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PRACTICAL ANIMISM

The World of Panajachel

(A Guatemala Indian Ethnography)

by

Sol Tax

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The World of Panajachel
A Guatemalan Indian Ethnography

by
Sol Tax
Four kinds of people live in Panajachel, on the north shore of Lake Atitlán in Guatemala. First, in order both of numbers and precedence, are the traditional Cakchiquel-speaking inhabitants who call themselves Panajacheleños. Second are a population of Spanish-speaking Guatemalans who call themselves Ladininos, dating back over a hundred years. Third are a number of families who have in-migrated at various times from their own mainly Quiché-and Cakchiquel-speaking towns who have not by intermarriage or otherwise become Panajacheleños. Fourth are Ladininos mainly from Guatemala City, and "foreigners" from North America and elsewhere attracted as residents or as tourists to a beautiful and picturesque spot two hours from the Capital and its international airport.

The present book is of and by--and represents the view of--the Panajacheleños who lived there in 1936 and 1937, about 800 in number. It is a non-repetitive English translation of their own words spoken directly to my wife or to me or, in much larger part, to my then assistant, Juan de Dios Rosales. Although we lived in Panajachel at various times from the Autumn of 1935 through the Spring of 1941, the notebooks on which this book is based were opened early in 1936 and deliberately closed near the end of 1937 in order to provide a defined corpus of material.

Juan Rosales was a Panajacheleño who had been taken as a schoolboy to Guatemala City in a government program to educate selected Indians. When we arrived he was teaching school in the Zutugil town of San Pedro la Laguna, across the lake; but
fortunately for us lost his position for "political" reasons and was back home in Panajachel in the winter of 1936. We employed him to help us in a number of tasks, such as making a map and census, and in meeting and talking to people. By the time we left for Chicago in June, for the summer, we could leave him a series of hard-covered 8 1/2 x 11 inch notebooks (which I had made for my own use) in which to keep a detailed diary and in which to collect information systematically in separate books labeled ethnoastronomy, ethnobotany, ethnozoology, technology, economy, politico-religious organization, "races", kinship, traditional religion, science and beliefs, etc. We decided together on suggested sub-topics and questions to paste into the inside front cover of each notebook. The notebooks, which had alternate second sheets and a supply of carbon paper so that the originals could be mailed to Chicago, were now transferred from my use to Juan's, and he pursued full-time the happy task of gathering knowledge from his elders. When we returned to Panajachel we brought him an international phonetic typewriter whose keys he immediately covered to learn the touch method; he continued this work while we were again close neighbors, and when we left again in June, 1937. We did not return to Panajachel that autumn; and in December Rosales embarked upon his first independent fieldwork in San Pedro la Laguna. At that point we "closed the notebooks" on Panajachel--his and our own, which contained much of the same kind of material--as I began to organize Panajachelenño knowledge as it is now here published.

When about half of this book was completed, and I was also
well into the writing of what eventually became *Penny Capitalism*—
and having passed also another field season in Chichicastenango—
we returned to Panajachel for our last season of work, in 1940-
1941, with two tasks to complete. The first was on the economy
and the second was a special study of a sample of the very
knowledge and beliefs which are in the first half (into the
section on the Kitchen, chapter ) of the present book. The
Robert Redfields were living in the Ladino village of Agua
Escondida and working in the neighboring Indian town of San
Antonio Palopó and we wished to compare the beliefs of the several
communities, including San Pedro la Laguna, on which we now had
comparable data. We therefore selected for comparison a random
sample of hundreds of items of Panajacheleño belief/knowledge
from the thousands in these first chapters, and Redfield began to
inquire if his Agua Escondida and his Antoñero friends recognized
and believed them. Since this book is a composite of all items
found in our notes, the question quickly arose of how many
Panajacheleños were aware of and/or believed the particular items
sampled. The answer required of me a whole new study to test the
beliefs on a sample of Panajacheleño people. In the course of
this very interesting study many beliefs appeared which were not in
the original corpus; and we decided to complete this 1936-1937
composite without confusing issues.

Fortunately, while this book was still in process, the
opportunity came to continue the fieldwork into a new generation.
A National Institute of Mental Health fellowship to Robert Hinshaw
combined with a National Science Foundation grant made possible new
fieldwork not only by the Hinshaws but also by Juan Rosales, who returned to Panajachel. Hinshaw prepared for this task by absorbing and internalizing all of the earlier field materials, and he was able in the field to extend the test of beliefs to the next generation, including children of the very people who formed the sample in 1940-41. The results are published in his Panajachel, a Guatemalan Town in Thirty-year Perspective (1975).

So the present book remains the pristine record of what 1936-1937 Panajachelenos said about nature and man. It has another history, too.

In my first independent fieldwork (among the Mesquakies in Iowa in the summers of 1932 and 1934) I had developed something I called "100% ethnography", which meant simply that whatever I undertook to learn about one person, or case, I would try to learn for all. I carried this ideal to Guatemala. The size and complexity of Chichicastenango, our first field-site, frustrated any large fulfillment of the promise. In Panajachel, however, I undertook to follow through. All found places in my genealogies and map; every piece of land and every fruit tree was accounted for; and everybody's working hours. Penny Capitalism is a tour de force of bookkeeping that struck what was probably the first total-community balance-of-payments. My work on World View was designed in a corresponding pattern of "completeness". Now, however, the completeness is less analogous to what an accountant does than to what a linguist ideally does when he "exhausts" the textual material which he has collected. Against the whole corpus he tests "rules" which he establishes and is unsatisfied
while even a single utterance in the text violates a rule. With a large corpus, a systematic or a random sample might satisfy this purpose; but in any case a general statement requires inclusiveness and the noting of exceptions. In hope of some day being able to make valid interpretations of "the mind" of Panajacheleños, I collected assertions not only as they were casually volunteered, but as they appeared in any other contexts, in notes collected, and of course as they were systematically provided through Juan Rosales.

When in 1937 I began systematically to put these together, I used language as close as I know how to the spirit of the people who had spoken the statements. I thought to myself, indeed wrote a note: "Imagine a Panajacheleño Aristotle using these notebooks to set down the knowledge of his people. The material has in large degree filtered through a non-Panajacheleño system of thought, so let us use any simple order for putting it down on paper, with no guessing how it might differ from hypothetical Panajacheleño order." If I could have imagined the latter, I would indeed have known something about "the Indian mind." As it is, I know only what the reader knows when he has finished this book. Anybody who wishes can therefore make judgements, hopefully being as cautious as I am about drawing conclusions.

Juan Rosales heard most of what he learned in the Indian language, and provided with his translation the Cakchiquel words whenever essential. Many of the items that came casually to my wife and me matched what Rosales wrote, and what we had already heard. They were almost all given to us incidentally and in
friendship; and since people who came to talk with us necessarily spoke Spanish or brought their own interpreters (a husband or a son or daughter, usually) the "language problem" even with us was minimized. Although both of us learned the Cakchiquel vocabulary necessary to understand items existing only in the Indian classification--different kinds of spirits, kinship terms, etc., etc.--neither of us ever became conversant in Cakchiquel. If we often understood what we overheard, it was mainly because we knew the context of the conversation, and were familiar with how emotions were expressed. We had very many close friends who were much with us. The reader may get a feeling for that by reading my wife's diary, published in microfilm; it provides a good sample of how the unsystematic, volunteered, or casually elicited parts of our information were obtained.

Every item of information contained in this book--I repeat for emphasis--is taken from notes and diaries which are available to all; and every word written is a translation of something asserted by an Indian in Panajachel, unless a statement is specifically attributed to a Ladino or an Indian from elsewhere. Since Juan Rosales himself was a native, he sometimes recounted what he had learned as a child, or in later experience; but he preferred to learn from others, and since he enjoyed talking with older people, most of what he wrote came from them.

Only I am responsible for inconsistencies in the style I chose to use. I began by translating into English the material of the first chapter, which is largely a cosmogony, and I suppose
on that account adopted a somewhat simple biblical tone. Other
types of material in the book do not lend themselves easily to
this mode; and I have not perhaps tried hard enough to resolve
the resulting problems.

Sol Tax

Chicago, Illinois
February, 1978
Acknowledgements

From 1934 to 1944 I was employed as an ethnologist by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The head of its Division of Historical Research was the famed archeologist, Alfred Vincent Kidder, who understood the need for historical continuity between the ancient and the modern peoples and cultures. Robert Redfield, my teacher at the University of Chicago, was already working on this project, in Yucatan, and arranged for Gertrude and me to extend the work into the highlands of Guatemala. Our work was done in Chichicastenango and in the Lake Atitlán region, especially Panajachel. The years of fieldwork, the visits and warm support from Ted and Madeline Kidder meant much to us; and Penny Capitalism is dedicated to the familia Kidder. Through the years, in our minds the present book has always been dedicated to the Redfields, whose lives and ours have been so closely intertwined. But it seems to me now that it belongs to the Panajacheleños words it uses and it is not for us to give it away. Our correspondence with the Redfields is now in the University of Chicago Archives; I hope to edit some of it for wider circulation.

Among our Panajacheleño friends we own most to Juan de Dios Rosales, who was our friend and associate from the day we met. Most of this book came directly from data he collected from his relatives and neighbors in Panajachel over two years. The end of our work together in Panajachel in 1937 marked the beginning of his career as an ethnologist. After fieldwork in San Pedro la Laguna, he spent a year studying in Chicago and two years in Mexico; then returned to Guatemala for a career in research and in government positions of professional responsibility. He died
in July, 1976; it was news of his death that impelled me to ready this work for Press.

Among other Panajacheleños we remember with nostalgic pleasure our neighbors, Luis Noj, his wife and their daughter Maria and son Julian; Marcelino Castro, and his wife Ana Salanic and daughter Catarina; Marcelino Can and his wife Chaya; Miguel Yach and his sons; and Juan (or Felipe) Yach—he used, and may still use, the two names. Not quite such close neighbors, but best friends to whom we are unendingly indebted are Bonifacio Cululen, his wife Toribia and their son Santiago and Santiago’s wife Catarina; and our compadres Santiago Yach and Andrea Quiche, whose Alejandro, our godson, survives. They taught us very much.

Outside of our immediate families no people offered us more than these Panajacheleños, or induced in us more lasting warm feelings, except if it be the chain of our students through the years at the University of Chicago and in Mexico who have inspired, taught, and helped us. In the making of the present book particularly I do not know how to thank sufficiently—and with sufficient apology for delay—several now noted anthropologists who have helped me over the years:

Ben and Lois Paul were among the first. Just when was it that Ben put together snippets of notes for the chapter on the human body and disease; and is it a coincidence that he has become the leading figure in medical anthropology?

Years later, Joan Ablon who must have been very young when this book was begun, postponed her own research career for months to help put together the last chapters—and patiently endured the long delay in publication which ensued.
Then June Nash, who had shared the work of *Penny Capitalism* years before, helped to check the completed manuscript against the corpus of original notes, a tedious but important task. William Douglass helped with this too, before beginning his work among the Basques.

And finally, Bob and Ardith Hinshaw enriched all of our Panajachel material, by their own fieldwork, and their book *Panajachel, A Guatemalan Town in Thirty-year Perspective*. I can never repay any of these good—and, fortunately, independent—people.

I am alone signing these Acknowledgements so that I can say a word to Gertrude, who should join me in authorship as through the years we were joined in fieldwork and companionship. This book was our first priority when I finished the main work on *Penny Capitalism* thirty years ago; the intervening projects and books, which were much more mine alone, held back this which is hers too. I can only thank her again for her unfaltering patience and understanding.

*S. F.*
Part 1

CHAPTER 1 - THE WORLD

I. The Heavens and the Elements

THE HEAVENS. The sky is a great ground bowl far above the earth on which we live and separated from it by great pillars that are so far away from the center of the world, where we live, that travelling a whole lifetime would not bring one near them. Some say that the earth and the sky are not separated but come together at the horizon, which can be seen far out over the sea; to reach the horizon, four great oceans must be crossed. Beyond the seas and just this side of the horizon there is a little more land, whereon lives a race of Lacantunes; and each day the sun eats one of these people as it rises in the east and another as it sets in the west.

From the sky we come as babes, following the path of the sun from the east; and when we die, men and beasts alike, we continue on the same road as it goes to the west until we reach the sky again. The spirit at death stays on the earth three days, journeying all over the world to see the places it has longed to see in life and bidding farewell to all whom it has known in its lifetime; then it starts on its path to the sky. The road to Heaven is a beautiful one, but there are dangers to be met; and obstacles, rivers, and perilous cliffs to cross.

Heaven is a great city where the best of everything in the world is found. In the middle of it there is God the sun, and all the apostles and saints, and the spirits of all the people who have died in this world and have already paid in Hell for their sins. At the entrance is a handsome door, the keeper of which is St. Peter.
St. Peter thinks that the new arrival is worthy of coming in with God, he opens the door; otherwise one can stay outside for years and years begging to be let in and not be listened to because of the great sins that he has done on earth. But finally God orders that he be let in to be seen and judged.

If an innocent person dies through fault of another the two must enter together to receive from God the fate that in justice comes to each, and one may be sure that the evil person will be made to suffer more. There are thus many poor souls just waiting at the door for those who wronged them. If the victim has to wait too long because the wrong-doer does not die soon, God sends for one of the bad one's kin, perhaps a son, to enter with the waiting spirit, and this is added to the wrong-doer's sins on earth.

When the spirit comes before God, He sends it for a just time to Hell to be cleansed of its sins in the fire. God has given certain things into the charge of the Devil; and the first of these things is fire, which measures the length of time that the spirit is to remain in Hell to be cleansed and punished for its sins on earth. Not until the spirit has been washed in the fire can it go to God, to the sky where all the ancestors are. Some say that Hell is up in the sky with God, and others that it is in the hill. The fires of Hell burn always and never go out; there are some souls immersed entirely in the fire, others with their heads already out, still others with but their feet still in the flames, and some that are just on the point of leaving the fire to go to the sky to be stars. But some people in the world don't worry about the punishment that God in Heaven will mete them out
for their sins. They say that only their spirits will pay because their flesh will be rotting in the ground. Some even deny the next world and say that death is the end.

Placed on the walls of the sky, each as far from the earth as the others, are the sun, the moon, and the numberless stars. The sun is the author of everything that is on the earth. It is God Himself, the father of every being and every thing. Without the sun there would be no life. The rays of the sun come from his myriad eyes. They are sent to earth to see the good and the evil deeds of his children and to be close to his children when they die and start their journeys to receive the fate that he metes out. The light of the sun is the means by which he sees into the most hidden corners of the world, and no evil can be hid from him. Neither can one hide from him at night, for the sun has four ears; at night, as by day, he hears the faintest whisper of voices and writes down all in the great book that he carries under his arm. Indeed, the sun is inside every being, and he knows what each one thinks and feels.

While the sun sees all of us, no one can look at him, for the sun is stronger than any of his children. The bare heat of the sun is so strong that it would burn everything on earth to cinders were it not clothed in its four sheaths of glass. At the beginning of the world the sun looked at the earth and burned everything to ashes; then the sun was covered with a cloak of glass, and it was still too strong; it was covered with another and another and still another until, with four, the earth and the things on the earth could stand its heat.
The sun passes over the whole world in one day and one night. First it passes over us, while those below are sleeping; and then while we sleep, those who live below us are working by the light of day. The people below us say that we are upside-down at night.

When the sun rises on the good days of Sunday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday, those who are old and wise face the dawn in their patios and pray as their hearts will. They kneel and cross themselves, kiss the earth and perhaps blow a kiss to the sun, and say, "Oh God, our Father, Lord St. Bernard, You come again! Then give us leave this day to eat and drink; do not fail us in our daily tasks, and let us live another day! Open again our road, whether we go up or whether we go down, to find our food and our drink, or just a little quarter of our share, or a half, maybe in our mouths, perhaps on the face of the dust, Great Sands! Great good Charity that dawns before us: if we remember You or not, You, only You, give us a day of life. Forgive our faults so that I may perhaps go once again before the great hill and the great plain, and perhaps use once or twice again the great iron, the great tool which You have given us before our mouth, our face. Excuse me, then, the little that I say to Your face; forgive, then, a little, my faults, my sins!"

And sometimes at the dawning of a bad day, too, a Monday or a Friday, they go into the patio alone to pray that vengeance overtake those who have done them wrong. St. Bernard will do justice to all.

An eclipse of the sun comes when our grandmother the moon is fighting with the sun because he does not watch well and correct the evil ways of his children on earth. With each eclipse the world is thus farther on the way to being lost because of the wicked people who are in the world.
Our grandmother, the moon, comes out at night to watch over us while our father the sun is watching his children of the other world, the land of the East. The face of the moon, when full, is clearly to be seen, and one of her eyes is closed. Some people believe the moon has been this way since the beginning of the world, but others think there was a time when the moon shone as brightly as the sun. Then the night was as light as the day, and there was no rest for the people of the world. But, in one of their fights, the sun blackened the moon's eye. It happened because the moon had one very bad fault: she always reported everything that she saw her children on earth do during the night. The sun always scolded her and told her to keep the secrets of their children, but the scolding was in vain. Once, therefore, when the moon made known some very delicate things, the sun hit her a few blows on the left eye, and to this day that eye is bad. Since then she does not see very well and so cannot discover all the things that happen in the night. Nor is her light now as bright as the sun's.
Another reason why the sun had to blacken the eye of the moon was that the poor people could never take the things that they needed because it was light by night as well as by day. But now everything is well arranged: the night is rather dark, and the poor can sometimes take what they need. But the sun at the same time put a heavy penalty on taking things in the spirit of robbery, so now people can take things only when they need them for food at home, and then only by ones and twos.

The moon often becomes angry and wants to come to see us to know how we are getting on in the world, but our father the sun forbids her to come down because it is certain that with her would come the Judgment and our world would be destroyed. Nevertheless, the moon at times steals away unbeknownst to the Lord and starts to come down. St. Lawrence the wind is very alert, however, and he runs after her to carry her back on his wings.

The moon has four phases, arranged by God in some way and for some reason that nobody knows, and it takes a little more than twenty-nine days for the moon to pass through them all. During the new moon, animals are full of blood and soft, and plants and trees are full of sap. At this time boars and roosters cannot be gelded, nor the tails or ears of animals cut, nor the young taken from their mothers' wombs lest the wounds heal poorly or slowly, or the animal bleed to death. Nor can maize be harvested lest the grain rot quickly. Since at this time all trees are green and unripe, even when they are old, they cannot be pruned or cut lest the tree die or the lumber quickly rot. When the moon is waxing, the plants and animals harden little by little; but it is only during the full moon that one can begin to cut or to harvest grain. While the moon
is waning everybody must hurry to finish all this work, because when it has waned again nothing more can be done.

Many old people, especially women, do not know the names of the months, and they often count time--days, weeks, months, and even years--by the moon and its phases.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, all the people rush to pray and to shout at the moon and make great clamor with their hoes and with tin pans to let the sun know that they are helping their grandmother the moon and that he should not strike her any more. Some say the sun might kill the moon and then all of us would die. The moon, when she is dying, always wants to take with her whomever she can; if a child is being born during an eclipse it is almost certain that either the mother or the child, or even both, will die. Also, since the moon is the cause of the monthly periods in women and helps to shape the unborn child, a woman with child must never step outside the house during an eclipse lest all the blows that the sun gives the moon fall upon the child and it be born with a split head or a shriveled arm or some such fault.

The stars in the sky are people who have died on earth. Some say that the stars are persons traveling with the sun who are seen as fire. Every baby that is born is a star come down to earth again. Because a good person on earth becomes a large and bright star in the sky and a bad person a small and dim one, some stars are bigger and brighter than others. There are some stars so small that they cannot even be seen. Some stars are very large, people say, but human sight is not strong enough to see them because God did not give man such powers, and because of our eyebrows and eyelashes.
stars keep the same places year after year, and they are in the sky
day and night, even though the brightness of the sun keeps us from
seeing them during the day.

The largest and brightest star in the sky is the one called
Santiago, and when it appears, at about four o'clock in the
morning, the night of a sudden brightens. Everybody who must rise
early watches for this star, and the women rising to grind maize return
to bed for a while if they find Santiago not yet shining. So some
Ladinos call this star the nixtamalero because it marks the time to
begin grinding the nixtamal. This star is the most important of
them all and stronger than the others. One cannot offend it in any
way without courting hard punishment in the next world.

Another well-known star is "the Star of the Thieves." It is
the goddess of the thieves of the night. For a few minutes after
this fiery-red star appears, at the first hour of the day, all the
world sleeps most deeply, and even the dogs do not know what goes
on around them. Thieves choose this time to break into houses or to
steal onions from the fields for even if the owner is especially
guarding his property, the thief at this time is safe. But only on
certain nights (known but to the thieves) does their star guard over
them and the robbery must be done in a very few minutes after the
star comes out, for only then is the silence and the privacy of the
night theirs. People do not like to talk about this star or what it
can do lest it become too well known.

Another star that is large and bright (but of course smaller
than Santiago) is "the Star of the Horses," and when it appears about three
o'clock all horses must lie down to rest for a while. When this star comes
out on the horizon, it injures horses that it finds standing, so that
a horse that does not lie down will sicken and die. The horses know
about this, and if a person is travelling by night when this time approaches his mount will stumble along and balk until its wish to lie down is granted.

A group of seven stars clearly seen at night is called "the Ladinos" The Ladinos here call it "the Seven Marys,"\textsuperscript{14} and in Solola they call it "St. Jasper." In a line behind this group are three stars which the Ladinos call "the Three Marys" and the Indians here call "forming a cross." The white band in the sky that the Ladinos call "Santiago's Road\textsuperscript{15} is called "the Cold Road" because the new day is sure to dawn very cold when it can clearly be seen.

Falling stars are pieces of stars, probably excrement, let drop when necessary; and they are fiery-red because, of course, stars are fiery. In bygone days these falling stars changed into silver coins when they fell into the fields, and every morning the owners of the fields went out, basket in hand, to gather the fortunes sent them by God. When they were lucky some of them found three or four piles of money and became very rich. For this reason people never allowed others to pass through their fields early in the morning before they had had a chance to gather their money. These days, since people behave themselves badly, the falling stars change into worms instead of money when they reach the ground. People now use bad words even to the children, and morals and learning have all but disappeared. People no longer kneel and greet their parents and other elders respectfully when they meet in the house or on the street. All of these faults have reached halfway to the sky, to the place where the falling stars now disappear on their way to the earth.

Until some thirty years ago many shooting stars fell here in
Panajachel. When people saw them falling, they shouted and whistled to make them fall apart before reaching the earth, because anybody who sees a whole one hit the earth will have his life shortened. Sometimes very large stars fall onto the top of the volcano; these come only to do harm, and they cause much death. Such shooting stars are great persons who come from the sky on some business, and a person should always shout and whistle upon seeing one, in the hope that it will fall into a river or a canyon and so not shorten his days. One person saw a ball of blue fire with a tail a yard long fall to the ground, but it did not harm him. Another time, late one afternoon, someone saw the same sort of thing come out of the crater of Atitlán and go over to that of San Pedro. An alguacil saw something like a silver ball fall from the sky into a Ladino's coffee patch and was afraid to go to see what it was for fear that it would be something bad or ugly.

THE ELEMENTS. God, as the maker of the heavens and the earth, knows when to save the world and when to end it. He could send the rain so long and hard that it would destroy the world; and once, indeed, He did:

A long time ago there was a Judgment to destroy all the plants and animals and people of the earth and to leave living only a male and a female of each kind who had not broken the laws of God. This was a punishment for the evil of the world. Of people there remained but one aged couple, Indians who built for themselves a small canoe.
First there came fire to burn everything. Then there came rain, and a great flood that covered the surface of the whole world. But the water came higher than the point of the volcano of Atitlán; and here, happily, the old couple landed in their canoe. (Some of the old men say that there were no volcanoes at the time and the waters rose halfway to the sky; the volcanoes, they say, appeared after the flood.)

This old couple, together with the plants and beasts that were saved by the Almighty, from then on populated the world.

When the flood went down, God sent down the pigeon and the buzzard to see how the surface of the earth was. The pigeon landed in the blood of the dead people, which was still fresh and so deep that it reached to the bird's knees; to this day the pigeon's legs are red. Meanwhile, when the buzzard came down, it began to eat, and enjoy, such filth; it grew so fat that it could not fly to Heaven again and stayed here on earth forever to eat dead things.

When the flood first came, the other people, who knew what was overtaking them, made huge caves in the earth. Together with the living animals, they hid themselves in the great rocks so that they should not perish. But since God did not want any but the old couple to live, these people were changed after the flood into monkeys, mapaches, tecuazines, and squirrels; these animals, so like humans, are thus really our brothers. Some say that those who hid under rocks became mapaches and that those who protected themselves in other ways became other animals.
So now when it rains for a long time people are afraid that it might be another Judgment, and they pray to God not to destroy the world again. But some say that God will not send another Judgment because He knows now that the seed of mankind will not sprout unless planted with the greatest care, as the Virgin, the mother of humankind, planted it.

In the sky are great pools of water. When God makes gentle movements this water falls bit by bit as rain, and when His moves are strong and sudden it comes down in torrents. The clouds that are seen in the sky before it rains make known to us the coming of the rain, and they also hide from the eyes of the world the openings of the pools of water in the sky. In the dry season these clouds pass towards the south, and in the rainy season they return with the water for the rains.

God sends down the rains, but He Himself does not pour the water and shut it off. He has twelve angels whose only task is to send the rain. These angels serve for one year, beginning on the third of May, Day of the Cross, and on the same day of the next year they turn their duties over to another twelve. This is why shamans sometimes do rites for the rain angels on the Day of the Cross. Each angel has a gourd filled with water, and this gourd he uncorks from time to time in the rainy season and fills again during the dry months. When there is too much rain in the rainy season, or too little, it is because the twelve angels make mistakes.

There was a time, long ago, when men themselves brought rain to the earth. In those days there were old and holy men to whom God gave some of his secrets. Twelve old men from all the towns around the lake used to meet atop the volcano of Toliman, leaving their homes
invisibly, to send out the rain clouds. One of these old men—they took turns—always brought with him a little gourd, well stopped, in which all the clouds were held. The twelve held a meeting there on the volcano to decide what they should do. Then the man with the gourd let out a bit of cloud from it, and telling the others to wait for him, went off on the cloud and unstopped the gourd bit by bit to send out great masses of clouds to an ounce the rain. Small as the gourd was, it held enough clouds to fill the whole sky. When the twelve old men knew that the earth had had all the rain it needed, the same old man would go out again to gather up all the clouds in his little gourd. Of course in those days there was no evil in the world, and there was always just enough rain, and everything was good and the harvests full.

Some people here have seen snake rain. Sometimes when it becomes very cloudy over the lake and the black clouds are well filled with water, there falls from the sky some tremendous thing. It appears to be formed of water with a long tail that takes all of three minutes to fall into the lake. This stream does not come straight down but seems instead to come from one side. Then when the stream has ended, it changes into a thread that starts up again towards the sky as if someone had thrown it.

When the rain falls very heavily and the drops are very large, they turn to hail as they fall through the cold air above. This hail comes down hard and with great speed, and it hurts the crops. It is clean and healthful to eat; children especially eat it. When hail falls, the next day will be very cold. Drizzle is God's urine that is changed into water as it falls. Rainbows come most often when it is drizzling; and it is during a drizzle while the sun is shining that deer foal, so more deer are born in the rainy season than in the dry.
Rainbows herald the changes of season. When a rainbow is seen to the north, the dry months will begin; and when one is over the lake to the south, the rains will start. But rainbows also point to the hiding places of foul creatures, like horny snakes with legs, which were not made by God and which should be killed. In the olden days there were men of courage who, when the rainbow pointed out the hiding places of these Devil-made creatures under the trees and rocks, began right away to dig them out. Often they found two or three coiled together and killed them. It is bad to walk under a rainbow, for the horny snakes will shorten the life of one who does. Nor is it wise to point to a rainbow with the fingers, lest they become twisted and hard or be burned and shriveled in the fire.

Bolt lightning is fire sent with awful speed from the sky by God to kill the snakes and other evil things that during a storm hide under the trees and rocks. With the bolts He sends sharp obsidian stones that quickly cut through the trees and rocks and kill the creatures. The sun has myriad eyes to seek out these devilish creatures which, if left to live and multiply freely, would soon end all mankind. The great sheets of lightning that are to be seen over the distant ocean during a storm come from the movements of the fins of the great fish that reach the surface of the water.

The thunder that echoes through the hills may be the noise of the lightning itself. Or it may be the noise of the fighting when the lightning tries to go into the hill against the Devil's wishes. Or sometimes it is just the rustling of God's nightclothes when He takes them off to go out. During a great thunderstorm the old people (to whom God will listen more than to the young) pray to God that their
sins be forgiven and that their children and their nephews and nieces be saved from harm. If lightning strikes and kills a man or beast, it may be because he has committed some wicked sin and God has judged that he must die. Or it may be only because something on his person attracts the lightning, such as the ring or earring of a sweetheart that he should not have. In the house the knives and machetes and the needles and all sharp and pointed things are hidden away lest they bring the lightning, and the dogs are sent outside lest their sharp claws bring disaster. When lightning does strike a house, it is a sure sign that the Devil is there and will bring death to the family. Then a shaman must be asked to do rites to beg permission of the hill for the people to go on living in their house. If, after that, death or some other ill fate overtakes a person of the household, it means that the evil underneath the house has not departed and that permission to stay has not been given. Then the people quickly find another place to live.

Cold and rain come together, from May to October. The rest of the year is dry and warm, as it is also during the dog days of August. These days are much welcomed by the people because they can do their outside chores and replenish their supplies of firewood. On the dog days it rains lightly in the afternoons as a rule, but the mornings are clear. Occasionally it rains heavily for a day during this time. The dry season is better than the rainy season. For one thing, there is much more sickness in the rainy season. For another, the river rises mightily with the rains, and those who live on the east bank have a hard time getting to the market. But the greatest difficulty is that maize is most expensive in the rainy season, just at the time when it is hardest to work to earn money or to harvest one's own crops for market and when prices obtained for fruit and vegetables are low. Rain falling in the dry season brings illness,
because soon afterwards a strong odor rises from the earth.

In the rainy season everything is green and fresh, and when the first rains come the thirsty earth rejoices. It is during the rainy season that maize grows, and drought then brings disaster. Too much rain, or too little, is a punishment by God for the sins of men. Sometimes in May and June there are long dry spells just when the seeded maize needs water most. The maize does not sprout and the crows get the seeds. Once when this happened the people of San Andrés told how they had let a filled granary burn to the ground; the drought was God's punishment.

There is a bird, the sweetest singing bird of all, that is named "the Caller for Rain" because it sings when the rain should come, at the beginning of the rainy season and again at the end of the dog days, pointing its bill skyward to ask for the rain. Without this bird God would never know when we need rain because human voices could never reach to Heaven as can that of "the Caller for Rain."

