. The situation sounds just as we left it 18 months ago. Now I was asked to try to hurry matters, or get a definite statement from the man so that the matter can be taken to court. I promised to try when I next come to Panajachel. After considerably more conversation and a request for a loan of \$2.50 (granted because I'm incapable of learning) we went to town. This is the day of Sto. Tomás and I wanted to see things anyway....

Home for lunch, after which I finished the Ricketson letter and did other correspondence and business. Then as night fell the whole Noj family ~~and~~ came and stayed an hour, following a visit from Abel Rodas with two little nieces from Patzún.

When Juan came home, reported the death of a volader dancer, with all the gruesome details of his fall from the pole and how he was taken to the cemetery for first aid. Comadre Noj confirmed the story. The dance was stopped.

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22. Worked at home all day, partly continuing the work on Panajachel (still Kitchen information) and partly on correspondence. Coming upon a letter from McBryde early in the afternoon, I decided I had better take a few days to work up market and economic data of Panajachel so that I could send him information that he wants. He has waited six months already. So the rest of the afternoon and evening I devoted to this.

Gertrude went to town in the Pm and came back to report that Amézquita and others deny that the dancer yesterday died: only his face was a little scratched. Juan says there seems to be a difference of opinion.

23. Worked on markets, making tables and so on; no interruptions.

24. Ditte until late afternoon when I went to town to deliver Christmas presents to Father Reesbach and the 25xRodas'.

25. Sunday and Christmas. Did a little work and took some rest. In the afternoon, don Abel and his sister and her husband (telegraph operator at Los Cuencutres) brought Gertrude an orchid. In the morning they had sent tamales for breakfast, also.

- November 26. - Resumed work on Panajachel economics, reducing the data on Panajachel vendors, etc. to tables where possible. No interruptions.
27. - Ditto, now typing merchant and market data. Spent the day trying
28. - ~~xxxxxxx~~ to analyze my map to work out statistics of land-use and ownership; finished late.
~~xxxx~~
29. - Early in the morning reduced the land data to a table and began to type up the explanations. Then went to town to take care of some business (especially about radio license). After lunch found myself with some very bad stomach disorder, and went to bed.
30. - Last evening Gertrude was taken with what appears to be the same affliction; pain and diarrhoea. Today both of us are distinctly under the weather.
31. - I was sufficiently recovered in the afternoon to do some correspondence and odd jobs. Gertrude felt a little better too.

1939

January 1. (Sunday). We both felt considerably better. I spent the day on correspondence, expense account, and finally, in the evening, this diary.

Juan reports from town that the skeleton of an Indian woman was found on the outskirts of town. She was going home alone from the fiesta one day (the explanation has it), very drunk, when she fell down and died. Then yesterday or the day before somebody was passing near the place "making leña" and was attracted to a great number of zopilotes; drawing closer he saw garments, and then finally a skeleton. The authorities are investigating.... Methinks there is a tendency to overstatement in this culture.

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1939

January 2. (Monday). Having had a bad night, had a bad day and didn't get much work done. Continued with work on Economics, specifically on agriculture and land usage. Apologies to the town; the report that a woman was found dead near town is confirmed, but she is not quite a skeleton; everybody is interested and people go to the "morgue" in the cemetery to look.

3. - Continued work of yesterday; health still below par.

4. - Feeling well, got in two or three very good hours in the morning before don Abel came to put in a ceiling in the bathroom; he took a lot of time, stayed for lunch, and didn't leave until long after lunch and the ceiling finished. His mozos are harvesting the maize here and he put in the day watching them. We talked about agriculture a lot -- the milpa system being the same here as in Panajachel and I could check some of my data (all OK). Interesting confirmation was that sophisticated ladinos no less than Indians like to have their own maize stored for the year, even if it doesn't pay particularly. Abel gave such excuses as "you know it's clean"; the good Indian reason that you can't buy maize on the cob for storage doesn't hold for him--he stores his grain as grain, in "silos".

At lunch Abel's family sent over food for him, but we had finished; Abel received it "for the three of us". The lunch included sausages, beans, tortillas, crabs. At 5:30 PM Abel was still around to our despair when his wife came with a niece for a surprise visit (her first) and they brought their supper, and for all of us! They brought coffee, bread, and chuchitos (pork filled tamales). All left at 7 PM.

5. - Had a good day on maize-economics and so on. Late afternoon Abel came and stayed till after six. He estimate the population here at 1500 ladinos, saying many came in the last 3 or 4 years, or since the tourist rush and that the chief gainers are the storekeepers, so that one earned enough to buy a house from Father Rossbach for \$1500. The priest got it when a debtor failed to pay his debt. Rossbach doesn't keep church laws; for example he married a couple without first confessing them., Only women and children confess--Abel never, and men don't go to mass except during Holy Week and Concepción. - "People follow priest's auspicious examples."

6. - Continued work on economics -- coffee now.

7. - Ditto, but on vegetable-growing.

8. - Sunday. Continued same work, but spent a half day on correspondence and business.

9. - Continued same work, a long job.

10. - Finished vegetable-growing economics; table made.

- January 11. - Began a chart of the distribution of time in the Panajachel Indian community, partly as a check on the economic data, partly because I think it a good way of making a significant outline of the way of life; if it can be done even roughly for a number of communities to be compared sociologically, significant differences are apt to be crystallized.
12. - In the morning, continued work of yesterday, which requires going through lots of material for each item. In the afternoon, took care of business correspondence that has piled up.
13. - Tentatively finished the Time Table, and started work on consumption in Panajachel with an end to determining the cash-and-kind expenses incurred by the Indian community in 1936. In the afternoon don Abel brought a uniformed nephew, a cadet in the military school, who told us about life and discipline there.
14. - Continued work of yesterday. Starting a few days ago I found it necessary to change my work schedule so that now I have been working late into the evening; since we rise at six in the morning, every two or three days I have to catch up on sleep after lunch; but I get more work done this way because there are no disturbances at night. In the daytime firewood, eggs, and so on are always being brought, visitors come, and so on. As it is now, I get in my best work from 7 to 10 or 11 AM and from 7 to 10 or 11 (or later) PM. I am anxious to finish this paper on economics, and it looks as if it won't be long.
15. - Sunday. Our servant Juan was called to the Lista (military training) for the morning, so at 10 I went myself to town and the market -- something I haven't had time to do for several weeks. Continued work of yesterday in afternoon and evening.
16. - Became stalled in my rendition of Panajachel accounts; things didn't come out right, and I had to review everything and correct errors which (fortunately) I found without too much trouble. For one thing in one of my night sessions I had given ~~maximized~~ tradesmen's profits an extra zero...! In the afternoon, still not straightened out, don Abel brought over one Juan Schmidt, a German married to his cousin in the City; we talked about fincas and business.
17. - Extricated myself from the accounting mess, and continued compiling data on expenses and income. Now I am finally getting out of the woods and writing rapidly.
18. - Continued typing, with time out in the AM for a visit from Hubert Herring and (attorney) Walter Frank on the way north from Lima.
19. - In the morning went to town to cash a check and do

other business. In afternoon and evening continued work making tables and typing and working out more data. Behind schedule several days, being the end. Gertrude has been bothered for the last week or two with recurring sore throat; in the evening she went to town and found a doctor at the hotel who said it is tonsillitis.

20. - Whenever I am optimistic about the paper on Panajachel economics I strike a snag, as happened today; it took me all afternoon and evening to get straightened out again. I have the satisfaction of feeling after these difficulties that my data is more accurate than it was before.

21. - Continued work on typing.

22. - Sunday. Finding it wise, began to reorganize the whole paper (now 22 pages and many tables completed), pasting it up in different order and rewriting and adding when necessary. In the forenoon received visit from Lawrence Roys and wife and answered questions about Guatemala. Went on with my work through into the night.

23. - Got in a good morning continuing work of yesterday and adding new material. However, shortly after lunch a couple named Burr from the U. of Wisconsin called and stayed all afternoon.

24. - Except for time out for correspondence that cannot wait, and a tea-time visit from the Roys', spent the day typing on the same job. In the evening, hearing that neighbor Miguel Ignacio was with toothache, went over and cured him with oil-of-cloves very successfully. Then continued work.

25. - Typed steadily, hoping to finish the job; but didn't.

26. - Ditto

27. - Continued typing, making tables, and so on, but still didn't finish. Gertrude went to town in the evening to see about getting a car for a conference trip to Panajachel.

28. - Finally finished at noon, and wrote a letter to send to Dr. Redfield with the MS, planning to mail all before 6 PM so it would go out in the morning. But it didn't go out after all for the time it took to reread for typographical errors, etc. Received inquiries about beliefs about the moon from Dr. Thompson. Also received comparison of Panajachel and Agua Escondida beliefs from Dr. Redfield. In the evening began to worry about putting together what I know about Indian social organization. Also, before supper received a visit from neighbor Manuel Riquise; purely social, and his second of the kind. He promised to come for awhile again when he would not be busy, and I have some hopes of his being helpful.

29. - Went to town in the AM to mail the MS I finished ~~arranging about work on social organization, getting~~

1939

- January 30. - (Monday). Typed most of the day on Social Organization of Guatemalan Indians, and got off a short paper to Dr. Redfield. In evening began work on Dr. Redfield's summary of Indian-ladino relations.
31. - Typed all day and finished comments on Ladino-Indian relations; didn't get it into the mail, however, because it has to be read over. In the evening began work on beliefs in Pan., AE, and S. Pedro.
- February 1. - Spent the morning typing comments on Miss Lindgren's paper on Culture contacts, and got it and the Lad-Ind. relations paper out in the mail. Late afternoon, and evening, did January expense account and wrote a second letter to Dr. Redfield.
2. - In the morning continued work on beliefs; had a slight cold and some fatigue and so didn't get much done. After lunch, napped. Late afternoon a batch of notes came from Juan Rosales and I spent the evening going over them; I got the idea of publishing a monograph on S. Pedro in Spanish.
3. - All day and evening worked on the comparison of S. Pedro, Panajachel and AE beliefs. Late afternoon, interruption of two hours with visit from Abel Rodas. Talking about ladinos I found that he will not tolerate the idea of their being two kinds of ladinos: the reason why the ladinos here don't work the land or act as laborers is only (he says) that their time is worth 30 cents a day and the most Indians earn is 12 cents. So ladinos find it better to hire Indians for labor while they ply their trades, and so on. Indian labor is very plentiful here. Every ladino family has a little land here, he says, if only 5 or 10 cords; it is almost impossible to buy large tracts of land here at prices that make it pay; and that is why money to be invested in land is spent on the coast. Talking about Indians, he says they never do twice as much work in a day in order to earn double; the reason is that they have no ambition, their wants are small, and they have no interest in improving their lot, "At the lake?" oh -- when I pointed out that this idea doesn't seem to hold -- the Indians there live among ladinos, so get some ladino ideas. Incidentally, Abel seems to identify the term ladino with employer; he says his father taught him to work the soil so that he'd know how milpa grows, telling him that "you are no ladino if you don't know how the work should be done".
4. - Typing lists of S. Pedro beliefs and Pan. notes on beliefs, finishing the work late in the evening. Late afternoon, a Mr. and Mrs. Strasser of New York, recommended by Dr. David Levy, ~~sent~~ sent a letter from town; we turned down a dinner invitation and asked them to tea.
5. - Sunday. Went to town to mail the packet of beliefs to Dr. Redfield. Stayed all morning to shop in the market because our boy Juan is again in military training. Also met the

Strassers in the church. Most of the afternoon, rested; the Strassers came for tea. In the evening, started to write comments on Beliefs, but didn't get far.

6. - In the morning, did business correspondence and then the rest of the day worked on Beliefs. In the afternoon spent an hour in town, going for the mail myself to see if a telegram would be required to be sent in the matter of our forthcoming visit to A.E. A letter from Dr. Redfield arrived, with comments on my papers on Pan. economics and Indian Social org. In the evening, fixed up my economics paper in accord with the R.K. suggestions, then sent a copy to McBryde with a letter of explanation.
- In town in the afternoon, also saw sandalmaker Viviano Casio to fix up the horse documents. He told me he has contracted to supply 2000 adobes to ladino Juan Girón at \$8 per M., that they are being made on his (Casio's) land by Indian adoberos at a contract price of \$6 per M. His earth will thus be netting him \$4. After arriving home, received as guests Abel Rodas, Jaime Pensabene (a Majorcan resident around here for some 40 or 50 years) and the priest from Quiché.
7. - Spent the morning typing answers to Dr. Redfield's questions on my Economics paper. In the afternoon went to town to be on hand to see the reception for the Archbishop of New Orleans. In the plaza were mostly ladinos, and most other ladinos went to the entrance of town to meet the luminaries. When the party arrived in town, descended from cars and began a procession afoot to the church. Church bells pealed, and as the procession came closer, "bombs" (cañoneras) were shot off. In the procession were first some-Indians carrying pine branches, then a ladino with his clarinet, then three Indian drummers and three Indians with flutes, and one with a gourd-marimba. Followed Indian church officials with the church standards, then the dignitaries, including the local priest, under an canopy supported by Indians. Then a crowd of followers, mostly ladinos and "foreign" Indians. The archbishop looked dignified but a little bewildered. In the church, speeches, the archbishop speaking (I heard--I didn't wait to hear) in English.
- In the evening, wrote a long letter to Eric Thompson on Indian beliefs about the moon.
8. - Worked part of the day on Guatemalan problems, but didn't seem to click. Hearing that the son of Diego Ignacio is dying, went to his house, where found Diego's father Miguel in charge. The boy is better. I asked Miguel if he knew the word calpul. No. I repeated it a few times while he racked his brain; then "Maybe you mean calpulis?" Yes; what does it mean? Finally he explained that calpulis is the Spanish word for the interpreter used in arranging marriages; there is an Indian equivalent, Yumantel.
- On the way home talked to a ladino by name of Rodriguez, corporal of the road gang fixing the road near our house. He wanted an old pair of shoes, explaining that he has 6 children and his salary is only \$6 a month. He has no land. He came from Totonicapan years ago, married local ladino; he knows how to make pottery in molds (baking the pieces in a large pot instead of an oven) but hasn't money to buy house-paint he needs for the pottery.

In the evening made preparations for going to Panajachel and Agua Escondida in the morning.

- 9.- Leaving house at 7:30 to meet the car at 8:00 at the end of the car-road, we had to wait there until 8:45. Stopped first in Solola to pay the radio tax long overdue. In Panajachel, dropped Gertrude and the baby at Weymann's, and I went first to Tzanjuyu to greet the Rohrmanns and try to collect money owed me; then crossed river and visited the Cululens, the Nojs, and the Yaches. After an early lunch, we left for A.E., arriving at the Redfields at 2 P.M., where conferred until almost five. On way back, stopped at Godinez, then in Panajachel at the carpenter's, and the post-office, and on the road to greet and receive gifts from the Castro's, Cululen's, and Noj's. Then stopped at Tzanjuyd again and arrived in Chichicastenango and home at 7:45 P.M.
10. - At 7:30 AM went to town to see who were in the seminar party. Goubaud told me Miss Fergusson is leading it, and all the customers are women. No doctor in party, and wired Dr. Redfield to that effect. Talked to Goubaud for half an hour mostly about his plans. He gave me a reference (Rojas' Botany) where many local plants can be identified.
- Before returning home, stopped in the Indian juzgado to see what information on town officials is contained in the archives. They go back only eleven years; at home I found that I already had all but the last three years of this information.
- I didn't get much work done the rest of the day; dabbled in Problems and rested. In the evening, worked a little and did some correspondence.
11. - Most of the day spent answering Dr. Redfield's questions on race-relations; began work on special questions of sorcery and Panajachel stories, spending the day and evening on these matters. In the morning, a short visit from a Mr. and Mrs. Ira Rosenberg of Wilmette, recommended by the Roys'.
12. - Sunday. Finished typing notes on race-relations and went to town to mail them and some of Rosales' ethnobotany notes (Pan.) to Dr. Redfield. Stopped and talked with Father Rossbach for awhile; nothing new. In the afternoon and evening, worked on Problems some more, rested, and did some correspondence. The Rosenbergs came for tea, and they were followed by Juan Cutillo's sister, a fellow servant in the house where she works, and three children of the house. Juan's sister still wears max costume, but covers it with an apron; the other girl is a ladina from Chinique--apparently subordinate in the servant staff to Juana (Juan's sister).
- Had a note from Prof. Emeritus L.M. Jones of U. of Wisconsin; but didn't get to see him before he left for Guatemala City. Saw a companion of his, a Miss Hunter, in town in the morning, and she plans to come back here and will visit us....