The birds called azacuanes, that pass in great flocks far overhead twice each year, are those that signal the beginning and the end of the rainy season. They live at the North Pole, where the seasons come from. In October they pass in their southward flight to open the months of rain, and during April and May they again pass on their journey north. At each end of the world there is a large, smooth rock on which the birds alight and stay, whitening it with their droppings. When the rock of the north is all whitened, they leave it and the rains begin. Then, when they have whitened the one to the south, the rains stop again and they fly north. All day long the azacuanes fly, stopping at night in the woods, where they rest and eat. They do not, however, eat like other birds, but are given food by the woods itself. Once a boy from here went far out into the hills,
where he saw these birds had stopped one night to sleep; there beneath
the trees he found pieces of bread where the azacuanes had been eating.
Since bread does not grow wild and since no people had passed there, the
woods or the hill itself must have provided it to the birds.

The wind is the breath of the seas that lie to the north and to the south. In the dry season it comes from the north and is a good sign of approaching summer. The north wind is stronger because its path is close to the earth; when it returns as the south wind it is farther away and is much less felt.

The wind comes down from the sky, sometimes sent by God to a place on earth that must be cleansed. Or, when it has been raining too long, the wind sometimes comes suddenly and blows the clouds off to some other place. In the rainy season the friend of mankind is the lightning; but in the dry season it is the wind, which blows down the trees that harbor the foul creatures like hairy snakes and those trees under which the sorcerers do their evil work. Like the lightning, the wind punishes men for their sins. It can enter anywhere—into houses, in thick brush and forest, in water, in fire, and even into persons. And when men forget God or speak evil or do wrong, the very air we breathe takes our bad thoughts right up to God so that He can mark them against us in His book. If men rob or kill, the wind brings them sickness. It brings colds and coughs, smallpox and measles, and it takes such ills from one place and leaves them in another. If people work on Sundays or on the days of the great saints, the wind is sent to blow down the fruit of the trees and the grain of the fields, to punish their greediness. God and the wind cannot deal with men by ones, so all must suffer for the wrongdoing of a few. Nor is it wise to speak ill of the wind.
when in passing it does one harm, lest one be left with a twisted mouth or eye or other injury.

The wind is St. Lawrence. He is a naked man who, passing through water and fire, mountains and caves, thorns and barbed-wire fences, has lost his clothing bit by bit. St. Lawrence is swift and knows every corner of the world. He is God's messenger—His only quick way to bring together the earth and the sky and His chief means of getting news of His children and their doings. God sends him on his errands to earth, and he returns, bruised and wounded, to tell Him what he has seen and learned.

The Devil comes betimes and tells Him that His children on the earth have become very bad, that they no longer behave as He ordered. The Devil even tells Him that we do not look as we once did but that
some of us have the faces of dogs, others of monkeys, and so on. He tells God these lies in the hope that He will send a flood to destroy us all. But God quickly sends St. Lawrence to run over the earth to see if what the evil one says is true. Then it is that the wind is sharp and short, its blasts passing quickly; and then it is that the wind carries off a new-born babe or some small children so that God can see for Himself that the Devil's tale is slander. (St. Lawrence takes babies rather than grownups because babies are pretty and, since they are without sin, God can keep them with Him without first sending them to be cleansed in Hell. And meanwhile the children, their spirits fled, soon sicken with some disease and die. That is why when a strong wind blows, the people see that their little ones are not left open to the wind in the patio or in the street.) When St. Lawrence gets back to God, and God sees how the Devil has lied, He sends lightning and strong winds to rout him and all his evil denizens out of their places of hiding.

One very strong kind of wind is the whirlwind, and it is strong enough to carry off even grown men. One case of this is well remembered:

To the north of town in the hill there is a boulder at a place called El Tzalá, where is the cataract whose waters flow into the Panajachel River. One day a man came to this place as a last resort in the hope that some good fortune might resolve for him a great trouble. He had promised to join the dance in celebration of the fiesta of St. Francis, and as the day approached on which he would have to go with his companions to rent his costume and mask, he found himself without the necessary money.
So here at El Tzalá, considering his plight and the great shame that would befall him if he did not keep his promise to dance, he broke into tears and prayed to the hill and the woods that they should help him in his need.

Suddenly he saw that a stranger, a Ladino (others say a Ladino) had appeared before him, and this man asked him the cause of his weeping. The man was frightened and would not tell the stranger what had happened. The stranger guessed the cause of the other's sadness, however, and told him so, adding that he would relieve him of all his anxiety if he cared to come with him for just a moment. The man was very much afraid, and refused; but the stranger urged him, repeating that he would get everything he needed in just a short time. After thinking it over for awhile, the man thought that perhaps after all this might be his salvation; so he agreed to go with the stranger.

"Turn around for a moment and look toward the town," the stranger told him, and he did as he was bid. When he faced about again, he saw that there was a beautiful road into the hill. The two walked up this road and finally arrived at some splendid palace. The stranger bade the man enter, but he was afraid. The stranger, reading his thoughts, told him not to be afraid, that everything would be all right and that he should be in the best of spirits. Thus encouraged, the poor man entered and was shown into a great room entirely filled with live and poisonous snakes.

"These are the costumes for the dance," explained the stranger, "choose any one that you like." The dancer was
afraid to pick up any of the snakes, but after some pressing he finally took one up and put it around his body. Instantly the snake became a beautiful dance costume. The man now also gave him all the money he would need and a supply of brandy as well, cautioning him that he should not let his companions drink much of the liquor lest they die of its effects. He told the man that he would surely dance better than any of his companions, but the stranger warned him that he should not smile or laugh while the mask was on his face or he would pay very dearly. He cautioned him also against having anything to do with his wife during the period of the dancing, lest he be punished by his clothes; and he finally advised him not to tell a soul about his costume. Thus very well advised and lectured, the contented man returned home with all the necessities of the dance.

The first mistake that he made when he got home was to tell his wife all that had happened to him and how he had come by the clothes, the money, and the brandy. Later, during the fiesta, he also had use of his wife, a thing dancers should never do.

When his fellow dancers returned from Totonicapán with the costumes they had rented there, they tried in vain to induce this man to go to get his too; he refused, of course, quietly confident that when the time came to dance he would triumph over them all. So indeed it turned out; he was the best of all the dancers, and everybody, even his companions, admired him. But he remained serene and serious as he had been told to be.
Finally came the day of the solemn procession. He was by far the best of the dancers, and all the people admired and applauded. So great was his triumph that he finally smiled, and with sheer joy he laughed in his mask. And at that moment there came from above a great whirlwind that instantly carried him away, and he was never seen again.

The Weather

The cold is blown from the sky down to the earth by St. Sebastian. St. Sebastian has no tongue with which to eat and drink, and he lives only on cold air; he was made that way long ago when there still were not many people in the world so that he would not eat people and other living things.

The wind, the lake, and the sea are all warm and drive away the cold. So the coast near the ocean is never cold, and on the shore of the lake the little cold that comes is quickly scattered by the wind. And when it is cold in town, the water of the lake is still warm and on the beach one does not feel the cold. Heat comes from the lake and the sea, but really it all comes from the rays of the sun. The sun gives heat to everything, but only great bodies of water keep it in their depths; that is why it is hot on the seacoast and warm in the towns around the lake. Some heat also comes to the world from the fire that there is below the earth on which we live.

The weather of all the year is foretold in the first twelve days of January, the cabañuelas, each of which foretells the weather of the corresponding month, so one knows that June will be like the sixth day of January and October like the tenth. There are other signs of coming weather, too, that many people know;
for example, during a dry spell in the rainy season, when one no longer sees the moon waxing or the quarter moon looking at the lake, it is sure that the rains will start again. And some can tell by the form of the clouds around the moon at night whether the morrow will be cold or warm, rainy or clear, while colors like the rainbow around the moon at nightfall mean that it will rain the same evening. Also, in winter, when the lake becomes very rough because it is thirsty and the waves are large, it will surely rain before the day is past.

Earthquakes

When the world was first made, God made some being—a man or a saint or a god, who knows?—who, whenever he moved his body, made the whole earth move with him. This being liked to make strong and sudden motions, however, so as to put an end to the world in his care, and God punished him by tying him to a tree with stout ropes. But now, even so tied, this being once in awhile still moves an arm or a leg, and with every movement there is an earthquake. If he should ever manage to turn all the way around, the world would be turned over, and there would be such an earthquake that we should all die. Some say earthquakes are caused by a boy caught in the rocks at the lake shore.

When there is an earthquake, the whole world moves a little. When people feel an earthquake, they run into their houses and call in the people from the street and patio; for sometimes with the trembling of the earth great gaps open up and it is easy for somebody passing to be swallowed up in them. In the houses the older people pray to God that He should not hurt the earth.

Sometimes after an earthquake, smoke and fire issue forth
from the volcano. This is because the Devil is angry that God has not allowed him to do what he wishes to God's children on earth; the smoke and fire are the sparks of his angry eyes and the spittle of his mouth, and the rumbling in the volcano comes from the blows that the Devil gives the table or the floor when he is angry with one of his servants.

In their prayers the old men and the shamans and the sorcerers always call upon mother earth because she has ears and eyes to judge the world. Before one does some act of good or evil, leave of God and the earth must be asked. To do away with an enemy the old people sometimes kneel in the center of the patio or at a crossroads, and speak to the earth and to God; such acts are greatly feared because the earth is severe and unforgiving, and she does not have to be asked twice.

It is a great sin to speak ill of the earth, and her answer is swift and sure. In olden days there were no bad people in the world because the earth itself would open up, wherever one might be, to swallow him. This happened often, as there is evidence to this day:

In the town of Santa Apolónia there lived a man who was so bad that nothing men could do would mend his ways. One day he was riding swiftly on his horse, no doubt having done some evil, when all of a sudden the earth beneath him opened up to a depth of almost three yards. The man
and his mount fell into the gaping hole, and the earth closed quickly over them, leaving only the ears of the horse and the hat of the man above the ground. Since these in the course of time turned into stone, they are there to be seen to this day.

When God first made the world there were no hills or mountains or volcanoes. The whole world was a great plain, and going from one place to another was simply a matter of time. So comfortably and easily did the people live then that after a while they forgot God altogether, and all their thoughts were worldly. So God raised barriers in order that we should remember Him and spend some of our time in prayer. He raised the hills and mountains and volcanoes, and now when we come to a steep climb or a gorge that must be crossed, we say "May God will that we arrive safely!"

And when one climbs a hill, he should go happily, without complaint or bad thoughts; otherwise some ill will befall him.

The woods were made to harbor the vast numbers of different kinds of plants, a multitude so great that only God knows their number and the uses of them all. And since wild beasts cannot live together with men, the hills and woods were made so that they should have a place to live and multiply freely without our killing all of them or their ending all of us.

The soil is the most precious thing of all. It is better to be without good food or clothes than to be without land.

There are four kinds of earth: the black earth, a white and limy soil, sand, and clay. The black earth is the most common of
all in Panajachel, and in it grow the onions and the other vegetables.
The white and limy soil is found only in the hills. There is much sand in town, and it is the kind of earth that is good for cucumber melons, sweet potatoes, and tomatoes. There is much sand in the bed of the river and on the beach of the lake, and it is found under all the land of the town at a depth of three or four yards. The sand of the river bed gives off much heat, and it is used on the floors of houses that are damp in the rainy months and in the nests of setting hens so that the chicks will hatch more quickly. The feet of children who are slow in learning to walk are sometimes buried in sand that has been warmed by the sun. And sand is also used, mostly by Ladinos, to make the Christmas-time decorations in the church.

There is much red clay in the hills and a little in town. There is no white clay here, but only in the cold country of Sololá and San Andrés. There is much black clay here, and it is used to make adobes for the houses because it is very hard and lasts a long time without cracking. Of course vessels of pottery are also made of clay, but the people here never make such vessels, but buy them in the markets. In the cold country the people also make bricks and tiles of clay, drying them in the sun and baking them in special ovens; but they are not made here at all. Children sometimes make little pellets of clay which they harden in the sun and use to kill birds and small animals with their slingshots. Some boys make these by the thousand and sell them.

Formerly the people used to speak to God before coming into their land to work, so that the land should hear that it was the owner himself who was coming in; thus any evil or sorcery that might be there would be dispersed. The workers also used to kiss
the ground or a pinch of the dirt of the land before striking it or cutting it with a tool. This they did to show their respect for it and to keep any ill from befalling them while they worked. They had to, because in the old days the land was very touchy and would quickly punish those who were not good and respectful toward it. If they did not do this the land would become angry and cry out.

There was a lazy fellow here once who forgot to kiss the ground before beginning his work. When he gave it the first blow with his hoe, he heard somebody cry close to him, and with the second he heard the cry much closer, and with the third blow he knew it was the earth itself. Frightened, then, he left his work to go home to find out what it was about. On the way he met a man and told him what had happened, and the other said that either he had not started his work willingly or else he had forgotten to kiss the ground before starting. The fellow confessed that he had not kissed the earth, and he had to call a shaman to save him from the ill he had done to the earth. It was the earth that had cried out.

The owner of the land has a debt of gratitude to the patron saint of the town because he lives off the products of the land which he cultivates. The Indians of the other towns, when they own land in Panajachel, contribute money to the fiesta of St. Francis.

Since man is of the earth and made of earth, the earth knows the needs of the body. So when a man is wounded by the tools of his work, a pinch of earth in the wound will give back to the body what has been lost.

Stones, Rocks, and Caves There are a great many stones and
rocks of different kinds and sizes in the bed of the river, in
the town, and in the hills.

In the hills are the large boulders that look like church
doors and windows; these are the doors and windows of the great
rooms of the Devil's house in the hill. There are also the rocks
that harbor the bad snakes with horns and legs, the enemies of man
and God, to end which the lightning is sent down from the sky.

Medicine men and sorcerers like to do their rites in places
in the hills where there are rocks and caves of rock. They also
use in their work a number of stones of different kinds and colors
that they have gathered in their fields and on the roads; each
stone is named for its size and shape and color, and for their
work they need a full set.

There is a certain soft pumice stone that the children in the
school use to make small figures of animals, smoking pipes, candle-
sticks, and other little things. This pumice is also ground up
into a powder which is taken together with the white of egg and
a little red wine by women who think they are going to have a
miscarriage, and this medicine stops it.

There is a place between here and Sololá where there is a
soft, fine, white stone that the old men use to shape their pipes
for smoking. Coming back from the market in Sololá the men often
bring back large pieces of this stone; since it is easy to shape,
they adorn their pipes with funny faces, church fronts, and other
things.

In the hills there is a soft white stone that the Nahualeños,
the Totonicapéños, and other stoneworkers know how to cut and shape
and make into bases for the pillars of the corridors of houses. A
soft white stone is also imported which is used by the women to
whiten their thread while sewing. It is also eaten by some pregnant women, as they prefer it to pure earth.

From the stones that abound in the bed of the river come out little insects called "stone excrement." These are a kind of large ant, black and orange in color; they are as hard as stone itself and can be killed only with a stone. If one so much as touches these insects with his foot, it will swell and pain him greatly.

When one is without his machete or a stick, stones are the best and handiest weapons of defense against dogs, bulls, snakes, and so on; the stones are usually thrown, but for better aim they are sometimes blown from the open mouth with great force.

In olden days there were no iron hoes or axes or machetes; and besides sticks of hard wood that were used to dig into the soft vegetable beds, only sharp stones were used to dig into the ground, to cut trees, and to make firewood. These stones were the hardest kind known and could be split into layers. Knives were made of another kind of stone called obsidian, which was found in places where the lightning had struck.

Also in olden days, before there were matches, stones were struck together to produce sparks, which were then caught in a bunch of cotton to produce fire. These stones are found along the river beds and are sometimes sold by peddlers.

Roads In the olden days there were no highways as there are today, only little paths over which people passed. Of course, since there were no horses or automobiles either, wide and level roads were not much needed, and the people all went on foot over rugged and dangerous places. When they wanted to make a new path,
they just followed the tracks of wild animals, especially those of snakes. The roads passed only where snakes had left their marks because the snakes are the owners of the roads (which, when seen from afar, have the form of snakes). Even in the towns the streets were never straight and wide as they are now, but crooked and snakelike. In times gone by, nobody ever worked on the roads; the feet of those passing over them kept them open and made them wide.

During the day one can travel over the roads without fear because God watches over His children. But at night there is peril in travel, especially alone, because the owner of the road comes out in many forms to guard it; and that is when people are haunted and travelers occasionally disappear. When one is drunk there is no danger, for the Devil and his aids respect liquor, and tobacco too. The brandy that is in a person and the odor of it that goes before him in the road opens the way for him through all the evil beings that see him. When walking on a strange road, one should think only of good things. Otherwise evil will befall one, for always hovering about are the spirits of the dead, good and bad, and these always try to catch the living, especially the children. Young children should never venture alone on the streets or roads either by night or day, lest they be spirited away by some evil or lest their spirits be taken into the hill.

It is dangerous to sleep or loiter about where two roads cross, for there the owners of the road come together every so often. They may take away the spirits or the good luck of any travelers they find in their paths. Crossroads are also favorite places for sorcerers to come to say their prayers and do their evil, especially if their victims often pass over the crossroads.
At many crossroads, at the boundaries of towns, and other places along the road, there are crosses of wood or stone at the roadside; these crosses are used by travelers to cure their fatigue. When a traveler comes to such a cross, he rests and then gathers the branches of some stiff plant and makes with them a kind of broom. He then brushes the soles of his feet with this broom until they hurt. Then he leaves the broom at the foot of the cross, or leaning against it, so that there the tiredness of his feet will stay. When the traveler takes up his journey once again, no matter how faraway his destination, he surely will reach it.

Formerly there was a road under the ground which connected this region with Antigua. One of the merchants discovered this when he was on his way to Guatemalan City to sell maguey rope:

The merchant was accosted by some thieves, who, when they saw that he had little of value with him, took pity on him and showed him a shorter road to the city. They gave him some candles to light his trip. They told him that midway he would see a figure of Christ on a cross; on seeing him go by, it would get down and speak to him, saying that he could not pass; but they told the merchant that he should strike it and throw the figure to the ground and then pass on.

And so it happened. As the merchant walked through the dark cave, he saw mountains of gold and the weapons which the bandits used in their work. He arrived the same day in Jocotenango and went (as he also had been instructed) to the house of a woman. She was surprised to see him, but he described his meeting with the bandits. She told him not to go out on the street, but that she
would buy him all that he wanted. She returned with the things he wanted and gave him what remained from the sale of his rope. He slept in her house overnight and returned by the same route the following day. Midway he again saw the Christ figure and dealt with it as he had been told. When he arrived at the hideout of the bandits, they were pleased at his having carried out the errands they had given him to do and gave him his full liberty.

The merchant repeated this same trip the following week, and again was rewarded with good fortune. He swore that he would never return, however, for fear that someday the bandits would lose trust in him and kill him. Many years afterward, he told his story to the people.

VOLCANOES AND THE HILL. The volcanoes were made to help support the sky. The reason we cannot see how they do it is that our eyes are faulty; God does not give us leave to see everything.

When people die, they sometimes go to the volcano, which is the next world. There are cases of people who have gone to the volcano when they died and returned to tell about it. Thus once:

There was an Elder here who was so very sick that his relatives gave up all hope for his recovery despite having called in many curers to help him. Finally the fatal day came, and the good man died. All his relatives and friends were very sad to lose their friend, and when the news came, they rushed to his house to see if they could help pay for the liquor to be served to all visitors.

Finally everything was prepared, and only the coffin was still lacking. The relatives were rather drunk because they were sad, and all the friends were talking about other things and crying loudly, the better to show the
weight of their sorrow. Suddenly, they were all astounded to see the dead man rise little by little and then ask for a drink of water, saying that he had come from far away and that thanks to God he had not been permitted to remain where all his relatives and the relatives of the others in the room were. Everybody was glad and surprised, and they gave him whatever he wanted so that he could tell them what he had seen in the other world.

In a little while the man became stronger and he told his story: In the volcano he had arrived at one of the beautiful houses that make up the city where all the dead people of the past and the present time live. All are the same age they were when they died. When he came into the house, everybody was very happy because they were having a fiesta with marimba; and some were dancing and others singing and talking in the same language that we have here. They were all very surprised when they saw him come in; and some acquaintances asked him how it happened that he was there, because they had not known that he was to come to join them.

Some of his relatives and friends were very angry. They got whips and began to beat him and tell him to go back to his town because it was not yet time for him to die and they awaited him later. They also told him that if he should go into the room where St. Matthew was to be found, his earthly record would very quickly be marked down and finished, because that was St. Matthew's business.

Then he remembered his town and his family and everything,
and recalled more and more, and soon began his journey here by the same road over which he had come, which was very long but so adorned with flowers that it was all very gay. He had arrived back tired and (as they knew) had asked for a drink of water.

Afterwards this Elder recovered from his sickness and lived some years longer to tell about the next world which is in the volcano.

Some people say, however, this man did not go to the volcano but went to the gate of Heaven instead.

Others have seen the inside of the volcano during their life times and have told about it. Such was the case of the two merchants recounted by a man from Cerro de Oro:

A long time ago two merchants, with their packs, were on the road that leads from Atitlán to San Lucas. As they were passing over Cerro de Oro they met a tall and curious-looking Ladino, who asked them where they were going and what they were carrying. They told him that they were carrying clothing and dry goods to sell in San Lucas. Then the stranger offered to take them to a place much closer, where they could sell their goods at a good price. The merchants accepted and went with the Ladino, who warned them on the way that when they arrived at the place they should not speak with words, but only with signs, as if they were deaf-mutes.

Soon they arrived at a hill called tsukuts, on the side of the volcano, and there a door opened for them to enter. They felt hardly anything until they found themselves inside the volcano. There they saw many people that were
dead. Among these were the wife of one of the merchants and the daughter of the other. The second managed to resist speaking to his daughter except by signs, but the first was so overjoyed at seeing his wife again (since he was poor and had had so much work to support the family she had left with him in their town) that he forgot everything and spoke to her.

The wife was very worried when she heard her husband speak; she told him that he had done very ill by talking because it was sure that in seven days he too would have to come to the volcano to join her; she told him that it would be best to hurry back home to see how he could arrange things for their poor children.

A few minutes later the merchants left the volcano with plenty of money from the sale of their goods to all the dead people. The one who had spoken to his wife obeyed her in everything she had told him, and indeed in seven days from the day he had visited her, he was buried in the cemetery of his town.

The Hill

The hill is the home and shelter of the Devil and the creatures that are his. From his abode, the Devil, often dressed in red, comes every day, and it is very perilous to wander in the hills lest the Devil take one in unawares to fatten and eat or to serve him. This is dangerous because a victim might have to stay there forever, although sometimes one gets out again, as in the following case, which some say happened near the lake on Holy Thursday:

There was a man who was very poor and who had a large family. He could not support his wife and little children
nor help his sons. One day, when his wife was at wit's end because there was nothing to eat in the house, she asked him to go to the woods to gather a little firewood so that she could at least heat up some water to drink, now that they had nothing to eat. So the husband took his old torn bag and put into it his ropes and tump-line and went out.

But his bag was so torn that on the road he lost one of his ropes. This was too much for him to bear, and he broke into tears and asked God to relieve him of his burdens.

All of a sudden there appeared before him, in front of a shaman's altar that was there, a rather peculiar-looking Ladino who asked him to go with him to the hill, where in a short time (he said) he would be able to earn enough money for himself and his family. Since the stranger said that it would be for only a short time, the poor man followed him with pleasure, thinking meanwhile that his wife would wait for him and the firewood.

When they arrived in the hill he saw many kinds of animals, and some of them talked.

One of the first things that happened was that the cook in the hill told him privately that if he ever wished to return to his home, he should eat none of the meat that his employers would offer him, but only tortillas, salt, chile, and such things; and this warning the poor man heeded all the time he was there.

A few minutes after coming to the hill, his employers gave him a whip and told him to go bring in the mules from the stable. When he came to the place, all he saw were
some women, very beautiful and fat, whose hair fell to their knees, who were bathing themselves at the edge of a fountain. He asked them about the mules, and one of the women replied that they were the mules and that he should wait for them a minute.

In a few minutes the women had changed into handsome mules that pranced gaily around and ran before the man into the house. Then he took them to gather firewood, and he had to burn the wood on their backs as punishment for their having been women of bad conduct in the world. He had to punish them with a whip, too, because they had also had to do with Ladinos in their lifetime. They had to be punished because God gave us different races so that each should marry among themselves. When from pity he did not whip them hard enough, the whip complained that it was not getting enough to eat.

Since he did not like all the things he saw in the hill, the man soon asked leave to go. His masters then offered him sacks full of money to take to his house, but he refused these and instead asked for a couple of pumice stones that he saw in the corridor of the house. After a lot of argument, they gave him the stones, and he put them carefully into his torn pockets and left.

Outside again, when he arrived at the shaman's altar, the stones in his pocket began to talk to him, telling him to wait there while they went to bring him his pay for having delivered them from the hill. Then they changed into pigeons and flew away. A few minutes later there fell onto the altar a little box and a hidden
voice told him to take it home quickly before it weighed more. So he took the box under his arm and started back to town. After a little distance the box weighed so much that he had to rest a minute, but this was bad, because in the meantime the box was getting heavier and heavier. Finally, after great difficulty, he came home with the box, and his family was very surprised to see him again.

The man said nothing until the next day, when he told his story. Then in time he became very rich, with much land, animals, and so on, and all the people admired the new wealth of the poor man.

There are many cases about those who have gone to the hill and then have returned:

A man in the hill was told to bring mules from a certain place. When he arrived there, he found only women sitting around. One of these was a *comadre* of his, and she explained that the women were the mules and that he would have to whip them with the snake that he had been given. When he struck them, they turned into mules. The women were in the hill and loitering around the irrigation ditches because this was their punishment for being sexually loose with Ladinos. Some of the women were still alive in town, and these were their spirits--already being punished.

The man was told to bring loads of firewood on the mules. When he asked his *comadre* where the firewood was, she showed him piles of human bones that she said were the firewood of the hill. The snake that was being used as a whip continually demanded food, which he received by taking
bites out of the hides of the mules. His *comadre* asked the man not to strike her much, so he favored her. But then the snake complained to the Devil that he was not being fed enough. The Devil saw that one mule was unscarred and scolded the man, who thereupon explained that this was his *comadre*. The Devil told him that this should make no difference. Thereupon, the man quit his job, because he did not like such work.

The Devil can take the form of a Ladino or an Indian, or of a young man or an old man. Some say he is the God of the Ladinos and that Ladinos never get to Heaven, but stay in the hill. An Indian married to a Ladino eventually gets to Heaven, but their children do not.

When the Devil needs laborers in the hill, he goes to God to ask for people. Then there is much sickness here and many people die and are sent to the hill. The Devil also bribes those who are weak and lazy and have a lust for money to enter the hill with him; these sell their souls to him and even help him to take others to the hill. That is how the Devil often gets his servants and how the rich people who do no work get their money. The following happened to a man who sold himself to the Devil:

One day a certain man found himself with a bad case of hang-over and no money to buy brandy with which to cure it. He almost was dying when he said, "If it is true that the Devil helps unfortunate people, I want to be his, and I want him to come to me before I die; I want to serve him."
Hardly had he spoken these words when a Ladino appeared before him and asked him what his trouble was. The man told him his story, to which the stranger replied that he was the Devil and that he would give him anything he wanted if he would only go with him for a moment and help him with some work he had to do. The dying man could only nod his assent.

When they were outside the tavern door, the Devil (who had the form of a man) touched the door and it opened immediately, although for the poor man it had not opened at all. The Devil asked for a goodly portion of brandy for his friend, and this the Devil's companion drank.

Then the two of them went to the cemetery. The Devil went up to a tomb and, picking up a cane, simply struck the tomb with it and the tomb opened instantly. Out of the tomb came the man who was buried in it, and he stood before them. The Devil then ordered his new servant to pick up the dead man and carry him on his back, or otherwise he would have to take the other's place in the tomb. So the man had no choice but to pick up the man who had been a corpse and carry him on his back.

After a few paces they came upon a doorway into the hill; while the Devil and the dead man went inside, the servant was left standing in the doorway. It was then that he saw the inside of the hill: there were many plants, fruits, birds, and animals; among them were deer that looked just like dogs and beautiful chickens that sang very pleasingly. But in a few minutes the Devil returned with a large sack of
money that he gave to the poor man, warning him that he must never tell where it had come from, or it would go back there again. The man promised that he would never tell a soul.

Then instantly he found himself back in his house, and although he had supposed that he had been gone only a short time—to go to the tavern, the cemetery, and the hill—he was surprised to find that he had been missing for three years.

He was unable to keep the secret entrusted to him, and he told all his friends and relatives where he had gotten the money. Very soon afterwards he became ill, and also mute, so that he could not tell more about the wonders in the hill. And by the time he died, shortly afterwards, all the money had disappeared. He no doubt went to the hill himself, where (he said) so many others from here have gone.

The bat is the cook for the Devil since she can make various dishes from the blood which she drinks from animals. Dressed as a woman with a basket of food on her head, she goes to the hill and sells the meals to those who live in the hill and to the Devil himself. Other servants of the Devil often take the form of birds, as is told in the story about a zancudo, or wading bird, which assisted him:

The Devil always keeps on his table a glass of wine, made of the blood of people, which the zancudos drink when they eat people. One time when the glass was empty, the Devil scolded his zancudo and ordered him to go get some more immediately. The bird came to earth and met his consuegro, who greeted him respectfully and warmly, saying, "Where are you going, my dear consuegro?" The bird
replied, "I have been sent to bring wine to my friend." Then the consuegro said, "Be careful, for you could be killed." The zancudo replied, "This shall not happen to me for I do not have bones in the light of day." He proceeded to fulfil his errand and returned to the hill with the wine, and the Devil was happy. In the hill everything is like it is here, but reversed; so the rich here are poor there, and the poor here are rich there. A person who drinks a little here will be a drunkard there, while one who drinks a lot here will not get anything to drink there. Bad women become pack mules, and men who are libertines have to break up rocks in the hill. Of course their spirits are always cleansed in the fire, too. After they are punished, the Indians all go to Heaven, where they live like saints without eating or drinking. Nobody remembers what he has been on earth, but if he wishes, he can return to earth as a person in every way opposite to what he has been before.

Going into the hills and woods is a very delicate matter. One sees great rocks and large and fearsome trees there that are owned by the hill, or the Devil, and it is very risky to come near these rocks and to cut the trees. Some of the large rocks are the doors and windows of the hill. Sometimes when the door invisibly opens, the barking of the dogs and the crowing of the cocks can be heard; at these times it is wise to turn back quickly, lest one be taken inside. Long ago to the left of town, the bells of the hill could often be heard ringing, the sounds coming out of one of the rocks that serves as a window.

Many strange things have happened to people who have gone into the hill unawares, such as in the case of the bird-hunter:
There was a young and very lazy man who did not like to work, but only to hunt birds. Every day he passed in this lonely occupation; and since he was a poor shot, he only managed to wound the poor birds, who then flew away. One day while he was hunting, there appeared before him a very tall man who spoke to him about some work he had to do in his town. Since the stranger offered to pay much more than the workers here are paid, the hunter gladly accepted the offer of work and agreed to go with him then and there for two days' work.

As it turned out, the stranger was the Devil, the owner of the hill, and he was taking the man only to punish him for the wrongs he had done to the birds. And since a day in the hill is really a year, the hunter was going to be gone much longer than he imagined.