1939

- February 13. - Wrote Diary in the morning to send to Dr. Redfield in the afternoon. Then spent the rest of the day working up material on Sickness and sorcery in Panajachel.
14. - Continued work of yesterday, typing on Sickness; also did some correspondence, including a letter to Rosales. Late in the afternoon a wire from Dr. Redfield informed us that he would go to Guatemala City on Thursday. Since we had meant to go for reasons of health and to do shopping, I went to town in the evening to arrange transportation for Thursday (this being Tuesday), and I wired Dr. Redfield to that effect.
15. - Last night Gertrude's eye was injured, and since during the night it seemed to get worse rather than better, this morning we had to change our plans; and I went to town to arrange transportation to Guatemala for this afternoon. Having arranged everything, we left at 2 PM, and arrived at the Dr.'s office in the city at 6:20. Then went to the Pensión Gderoult.
16. - In Guatemala, Gertrude's eye improving slowly, and my attention was required most of the day. The Redfields came at noon.
17. - Spent the day shopping and visiting, and also working over a paper on problems that Dr. Redfield had brought. In the evening, talked with Dr. Redfield about this matter.
18. - After finishing other business, went to see the Director of Statistics (Guillermo Schwartz) and we talked about the proposed census of 1940; I suggested that Dr. Redfield and I might write out what we have in mind and send it to him or that Dr. Redfield would stop in to see him.
At 2 PM we left with the Redfields in the station wagon. We stayed at don Melesio's in Godinez while they went to Agua Escondida and sent the car back to us. I learned from don Melesio that the paid intendente of San Andrés has been replaced (on petition of the people) by a volunteer who serves for one year. It appears that for small towns the intendente system does not work and is being replaced by the old system except that the alcalde is called intendente.
We arrived in Chichicastenango at 7:45, and finally got home shortly after eight.
19. - (Sunday). Cleaned out the house (mice in our absence) organized things and rested most of the day. Also perused a cook-book bought in the city. It is a Guatemalan cookbook, yet maize foods are definitely in the background (maize tortillas not even being mentioned --although in this case perhaps because everybody should know how to make them--no mention of griddle in list of utensils, and rice more important in tamales than maize).

Interesting was a description of how to kill a turkey by cutting its tongue.

20. - First caught up on correspondence, and then spent the day and evening working on the problem of Spanish and Indian, writing out all that I thought could be said in the matter. It didn't turn out very well, so I began again.
21. - Finished the paper on Spanish-Indian and in the late afternoon took it to the post-office myself for exercise. In the evening, studied the 1921 census schedules and instructions--and got some ideas for suggestions.
22. - Wrote a short memorandum on the census and sent it, together with the census books, to Mr. Redfield. Then spent the rest of the day and evening trying to get some thoughts on problems--especially on questions of municipio relations, etc.--on paper.
23. - Continued working along the same lines as yesterday, but not satisfactorily. For relief, went back to the Sickness and sorcery paper for the latter part of the morning and first part of the afternoon. Then, because the baby was sick, went to town late in the afternoon to find a doctor among the tourists. Found one, and got advice in exchange for information about the Indians. Also mailed a letter to Mr. Redfield. When I returned home, don Abel Rodas was there, and we talked about all the kinds of taxes one has to pay here, and he explained for what purposes the monies go. (His nephew-ward is the town treasurer). In the evening, which started late because don Abel stayed late, went back to work on the problems; decided to pick out the little item of possibilities of culture-areas to write up first and quickly.
24. - Typed a draft of a memorandum on culture-areas here, and also wrote letters (Dr. Redfield, Rosales, etc.). Rodas came again for awhile in the afternoon, and advised me to cure hiccoughs by zooming water from a saucer. It worked three times!
25. - Thought I would finish the work on culture-areas, but Prof. Ogburn came in the afternoon and we talked for several hours. Talking about the census, I showed him what I had written, and (although he didn't seem enthusiastic) he seemed to think the census bureau ought to take some of the suggestions. He told me about sample censuses. He took my paper on Sanajachel Economics to read. Had a headache in the evening and couldn't do much.
26. - (Sunday). Went to town in the morning; first, in church, watched Father Rossbach bless ears of corn brought by at least a hundred Indians (at a cent and a half per ear to be blessed) and heard his explanation of some of the details. Also found Pascual Ren and questioned

him to no avail trying to find out something more.

Then saw the Ogburns and had lunch and spent half the afternoon talking with Mr. Ogburn about my paper on Panajachel economics. At once he was impressed with it and thought a variety of people would be very interested in it, and had a large number of constructive criticisms, some fundamental. He thought the subject would be worth even more work.

A messenger told me that Juan Rosales had arrived, so I hurried home, and at about 4 PM started working with him. Abel Rodas interrupted and we all had supper, and they stayed until nine o'clock. I went to bed with a bad headache.

27. - Rosales spent the whole day with me; we outlined the work he will have to do now in filling out information, in giving data on the sources and reliability of all of his data, and in doing the writing. We spent a good part of the day in making an ~~xxx~~ outline of a proposed monograph on S. Pedro as a basis for classifying and indexing the data.

I wanted to go to town with Rosales to cash a check and pay him, but then Abel Rodas came again together with two other gentlemen; and they were followed by Antonio Goubaud who wanted to talk about coming to Chicago. In the end I had to make my trip to town in the evening, and I didn't get back until almost 10:30.

28. - Had to go to town again, arriving before 8 AM. There I saw Mr. Ogburn again; he had read my paper on Municipios and had some interesting comments. The rest of the day I spent resuming work on the Culture-area memorandum; but I was rather sick and couldn't get it finished.

~~29xxx~~

- March 1. - In the morning ~~xxx~~ finished the culture-area comments to send to Mr. Redfield; then in the afternoon wrote this Diary to send along. Interrupted by a call from Miss Shepard (pottery analysis) who stayed until after five and made it impossible to get this and the other in the mail. In the evening wrote expense-account and a letter to Dr. Redfield -- all to go in the morning.

1939

- March 2. - (Thursday). Early in AM to town to mail ~~this~~ letter and other things to Dr. Redfield. Stopping in Church, noted that no maize was there to be blessed. Spent the rest of the day beginning a paper on problems of Economics. Miss Shepard was here for lunch, stayed only a short while.
3. - Worked all day on Economic problems.
4. - Finished paper on Economics. In evening Gertrude went to town and came with the news that the Carettes had been to Agua Escondida and reported the Redfield's leaving next week. Disturbing because I don't know whether to mail the economics paper. Will await tomorrow's mail.
5. - (Sunday). Corrected Economics paper and wrote letter to R.R., and mailed all, since no word from Agua Escondida. In the morning also went to town. The market is very large, and will be larger every Sunday now until it reaches its climax on Palm Sunday. In the church, found half a dozen Indians with maize for blessing, about a hundred others. Most of the afternoon and evening, rested.
6. - Began work on more problems (differences of municipio types); also caught up on some correspondence. At noon don Abel was a luncheon guest. He is just ~~back~~ from Guatemala City, having bought the bride's clothes for the approaching marriage of his nephew-ward. He discussed with us the time of day (this Saturday) to have the wedding; apparently the bride's family is not consulted at all. The subject also got around to Spain (not the war--which interests don Abel not at all); he said "And of course we are all Spaniards ... not that we are proud of it ... they have done us (sic!) harm ... the Indians had a high culture and they were ruined by drink and have degenerated physically..."
- A letter from Mr. Redfield in the afternoon suggested a paper on Problems of Social Organization, etc., and I set to work on it immediately.
7. - Worked ~~all~~ day on Social Organization. In the afternoon don Abel brought two nieces from Patzún, and they stayed two hours.
8. - Worked all day on the same thing; should have finished, but had some difficulty with selection of data.
9. - Finally finished the paper on Soc. Org. in the evening, and wrote to Dr. Redfield to send it all in the morning. Now I am not thinking of doing more work on Problems (although quite a bit more could be done). It is time to get to work on Chichicastenango ethnology. I have only about ten weeks left to do what has been planned.
10. - Went to town to the Post office in the morning. (When it

has to go out the same morning, I must go to the post-office in person to ask a favor of the postmaster (the office opens at 8 AM and the mail truck is usually waiting for the bag).

Home again, spent rest of day straightening up notes, and getting these on Chichicasteango out for perusal. Also did correspondence. Also had to pack up and send a gasoline lamp to the city--a part having broken.

11. - I still have two jobs to do before Chichicasteango. One is to organize what I know about pottery to send to Mr. Robert Smith. Another is to say something about Indian religion for publication with in a book by Prof. Chester Lloyd Jones of the U. of Wis. who wrote me to ask if I had anything he could quote. I started to write on pottery.

In the evening attended the Ruiz-Rodas wedding. Everybody including bride, bridesmaids, and groom, met at house of the marriage Padrinos (Manuel Anleu); then we all marched in procession to the Intendencia--the bride escorted by the padrino, the bridegroom by the madrina, and with the bridesmaids leading the procession. In the Intendencia, the Secretary read a statement of the facts of the case; then the Intendente formally asked each principal if he and she consented to marry the other; then the Secretary read 3 sections of the Civil Code relating to domestic rights and duties; the Intendente then pronounced the couple married; the Secretary then read what sounded like a speech on the institution of marriage (probably prepared by the Government for such occasions) and finally the "acts" that related all the facts of what had occurred in the Intendencia this evening to date. The acts was then signed by bride, groom, bridesmaids, official "witnesses", padrinos, and all who cared to. Then the procession passed all the spectators (most of the people in town, and an Indian band) and wound its way to the groom's house. Here a marimba was playing, and all went into the largest room to dance. But first the bride and groom received all the guests with tears and embraces and the groom's step-father (who, gossip says, killed the groom's father before marrying his mother) made a touching speech of thanks and bade the party be gay. It wasn't, and we left at 11 PM.

At the wedding, I talked to don Flavio Rodas, the local authority on the Indians, and we made an appointment for him to come to the house Monday morning. He told me he is working on a paper on Indian Religion; for example: there are three most-important saints in Chichicasteango, and also three in Atitlán, and (although he had to confess that the Indians don't know it) these represent an old Indian trinity of Gods.

12. - Started to go over all my Chichicasteango notes of 4 years ago in order better to organize this year's studies. Also did some correspondence and rested. Will let the pottery go for a few days.
13. - Don Flavio Rodas spent most of the morning with me; he brought a Chilean astrology book which quotes most of his Popul-Vuh translation, and presented it to me. He talked about his work and showed me some. It made me very sorry for

him because he is very sincere and peer and industrious, and seems to have a scattering of information on the Indians, but hasn't any mental discipline whatever to help him do anything about it. After doing a translation of the Popul Vuh, and having a Quiché grammar, he still can express to me a wish that he knew how to write phonetically! He told me he wrote to Dr. Andrade and received no answer. He also told me that several years ago when he was here Dr. Morley said he would talk to the Institution chiefs to see if they wouldn't give him fifty dollars a month so that he could pursue his studies without having to worry about finances. He is 58 years old, and probably hopeless; but I am resolved to try to shift his way of looking at the problem here so that his energies won't be so wasted. Besides I want to find out what he knows, for he has worked with some of the best possible informants here, some now dead.

We discussed some of the things he writes in Simbolismo, and he willingly made marginal corrections about calpules. He also promised to give me lists of cantones that make up the present-day four divisions (according to his information) and the recent dual-division.

In the afternoon and evening I continued to go over my notes. One thing I came across was of special interest to me. When in Momostenango in 1934, I noted the statement that "A kalpul is a village in which all the people are related". At that time I thought nothing of it, did not even type the statement into formal notes, and forgot it. Now it fits in well with my notion of Indian social organization -- although of course it raises rather than answers a question. It will be worthwhile to investigate Momostenango, obviously, in this respect; and perhaps Miss Bunzel has some information.

14. - Continued work of yesterday, and also did some correspondence. In the afternoon Flavio Rodas came again for a short time, bringing me a diagram of Chichicastenango with the dual and quarterly divisions marked. In exchange, I gave him a chart of Chichicastenango phonetics (for which I am of course indebted to Dr. Andrade) and told him how to use it. A willing pupil, he saw it was just what he has needed, and promised to transcribe some of his Popul Vuh into the International System and bring it to me for correction.

In the evening, wrote this diary and then worked on the map of Chichicastenango in the light of the data supplied by Rodas.

1939

- March 15. - (Wednesday). In the morning, finished organizing old notes on Chichicastenango; decided to specialize here on Soc. and Pol. organization and religion-magic, if I can get the material. At 1:30 went to town, this being Inauguration Day. Talked to officials, Abel Redas, Eliseo Redas, etc. Also to Mayan Inn to see about getting to Sololá. Also a long time to a totonicapeño merchant who goes to Cobán. Then spent a half-hour with Manuel Macario, son of principal of Chichic. Also with Adán Amézquita about recent changes in Indian economics. Returned home at about 6 PM, and soon we were visited by Abel Redas with his newly married nephew-&-wife. In the evening did correspondence, including letter to Dr. Redfield.
16. - In the morning, to town to the treasury office to get data on tax collections; then studied the market (esp. pottery) awhile, and talked to a number of people. In afternoon gathered together notes on pottery; a Dr. Fishman came to the house and examined Gertrude's throat, taking a somewhat serious view. In evening, correspondence.
17. - In town in A.M. to Intendencia to arrange to get data from the cédula books and other records; then to treasury again to get more data; then to Comandancia for information. Saw Flavio Rodas in town and gave him instructions in phonetics. On way home stopped at Ignacios & talked about the calendar. Shortly after lunch, Manuel Riquias came to bargain for work with me, not very successfully. Spent most of afternoon and evening going over material sent by Roasles and writing him a letter.
18. - In morning to town where talked with Viviano Casio and then with Tomás Gonzales. Then on way home stopped with Miguel Ignacio again. The subject always was on cantones, calpules, etc. In afternoon worked on market data collected in town; a visit from the son of Juan Girón and his wife.
19. - (Sunday). To town early to watch the Voluntaries drill and to get their cantones. Stayed in market and church most of the rest of the morning. Rested part of afternoon; then did some correspondence and in the evening finished making a market chart for year 1938.
20. - To town again early, where saw Manuel Riquias, Sr. (the Principal of Chichic) who talked to me about his son's working. Then in the intendencia began a long job getting data from the cédula books. At home in afternoon prepared schedules to facilitate work on the cédula information.
21. - All morning in the juzgado working on the same. In P.M. did correspondence, and also something on the little pottery paper.
22. - Took the horse (that had been in Agua Escondida) to town to see about selling it -- unsuccessfully. Also spent short time in the intendencia, and at home received Flavio Rodas and daughter; he went over part of his new Petz'ul Vuh trans-

- ~~23~~xxa literation and translation for approval. In the afternoon came telegram saying that Dr. Kidder would arrive tomorrow. I began to type up the pottery memorandum.
23. - In morning continued work in the intendencia. The Kidders did not come after all. Gertrude has become worse, and now is rather ill. Also we have had trouble with Juan, the house boy, and today we fired him. In the afternoon Manuel Condz of Chicua came over and we worked together until evening; he will do more work for me.
24. - Spent most of the day in the intendencia working on the cédula records. In the evening did correspondence. Juan's mother and sister came to plead for him in the evening.
25. - A letter from Dr. Kidder tells us he will be here next Tuesday. Wrote a letter to Magdaleno Alvarez on his behalf; also to Juan Rosales. Also worked on and finished the paper on pottery.
26. - (Sunday). Spent the morning in the market, which is very large. Met Tomás Ventura, who promised to come to the house later. In the afternoon Manuel Condz came over and we worked together until evening; he had brought census, etc. of his cantón. I gave him instructions for more work. Late afternoon Julián Rosales of Panajachel rode up on horseback and stayed the night. I went to town in the evening, with him.
27. - I spent practically all day in the Intendencia on the same work, now finishing the first volume (a thousand cédulas).
28. - Worked on Chichicastenango notes most of day. In late afternoon went to town to meet the Kidders; they weren't in yet and I left a note and spent the evening getting my work in order and doing miscellaneous jobs.
29. - To town in the morning to greet the Kidders. Explaining Gertrude's condition, it was decided to come to Guatemala City this afternoon to consult a physician. When we came home to lunch, found Tomás Ventura waiting; and with a short conversation we arranged for him to come next week to work awhile. Then after lunch we hurriedly packed and at 2:30 left for Guatemala City, arriving shortly before eight.
30. - (GUATEMALA CITY). First to the office, then I went to the American Hospital to make an appointment. At 11 AM went with Gertrude to consult Dr. Ainslie, who took blood tests, etc. and also called in Dr. Bickford to consult. Told us to return tomorrow. In the afternoon paid a number of bills and did errands in the city.
31. - The doctor's report was rather serious: infected lymph gland, which would require long treatments to cure. He advised 10 injections here, then a return home for a longer series of injections. Confering with Dr. Kidder, it was decided that we should stay here for the ten injections, then go back to Chicago. Meanwhile, I should go alone to

Chichicastenango and pack up our things and patch up things as well as possible. Therefore, planning to return there in the morning, wrote letters and made preparations for an early departure.