The first job that the Devil gave him was to build a pen for the pigs of the hill, but he ordered that the pen be made of boards and tied with vines. Since there were neither boards nor vines in the hill, the young man became very sad and cross because he thought that he would never return to hunt the birds again. As he was standing there and pondering how he could solve his puzzle, the daughter of the Devil came up to him and told him how he could make the pigpen: he first should tie together a lot of canes, which would then turn into boards; second, he should take a couple of hairs from her head which she would give him, and plant them without looking, and they would become vines good for tying.
He did what the girl advised, and it all came out just as she had said. He made the pen and went to tell the Devil that he had finished his first job. The Devil went to look and was very surprised to see that indeed the hunter had complied with his first punishment. He asked the boy how he had done it and who had helped him, but since the girl had warned him not to tell, he would not say anything.

Then the Devil made him the hog butcher of the house, and he did everything just right because of the advice of the Devil's daughter, who liked the lazy hunter very much. She told him to put the hairs of the pigs that he had killed in the pen so that little pigs would be born of them. She told him to take out the lard-cracklings still raw the way the Devil liked them, and so on.

When the Devil saw that he could not punish the young man in any other way, he made him the pastor of the animals, and he gave him a pair of sandals of silver so thick that they should never be worn out. But the girl told him to watch where she and her mother urinated. He should then rub his sandals very hard in her urine so they would be quickly destroyed, and he would finish his task; and so the boy did.

Then when the Devil saw there was nothing he could do, he offered to pay the boy with a lot of money. But the girl warned him not to accept money lest he have to stay in the hill for always. Finally the girl arranged that he should fly with her during the night and so escape from the hill.
the night, they fled.

When the Devil awoke in the morning, he went to call his daughter. She did not come, but she answered him; she had left her saliva there to answer for her when she ran away with the young man. After some time the Devil opened her door and found that she was gone, and then he discovered that the boy was also gone. Now he understood that the two were lovers and that that was why the boy had been able to do all his tasks.

Crazed, the Devil went out to look for the two of them so that he could punish his daughter, but all he saw in the road were a couple of sheep. He went back and told his wife that there were only a couple of sheep on the road; she told him that the sheep were the girl and the boy, and she told him to go fetch them. So the Devil went out again, and now all that he could find were two turtledoves. When he reported this to his wife, she told him that these doves were the boy and girl, and why had not he brought them back? He went out again and saw only a couple of dogs, and the next time, a couple of flowers, and so on with many other things. Each time he never thought that the things he saw could be the fugitives.

Finally the Devil decided to send the lightning to look for them all over and kill them. Sure enough, the hunter and the girl were on earth, and the lightning found them and killed them.

Another time a man went to the coast on business where he met a Ladino on a horse, who offered him work. He was
instructed to turn around, and when he faced forward again there was a fine road into the hill. He was given various jobs as a pig butcher, and he finished his job in three days. Paid off with a hatful of money, he left through a window. He closed his eyes, and upon opening them again he found himself in the place where he had met the stranger. When he returned home, he found that he had been gone for three years instead of three days. His wife had another husband and a child by him. Since his absence had been justified because he had gone to earn money, the other man had to leave the house. However, he was paid for the improvements (such as a new house and the planted fields) that he had made.

The doors of the hill are on the side to the east, and the windows on the other side; this is well known to the merchants who come to the hill for their goods:

Once when a traveling merchant from San Cristóbal Totonicapán was passing through Panajachel on his way to the capital to buy his goods, a man who was sitting in one of the windows of the hill called to him. Believing that this might be his fortune, the merchant gladly went up to him to find out what he wanted.

As soon as the merchant reached the window, which he did very easily by taking a path that had formed instantly, he was received with great kindness, and he was given many things, like money and clothes and so on. The merchant, who had been bound for Guatemala City to buy clothes and dry goods to sell in all the towns of his route, now needed to go no farther because here in the hill he was given
finer silks than any he could buy in the largest stores of the capital. When he left the hill, the Devil told him that whenever he wanted more all he had to do was to come to the hill. After that the merchant always came here for his goods.

So passed many years, and the merchant became very rich. Finally, when he was about to die, he told his family exactly where he had been getting his merchandise and that when they wanted some they should go there. In time many merchants began to come here to the hill, and they still do; of course all of them go to the hill when they die, to pay for the things that were given them.

Nobody from Panajachel has ever gotten things from the hill, however, because St. Francis refuses to allow his children to become merchants, but wants us instead to till the rich soil that we have. St. Francis often goes to the hill to see what goes on there and to threaten or punish the Devil. St. Francis refuses to allow us to be mixed up with the Devil and his business. Besides, the Devil himself never calls us to give us things. If one should refuse riches offered by any of the hill dwellers, however, his lot will get worse.

People often lose their way in the woods and hills, and no longer know their directions; this happens when the hill denies them leave to walk there. It is much safer to stay where many people live: God is always with His children.
RIVER, LAKE, AND OCEAN. The water of rivers always runs the way a snake does, for the owner of the river is a kind of snake with hair, a mermaid who lives in the rivers. In olden days there were places along the river where she would come out, and once in awhile people saw her and heard her when she came out to sun herself. Whenever one came close to her, however, she would quickly disappear into the water. Our river once had a different course, and sometimes the mermaid comes to the shore of the lake where the river used to flow out near Tzanjuyu and cries for it to follow in its old course. Far to the east of the river bed it is sometimes noticed (when digging outhouse pits) that about two feet down there is a layer of sand and, below that, layers of smaller and then larger stones. Some say that this shows that the river used to pass here and then had shifted over to Tzanjuyu before changing to its present course others that the lake had formerly extended farther up, leaving this fine sand when it receded.

The mermaid can move around below the earth; and when she leaves the course of the river, the water follows her so that it can be above its queen. Because of this, the river here does much damage to the land on its banks, for when it changes its course it carries the soil with it. No matter how the people try to dam it, the river goes where it will, sometimes taking houses and all with it. Only St. Francis is able to have some effect on the will of the mermaid. For this reason his image is carried to the banks of the river during the winter.

One terrible winter, the river menaced the whole town by entering even into the patios of the houses. It was worst on the left bank, where we live, and everybody went shouting to the bank of the river to see what could be done. Those that gathered there
decided to go to the house of the Elder, Lorenzo X. to take the image of St. John the Baptist that he had and bring it to the edge of the river so that it should see for itself the havoc that was being wrought and so that it could be asked to tame the river. A few minutes later they brought it down, on its platform, adorned with flowers, in the pouring rain. One of the men had brought incense and candles, which they burned for the saint, and then Domingo T. prayed before the image. In about fifteen minutes the river went down a little, most of its waters passing to the other side, and everybody was grateful to the saint for the miracle he had performed.

Then they saw that lots of people, Ladinos too, had gathered on the other bank and had brought the patron St. Francis with them; and these people were no doubt asking that the river come back again to this side and not ruin their land. But this did not happen; instead, in a minute the river passed to the center of its bed, and all the lands were saved.

Another year the river threatened to ruin both sides of town, and this time the town officials got the people together to make walls along the river to protect the land. Work began on the Ladino side of the river, with the understanding that after their wall was built all would come over and help on this side. But when the work on their side was finished, the Ladinos just stood and watched while the Indians had to make the stone walls on this side as best they could. Only a few Ladinos volunteered to help carry the stones. Later when the government learned about this menace to the town, lots of materials—wire and cement and so on—were sent to help check the river. But again they were all used on the other side, and those from this side had to go and help with the work without getting paid. The Ladinos did not work at all, except a few who were paid by the authorities to do so.
It was that same year that a great landslide of rocks was washed through this side of town, and almost all of the people had to go to live on the other side, where they stayed any place they could, many of them on the open beach of the lake. It was then that the neighboring towns generously sent several hundredweights of maize and vegetable pears for those who had had to abandon their homes on this side of the river. But the result was that the authorities divided most of the food among the Ladinos of the other side, and those who were homeless were given the grain only by pounds, and this for only four days, even though they had large families and had to stay for more than a week in strange houses.

The people suffered great losses when they left their homes because their animals were lost and many things were stolen. Only the Salpor families (except that of Fermín Salpor) were not afraid of the river, nor did they want to leave their homes. They all came together and decided to live in the largest house they had, all together; and they invited other relatives to stay with them, offering them what they needed.
Once, long ago, the river here was small and did no harm. But there was a priest in town who was very wicked, and finally the people had to send him away. To get even with the town, the priest took an image of Christ up to the hills, from which the water of the river comes, and at a place called Xetsiec he buried the image in the ground. From that time on the river grew and began to take its yearly toll of land. Because nobody knows here, where it is buried, some say nothing can be done about it. The shamans are not strong enough to see such a thing. Others say the trouble was caused by Indians of another town who did not want us to grow sugar cane.

Now, in the rainy season, the river grows very large and changes its course quickly from one place to another in its bed, and with the rocks and logs that rush down in the water, it is impossible to cross for days at a time. When a bridge is made in one place, it is either washed away or the river changes its bed and leaves the bridge useless.

The Lake It was God who made Lake Atitlán and all the other lakes, large and small and deep beyond reckoning, that are to be found on the face of the earth. Some say that where the lake is was originally a fine plain, where people even thought to build Guatemala City. Then one day a girl with a jar of water rested in the middle, and the water spilled out. The pond grew into a pond and then the pond grew and grew. Others say that long ago there was only a small pond of water where Lake Atitlán now is. The pond seemed to be growing and growing, however, and the people were afraid that it would overflow their lands and decided to do something about it:
The Indians of the town of Atitlán determined to carry down a great piece of earth with which to fill the pond from the point of the volcano. Taking with them a giant litter on which to carry the earth, they climbed the volcano and succeeded in getting the whole point on the litter. But when they carried it down they found a woman at the shore washing clothes. They decided to rest their burden until she should finish her work. But when the woman's washing was done and the people threw all the earth into the pond, they found that in the meantime the pond had grown so much that their earth was not nearly enough for by this time the pond had become a great lake, and the point of the volcano is Cerro de Oro.

Others say that not only the Atitecos, but the people of all the towns around the lake got together one day to fill in the growing pond:

They climbed the volcano and removed a large slice of the top onto planks of wood that they had carried up. But while they were carrying it down, they became tired (perhaps because night had fallen) and had to rest. When they tried to lift the load again they found they could not do it. Undismayed, they tried again another day; this time, after getting the whole point of the volcano almost to the shore, they had to rest again. Again they found they could not lift the load. Then they knew it was God who put the lake there and that nobody could destroy it. To this day one can see the two little hills on the slope of the volcano, the smaller one about halfway up and the larger one, Cerro de Oro, almost at the shore of the lake.
Some say, however, that only one attempt was made, the one which resulted in the formation of the Carpo de Oro.

Others place the origin of the lake at the height of the Indian kings; an old Ladino in Sololá gives this account:

There used to be a well near the town of Atitlán. The kings of Quiché and of Atitlán met to decide how to bring water closer to their towns. After the meeting, the two kings were chatting, and one told the other that if he had a son, he would call him Utsil (favor), and if the other had a daughter he should call her Aurora. They agreed that the two children should marry when they grew up. In a while, the king of Atitlán had a handsome son, and a little time afterward, the king of Quiché had a daughter. The kings did not know of each other's fortune; there were few chances for them to communicate because of the difficulty of travel and war with other kings.

The youth Utsil grew rapidly, became valorous in battle, and had great desires to get to know other towns. And so when he was fully grown, he told his father that he wanted to go to see the palace of the king of Quiché. Since he was a fearless and adventurous youth, the king could not fail to give in to his son's wishes and gave him permission to go alone. When he had arrived, he presented his credentials to the king of Quiché. He was immediately attracted by the daughter of the king, who had been proposed as a match for him. Since he was asked to stay a few days, he told her of his love. She promptly accepted him and agreed to marry him after she met his parents. He announced his intentions to her parents, who accepted his request. The two young people
planned to go alone to Atitlán.

It so happened that the king of Atitlán had said that on the day his enemy should fight and kill him, the well of water near his town would become a huge lake to prevent his enemy from coming to his palace.

As the young couple journeyed home, they came upon the lake which we now know as Lake Atitlán. Seeing the lake and knowing that it meant his father had been killed in battle, the youth wept. The girl said that perhaps this had not happened and that they should follow the road along the edge of the lake until they arrived at the town. But the boy said that it was useless, since it was certain that his father had died. He asked her if she wished to die with him. She agreed, so they turned themselves into pigeons. They flew to the waterfall north of the plantation San Buenaventura, between Panajachel and Sololá.

People are sure that this is the true story, because the spirits of the pigeons haunt the place to this day. Even the older Ladinos believe this.

The water of the river never mixes with the water of the lake into which it flows because the river water is heavier; the river just keeps on flowing along the bottom of the lake and finally leaves it and flows down to the coast. It is certain that the river just passes through the lake because river water is sweet, and even though the lake is a fresh water lake, its water is salty. But the rivers which have their source in the lake and flow to the sea on the other side of the volcanoes have sweet water like the river here. In contrast even though a fresh water lake, the water of the lake is salty. Also, the pine and cypress logs of the highlands that are carried to the lake from the north are found in the rivers below. The outlet
of the lake is beneath the water, and sometimes this causes a great
whirlpool over the whole middle of the lake, sucking down any canoes
that are out there. Forty years ago the lake began to go down until
the outlet (at a place called Xetalul) was left high and dry. Only
recently, they say, has the lake risen again so the outlet is under
water.

The queen of the lake is the mermaid, the snake with long hair.
Some say she has the tail of a fish, others say a tail like that
of the snakes who are the owners of the woods and hills. She lives
in a beautiful palace at the bottom of the lake. In bygone days,
when the world was better and people were not evil or worldly, she
would come to the shore of the lake, sometimes crying and sometimes
singing; and when anybody came close she would dive again into the
water. If the mermaid should ever leave her abode in the river and
the lake, the waters would all move and destroy all the fields
and even whole towns.

In the water, as in the air, there are spirits of the dead. In
the lake are spirits of those who have drowned; and when a man is
bathing alone in the water, these sometimes pull him down by the
feet so that he drowns. When a small canoe is out on the lake at
night, especially if it carries something bad, like money that has
been stolen, the spirits get together and stop it and push it
around so as to throw the person canoeing into the water and drown
him. Those who are drowned are kept by the mermaid to be servants
and workmen in her palace; and when she feels that they have been
there long enough and should be freed to go to Heaven, she talks
to the wind so that it will blow hard and upset the canoes on the
lake so that she can get new servants.
The moon, who is the mermaid living in the palace in the lake, has a dragon for a dog. This dragon often comes up to the shore on the bad days of Monday and Friday; and if it finds people around, it drags them down to the middle of the lake and gives them to the moon. This happened once to a boy here who went crab-fishing. He was taken below and scolded by the moon and then sent up again with the dragon. He died in a few days.

Santiago C. recalls how he and his uncle, Juan C., were frightened one night by the "dragon." Hunting near the lake shore at the extreme east end of Panajachel, they saw the dragon in the water. Juan advised that they run away quickly, but Santiago was curious and finally approached to see the animal about which he had heard so much. He threw stones at it and it hardly moved. Finally he came up to it and saw that it was only a floating tree branch. That does not mean that there is no dragon, of course.

Emilio C., the Spaniard who has lived here many years and who runs a launch service, is able to stay under the water when he wishes, clothes and all. So when a launch will not start, he lights candles under it and come up dry.

Since the dragon is the watchdog down there, it is always looking out and trying to catch the canoes that are crossing the lake; but the moon fools it by telling it that the canoes are buzzards and that it should not bother them. Some people think that there is a sea monster under the water which keeps the alligators from harming people.

There are many cases in which people have gone down to where the moon lives and have returned to tell about it. There is, for example, the story of Ventura Y., who used to catch lots of crabs at the lake shore, always taking off his clothes so that he could
go right into the water:

One night, after going to the first and second places where crabs are usually to be found, and finding none, he looked in the last of the places that he knew. Sure enough, there were plenty of crabs there. So he reached in to take them out one by one, as he always did. His hand was not even in all the way when a snake came out, and when the snake tried to run from him, it knocked him into the water. The young man was so scared that he did not know what had happened to him or where he was going until he found himself in a beautiful city below the lake.

In a special palace below the lake was the moon, the owner of everything there, and she came out to talk to him, asking him why he had come. Very frightened, he told her about the crabs and the snake. There was a dragon there guarding the palace, which was all of silver, and when this dragon saw Ventura it came up and jumped on him to eat him; but the moon spoke to it and told it not to bother the boy. His time to die had not yet come. She told the boy.

Then she told the dragon to take Ventura up to the shore again, warning it not to eat him. Then she cautioned Ventura, calling him "my son" as the moon does, not to say anything about what had happened until three years had passed. So the dragon brought him to shore again and after three years Ventura told his story.

Then there was the time an Indian here went with the lady of the lake to get his dance costume:
There was a certain man who, when the time came to go to Totonicapán to get his clothes for the dance for the fiesta of St. Francis, found himself without enough money. Since he had already given his promise to his companions and had accepted the duty to join the dance, he felt that to disappoint them now would shame him greatly in their eyes and in the eyes of the saints as well. So when the day came on which all the dancers were going to get their clothes, he found that there was nothing he could do or say. At his wits' end, he took a walk down the road to see if there was somebody who could help him and to think about what he might do. When he came to Tzanjuyú, at the lake shore, he stopped, thinking desperately about his great trouble. As he looked about him in vain for help, his troubles became more than he could bear, and he broke into tears like a child.

In such a state he was, crying forlornly, when there suddenly appeared before him a beautiful lady who asked him the cause of his tears. He was ashamed and did not wish to talk about his trouble, so he said nothing. "Why are you sad?" she repeated, "tell me the truth and I shall help you in any way I can." The man, thinking that she might indeed be able to help him since she showed such interest, finally told her everything. The lady consoled him and then told him that he should worry no more and that she would give him all that he desired.

They were facing the lake to the south, and the kind stranger now said to the man, "Look to the north for a moment." This he did, and turned away from the lake. When,
in a minute, he faced about again, an astonishing sight met his eyes. Where the lake had been, there was now a beautiful road, never before seen, adorned with strange flowers of myriad colors. Urged by the beautiful lady, he started down the road with her, and they came at last to great palaces.

Without much ado, the lady took him into a room that was full of dance costumes, the finest that could ever be found in the whole world. "Here you see many costumes," the lady told him, "and you may have your pick of any of them, and anything you desire. I shall also give you money and a bottle of brandy and everything that is needed to celebrate the fiesta on one condition; in payment for this favor you must bring me, before you take your costume, a couple of puppy dogs that I wish to have." The man, seeing that the payment for such a big favor was so small, accepted the bargain immediately and promised to return right away with the puppies.

When he entered the city below the lake and now again when he left it, he saw some children tied to the pillars of the houses. Passing them now, he wanted to pet one of them, but the lady of the lake told him not to touch the children lest they bite him. He thought no more of it and continued on his way.

As soon as he reached home, he set out to find the dogs that were asked of him. When he had them he immediately returned to the house of the lake to deliver them and thus finally end what had been the cause of his great sadness. But when he gave the dogs to the lady, she said, "No, that
is not the kind of puppies I meant; I meant a couple of children who will serve to guard the house, the kind you saw when you were here before."

Knowing that a worse fate would overtake him if he did not comply with his bargain, the poor man went to get what was required. First he bought some bread and sweets and toys for his youngest children so that happily and innocently they would come with him to Tzanjuyú to be given to the lady. Then he told his wife that he was taking them to work for a Ladina who had promised to pay them well.

When the lady saw what he had now brought her, she was very contented. She received the children and took the man to the room that was full of dance clothes to choose what he wished. There, surrounded by so many garments, all new and beautiful, the man did not know how to choose; but the lady helped him and soon they had a handsome costume picked out. She gave him money, too, and a little bottle of brandy, telling him not to give much to his companions because they would die if they drank more than a small cup.

To make a long story short, this man was not only the best dressed of all the dancers, but he was the best dancer as well, since the clothes made him so. All the people were greatly astonished at his finery, and his companions tried vainly to guess where he had rented such clothes, because they knew very well he had not gone to Totonicapán for them. Some of them asked him, but he would never tell.

With the brandy that he measured out for his companions
they all got so drunk with one glassful that they fell to the floor. Each day he gave them some. Although he might empty the bottle one day, it would be full again the next; and the liquor was not used up until the last day of the fiesta. Afterwards they asked him where he had bought such good liquor—just a little made one drunk and so not much money needed to be spent—but he would not tell them.

Meanwhile, in the city underneath the lake, the children were put to work in the house. They were told not to burn the refuse that they swept out but only to pile it up. This refuse was the stock of crabs which would later come to the surface at the shore of the lake; if it were burned, the crabs would all have burnt tenacles.

Some people who talk about this case say that he was given the clothes and things immediately and was not told to bring the puppies until after the dance was over. Only then did he learn how hard his bargain was (though some say that only one puppy was required) that resulted from the sin of promising to dance when one does not have enough money to pay for it.

The lake is somewhat salty, and it is the elder brother of the ocean to the south. The two waters may never mix, however, because the ocean (as the younger brother) is so much bigger and rougher and stronger than the lake that it would swallow the lake at once and the lake would disappear.

Everybody is fearful when news comes that the waters of the sea are rising because they know that when the ocean comes here—all the towns will be buried and the sea will cover the whole world.
When the lake becomes angry and thinks to go visit his brother the ocean, the sea will instead overflow and come here in place of the lake, thus ending the world. The ocean always wants to come to call on his brother the lake, but this is not permitted because if the sea came up it would never care to leave again, and all the towns would be destroyed. Once the lake left by the opening near the town of San Lucas to go to visit his brother, and when the ocean found out that his brother was coming, he started up to meet him on the road. Then there was a Judgment for all the people, as the sea overflowed the land. When the brothers finally met on the road, the lake scolded the ocean, telling him that he should not have come from his home because, like all younger brothers, he was so strong and great. Since then the ocean has never come up and has awaited his brother there in his home, for both of them were much ashamed of what they had done.

The people of bygone times never went to far places and would have known nothing of the ocean had not people from other towns brought news of it here. They say that the sea harbors great man-eating animals that live off the people who fall into the sea or whose ships are wrecked.

The sea surrounds the earth and would cover it all except that it does not want to drown all the people; besides, it respects its older brother, the lake of Atitlán. It is the wildness of the ocean that makes its coasts hot and its waters so salty.

Beyond This World

At the end of the World The world in which we live is very large. It is entirely flat, like a saucer, and round like a wheel. At its
edges are unbelievably deep gorges, filled with fire and water, and also oceans. The ends of the world are so far away that it is just about impossible ever to know them, especially since there are no means to cross the seas and no food along the way. Once a man from Totonicapán did go there, however, on his way to the sky to deliver a letter to God:

In Totonicapán there was a parish priest who had a letter that he wanted to send to God, so he sent it with an Indian. He was not sure that the man would get there, of course, because he knew that it was very hard to get that far. The man was very faithful, however, and he found some way of crossing the sea to get to the land beyond which the sky meets the earth.

Many were his difficulties, but he finally crossed the ocean and reached the other side. Since this took him many years, all of his food was gone when he arrived there, and he was very hungry. Seeing some handsome fields of maize with beautiful ears ripe for eating, he decided to take one to eat. He had hardly finished cutting it off when the ear began to cry out, shouting for help because it was being stolen. The noise soon roused the inhabitants of the place, and a large number of them joined together and came to punish the thief, as was their custom. One strange thing about these people (the Lacantunes) that the Totonicapéno noticed as they came looking for him was that they could not look up at the sky, but only down at the ground. But they finally found him and, capturing him, they took him before their king. As they went along he saw that they could not
stand upright at all, but were stooped like monkeys. They had a few very stout sticks and some weapons of iron for arms.

When they arrived before the king, he questioned the hungry man about the robbery, and the traveler told him his story and how he was hungry and wanted to eat the maize. "But," marvelled the king, "do you really eat maize and things?" And when he answered that indeed he did, they must have thought that this was a great crime because they wanted to kill him right away. But to see first if what he had told them were true they took him to a place where there was a cross and where they had piled up all their tortillas after they had smelled them (this being the way they ate). The Totonicapénó began to eat the tortillas, explaining that in his land they did not simply smell tortillas but ate them up entirely.

Then they asked him how it happened that he did not get filled up, and where all the food went that he ate. He replied that he had an anus, and since none of them knew what such a thing was, they made him show it to them in front of all the people. The king was very delighted with all these new things, and because it seemed better to eat the things than simply to smell them, he asked the man if he did not know how to fix up all of them the same way. The Totonicapénó, hoping to save himself in this way, told them that he could operate on them; and it was arranged that the next day he would do this for a number of them. The man made a knife out of wood, and the next day the
king himself was the first to be operated on, followed by many others. When the Indian was finished, he asked them to give him quickly the means to cross the sea to bring a medicine with which to cure the wounds that they now had. So they gave him a sea horse or a sea beast of some kind to ride and he started off but he did not start across the sea over which he had come, but rather traveled across the one toward the end of the world, for he wanted to get to the sky. When he was in the middle of the ocean he found that he was being chased by the people who had just let him out and that they were shouting at him to return because the kind had died of his wounds. But he just hurried the more and escaped his pursuers.

Finally he arrived at the land where the sky meets the earth, and he told his mount to await him there while he went to get the medicine that was needed. And he left the animal forever, for he quickly found the road to the sky. Although many years had passed in the journey so far, now he quickly arrived at Heaven. Shortly he was called into the presence of God, who asked him how he had managed to reach Him. After the man told Him all of his adventures, God gave him an answer to give to the priest, and offered him a way to get back to his land that would be better than the way he had come: two angels
were brought before Him and God told them to take the traveler
to his country and not to hurt him along the way.

The angels took him in their wings, and as in a deep
sleep, the man was returned to Totonicapán, in the country.
The angels returned to the sky and the man soon found the
path leading into town. Everything was strange for him
because he had been away so many years; he did not know any
of the people, and they did not recognize him because they
all supposed he was long dead.

The priest was now very old, and when the man came before
him the priest did not believe that it was the same man
that he had sent on an errand so many years ago. But with
the letter that he had with him from God, the priest was
soon convinced, especially when he had heard his story.

The man quickly went to look for his family, and
when he found them they hardly recognized him because he
was so old (as were also his wife and children, for that
matter). But since God had told him that he should not
join himself to his wife again—because, having known the
sky, he was clean—it did not matter much to him that
thereafter he lived somewhat apart from his family.

Under the layer of earth on which we live there is another
world inhabited by people (like those encountered by the Totonicapéno
who made the trip to Heaven) who are always dancing. These Lacantunes
have great oceans like ours, and fields and crops like ours, except
that their crops are much better because the soil is very rich. As
beasts of burden these people use deer and alligators and whales to
carry them on land and water; to carry them through the air, they have
great birds. (These birds were once on the earth, as well, but they
were so fast that nobody could escape them, and they ate many people.

The Lacantunes are people like us except they are uglier, blacker in color, have horns on their foreheads, and of course live by just smelling tortillas, and have no anuses, and walk and stand stooped.

Their land below the earth has been visited—in one case, by a merchant from Sololá:

A group of Sololateco merchants who had gone to Quezaltenango to sell their vegetables were in the market place there one day, when a member of the National Police came up to one of them and asked him to go with him to carry a load from one place to another, with pay in advance for his time. The merchant accepted the job because, of course, it never occurred to him that anything unusual would happen. He went with the policeman to the town hall, where they gave him a box that was well sealed and that seemed to be heavier than it should have been.

One of the officials told him where he was to take this box. He explained to the merchant that on the road he would find a who would talk to him and who would block his passage, but that he should not worry about that and should just strike the a few blows until it was beaten, and he could go by. Then they took the merchant into one of the large rooms of the town hall, showed him the door to a road that led under the ground, and told him it was the road to take. The Sololateco was rather frightened by this time because he saw that something was not right about the mission if he could not even walk through the streets of the town. But he finally gathered his courage, and loading the box on his back, he began his journey.
He went for some distance down a stairway, and then he
found himself on a road. He continued his way until he
came upon an image of Christ, the [image] that he had been
warned about. This Christ blocked the road and told the
merchant to climb up over his shoulders if he wanted to
get by; but since he had been told what to do, he overcame
his fright and dealt the [image] many blows, until it let
him pass.

A few minutes later he came upon a door which was at
the end of the road. He knocked, and the door was immediately
opened, and he had a view of the very strange people who
lived there. They were all entirely nude and black in color,
and the oldest people had horns on their foreheads. A few
steps from where he was, the merchant saw that there was a
pot of black beans boiling, and in it he saw the arms and
legs of some black children that they had just thrown in.
The horned people gave off sparks from their eyes and horns.

By means of signs they told the [image] that he should let
down his load and should open up the box. He did so, and
what was his great surprise to find, upon opening the box,
that he had been carrying human flesh! For well could he
recognize hands and feet and so on, all well prepared in
the form of [cecina]. The Negroes took little pieces of
it to taste and they seemed to like it.

Then they motioned the merchant to take the large sum of
money that they offered him and to return to earth again,
and the man made haste to do just this, because he was
afraid that they might throw him into the pot of beans.
He started back on the road, which was rather dark, there being no sun or stars down there anywhere. When he came to the Christ again, the same thing happened as before. When he reached the top of the staircase, he struck the boards that covered the opening with his head, this being the signal for the officials to open up right away and let him in. He was then paid a little more money because he had done his job well. They also told him that he should not tell anybody—even his companions—what he had done, and that this was why they were paying him so well.

Well satisfied, the Sololateco went to join his companions, who by this time had left the market place for their sleeping place. He told them all that had happened, and this is how all the story came to be known. Then, very early in the morning, they all went back to Sololá, because they were now afraid of the police in Quezaltenango, of the kinds of loads they were asked to carry there, and especially of places where they eat people.
1. As in Spanish, there is one Cakchiquel word, oaj, for both sky and Heaven, and they are thought of as the same thing. Thus the sun is in the sky and also (since it is God) in Heaven, and the stars are in the sky and also (as souls of the dead) in Heaven.

2. See p. 000.

3. For this reason people never sleep with their heads to the west; see p. 000.

4. For circumstances under which the traveler is aided, see p. 000.

5. See pp. 000-000.

6. The Indian word q'ij means both "sun" and "day."

7. This is an almost literal translation from the Cakchiquel; the words are everyday words, but the expressions are of a grandness suited to the purpose. It appears that the sense is as vague to the Indians as it is in English.

   St. Bernard is always identified with the sun, but nobody can tell why. The town of Patzun, nearby, has St. Bernard for its patron, and its titular fiesta is popular with those in Panajachel who go to pay their respects to the sun.

8. The Cakchiquel word ik means both "moon" and "month."

9. See p. 000 for the function of eyelashes.

10. Venus, called simply the "Big Star" by the Indians.

11. Maize, after cooking with lime; see p. 000.

12. Mars.

15. The Milky Way.
16. Alguaciles are messenger boys. This office is the first in a series of community services each man performs in the course of his adulthood; see p. 000.
17. The rainy season is called "winter" in Spanish, the dry season, "summer"; the Indians call the first "in the rains," the second, "clear days." The rain and the season are so associated that Indians and Ladinos alike close their eyes to unseasonal rain and claim that it never rains in the dry season. When it sprinkled one afternoon early in February, an Indian boy said, "No, it isn't raining, because it is the dry season."
18. Canícula in Spanish; it comes in July as well as August.
19. This is the zenzontle; see p. 000.
20. See p. 000.
21. An ineffectual translation of the Spanish monte, which in Guatemala refers to a relatively wild kind of country, be it wooded, hilly, or mountainous, or a canyon of some kind. In some contexts it may be translated "rural" but as used here it means "wilderness."
22. See p. 000.
23. See p. 000; tired feet is the symptom of the sickness called "snake road."
24. Men who have completed their cofradía and municipal services are principales, here referred to as Elders; see p. 000.
Footnotes to Chapter 5, con't.

25. Referred to here are the two hills rising above the town to the north, but they are considered to be the east and west sides of "the hill."

26. Comadre has no equivalent term in English. Parents and Godparents of their children become co-parents, or compadres, thereafter addressing each other as compadre and comadre.

27. "Devil" is the Spanish term invariably used; in Cakchiquel the being is called raju juyu', "Owner of the Hill."

28. Specifically, the rich Ladinos and foreigners, the Protestant missionaries, and the ethnologists. This notion accounts for some of the difficulties of the missionaries, for some people are afraid to go near their meetings or even to hold missionary tracts in their hands. The notion is that all money from the hill, even gotten second-hand, is dangerous; however, nobody ever refuses money from a rich man.

29. Consuegro is a kinship term which has no equivalent in English. Parents of a married couple are consuegros.

30. The Cakchiquel word is ohinchitur; the Spanish is usually sirena.

31. The Jews who crucified Christ are said to have walked in this fashion; see p. 000.

32. Dried meat; see p. 000.
CHAPTER 5 - THE WILD

I. Plants

TREES. Pine trees grow in the hills above town and in other places throughout the cold country. When God made the pine and the cypress, He saw that they were growing so tall that they would soon reach the sky; fearing that they might tear the sky, He ordered that they be stood on their heads with their roots up and their branches down. That is why, although they are the tallest of all trees, they grow no taller. It is at the feet of the tall leafy pines of the great pine forests that the shamans and sorcerers do their rites so that they can ask the trees to help them to have their prayers granted. Under the pines, too, are harbored the bad snakes with hair and horns that God banished because they are children of the Devil; this is why the lightning so often strikes pines.

From the pine is cut most of the lumber that is used hereabouts, but only the people of Patanatic and Chichicastenango know how to make the boards and the two-by-fours that are used in building houses. But everybody here uses the pine wood brought down from the hills, or carried down by the river, for firewood. The pine cones are good in the fire when they are dry; and the children in play pretend the cones are sheep.

The pine has a very pleasing odor, and on smelling it one always thinks of fiestas, because on such occasions the pine is never missing. Wherever there is any celebration or religious
fiesta, the branches are hung in the doors and windows and on the pillars of the houses and public buildings, and the needles are spread on the floor. The shamans always decorate their altars with pine branches; and even on the civil holidays, the town hall is blanketed with the fragrant needles. Pine needles are also often used to make a bed in which the hens can lay their eggs. They are mixed in the mud of the walls of the houses. And in Solola they are even used to cover the young vegetable plants when they are reset.

Only the Maxenños seem to know how to get out the pitch pine that is always used for torches and for kindling the fire, and they bring it here to sell. This pitch pine also has medicinal uses. When the stomach aches because of wind that has been swallowed, it can be cured by rubbing a piece of pitch wood over the belly. To cure children who are suffering from the evil eye, pieces of pitch pine in the shape of a cross are placed, together with other things, over a basin of water.

Those who have canoes use the sap of the pine to fill in the cracks. A mixture of about three-fourths sap and one-fourth powdered bricks or house-tiles is boiled and applied while it is still hot to the crack. When it dries, it makes a cement that will not split in either the sun or the water. The sap is also used to heal infections of festering chigoes in the feet; warm resin is washed over the sore place, and in a few days the foot is clean and well again. Also, when a thorn or sliver enters deep into the flesh and cannot be pulled out with a needle, many people use a plaster of pitch, which little by little draws out the sliver; if there is pus, the blister ripens bit by bit and then bursts without hurting.
Cypress grows better in the colder country of Sololá and San Andrés, but it also grows here in town by the sides of the roads. Some people pull up the saplings to sell or to plant in the coffee fields for shade, and some even have cypress nurseries. Cypress grows larger than other trees, and its branches are thick with leaves. People often hide in them to escape the police or military service or to keep from having to go to school. The great old cypresses here are much respected for the things that they know and have seen in the times of our forefathers. People in other towns cut cypress for lumber, as they do pine, and this wood is more expensive than pine. Of course cypress also makes good firewood. The branches and leaves are fragrant and pretty and are used to decorate the cofradía houses. Arches of cypress branches are also made to adorn the litters on which the images are carried in the processions, and the leaves always adorn the cofradía emblem carried by a mayor. Cypress is a symbol of sorrow; wreaths of it are placed on the dead in the house and on the grave in the cemetery.

The wood of the oak tree, of which there are several kinds hereabouts, is one of the strongest there is. Oak is so strong that when a saint is very heavy and has lasted a long time without injury, people say that perhaps God ordered this saint to be made of oak. So the oak is much respected, not only for its uses in the house, but because the saints are made of its wood. Around the house, oak is used to make hafts for tools, stakes and wedges, the spikes used in harvesting maize, and the
cylinder of the coffee-pulping mill. Except for guachipilín, it is the best wood for the corner-posts of houses, and it makes the best firewood there is. When a boy wants to marry a girl he sometimes comes to her house very early in the morning with a big load of oak wood to prove that he is industrious and will furnish his wife with enough good firewood. Some of the people of Patanatic and Concepción also burn the oak in ovens to make charcoal, which they sell by the bagful to the Ladinos here. The bark of the oak is boiled in water, making a mouth-rinse that cures toothache. The flower of the oak is prized as an adornment for the saints and is sometimes worn in the hat on a journey. With the acorns the children make tops: a stick is put through the acorn and a string wound around it so that it can be made to spin; and if a little hole is made in the acorn in the right place, the top will make a pretty sound as it spins. At the base of the acorn is found a little dish with which thoughtless little girls sometimes play; they should never play with acorns, however, lest when they grow up and have children they not have enough milk for them.

There are very few cedars around here, and what there are are used mostly for firewood. Cedar is greatly prized by the cabinetmakers for its smoothness and its luster, and rich people often are buried in coffins of this wood instead of the pine that others use. Most of the saints are made of white cedar; that is why it is called "holy wood" and is respected as something God gave us to use for the saints that carry our prayers to Him.
In the woods are other trees whose wood is good for little but firewood but whose leaves and bark have important uses. The nopal leaves are good for coughs and fevers: they are boiled with other things, and the warm water used to bathe the patient. The fruit of the soapseed tree is soapy and foamy in water and is used by poor people to wash their clothes and hands; the seeds are often used for marbles by the children. The bark of the capulin tree makes this tree the rope factory and leather tannery of the poor. From this tree strips of bark as long as ten yards are taken; they remain soft and flexible even when they have been in the sun or in water for a long time, and they are very good for tying things and binding together the beams of houses. The bark is almost the color of leather, and it is hard to tell the two apart. Many people make the headpieces of their tump-lines of this bark instead of buying leather ones, and the poor sometimes make sandals from this bark that with good care can be worn for several days. The bark of the buzzard tree, which is very bitter, is good for removing lice and ticks from the hair of the horses and mules. For best results it should be cut the day before, and on the following night it should be soaked in water; the water should then be applied to the affected parts and covered with rags or something for a day before the animal is washed with soap and water.

The madrone, the coral, and the yucca tree are trees that never die; no matter how much they are cut or nailed or bound with barbed wire, they will not be hurt. For this reason
they are widely used in town for fences, planted along land boundaries from shoots and branches of the old trees. The madrone can never be used for firewood because its smoke causes the mange. But its bark, which it sheds periodically, is good to cure measles and fever: it is cut into pieces and boiled, and the tea is then taken by the patient three times a day. The gum of the trunk can also be used to cure sores on the legs.

The wood of the coral is very soft when dry, and people make masks of it for the Negrito dance. A staff made of this wood is good protection at night against the characoteles because for those in danger soft woods become hard (and hard woods soft), and a coral cudgel can kill any characotel it strikes. On the trunk of one kind of coral are thorns shaped like parrots' beaks, which prick very painfully. Out of the flowers, whistles with different tones are made for the children. Rabbits like to eat the leaves of the tree. They say that in some towns people eat the young branches as a vegetable, but here nobody does so. The shamans use the seeds in their divinations and to help them count the calendar and do their rituals. The bark, roasted in the fire and ground up, is applied to wounds of the body, which it heals.

The yucca tree is especially good for fences because it does not take much room. The leaves are often used to wrap tamales at home or for fiestas, but they have saw-toothed edges that cut the hand if one is not careful. The leaves also have fine fibers as straight and strong as those of the maguey. They are used to tie bunches of vegetables for the
market, and when little girls are learning to weave, they often start with these fibers on their tiny looms. Some people know how to make string that is as fine as silk out of these fibers. The yucca leaves are also sometimes used for tump-line headpieces because they have the same shape and the fibers can support much weight. Although the Ladinos know how to prepare the flowers of the yucca to eat, the Indians never do so.

The *tajisco* is a large tree of hard but light wood that is much used for hafts of hoes and pickaxes and for house beams. Of it is made the great Cross of the Crucifixion, on Good Friday, for which no other kind of wood is ever used. Red *tajisco* is sometimes made into weaving-sticks, although most women prefer a heavier wood. The white *tajisco* is the only tree that has strong little twigs spaced evenly around its branches, and the branches are often hung from the ceiling of the house or stuck into the floor so that gourds and cups and other utensils can be hung from the twigs.

The *guachipilín* has the hardest wood of any tree around here. It is so hard that it cannot be split for firewood. It is the best lumber for house beams; and from the wood are made wedges, stakes, handles for hoes, axes, pickaxes and other tools, mortars for shelling the dry coffee, cylinders for husk-shelling coffee mills, the wooden nails for harvesting corn, and so on. They say that the green fruit of the *guachipilín* is eaten, and much liked with tortillas, by the people of San Juan Sacatepéquez. At a certain time in
the year the guachipilín trees also have in their trunks a very tasty mushroom which is never poisonous.

The *amate* is a tree of very thick foliage that grows more quickly than any other. Ghosts and evil spirits hide in its foliage, and big snakes climb its branches; it is a fearful tree. The *amate* trees here are very old and often take up valuable space; yet nobody ever cuts them down because to do so invites death. Even if one lives through the cutting, he most likely will die as the wood dries, and the least ill that will overtake him is that the hand that wields the axe or machete will always hurt. The *amate* is a sorcerer. When a shaman comes to it to do this ritual and asks the tree to kill somebody, it will always do so; the victim will waste away even as the little trees growing near the *amate* waste away and die, the *amate*’s roots entwining and choking theirs. The common *amate* has wavy bark, very small fruit, and grows only wild. There is another smaller kind that can be planted for fences; its fruit is large and can be eaten, and its bark is thin. The milk of this kind of *amate* is good for healing wounds and mending broken bones, when it is applied to the hurt place. But both kinds of *amate* are sorcerers: they do harm and are of the hill. The *amate* is really a kind of *ceiba* tree. The *ceiba* grows only on the coast, and if a person drinks its sap, mixed with water, his belly will grow as the trunk of the tree grows. Some Indians of San Lucas Tolimán who were very thin once went down to the coast to try this, and they drank the sap and became very fat. When one is fat enough, he must cut down the tree or else he will
get fatter and fatter with the tree trunk until he bursts.

The willow, ilamo, eucalyptus, silk-oak, and castor are trees that rarely—if ever—grow in the woods; in town, however, they are often planted as shade trees for the coffee. From the bark of the ilamo the Ladino carpenters make a reddish-brown stain by cutting and grinding it and soaking it in lime-water over night. The eucalyptus is noteworthy for its strong and pleasant odor. The leaves are often placed under the pillow of a sick person so that the odor can drive the sickness away, and they are sometimes burned in the house to drive the sickness out entirely. Boiled with other things, the leaves also make a remedy for fever. The silk oak produces a gum that, mixed with water, makes a fine mucilage that can be preserved for a long time; and the Lados use this in their offices and the children use it to paste up their kites on All Saints' Day. The flowers, which are used for decoration on fiesta days, have a good honey that the children like to suck out.

There are several kinds of castor trees growing in sandy places here in town. The native variety, until recently the only one, is purplish-red in color. The other kinds were brought from Antigua: one has a thorny fruit, another a very small seed, and the third is white and has most oil in its seeds. Until recently the oil used to light the church was made from the castor seed; it was the duty of the cha jales to pick the seeds in large numbers; and every two weeks the texeleg, who were mostly unmarried girls, ground and cooked
them in great pots and got out enough oil to last the two weeks. The oil was put into large glass bottles, and the girls also made wicks which they put in the center. The flames of these lamps lit the altar where the saints are. Now all this is ended, and the castor has few uses. The trunk is weak and cannot be used in house-building, although temporary shelters and arbors are sometimes made of it. The leaves, when they are clean and nice, are used to cover the pots of food that are cooking. The broad leaves are also sometimes used by workers in the fields to shade themselves from the hot sun, and children play with the stems and leaves as if they were parasols. They also punch holes in the stalks and play them as if they were flutes.

Other trees found around here which grow better on the coast are the jobo,22 the pumpujuche,23 the acacia,24 the prickly pear,25 and the pepper.26 The fruit of the first has a cotton-like fuzz that comes out when it ripens; then its outer skin hangs like a bunch of big spoons, and the children use these pieces of skin for sailing ships when they play. On the bark of the tree there are lumps, and the Ladinos sometimes cut these off to make artistic plaques. The pumpujuche bears pretty pink flowers (called "señoritas" by the Ladinos) with which the children play. The acacia grows here and is used for firewood; but when the people of Oaxaca (Mexico) pass here every year on the way to Esquipulas, they cook the fruit with other things just as if it were beans. These people also eat the prickly leaf of the prickly pear, peeling
it and boiling it in little pieces like the vegetable pear, sometimes with meat; once when some gypsies came through here, they did the same. The pepper tree is planted along the roadside here, mostly by Ladinos, for shade and adornment. The little branches are sometimes used to decorate hats; and the Ladinos use the leaves to cure whooping cough, boiling them in water and drinking the tea.

TREE PARASITES AND VINES. The cook's foot is a parasite growing on the high trees in the woods of the hills north of town. People have tried to plant it on the trees in town so that they would not have to go so far for the flowers, but it will not grow here; this is a sign that we must not fail to go to gather the flowers in their real home. There is a kind of cook's foot that does grow on the old trees in town; it is, however, very small and of no use. The cook's foot has a red flower shaped like the foot of a bird, and it is this flower that is used for adornment when the town officials begin their terms of office. Nowadays the retiring officials simply ask the people who own lands in the woods if there is any cook's foot on their trees, so before the time comes they know where the flowers are to be had, and they simply pay laborers to go to bring them down. But in the old days the outgoing mayores and alguaciles themselves went in a party to pick the flowers, and they used to give gifts of oranges and limes to the owners of the land. None of the boys ate anything before going for the flowers lest they get lost and be eaten by animals and never return; they had to go gladly,
too; or otherwise they would be left behind or would break their arms or legs climbing the trees. The officials always took with them the large town hall drum, and on their return they were met by companions who had stayed behind and who now brought them jugs of chicha\textsuperscript{29} to drink. If they looked for flowers all morning and found none, they picked out an old tree under which to lunch and adorned it with flowers. When the \textit{alguaciles} had collected enough flowers, they went back to where they had left the drum; there they were met by the chicha-bearers, but even on the return trip they had to go contentedly lest something still happen to them. When they assistants returned to town (and these days when the \textit{úútút} deliver the flowers to the officials) they took their loads to the house of the outgoing \textit{alcalde}\textsuperscript{30} and the next day took them to all the new officials, first to the new \textit{alcalde}, then the second \textit{alcalde}, and so on. On the same day that the \textit{alguaciles} went to the woods for these flowers, the \textit{mayordomos} of the \textit{cofradías} went too, but separately, and they brought their loads to the incoming church officials—the sacristans and the \textit{fiscales}\textsuperscript{31}—and if there were any flowers left over, they took them to the \textit{cofradía} houses.

In the branches of the cock's foot there is a kind of lizard or snake called the "sleeping child" because it cries like a child, looks like a little child, and does not see well by daylight. When one of the boys goes for flowers unwillingly it is apt to appear before him, crying while he is up in the tree. Sometimes it awakens and bites him like
a snake. If this lizard urinates on a person, that person dies.

The white moss\textsuperscript{32} growing in trees both in town and in the woods is made up of white fibers hanging from the trees. The Concepcioneros call it "our grandfather's beard," and the Ladinos use it to stuff mattresses and to adorn the outside of their houses during fiestas. The pilgrims from Mexico always carry this moss in their hats when they return from Esquipulas, to prove that they have been there. Since wherever there is white moss there is also the spirit of the Christ of Esquipulas, these pilgrims stop and pray whenever they see some, and they often sleep under it. The people of Santa Lucía used to wrap the soap they made in this moss, and that is why it is called "soap-wrapper." There is also a green moss\textsuperscript{33} which grows like the white moss; but it is smaller and it does not hang from the trees but is simply stuck to the branches and on rocks. The Ladinos use this also for decoration, covering long ropes with the moss.

On such trees as the lime, \textit{lima}, orange, and willow, birdlime,\textsuperscript{34} which grows rapidly from the excrement of birds, sticks to the branches, and if it is not soon removed, the tree dies. It does not stick to all trees; some, like the white sapodilla, never have it. The birdlime spreads from one tree to another because the birds eat it on one tree, and when they defecate on another they leave the seeds that they have not digested. After a while the birdlime grows a fruit, and from this fruit the boys get a sticky substance. The
fruit is cut and wrapped in leaves like tamales and hung for five or six days in a warm part of the house, often in the smoke of the fire, to ripen. Then the skin is removed, and the sticky part inside is washed in cold water, sometimes chewed a little, and then put into gourds for later use or for sale. This sticky substance is smeared with a stick on branches of trees where birds are apt to alight, and the birds get stuck on it. Since the birdlime comes from birds to start with, it is a good trap for them, perhaps catching the very birds that made it. The birds most wanted are singers like pigeons, *zenzontles*, and *guarda barrancos*, which fetch good prices if caught alive.

The leaf of the birdlime is very bitter, but if it is boiled with the skin of a nance and a little piece of pitch pine, the broth is very good for toothaches. *San Juan*, red birdlime, is the stickiest thing there is, and poorly made tortillas and half-baked bread are compared with it. The children like to play with it, putting it on their eyelashes so that they cannot open their eyes, and things like that.

Mushrooms grow in the trunks of old trees, and although everyone likes to eat them, there are many that are poisonous. So mushrooms can be eaten only when one is sure they are good. When they are in season, late in September, women of Concepción and Argueta sometimes bring edible mushrooms for sale. One way to test a mushroom is to taste it. If it is bitter, it is poisonous; but many people have made mistakes, and one always takes a chance. The better known kinds of mushrooms
are the San Juan, which is rounded or oblong; the bird's foot, which looks like the toe and claw of a bird; the parasol mushroom, dark green and shaped like a parasol; a white variety; the mushroom of the guachipilín tree and that of the willow; one that grows in stumps of ilamo, in burnt-over cornfields; and one, very tough, that grows by the silk-oak tree.

There are many kinds of binding vines growing wild in the woods and ravines and in wild places in town, chiefly near embankments and fences. These are widely used for tying things, and almost always the parts of houses are bound together with them because they are strong and flexible. If one cannot afford to buy ropes, these vines substitute for them quite well, and one has only to ask permission of the owner of the land to go gather as many of them as he needs. There is one thing to consider when gathering them: if a person has committed some sin, or plans to do so, and has a bad conscience, the rolled-up vines that he is carrying home will be changed into a snake on the way and will bite him. There have been several cases of this. So when one is told to go gather some vines, and does not want to, he should be reminded of these cases to make him go more willingly.

Vines grow both in the woods and in town, chiefly by the roadsides and along fences. Among the most prevalent in town are the "underdrawers," the pega pega, plumbago, the tgolig, and mouse's ear. The first has leaves shaped like men's drawers, with white spots in the center. The leaves and stem make very valuable remedies. The water in which the
leaves and stem have been boiled is sweetened and taken to induce urination and to ease inflammations. To make an especially good medicine to cure high fever, the leaves are boiled with equal portions of lime tea, borage, licorice, green orange tree leaves, little pieces of limes, the greens of the vegetable-pear vine, little-coriander, the muchu
uchin that grows along the irrigation ditches, and the spines of the xup. When a little rum is added to the potion and glassfuls are drunk after a sweatbath, it produces a great perspiration. The orange flowers of the plumbago look like the paws of dogs, claws and all. The water in which the leaves and branches of this vine (together with a little horsetail) have been boiled, is good for inflammations and other internal troubles when it is sweetened. The tzoli has two medicinal uses: the raw, green leaves are ground and applied externally to cure abscesses; and the toasted leaf is ground and will dry out any ulcer on the body immediately. The "mouse ear" is a creeping vine very much like the vegetable pear. Planters of the vegetable pear gather a lot of the mouse ear vines to place under the vegetable pear so that it will produce fruit as abundantly as does the mouse ear. The fruit is very thorny, and the purple flowers are used by the children as a kind of whistle that makes a sound like a mouse. The beasts eat the leaves of this vine, also.

GRASSES, STRAWS, AND CANE. There are many kinds of grasses and straws that grow in town and in the woods; some of these are used for fodder, others for thatch, and yet others
for decoration. There is one kind of straw that is cultivated in the cold country of San Andrés and Concepción for use as thatch, and it is brought down here for sale in great bunches tied with the same straw. Sometimes it grows wild in the hills above town here and occasionally it is planted along roadsides; land here is too valuable for other things to be used much for straw. Although on the coast the houses are thatched with sugar cane, this does not last as long as straw. Here straw is the only economical thatch, and it hardly has a substitute. A house with a thatched roof is warmer than any other; and if clay tile or sheet metal is used instead, a loft must be built for warmth. As time goes on, the straw of the thatch becomes pressed down and all the empty spaces are closed and no cold air can enter. The old thatch taken from houses is used as fertilizer in the vegetable gardens. The soot of the smoke in the house enters the thatch, and this soot can be mixed with warm water and given to laboring women to hasten childbirth.

In other towns the roots of wild grasses are used to make brooms and horse-brushes and mason's brushes. The people of Santa Catarina Palopo also use the reed, "water grass," to make the sleeping mats that they sell all over. Horses like to eat these reeds. The owners of the land on the lake where water grass once abounded used to sell the reeds to the Cataringos; but now the town authorities claim the lake shore and only they can sell the reeds. The lake has risen so much, however, that now there is almost none left to sell.
The wild cane grows very tall in patches in the woods and in some parts of town in gravelly ground, and is rarely planted. It grows very fast, and so children who do so are often compared with it. Patches of cane are breeding places for poisonous scorpions, spiders, and especially those snakes with horns and hair that are the masters of the hills and woods. The cane has a great many uses, the most important of which are in building. Most of the houses here have walls of cane placed horizontally and filled in with mud. The thatch of the roof is also laid on canes. Many small and provisional houses, like granaries, are built of only canes. For such buildings the wild cane is best, although cornstalks often are used. In houses the ceilings or lofts are of canes, as are the doors and most of the beds. Fences are most often made of canes. In the old days the carrying-frames of the merchants, now made of wood, were homemade of cane. A piece of cane makes a very good cudgel to carry when walking at night because the characoteles and evil spirits are afraid of cane and cornstalks, saying they hurt a lot and sometimes kill them.

There are dozens of other uses for canes. To pull down fruit from the trees, long straight canes with notched ends are used. Long canes are used for fishing poles and attached to fishing traps. One of the weaving-sticks used by the women is always of cane. Small canes are stuck into the ground to support the climbing beanstalks. The sticks of rockets are small canes; the powder is placed in the hollow of the cane, and the whole is bound together with maguey fiber and glue or resin. One old
man here has made a flute from a piece of cane with which he plays very pleasing music. Pilgrims carry candles in hollow pieces of cane, and paper documents are usually kept in similar pieces. Old dry pieces of cane make a very good hot fire in the sweatbath. The leaves of the cane are good for wrapping tamales with meat and for lining and covering the pot in which they are cooked; but since the leaves are saw-toothed, care must be taken not to cut the hands on them. Some parents whip their children with canes. The hollow part tells the children what wrong they have done and so the children learn the lesson placed better. The green tips of canes are usually in the coffin of a woman who has died and left children. When she thinks of them, she will have the canes to represent them. Otherwise her spirit will return for the children, and they will die.

The little canes are placed together with large candles at each side of the body. Canes make favorite toys for children, too. They often sit astride a cane and pretend it is a horse, especially when the root is shaped like a horse's head. They also make a kind of blowgun of cane, and with it they blow water at each other. Also, they sometimes make "roosters" out of canes and play a game with them.

A patch of canes makes a very good hiding place, and the shamans often do their rites in them, thus hiding from their neighbors or the law. When Christ was being chased by the Jews, He hid among the canes, and so blessed the plant; that is why the decoration called "tithes" that is placed beside the crucifixion on Good Friday always used to be made with canes. Nowadays,
other sticks must be used, because there are no canes strong enough and thick enough to hold up all the flowers of the "tithes."

"Wind music" is a plant much like the cane except that it is much smaller. The children use it for a blowgun, and they also make a kind of popgun of it by putting pieces of lima or orange peel in each end and, by forcing one in with a stick, making the other pop out. Elder trees are kinds of canes, and there are three varieties of them. One is the "tree dahlia." It grows in damp places, on the edges of streams and sometimes under large trees. The stalk contains a clear liquid that, sweetened and drunk, will cure fever. The tender leaves are also sometimes cooked and eaten. A second variety is called the "young tree." Its trunk and branches are divided into sections as long as a foot and as thick as two inches, and these are filled with good clear water. If the flower of this plant is boiled and the water drunk it cures fever, too. Also, the soft tips of the stems, when peeled, can be put in the ears to cure deafness and earache. It is a sin to cut either of these two kinds of elder for firewood because they are so good for medicines. The third kind of elder is a flower that is planted on the graves in the cemetery for its beautiful white blossoms. It has been grown here for only a few years.

Bamboo grows best on the coast, where the large segments are used as flower pots; but there are about five patches here in town, growing wild. They sometimes are places where the hairy, horny snakes are hidden. The bamboo is used mostly for
rain-gutters on the eaves of houses, for which purpose it is split along its length. It is also good for chicken fences because when it dries it is strong enough to keep any animals out. The small branches are often used for pipestems, and the children in school make toy chairs and tables of them. Along with banana trees, branches of bamboo are used to decorate the streets for fiestas and to make arches for parades and holidays.

BUSHES AND PLANTS. Chilca is a wild bush that grows in the woods and hills, especially in the colder country. When dry, the branches are used for firewood, particularly in the sweatbath. Some Ladinas drink the boiled leaves in the morning to bring on menstruation and so avoid pregnancy. But what is chiefly valued from this plant is the flower. Chilca has yellow flowers which are used to carpet the street over which Christ in His coffin is carried in the funeral procession on Good Friday. Each of the fathers of the twelve children who are the Apostles during Holy Week goes to gather a net bag full of these flowers (sometimes mixed with cypress leaves) to bring to the church. There is another kind of chilca that is quite different and grows in the riverbed in town. The branches of this are used sometimes for brooms, and the straight branches are used as bean poles.

Another wild bush of many uses is the "little broom." The branches are strong and can stand much use, so they are favorites for making brooms to sweep out the house and yard. When the plant has gone to seed, the branches are used to
hit the feet of the young children in the sweatbath so that they will be strong and learn to walk quickly. The trunk of the bush, which is strong and flexible, was formerly used to whip the children in school. Wood from this trunk, when dry, is also used by the bloodletters to make handles for their instrument, for the wood is strong and light and splits easily so the pieces of glass used to cut the patient can be inserted. The leaf is used as a remedy if the skin is pricked by any kind of chichicaste plant; a fingerful of saliva is rubbed first on this leaf and then on the sore spot.

There are in addition a host of smaller plants growing in the woods around here, most of which are very useful. The one called "green medicine" grows in the rainy season and is to be found in the hills when the rains have passed. When this plant flowers, it has a very pleasing odor, and it should be cut then, in the full moon, so that its virtues will be strong. It can be used when fresh and green, but it is even better dry. Most people keep bunches of it hanging in the house where the smoke rises so that when they need some at night it is always handy. It is used to cure stomach aches and diarrhea: two or three of the stems, with leaves and flowers, are boiled several times; and the water, sweetened with brown sugar, is taken by the patient. If it has no effect in a half hour, the dose is repeated until it does. When one gets a stomach ache while traveling, all he need do for relief is chew the plant and swallow the juices.

"Skunk plant" is a bitter-tasting herb that smells
like a skunk, and its odor gets into one's clothing and stays for days. Because of its bad taste and odor, mice and rats can be kept from the newly planted cornfields by soaking the grain overnight in the water in which the skunk plant has been boiled. The same water is a good cure for aire. It should be taken only once, not two or three times. If the evil wants to come out, it will do so with one dose, so it is useless to take more. The plant, when it grows old, produces a pearl-like berry.

The mulberry herb\textsuperscript{56} is found wild in the cornfields, where it is purple and has a bitter taste, and in the woods, where it is white and not so bitter. When not in season here, the herbs are bought, quite green, by the bunch, from others who bring them to sell. The leaves are boiled and eaten with spices and chile, or cooked over the tamales and eaten in the same way. The water in which the leaves are boiled is a diuretic and is good for stomach inflammations and also can settle the stomach after the effects of drunkenness.

The plant called "mother of maize"\textsuperscript{57} is very important, especially when there is a shortage of corn and it is very expensive. It grows in the woods, especially in damp places, and most of all on the volcano of Tolimán. In times of crisis the plant is sold by the hundredweight in San Lucas. Mother of maize looks like a small reed and has leaves like that of the grenadilla. But a little under the earth it has a tuber something like the potato. This tuber is cooked
together with corn when corn is very expensive. It makes tortillas and tamales almost as good as pure corn and is just as filling. There are two kinds of tubers, yellow and white. The yellow kind is round and is called "tortilla," while the white kind is long and is called "tamal." The tamal is always found in the ground lying upon its side. The mother of maize plant came because long ago some of the bad dogs would not eat tamales and tortillas that were given them, but just kicked them and buried them. Finally the corn became angry, and God decided that from each buried tamal and tortilla a plant similar to it should grow. That is why there are round mother of maize roots and long ones, each having the same form and color as the buried food. Whenever one comes across this plant in the woods, he should treat it with the same respect as he does corn itself.

Chenopodium is a plant that is used, like coriander, to spice foods—especially beans. The stem and soft leaves are the parts so used, but some people also collect the seeds to sell. There are two kinds of chenopodium—white and red—and only the first is used in food. The red chenopodium has a very bad smell, just like that of the oil sold in the pharmacy to cure worms in people; and it is boiled in water and drunk in small doses also to cure worms. Only an experienced person should give this remedy, or else the patient may die. Nowadays most people use the oil from the pharmacy instead, but children are still served beans with white chenopodium because if the beans do not agree with them it is a sure sign
that they have worms that should be treated.