1. - Started at 7:30 A.M., arriving in Panajachel at 11:30; there saw our compadres, the Cululens, and others; lunched at Tzanjuyd, where collected debt from Rehrmann, and paid an old bill to Rivera. Then in Sololá tried to get in touch with Rosales, and after trying for an hour unsuccessfully, left a message for him and went on. Arrived in Chichicastenango at 4 PM; notified Abel Rodas of our plans, arranged to have mozos come in the morning, called Juan Cutillo to help pack up, and went to the house. Beginning immediately to pack up the house, worked straight through the night. Abel Rodas came in the evening and bought most of the furniture and kitchen utensils and dishes, etc.
2. - Mr. Carrete of the Mayan Inn came in the morning and for \$40.00 I sold him the radio. Meanwhile, continued packing and sending boxes and beds over to the car-road as they were packed. Shortly before 2 PM everything was sent over and we closed the empty house. At Mr. Carrete's invitation, went to lunch with them; then to Abel Rodas' to make final arrangements, etc. Arranged the disposal of horse and saddles with Casfo, said goodbyes, and at 4 PM we were off. The radiator of the car had to be refilled every ten km. or so, and we made relatively slow progress. It was dark when we reached Tecpán, and we found that we could not buy a headlight bulb to replace one burned out; we tried again in Patzicía and again in Chimaltenango--unsuccessfully--and since it was almost nine and we hadn't had dinner, decided to spend the night in Antigua. There all the hotels were full, but at 10PM we finally had rooms and dinner.
3. - Back in Guatemala City at 9:30 AM, unloaded the car and spent the day unpacking at the Pensión. Went to the United Fruit Company to see if they had word of reservations for us on the Sta. Marta the 15th; nothing yet.
4. - Did a few errands and spent some time at the office arranging and unpacking and re-packing. Also went to the hospital with Gertrude, who still feels bad. Also rested.
5. - I am expecting Juan Rosales to come in next week to spend some days with me starting the S. Pedre monograph; so I spent part of the day at the office getting the material ready. Otherwise rested most of the day, not having recovered from the sleepless weekend. *Dinner with Miss Shepard.*
6. - (Holy Thursday). Did errands in the morning, going for a short time to the office. Santiago Cululm of Panajachel came in to see me and spent several hours with him. Also, our Chichicastenango laundress came in to finish up her work, since we had brought back much soiled clothes.
7. - (Good Friday). Santiago Cululen called again to say goodbye; we moved to a larger room in the Pensión. Aside from watching the large procession, and taking walks, we did nothing.

8. - (Glorious Saturday). Spent the morning in the office and running errands -- unsuccessfully because the stores and offices all closed. After lunch, a short conference with Dr. Kidder on our project plans -- in which he suggested that in 8 years we wind up our work, meanwhile taking part of each field-season for reconnaissance. The afternoon spent on March expense accounts, and at the office cataloging belongings with Gertrude's help.
9. - (Easter Sunday). Part of the day spent typing up this batch of diary to date; the rest resting and walking. Miss Shepard was here for dinner.

10. - Juan Rosales came, and we immediately began to go over all the S. Pedro material and to organize it for writing up. Worked into the evening.
11. - Worked all day again with Rosales and S. Pedro. At noon the Fruit Company notified me that we could get no space on the New Orleans boat this Saturday. After some confusion and discussion, arranged to sail this Friday instead for New York. Otherwise would have to wait an extra week.
12. - Continued work with Rosales, outlining the chapters of the proposed monograph and placing most of the material we have.
13. - Continued with the same; also had some miscellaneous errands incident to leaving. Packed up to leave in the morning.

~~xxxxx completed xxxxxx with xxxxxx xxxxxx xxxxxx xxxxxx xxxxxx
xxxxxxx xxxxxx xxxxxx in the morning~~

14. - Entrained at 7:40 AM, and embarked in the evening on the S. S. Antigua.
15. - The ship didn't leave port until afternoon, and in the evening arrived at Cortes.
16. - The ship left Cortes for New York.
17. - At sea.
18. - At sea
19. - At sea
20. - At dusk, arrived in New York; immediately entrained for Chicago, stopping off at Detroit.
21. - In Detroit.
22. - In Detroit.
23. - Arrived in Chicago in the evening.

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DIARY

Dec. 19, 1940 -- Left home with the Redfields at 10 A.M... In Chichicastenango, after lunch, we called on friends--notably Abel Rodas, Adán Amézquita, Bibiano Casia, and the servants we had in previous years. Also saw some of the fiesta. While watching the procession of the rocket-burners, talked with Tomás Nix who said he was the brother of María Nix (one of two literate women when we were there in 1935); he is not really a brother, but a cousin. He told me that María left her husband and home in the monte and came back to town and was a school teacher for a year until she died several months ago, leaving two small children. Talking about the rocket-burners, he told me that they are purely volunteers and that the number changes each year; there are usually about 200 or 250 of them (and indeed I counted about that many in the procession). They spend \$5 or \$6 apiece. Rockets are bought for \$1 a dozen (although I know they can be bought from 60 cents to \$1 in Panajachel, depending on quality). Having talked with Adán Amézquita and the pharmacist, and a casual Indian in the plaza, it seems clear that from 1000 to 2000 dozen rockets are burned in the fiesta. This is besides other forms of powder. The chief of the rocket burners has a sort of cofradía, the sacred object of which is a small wooden horse that is danced in the processions and on the church steps and is the patron of the rocket-burners. (Later Don Abel Rodas told us more about it, but in some manner I have completely forgotten what; Dr. Redfield was along and no doubt can fill in the point).

Also conferred with Dr. Redfield on the Statistics abstracts sent from Guatemala and on our work in general. We tentatively decided to go to Esquipulas in the middle of January. We also discussed approaches to the Indian Secretary here in Chichicastenango; we are desirous of inducing him (or somebody else) to keep case records in the Indian juzgado.

Dec. 20, 1940 -- (Chichicastenango). In the morning first talked with the Indian escribiente in the Indian juzgado; he is Diego Ignacio, a nephew of Miguel's. The Secretary wasn't there. Diego didn't recognize the word "demandas", but after I explained, he recognized that I meant "quejas". Later, with Dr. Redfield, talked to the Intendente who called in the Indian Secretary (Pedro Ajanel Canil) and recommended him highly. After explaining to Pedro, he agreed to cooperate. Then we brought him a sample of the S. Pedro cases that have been collected, and left them with him for study. In the afternoon I returned alone and found that he had already written up one case, which was interesting, and said he would write another in the evening. This was very pleasing, for if we should get a good body of such records from Chichicastenango we would have something good and concrete to help us in our understanding of this community which has been so incompletely studied.

Meanwhile, the whole party walked with Abel Rodas to Monteflor, where we lived last year. On the way back, stopped at Diego Ignacio's place; looking at his masks, he pointed out two that wouldn't be sold at any price. These are jefes of all the masks; they are old, and "move" whenever clients are on the way.

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Diego has a son Miguel, who must be about 14 years old by this time. Attractive and apparently bright, he is "graduating" from the local school in February. Diego said he wasn't sure what he would do then, but he would like to place him as apprentice in the juzgado or some place so that he could learn to write better. (This appears to be the usual practice). I suggested he might be sent to school in Guatemala City, but Diego is afraid of the cost. It occurred to me that perhaps we might profitably arrange to apprentice this young Maxeño to Juan Rosales; he might help Juan in tasks of copying, and meanwhile would possibly become trained for use by us. Mentioning this to Dr. Redfield, he agreed in principle but said that of course Rosales would have to be consulted in the matter; nevertheless, I told Diego and the boy that I would look around, and perhaps could help his education along after February. They thanked us.

Towards evening, spent an hour with Viviano Casia in the matter of the horse left with him last year. He would take no money for feed, and vowed undying friendship instead; and as a sign of my friendship he asked me to recommend his nephew to the Maya Inn (which I did). He neatly gave me to understand, meanwhile, that I really am in his debt for horse-feed; but since I once did him a great favor (a loan) and since we are friends--aren't we?--there can be no talk of payment. Etc., etc.

After dinner, stopped in the office to enquire about a car for Panajachel tomorrow (since the station wagon will be over-crowded). While there, about 15 Indians from Sacapulas came to the door to look and listen to the marimba. I went out and talked with them about Sacapulas for an hour and a half (the information is noted separately). I took the names of two of the Indians who live in town there, so that if we go there some day, I can call on them. One is Francisco Espinoza and the other Diego Lanzerio Solís. The party broke up at 10:15, and then I wrote notes before retiring.

Dec. 21, 1940

In the morning, went with Dr. Redfield to buy alfanigue candy from the Sacapulas men, to cement the acquaintance. Coming to a group of them, and seeing no familiar faces, I enquired for the two men by name. The first vendor said he knew neither name, and a second said he knew only Diego's name, but that Diego was in Sacapulas. Very puzzled, we looked further and finally came upon Francisco Espinoza, who immediately recognized me. He then took us to Diego. Both men explained that the others who had denied their existence or presence (and who are neighbors in some cases) didn't want to guide us to them for business reasons. (However, it is also possible that Indians in such circumstances do not like to help authorities or Ladinos find others whom they might want for no good.)

After some shopping, and packing, I went to the Indian juzgado to speak to Pedro. He wasn't there, and was playing in the band in the procession, so was not going to return soon. Young Diego was there, and he gave me two cases of demandas that Pedro prepared last night. I arranged through Diego to get more, and set the price. However, I then bought a tablet of paper for the purpose and got the idea of asking Abel Rodas to act for me in the matter, explaining the bargain to Pedro and paying him for work completed. Don Abel readily agreed, and told me he was on good terms with Pedro. I returned to Diego, and explained this development and left money for the two cases written up, and promised to write instructions to Pedro.

We then left, shortly after 10 A.M. for Panajachel, and were home at 11:30.

Jan. 11, 1941

I asked Julián Noj Rosales (who said he had heard some of the many stories he told me from merchants on the road), if on the road he has never slept or sat around the fire with Maxefios. He said Yes, and I asked if they never contributed stories. Again he said yes, but could not recall any specific instance. It is still a major mystery to me why nobody has ever obtained a body of stories in Chichicastenango. Bunzel writes that she tried in vain for stories, and that Schultze-Jena did too; and she concludes that there are virtually none. Dr. Andrade and I both tried in vain in 1935, and we had to conclude there probably were none. In 1939, after knowing the stories of Panajachel, I tried again with Diego Ignacio --telling him many of the stories I knew (a technique that never failed to elicit a response in Panajachel)--and again I failed to get a thing except mild interest. Even so, I find it very difficult to believe that Maxefios know no stories; for one thing, a number of the stories I have heard in Panajachel concern Maxefios and may have originated with them; for another, stories are told by merchants on the road and it is hard to conclude that either the Maxefio merchants haven't heard them or they have failed to remember or to tell them to others at home.

Feb. 8, 1941 I was especially interested in Santiago Yach's version of the use of the term mundo and "hill-plain" that Ruth Bunzel makes so much of in her Chichicastenango MS. The two usages are, in his view, synonymous, and refer to the earth or world (not soil); the "tablets" in the hills at which shamans do rituals are connected especially with the earth, being on it; but the term mundo does not (as I had vaguely suspected) apply only to the shrines, for individuals coming ~~was~~ to work in the soil may kiss it and say "Ay, mundo, hill-plain" or just "Ay, mundo" or "Ay, 'hill-plain'". Even so, I am no less convinced that Bunzel has stretched the importance of the "world" as a deity even in Chichicastenango.

Feb. 19, 1941

I explained to him (Santiago Yach) our difficulties in getting stories from Maxefios, and he found it hard to believe that they know so little. If it is true, he would account for it by the fact that they live separately in the monte and don't learn much. However, he thinks our informants didn't want to tell us, for some reason unknown to him, what they know. Thus, when I mentioned that Diego Ignacio professed ignorance that things go on in hills, he said that of course they know all about it, for Sololatecos have told him that the Maxefios go to the hill to get from the owner the finest dance costumes which they then rent out at high prices. He said he would talk to some Maxefios of Panimaché that he knows and who come here frequently. When I asked why they do not hear stories (such as of crabs and snakes that give fortunes) while on the road, he says they are funny people, and do not talk much to Indians of other towns. He recalls that when they sit around the fire, heating their coffee, and an Indian comes up to use their fire and doesn't bring a piece of firewood, they scold him and refuse to give him fire; but if he brings firewood, he can join them. In that case don't they talk? Yes, but only among themselves; for they cannot speak Spanish and he cannot understand their language. How, then, will he talk to the Indians of Panimaché? Oh, they live so close to Panajachel, and come so frequently with lumber and things to sell that they are bi-lingual; they speak the local language very well.

APPENDIX V. A Portion of the Spanish Text
of
El Baile de "La Conquista"

«La Conquista»

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QUICHE.—Valernos Dioses, valernos
En tan triste situación
Oprimido el corazón
Y no hay a donde acogernos.
Don Pedro de Alvarado
Dicen que viene a verme,
Más no quisiera mirarle,
Que antes iría a matarle
Porque piensa él ofenderme.
Ya el escuadrón mejicano
Dicen con todo acabó,
Y al Monarca bautizó
Para matarle cristiano.
Por esto ha llegado ufano
A nuestro Palajuj Noj,
Y a su gente acuarteló,
Para esperar el verano.
Pero antes que a Chuipach llegue
Pienso ponerle emboscada,
Y atajarle la entrada
Hasta indicar lo que quiere.
Y al conocer sus intentos
Ya me haré el disimulado,
Y todos los de mi Estado,
Fingirán estar contentos.
Más juro por muchos dioses,
En los que he tenido fé,
Que ante el Monarca Quiché
Nada vale ese Alvarado.

MALINCHE 1o.—¿Padre amado que tenéis?

MALINCHE 2o.—¿Mi rey qué es lo que sentís?

MALINCHE 1o.—¿Señor porqué os afligís?

PRINCIPE 2o.—¿Dime qué es lo que tenéis?

QUICHE.—Si remediar no podéis.

La causa de mi cuidado,

Para qué saber queréis

Los asuntos de mi Estado?

MALINCHEs.—Mirad señor que ofendéis

Las lágrimas de tus hijas.

QUICHE.—No mentéis así, hijas, mi mal

Y os ruego que me dejéis.

MALINCHEs.—No es posible padre amado

Que tus tesoros acaben,

Y los españoles reinen

En nuestra Patria adorada.