There are four kinds of plants called sunflowers. One is a large flower which is planted in the gardens for its beautiful blossom. A second is a small plant that is eaten by horses and cattle. The third, called "bitter sunflower," is used to drive ants from the planted fields; the branches of this are stuck into the anthills, and it has such a bitter taste that the ants soon leave. The fourth is the "stone sunflower," a shrub of many branches that grows among rocks and in the woods. Its leaves are fodder and its branches good for firewood and beanpoles. All four kinds have yellow flowers, and the branches are so bitter that any bitter-tasting food is compared with the sunflower.

Although many plants grow wild in the woods, plants are equally numerous in the town itself. Some of the more useful ones are the juquyol, the mallow, the "whip plant," the "fat plant," and the tamarisk shrub. The juquyol is an herb growing in newly planted garden beds and where the earth is soft and deep. The water of its boiled stem and leaves is a good eyewash, but only women who know what they are doing should administer it. If this liquid is drunk hot, it is a sure cure for a cough; or the cough can be cured by placing the mashed, cooked leaf in another leaf against the throat. Children like the tart taste of the juice of the stalk, and they suck it out. But they must be careful not to eat of the root, because that causes deafness. Mallow grow in damp places, mostly in the shade of trees. Some are found in the woods too, but only poorly developed ones. There
are two kinds found in town—one with pointed leaves and one with rounded leaves. The latter is much used to bring down fevers: the whole herb is boiled in water several times and the greenish fluid, cool and refreshing, is applied to the feet for a half hour. For heat in the stomach, those who are skilled in such things use this fluid as an enema to cool off the insides. Children with fever or evil eye are also bathed in the mallow-water. The whip plant, like other plants with white milk, is used by women to bring milk to their breasts. The water in which it has been boiled is taken by the nursing mother, and the midwife beats the woman's breasts with bunches of the leaves in the sweatbath. The fat plant is something like bugloss except that the stalks are reddish rather than green. The leaves are ground and applied to sores on the body, and the Ladaninos also boil them with mallow and ohenopodium leaves to wash sores. The tamarisk shrub, found in the riverbed, has leaves just like those of the guachipilín tree, and the wood of the branches is very heavy. It makes good firewood; it is also used for axe and pickaxe handles, but not for hoe handles because the wood is too heavy. If pieces of the green wood are soaked in water for about ten hours, the water can be taken to relieve kidney pains. If the pieces are cooked, the water, sweetened, can be drunk to cure inflammations.

Maguey grows wild in town and in the woods, and sometimes it is cultivated from shoots of old plants in the coffee fields or in the open country. The long leaves contain tough
fibers that are used for all kinds of tying; and in other
towns ropes, hammocks, and bags of all sorts are made of them.
The people here used to work with maguey fibers, primarily
making binding for mats and string for flying kites, and
they sold some to the sheep herders of San Andrés. Now they
buy the rope, twine, and bags ready-made, and even those who
still make things prefer to buy the fibers rather than beat
them out of the leaves. On the end of each leaf is a thorn
as long as two inches. These thorns are used by the women to
hold the sticks of the loom in place, and because they do not
infect the flesh as readily as do steel needles, they are
used to extract chigoes from the toes. These thorns are
dangerous to animals, who sometimes pierce their eyes on them.
The sap of the maguey leaf irritates any part of the body
that it touches, and the more the skin is scratched, the more
it itches. It sometimes gives children fever.

Chichicaste is a bush that was first brought here
from Santa Catarina Palopó in the last generation by a rich
man who wanted it to fence in his orchards. Now there are
many kinds here planted from shoots; they are used as fences
because touching the plant is very painful (although a bit
of saliva, or saliva rubbed first on the broom plant, usually
relieves the pain). Some foolish people who, when they are
drunk, want to show that they are hard and strong chew chichi-
caste leaves or rub them on their arms and feet and say it
does not hurt them. Sometimes two people have a contest to
see which one can stand the pain better, and they rub the branches and leaves on each other until one has to run away. In some places, but rarely here, the chichicaste is used to beat the body while in the sweatbath to make one hot. Also, sometimes the midwives and the shamans beat their patients with it to cure them. Mothers occasionally punish their children, especially when they have run away, by putting chichicaste to their feet. People who lack feeling in certain parts of their body rub the chichicaste branches onto them; they say they can feel the biting, and they do this a number of times to bring back feeling. Those also who suffer from "snake-of-the-blood" apply chichicaste as a cure. They say that in Sololá a setting hen is made to hatch her eggs with the help of chichicaste; if she does not want to set on the eggs the owner puts the plant to her breast and legs, and she is more willing. Finally, a branch of chichicaste makes a very good walking stick because the characoteles are afraid of it, saying it hurts as if it were hard wood.

There are at least a hundred other wild plants that one can name, but hardly anybody knows much about them or for what they can be used. Some of them have flowers that are sometimes used for adornment, some can be used for firewood, and many of them can be eaten by the beasts of the house. There are so many plants in the woods and in town that nobody can know them all. Besides, there are many plants that grow only in the colder country and not here at all. For example, there are a couple of plants there that, when crushed and
smelled, cause nosebleeds. Another is just like a clock because at five o'clock in the afternoon it opens its yellow flower; in the rainy season, when the laborers cannot tell by the sun the time to stop work, they watch this flower. And there is another plant that the old sorcerers used to use in their work; when its green leaves are removed and put in the sun, they immediately turn into little worms like fruit worms.
The deer are the dogs of the owner of the hill, who sometimes sends them out with their pastor to graze. In bygone days one could sometimes see the pastor, a little man dressed all in red, walking behind the deer, often with a switch in his hand to drive them where he wished.

Once in a while, when there are too many deer in the hill and the owner wants to get rid of them, he gives one of the deer a little green stone to swallow. This stone is about two or three inches long and about half as much in width and breadth, and it stays in the deer's stomach until a hunter happens to kill it. When a hunter finds one of these stones in a deer, he should keep it, for with it he can go out hunting any time, any day or any month, and always get many deer because this stone calls to them. In the old days, when there were many deer in the woods here, the hunters usually hired a shaman to ask permission of the owner of the hill to hunt the deer; otherwise the hunter might see many deer, but he would never be able to kill any.

There are still some deer in the woods, where they feed mostly on the chipilín plant. But some years ago there were so many that they came to town in herds to go to the lake shore to get water. When some of the old people were children, the deer used to pass through the fields here like dogs. They ate the beans and things from the gardens, so the children were put to guarding the fields and chasing off the
deer with sticks and stones. The people even used to lasso the deer to kill them like steers. In other towns deer were scarcer, and the venison brought good prices. In those days, when the deer used to come down to the lake, many people would get together and surround them on all sides except the lake side, and then close in on them, shouting and hitting them with sticks and stones, and finally driving them into the water. Then the people would get onto logs and into canoes and grab the deer by the horns and duck their heads in the water to drown them. Then the meat was divided equally among all. After firearms came in, people used to shoot the deer with their rifles. An old man here can remember when guns first came in; his father determined to kill a number of deer and go into the venison business. Then,

"One morning when the deer came down to the lake, my father said to my mother, "Wife, heat up some water and get everything ready, for I am going to kill a deer to get enough money to buy a horse."

(Now "kio le" is the word for horse and "manat" for deer; some of the old people say that the word "manat" came from the word, "from Mexico.") He ran down with his rifle and soon came upon some twenty-five deer. He shot at them about ten times, but the bullet never left the barrel; and he became angry and threw the rifle at the animals. The deer were not even frightened and just continued their way down to the lake shore; so he became angrier still and finally just shouted to them to hurry up and go. At about this time my mother came up and scolded him for not being able to shoot any deer. They looked at the rifle to see why it had not fired. And it seems that my father had put into it first a wad rammer
Nowadays, deer in the woods are almost never hunted, except by Ladinos with their rifles. To hunt deer is a dangerous business because when a buck is chased, say by the dogs, or is angered, he will sometimes attack with his horns and his feet. And when he is killed and is lying on the ground, his last kicks may be very hard, so hunters never come near until they are sure the deer is very dead. They say that a kick from this animal makes a wound as sharp and deep as one from a knife or machete.

Long ago, they say, the skin of the deer was used as a mat on which to sleep, but now only the Ladinos use it to cover sofas and armchairs and such. A deer is butchered just like a steer, and the meat is very good. The horns are sometimes used to hang things on; and the dancers in the deer dance use masks with real deerhorns that the mask-makers in Totonicapán and San Cristobal get somewhere. The horns are also used to cure a lack of juices in the stomach. They are burned to ashes in the fire, and the ashes are ground together with other things, mixed with water, and drunk.

Coyotes live in the hill and woods, but they often come down to town and howl to augur some sickness or other calamity for the people; for, like the cat and the owl, they are animals of ill omen. When they scream, their claws scream too, as if they were coyote pups. There are many more coyotes in the colder country of Solola, Chichicastenango, and San Andrés, where there are many sheep. The coyotes
sometimes carry off whole sheep, usually in their jaws but sometimes on their backs. If a man is lying on the road, they are able to kill him. They cannot do this, however, if he is drunk, because St. Teresa watches over drunken people. The coyotes most often carry off chickens and other fowl. When the chickens are roosting at night in a tree, all the coyote has to do is stand under the tree and look at them, and in a few minutes one of the chickens will drop down for him to carry away. Or the coyote just circles the tree a few times and the chicken drops. The coyotes also raid the cornfields to steal the ears of maize. Coyotes chew their food very quickly and do not digest it, so one can see if they have been eating animals from their excrement.

The dog is the younger brother of the coyote, and when the two meet in the woods they can talk together very easily. But the dog does not like his brother, because the coyote is such a liar and treats the dog so badly. When the coyote comes to a house to steal, he first speaks to the dog and offers him a piece of meat that he will steal if the dog lets him in. Then, when the dog accepts the bargain and the coyote gets what he wants, he runs off and leaves nothing for his brother the dog. So the dog never believes the coyote and only barks when he comes, and then the coyote bites him. Coyotes also know how to talk to fences so that they let them through. Some say that coyotes cannot do this with barbed-wire fences because they come from a foreign land and speak a language the coyotes have not yet learned.

The horse, however, is such an enemy of the coyote that the latter cannot even look at him. Therefore, if there is a horse near the corral, the coyote, no matter how hungry he is, will never attack
the sheep or calves or chickens. When one does not have a horse he can put the skull and leg bones of a horse in the corral; and when a coyote comes and sees them it will turn around and leave without taking the animals.

Some people keep the skull of a horse next to their chicken houses. They say that when a coyote comes at night the skull acts as if it is a real horse and will not allow the marauder to enter the chicken house. They say this works, for those not so protected are bothered by coyotes more often.

Even insects as small as the cricket are enemies of the coyote, and the following story is told of how the smaller creatures banded together to fight a coyote:

There was a poor cricket which had made its nest in a certain place in the mountain so that no one would disturb it. One time a coyote, who came often to this spot to catch the bees which were nearby, came across the nest. The first time he came, the cricket spoke to him, asking him not to destroy his house. But the coyote ignored his plea and purposely destroyed the nest. Very angry, the cricket abused him. The second time this happened, the coyote tried to find the cricket to kill him; but the cricket hid himself in the ground, and the coyote could not find him. Many times the same thing happened until the coyote challenged the cricket to a blood battle, believing that the little insect was not going to accept. But the cricket did accept the challenge and set the day of the war. The coyote went to call many horses, mules, and oxen to help him stamp down the earth and thus put an end to the small insect. The
cricket went to collect a host of bees of different varieties to sting the coyote. They came quickly and arranged a plan of battle. When the day for the battle arrived, the coyote went to the front of the army and abused the cricket, saying that if he were a man he would step forth. The cricket replied in kind, and right away the battle started. When the big animals neared the nest, the cricket gave the signal for the bees to fly out. They settled on all parts of the animals, stringing them until they went mad. The enemy retreated, properly punished.

Coyotes are hard to kill. They have a way of terrifying dogs that go after them, and even guns will not fire when aimed at them. The bravest man is taken aback when he smells the fetid odor of a coyote, and he trembles with fright when he sees one close by. The way to kill one is with a pitfall. A trench three or four yards deep is dug in a path the coyote is likely to take. A log is put across the top and over it a number of light branches and leaves to hide the opening. At one corner a live hen is tied, and all the edges except that opposite the hen are blocked off so that the coyote has to approach from the open corner; of course it then falls in. Sometimes the pit is half-filled with water to drown the coyote, but in any case the people come in the morning to kill the coyote in the pit. Sometimes a man as well as a coyote is trapped. Then, as in the following case, it does not go well with him the next morning:

Once the men of one of the districts of Chichicastenango, tired of the losses to their animals which a coyote was causing them night after night, got together to make a trap to put an end to the animal. They found the path that the
A coyote always took and dug a pit there in the narrowest place. They then balanced boards on a log placed across this pit and tied a live rooster on one side. When everything was ready, they all went home to await the result.

Naturally, when the rooster found himself alone, he began to crow, and several times during the night he sang, perhaps to call his companions. This crowing was heard by a Maxeño who lived close by and who did not happen to know about the trap. He was very curious and thought that perhaps this was his fortune, so he decided to get up and fetch the rooster. But of course when he reached for the bird, he fell into the pit. His fright was great, but it was greater a few minutes later when he heard footsteps approaching and then suddenly found that he had company with a very disagreeable smell. He did not know it until dawn, but his companion was the old coyote which had been doing so much damage in the neighborhood. It may be imagined that the night was interminably long for the man in the pit.

At sunrise the owners of the trap, sure that they had caught their coyote because there had been no damage during the night, came down with sticks, ropes, guns, and so on. When they uncovered the pit, they saw the coyote in one corner and the man in the other. The man looked up at them partly with worry and partly with relief, knowing that he would be punished but also that he would be freed at last. He asked their pardon and beseeched them to get him up quickly. When they had pulled him out, they told him that he too was a coyote, some saying that he was surely a
They found membrillo branches and, taking down his pants, gave him hundreds of lashes on the buttocks.

With ropes, they got out the great coyote, and they had to shoot at it a couple of times to keep it from fighting. Then they all fell on it ferociously and killed it. They saw that it was one of the oldest of coyotes, so old that it no longer had fangs. It was so heavy that two men had to lift it.

They made their overcurious prisoner carry the coyote on his back as they went to call upon all the neighboring houses. One man went first to announce the fall of the two prisoners. The people waited in their houses to see them. They made ready maize and beans and fowls and sheep and money to give to those who had put an end to the depredations of the coyote and the man; those who were makers of rum served two or three bottles. They went from house to house showing off their victims and, as was their custom, carried a drum to announce their news. Having been to all the houses, they went to the highest Elder to divide their profits among all except their prisoner, who was given another beating instead. Then, with everything done, they freed the poor man, now dishonored among all his townspeople.

Something like this happened once in San Andrés, too. Maize and a hen were both put over the pit, and after the coyote fell in, a Ladino (after the maize) fell in also. The trap-makers called the town officials when they found the man in the morning. And both man and coyote were paraded through the streets—the man carrying the maize and the coyote the hen. People did not think this man was a
The skin of the coyote is used to make the drums and the snare drums of the soldiers, and it fetches a good price. They say that sandals made of coyote skin are often worn by bandits, and that is why the police can never catch them. Since the coyote is very fast on his feet and neither man nor dog can catch him (although he never seems to run very fast), wearing sandals of coyote skin will make a person untiring in traveling great distances over the roads or through the woods.

Wildcats live in the hills and woods, but they often come down to town looking for food. In the fruit season they eat avocados, guavas, and cross-sapodillas, but otherwise they steal chickens and other barnyard fowl. Like the coyote, the wildcat is an animal of ill omen. When it roars in the woods late in the day it augurs sickness or famine, and then the hunters go off to kill it. If there has been too much or too little rain, the cry of the wildcat near town means that the bad times will continue. If a wildcat comes to the cemetery it is certain that sickness will come to the whole town. So the wildcat is a sorcerer.

Wildcats are fast and clever and can be hunted only with firearms and dogs. When a hunter sees one in the woods and wants it to stop so that he can aim and fire at it, all he has to do is call "Wildcat, wildcat, stop!" Then the animal will hear its name and sit down before the hunter. But it is a very smart animal because it lets itself be seen close at hand when one is not carrying a gun, but only very rarely when one is. The wildcat roams around day and night, and when it is chased it climbs up trees. When a hunter
kills a wildcat, he should immediately brush off the skin with leaves so that the meat will be good. The skin is used for masks in the Negrito dance and to make hunting bags.

Tigers do not live around here at all, but only on the coast; however, merchants often bring up the skins to sell to the Ladinos, who like them to cover fine chairs and to make pistol holsters, and so on. The meat is never eaten because it is a sin to eat the meat of an animal that eats people. There is a small tiger in the woods here that is like the tigers of the coast except that it is only a little larger than a cat and only eats small animals. They say that one of these small tigers once came all the way into town, but it quickly ran off. The skin of this animal is fine and pretty. The tiger on the coast can be hunted only by a group of men with rifles because it turns upon a hunter when it is wounded.

An owl always travels before a tiger to show it what road to take in its hunting, for the owl and the tiger are good friends. So when an owl is heard in the woods of the coast, one can be sure that a tiger is nearby.

Tigers usually eat little animals in the woods, and only when hungry do they attack men. But it happens often enough, as in the following case, to make the people afraid to travel alone through forests of the coast:

There was a man from here in the cold country who went down to the coast to look for work. He was surprised by a tiger and was carried off through the woods, perhaps to
be eaten by the tiger's cubs in its cave. The man could
do nothing to defend himself and in fact, from fright and
fear, was useless; he could only think of his danger as he
was carried farther and farther into the woods. Fortunately
he was not hurt any; and after awhile he began to think of
how he might save himself and bethought himself of the many
branches which, in passing, were close to his head. Finally
they came to a beautiful branch of a high tree, and he
grabbed onto it quickly and began to climb the tree. The
tiger turned around to catch him again, but the man, enlivened
by the sight of the tiger, climbed higher and higher into
the saving tree. The tiger tried to climb the tree; but
since the tree was strong and at the same time very thin,
there was nothing the animal could do, and it became angrier
and angrier.

Finally, tired of trying to bring down its prey, the
tiger went into the thick bush and began to roar in a special
way, as if calling for its young. In a few minutes the tree
was surrounded by three or four tiger cubs; the mother now
showed them how to climb the tree, perhaps to bring down the
man so that they could eat him. The tigers were clawing at
the bark of the tree when the man heard a shot in the distance.
He was much elated and began to shout for help, and in a few
minutes he heard answering shouts, and soon the good hunter
came close and the tigers ran off.

After a while a Ladino hunter came with his dogs, who had
led him to the tree where the man still was. The hunter
asked him what he was doing there, and the man told him about
the tigers. He came down—still very frightened—and showed the hunter the direction the tigers had taken, although he would much rather have left the neighborhood then and there and have gone to the road. But with the help of the dogs, they were soon onto the scent of the tigers, and they finally found the cave of stones that was their den. The hunter captured two cubs, all there were in the cave, and started back to his town; the man accompanied the hunter, even though it was not where he was headed, because he was afraid to be left alone. In the town the hunter gave one of the cubs to the man, who soon sold it in one of the stores for a pretty fair price. With the money the man bought what he needed; and in a few days, with money and maize, he went back home to tell his tale.

The tiger is the older brother of the cat; it is a strong animal, but not as strong as its younger brother. Once, a tiger who was killing lots of people went into a house in which there was a handsome cat. The cat, defending its masters, was agile and quick and got hold of the neck of the tiger and killed it. So now tigers are always afraid of cats, and cats can kill tigers:

Between Patululú, on the coast, and San Lucas Tolimán, there is a plantation called Santo Tomás. In this neighborhood there once lived a tiger that attacked and ate all the people who passed; and travelers were very fearful of passing there. Only when large parties of people came through did the tiger not attack or remain nearby.
Since the tiger had already done much damage, the priest at San Lucas said a mass for a cat of his so that it should go out to kill the terrorizing tiger. When the mass was finished he ordered one of his sacristanas to take the cat in a basket, and a ball of soap, and go out on the road to Patululí. He told him what to do when they came near the place where the tiger was.

The sacristan did as he was told. When they approached the fatal spot, the cat began to cry out for its freedom; and before they reached the place, the sacristan tied a string to one of its legs and let the cat go. Then, just as they came upon the tiger, he freed it altogether. But the sacristan was filled with fear.

Some steps ahead, the tiger came out into the pass and sat down on a rock to lick its paws and beat its tail against the earth until the sacristan should come close enough to pounce upon. Then, when the tiger was about to spring, the cat pounced upon its neck and attacked it there until it had gained its heart. So the cat managed to kill the tiger and to throw it down a gorge nearby.

Meanwhile, the sacristán had gone farther down the road to a spring of water, and he waited there. In a few minutes the cat came to him, all bloody, and the sacristán bathed it with the soap that he had been given. Then they continued on to Patululí, where another great mass was celebrated for the hero-cat. And so ended the people's terror of the tiger.

People, too, sometimes manage to kill tigers. There was the time when a man was spending the night in his cornfield in the woods.
He made a fire and since there were many squash, he put a few in the fire. All of a sudden a tiger came up to kill him, but he grabbed the hot squashes and threw them in the tiger's face, and the tiger died. The man was very happy that he had won. He went home and told his family, then went to the townhall to report the case. They brought the body of the tiger to town and did a ritual over it. Some say that all tigers are afraid of fire and that on the coast, where there are many tigers, people sleep within a ring of fire. That way, tigers do not attack them.

They say that once the tiger and the puma passed a church, and the priest came out and invited them both to come in to hear the mass. The tiger refused and went on its way, but the puma went in and heard the mass. That is why the puma is a better animal, often helping people and rarely hurting them. That is why the puma can talk, too, even though some people say it cannot:

One night on the coast a man built his fire and prepared to remain the night when he saw a puma coming up to him. He was very frightened, but the puma talked to him and showed him that its paw was swollen. As the man came closer, he saw that a large thorn had entered the paw. So, trusting the puma, the man took the paw in his hands and finally pulled out the thorn. The puma was happy and grateful and soon could walk around easily; and he told the man that he would stay there the night and protect him. Then the puma made a circle of urine around the man and the fire. At about five in the morning came the tiger; but when he came to the circle of urine, he turned around and
went back into the woods. At dawn the man thanked his good companion and went safely on his way.

Another time, the road to Patulul was closed because of a ferocious tiger that kept people from passing, except in large groups. A poor man, alone and without a load, happened to be caught on this road at nightfall. There was nothing to do but stay there, and he thought that perhaps he could kill the tiger. He gathered wood and built a fire because he knew that he would not be able to sleep. He was warming himself by the fire when he heard a puma in the woods meowing like a cat and coming closer and closer. He was very frightened and awaiting his end when, to his joy, the puma came up and spoke to him in his own language, telling him that it had come only to take care of him and to defend him during the night.

The puma came right up to the fire, next to the man, who was still frightened of the great beast at his side. It stayed there licking its paws and claws and all its body, as if readying itself for the fight that was coming. Late at night they heard the crying of the tiger in the thick woods, and each time they heard it, it was closer. Then the puma told the man that he should not be afraid but should help in the fight that the puma would have with the tiger if the animal attacked them. He said that the animal that was screaming was called "the varicolored cloak."

When the varicolored cloak, or tiger, came into view, the puma sharpened its claws and again encouraged the man
to help in the fight. Meanwhile, the tiger beat its tail on the ground and licked its paws to attack not the puma but the man. In a minute the man's time came, for the tiger in a flash pounced upon him to take him away. But his good companion came to the fore, and the two animals were locked in a bloody fight to the death. Thus saved, the man took up his cudgel and struck the eyes of the tiger, thus fulfilling his part of the bargain. The two animals rolled over and over on the ground and finally fell into a gorge. At the end the tiger lay dead and the puma came back to the fire, where the man washed off the blood and treated its wounds. Then, a little before dawn, the man bid good-by to his friend, who remained seated by the fire, and went on his way to San Lucas to tell his story.

Some say that the puma can conquer the tiger because it has been baptized.

Pumas are found mostly on the coast, but sometimes they get as far as this town. A puma rarely attacks a man, much less a woman, unless it is very hungry or the person has offended it in some way. But not long ago a woman here was accosted by a puma in her patio in the middle of the night. She ran into the house, and the puma stayed at the door and growled until finally it went away. A puma eats only the breasts of a woman and then leaves her. Puma skins are sometimes brought up for sale to the Ladinos. Of course, the flesh is never eaten.

Although monkeys live wild only on the coast, they are sometimes tamed and kept in houses up here. The wild monkey lives
on fruits, but when it is in the house it eats much like people.
On the coast people eat the meat; but nobody does here, because
monkeys used to be people until they hid during the Judgment and
were changed into monkeys. Monkeys are a little dangerous to have
around because when angered they choke people with their tails.
Also, a pregnant woman may never look at a monkey lest her child
a
resemble the animal. Male monkeys make love to women; and female
monkeys, to men. Once a monkey stole a woman on the road, and
later she had children by it. Human excrement is poison to monkeys
if it is given them to smell, and they die in a minute if they
even smell the wind of a person's bowels.

Honey bears

Honey bears are also found mostly on the coast,
but sometimes they live in the woods around here. They feed on
wild honey, which they take with their tails and then suck. Their
meat is very sweet and is good to eat.

Smaller Animals of the Woods and Fields

Rabbits

Rabbits abound in the woods here, and also in town
wherever there is much high grass (the pajon and zacaton). They
cannot be tamed, except the foreign or Castillian rabbits, which
are bred and kept around the house. Rabbits are killed with guns,
or when very young they are caught alive with the hands, and some
people kill them by striking them on the nape of the neck with the
edge of the hand. To skin a rabbit is very easy. The mouth of the
dead animal is opened wide and air blown hard into it so that it
goes between the skin and the flesh. When the animal is blown up
enough, the skin is pulled off by the tail, and the carcass comes
out whole. The skin is used on the masks of the Negrito dancers, and sometimes the whole skin is stuffed with ashes so that it has the form of the living animal, and this is carried in the dance. The meat of the rabbit is good to eat, for the animal is very clean. When the rains begin in May a great many rabbits can be caught when they come into the fields to look for food.

The rabbit is the nephew of the coyote, and they often meet in the woods when they are both looking for food. One way or another the rabbit always manages to trick its uncle, as in the following cases:

Once the rabbit was very content because he had come upon a big watermelon patch. This patch was owned by a poor man who supported his whole family from the sale of his watermelons. The day the rabbit first found the garden, he ate only a few melons, because he did not want to finish them and have nothing for the next day. But he picked out the best ones.

When the owner came to see his garden he was angry to note that some melons were missing, and he was determined to catch the man or animal that was stealing them. The next day the rabbit came again and ate more melons, and of course the owner was still angrier. But after three or four visits, the owner finally saw who it was that was eating his melons. He did nothing, but he thought of a way to catch the rabbit alive so that his family could eat him, now that he had cost them so much.

In the path that the rabbit had made from the woods to the garden the man set a trap in the form of a wax doll,
which he stood up at the edge of the path. Since the doll was in the hot sun, it became soft and sticky. Because the rabbit thought the doll was real, he became annoyed with it when he came upon it in his path. He told it that if it did not leave right away he would hit it. Of course the doll paid no attention, so the rabbit struck it, and with the first blow his hands became buried and stuck in the wax. Then the rabbit demanded that the doll let go of his hands, or he would kick it. So he did this, and first one foot and then the other became stuck in the wax. Finally the rabbit struck the doll with his head, and then with his stomach, and then he was completely stuck in the doll. Now, seeing that he was a prisoner, the rabbit took a different tone and pleaded that if the doll would free him he would bring it good things to eat. But nothing did any good, and the rabbit began to fight and roll over and over on the ground, becoming more and more a prisoner.

Finally tired, the rabbit stopped struggling and thought that maybe he could save himself in time, because now he understood that he must have been seen by the owner of the watermelons on which he had filled himself those last few days. He was thinking of his predicament when the owner of the watermelons came and found him and grabbed him by the neck and took him to the house. The rabbit was put into a strong cage until the people could decide the best way to kill him and so punish him for the damage he had done. After a little while the rabbit heard that the next day he would be killed.
In the cage he passed a very bad night thinking of how he could save himself. But just before dawn his uncle the coyote passed near, and the rabbit called to him and talked to him. He told the coyote that he was very bored there in the cage because every day the people gave him large quantities of meat and things to eat, and they bothered him so much about finishing it all. Since the coyote had found nothing to eat that night, he asked the rabbit if he was really telling the truth, and the rabbit replied that although he was very small, his word was very big. So they arranged that the coyote should stay in the cage instead of the rabbit. The uncle opened the cage and freed his nephew, and the latter helped his uncle in and securely closed the door so that he could not later change his mind. Then the rabbit ran off contentedly into the woods.

When the owners of the house woke up in the morning, they were astonished to see that their prisoner was now a coyote. They all got together, and for a long time they discussed the situation. Finally they decided to punish the animal very hard so that it would not return to do them more damage or change into another animal, for in its present form they could not, of course, eat it. They heated a wire in the fire, and when it was red-hot they stuck it up the anus of the coyote, who cried with pain and of course repented the bargain he had made with his nephew the rabbit. Then they whipped him and finally they opened the cage and let him go, never to return again. The coyote dashed into
the woods to look for the rabbit to kill him for the trick he had played.

Some days later the coyote found the rabbit again, up in a sapodilla tree eating the fruit. He talked to him, berating him for the trick he had played and telling him what he was going to do to punish him when he came down from the tree. But the rabbit explained that the people had not treated him so. He said that he had really thought his uncle would be well fattened by the good things that the people, with whom he had spent several days, would give him. In this way, the rabbit convinced the coyote that he was without blame. He then asked the coyote if he would not like to eat some of the delicious sapodillas in the tree. The hungry coyote asked the rabbit to give him some of the fruit and said that they would talk later. So the rabbit climbed higher up the tree and cut off a very ripe fruit, telling the coyote to catch it in his mouth because if it fell on the ground it would be smashed up. The rabbit's uncle opened wide his mouth and the fruit fell into it, and he swallowed it quickly and asked for another. The rabbit gave him another in the same way. The third time he told the coyote to open his mouth very wide because he had a bigger and riper fruit for him. But this time he threw down a hard green one, and the coyote fell to the ground, strangled by the sapodilla in his throat. Then the rabbit quickly got down and ran off into the woods, so saving himself from the terrible wrath of his uncle.

A few days later the coyote met the rabbit again, this
time drinking water from a large pond in which the full moon was clearly reflected. The poor uncle, who still had a toothache from the hard sapodilla, said that this time there would be no excuses and he would punish the rabbit hard because of the disrespect he showed and because of the terrible tricks he played and the suffering he had caused. But the rabbit offered an excuse anyway; by very bad luck the green sapodilla had fallen by itself from the tree just as he had been about to drop the nice ripe one in his hand. He said that he had never wished his uncle any ill, but only good; and to prove his great affection just this once he asked the coyote if he would not help him to drink up all the water of the pond, where he could see there was a beautiful cheese to be had. He told him that for some time he had been drinking the water to get out this fine food. He told the coyote that he should first help him to get out the cheese, of which he could have a large part, and then he could decide if he deserved any punishment.

Hungry again, the coyote decided to help. The rabbit explained that there was very little water left that it was a shame that his stomach was too small for him to finish the water himself, so as to feast on the cheese. The coyote began to drink and drink; meanwhile the rabbit said that he would go fetch a glass which was not far away so that he could help empty the water. Fooled again, the coyote let the rabbit go away. He stayed there drinking the water which could never be finished, while the rabbit
left the neighborhood and again saved himself from the death that the coyote had promised him. After a while, well bloated, the coyote went to look for the rabbit to tell him to hurry back with the glass. He called and called and got no answer. Then he returned to the pond and saw very well that there was no cheese in it but only the reflection of the moon. Very angry, he left, determined to kill the rabbit when next he should see him.

Knowing very well now what would happen to him if ever the coyote caught up with him again, the rabbit was now very careful and whenever he heard the coyote howl, he went to another neighborhood. But he knew that some day they would meet, and so he prepared himself. He brought down a lot of coyoles from a tree and ate off the fruit, leaving the seeds which contain the nut.

There came a day when the coyote smelled the rabbit was around, and he began to follow the scent. The rabbit ran off into the woods, but he could not hide from his uncle, who could smell too well for him. When the rabbit saw that it was no use trying to hide, he found two large stones and began to crack the coyol seeds. When he was so engaged, the coyote came up and took him by the neck to kill him. But the rabbit began to cry and to plead for just a few minutes of grace while he finished breaking the seeds; and he promised to give the coyote some of the nuts to try, because he was sure never to have eaten them before. Relenting a little, the coyote let the rabbit go but told him angrily that he could have only a minute because this
was his day to die. Sadly the rabbit went on breaking
the seeds. He offered some to his uncle; but the coyote,
now not trusting his nephew very much, refused because he
said that maybe they would hurt him that it might be a
trick like all those others. But when the rabbit ate some
of the seeds himself, the coyote became more trusting and
ate some, and he liked them so much that he asked the rabbit
to go on breaking the seeds so that he could eat more of
the nuts. Since there were not many seeds left, the rabbit
soon had no more. He said to the coyote that indeed they
were very good but that they were rather hard to get. The
coyote wanted more, and insisted. Finally the rabbit told
him that they were the testicles. Since the coyote liked
them very much, he consented to put his testicles on the
rock. Then the rabbit hit them with the stones, so killing
his stupid uncle.

The rabbit is a very clever animal and finds ways of doing
many things. But even so, he does not always get what he wants,
as for example the time he wanted to be a bigger animal:

The rabbit, not satisfied with his small size, once
talked to God and asked Him to make him bigger. God said
He would, but only if the rabbit would first bring Him the
skins of an alligator, a puma, and a tiger, all of which
he had himself killed. So the rabbit, pleased, started
out to see where he could hunt down the three animals.
First he went to get some pack mules to help him carry back
the skins. One by one he gathered armadillos for this purpose.
They did not want to go with him because they knew he was a
bad animal; but he convinced them that they had to go on orders from God, and then they went willingly. He mounted one of them as if it were really a mule, and on the others he put his ropes and so on, and rode behind them.

They reached the ocean finally; and as luck would have it, they soon found an alligator sunning itself on the shore. As soon as it saw the mules it opened its mouth to catch one of them. But the rabbit called the alligator "Uncle" and asked it not to hurt the mules because he needed them to go on a long journey. Since the alligator was very hungry, however, it did not want to respect the rabbit's wishes. So the rabbit proposed a bet: if the alligator would tell him where it had its life, he would hit that spot with a stone. If the alligator withstood the blow, he could eat any of the mules he cared to. The alligator, thinking that a stone could not hurt him, agreed. The rabbit found a big stone and struck the alligator's tail (where it said it had its life) a heavy blow, with a stone that covered the whole tail. The result was that the alligator died instantly. The rabbit quickly skinned the body, and thus he had the first skin that he needed.

Then, with some of his mules carrying the alligator skin, he went to find another of the animals that he needed. Soon he came upon a hungry puma which, upon seeing the fat mules, immediately pounced on one of them. But in the nick of time the rabbit shouted for the puma to wait until he had heard the object of their voyage. Calling the puma "Uncle," the rabbit then explained to it that he was taking a long journey, just as he had to the alligator. The puma
was convinced and was willing to leave the mules alone.

But the rabbit suggested that the puma wait a minute and talk a bit, to which it answered that it was hungry and had to go to look for something to eat. Then the rabbit said that if it was true that the puma really wanted to eat his mules, he would give it some of them provided that it could do as follows: the rabbit would string some ropes between two trees, and the puma would see if it could break them by passing over them, the rabbit helping to see that the puma would not hang itself. The puma, seeing that the ropes were nothing for its great strength, readily agreed to the bargain and went up to the ropes. In a minute the puma was hanging there; and the rabbit, tightening the ropes and beating his victim, soon killed it. The rabbit skinned the puma, and his mules carried off the skin.

Soon they found a tiger that wanted to eat the mules, but the rabbit stopped it and proposed the same wager that he had with the puma, with the same results.

Having kept his part of the bargain, the rabbit then returned to deliver the three pelts to God. Then God seated the rabbit on a chair and began to pull him up by the ears in such a way that his ears grew long. The result was that the rabbit's body remained the same size and that only his ears became long. That is how the rabbit is to this day.

Skunk

The skunk is a small animal that lives in the woods and in parts of town where there is much vegetation. It eats mice and lizards, the maize of the fields, and certain fruits; but it
never comes near the houses or bothers the barnyard fowl. The animal has a very foul odor, and one cannot come even close to it, much less capture it, because it quickly sprays off some liquid that gets into the clothes and smells very bad. So when a skunk is seen, people get away from it as quickly as possible, and nobody tries to hunt it. When a dog chases a skunk, the animal blinds it with its spray and kills the dog's sense of smell. Dogs that are not hunters like to chase skunks, but they usually lose. Hunting dogs know how to chase skunks, however, and they come upon skunks quickly and kill them.

There is nothing one can do with a dead skunk except throw it away or bury it. When the animal dies, it sprinkles its spray throughout its body, and the meat cannot be eaten. Anyway, one who has eaten skunk meat can never go to Heaven because the flesh smells so much that God will not accept him, and he is sent to the hill for all eternity. Even so, those who want to be very strong and live long and be safe from sorcery fix the meat in a special way and manage to eat a few mouthfuls. They say that one who even smells of skunk can go anywhere at night without meeting spirits or characoteles, because they run from the odor. The liquid was formerly used as medicine and the excrement to cure eye sickness, but nowadays there is nobody who knows how to prepare these remedies.

The opossum, living in the woods and in wild places in town, often in big old trees, sleeps by day and at night goes out to forage for food. Sometimes at dawn it is still out, and then it is easily hunted because one has only to climb the tree where the animal is seen and hit it over the head. The opossum is gray in
color and has a long muzzle and sharp, long teeth and claws which are its weapons of defense. The female has a pouch in which she sometimes carries her young. The animal feeds on chickens and on fruits, especially cross-sapodillas, white sapodillas, and bananas. When a male opossum is killed, the testicles should be cut out immediately; otherwise the meat is spoiled. The Ladinos like the meat, especially of the males, but the Indians do not like it because, like the cat and the skunk, the opossum has to do with sorcerers. The animal is so strong that if its throat is cut and the skin peeled off, it will still run off if allowed to. Like the cat, it has seven lives. Some people eat the meat in order to become strong, so that sorcery can never affect them.

Weasels. The weasel, living in the woods and in wild parts of town, feeds on field mice, lizards, insects, and so on. The animal is often hunted for its fine and bright-colored skin, which is often sold to Ladinos for pistol holsters and other things. Few people eat the meat. The weasel is about the size of a wild rabbit and is usually shot when it comes to the house to eat the chickens. It has strong, sharp teeth and sharp claws, but it is afraid of people and runs from them. Weasels are animals of ill omen and (like the hoot owl) when they increase much on somebody's land, it is a sure sign of coming death for somebody in the family. A weasel can make a man sick just by looking at him, even when he does not see the animal. So when a man has been in the woods, he sometimes feels a pain between his legs, and eventually a tumor will grow on one of his thighs—all because of a weasel he has not even seen. When they are pursued, weasels, like ciguamontes, turn into snakes.
Weasels are white and black in color, with a little orange. On the forehead, right between the eyes, there is always a pure white spot about the size of a five-cent piece. Underneath this white spot there is a silver coin, a half-real of the old money. If a man catches the animal alive, he should cut a cross on this spot, take out the coin, then sew the wound, and let the weasel go. The coin will never leave his pocket; and no matter how often he spends it, he will shortly find it back again. A man who died long ago did this once and the coin never left him, nor stayed long with another: in less than an hour after he spent it, it was always back again.

Porcupines live in the woods and only rarely in wooded parts of town. The meat is not edible, but is simply left for the dogs. Long spines cover the bodies of porcupines, and when they are attacked, the spines bristle and become very hard, and so they defend themselves well. A dog suffers very much when it grabs a porcupine because it gets the spines into its body, and they hurt very much.

The taltuza is like a rat, but a little larger. Its eyes are very tiny, and it cannot see by daylight. It lives in the woods and in the cornfields, but always underground, where it has its home and a network of tunneled paths. The claws with which it digs these roads are very sharp. It lives on the roots of plants. Since it is never seen outside, it can be caught only with a trap. Nobody eats the meat, because the taltuza is an animal of the hill; anybody who eats of it will go to the hill when he dies.
The raccoon lives with its mate and their young in dens or burrows in the rocks of the hills near town, sleeping during the day and at night going in search of fruits and maize. When there are ears of corn in the fields, these animals, at this time of year very numerous, do a lot of damage. One animal can eat three or four ears at each trip, not to mention what it takes home for its family. The male usually goes alone in the hunt for food; if the female goes along, she does not go where he does, but stays nearby. Raccoons are much hunted because of the damage they do and also because their meat is good to eat. Dogs are usually taken along to fight these fierce animals. The dogs often run the raccoon into a cave and then the hunter smokes it out, for the dogs to get it.

The raccoon is also hunted with firearms. It is good at climbing trees, but the hunter with a flashlight can see it very well; when the light shines on the animal, its eyes glow like two red lights.

Meat is first dried by the fire and then is cooked in a pot just like beef. The skin makes very funny masks which are used by the Negrito dancers on Corpus Christie. It is also used by hunters to make the bags in which they carry their bullets, powder, and so on. The penis can be used to harm women. When it is cut off, it is dried in the sun; and then at any time a little can be scraped off and the powder dissolved in coffee, food, rum, or anything. When such a potion is given a woman to taste, she will immediately become like a prostitute.

The front paws of a raccoon are much like those of a man, and the hands just like those of a child. When the marks of the little hands are seen on the ground in the cornfield, one knows that a raccoon was there the night before. We are descended a little from raccoons.
The armadillo, unlike the raccoon, does not climb trees, and it lives only in burrows. When it hunts food it takes along its young. When the maize is planted, the armadillos do the cornfields great harm by digging out the newly-sown grain. The meat of the animal is very fat, so people are fond of hunting the animal. It is cooked like the raccoon. Some of the Negrito dancers use the armor to make the dolls that they carry. The armor is also used to make trinkets, and very often it is strung on a cord suspended from the ceiling so that mice cannot get to food that is tied to the cord below the shell. A piece of armadillo shell may be burned, ground up, and applied to major wounds on the body.

Hunters smoke the armadillo out of its hole just as they do the raccoon. Or, sometimes they simply find the hole and squat outside the opening with their legs spread open for two or three hours: when the armadillo comes out, they sit on it, grab its head, and break its neck. The armadillo has a hard armor, and when the dogs get one out of its hole or find it in the open, it curls up in its shell and rolls quickly down a hill until it finds a hole to run into. Once in a hole, it digs itself farther and farther into the ground with its sharp claws. The hunter then has a hard time smoking it out, but it helps if the hunter tickles himself on the palm of his hand or foot so that the armadillo's paws will have to relax and it will not be able to dig deeply.

The tepescuintle, an animal with long teeth and claws, lives in caves in the rocks of the hills. It is a hard animal to catch alive because it bites savagely and often turns on a dog and can kill it. But its meat is good, and although it is rarely sold,
the family of the hunter enjoys it. The white-striped brown pelt is also much wanted to make hunting bags and such.

Agoutis

The agouti lives in the hills near here and is never seen closer to town than the faraway cornfields. It has sharp claws, and long, sharp teeth. It is very agile and climbs up and down the trees. Fruits and small wild birds are its food. It is hunted with firearms, because it is too savage ever to let itself be captured from close up. Sometimes the Ladinos who hunt agoutis will eat the meat, but the Indians rarely see them, and they do not eat them. The penis of the agouti is very hard and straight; if a man is given a piece of it to eat, scraped and cooked like the meat of the raccoon, he will be like the agouti. He will never be quiet, always bothering his wife and the women on the street; and even if he uses his wife several times he will still not be satisfied, his penis will still be erect.

Squirrels

Squirrels live in the woods on the tops of high trees, like the pine and the oak, where they eat the fruit of the trees. They run very speedily over the trees, have small but very sharp claws, and have huge tails that they raise to their backs while eating. They are hunted with firearms by the Ladinos. Their meat, cooked like that of other wild animals, is not usually eaten except by those who bag the squirrels. Of the raw, dry skins hunting bags and masks for the Negrito dancers are made. To the north of Solola there is a flying squirrel that flies from tree to tree by means of wings like those of a bat. Squirrels do much damage in the cornfields because, like mice and armadillos, they dig out the grain. Like raccoons, they carry away the ears of maize to their nests.
There are four kinds of mice living in the houses and in the fields. There are two kinds of brown house mice, one larger than the other. Most of the field mice are reddish brown, but some are a lighter color. The last kind of mouse is the large, foreign kind that the Ladinos call a rat.

The house mice live mostly in the kitchen, in the dark corners, and in the thatch of the roof; at night they are a great nuisance. When there are lots of them, two or three cats are usually bought or borrowed, and they quickly kill all the mice. Some people also set traps. Mousetraps are commonly wide-mouthed tubs of water with something to eat placed over them so that the mice will try to eat it and fall in. But there is another kind of trap still sometimes used in houses: an old and otherwise useless earthenware pot, a good heavy one, is placed mouth down on a small board which is smooth enough so that the whole rim can rest firmly and evenly. A zapuyulo is split in two and, after the insides are cleaned out, one of the halves is stuffed full of maize dough or pieces of tortillas in such a way as to be hard to get out. Then, with the opening on the inside so that the mouse has to go into the pot to get at the food, the seed is placed under the rim of the pot. The zapuyulo has a very slippery surface, of course, so when the animal tugs at the bait, it slides away and the pot falls onto the board and traps the mouse. With a rotary movement of the pot, which is kept on the board, the mouse is then caught firmly by the tail under the rim; and with the same rim, the mice are then killed one after another. The trap is reset repeatedly and all the mice are exterminated.
Nobody here would think of eating a mouse as food, but some people cure the itch by eating a house mouse en revolcado. The Indians of Solola do eat one kind of field mouse—the kind that is light in color. They skin and cook it like any other wild animal, drying the meat by the fire first. But here nobody likes to think of eating mice. It is a sin to eat the leftover part of any fruit or other food that a mouse has nibbled on. The mouse is a liar, and people who eat of what a mouse has eaten will always be accused of crimes they did not commit. One man here says that he once ate, years ago, what a mouse had left. He had no choice but to eat what the mice had left of his rations or die of hunger. Since then he has had many troubles. He fought with a certain man over the latter's sweetheart; his very life has been threatened; and an uncle of his has accused him of killing his son by sorcery and threatens revenge. In both cases he was innocent. There is a way to avert the consequences of this act, however: if the food is of importance or value, the leftover part is quickly cut off with a knife or other sharp tool while the owner says, "I saw you, little mouse, when you came to eat this thing; well, now the other part of it will be left for its owner." Then it is not harmful to eat what is left.

The mice of the house are very happy when they know that another baby will be born in the house, and they at once come together to find out its sex. When the midwife says that the baby is a boy, they dance with joy because they know that later this boy will work and bring more things to the house, and they, too will have more maize and fruit and other things to eat. But when they find the baby is a girl, they become very angry because they
know that women do not waste anything in the kitchen, for women keep all the leftovers for the animals of the house and let the mice go hungry. So the mice have a meeting and decide to go to where the baby girl lies and urinate in her mouth.

The mice of the fields eat the grain, and traps must be set for them. Furthermore, they do not like people to disturb their nests by planting cornfields. There was one mouse that almost put a stop to this:

Once there were twelve brothers who were still young men; they always worked together, and they all lived with their old grandmother who cooked their food and washed their clothes. The boys, however, paid her ill: every night when they came home they played their marimba of tecomates, and while some played others danced; and all in all they annoyed their poor grandmother. Some say she was annoyed because her sleep was disturbed; others, because the boys were neglecting their work.

One day, when they went away to their work, the old woman contrived to hide the marimba so that the boys would let her sleep. When they came home, they scolded their grandmother, and all fought for a while because they could not find the marimba. But there was nothing they could do, because it remained securely hidden.

When the time came for preparing the fields for planting, the boys all went together to clear the land of brush. In one day they succeeded in clearing a good deal of land, because they wanted to plant much maize this year. But what was their chagrin and anger when they returned the next day
to find that there was not the least sign of any of the work they had done the day before! Since they were very good workers, however, they did not worry long over this misfortune, but hurried to redo the work that had been lost. When they returned the third morning, they found things the same as on the second. Then they began to think that perhaps somebody was doing them evil, and they forthwith arranged to guard the results of their day's work that night in order to catch whatever was molesting them.

So that night they stayed in the field, resolved not to leave until they found and captured the evildoer.

A little before midnight they heard somebody shouting in the middle of the field, crying thus: "Loaded trees! Loaded sky! Raise up vines and raise up trees!" Although somewhat stupefied by these cries, the young men bravely advanced, little by little, to see who it was that was doing them wrong. Finally one of them grabbed the thing in his hands, and upon shedding light on it, they saw that it was a pretty mouse. The boy squeezed the mouse's neck to choke it; but the animal spoke and told them not to kill it because it had something very good to show them. Every time they began to choke the mouse it cried, "No, my friends, do not kill me. I have some good fortune for you."

Convinced finally of what the animal said, they spared its life and took it home to see what the good fortune was that it spoke about. At the house they demanded that the mouse divulge the secret, and it asked to be let free so that it could bring them the fortune. So they freed the
mouse, and it immediately climbed onto the top of the house and began to gnaw the string by which the hidden marimba was tied, and the marimba fell into the house. The twelve brothers now became very contented; they repaired the marimba and began again their nightly dance, while the old woman cursed him who had discovered the instrument. Meanwhile, to the mouse the brothers simply said "don Sebastian!" and they heard no more of it.

Even today, when a mouse is damaging the fields, all that one has to do is scold it with "don Sebastian!" This frightens the animal, and it returns no more to bother one.

The foreign mouse, or rat, is black and very large. It looks very much like a guinea pig except that it has a tail ten inches long. It is the worst nuisance of all because it makes the most noise in the house. It eats the maize of the granary and of the fields in town. It even eats eggs and small chickens.

When mice grow old, they change into bats so that they can fly. Then they live in the woods and in the thick foliage of the trees of the town here. During the day they hang from the branches by their claws, with their heads down. During the night they fly around looking for places where the beasts are kept and attack them on parts of their bodies that they cannot defend and drink their blood, on which they live. The bat is the cook in the hill; with the blood that it sucks, it makes various kinds of dishes that it sells to those living in the hill and feeds to the Devil, its employer. In the hill the bat is seen as a woman with her basket of food on her head. If those in the hill buy the blood
that the bat brings to sell as meat, it is sure that the animal
from which it was taken will soon die. If they do not buy the blood,
then the bat eats it himself.

To protect the beasts against bats, thorned prickly-pear leaves
are hung around them so that the bats cannot come close without
getting caught in the thorns. Bats are hard to catch otherwise,
because they bite with their sharp teeth. They say that bats smoke
and that if one is caught alive and a cigarette is put into its
mouth, it will puff on it.

There are two kinds of bats. The most common kind can be seen
even by day, sleeping in the trees. By night these bats eat fruit.
The second kind is larger and rarely seen. These bats are heard
only when they are announcing somebody's death. They sing and fly
away to the north to bring the spirit of a sick person; and when they
return still singing, it is sure that there will be a death in one
of the houses next day, for the bat takes the spirit of the person
to the cemetery to await the body.

In the old days the game animals such as deer, wildcats, tepescuintles, opossums, armadillos, rabbits, and squirrels were
much more plentiful than they are now, but then no Indian went
hunting. Nowadays only a few people go hunting, and there are some
people who have never tasted wild meat. The Ladinos like to go
g out hunting at night, and sometimes they take Indians with them.
Some Indians go by themselves, too, for there are always a few
who like to hunt. Only deer are hunted in the daytime, and then
only on Sunday, when there is no other work. It was not until a few years ago that people learned from the Ladinos how to hunt with dogs. Even now only a very few Indians do so.

It is sometimes dangerous to hunt the wild animals of the hills. Hear what happened to one youth here who liked to hunt:

Juan Q. liked to hunt in the hills around here. Even his dogs, who knew the woods well, would go off for eight or ten days alone, when he did not feel like going, and bring back the game. Once when he went out with his dogs, he came upon a handsome armadillo. When the dogs chased it, the animal fled into a large cave. The dogs followed, and after them the hunter. The cave was very deep, but the dogs and the man followed fearlessly until they found themselves inside a house. Here they were confronted by an old man with a long white beard. This old man is called "our Grandfather." He was sitting on a little bench stroking his beard and looking very angry. Juan was surprised to find himself before this man instead of the armadillo he had been chasing.

The old man soon spoke, and scolded Juan for all the damage he had been doing. Juan was killing all of the animals of the old man's house—the armadillos which were his benches; the raccoons, his dogs; the tepescuintles, his pigs; and so on. The old man told Juan that he was going to punish him and his dogs very severely for all that they had done. But Juan explained that he had not known that the old man was the owner of all the animals he had hunted,
and he begged pardon. The old man thought for a minute and then said that maybe what Juan had said was true; and he offered to pardon him if he would give a gift to the woods, after which he could hunt all he pleased. The boy, anxious of course to escape from the place where he found himself, said that he would surely do that if only he were allowed to leave.

A few moments later he found himself outside again, and he went home to prepare for the rites to be made to the woods. He asked a shaman to make the offering for him; and the shaman had him bring rum, candles, copal, and bread, and told him to kill some turkeys for the fiesta. Then the next day they went to the place where Juan and the dogs had been, and the boy, taking his dogs with him, carried all of the things he had prepared. There they stayed all day. They burned part of what they had brought and left some in the entrance of the cave so that the owner could smell it; and they themselves and the dogs ate the rest. Four times, with the help of the same shaman, who knew how to interpret the feelings of his clients, the boy made his offering. When he was ready to do it the fifth time, he had a dream in which the old man told him to stop, that he was now satisfied, and that he could go on hunting.

After that Juan kept on hunting, and he never had to go far for his game. But when the time for his death came, he disappeared while hunting, and one of his sons found him four or five days later, dead in the woods. The son reported to the town hall, and they brought Juan's body in for burial. Undoubtedly his spirit was taken into the hill to pay for the hunting he had done.
III - Birds

The hummingbird is a little bird of many colors that is found in great numbers in town when the plants are in flower. This bird is very hard to catch because it never alights on a branch, but is always on the wing, even when it eats, defecates, or copulates. It has a very small body and a very long beak, and it is the only bird here with so many colors. There are a few hummingbirds in the woods, too, but they are less highly colored. The hummingbird makes a pleasant sound with its wings when it is taking honey from the flowers. Children like to shoot at it when it is on the wing or flitting over a flower, but it is the most difficult shot of all with either a slingshot or a blowgun because it sees the pebble that is fired at it, quickly moves out of the way, flies after the pebble, and finally returns to its place. Only a person with very good aim can shoot one of these birds.

Long ago, the people used to like the feathers of the hummingbird, and they were sold to be used to adorn clothes. Now only the heart is used, and it serves to cure heartache that comes from great sadness, fright, or worry. Somebody goes out to get a hummingbird, dead or alive, and while the little body is still warm, the breast is opened and the heart removed. The heart is then boiled in water in a special pot and a little is taken by the patient. Of course a shaman is the one who prescribes this remedy after having divined the cause of the sickness.
Because of its beauty, its unceasing flight, and because it feeds on honey of the plants, the hummingbird is greatly respected. Its name is always mentioned by the sorcerers when they bewitch people. It is also mentioned by the shamans when they cure worrisome sicknesses or do rites for the beginning of a job. They ask that the client be like the hummingbird—never to make a false move, but to know how to escape evil spells cast upon him, to get behind objects hurled at him, and to return happily to where he had been.

Once there was a hummingbird that went to the hill. There two daughters of the Devil fell in love with him because he was so pretty, and on his part, he fell in love with them. The three of them decided to run away without letting the girls' parents know:

One night while the Devil and his wife were sleeping, the hummingbird and the two girls contrived to get out of the hill. In the morning the parents awoke and went to awaken their daughters; of course the girls were not there, they were out on the road somewhere.

The wife immediately sent the Devil out to make them come back. But all he could find were two white lilies and a hummingbird that was sucking their honey. When he returned to report what he had seen on the road, his wife said that the lilies were the fugitives and that he should go and get them. But when he went out again he saw only two stones, and again his wife said these stones were his daughters. And so it went, and each time the Devil had to go farther along the road.

Finally he decided to send the lightning to catch them and punish them severely. The lightning looked far and
wide in many places, and it finally found the girls under a stone, waiting for the hummingbird, who had gone to get them some honey. The lightning made its preparations, and when it fell on them the girls were turned into ashes in a twinkling by the heat.

When the hummingbird found out what had happened, he hurried back; but there was nothing he could do. Saddened, he wanted to take up the ashes, when a little wind suddenly came and made bees of the ashes. The bees flew away through the air, leaving the poor hummingbird, who had wanted to live with the two girls, very sad.

Woodpeckers usually live in town, only rarely in the woods. They are small birds and have strong, sharp beaks with which they make big round holes in the hard and dry trees where they make their nests. The woodpecker also has strong sharp claws with which it fights when it is taken from its nest or when its young are taken away. It is captured or killed with a slingshot or a blowgun or by means of birdlime, to which it becomes stuck. Its meat is often eaten because the bird is fat and because it is strong like the cat and the opossum.

The woodpecker divines and predicts evil things, big or little, that will happen to a person. It is usually pecking away at a tree or eating fruits; but when it has something to announce and the person passes near, it stops its work, comes to the edge of the road, and three times pronounces the person's name. Since the predictions of woodpeckers always come true, the person begins to wonder about some relative who is far away or on a journey, and he
begins to worry. When something bad happens, one can always think back to when a woodpecker augured it. That is why nobody likes woodpeckers. When a woodpecker announces something, people try to kill it, because nobody wants to suffer by knowing that something bad is going to happen. Because it is a diviner, sorcerers always mention the woodpecker in their prayers.

There are many other birds that live here in town and almost never are seen in the hills. Among these, the curruchiche, guilo, chohui,107 and the "four eyes", feed on insects, so their meat is not edible. Other birds which feed on fruits and seeds and hence are edible are the quitrique, realejo, ruiz, and the macaw.112 Still another bird that frequents the town, especially on the lake shore, is the calendary lark.113

Sanates, which are found wherever there are cornfields, are very harmful birds. They steal the newly-planted grain; they are the first to open the new ears to eat the fresh kernels, and usually eat the first ears to dry before the harvest. They are good for nothing at all. Nobody would eat their meat because, when there is no maize in the fields, the sanates eat human excrement. Like the coyote, this bird eats quickly and does not chew its food. It has no stomach, and its food passes right from its gullet to its intestines; that is why the bird is always hungry. The sanate makes its nest of old house-thatch in the thick foliage of pine and cypress trees. When a person tries to take its eggs or young from the nest, it fights savagely. The sanate and buzzard are enemies, for the buzzards eat the sanate's eggs from its nest.

The sanate is the female and the "trumpeter" is the male. In a large flock of sanates there usually are two or three trumpeters, recognizable by their dark blue plumage and white spot between the eyes. Trumpeters sometimes call choc, just as do the sanates; but sometimes they use a different call. The offspring
of the sanate and the trumpeter are of three kinds: some are sanates; others are trumpeters; and still others are a mixture of the two, with the coloring of the trumpeter and the size and call of the sanate. This last kind is the tordo: it eats and lives like its parents except that it copulates on the wing, the male flying over the female and the two coming together for but an instant. Some people eat the tordo; a few eat the trumpeter and even the sanate, when they want to become strong.

The sanate has such good eyesight that it immediately sees anybody who is guarding the cornfield, and it flies away. It has a little worm in the bottom of its foot, which immediately tells the bird when an enemy is nearby and wants to fire a stone at it. This is why, even when a man stays well hidden all the while, the sanate always flies away before he can throw something at it. Even so, sanates can sometimes be killed with slingshots. Most often, however, they are killed by means of a trap. The best trap is a piece of string tied to something that the sanate can not pull away. On the string a few kernels of maize are tied, and when the sanate swallows them it cannot fly away again. Then, when the owner comes, he kills the bird with a stone or a stick and gives it to the dogs and cats of the house to eat. Sanates can also be killed with firearms, if the owner of the field is rich enough to have a gun. When the field is large and the sanates are many, the only thing to do is to scare them with a braided string tied on top of a pole, which will make a noise that will frighten them away. But the more one does to them, the bolder the sanates become, maybe because they are hungrier.
There were no sanates here until about fifty years ago. About forty years ago, when a great many of them came, the authorities poisoned kernels of corn and scattered them on the lake shore for the sanates to eat. This did not do any good because almost all of the sanates ate the grain of the cornfields instead of eating the poisoned kernels.

The sanate helped the Jews to capture Christ. When He was fleeing He came to a coyol tree and climbed it to hide among the thorns, but the sanate made much noise, to tell His pursuers where He was. When the Jews could not climb the tree to get Him, they decided to cut the tree down, although by that time Christ was no longer up there. But anyway, Christ cursed the sanate, saying that it would suffer hunger on the earth and that it would have to steal its food from the planters of maize, who would in turn kill it. He also said that sanates would eat the filth of the earth and that when they died they would be taken to the sea and there changed into a bad kind of fish.

The thrush is like the sanate in its dirty black color, its size, and form; but unlike the sanate it has a beautiful song. It is the best singer in this and many other towns, lifting its beak to God and asking Him to send the rain. That is why it is named "caller-of-rain." There are sixty or seventy parts to the beautiful song of this bird, and to sing all of them takes more than half an hour. When one thrush begins to sing, all follow; and they have a concert, especially at dawn and at twilight. The male bird is a better singer than the female. The meat of this bird is never eaten.
The Jay

The jay is about the size of a sanate, but light blue in color. Its cry is "xar, xar," and it can scream so loudly and steadily that people are deafened by it. When a hunter tries to capture or kill the jay, it uses not only its sharp claws in its defense, but also this cry. Its call announced the presence of a person's enemy, but at the same time it denounces all people. Jays also torment snakes when they see them from the tree branches. When about ten of these birds begin to scream at a snake on the ground, it has to move, and the birds flit from branch to branch and follow it with their screaming. Sometimes they do this with a stranger, too; and the more the person tires to stop them, the more noise they make. The jay feeds on wild fruits, such as cross-sapodillas and Spanish plums. Boys hunt the jay with their slingshots and blowguns; when they kill one, all the jays, holding their companion as if to try to free it, follow the hunter. Sanates do this, too. A few people eat the meat of the jay, but almost everybody says it is no good. The long blue feathers are used by the Negrito dancers to adorn their hats. Otherwise the bird is of no use.