APPENDIX V. A Portion of the Spanish Text
of
El Baile de "La Conquista"

10

El Baile de

- PRINCIPE 1o.—Quiché dime ¿qué tenéis?
Bien se pueden remediar,
Los asuntos del Estado.
Bien se pueden arreglar.
- PRINCIPE 2o.—No; la muerte así nos déis,
Mirad que es mucha crueldad,
Que falsas noticias son
Y sufre tu majestad.
- QUICHE.—¡Ah! hijos míos levantaos.
¿Porqué os abatis en el suelo?
No acongojéis, hijos, al cielo
Mirad que es mucha crueldad.
Si queréis que la verdad
Os diga de mi aflicción
Escuchad con atención.
Y si remedio encontrareis
Espero me lo declararéis
Para mi satisfacción.
El Monarca Moctezuma
De aquel reino mejicano
Que es único soberano
Me dice de propia pluma:
«Rey Quiché, de mi fortuna
«Mi majestad feneció
«Por otro rey extranjero
«Que en campaña me venció.
«Seguir quiere su conquista
«Y con tu reino acabar
«Pues intenta batallar
«A donde llegue su vista.
«Su gente es diestra y bien lista
«En el arte de la guerra,
«Como rayos postran en tierra,
«Y sus truenos son tan fuertes
«Que causan violentas muertes.
«Para tu reino camina
«Un capitán afamado
«Le llaman Pedro Alvarado
«Quien os causará gran ruina,
«En su guerra peregrina».
Esta es la causa hijos míos,
La causa de mi pensar.
Se acabó ya mi reinar
Mi tesoro; mi alegría
Se cambió, pues, mi placer

PRINCIPE 1o.—Quiché dime ¿qué tenéis?
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 Mi tesoro; mi alegría
 Se cambió, pues, mi placer

En un lento padecer,
Por esta tierra hasta hoy mía.

MALINCHES.—Oh! Dioses divinos
Qué cruel cautiverio
Amenaza horrible
Al indiano Imperio?

Técúm Umán ante sus principales

Oh! vasallos míos
¿Qué es lo que siento
Que el corazón y el cuerpo
Lo tengo sobresaltado?
Si será algún aviso lo que consiento,
O será para que conozca,
Que al peligro me prevenga!
¿Pero para qué me canso
Con tal pensamiento vano?
Yo me siento temeroso
Y pasará un sueño temprano.

Príncipe 1o. ante Quiché en su Palacio

Muera, muera el Español!
Vamos con Tecúm Umán
Y con Huitztil Zunún
Para que salgan a tu favor.
Que esto no os cause temor;
Sobra al estado hidalguía,
Patriotismo y valentía,
Arrojo, lealtad y honor.

PRINCIPE 2o.—A Xelajú partiremos
Con Ixcot y Cojulúm,
Con Chávez y Saquinuj.
Esperad señor que ya venimos.
Mientras tanto insistimos:
El estado es poderoso
Y se arrojará ardoroso
Por la Libertad en que vivimos.

MALINCHES.—Dar parte os conviene
La noticia tan funesta
Recibida del reino Mejicano

Príncipe ante Tecúm

PRINCIPE 1o.—Tecúm, Tecúm cómo descui-
(dado estáis
Cuando el enemigo se acerca,
Y a tus puertas el toquido
De aquel don Pedro de Alvarado?

TECUN.—Qué dices, Príncipe amado,
 Que de lo que me hablas no entiendo?
 Si es verdad lo que estoy viendo
 O es el sueño el que he pasado?

PRINCIPE 2o.—Tecún Umán, Tecún Umán,
 (Gran Señor,
 Dime si estoy soñando!
 Prepara luego la batalla
 Contra ese infame canalla
 Que a Chuipach arriba yá.

TECUN.—Ea, cobardes, ea, infames
 Por qué se oponen a mi persona?
 Párense y preparen sus flechas.
 No me tomen a traición
 Porque Tecún es un Rey
 De incomparable valor!

CACIQUES.—Tecún, ¿en qué estriba nuestra
 (suerte?
 Ya que somos vuestros vasallos
 ¿Por qué nos tratas de esa forma?

TECUN.—¿Es posible, vasallos míos? Es posible?

CACIQUES.—Sí Señor.

TECUN.—Mil perdones, vasallos, mil perdones;
 Que ha sido un accidente funesto
 La causa de mi rigor,
 Y de mi mal manifiesto:
 Pues, encontrándome dormido,
 Ví en mi sueño a un venerable anciano
 Que me hablaba de esta suerte:
 Y me dijo: ¿Por qué, Tecún, duer-
 (mes en esta infinidad?
 Toma el celo presumido
 De tu bella deidad.
 Yo te diré por qué tan sereno,
 Cuando de tu afán, de cualquier
 (manera
 La tormenta te es cercana.
 En la cima de la cordillera
 Líbrate de la fiera tiranía
 De unos blancos que vienen del Po-
 (niente,
 A causar horribles muertes en tu
 (pobre gente.
 Y de tu desgracia el gérmen
 No te queda otro medio más

Que la desesperación,
Porque Tzunúm será el primero
En traicionar a tu persona,
A un Capitán extranjero
Para robarte la corona.
Y en mi sueño aletargado,
Lo encontré en mi Palacio.
Tan inquieto y desesperado
Y muy bien apercibido,
De la noticia que el anciano me daba,
Haciendo los aprestos de la guerra
Con más de doscientos cincuenta
(mil hombres

Todos adictos a mis banderas,
Como buenos hijos de esta tierra.
Situé mi Cuartel General
En la ciudad de Chuimequená
Y con todo mi ejército Real,
Salí para Salcajá
A encontrar a mi enemigo
Quien con todo su rigor,
Se opuso, el cruel, conmigo
Solo por verme inferior.
No desmayé, sin embargo
Y dí al blanco o Teúl,
Entre Chuimequená y Xelajú
Mi última batalla.
Como rayo desmedido
Con mi brazo lo ví rendido
Y notando que de mis fuerzas
El pánico se apoderaba,
Contra las amenazas
Que el malvado me daba
Llegué, a batirme frente a frente
Con el general mi enemigo,
Quien a fuerza de hombre valiente
Quiso acercarse conmigo,
Y con muchas dificultades
Con su lanza me atravezó
Y con muchas agilitades
La muerte me dió.
Fuí sepultado en el Baúl
Por los Caciques del Reino,
Y de allí ví trabajar
A mis hermanos los Mames

De los blancos a cargar,
 Pues estos comenzaban ya a reinar.
 Esto fué pues, lo que me dijo,
 El venerable anciano
 Esto fué pues lo que me predijo
 Mi fantástico sueño.
 ¡Oh, mis Dioses, oh, mis Dioses!
 Y mi caro padre el Sol,
 Amparadme y guiadme
 Si es verdad lo que se me ha reve-
 llado,

O si son falsos aparatos
 Lo que mi sueño me ha anunciado.

PRINCIPES.—¡Oh, Tecún, Rey Señor!
 Tu sueño no te ha engañado.
 Hoy a darte el aviso
 El Rey Quiché nos ha enviado,
 Para que te acerques a su Palacio
 A darle ya tu parecer,
 Pues el escuadrón mexicano.
 Dicen que todo ha acabado.

TECUN.—Estoy tan enojado,
 Muy bien persuadido
 De la noticia que me habéis dado
 De la gente que ha venido.
 Qué dicen mis mansehuales
 De la noticia que he recibido?
 Que vienen los españoles
 Y sin estar yo prevenido?
 ¡Oh leales caciques y señores,
 Soldados de mi nación?
 Cada uno con su blasón
 Hará lucir sus honores.
 Sabremos ser vengadores
 De la ofensa, en la pelea.
 Y en sacrificios de la idea
 Nuestro suelo mancharemos,
 Con la sangre que reguemos
 De esos viles invasores.

HUITZIZIL.—Que se oiga tocar el tum y la chi-
 (rimfa)

Y partamos, que es de día,
 Con Tepé y Saquinaj
 Y mandad que Ixcot
 Salga a vanguardia primero,

Ocupando el desfiladero
Que conoce a su favor.
A Chávez haréis honor
De formar los laterales,
Y todos compactos e iguales
Atacaremos al invasor.

PRINCIPE 1o.—Te agradezco, Huitzitzil,
Tu bizarra valentía;
Mi padre te pagará algún día,
Gran cacique de Zunil.

CHAVEZ.—Manda a citar mansehuales
Que acompañen tu persona,
Que Callilajaú y Chávez
Defenderán tu corona.
Oh! mi Rey, tú bien sabes
Que en otros campos he vencido,
Con mi flecha y mis aljabas.
Que con honor ha peleado
El noble cacique Chávez.

PRINCIPE 2o.—Callilajaú bien sé
Que a mi padre le eres leal
Y por su corona real
Eres cacique muy fiel.

TEPE.--Al cacique Tepé
Poco le importa callar,
Pero le gustará ofender
A los que vienen a conquistar.
Y en columnas magistrales,
Defenderemos los puntos,
A fin de ir todos juntos
Con los bravos principales.

TECUN.—Tepé, de mí serás correspondido
Pues eres mi fiel vasallo.

SAQUINUJ.—Vosotros habéis de ver
Que Saquinuj sabe obrar,
Y sabrá también ofender
Al que viene a conquistar.
Que aunque pájaro encantado,
Mil hazañas deberéis
Al enemigo arrebatat.

TECUN.—Gracias a Saquinuj amigo.
Tú en mi palacio me has dado
Siempre pruebas de soldado,
Y sabré contar contigo.
Yo no le temo al enemigo

- Por fuerte que éste sea.
Le saldré pronto a la pelea
A darle un justo castigo.
- IXCOT.—A Ixcot le importa callar
Y a la vergüenza ofrecer,
Pero en el campo de Chuipach
Me desataré en pelear,
En defensa y por amor
De vuestra real majestad,
Pues no morirá la libertad
De este pueblo luchador.
- TECUN.—Ixcot confío en vuestro valor
Tú cuidarás la muralla,
Y si a las fronteras llega la canalla
De ese tirano invasor,
Le trataréis con rigor.
Id pues, tu rey lo manda.
- AJIS.—Vamos poderoso rey
A ver de nuevo a los Dioses,
Y escucharemos sus voces
Y mis temores dirán.
Nuestras aves morirán
Arrasadas por extraños.
- TECUN.—Ajís, amigo de los encantos,
No le temas a la mala, contraria suerte,
Que yo no le temo a la muerte
Ni me acobardan las penas.
Prevenid vuestras cadenas
Contra ese español osado.
Más siendo don Pedro de Alvarado
Hoy le echaré a las cavernas.
- CACIQUES.—Vamos gran señor
Que a tí obedientes estamos,
Y con las flechas en las manos
Nada nos causa temor.
- TECUN.—Ya escuché las ofertas
De mis caciques y mansehuales.
Con tan nobles respuestas
De mis valientes principales,
Cuento con el corazón
Y el valor de mis soldados.
Quiero que luchéis airados
En el campo de la acción.
Oh! Huitzipoctlí severo,
Mi Dios famoso en la guerra,

Que a todo el estado aterra
 Con su presencia, el guerrero.
 A vos conduciros quiero
 En las andas de Atoíl,
 Y marchad con Huititzil
 A los campos de batalla.
 Por contles cuento mi gente
 Bizarra y bien escogida,
 Que por mí dará su vida
 Fuerte, serena y valiente.
 Ceñir quiero su frente
 De hermoso y verde laurel,
 Pues por la libertad se muere
 En medio del combate cruel.
 Mis sañas quieren vengarse,
 Del que osado y atrevido,
 Mi reino entero ha invadido,
 Y con sus riquezas quiere quedarse
 Pero esto no podrá lograrse
 Sin antes mis campos dilate.
 Por negro que sea el combate,
 En los llanos o en las alturas,
 No perderán sus bravuras
 Mis huestes al enfrentarse.
 Oh! Dioses de mi religión,
 Aumentadme en esta acción
 El valor y la opinión.
 Yo confío en Huititzil,
 En Chávez y Saquinuj,
 Y en el poder de la flecha,
 Que en el campo dejará deshecha
 A la invasión incivil.
 Caminemos caciques al Rey,
 Vamos por esas malezas,
 Para cumplir con la ley
 Destrozaremos cabezas.

Tecún ante Quiché

El gran poder de nuestros Dioses
 Os guarde en tu estado, Quiché.
 Por tu sacra majestad
 Os pido que me déis la mano.

QUICHE.—Levantad Tecún valiente
 Y vosotros principales,
 Que desde hoy los generales
 Seréis de toda mi gente.

- TECUN.—Quiché, son favores especiales
Que Tecún no olvidará.
- ZUNUM.—Si Kicab sabe premiar,
Yo sabré corresponder
Con la entereza y el deber;
Al campo saldré a luchar.
- CHAVEZ.—Chávez sabrá ofender
A los que vienen a conquistar.
- TEPE.—El cacique Tepé
Su patria sabrá defender,
Y en prueba de ello tendréis
En él un defensor del Estado.
- SAQUINUJ.—Yo soy el fuerte Saquinuj
Que moriré en pelear,
Y lucharé con fuerte ánimo
Para verlos prisioneros.
- IXCOT.—Yo de todas maneras,
Con el pueblo mansehual,
Porque antes de amanecer
Me verán caminar.
- AJIS.—Ajís soy, no hay que temer,
Voy a ver al compañero.
Yo le diré lo que quiero
Al amigo de mi encanto.
- MALINCHES CANTAN.—Volcanes soberbios:
Despedid vuestras lavas
Y ese fuego ardiente
Contra el invasor.
Que sepa Alvarado,
Cortés y su gente
Que en el nuevo mundo
Hay indios valientes.
- TECUN.—Oh! Quiché, el más honrado,
Escúchame con atención:
Ya que a tu palacio he llegado,
Sabrás de mi intención,
Pues hallándome tan desesperado
De la venida de los españoles,
Tienes a tus plantas reales
A los nobles caciques y principales,
Revestidos de sus altas dignidades.
Su opinión vienen a manifestarte,
Y también sus leales voluntades.
Como buenos hijos de la patria,
Como convictos guerreros,

Cooperarán con sus esfuerzos
 A la lid de la guerra,
 Prometiendo el valor y las fuerzas,
 Porque convencidos estamos
 Que no habrá otro medio más.
 Que estos son los principios
 De salvar el estado.

QUICHE.—Tecún gran cacique,
 Ya el tiempo llegó
 En que nuestra libertad
 Perece en vanidad,
 Pues un sueño me anunció
 Que ya me espera la muerte,
 Y que ya el tiempo llegó
 Para hoy coronarte.

TECUN.—Quiché deja ese inútil llanto
 A los niños y a las delicadas hembras.
 Seamos hombres y tengámos corazón.
 No para derramar tiernas lágrimas
 Sino hasta derramar la última gota
 (de nuestra sangre.

Ofrezcamos nuestros pechos
 A las contrapuestas lanzas
 Conque nos quieren herir,
 Que yo estaré pronto a acaudillarlos
 Y arrostrar los peligros
 Con denodado corazón.
 Si ahora estáis pensando
 Que los enemigos son tan fieles
 A lo que nos prometen,
 Como el capitán de la conquista
 Sea tan venturoso amigo,
 Os engañáis, porque más tarde
 Serán sedientos de nuestra sangre
 Y beberán de ella.
 Evitemos el perpetuo yugo
 De envilecida esclavitud
 En que nos quieren poner.
 Veo tan decaído tu ánimo
 Y creo que no es posible
 Evitar la pérdida del estado,
 El ultraje de nuestras personas
 Y de nuestras propiedades.
 Las violaciones de nuestras hijas
 Y de nuestras esposas.

907a

Opresión y mandamientos crueles,
 Tolerancias injustas.
 Todo esto lo verán, por lo menos,
 Los mezquinos que ahora temen.
 A la honrada muerte,
 Que yo juro por el Dios Atohil.
 A más ver la entrega del Estado,
 Solo un recurso nos queda,
 A los nobles pechos,
 Que es la muerte.
 La muerte es muy cierta
 Y de todos muy cercana.
 ¿Entonces porqué no emplear el bre-
 ve plazo que nos queda
 En donde no quedemos sin venganza?
 La madre tierra recibirá lo que pro-
 dujo,

Y al que le faltare sepultura
 No faltará cielo que lo cubra.
 Valiente será la honrosa muerte,
 En el glorioso campo de batalla,
 De los que morirán
 Por defender a su patria,
 Y no de los que presenciaren
 Su villana entrega.
 Si éste valor nos falta,
 Oigamos pues con paciencia y sere-
 (nidad

Esas mezquinas condiciones
 En que nos quieren poner,
 Y así no hagas tristes reflexiones.
 Cuida de tu palacio real,
 Mientras yo marchó para el Pinal
 A encontrar a los escuadrones,
 Que con estos fuertes brazos
 Y de la mano o a la fuerza,
 Os prometo la cabeza
 De esos viles invasores.

QUICHE.—Toma Tecún mis pendones
 Que en vuestro valor confío,
 Que de tus hechos famosos,
 Honor merecerán y de
 Los que van en tu compañía,
 Y grande gusto sería
 Que en esa guerra campal,

Tu alteza cumpliera.
 Pero ejecutado y cumplido
 Jamás lo veréis,
 Según me lo anunció el sueño.
 TECUN.—Yo haré que se tiñan en sangre
 Las aguas del Samalá,
 En honor a tu persona.

Escena Tercera

Tecún Umán vuelve a sus dominios, ordenando la organización de los ejércitos. Al tener noticia que los españoles se encuentran a las puertas de Xelajú envía a Ajís a su encuentro, a hacerles maleficios.

Tecún de regreso ante sus Caciques.

Ya, mis Caciques aliados,
 Pronto saldremos al Pinal,
 Donde cada principal
 defenderá sus costados.
 Ya véis cuan desvergonzados
 Han conquistado las Chiapas,
 Trayendo desde Tlascala y Cholula
 Mucha gente armada,
 Y de otros lugares aliados,
 Siendo don Pedro de Alvarado
 El enviado de Cortés,
 Como pronto lo veréis,
 Con su gente en esos llanos.
 Y así que salgamos
 A encontrar a los escuadrones,
 Como furiosos leones,
 Suenen esos caracoles
 Para comenzar hoy la guerra,
 Y que vean que esta tierra
 No es tan fácil conquistarla.
 Más seguridad hay en tenerla,
 Pues es vanidad pensar
 Que nos hemos de rendir,
 Porque la guerra será lo mejor.
 Y así vayan pregonando
 Desde Rabinal, Cubulco y Joyabaj

Pasando por Nebáj, Sacapulas, Santa
(Catarina y Zapotitlán

Y las provincias de Tapachula,
Que se vayan aprestando
A Chuimequená a acampar,
A mi mando y al de Zunúm.
Doscientos treinta mil hombres han
[de estar

A la defensa del Rey Quichetúm,
Pues yo pienso atacar
Todo el llano de Chuipach.
Y la cuesta de Santa María,
Donde los he de esperar,
Y para que nadie se me escape
Sígame la mamería,
Y ocupando las montañas
Con ardientes hazañas
Vuestras flechas despediréis
Destrozando al enemigo;
Y ya que la gente mam
Se ha presentado hoy a mi mando,
Y a ese español cercano
Hoy mataré al Capitán.

ZUNUM.—Todos, todos cumplirán
Con lo que habéis ordenado,
Pues soy un rayo exaltado
Que haré temblar el volcán,
Pues deseo ser el primero
En combatir al extranjero
Por mi Rey Tecún Umán.

CHAVEZ.—Pues de él se tienen noticias
Que es de buena estatura,
Que usa fuerte armadura
Para poderse librar.

TEPE.—Hoy es el caso diréis
De probar nuestro valor.
Aquí me tenéis señor
Convertido en tu servidor.

SAQUINUJ.—Por la honra de Atohil,
Muy dispuesto me veréis
A hacer cuantos estragos merezca
Ese español invasor.

IXCOT.—Yo os prometo señor,
Por este brazo potente,

Lanzar mi gente al combate
 Y pelear con gusto y honor.
 AJIS.—Yo os prometo estar
 Haciéndoles tantos males,
 Que en figura de quetzales
 Los tengo de atormentar.

Escena Cuarta

Los españoles entran a la plaza, donde el Conquistador Alvarado arenga a sus Oficiales, después de lo que decide enviar una embajada ante Tecún Umán proponiéndole la paz, la que éste rechaza con indignación, mandando enterar al Rey Quiché.

Entrada de los Españoles.

1a. Esquina Alvarado

Españoles! al grito de guerra
 Del acero aprestad el bridón,
 Y retiemble en su centro la tierra
 Al sonoro rugir el cañón.
 Ciñe, oh patria querida, tus sienes
 [de oliva.
 Dá la paz al arcángel divino,
 Que en el cielo su eterno destino
 Por la mano de Dios escribió.
 Más si osare el extraño enemigo
 Profanar con sus plantas nuestra
 religión,
 Piensa oh! España querida, que el
 [cielo
 Un soldado en cada hijo te dió.
 En sangrientos combates nos vere-
 (mos
 Por amar esta tierra en su seno.
 Arrastrar la metralla sereno,
 O la muerte o la gloria buscar,
 Al principio de las humanas hazañas,
 Que tus hijos imploran la muerte.
 Los laureles del triunfo en la frente
 Volverán inmortales a ornar.

911a

Como el golpe de rayo esperamos
Que dé rumbo hasta el hondo to-
(rrrente.

A los piés de Dios nos ponemos,
Para que de sus hijos no corra
(sangre

Estando en contienda de hermanos,
Y teniendo el acero en las manos.
Acabaremos sin ningún temor,

Al que insulte el nombre de Dios
(soberano

O el nombre de Hernán Cortés el
(guerrero.

Defiende nuestra espada terrible,
Es sostén nuestro brazo invencible
Del sagrado pendón bicolor.

Españoles! seremos felices.
En la paz o en la guerra el caudi-
llo

Manejando nuestras armas dé brillo
Circulando en el campo de honor.
Guerra! Guerra!

Sin tregua al que intente
De la patria manchar los blasones.
Guerra! Guerra!

Los patrios pendones
En las olas de sangre empapar.
Guerra! Guerra!

En el monte o en el valle
Los cañones al instante descarguen,
Y sus ecos sonoros resuenen,

Con sus voces de unión conquistar.

Los españoles ante Alvarado

Alvarado no temáis
Con vuestro valor la guerra,
Todos con espada en mano
Daremos fin a esta tierra.

2a. Esquina

ALVARADO.—Suene el clarín de la fama

Y esa caja redoblante,
Y decid que en Xelajú
Marchan las tropas de España.
Con sutileza y hazaña.
Vamos ganando los puestos,

Porque dicen que son diestros
 Estos Mames y Cachiqueles,
 En fingir falsos cuarteles
 Y terrenos presupuestos.
 Y así leales Españoles
 No perdamos la ocasión
 En tomar toda esta tierra,
 Quedando como colonia de nuestra
 (nación.

Los Españoles ante Alvarado.

Clarines y tambores
 Suenen sin dilación.
 Comencemos ya la entrada
 Y enarbolemos el pabellón.

3a. Esquina

ALVARADO.—En este punto supongo
 Que el enemigo está cerca.
 Prestadme los anteojos Carrillo,
 Para ver y descubrir sus vueltas.

Carrillo ante Alvarado

Aquí tenéis vuestros anteojos
 Señor Capitán Alvarado,
 Y descubrid con cuidado
 El campo enemigo,
 Para darles el despojo
 A esos indios salvajes.

Cuarta Esquina

ALVARADO.—Ya ví que todo es cierto
 Los trámites del caso,
 Pues aquel es el Palacio de Quiché
 Y aquel es el de Tecún,
 Desde luego aseguremos
 Que salgan al campo raso.
 Caballería, pié a tierra
 Fuego sobre el enemigo.
 Escuchando la voz de nuestra patria
 (querida,
 Con los cañones de artillería
 No acobardaros valientes amigos.
 Como soldados guerreros
 A las armas sin temor.

Carrillo ante sus Compañeros.

Compañeros y campeones:

Preparaos todos para la guerrilla,
Porque ya el enemigo está cerca
Muy inquieto y desesperado.
Pónganse centinelas y alertas.

ALVARADO.—Caballeros de mi guardia!
Hombres guerreros nombrados de
España!

Ya estamos en nueva campaña,
Donde seréis vencedores
Mandando a tocar tambores
Que anuncian nuestra victoria,
Y dando a nuestro Rey la gloria
Como fuertes defensores.
Porque la orden de Hernán Cortés,
Para esta bárbara nación,
Es regarla con sangre
Hasta cumplir la misión.
Son bárbaros inocentes
Que de sus armas no hay que temer,
Si no se vencen con la paz
Forzoso es que han de morir.
A Quiché y a Tecún ya los ví
Que forman operaciones,
Y según noticias tengo
Que Quiché cedió sus pendones
A Tecún Umán, indio atrevido,
Quien piensa darme la muerte.
Hoy lo he de ver reducido
En la más triste y dura suerte,
Y de allí no paséis más adelante
Con miras de asesinar,
Pues acabando a Tecún
Todos se han de bautizar.
Esto es todo mi deseo,
El triunfo de esta campaña
Agregar este nuevo mundo
A la orden de nuestra España.
Y así españoles con valor
Comencemos ya la entrada.

CARRILLO.—Yo juro por mi honra y espada.
Defender la religión,
Y dejar en la ocasión
Toda mi sangre regada.

ALVARADO.—Carrillo no dudo en nada
Cuanto hoy me habéis jurado.

- CARRILLO.—Pues lo tengo acreditado
En las acciones pasadas.
Y así continuamos lo pensado
Con todo el valor necesario.
- CARDONA.—Excusa no es ofrecer,
Y vida a la real corona,
Pues sólo en un Dios han de creer,
Y en vuestra sacra persona.
- ALVARADO.—Don Juan de León Cardona
No tienes de que carecer.
- CARDONA.—Pues yo ofrezco defender
La acción que se ha de ofrecer,
Porque la orden de Hernán Cortés
Siempre se ha de obedecer.
- PORTOCARRERO.—La honra de la corona
De aquella valiente España,
Y por ello en esta campaña
Gustoso expondré mi persona.
Aquí no se perdona
Ni un minuto ni un momento,
Y para ejemplar escarmiento
Daré yo el golpe certero,
Porque siendo yo el primero
Se culpavía mi tardanza.
- ALVARADO.—En vuestra persona mi confianza
Tengo don Pedro de Portocarrero,
- PORTOCARRERO.—Dispuesto estoy Capitán
A darle fin a esta guerra,
Y acabar en principal
A los indios de esta tierra.
- CALDERON.—De la gente de infantería
Siento su dilación.
Pues yo con el pendón
Dispondré de la batería.
- ALVARADO.—Don Francisco Calderón,
Sóis el honor de la España.
- CALDERON.—Pues yo sin ningún temor
Invadiré cualquier montaña,
Puesto a la cabeza de un ejército
Feliz seré en campaña.
- MORENO.—Señor, estando aquí a tu lado,
El jefe llamado Lorenzo Moreno,
Pues con la espada en la mano
Al mundo entero no le temo.

- ALVARADO.—La confianza de Alvarado
 Está en don Lorenzo Moreno,
 Pues estando tú a mi lado
 La guerra comenzaremos.
- MORENO.—Yo con la batería
 Y con la espada en mano,
 Disponiendo de la caballería.
 Hasta vencer o morir en estos llanos.
- CRIJOL.—Hoy vosotros no habéis contado
 Con el más guapo español.
 Sabed que don Crijol
 Es el más diestro soldado.
 Que me como de un bocado
 Tres pavos y un capón,
 Y si se me opone Sansón
 Todos sus filisteos
 Me comeré en fideos
 Un quintal.
 Y así que estén bien amolados.
 Esos indios marranazos,
 Les daré para sus tormentas
 Veinte mil culatazos.
- ALVARADO.—Bien conozco, don Crijol,
 Lo valiente que has de ser.
 Vé pronto a la vigía,
 Sin deteneros en nada.
- CRIJOL.—Muy pronto saldré, Señor,
 A esos lugares descampados
 Corriendo detrás de los indios
 Con mi cumbo en las manos.
- ALVARADO.—Me parece que ya es tiempo
 Que la guerra comencemos.
 Una embajada enviaremos
 Para ver y descubrir sus intentos.
- CARRILLO.—Me parece el pensamiento
 Señor don Pedro de Alvarado.
 Ir yo con vuestra Embajada
 Con esos indios al momento.
- ALVARADO.—También no sólo tu persona,
 Sino quisiése que fuése contigo
 Don Juan de León Cardona,
 A explorar el campo enemigo.
- CARDONA.—El que contéis hoy conmigo
 En eso me hacéis honor,

Y así mandadme Señor,
Que yo iré pronto con Carrillo.

ALVARADO.—Marchad pues con prontitud
A cumplir con lo ordenado,
Hasta encontrar al principal de la
(indiada

A quien le daréis mi embajada,
Y de mi parte le diréis
Que Hernán Cortés
México ha conquistado.
Y allá está fortificado,
Y a estas tierras me han enviado
Para hacerles entender
Que en un solo Dios han de creer,
Que es Cristo crucificado.
Que con la paz lo convido.
Y a nombre del Rey don Carlos,
Quien pretende hacerles bien
Y desea bautizarlos.
Para que reciban de voluntad
El bautismo de esa creencia,
Y hacerlo a él feliz.
Para que sea del Señor,
De aquel humilde cordero
Que murió crucificado.
Gozará del Rey clemencia
Y les daré cuanto me pidiésen.
Pero si rechazan mi propuesta,
Sufrirán la ley impuesta
Por ordenanza de guerra.
Perderá vida y tierra
Sin que la ley los favorezca.
También le diréis
Que será un renuente despojado,
De su ceiro y su corona,
De sus haberes y estado.
Que solo Dios es el dueño
De cuanto humano ha creado,
Perteneciendo por herencia
A sus hijos los cristianos,
Y a ellos el sufrir
La pena del condenado.

LOS EMBAJADORES.—Con tu permiso, Señor
Vamos con prontitud
A cumplir con lo ordenado,

914a

Dádotte parte del resultado
Y de la contestación de esos indios
(malvados.

ALVARADO.—La Divina Majestad
Os volverá con salud cabal.

Los Embajadores al llegar al Palacio de Quiché:

MALINCHE 1a.—Español valiente, aguardad.

CARRILLO.—Qué es lo que mandáis, Princesa?
O, eres tú la Reina de este lugar?

MALINCHE 1a.—Que le digáis, lo que quiero,
Al Capitán vuestro dueño,
Que este forzoso empeño
No fracase el guerrero,
Pues yo prometo ayudarles
Hasta lograr la misión.

CARRILLO.—¿Quién eres, hermosa indiana,
Que tan arrogante me hablas?
¿Eres por ventura palma,
O de este reino la Diosa?

MALINCHE 1a.—Quiero que el aviso
Déis al Capitán,
Con prontitud y cuidado.

CARRILLO.—Lo haré si esto te agrada,
Pues en ello llevo interés.

MALINCHE 1a.—¿Y no me diréis cual es?

CARRILLO.—La pregunta es excusada.

MALINCHES CANTAN.—Montes elevados.
Fecundas montañas,
Nunca os humilléis
A extranjeras armas,
Arrojad el fuego
Que arde en vuestras entrañas.
Que viva el Rey Quiché!
Que mueran los españoles!

CARRILLO.—Quiénes con dulces ecos
Y amargas palabras,
Se expresan en su canto
Contra los españoles?

PRINCIPES.—Callad hermanas,
Ya no más cantéis,
Porque dos hombres vemos
De figura extraña.