Buzzards

Buzzards are found everywhere in town and in the woods, especially in places where dead animals are thrown and where there are dumps. They are black birds with large wings. They do not sing at all, but make the noise cuch from which they get their name. They lay their eggs in old tree trunks, and the females sit on them. When the eggs hatch, the older birds take the young out to teach them to fly and to protect them from the sanates. Buzzards are fast flyers, but when it begins to rain they quickly descend to the shelter of the thick foliage of the trees.
One kind of buzzard, called the "widow," is just like the others except that its head and beak are red and its feathers light brown. Whereas the black buzzard lives mostly in town, the widow lives chiefly in the woods, feeding on dead snakes and sometimes killing rats, mice, and lizards. The black buzzard, on the other hand, besides eating all kinds of rotting things, eats a great many avocados that are not eaten by the people but are left for the buzzards.

Another kind of buzzard, called the "clemente," has a red head and is the first to know where there is a dead animal and the first to alight to see if it is really dead. If the animal is, the clemente wets the corpse with its saliva and flies off to tell the other buzzards that it has found something new to eat, and they all come down.

Buzzards are sent by God to the earth to be the eaters of all the rotting things. Otherwise these rotting things would bring many diseases and the stenches and the miasma of the dead things would reach Heaven. That is why everybody respects the buzzards and nobody harms them. But some say that when a buzzard comes and stops on the roof of a house it comes to announce some sickness there.

Of course the meat of the buzzard is no good for food, but it sometimes is good medicine. To cure insanity, when the first symptoms of it are seen, a buzzard should be caught and killed. The meat should then be prepared in soup or pulique like that of a chicken and fed to the patient without his knowing what he is eating. This has to be done two or three times before the patient will improve. When Lorenzo X. once went crazy, a shaman from
Chichicastenango prescribed this cure, and he also put pieces of the raw meat on Lorenzo's chest to chase out the evil. Of course it is bad to have to eat buzzard meat, because at death the buzzards look for one's spirit in the air. The buzzard is so strong that only a close relative of the patient should prepare it for food in this way; otherwise the cook will get sick while fixing it.

The buzzard is also sometimes used to cure fever: insides and feathers and all, it is placed on the body where the fever is strong. In one case, when the shaman divined that the strong fever of his woman patient had been sent by a sorcerer, he sent for a buzzard; and with his machete he quartered it and put one piece on the woman's back, another on her belly, and the other two on either side of her ribs. All night these pieces stayed on the woman, and when she complained that they hurt her bones and smelled very bad, the shaman told her she would have to bear it if she wanted to get well. Not until morning did he take the pieces of buzzard away, now very smelly and almost cooked from the fever of the woman's body.

Some people think that the buzzards lead a very easy life, and once there was a man who changed places with one:

A man went down to the coast to work, and there he became extremely lazy, and all he would do at his work was sleep and eat. One day, while at his work, he saw a buzzard flying contentedly in the air nearby. A desire came over him to be like the buzzard so that he could live in the air, know many towns and places, and neither have to work nor worry much about where to get food to eat.

He was thinking such thoughts when the buzzard came to the ground near him, and he left his work to admire the bird,
with whom he would later change places. The buzzard drew closer and spoke to him thus: "Why are you sad, my good fellow? What has happened to you? Ah! how pleasant is the life of you men who work and who eat well!"

"Oh no," replied the lazy man, "on the contrary, our life is hard, and yours must be very pleasant." And in the discussion that followed each spoke ill of his own life and envied the other. Finally the buzzard asked the man if he really wanted to be like a buzzard, and the lazy fellow responded that if he could be he certainly would be, with great pleasure. The buzzard then explained to him that since he wished it, they could indeed change places, and showed him how. Each then made two or three somersaults on the ground, and instantly their bodies were exchanged.

Very happily now, the lazy one tried his new wings. The very first thing he collided with a tree, but he started off again and soon was flying in the air.

The buzzard, meanwhile, was very content and set to work with all his energy, for he knew that now he would be able to eat well and sleep well. The work went fast and well throughout the day, and towards evening he decided to take a load of firewood home with him so that he could bathe himself and thus quit himself of the foul buzzard odor.

When the buzzard arrived at the house, the woman received him with a drink of good atol, but he refused it and asked instead that she heat the sweatbath so that the two of them could bathe. The woman was very surprised, since her husband always scolded her if his atol were not ready for him; but
she did as he wished and heated the bath. While they waited they had their supper. It was not long before the woman remarked that his color was rather strange and that there was about him a rather rotten odor. But he replied that there had been much dust at his work and that he smelled of sweat because the sun had been very hot.

After they had eaten, they went to bathe together. Then, both of them contented, they went to bed, where he used her well, albeit in a rather strange manner, she thought. Every once in awhile throughout the night he repeated the sound utz, which is the word of the buzzards; and in the morning, when the woman asked him about this, he replied that he had been dreaming. He returned to his work and set to with fervor, doing what the lazy man had never finished in a day.

During this second day the woman at the house noticed that a buzzard remained nearby all day; and when her supposed husband returned in the evening she told him about this. He replied that if she would beat the buzzard, it would soon go away. So, on the following day, she did; but instead of flying away from her and her blows, the buzzard began to weep. And that night the bird stayed close to the house while the man and his wife were inside talking and laughing.

On the next day the buzzard was still around the house and not only came close, but even tried to come in; and the woman had to beat it hard to throw it out of the house. The bird left, crying like a woman, and the woman wondered
much at this rare and almost human bird. When her "husband"
returned from his work that evening, the woman told him all
that had happened. Then he finally told her who he really
was and who the buzzard was.

The woman cried a little, but finally she accepted things
as they were. When the buzzard came to the house she said
that she knew it was her husband, and she made it clear
that she would have none of his laziness, which, indeed,
was the cause of his present condition. The buzzard then
left, sad and disconsolate forever, knowing that the other
would not care to change places with him again.

In the course of years, some say, the man who had been
a buzzard had children by the woman, and although they were
a little blackish, they were humans.

The hoot owl and the barn owl live in both the town and
the country and come out of their nests only at night. The hoot owl
lives on small insects and fruit. The barn owl has a strong, curved
beak and sharp claws, and it lives on small animals, such as mice,
and on insects. Its eyesight is very penetrating, much better than
that of a person. These are birds of ill omen, and neither of them
can be eaten. They have something to do with the souls of the dead;
and when they are near or on a house, they predict the death of
somebody who is sick there or soon will be. When they begin their
awful shrieks, "cru-cru," the sickness will become more serious.
The cry of the barn owl is so deep and hoarse and sad that people
are filled with fear when they hear it up close; and if it cries
"puc puc puc" three times, it indicates sure death for somebody.
The barn owl also announces that sorcery has been done.

Nobody can kill a hoot owl, lest he die very soon himself. In fact, the hoot owl is a bird sent by God to earth to announce a coming death so that the relatives can prepare themselves for it. In the old days, whenever a hoot owl came to the house, the people used to burn incense for it and respect it very much. But nowadays many people think that the bird comes to carry off the spirit of the sick one, and they do not like it when it comes.

To scare a hoot owl away, one should never throw a stone at it because the stone is taken to the hill by the hoot owl; and since the stone contains the spirit of the person who throws it, he will go to the hill when he dies. One man here once had a narrow escape:

He was walking along the road when he saw a hoot owl in a tree, and he picked up a stone and threw it at the bird. Without thinking any more about it, he went home. Seven days later he became very ill, and in his delirium he heard the hill calling to him. Since the call was very insistent, there was nothing for him to do but get out of bed and go. When he came to the hill, the Devil talked to him and demanded to know why he had thrown a stone at a poor alguacil. Since the man did not know what alguacil the Devil was talking about, they had to bring before him a man who was seriously injured in one leg. Finally he realized that this was the hoot owl that he had hit with a stone a few days before.

The boy was told that he would have to cure the victim so that he could get about again; and failing that, he would have to take the other's place in the hill. Very luckily,
the **alguacil** recovered, and so it was that the boy also got well.

Instead of a stone, it is much better to throw a hard, green fruit at the hoot owl because when the bird goes to the hill to complain about this, the Devil scolds it and tells it that the fruit had only fallen for it to eat. Some say that a hoot owl should be struck with either a fruit or a stick. About fifteen years ago a man killed a hoot owl and then died within a week. He had not known that one should never kill such a bird with a stone or a rifle.

The hoot owl is always mentioned in the prayers of the shamans, and especially the sorcerers when they are dealing with sicknesses, or the separation of a married couple, or some other evil that is going on. From time immemorial the hoot owl has had to do with shamans and sorcerers, who say that the hoot owls always told their forefathers of the evil that would befall men. The hoot owl also announces that wrong has been done.

The hoot owl is stronger than the cat, and hoot owls eat cats. The two often fight, as in a recent case in which a hoot owl flew off with a cat late one afternoon. The cat had crouched down with its head to the ground and defended itself with its claws. After a while the hoot owl started to leave the place, and the cat straightened up. But in a wink the bird came back again, pounced on the cat's back, and carried it off.

The pigeon hawk, about the size of a chicken, is a bird which lives in the trees and rocks of the hills but comes to town to hunt. It eats not only mice and little wild animals, but also new-born puppies and young chickens and turkeys. It is one of the few birds that always keep moving when on the wing. It is a very thin bird because it tries to eat the air when it cannot find anything
else to eat; and when it cannot fill up on air, it struggles and flies against the wind. It is a fierce bird, with dangerous sharp claws and a strong curved beak; and it fights savagely with anyone who tries to catch it. It also fights with the hens when it comes to steal their chicks. It soon knows where there are young chicks to be had, and there it is always to be found. The meat of this bird is never eaten because of the food it eats when there are no chicks around.

The pigeon hawk is as smart as a cat. When it is in a tree it knows well the footsteps of any beings bound to attack it. When a gun is aimed at it, it quickly flies away; and it is so fast that when one tries to shoot it with a slingshot, the stone is still in the hand when the bird has flown.

Chicken hawks abound in the woods and in town, where they carry away many little chickens. This bird is about the size of a hen, gray in color, and has a curved beak and strong, large claws. It is too savage to be caught with the hands, but it is shot with guns or slingshots when it comes to the house to steal chicks. Its meat is never eaten.

When a chicken hawk finds out where there are young chicks, it hides in the foliage of nearby trees and watches for the moment when a chick has strayed from the hen; then it swoops down and takes the chick off in its claws. But there are some hens—the kind it is good to have—that quickly attack the chicken hawk when it pounces on a chick, and a bloody fight ensues in which the hen often saves the chick. Meanwhile, the other chicks, when they hear the fight, all run off and hide; or if there is no place to hide, they lie still.
on the ground and pretend they are something else. When the chicken hawk is unsuccessful, it returns again and again until it succeeds or it lies in wait all day for several days. But after the chicks grow up a little, the hawk goes after new prey. If the hawk is carrying a chicken in its claws and the chick wants to free itself, it can tickle the bottoms of its captor's feet; when the hawk feels the tickling it will let go of the chick.

The bird that the Ladinos call "lazy bird" lives in the woods and is also found along the roadsides in town. It has a long, sad song which sounds like somebody crying for a relative who has died, and people say it used to cry exactly as a mother does for her child. The Indians call this bird "crying for sister-in-law," and this is how it got its name:

A long time ago, when times were good and some people could talk with birds and the saints talked with everybody, an old man was walking along the edge of town late one afternoon. He was thinking about his death and about the next world and life there, when he heard somebody crying in the bush. Moved by the sad weeping of this person, he went into the bush to look for the poor man to console him and take him away. After a few minutes of searching, he saw a bird sitting on a stone; and when the bird saw the old man coming closer, he broke out in tears anew. The old man was very puzzled to see and hear a bird in such a state, and he gathered all his courage and began to question him.

"What is the matter, my friend?" he asked. "Why do you cry? Tell me the reason for your sadness."

"Sir," replied the bird, "I am crying for the loss of
somebody whom I loved very much."

"Did your mother die, and is that why you cry?"

"No."

"Your aunt?"

"No."

And so the old man went through all the list of relatives, the bird was crying for none of them. So he asked the bird please to tell him for whom he was crying, but for some reason the bird was not able to do that.

Finally the old man was so moved by the continued weeping of the bird that he too was reduced to tears. For a long time the two of them sat there and wept. After a while the old man was tired, but he did not want to leave until he had found out why the two of them were crying. But then, just as he was about to go, he asked the bird if by chance he were not crying for his sister-in-law, and at this the bird cried so hard that at last he had no more tears to shed. And then he said Yes, it was for his sister-in-law that he had been crying, and he explained:

"You see, I am a very lazy bird, so nobody at home likes me. My mother gives me nothing to eat, my father beats me, my brothers and sisters hate me, my grandfather and grandmother do not caress me as they do my brothers and sisters; even the dogs do not like me. Only my sister-in-law appreciated and esteemed me; sometimes when she would be eating and I happened to come in, she would take the food out of her mouth to give me some. She was my mother and my father and my everything. And now that she is dead nobody
will look after me; and I shall have to go out on the road and beg alms from those who pass."

Pitying the plight of his friend and wondering that he would cry more for a sister-in-law than for any other loved one, the old man asked that in the name of God this bird be called "He who cries for his sister-in-law" from then on and that his song always be the expression of his great sadness. The lazy bird was grateful for the destiny that had been given him because of the great affection that his sister-in-law had had for him, and he thanked the old man.

The male bird is bigger than the female, but the two sing in the same way. They never go singly or in flocks, but just in pairs. Nobody knows what they eat or what kind of nest they have.

The lazy bird is a bird of ill omen; and it is a witch, for when one throws something at it and goes to pick it up again, there is nothing there, for the object has turned into nothing, and the person who has thrown it will not be able to sell his goods when next he goes to market. When one is traveling and a lazy bird crosses his path, it is certain that something bad will happen to him or in his house: somebody will sicken or die, or the journeying one himself will have bad business. When the bird crosses the road and the person trying to catch it goes to where it has disappeared in the bush, he is sure to find a snake there instead of a bird, because the lazy bird can change itself into a snake when chased. So nobody ever tries to catch it, and its meat is never eaten.

Quail: The quail is a henlike bird living in the woods in and around town. It has a large body and small wings, so it cannot fly
more than four or five yards at a time. After it has thus flown it
alights in the woods and runs under the vegetation so that it cannot
be seen, and then it flies up again to another spot. In color it is
speckled black and white, giving a gray effect. Its eyes are
surrounded by white feathers that make them look very large. It
does not have a tail.

The quail eats the grain of the cornfields, especially during
planting and harvesting seasons, and its meat is very fat. It is
prepared like chicken and makes very good eating. These birds are
pursued and stoned, and when one of them falls stunned to the ground
the hunter quickly covers it with a hat or a cloth so that it cannot
fly away. But, like the lazy bird, it sometimes turns itself into a
snake, and often when the hunter lifts up the hat, he finds not the
bird but a large snake which then chases him.

The swallow is a small bird that lives in holes in
the walls of the church. The Indians call it the "saints' bird."
It is also found in crevices in the big rocks in the hills. Because
it is small and cannot be seen when it alights in the trees and
because it is a bird of the saints, its meat is not eaten. When
it flies, the swallow goes very high. In its flight it collects
numberless insects in its feathers; and some people say that these
are its food. Others say, however, that it eats nothing but air,
just as do the saints themselves. When swallows fly in great
flocks in the morning and in the evening, they announce the weather
that is coming: thus, they fly in flocks before the rainy season
starts, before the dry season, and in November and January before the
big winds come.
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The quail eats the grain of the cornfields, especially during planting and harvesting seasons, and its meat is very fat. It is prepared like chicken and makes very good eating. These birds are pursued and stoned, and when one of them falls stunned to the ground the hunter quickly covers it with a hat or a cloth so that it cannot fly away. But, like the lazy bird, it sometimes turns itself into a snake, and often when the hunter lifts up the hat, he finds not the bird but a large snake which then chases him.

Wild Pigeons

Wild pigeons live mostly in the woods, but also near town, and especially near the cornfields. Besides the singing pigeon, which is caught and kept at home, there is the ringdove which does not sing and which cannot be tamed. It is gray in color and much larger than the common pigeon, sometimes growing as big as a chicken. Its meat is good to eat, and it is hunted with guns.

Another type of pigeon is the espumuy, which sings its name and is larger than the common pigeon. When it flies, it makes a soft, sharp sound with its wings, so when it is near it can be recognized. Unlike the ordinary pigeons, which fly in large flocks, these fly alone or at most in pairs.

Swallows

The swallow is a small bird that lives in holes in the walls of the church. The Indians call it the "saints' bird."
The turtledove is a small bird that flies in flocks in the cornfields, the coffee groves, and the roads, eating maize, insects, and small stones. It is a sin to kill the little turtledove, because when Christ was pursued by the Jews, these birds covered His tracks and kept Him from being caught. If somebody throws a stone at them, they will not show him the road to Heaven nor give water to his spirit when it rains. Like the pigeons that were sent to earth by God after the Judgment, these birds have little red feet. Wild pigeons live mostly in the woods, but also in town, and especially wherever there is maize. Besides the singing pigeon, which is caught and kept in cages, there are the ringdove and the espumuy, which are larger than the common pigeon.

There are many other kinds of birds found in town and in the woods. Some of them, like the cuerpo ruin and the chiltote, feed on insects and so are not hunted for food. But a variety of other birds are hunted with slingshots and blowguns to be eaten. Among these are the red chorcha, the bluebird, the chipito, the chatillo, the "little soldier," and the yellow chorcha.
The *tzorojo* is a brown bird about the size of a thrush that lives mostly around fences, where it looks for insects to eat. In its song it repeats its name over and over again. When it makes a lot of noise around a house it is announcing something bad. When it sees a snake or some animal unknown to it, it follows it, as the jay does; and it even chases people sometimes when they enter others' yards. Because it is bad to have anything to do with this bird, it is not eaten or used for anything. If one throws a stone at a *tzorojo*, pimples appear on his body the next day, especially on his hands, for the bird shakes itself and germs come through the air and cause the pimples. It is even worse if one takes the bird, dead or alive, in his hands, for the animal is full of the evil, and the evil quickly passes to anyone who molests it. To cure the pimples one can stand under a tree where the bird is singing, then when a friend throws little stones (prepared in advance) at him, he can run away and the pimples will leave. Or, easier, one can just dance under the tree.

The hawk is a gray bird with a white breast that lives in the shelter of the woods near town, but it never comes here to town; for this reason it is hardly ever hunted. It is a high flier and can carry weights greater than itself in its claws. It carries away snakes that it finds in the rocks, first picking them up and then dropping them from great heights and coming down again to finish them off. The meat of the hawk is tough and bad, and it is not eaten because of the food on which the hawk lives. A high flyer is the *azacuan*, the bird which brings the rainy season. These birds travel in flocks so large that they take two or three hours to pass, and they always sing as they fly. Those *azacuanaes* that stay here when the others leave turn into pigeon hawks and, like the rest of the pigeon hawks, they remain to call the wind.
Other birds in the hills and woods are the pajuil, the chic, the Mexican thrush, the guardabarranco, and the guetzal. The first two are hunted for their meat, and the Mexican thrush is trapped alive because the wealthy Ladinos like to keep it caged in their homes. It is an ugly bird, but has a beautiful song of rich and varied sounds. The guardabarranco lives in the deep ravines and feeds on chichicaste flowers, ripe bananas, and other such things. Its meat is edible, but the bird is also desired by Ladinos for its sweet song. The guetzal is a beautiful bird, now found mainly in Coban and Chichicastenango. It is bright green with a cardinal-colored breast and a long sweeping tail. Its song is dull, but this is of little importance, as this bird will soon die if imprisoned in a cage. Its feathers are used by the dancers of the toritos and the conquista; they are highly coveted and are placed on dancers' hats. The law now prohibits the hunting of this bird.

Lake ducks are small brown birds that come to the lake in November and December and even January and leave again in May and June when the rains begin. They come from some little lakes to the north, like that of Lemoa, appearing in great flocks during the night and making a great noise that everybody recognizes. When they come, they are very thin from their long flight; but by the time they leave again, they are so fat that they have to fly by stages. Sometimes they cannot even reach their goal because of the
weight that they have put on here in the lake. They eat small fish, the little water plant called paxte, and small pebbles here. They come to shore only at sunrise and sunset, return to the middle of the lake to sleep after sunset, and then come to shore again for a while at sunrise. 

After the ducks have been here two or three months, they are hunted and their meat is eaten; but the meat has such an odor that it must be dried by the fire before it is cooked. Then, in tamales with plenty of tomatoes, it makes a delicious dish. The Atitecos and Catarinecos used to go out in their canoes and hunt these ducks often, using slingshots and sticks—the former while standing as usual in their canoes, and the latter while sitting on the little stools they always use. Here, too, the ducks were once frequently hunted, but from the beach only. Each hunter had a bagful of sour oranges and avocado pits. With his slingshot he sent one of these pellets skipping over the surface of the water so that in one of its jumps it would hit a bird. Then, if the wind was toward shore, he would wait for the bird to be washed in, otherwise he would swim out for it. Duck hunting has been diminishing for the last thirty years until now very few here do it. The Catarinecos hardly ever hunt the birds, although the Atitecos still kill enough to take some to sell. When the Atitecos catch a duck alive, they kill it by biting the head and breaking the skull. Then they take off the feathers and clean the bird and dry it by the fire before taking it to market. The ducks are hard to catch because they not only fly fast but also swim long distances under water and even go into the woods for hours at a time.

Widgeons come in flocks and leave again, just like the
lake ducks. They are the size of a small chicken, have black bodies and green feet, and their toes are less webbed than those of the duck. They are hunted just like the ducks, too; but they are easier to catch, and they are sold for less because the meat is not so fat or so good. Like the lake ducks, widgeons are less plentiful than they once were. Only the Atitecos now kill them to sell in the markets. The widgeons feed on the same things as the ducks; but while they are here, they breed in the tule reeds near the shore. They fly more than do the ducks. One has to be careful in taking a widgeon alive because it bites with its needle-sharp beak. When the widgeon is caught, the hunter himself is usually given the head to eat so that he will not lose the ability to hunt the bird. When there are many caught, each child of the house is given a head to eat, just as with the cat or other animal of long life, so that he will get the virtues of the bird. In the past when there were many widgeons on the lake, some people used to imitate their song with a pita, or cane flute, so that the birds would come close and be easy to kill.

*Sambullidores* are fowl that live on the lake all the year round. They breed during the dry season in the tule, from which the young go forth in flocks, very tame because nobody kills the young ones. There are two kinds, which differ in color and in the shape of the breast: the poc is almost black and looks more like a widgeon; the sec is gray and has a breast almost like that of a duck. These birds can swim as far as seventy-five yards under water in just three or four minutes. The sec has the better eyesight; when it sees a gun fire it can instantly dive into the water and miss the bullet, so it can be killed only when it does not see the firing.
It's meat has an even worse odor than that of the duck. Its head is given to the children to eat so that they should have good eyesight and be quick. Since it is very hard to shoot these birds, they are not frequently hunted, and they often die of old age. They live on *paxte*, stones, fish, and rotten plants in the water. When these birds cry a lot early in the morning, it is a sign of coming strong winds and waves, or in the rainy season, of rain that very afternoon.

There are flocks of gulls at the south end of the lake, the *pelican*, and three kinds of herons. The little water duck, the *collarejo*, and the *saita-piedra* all live on the lake shore and in the river bed.

### IV - Reptiles, Fish, and Insects

**REPTILES.** Only the least poisonous snakes, the *sabarena* and the water snake, are found here in town, and they do not attack people unless very much molested. They say that on the coast people even eat the water snake, first cutting off a few inches of each end which contain the poison; but here nobody ever eats it. A Ladino living in Panajachel buys any snakes that are captured alive. He pays ten to twenty cents apiece, depending on size, and skins them. At least two Indians frequently bring him snakes. One of them captures the snakes with two sticks. The other is said to take them by the bagful, and people who quarrel with him call him "lazy" and a "snake killer." Neither of these men has been bitten by a snake.

In the wilds live the largest and most poisonous snakes. There, in warm, rocky places (especially at noon, when the sun is warm), the *cantil*, the rattlesnake, and the coral are to be seen. In the
woods there is also the *zumbadora*. This is a snake about two yards long and green in color, and is good at climbing trees. Its poison is weak, but it defends itself chiefly with the end of its tail, which it uses to beat its enemies. There are worse snakes on the coast than here. One of these is the "bony tail," a small snake which has a tail made of hard bone and which has poison in its tail as well as in its fangs. Like the boa, this snake entwines its enemies and strangles them.

The rattles of the rattlesnake are put into drums and the gourds of marimbas to improve their sound. But great care must then be taken that lightning does not strike the instrument, because lightning is always after snakes. In the past, the shamans used the largest fangs of poisonous snakes in curing patients who were bewitched: a snake tooth was stuck into the most affected part of the patient's body and, because snakes are against sorcerers, the snake tooth cured the patient. When a person's foot is bitten by a snake, the best thing to do to keep the poison from spreading through the body is to tie a long hair from the head of a pregnant woman above the bite. Even if the hair is not tightly tied, the poison will not pass up the leg, so there is time to give the snake bite proper treatment. On the coast they used to cure snake bite by eating the excrement of a pregnant woman, mixed in water.

When a snake is found in the house, it has come to foretell the death of somebody in the family, so people call in the neighbors to help kill the snake, even if it is not poisonous. One man who found a snake in his house was told by a shaman that it was because he was miserly and did not offer anything to friends and enemies at fiestas.
Likewise, when two snakes fight in the street or in the yard, it means that something bad is going to happen in the family of the owner of the land. When there is a snake in the cornfield where the laborers are working, their work will go poorly, and they will become tired. Hard as they may work, they will get much less done than their companions in neighboring fields. If a worker has a task marked off for him with a measuring cord, it is even worse, for snakes respect these cords as if they were great fences. Even if they want to leave the field, they cannot pass the cord, and the laborers are not able to get any work done. Many farmers, when they see their work going very slowly, stop and hunt out the snake to kill it.

It is good luck to kill a snake, but if one that is attacked gets away, bad luck will come of it. At the same time, however, there is some peril in killing snakes since they are of the hill. Bonifacio C.'s father, now dead, once got into trouble for killing a snake:

Once he was working in the fields of Pachichiyut here, with one of his grandsons for company, when he became thirsty and went down to the lake for water. On the way back he saw a very large, fat snake and, finding some big sticks, he killed the snake and went back to work without thinking any more about it.

In the evening when he came home, he got a very bad headache and a high fever and had to go to bed. That night he dreamt that he was being called from the hill and that he had to go there right away unless he wanted to die. There was nothing for him to do but go.

When he reached the hill, a man asked him if he remembered
the harm that he had done to one of his calves. He replied
that he had done nothing wrong that he knew of, and he had
certainly not hurt a calf. Then they called in the calf,
and when it came, he saw that it was the snake that he had
killed that morning. They scolded him and told him that he
would have to cure the animal or, if it died, take its place
in the hill, since it was a poor innocent animal that had
never hurt anybody.

Since he knew something about medicine and had treated
his townspeople, he now found some tobacco leaves and put
them, mixed with lime, on the horns of the snake and covered
them with a bandage. Then they told him that he could go,
but that if the calf died, he would die also and become a
calf in the hill. Luckily the cure was good, so both he
and the snake recovered.

Formerly, snakes appeared on the roads many
times to give fortunes to lucky people, filling their hats or
handkerchiefs with gold and silver. If the people did not take
the fortunes offered them, they would quickly die for having in-
sulted the owner of the woods, who had sent the snakes.

Once there was a man who was very poor and had many
debts that he could never possibly pay off. One day, when
he was traveling, there walked onto the road before him a
short but very thick snake that had two very fine little
boxes on its back. This snake blocked the path to keep the
man from passing. The fellow was very frightened and he
ran off to take another path; when he got home he told his
family of the strange thing that had happened to him. The
next day he was on another road when he met again the same
snake carrying the same little boxes, and thinking that it
was something bad that the snake was bringing him, he ran off again. Then some relatives of his told him that maybe this was his fortune. When he met the snake again, they said, he should put something down on the road before it so that he could bring home what it would leave. That same night he dreamed that a man told him that the next time the snake's gift was offered to him he should take the fortune; otherwise he would die and go to the hill for disdaining it.

The next day the man went out with a handkerchief, and when he saw the snake again, he put the handkerchief with a little saliva on it down on the road, then stood to one side to watch. The snake crawled onto the handkerchief, drank up the saliva, left the little boxes with great care, and crawled off again into the woods. Some say that without the saliva the snake would not have left its cargo.

The man took up the handkerchief and ran to his house to put the contents into his storage chest. To his surprise, the next day the chest was filled with gold and silver. Every day the snake came to add money to the fortune in the chest, and some say that the man left bread, chocolate, and incense for it.

In the end the man was able not only to pay his debts but also to buy lands and hire labor with his new capital. He became very rich. The only trouble with such riches was that all who spent the money had to go to the hill when they died because it was from the hill that the riches came. Even so, some people took the money.

One man here says that everybody wants to be rich in this life and
that that is why the patron saint went to the hill and told the Devil to put a stop to such temptations. St. Francis does not approve of the punishments for his people. That is why people no longer find snakes and crabs with fortunes. Besides, we have good lands to plant and work. Now anybody here who is rich gets his money from working.

But, as in the case above, snakes did formerly leave people fortunes. Each day, the lucky man put a little bread, chocolate, incense, and candles in the chests and boxes he owned to feed the snake when it came to leave more money. The snake would start in one corner of a box, carefully fill it, and then go to another chest or box. The owner always had to have enough chests ready, lest the snake leave and never come again. The lucky man also had to have a shaman do rituals at his altar in the hills to thank the hill for the fortune. Otherwise he would gain nothing from the money and only become poorer. Formerly the snakes used to do rituals in the hills, at stone crosses, in thanks for the fortune brought from the hill. They felt if this were not done, all the people would get poorer.

In the woods and in cultivated places in the hills and in town, there are snakes with hair and horns—the real owners of the fields. These can be seen only by persons with great strength and long life. When the crops of a field are poor or when the children of the owner die because the snake is not willing to let them work the field, then shamans must be called to burn candles and incense of pitchpine, in payment for permission to till the soil. These snakes with hair and horns are enemies of God. When it rains they hide beneath the great trees and rocks to escape the lightning God
sends to kill them. So one knows there must be something bad hidden in places where lightning strikes. But people must never harm these snakes, lest they die. Domingo Q. once chased one, and he died shortly afterward; and a dog belonging to Lorenzo X. disappeared after chasing one and was never seen again.

Lizards, Turtles, Toads, and Frogs

Lizards. The lizard is an animal just like the alligator, but the lizard is no more than a foot long. It is found in the woods and in the piled-up rocks around the houses in town. Lizards also inhabit the ruins of old houses and in the walls of houses still occupied. At almost any time they can be seen darting over the houses or behind them, and nobody pays them any attention except for the boys who kill them with their slingshots for fun. Since they are poisonous animals, nobody eats them or uses them in any way, unlike the alligator, the meat of which is brought up for sale during Lent and Holy Week. If the bones of a lizard are buried at the foot of a tree, the tree always dies, for lizards are poisonous to plants; so some people kill off their enemies' fruit trees with lizards. Lizards feed on insects found in the walls. They have sharp claws and teeth as sharp as thorns. Lizards are just like snakes and can mix easily with them; among offspring are both lizards and snakes.