EMBAJADORES.—Si no fuérais jóvenes
Y dignas de lástima,

- No os escaparíais
De nuestras hazañas.
- MALINCHES.—Volved en paz señores,
De estas emboscadas,
Y jamás intentéis
Inquietar las almas.
- CARRILLO.—Qué galanes jóvenes,
Qué preciosas damas,
Ocultan, Cardona,
Las grandes montañas.
- PRINCIPES.—Decid lo que buscáis,
Hombres o fantasmas.
Retiraos de aquí
Antes que los Príncipes
Aparten de vosotros
Vuestras atrevidas almas.
- CARDONA.—Te juro Carrillo,
Que siñ manchar mi fama,
Que si por mi fuera
Aquí me quedaría.
- CARRILLO.—Dejad compañero que obren,
Que el tiempo y las armas
Son el mejor consuelo.
Que no seamos culpables
De nuestra tardanza.
- CARDONA. (*Al encontrar a Ajís*) --Mirad
[Carrillo qué horrible el indio,
Que infernal su estampa.
Que encarnado todo,
Su cuerpo y la cara.
- CARRILLO.—Pues acerquemos a
A pedirle la entrada,
Porque estos son los brujos
Que a sus Reyes guardan.
(*A Ajís*)—Bárbaro, deja de brincos.
Escucha si eres capaz:
Anda y dile a tu Rey
Que le queremos hablar.
- AJIS.—¿Quiénes soís tan embusteros?
Qué eco tan iracundo!
Si seréis los extranjeros
O seréis del otro mundo?
- CARDONA.—Dile que dos españoles
Hijos nobles de Castilla,

Vienen en este día
 A proponerle la paz,
 Enviados por Alvarado,
 Y a ver si nos permite entrar.

AJIS.—Esperad pues hijos del sol,
 Esperad, soy el brujo que decís,
 Soy el verdadero Ajís,
 El defensor de Tecún.
 Esperad voy pronto a avisar
 A mi Rey y Señor,
 Porque es el dueño de este lugar.

Ajís ante Tecún.— Gran Señor y soberano Rey
 Permitidme la licencia,
 Que apenas tuve resistencia
 Para venirme avisar.
 Que a mi lugar han llegado
 Dos hombres de Castilla
 Enviados por Alvarado,
 Y que pretenden la licencia
 Para entrarte hablar
 Y yo espero vuestras órdenes
 Para dejarlos entrar.

TECUN.—Ajís, vuelve y díles
 Que la licencia la tienen para en-
 (trar.
 Pero antes de todo
 Les has de atar las manos
 Para que no me vengan a tocar,
 Y vendarles los ojos
 Para que tampoco me vengan a mirar,
 Porque el que quiere mi audiencia
 Se le permitirá entrar,
 Pero verme y tocarme no han de
 (gozar.

Aún la vida le ha de costar
 Al atrevido que intentare
 El mirar cuando hablare
 Mi gran persona real.

AJIS.—Con tu licencia señor
 Tu respuesta voy a dar,
 Y si no dan tu obediencia
 Los empezaré a brujaar.

Ajís ante los Embajadores.—Dice mi Rey y Señor
 Que la licencia la tienen para entrar,

Pero antes de todo
 Les he de atar las manos,
 Y los ojos vendar
 Para que no lo vayan a tocar,
 Ni tampoco lo vayan a mirar,
 Porque el que quiere su audiencia
 Logrará entrar,
 Pero verlo y tocarlo
 No han de gozar.

Aún la vida le ha de costar
 Al atrevido que intentare
 El mirar cuando hablare
 Su gran persona real

CARRILLO.—Don Juan de León Cardona,
 Que os parece mi indignación?
 La gran soberbia y maldad
 Con que ese indio embustero
 Nos ha mandado insultar?

CARDONA.—Y disimular nos conviene,
 Hoy don Francisco Carrillo,
 Para calcular la gente
 Que hay en el campo enemigo.

CARRILLO.—Decís muy bien compañero,
 Suframos pues el martirio
 De que nos venden los ojos,
 Este indio a sus antojos.

Los dos Embajadores.—Ven acá buen indio,
 Ven acá buen amigo,
 Ven a vendarnos los ojos
 Y a enseñarnos el camino,
 Y entrar con vuestro Rey
 A decirle a qué venimos,
 Y así regresar habremos
 En el mandato del destino,
 Y aunque sufriendo entre abrojos
 Los caprichos de tu Rey.

AJIS.—Agacha pues tu cabeza
 Mientras te voy a enjaquimar,
 Y apretarte bien el cincho
 Para que no vayas a corcobear.
 Que alegre va a comenzar
 La embajada de este modo.

.....
 A ver tú también tus orejas
 Mientras te voy a entapojar.

Quizá hay tu mala maña,
No me vayas a patear
Mientras la venda se ajusta,
Pues verlos así me gusta,
Sujetos a mi voluntad.

Ahora sí malditos
Ahora sí que estoy contento.
Mientras yo en un tris
Me llevo estos embajadores,
Que toquen alegres tambores
Para que baile el Ajís.

Ajís ante Tecún.—Grande y soberano Rey,
Aquí tenéis a los dos hijos del sol,
Pero tienes mucho cuidado,
Porque son muy malos los españoles.

TECUN.—Ya podéis dar vuestra embajada
Sin temor y sin cuidado,
Decidme pronto lo que quiere
Ese don Pedro de Alvarado.

Los dos Embajadores.—No es cortesía, cacique.
Tenernos así parados.
Máندانos a dar asiento
Y te diremos nuestro recado.

TECUN.—Qué decís altivos,
Soberbios y mal educados?
No sabéis que por mi rango
Y por voluntad de mi grey
Yo soy aquí el Rey
De todo este vecindario?
Cómo queréis que yo dé asiento
A unos humildes soldados
Tan rebeldes y mal educados?
Que si no fuésen enviados,
Hoy los mandaría azotar
Hasta que se hiciésen pedazos?
Pobres embajadores,
Tan cobardes y desatados.
Decidme pronto lo que queréis
Antes de que me enfade.

CARRILLO.—Dice mi capitán Alvarado
Que de Hernán Cortés es enviado,
Quien a México ha conquistado
Y que allá está fortificado,
Y a estas tierras lo ha enviado

Para hacerles entender
 Que en un solo Dios han de creer,
 Que es Cristo crucificado,
 Y que con la paz te convida,
 Y a nombre del rey don Carlos,
 Quien pretende hacerles bien
 Y desea bautizarlos,
 Y hacerte a ti feliz,
 Para que seas hijo del Señor,
 De aquel humilde cordero
 Que murió crucificado,
 Y que recibas de voluntad
 El bautismo de esta creencia.
 Gozarás del rey clemencia,
 Y te dará cuanto le pidieses,
 Pero si rechazas su propuesta
 Sufrirás la ley impuesta
 Por ordenanza de guerra,
 Perderás vida y tierra
 Sin que la ley te favorezca.

CARDONA.—También dice que serás
 Un renuente despojado
 De tu cetro y de tu corona,
 De tus haberes y estado.
 Que solo Dios es el dueño
 De cuanto su mano ha creado,
 Perteneciendo por herencia
 A sus hijos los cristianos.
 Y a vosotros en sufrir
 La pena del condenado,
 Principalmente como lo eres
 Gran indio relajado.

TECUN.—Vete de aquí y dile a tu capitán
 Que yo en estas tierras
 Soy el único soberano,
 Y que si quiere la guerra
 Soy el fuerte defensor,
 Que moriré por esta tierra
 Rechazando al invasor.
 Tengo mi ciudad muy bien amuralla-
 (da

Y fortificaciones bien situadas,
 Y mis caciques bien disciplinados
 En el arte de la guerra
 Para deshacer al español.

Mis leyes son bastantes sabias
Y muy bien ejecutadas,
Y nunca son violadas
Por los caciques de mi reino.
Como quiere bautizarme ese loco,
Y hacerme a mí feliz
Por querer a su Dios
Puesto que ya murió?
Estando vivo en mi reino
No puedo pedirle nada
A ningún hombre forastero,
Puesto que quiere hacerse dueño,
De ordenanza de guerra,
De mis riquezas y de mi reino
Adquiriendo fama y tierra?
Pues nosotros no somos mexicanos,
Y a mí jamás me ha de vencer
Ni con persuación y astucia,
Ni a fuerza de buen soldado.
Que si ha creído persuadirme
Con sus locos entusiasmos,
Pues muy pronto me tendrá al frente
Contestándole a flechazos.
(*Se dirige a Cardona*)
Y ese rey que dices
Que se titula don Carlos,
Nada tiene que ver conmigo
Ni con ninguno de mis vasallos.
También le dirás a tu capitán,
Quien con embajada te ha enviado,
Que tengo en Utlatlán
Un colegio por cuenta del Estado,
Donde estudiando están
Seis mil jóvenes de mis reales,
Y muy civilizados están
Mis caciques y principales,
Que deje de sus viles intenciones
Con que me hace entender
Que no necesito de civilizaciones,
Porque mis Dioses me dan poder,
Pues sus rayos nos vislumbran
Sin ser de manos tocados,
Mirad como se encumbran
Y de todos son adorados.
No son de madera esculpida
Como los que él atesora,

Pues él mismo los ha fingido
 Y los reverencia y los adora.
 Tengo de oro, plata y metal muy fino
 Y no falsificado,
 Pues no quiero ser cristiano
 Ni tampoco bautizado,
 Y antes prefiero morir
 Que abjurar mi religión.
 Pues todo esto le dirán
 A ese don Pedro de Alvarado;
 Y que a su gente reñirán
 Los ejércitos de mi estado,
 Y así marchaos ya de aquí
 Que no quiero escucharos más.

CARRILLO.—Pronto estaremos de vuelta
 Con tu respuesta rey osado,
 Y te juro que será arrasado
 Tu Palacio y tus legiones,
 Y verás que los cañones
 Castigarán tu insolencia,
 Por la incivil imprudencia
 Conque nos habéis tratado.

CARDONA.—Yo dejo astuto rey
 La venganza pendiente,
 Y verás Tecún valiente
 Que con el peso de la ley
 Caerá toda tu grey,
 Como el sol en el poniente.

TECUN.—Aún peor os he de tratar
 Estando en el campo de batalla,
 Y confiado en el certero tiro de mi
 (flecha.

AJIS.—Ya estáis libres caballeros,
 Volved de vuestros insomnios
 Y dejad de ser embusteros,
 Y marchad con los demonios.
 Si en el campo nos veremos
 Muy valientes y muy bravos,
 Ahí os cortaré los rabos
 Y veréis lo que podemos.

CARRILLO.—Si contigo se mantienen
 Como podemos llevarlos?

CARDONA.—No contestes a un bruto
 Como lo es este jumento o caballo.

AJIS.—Alto ahí forasteros,

No así tratéis a mi grey
 Pues venís de aventureros
 Y así insultáis a mi rey,
 Y cuidado no os asombre,
 Andad pronto y rum
 Este es el puño de Tecún,
 Este es el ejemplo del hombre.
 Malvados ya van a ver,
 Que con trapos me los he de comer.

CARRILLO.—Con vos también haremos
 Una mezcocolanza sola.

CARDONA.—Allá os quitaremos la cola
 Y un recuerdo llevaremos.

Los dos Embajadores ante Alvarado

Ya de vuelta nos tenéis,
 Señor capitán Alvarado.

ALVARADO.—¿Qué dijo el indio malvado,
 Convino a mi propuesta?

CARRILLO.—No señor porque su respuesta
 Fué muy desvergonzada,
 Pues nos mandó que calláramos
 Muy colérico y enojado,
 Y nos dijo que te manifestáramos,
 Que él en esas tierras
 Es el único soberano,
 Y que si quieres la guerra
 Será el fuerte defensor.
 Que morirá por esa tierra
 Rechazando al invasor.
 Que tiene su ciudad muy bien amu-

(rallada

Y sus fortificaciones bien situadas,
 Sus caciques bien desciplinados
 En el arte de la guerra
 Para deshacer al Español,
 Que sus leyes son bastante sabias
 Y muy bien ejecutadas,
 Y que nunca son violadas
 Por los caciques de su reino.
 Que cómo quieres bautizarlo
 Y hacerlo a él feliz
 Por querer a tu Dios,
 Puesto que ya murió.
 Estando vivo en su reino
 No puede pedirle nada

A ningún hombre forastero,
 Puesto que quieres ser dueño,
 Por ordenanza de guerra,
 De sus riquezas y de su reino.
 Adquiriendo fama y tierra,
 Pues ellos no son mexicanos
 Porque jamás lo has de vencer,
 Ni con persuasión y astucia,
 Ni a fuerza de buen soldado.
 Que si has creído persuadirlo
 Con tus locos entusiasmos,
 Pues muy pronto lo tendrás al frente
 Contestándote a flechazos.

CARDONA.—Señor agregó también

Que a ese rey que le dicen
 Que se titula don Carlos
 Nada tiene que ver con él
 Ni con ninguno de sus vasallos,
 Que también te dijera
 Que no lograrás lo pensado
 Porque tiene en Uatatlán
 Un colegio por cuenta del estado
 Donde estudiando están
 Seis mil jóvenes de sus reales,
 Pues muy civilizados están
 Sus caciques y principales,
 Que deja de tus viles razones
 Conque lo haces entender,
 Que no necesita de civilizaciones
 Porque sus Dioses le dan poder,
 Pues sus rayos los vislumbran
 Sin ser de manos tocadas,
 Que no son de madera esculpida
 Como lo que tú atesoras,
 Pues tú mismo los has fingido
 Los reverencias y los adoras,
 Que tiene de oro, plata y metal muy
 (fino

Y no falsificado,
 Pues no quiere ser cristiano
 Ni tampoco bautizado
 Y que antes prefiere morir
 Que abjurar su religión.
 También nos ordenó
 que nos marcháramos pronto

- Porque no quería escucharnos más.
ALVARADO.—Entrad amigos míos
 Y digo entre tanto
 Que los indios se preparen
 A la batalla en el campo.
 Al tiempo no hay que dejar
 Estas cosas olvidadas,
 Pues ya tengo preparadas
 Estratagemas y sorpresas
 Colocando ocultas piezas
 Que deberán disparar.
- PORTOCARRERO.**—Atento he estado, Alvarado,
 De la gran altanería
 Conque ese vil reyezuelo
 Ha contestado en el día.
 Tanto por su altivez
 Cuanto por su osadía
 Conviene por hidalguía
 Empezar ya la conquista.
- CALDERON.**—Dar el asalto os conviene
 Por la expresión tan inmoral,
 Manda tocar desde luego
 Clarines y tambores
 Entre esa gente enemiga,
 A quien debemos dar escarmienta
 Para que aprenda a tratar.
- MORENO.**—Al rey Tecún, no importa
 En la cumbre de Santa María,
 A su persona avanzaré
 Para su escarmiento y ruina.
 Por eso importa llegar
 Lo más pronto a esa sierra.
 Y allí principiár la guerra
 Para poderle acabar.
- CRIJOL.**—Yo fuera de parecer
 Que los indios se mataran
 Y que las inditas quedaran
 Para hacernos de comer,
 Y entre ellas escoger
 La que fuese más bonita
 Y dársela a don Crijol,
 Para que viva contento,
 Y formar un regimiento
 De inditas hijas del sol.
- ALVARADO.**—Caballeros y nobles guerreros

Leales defensores de España,
 Con vuestra astucia y hazaña
 Seréis vencedores.
 Mandando a tocar tambores
 Que anuncien nuestra victoria,
 Dando a nuestro Rey la gloria
 Cuando esta gente esté conquistada.
 Sonará al pie de los bosques
 El redoble y el clarín,
 Vibrará al aire la llamada.
 Romped las armas
 De afán y contento.
 Vuelva el soldado
 Triunfador sediento.
 Los ecos con que asorda la metralla
 Al indio defensor de su patrio suelo,
 En avanzar donde la bomba estalla
 Deshaced entre sus riscos su cabaña.

Todos los Españoles ante Alvarado.

Todos estamos dispuestos
 A hacer cuanto determináis.
 Viva el rey de España
 Y triunfe Alvarado de los indios

ALVARADO.—Pues bien conozco
 Vuestro valor y la justicia que os
 (anima,
 Pero mucho importa esperar
 Que llegue la caballería,
 Porque Carrillo y Cardona
 Dispondrán de la infantería,
 Portocarrero, Calderón y Moreno
 Dispondrán de la artillería,
 Quedando la reserva
 A cargo de don Crijol
 Con toda su compañía.

Tecún en su Palacio

Estoy con tanto coraje
 Contra ese don Pedro de Alvarado,
 Pues con aquella su embajada
 Quiso imponerme homenaje.
 Qué, habrá pensado el salvaje
 Salvarnos en la ocasión?
 Acompañarnos con su Dios
 Quitando nuestra religión?
 Ajís, anda luego con Zunúm

Y le decís al Rey Quichetúm
 Del Español y su intento,
 Que es mucho su atrevimiento
 Y su acerva Intención
 En que sigamos su religión,
 Y la de nosotros dejar.
 Manchando nuestra opinión
 Querer que la religión
 De Quetzalcoatl dejemos,
 Para que el suyo adoremos
 Porque se llama creador.
 Pues ya me encuentro dispuesto
 A comenzar hoy la guerra
 Y hacer que tiemble la tierra
 Con mi dolor denodado.
 Que de mí no tenga cuidado
 Que tengo seguro el puesto.
 Id pues con Zunúm de presto
 A cumplir con lo ordenado.

ZUNUM.— Señor estoy muy honrado?
 En ir a cumplir tu embajada,
 Y aquí me tendréis muy presto
 Para pelear a tu lado.
 Ajís, habéis escuchado?
 Venid pronto que avanza el día,
 Tú me harás compañía
 Para cumplir el recado.

AJIS.— Es qué yo no voy
 Aunque el enfado de Tecún provoque.
 Vistes que traen estoque?
 Pues eso me tiene en cuidado.
 Son armas que con muy poco
 Me pueden sacar el moco,
 Dejándome atravezado.

ZUNUM.— No seas, Ajís, tan afeminado
 El sol nuestros hombres arde,
 Mirad que se me hace tarde.

AJIS.— Que se haga, y si yo no quiero
 Enfrentar el sacrificio?
 Cada cual con su oficio,
 Quieres que más claro te diga?
 Pon tus orejas iguales:
 Estoy temblando del miedo!
 Yo aquí con mis copales
 Me quedaré adivinando.

Quien cuida a Tecún
Si no son estos calzones?

ZUNUM.—Deja Ajís de espantarte
Con fantasmas e ilusiones.
Ah! hombre más ruin y cobarde,
Acaso no tienes calzones?

AJIS.—Cómo quieres que yo vaya
Y aquellos barbados,
Mirad donde aumbra el sol?
Pues miedo me da el Español,
Y me salgan en la embajada
Por mostrarme con alarde
Y luego me digan cobarde,
Y me hagan con su arma púm
Y entonces ya no bailaré el túm,
Siendo grande mi dolor
De no cuidar a Tecún.

Huitzitzil ante Quiché

A vuestras plantas reales
Tienes a Huitzitzil Zunúm
Como enviado de Tecún.
Me hizo con ello el honor
Por dispensarme favor.
Como vasallo obediente
Me tienes humildemente
Arrodillado a tu dosel.

QUICHE.—Levantad cacique muy fiel,
Que es lo que dice Tecún?

ZUNUM.—Hablaré Huitzitzil Zunúm
Conforme le fué indicado
Pues aquel rey se ha quedado
En Xelajú su ciudad,
Y que diga a vuestra majestad
Que el capitán Alvarado
Lo ha mandado a desafiar,
Intentando bautizar
A todo tu reino, señor,
Y su propuesta mejor
Es que a su Dios adoremos
Y al de nosotros dejemos
Por el que se llama creador.

QUICHE.—Ay, Zunúm mi fiel cacique,
Pues no sé lo que te digo,
Que todo me causa horror.

Se acabó pues mi valor,
 Mi blzarra valentía,
 Y así pues a Tecún le dirás
 Que disponga lo que quiera
 Porque siempre que yo muera
 El será el rey no más.

HUITZITZIL.—Rey grande, los Dioses quieran
 Vuestra vida eternizar
 Para que puedas reinar
 Es lo que tus hijos quieren.

QUICHE.—Haced que mis ojos vean
 Oh! gran Dios Atohil
 En paz y quietud los reinos
 Y que mis gentes no mueran.

MALINCHES CANTAN.—Oh! padre no lloréis
 Porqué os affligís?
 Mirad que tus hijas
 Están al morir,
 Porque ese dolor
 Y amargo llanto
 Nos dará quebranto
 Y nos hará morir.

PRINCIPE 1o.—Cuántas aflicciones y martirio,
 Nos formáis con el quebranto
 De ese tristísimo canto
 Y de ese acerbo delirio.
 En lágrimas tórnase el rocío.
 Tranquilidad padre mío,
 Tranquilidad te pedimos.
 No ves que de la pena morimos,
 Por ese Alvarado impío?

MALINCHES CANTAN.—Es verdad hermano
 Cuanto vos deis
 Que el dolor del padre
 Nos hará morir.
 Si con dulces ecos
 Quiero consolar.

PRINCIPE 2o.—Yo quiero del rey y señor
 La tranquilidad y dulce calma,
 Porque la pena del alma
 Pronto quebranta el dolor.
 Queréis señor que se cante
 Para adormecerte a tí?

QUICHE.—Hijas mías ya no cantéis

Porque el alma me partís.
 Valor tengo y lo veréis
 Que nada temo por mí
 Pero por mis hijos sí.
 Por ellos es grande el quebranto,
 Por ellos derramo mi llanto,
 Por ellos me véis así.
 Ah! Atohil cuánto siento
 Que mis voces no escuchéis.
 Si será cierto, o yo miento?
 Yo no se pero si os insulto.
 Con otra nueva creencia,
 Que me valga el pensamiento,
 Que me valga la paciencia.

MALINCHE 1o.—Oh Padre qué tormento,
 Que dolor se apodera del alma mía.

MALINCHE 2o.—Yo también eso siento,
 Qué mi alma se aniquila.

HUITZITZIL.—Adios Rey Quiché,
 Con tus órdenes al momento vuelvo
 Y daré parte al Rey Tecún
 De tu disposición,
 Para que se prepare la gente,
 Para cumplir la misión.

Escena Quinta

Tecún Umán con la venia del rey, se apresta a la batalla, al igual que los españoles, librándose sucesivos combates, desventajosos para los naturales.

Zunúm ante Tecún

Ya de vuelta me tenéis,
 Rey Tecún, de tu embajada.

TECUN.—¿Qué dijo el Rey Quiché
 Del parte que le has dado?

ZUNUM.—Pues quedó muy triste y atligido,
 Aturdido de tal manera,
 Y me ordenó que os dijera
 Que ya tiene pensado
 El entregarte el Estado,
 El Gobierno y Majestad,

Porque es su voluntad
Que seas tú el rey,
Para que impongas la ley
Guardando lealtad.

TECUN.—Entrad Huitzitzil y descansad,
Llegad y tomad asiento.
No fatigéis más tu aliento
Que es mucha tu temeridad.

AJIS.—Ya veréis vosotros
Que a la luz de limpio sol,
Muy pronto el Español
Invadirá al rey Tecún,
Porque según veo y creo,
Va a ser víctima mi Rey
Por el caudillo Español.
El primer combate será
En las montañas del Yaxcanul,
El segundo en los llanos de Chuipch,
El tercero entre el río Xequijel y
(Olintepeque,
Y el último será entre Xelajú y
(Chuimequená,
Donde caerá el hermoso Quetzal,
Pues yo siempre digo la verdad,
No soy como los brujos de este
(tiempo,
Que solo tratan de robarse los realitos,
Y no dicen la verdad.

TECUN.—Hecho un mar de conjunciones
Se haya mi espíritu, amigos,
Pensando en el enemigo
Y en sus viles intenciones.
En mi erguido Palacio,
En este monte soberbio,
Mi sordo rumor se escucha
Repetido por cien ecos.
En las ásperas vertientes
Del ande gigantesco,
Se ve gente de combate,
Guerreros y más guerreros.
Los Españoles nuestras tierras pisan,
Como amigos, nuestro suelo.
Rogad a nuestros Dioses
No traiga males
La venida de los extranjeros.

Oh! despierta patria mía
 De tus letárgicos sueños,
 Mañana será ya tarde
 Y hoy es tiempo.
 Despierta, oh patria, despierta
 Y de tu volcán echa el incendio.
 Abrasa y destruye al conquistador
 Que viene a encadenar nuestro cuello,
 Pues a la lid vasallos y con valor,
 Si morís en la pelea
 Con dignidad habréis muerto,
 Y así vuestros pechos
 Merecerán el honor,
 Pues más vale morir con gloria
 Que vacilar con el riesgo,
 Porque he soñado en muchas ocasio-
 (nes

Que ese español atrevido.
 Quiere invadir mis pendones.
 Y por estas funestas visiones
 Que me han venido anunciando
 Que yo moriré peleando,
 Pienso a cada momento
 En estas injustas razones.
 Pues no encuentro tranquilidad,
 Y así pues mis principales
 Con franqueza os debo decir
 Que hoy saldré a combatir,
 Aunque me cueste la vida.
 En fin vamos acometiendo
 Hasta morir o vencer riñiendo.

ZUNUM.—Raro sueño gran señor
 El que habéis hoy relatado,
 Y por eso no tengáis cuidado
 Que yo refiré al Español.
 Es legendario el honor
 De sacrificar nuestra vida.
 Por religión tan querida
 En que sabemos vivir.

CHAVEZ.—Son hijos del sol,
 Nos vislumbran con sus rayos
 Queriendo hacernos vasallos
 De su reino y de su patria,
 Por lo que es necesario
 Que vayamos ya penetrando

- Por los espesos viaductos,
Para ocupar los reductos
Que ya nos están esperando.
- TEPE.—Todo español es traidor
Que guarda otra religión,
Mira que mi corazón
Tiene experiencia señor,
Y no hay que darle ocasiones
Que nos sorprenda primero.
Que principie el balletero
A darle fuerte lección.
- SAQUINUJ.—Es muy cierta y positiva
La intención del enemigo,
Pues no es mal agilero
La disposición del extranjero.
Y estando ya preparado
Para lanzarse a la lucha,
Que aunque su gente no es mucha
Pero está disciplinada.
- IXCOT.—Esta flecha en nada para
Y a ninguna gente teme,
Así es que si Alvarado viene
Le acariciará la cara.
Y aunque trayendo como inmenso
(rescate,
Por medio de este mi brazo
Daremos fin a la guerra,
Daremos fin al combate.
- AJIS.—Yo os ofrezco mis costumbres
Con mis Dioses y frijoles,
Y a brujear a los españoles
Me retiro a aquellas cumbres.
- Alvarado en su Cuartel*
Carrillo, informadme el número de
(batallones
Que hay preparados,
Para comenzar hoy la guerra
Y disponer las guerrillas.
- CARRILLO.—Señor hay cuatro batallones de
(infantería,
Dos baterías de artillería
Tres regimientos de caballería,
A más de tres mil Tlascaltecas,
Ciento treinta balleteros
Y un buen repuesto de municiones.

- ALVARADO.—El desconcierto que forman,
 En medio de tantas bombas y atabales,
 Nos dan ya ciertas señales
 Que los indios campos toman.
 Y ahora parece que asoman
 Por aquel desfiladero,
 Y allí es donde yo quiero
 Darles algunas sorpresas,
 Disparando ya
 Las primeras piezas,
 Sin descansar un momento.
- CARRILLO.—Pues señor a suspenderlos
 Antes que tomen ventajas.
 Que rompan fuego esas cajas
 Que pronto estaré a vencerlos,
 Pues hay que lograr tenerlos
 Al alcance de las piezas.
 Sus columnas son unidas
 Y les cubren mucho blanco.
- CARDONA.—A las armas que se toque
 Con clarines y alegrías.
 Antes que fenezca el día
 Comencemos hoy el choque.
- PORTOCARRERO.—Las órdenes son solamente,
 Señor, las que esperamos.
 En el corcel listos estamos
 Para salir al combate.
 Prevenida está mi gente
 Y pienso darles arrollada,
 Y así tenerles cortada
 De ellos la comunicación,
 Y darles muy dura lección
 A esa avalancha insurgente.
- CALDERON—Esto es lo que yo opino:
 Que la guerra sea violenta,
 Y acerquémonos a esos llanos
 A acabar con esa gente.
- MORENO—Empleémos nuestro valor
 Ahora que es ocasión.
 Comencemos ya la guerra
 A nombre de nuestra nación,
 Pues ya lo tengo ofrecido.
 Con balas de artillería
 Daremos este principio,
 Ah! que hermosos se veo el día,

Para empezar la jornada.
CRIJOL.—Pues yo tengo una nube
 De soldados de acajeta.
 Que por detrás se meten la bayoneta.
 Por mí no hay cuidado
 Porque soy el mejor jinete,
 Pues a la hora que la guerra comience,
 Yo sé en qué rincón me meto.
 Por si la ocasión se ve fuerte,
 Yo me escaparé de la muerte
 Huyendo luego del punto,
 Pues no quiero ser difunto
 Porque eso me causa horror.
 Yo ya no tengo valor
 Ni fuerzas para pelear,
 Galones ya no quiero, señor,
 Pues mi delicadeza acabó.

ALVARADO.—Pues hoy lo más importante
 Pues hoy lo más importante
 Que les tengo que advertir,
 Es que si esos indios
 No se humillan con la paz,
 Forzoso es que han de morir,
 Asegurando en principal
 Al rey Tecún atrevido,
 Por ser el primer caudillo
 Que se debe fusilar,
 Sin pretexto de perdonar
 A los demás principales,
 Que acabando esos mansehuales
 Todos se han de bautizar.
 Acometamos pues de pronto
 Comenzando a descargar,
 Y con esta orden espero,
 Mediante el Dios de la gloria,
 Triunfar en esta ocasión.

TECUN.—Pues ya que estamos dispuestos
 Para comenzar hoy la guerra,
 Cúbrase toda la tierra
 Con mis valientes soldados.
 El cielo de nubes se cubra
 Y el mundo en furoros arda,
 Despidáanse rayos de las nubes,
 Y lancémonos a las tempestades,
 Todos los caciques

Por honor de Quichetúm.
Que muera todo Español!
Que mueran los hijos del sol!
Y que viva el Rey Tecún!

Todos los Españoles

Que suene el indiano túm,
Atabales y caracoles.
Que vivan los españoles!
Y que muera el rey Tecún!

Ataques

TECUN.—Salid furias infernales,
Salid y a vengar mi suerte
Transformadas en mansehuals,
Para darle al español la muerte.
Soy el jefe rabioso,
Y el guerrero más desesperado
Que defiende este reino
Que mi padre Quicab Tanub
Me ha confiado.
Acércate pues Alvarado,
No tengas ningún temor,
Que estos brazos y esta lanza
Acabarán con vuestro valor.

ALVARADO.—Ea! míseros indios,
Ea! viles, ea! osados,
Salid todos en campaña,
Que para mis furias terribles
A todos hoy necesito
Para veros destrozados.
En salirle a mi dolor
Salgan por segunda vez cobardes,
Salgan, salgan a demostrar sus hazañas.
Qué esperan pues que no salen?
Que para reñir hoy con todos
Tengo valor suficiente.
¿En donde está el valor que tanto
habéis demostrado?
Soy el capitán Alvarado
Y del indio el verdugo.
Soy el guerrero nombrado
Para conquistar estos Estados.

Tercer Ataque

TECUN.—Mucha gente hemos perdido,
Pues se ha muerto un jiquipil.
¿Qué me dices Huitzilil?

Mirad que estoy afligido.
 Qué espantoso ruido es ese
 Que entre el enemigo nace?
 Se asemeja al estallido horrible de
 (cien volcanes.

Ay de la ambición de Alvarado,
 Ay de sus potentes ases,
 Que al empuje de sus armas
 Caemos envueltos en sangre.
 Se ha humillado a otros pueblos,
 Y esclavizarnos jura.
 Yo también he jurado
 Por mi nombre abrir su tumba,
 Pues tres veces he subido,
 Al aire y con ligereza,
 Por volarle la cabeza
 A ese Alvarado atrevido.
 Al arma pues los que alientan
 Con horror y con bravura.
 Al arma cuantos estiman
 Los derechos del estado.

ALVARADO.—Energía les falta,
 Valor y resignación
 Para deshacer falsos cultos,
 Que es la orden y opinión.
 Aquí hasta vencer o morir,
 Pues no hay un punto donde escapar,
 Y sin el nombre de vencedor
 Jamás podré regresar,
 O dejar en esta campaña
 Toda mi sangre regada,
 Pues he jurado
 Que con esta temible espada
 Haré eterno el nombre de España.

TECUN.—Acércate, acércate pues Alvarado.
 No tengas ningún temor,
 No pienses que mi valor
 Hoy llega menos a faltar.
 En contra tu gente canalla,
 No creas que mi furor
 En la batalla se ausenta,
 Porque los indios tienen
 Valor, fuerza y disciplina.

ALVARADO.—Sin caballo me ha dejado
 Este furioso enemigo.

Prestadme la lanza don Pedro,
Que hoy tengo de acabar
Con este infernal enemigo.

PORTOCARRERO.—Con honra os voy a entregar

Lo que con honra he cuidado,
Y que juré que a su lado
Yo debería acabar.

La flámula va a quedar
En el campo victoriosa,
Y por eso espero que honrosa
Sus listas gualda y carmín
Pronto nos lleven al fin
De esta lucha desastrosa.

Madre España, yo sin mancha
Tu insignia voy a entregar.
Ya veréis que mi alma se ensancha
Al ver flamear tu bandera,
Que parece que estuviera
En tus torres y palacios
Surcando tus limpios espacios
Y tu nación resguardando.

TECUN.—Yo no necesito prestado
Mi valor para acabarte.
Soy Tecún, el Rey nombrado,
Defensor de estas tierras
Quien hoy ha de destrozarte.

Escena Sexta

Desesperado Tecún Umán de sus inútiles esfuerzos para arrollar a los españoles, desofia a Pedro de Alvarado a reñido combate, frente a frente, en el que es vencido y muerto, con lo cual quedó asegurada la victoria para los españoles.

Ultimo Ataque

TECUN.—Alvarado, quiero ver tu valor;
Salgamos al campo raso
A batirnos brazo a brazo,
Ya que a mala hora tu conquista vino,
A montañas tan altivas

Donde el león despertó
 Del letárgico sueño en que yacía.
 El Quiché es patria de libres
 Y a los libres no se conquista,
 Y así corre, vuela Alvarado
 Para tu altiva España,
 Mientras que con letras de sangre
 Dejarás hoy tu vergüenza escrita.
 Y dile a tus soldados
 Que no sueñen en conquistas,
 Porque los rayos no dan siempre
 Donde hay pueblos que los vibran.

ALVARADO.—Tecún Umán, gran cicique,
 Aquí me tienes a tu llamado.
 Yo con esta lanza en la mano
 Juro dejarte despedazado,
 En el nombre de Dios
 Y en cuyo nombre he salido,
 Hoy quiero darle la muerte
 A este Tecún atrevido.
 Y nos veremos al suelo
 Con esgrima de punta los dos,
 A ver si del golpe rudo
 Que mi adversario me lanza,
 He distinguido a mi esperanza
 Y siento romperse mi escudo.
 De mis energías no dudo,
 De mi aislamiento me espanto,
 La flor y el quebranto
 De mi extraño enemigo.
 Siento rendir mis esfuerzos,
 Pero en medio de mis conjunciones
 Lucho y disputo ja...! ja...! ja...!
 Siento caer en tierra,
 Pero como antea, más altiva,
 Me levanta mi opinión.
 Ya que la mar se azota
 Se hace un pedestal de arena,
 Levanto mi frente serena
 Y a nadie le rindo tributo,
 Principalmente como lo es
 Este indio con quien disputo.

Tecún mortalmente herido.—Qué es esto.... qué
 (es esto,

Qué me habrá sucedido?

He perdido mi aliento
 Y estoy muy desfallecido.
 Oh! . . . Atohil, vil engañoso,
 Por qué me habéis abandonado?
 Reniego de tu poder.
 Ay Zunúm! mi fiel amigo,
 Me han partido el corazón,
 Recibid pues el perdón
 Que estoy mortalmente herido.
 Me iré Quetzal, y al dejarte
 En apartada región
 Aún quiero llorarte.
 Con lo acerbo de mi llanto
 Ya no escucharé tu canto.
 Oh! reino de mis abuelos,
 Dioses de mis mayores,
 Segadas serán tus flores
 Y arrasados serán tus suelos.
 Estos eran mis anhelos
 Y grandes preocupaciones.
 A mi reino harán girones,
 Y mis súbditos llorarán su esclavi-
 (tud

En medio de sus pendones.
 Adiós patria querida de mi cora-
 (zón,

No logré tu salvación.
 Adiós suntuoso palacio,
 Adiós cetro y corona,
 Adiós ninfas y bellezas
 Que adornan a mi persona.
 Oh! númen soberana,
 Siento que me toma de la mano
 Una ciega deidad,
 Que me lleva por los rumbos de
 (la muerte
 Hasta tocar las puertas eternas.

ZUNUM.— Señor, qué te ha sucedido?
 Si nadie te ha tocado.
 Qué infames son los españoles,
 Cómo pudieron haberte herido?
 Compañeros y nobles caciques.
 Los de la noble prosapia,
 Pues el que murió por la patria
 Debemos con pompa enterrar

Yo desde hoy quiero seguir.
La religión de Alvarado,
Ya quiero ser bautizado,
Y ser hijo verdadero
De aquel humilde cordero
Que murió crucificado.

Todos los Caciques
Todos queremos Zunúm
Eso que has determinado,
Y así mándale recado
Al Rey grande Quichetúm.

ZUNUM.—Yo tengo de ir en persona
Con todos los principales,
Y también los mansehuales,
A presentar el cadáver.
Y del Rey Tecún la corona.

AJIS.—Señor, qué destino el de la ley,
Qué tormento Dios verdadero.
Tecún, rey de estos prados,
Tecún, protector de estas tierras,
Te han partido el corazón.
Bendita sea tu memoria
En lo que vale y reviste.
A la patria defendiste
Y bendita sea tu historia.
En tu cabeza se alce
Un ciprés, un pensamiento,
Y en Xelajú un monumento
En honor a tu persona.

*Zunúm ante Quiché conduciendo el
cadáver de Tecún*

Gran señor, aquí tenéis
Del Rey Tecún la corona,
Pues ha muerto su persona,
Como lo véis cadáver frío,
Peleando brazo a brazo,
En el campo de batalla
Con el capitán Alvarado.

QUICHE.—Amigo al fin vuestro brillo
Acabó desanimado.
Sin duda fué Alvarado
Quien os dejó cadáver frío.
¿Qué instrumento fué el que le in-
firió

Que el pecho le atravesó?
 Esto había soñado yo,
 Mas Tecún no lo quiso creer.
 Antes llegó a entender
 Que yo engañándole estaba,
 O que yo la nación entregaba.
 Mataron la energía diestra
 Que encerraba esta alma de acero,
 Por defender a su patria.
 Desde hoy pues, quedaremos
 Bajo el yugo de la tiranía española.
 Llevad pues, este fúnebre cadáver.
 Quitádo de mi presencia,
 Pues ya no tengo resistencia
 De verlo aquí más.
 Llevad con pausa el cuerpo
 Del protector de nuestra patria,
 Del ejecutor de nuestra salvación.

ZUNUM.—Pronto saldremos señor,
 A sepultar con honores
 Al cuerpo del rey Tecún,
 Pues yo opino que desde hoy
 Seguiremos otra nueva religión.

Todos los Caciques.—Pues conduzcámoslo al
 (sepulcro,
 Si te parece Zunúm,
 Y hacer ya el entierro
 Del cuerpo del rey Tecún.

Zunúm de regreso del entierro

Aquí nos tenéis de regreso
 Gran monarca Quichetím.
 El llanto no ha de faltar
 Y siempre hemos de llorar
 La ausencia del rey Tecún.

QUICHE.—Venid Zunúm querido
 Y vosotros principales,
 Entrad conmigo a descansar,
 Pues yo sé lo que os digo
 Que pronto he de acabar.

LAS MALINCHES CANTAN.—Ya Tecún es
 (muerto,
 Con lanza sutil,
 Pues su corazón

Se pudo partir.
 Don Pedro de Alvarado,
 Capitán feliz,
 En rojo los campos
 Hoy pudo teñir
 Con la sangre humana
 Del indio infeliz.
 Adiós para siempre,
 Oh! Tecún querido,
 Que por fiel vasallo
 Rendiste la vida,
 Aquí tan querida,
 Aquí tan amada.

QUICHE.—Callad hijas mías
 Ya no más cantéis,
 Pues remediarlo jamás podréis.
 Andad hijos míos
 Con el capitán Alvarado,
 Y de mi parte le diréis
 Que se acerque a estas montañas
 Que me sirven de palacio,
 Que no recele de mí,
 Que mi nobleza es un mármol
 Que encanta la sutileza,
 Pues nunca jamás se ha manchado.
 Que mi disposición es
 Entrar en su religión.

ZUNUM.—Señor, si bien te parece
 Ir yo con vuestro recado,
 Que los príncipes son muy tiernos
 Y pueden perderse en el campo.

PRINCIPES.—Nunca podemos errar
 El camino que llevamos,
 Pues el que noble ha nacido
 Nunca lleva malos pasos.
 Y así señor, con vuestra licencia,
 A obedecerte pronto vamos.

Los Príncipes ante Crijol.—Dios guarde este
 (centinela)

Que guarda el campo español.
 CRIJOL.—¿A quién buscáis?
 A don Crijol?
 ¿Qué me traéis?
 ¿Me traéis alguna cosa buena?
 Para mí que estoy de centinela

O para el santo de mi abuela.
 Ahí si son dos animalitos
 Con figuras de cotorritos,
 Parecen pavos reales
 De los que andan por mi tierra.

LOS PRINCIPES.—Anda y dile a tu capitán
 Que le queremos hablar,
 Que traemos parte del rey Quiché
 Y ver si nos permite entrar.

CRIJOL.—Ahora sí soy valiente
 Y puedo insultar a la gente,
 Y también al mismo sol.
 Bien pueden entrar cotorritos
 Que yo los iré a acompañar.

Crijol ante Alvarado.—Señor, estos dos
 (cotorritos)

Merecen una estaca real.

ALVARADO.—No son cotorritos,
 En eso os engañáis.
 ¿Qué queréis infantes?
 Decid lo que buscáis.

LOS PRINCIPES.—Príncipes hemos nacido,
 Aunque infantes por la edad,
 Apreciamos el cariño
 Conque hoy nos tratáis,
 Pues el Rey Quiché, nuestro padre,
 De quien hoy tenéis razón,
 Con embajada hoy nos ha enviado
 Y así pues, presta atención,
 Que cada uno te diremos
 Lo que es su pretensión,
 Y así pronto regresaremos.

ALVARADO.—Sentaos antes que os escuche,
 Que aunque jóvenes, soís
 Grandes por vuestra causa
 Y muy dignos de atención.

PRINCIPE 1o.—Aprecio tu cortesía.

PRINCIPE 2o.—Estimo vuestro favor

PRINCIPE 1o.—Dice pues el rey Quiché
 Señor don Pedro de Alvarado,
 Que te acerques a aquellas monta-
 (ñas)

Que le sirven de palacio,
 Que allí está hospedado,
 Que no receles de él,

Que su nobleza es un mármol
 Que encanta la sutileza
 Y que jamás se ha manchado,
 Y que su disposición
 Es entrar desde hoy en tu religión,
 Y que todos seamos bautizados.

ALVARADO.—¿Y de Tecún qué me decís
 Príncipes Infantes?

PRINCIPE 2o.—Ignoro su paradero,
 Pues según se ha sabido
 Que ya su cuerpo está sepultado,
 Porque salió de la guerra
 En el pecho traspasado,
 Que Zunúm quedó mandando
 Y es de su buen parecer
 Que no se te haga ningún daño,
 Y como Tecún ya es muerto
 No tengas ningún recelo.

ALVARADO.—Vamos príncipes queridos,
 Vamos pues con vuestro rey,
 Que desde luego confío
 Que a su palabra no ha de faltar.

PRINCIPE 1o.—Primero faltará el sol
 Que mi padre engañarte.

PRINCIPE 2o.—Los dioses te den salud
 Y vuestra vida dilaten.

ALVARADO.—¿Decidme por qué os váis
 Y no queréis esperarme?

LOS PRINCIPES.—Para irle avisar al rey
 Que te salga a encontrar,
 Para que se hagan las paces
 Y se traten de bautizar.

Los Príncipes ante Quiché

Ya de vuelta nos tenéis
 De tu embajada rey Quiché,
 Pues fuimos muy bien recibidos
 Por don Pedro de Alvarado.

QUICHE.—Descansad hijos míos
 Y vosotros príncipes.
 Preparaos ya en la ocasión
 Para entrar en otra nueva religión.

ALVARADO.—Caballeros, qué os parece
 La gran política y arte
 Que dió la naturaleza
 A los príncipes Infantes?

- CARRILLO.—Admirado estoy capitán
De la gran educación real.
Aunque en los montes ocultos
Pero de conocimientos sin igual.
- CARDONA.—Yo vi dos indiezuelas
Que parecían ángeles,
Que con sus dulces melodías
Se hacían admirables.
- PORTOCARRERO.—Pues caminemos señor
A ese amable palacio,
Y acortemos el espacio
Sin riesgos y sin temor.
Al rey hacedle el honor
Con vuestra noble llegada,
Y así dejar terminada
Nuestra comenzada labor.
- CALDERON.—Ejecutarlo es preciso
Sin ninguna dilación,
Y que todos sean bautizados
A nombre de nuestra nación.
- MORENO.—A cargo de don Crijol
Quedará todo equipaje,
Y así nos podremos ir
Sin que nadie nos atseje.
- CRIJOL.—Yo fuera de parecer
Que todos se quedaran,
O que en el camino se apartaran
Para irme yo solito,
Porque yo quiero casarme
Con una de las inditas,
Porque ustedes ya no pueden
Pues yo diré que son casados.
Que mujeres tienen muchas,
Que en unas tristes casuchas,
De hambre se están muriendo.
Con yerbas se están manteniendo
Sus dilatadas proles,
Y con esas inútiles coles
Todas están falleciendo.
- Alvarado ante Quiché*
Gran señor aquí tenéis
Al capitán Alvarado
Con todos sus oficiales,
A saber de tu embajada.

QUICHE.—Liegad señor a mis brazos,
Gran capitán de España,
Y vosotros oficiales
Vencedores en campaña.

Todos los Oficiales

Aquí, nos tienes gran rey
Como humildes soldados,
A cumplir con la ley
Para que todos sean bautizados.

QUICHE.—A vosotros doy las gracias
Oficiales esforzados,
Manifestándoos sin cuidado
Que en días pasados
Se me reveló un sueño,
Tan extraño y misterioso
Que en él veía
Todo mi desengaño.
El aparato que veía
Me hablaba en mi lenguaje
Y me decía con homenaje:
Yo soy el espíritu santo,
El Dios verdadero,
Deja de ilusiones
Pues son supersticiones.
Más bien los españoles
Vienen hoy a enviarte
A Dios en el corazón.
Qué gran opinión
La de los conquistadores!
Esto hé soñado,
Gran capitán Alvarado,
Por lo que pido el favor
Que seamos ya bautizados.

ALVARADO.—Caminemos para la iglesia
Donde jurarás al rey
Si quieres ser cristiano
Y morir en nuestra ley.

Todos los Españoles

Decid que viva María
Y no vuestros Dioses falsos.

Todos los Caciques

Que vivan los españoles,
Que nos hacen hoy cristianos.

AJIS.—Aquí dió fin esta representación,
En que todos los indios y las indias
Fueron hoy bautizados en la fé
De don Pedro de Alvarado,
Exterminio del Imperio del Quiché.

CRIJOL.— Para todos los mirones
Aquí terminó este baile
Que se les puso a la vista.
Que todos los indios
Y las inditas
Fueron bautizados
Por don Pedro de Alvarado;
Pero uno de ellos se hizo diablo
Y tengan mucho cuidado.
Ojalá que todos vayan contentitos
O poco más o menos contentotes
Con lo que han presenciado
Pues desde aquí los estoy mirando
Que todos salieron negociando
Que ninguno se va quejando
Sino todos alegrotos
Para sus posadas y pueblecitos
Cargando sus cachorritos
Si no tienen—en mala hora—
Que carguen a la señora.

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**NOTES ON
SANTO TOMAS
CHICHICASTENANGO
BY
SOL TAX**

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