There are three kinds of lizards: One is large and green and very savage and will even turn on a man who molests it; this kind is very poisonous. The second kind is like the first except it is brown in color and is not dangerous. The third is called siguic; it is a small brown lizard and as bad as the first kind. There is
also a red-headed lizard—stones should never be thrown at this kind, lest when it rains the thrower be pursued by lightning.

The cutete is just like a lizard except it is bigger and fatter and lives in old tree trunks. In its throat it has a sawlike web. It hides whenever somebody comes near. It has a poisonous bite, and if one tries to catch it, it bites, then urinates on the bitten place, and causes a swelling there that is very hard to cure. It lives on insects.

The turtle lives in water and is found here only in some of the Ladino houses where it is kept for decoration; but the turtle is very common in the swamps and rivers of the coast. It has a very hard shell that covers its whole body, and sharp teeth with which it defends itself. It is killed as is the armadillo, by twisting the head back over the shell until the neck breaks. Some people like the meat.

Toads live on the lake shore and in swampy places around town, especially in the rainy season. They say that on the coast toads grow very large, but here they are small animals. Toads are not hunted or used for anything. They usually do no harm, but if they are molested they give off a milklike liquid that poisons any part of the body that it touches. There is a small kind of toad living in the thick weeds that is especially dangerous because it is very sensitive. When horses or cattle are grazing, they quickly leave the plants under which they see one of these toads because they know how harmful it is. Sometimes by mistake a beast eats one of these toads, or the toad shoots its milk into the animal's muzzle; in either
case the beast will be poisoned and its body will swell and it will become depressed and lethargic. If not quickly cured, it will soon die. Toads were formerly used in witchcraft: a toad would be put inside the stomach of a person, bloat his belly, and thus kill him.

Frogs live on the lake shore, feeding on tiny fishes and on mud. Some are brown in color and others greenish. Nobody uses the frog for anything, but they say there used to be a family here that liked to eat them. The man would hunt them at certain times, and when he had a dozen or two, he would bring them home to be cooked. They would throw away the skin, the head and the feet, as well as the innards, and cook the rest. They say that some people in Santa Apolonia even now eat one kind of frog that they catch for this purpose. The frog has the coldest meat of any animal because it lives only in the water.

FISH AND CRABS. There are many kinds of fish in this area, but for the most part they are to be found across the lake, near Santiago Atitlán. The people in that town catch many of them. Fish make very good food, especially popular during Holy Week, when it is a sin to eat any other kind of meat. Then, almost everybody buys the dried fish that is brought up from the coast, and even the poorest people get a few pounds. Of the fish here, the ulumina is the smallest of all and is the one that is most caught by the people of the towns around the lake. There are also pepemechin, salcara.
mojarra, dorado, pepescas, sardines, and trout. The last of these was recently brought here, and there are still very few. The mojarra is the largest fish in the lake. It has scales, and its backbone is like a saw. The pepescas are the best-tasting fish and are found both in the lake and in the river, which they ascend when the current is not strong.

Fish are prepared as food in different ways. Scales are always scraped off large fish, since the scales that happen to stick to a person's body cause pimples. Children are forbidden to pass over the scales.

Years ago, when the beach here was much wider and when small ulumina abounded, the people did considerable fishing, and they sold their catch by the measure at all the houses. In one fishing technique, a number of men, each with a basket, entered the water completely nude and formed a ring in the water with their bodies. They all moved along together until they came upon a school of the little fish, then they dipped their baskets into the water and quickly pulled them out, full of fish. They then went ashore to put the fish in the bags and returned to the water for more. If they were lucky they got a large catch to sell to their neighbors.

A second way of fishing was used by a party of about twenty boys under the leadership of one of their number who owned a large trap. The traps were cones as large as a man is tall and with an opening as much as a yard wide; the whole trap was made of special cane fibers set about a centimeter apart and tied with a certain vine that does not rot quickly in the water. The owner of the trap watched for a good time to go fishing and then climbed a tree and
shouted to all his companions to come fishing. Then all left their work or whatever they were doing and came down to the lake shore with their leader. All of the boys then undressed and strung themselves along the beach, two or three of them pushing the trap around and all the rest frightening the fish and chasing them into the trap. When the trap was full, they would take it to shore and empty it on the sand. Some of the boys then stayed ashore to put the fish into large baskets while the others went out for another load, for it all had to be done quickly. When the fishing was over, the boys gathered on the beach and divided the fish with a little measure; all got equal portions, but the owner of the trap got a double portion. In three hours of fishing each boy could get as much as twenty-five pounds of catch. Then they all went home, took out the innards of the fish, cooked the fish a little in hot water, and dried them in the sun or boards or cornstalk mats made for the purpose. The larger fish were then strung on straws and sold in the market, and the smaller ones were sold by the measure. Any of the boys in those days could gather round the owner of a trap to help with the fishing, and since there were several traps in town, there were several fishing groups.

There were still two other ways of fishing. In one, a man and his wife went to the shore with a stout stick or a cane that was long and straight. One of them would wade in, and by moving the stick in the water work the little fish towards the shore. When they were close, one would pull the fish in with the same cane, and the other person would gather them. The other way was to make a corral of the paxte that abounded on the shore in those days. Early in the morning the head of the family would find a place off the
shore where there were many fish, and then near there the family would build the corral, leaving an opening for the fish to come in. One person would be left to watch, and when he saw that the corral was full, he would call the others to help him stop up the opening and pull the corral to shore, where they piled up the fish and put them into baskets. If the family was small, they would invite some neighbors to join them in this fishing.

In those days, nobody owned the lake shore, and anyone could fish there when he wanted to. Now it is much harder; and the little fish are scarce around here, and there is a tax that must be paid in order to catch fish. Now the Catarinecos are the ones who devote themselves to catching the ulumina and selling them in other towns. A few people here still fish. Some use nets, which they have learned to make from the Ladinos. Ladinos frequently fish with the nets they make and sometimes sell their catch from house to house. Others use the small traps that they buy from the Catarinecos, who make them. In the old days some people here also knew how to make these traps. One poor Indian here still fishes sometimes with a basket-snare he made of cane and vines. He catches basins full of pereche, small, black, bony fish, because he wants to eat them with his tortillas since he has no money to buy meat. Still others use sharp wire hooks attached to poles; this method was introduced by the Ladinos to catch the larger fish, like mojarras, that are now found in the lake.

Crabs which feed on frogs, dead fish, mud, and water plants, live in the lake, on the beach, and under the rocks near the shore. There are also some crabs in the pools of water and the marshes that are formed in town in the rainy season; but while the
lake crabs are brown, these are almost black in color. In the lake there are two kinds of crabs. One is the "bench crab," which is small, thin, and light brown. The other is the "sweatbath crab," which lives in the rocks and is large and fat, dark brown in color. The latter is best for food. Crabs make fine food and are used especially in soup which is given to weak or sick people to strengthen them. To
take up a crab, one must grasp it carefully by the sides so as not to be pinched. To kill it, boiling water may be poured over it or its belly punctured with a fingernail. Only the Catarinicos eat them raw. Some say eating crabs improves eyesight. Newborn crabs are put to the soles of the feet of children who do not walk as early as they should, because the tickling of the crabs teaches the feet to lose their fear. In the belly of the crab there are some feather-like membranes; and these fine hairs, black or blonde, are used to make eyelashes for the masks that are used in the dances of the conquista, toritos, and so on.

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There used to be a great many crabs along the lake shore. People enjoyed a good harvest of them when they went to the beach at night with pitchwood torches and picked them up from the sand where they had been washed by the waves, or found them in the rocks. To get the sweatbath crabs from the rocks is sometimes a dangerous business, however. For one thing, these crabs are friends of the large water snakes, and often in the rocks one finds the crabs entwined with a snake that will not let them be freed, and this snake has to be frightened away or killed. For another thing, the dragon in the lake sometimes catches the crab-hunter, especially on
the bad days of Monday and Friday, and takes him to the bottom of the lake. Even if the dragon does not take him down, a whirlpool or something else might, as in the following cases:

There was a man living with his wife and several children here. One day his wife had a desire to eat pulique of crabs, and she asked her husband if he would please go to the lake shore to get some, now that they were in season. He agreed and told her to prepare the pot and the other things so that as soon as he should return she could fix the crabs for lunch.

He had hardly come to the lake shore when he saw a crab, and he went after it into the water. But just then a great wave came and in a moment took him to the bottom of the lake. There he was surprised to be confronted by a Ladino lady and gentleman (some say they were gods), who asked him where he had come from. Rather frightened, he said he was from Panajachel, and that a wave had brought him down.

Satisfied with his answer, the man and woman told him not to worry, and they offered him all that he might wish, saying he would be very well off there. They gave him food, and they offered him clothes so that he would be happier. But all he wanted was to get back home again to his wife and children. The good people pleaded with him to stay—only for seven months, they said—and finally he was resigned to the idea. When he had been there a long time and was tired of the place, the man began to be very sad and to cry until finally the people felt sorry for him and sent him back with one of their dogs.
In a few minutes he found himself on the lake shore again. The night was very dark, and things seemed strange to him; but he managed to find the path to his home at last, and he finally arrived there. He knocked at the door of his house and called to his wife by name. She was frightened and asked who it was and what he wanted, so he told her his name and other facts so that she would know him. Finally the door was opened and a man came out, with gun in hand to help him face whatever might happen. When the husband was finally in the house, his wife and children were amazed to see him again, for he had been lost in the lake now for seven years. He explained as well as he could who he was so that they would not think him a spirit. In turn, his wife told him that since she had taken him for dead, she had married the man with the gun. There were two new children in the house, children of the woman by her new husband.

After much talk they still did not trust the man who had been in the lake; and although they let him stay the night, they treated him like a stranger. The next day, however, they were all convinced that he was indeed the long-lost husband and father. The second husband wanted to take his children and go to live elsewhere, since the woman could not live with two men. But the wife did not want him to take the youngest, and finally each kept one child. Then the second husband left, and of course he went to the town hall to report the case to the officials so that there would be no complaint later.
Another local boy was fifteen years old when he became a crab-hunter. One Monday he went to the lake shore to catch many crabs, as usual. He already had some in his bag when he saw a great big crab in the water, and he went after it. The crab kept going farther and farther into the lake, so the boy took off his clothes to follow it. Since he swam very fast, he noticed nothing until he suddenly found himself in the city of the moon, and the moon came out to meet him and to ask him what had happened. Fearfully and quickly he told her all about the crab he had followed. She advised him never to go looking for crabs on bad days if he did not want such frights as this. Then she sent her dragon, who is her watchdog, to return the boy carefully to the earth. After the boy got home again he never went to the lake shore again, for fear of that big crab. Not until three years had passed did he tell his story.

Quite a few people here used to fish for crabs, as those of Santa Catarina now do. Nowadays everybody here works in his fields instead, and only two or three people go crab-fishing like the Catarinecos. At night, with pitch pine torches, they go out in canoes to places where there are rocks with sweatbath crabs. Sometimes they even go to certain places in the daytime. They drop a number of long vines, baited with raw meat or dead frogs and weighted with stones, into the water to a depth of some ten yards. When they think the crabs are nibbling, they quickly pull up the lines, take off the crabs with their hands, and drop the vines again. Crab-fishing
is best in the rainy season. It can be done only in calm water, for which reason it is most often done at night.

Crabs of Fortune In the old days there were crabs of gold that appeared before people on the road, stopping them and acting as if they were going to bite. When people who did not know better hit such a crab with a stick or stone, it would not hurt the crab at all, and it would simply move on. When the crab appeared three different times, however, and the person did nothing about it, that person would soon sicken and die. What one had to do was make a cross of saliva on a hat or handkerchief and put it on the crab. Then the crab would leave gold and silver coins, as in the following case:

There was here a little boy who was very ugly and who was always very dirty. One day when he was on the road he met a beautiful crab of gold that blocked his way and tried to pinch him with its great tentacles. Very frightened, the boy ran home and told his parents. They were very happy, and they told him that this was not bad at all, but rather, it was his fortune; and they advised him to go back and to take with him something in which he could bring back the fortune the crab would leave. So the next day the ugly boy did this, and he brought home the golden crab in his hat, and put it in his box. Then, on the day following, they were all surprised with a great fortune in gold. With this money the whole family became rich and enjoyed themselves for the rest of their lives. When they died, they all went to the hill, because that is where the money had come from.
(Some say that children do not go to the hill because the Devil wants people to work hard there, so he waits until they grow up.)

When the crab itself was not brought home, the gold that it left was. Then one had to hurry home to put the money into boxes hidden away from other people. If one did not rush the money increased so much on the way that one could never carry it. In the boxes it kept increasing, too, and the lucky person became very rich. But he always had to be a good person with everybody; or else the fortune would go elsewhere, and he would be worse off than ever.

Insects

There are four kinds of ants: travelers, winged May ants, common ants, and small ants. The travelers are brown ants that live mostly in the woods; they get their name because they travel great distances, building roads through rocks and tree trunks so that they can go anywhere. Their home is under the ground, where they have a king or queen who sends them out to collect provisions for the whole winter. In the last months of the dry season they come and go long distances with insects or green leaves; and if they want to carry worms or other cargo bigger than themselves, several join together to carry. Because of the way they work these ants are often called "muleteers." They have to work so hard because a snake lives in the anthill during the dry season and it must be appeased with food, lest it destroy their hill.

The flying ants of May are both black and light brown in color and about the same size as the travelers. They come out of the earth in May, and day and night they fly around the houses, always
attracted to lights. As soon as the rainy season begins they
disappear altogether. Some say that the winged ants are the young
of ordinary ants and that they simply lose their wings in the rainy
season. Others say that they are a separate kind and live in the
earth during the dry season, coming out only in May.

The common ants are smaller than the others and black in color.
They live around houses, where there is kitchen waste, and in kitchens
that are not swept well. When these ants or any other kind of ants
come into the house to live and build their nests in it, it is an
omen that something bad will happen—somebody will get sick or die.
The common ant bites harder and more often than any other. Some
people put their hands or feet into a swarm of ants to cure rheumatism.
Sometimes a lazy person or one who finds himself not wanting to work
hunts up an anthill and puts his hands into it and thus cures him-
self. Ants also provide a remedy for backward and stupid people,
for if such a person eats them in tamales, he quickly becomes more
intelligent. A case of this happened in Sololá:

In the hills of Sololá there was a couple, and the woman
ran the house and ordered her husband around. It even came
to the point where she had a lover and the husband could not
do anything about it. Then somebody advised the husband how
to cure his wife somewhat so that she would not cause him
so much trouble. When the husband had cured her, the wife
became a kind of idiot. Then her brothers, seeing her con-
dition, took her home with them and fed her tamales made
with black ants that were caught alive and cooked well, and
shortly after that the woman regained her normal mind.

The small ants are like the common ants except for size and their
bite, which is less severe. They live in damp places, often in the cornfields where the earth is piled up around the stalks, or in old tree trunks. Ant hills in the milpa should be destroyed, and the way to do this is to cut up the branches of the plant sun and stick the pieces in the hill. The plant has a very bitter taste, and in six or seven hours all of the ants will have left to make a home elsewhere.

Wasps and bees are little insects that make honey. Wasps are small and black, and there are several kinds: panal de casa, coxpin, xtal, cachitu, señorita, guitarrón, and others. The panal bees are wild, but they come to the houses and make nests. It is a sin to remove them, and if removed, something ill may befall the family. They are caretakers of the house, for when a stranger comes they are the first to greet him, with their bothersome sting. The sting of this bee is a good cure for rheumatism. Some people catch the bees and place them on the rheumatic parts of their bodies so that the stings will ease the pain for a while. The children like to eat the small quantities of honey that these wasps leave when they move to another house. The coxpin bees make their hives in dry tree trunks, but they can be brought to the house easily. They make their nests out of mud and the dung of horses and cattle, and they produce a silky yellow wax. The children use the wax to make pellets with which to play during Holy Week. The honey is sour and only the children like to eat it. The coxpin require no care at all except that no animals should be allowed to eat the honey, lest the bees become angry and leave. The xtal is a red wasp living in the rocks; its sting is so bad that mean people who become angry over nothing are often compared with this wasp. The cachitu is the
largest wasp of all, and it has the worst sting.

Bees, especially the foreign *colmena*, give most of the honey that is used here, and they are larger than wasps. There is a small black bee called "bee people" that does not sting. Before the *colmena* bees came, the honey of this bee was used. The wax of the bee people is black and it was used in the past to make candles. Even now the children hunt out these bees in the rocks in the woods for the wax, with which they play.

Only a few rich people have *colmena* bees in their houses. They buy the hives from the Ladinos who have many of them and have all the things that are needed to raise them. Those who have beehives must see that there are many flowers nearby, because the bees use the honey of the flowers to make their honey and because they like to live in gaiety. In the rainy season, to make the bees happy, brown sugar should be placed near them on well-cleaned plates. When the hives are filling with honey, the mistress of the house should always have hot water in the kitchen so that the honey will be of good quality. Nobody here raises bees to sell the honey, but a few like to have some hives adorning the house.

Bees are very sensitive, because when the owners of the house quarrel, they quickly leave it and move elsewhere. When a swarm of bees wanders onto the patio, the people of the house usually burn incense around it, because the bees, who are holy, feed on the smoke. When a swarm of bees is found in the woods, it is very lucky for the finder; he should place a cross near the nest so that nobody else should take away the bees while he goes home to get a container for them. Then it is a sin for anybody else to take the bees away. He should bring back with him incense and candles and bread and chocolate,
and do a ritual where he found the bees, and do another again at the house when he takes the bees home.

The sting of a colmena or panal is a good cure for rheumatism. Some people catch the bees and place them on the rheumatic parts of their bodies so that the stings should ease the pain for a while.

Spiders Spiders of many sizes, kinds, and colors are found everywhere in town, and they are all bad. One big one, called the horse spider, often gets into the hoofs of horses and mules, and it leaves its urine there so that the hoofs begin to rot and finally fall off. There are often many spiders in the houses, especially in winter when the webs are not cleaned out of the corners. The spider web is useful for curing wounds made by sharp knives. The web is applied to the wound and it closes it.

The casampulga is a spider with a red anus that lives mostly in the woods, especially under stones. On the coast there are so many of these spiders that one meets them at almost every step. This spider bites people from seven to eight o'clock in the morning and from four to five in the afternoon. When it bites someone, the whole body becomes swelled and numb, but the bite can be cured by eating brown sugar. People used to cure it by drinking a gourdful of human excrement mixed with water.

Scorpions Scorpions are found in the woods more than in town because they live in warm, stony places. On the coast there are large and very poisonous scorpions that sting with their tails. To cure the sting, brown sugar should be eaten immediately, or a sharp iron tool should be put between the teeth and kept there a long time.
When one is bitten by a scorpion, he must kill it immediately, or else he will never be cured. It is also good to mash up the scorpion's tail and apply it directly to the affected place. One man here, who eats scorpions, says that they taste like crabs and are very delicious. If a live scorpion is caught and its tail cut off and quickly swallowed, one is safe against sorcery and cannot be hurt by anybody. A scorpion's tail is also useful to make a woman love a man. Sometimes when a man woos a woman and she will not have him, he watches near the place where she urinates; and as soon as she leaves the spot, he puts the end of the tail of a scorpion (that still lives without its tail) in the little hole made by her urine. Then the next time that he talks to the woman on the street, she will accept him at once, for on meeting him her parts will begin to itch and tickle.

There are butterflies of many colors and sizes found in the woods and in the town. Especially in the rainy season, the fields are covered with an array of bright colors. Children sometimes catch the butterflies and adorn their hats with the wings. The *palomilla* is a small brown butterfly attracted to the lights at night. These butterflies pass so close to the light so often that sometimes they put it out. In its wings there is a powder that leaves ugly marks when it touches the skin; unless treated such marks never leave. The *puj* is a butterfly which leaves pus where it lights on the body, making that place swell. The *tumor* is a butterfly with small wings and a large anus. When it alights on one's hands, tumors come on the feet; and when it alights on one's feet, tumors grow on the hands. Among other butterflies, there is
a white one that is harmful to the cabbages because it makes them wormy.

**Glowworms** The glowworm is an insect of the night that has something in its anus that gives light when the glowworm wants to. It is the guide or lantern of the night, and catching one gives a person sore eyes. The glowworm is a little animal of God, for it helped Him to escape from the Jews. When the Jews caught Christ and jailed Him for the night, to fix His punishment in the morning, they came during the night to see if He was still there; and when they saw a little light they thought He was smoking a cigarette. The next morning they saw that Christ was gone and that the light had been made by the glowworm. That is why it is a great sin to play with these insects; and children who do so are scolded by their parents. Fireflies almost never enter houses, but if one should, it is a sure sign that some evil will befall the family.

**Locusts** Locusts are insects that are very damaging to the cornfields; they come for a while by the thousands and in a moment devour all the maize in a field. There are more of them on the coast, and when they ravage the fields there, the price of maize is high here. That is why everybody is alarmed to hear that the locusts have arrived anywhere. When a swarm of them comes, everybody burns incense so that they will not do any damage; and of course everybody makes noise to drive them away. Long ago, at the beginning of the world, there were no locusts at all. This is how they began:
There was an old woman who lived alone in her hut; and her children, especially one son, who had become very rich, did not pity her poverty. Things got worse and worse for her, until one day, she had nothing to eat. She went to the house of her rich son to ask him for some tortillas or nixtamal or even maize. In the son's house his family was eating, and the son came to the door to keep his mother from passing into the house. Instead of giving her any food, he scolded her and said he had nothing and told her to go away, because she had only come to bother him. Weeping, the woman had to go away, and she was forced to go to a house of strangers to ask for what she needed. Here she told the people what her son had said, and she asked God to punish him.

These good neighbors pitied the woman and gave her something to eat, and when she had eaten they gave her more to take back with her to her house. When she left them and went into the street thinking bad thoughts about her son, she suddenly heard a great noise in his house. She went over to see what was happening, and she saw that a great cloud of locusts was coming out of her son's granary and leaving in it only the bare corncobs. These locusts, which were the first in the world, ate up the bad son's wife. Meanwhile, a snake entered the throat of the son and he also died.

The mother, having seen all this, went to the town hall and reported the case. There the authorities exhibited the bodies of her son and daughter-in-law; and they called all
If the people to see what had happened to this couple who had been so stingy with their mother. They did this to teach the people, especially the children, that they should never be unkind toward their mothers, to whom they owe so much in life. Then the old woman went home, much respected by all her neighbors and her family.

Crickets

Crickets sing their Indian name throughout the night in old trees and sometimes in houses. When they come into the house to sing, it augurs ill, especially if two or three come at once. If a dog eats a cricket, it begins to get thin and pretty soon it dies.

Flies

There are several kinds of flies living both in town and in the woods. The common housefly is most prevalent in the last months of the dry season, when they are a great nuisance. There is a large green fly that is even worse because the white eggs that it lays wherever it stops turn into worms in a few hours. This fly likes to rest on rotted things, in wounds, and especially on the injured places of castrated animals. The animals must be cured with creolina or another disinfectant bought in the pharmacy. These flies also live in the woods, and it is dangerous to go to sleep during the day in the country because they lay their eggs in one's nostrils. The green flies in the house should not be killed or spoken to harshly because among them are some that are souls of dead people. When these flies are bothersome they should only be chased away.

An amusing incident happened some years ago here to a boy who was frightened by a few houseflies:
This was a half-witted boy whose mother always left him at home to cook the dinner while she went to sell in the market here or in neighboring towns. One day, when she went to Sololá, she told him to be sure to prepare the dinner because she would certainly return very hungry. Since he was always punished when he did not obey, the boy spent the morning grinding and cooking. When all was ready, he began to put out his lunch. While he was putting away the portion for his mother (so that he could have the rest), he heard a noise that sounded like crying. He went outside to see if there was a child there, but he found nobody. He returned to his lunch, but the noise continued. He then became very frightened and ran from his house to the house of a neighbor, pleading for help. The neighbor was busy and told him to wait until he should be free to go to see what had happened. The boy waited in the neighbor's house several hours and then remembered that he had left all the food on the floor and the door of his house open. So he asked the neighbor if he would not go back with him right away.

As they came to the door of the house, they heard the same crying, and they ran out into the patio because they were sure that a spirit was in the house. Because they were so frightened, they were still outside when the boy's mother came home and asked for her supper. There was nothing to eat, however, because the dogs had come in and eaten what the boy had prepared. The boy and the neighbor explained to her about the spirit, and she went right into the house to investigate. All she found were some flies that were inside
a pot, and these had been making the noise that the boy and the neighbor thought was made by a spirit. To punish the boy, the mother ground a little chile and put it in his anus.

In the woods there is a tiny fly that stings, and the place it bites becomes infected, but these little flies do not usually bite the people who live here. Their victims are strangers; and when a new resident comes, it takes about a year before they get to know him, and then they do not bother him. The female of this fly is especially bad because she eats dead snakes that are sometimes poisonous. Fly bites are cured with the tea of boiled tobacco leaves, which kills all the infection left by the fly.

In the first rains of winter a very tiny fly comes out. Great swarms of these flies form whirlwinds about two yards from the ground. This whirlwind stays in once place, but if a person passes under it, it goes along with him for some fifty yards and then leaves him.

Mosquitoes are small flying insects that live in town and in the woods, especially in swampy and dirty places. There are several kinds and sizes. They appear for the most part at night, when one can easily hear their buzzing as they fly around. Some mosquitoes bite people and suck the blood; and people say that some of them give malaria. The mosquitoes that bite are from the hill, and that is where they take the blood that they suck. The Devil has many servants there in the hill, and he sends them into the world when he needs something from here. Among these servants are mosquitoes. On his table the Devil always keeps a decanter of wine so
that when he is thirsty he can drink. This wine is made of the blood sucked out of people by mosquitoes.

One day the decanter of wine was empty, and this made the Devil very angry. He scolded his servants and ordered them to go immediately to fetch his wine. Shortly after, one of the mosquitoes that comes here met his consuegro. When they had greeted each other affectionately and respectfully, the consuegro asked, "Where is my dear consuegro going?" The voyager replied, "They have sent me to bring wine for my master." Then his consuegro told him to be careful that people did not kill him, and the mosquito replied, "That will be impossible, my consuegro; I have no bones before the day and the light." And he went on to do his errand and quickly returned to the hill to deliver his share of blood. Then the Devil was very happy.

Cockroaches are winged insects, brown in color, and the size of flies. They live in houses, especially in kitchens, because they live on leftover food and on ground maize. They multiply quickly and in great numbers, and they are called the "caretakers of the home." The coming into a house of cockroaches augurs death for somebody in the family, or some other calamity, such as the separation of the husband and wife, the loss of a lawsuit, or the like. Once cockroaches get into the house, they do not leave again until somebody there dies. So an enemy will often come at night with hundreds of these insects in his pockets and will leave them in one's house.
Cockroaches have a strong, fetid odor, especially when dead. They are a great nuisance, for whenever they have been in the dishes or utensils they leave an odor that cannot be removed, no matter how much they are scrubbed with soap and water. During the night the cockroaches sometimes clean away all the remains of the ground maize from the grinding stone; and the dough that is ground after that, no matter how well the stone has been cleaned, will be sticky and watery, and the tortillas will be very bad.

Some people rid the house of cockroaches with boiling water. When a kitchen that is infested happens to be small and old and separated from the rest of the house, it is often torn down and burned, cockroaches and all, and a new one is built.

The esperanza is an insect, a pretty green in color, that appears mostly in the rainy season. It is not harmful at all, and people catch it to put on their clothes. The esperanzas sing late at night, and God hears them and is happy because He thinks they are people praying; that is why it is a sin to kill them. When people did not know how to pray, they used to let one of these insects sting their tongues, and then they could learn easily.

The "blind hen" is a little worm that lives in the damp earth and eats the roots of the crops. For this reason such worms should be destroyed. If they are only killed, however, they multiply greatly; they must be gathered together and buried nearby or thrown into one of the irrigation ditches. The blind hen changes into a black ronron, whose head and tail are at opposite ends from those of a blind hen. The ronron lives in the earth and comes out
to get black manure, which it carries back in with it. When the black ronron becomes old, it changes into a chiquirín, the head and tail changing back to their former places. The chiquirín lives in the white sapodilla trees when the fruit is in season. It sings its name when it is mature, and it often dies of oversinging, for when it gets old it dies in the trees. There is a blue ronron, too, that has nothing to do with the blind hen or the chiquirín. It sings in November and is a sign of summer. The blue ronrons are spirits of the dead, which come in this form to visit the earth. They make a noise like their name. When children catch them to string them on threads, as they like to do, they get eye sickness.

There is another kind of black ronron living in rotted trees; it makes a honey; but if a person eats it, he becomes deaf.

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Other Insects Among the other insects found around here is the wild chinche. It lives in groups like the ant and has a bad and penetrating odor that is its defense. Another insect is the "little pig," which lives in the damp places beneath house floors and under rocks and looks like a little pig. Mashed up, this insect is used medicinally on the body. Still another is the quis abaj, a little animal that lives in rocks. This insect's body is as hard as rock. It has brown and yellow hairs which cause painful swellings on any part of a person that they touch. To heal the swelling, avocado seeds, well-heated corncobs, or hot stones or bricks should be applied to the affected place.

The quiebra palitos is an insect that looks like a twig or, together with its legs, a group of twigs five or six inches long. Since it is the color of a dry twig, it can be told from the plants
on which it lives only by its movements. It has a kind of needle in its tail, and it stings when it is molested. If a guiebra palitos is found along the road or, especially, in a man's clothes, a person, if he does nothing about it, will become thinner and thinner until he will be nothing but skin and bones, like the insect itself. What he then must do is gather little twigs and pile them over the insect as if they were firewood, for this animal needs its firewood. No matter in how much of a hurry a person is, he must do this. Nor can one ever touch the insect with his hands, but only with sticks.

Grubs are found all over town here and even more on the coast. There are two kinds: One eats into timber and lumber. The other eats grains, and that is why maize and beans do not last long on the coast. The grubs are very damaging, and there is no way of getting rid of them because they grow right in the grain itself until they burrow out.

Worms There are many kinds of worms in the fields, in plants, and even in people. Earthworms live in damp places, mostly under stones and in fertilized ground, and they are often used as bait on fishing hooks. There are two kinds: a big, tough worm called rununuleu, which is best for bait because it is not easy to pull off the hook, and a small, softer one. Then there are the brown, black, and green worms called choconoyes that live in chichicaste plants and avocado trees. These have a fuzz which contains a poison like that of the chichicaste itself; on touching this fuzz, one often gets a fever. The medidor is a green worm about an inch long
that is found on green leaves. It moves by contracting and expanding its length, and that is how it gets its Spanish name. The Indians call cutu, "the distance between the tip of the extended thumb and the index finger, which is used by the old people to measure just as the span is used by the Ladinos. The medidor should never be allowed on one's clothes because it measures a person and thereby augurs ill. Fruit worms are found in many fruits, especially guavas and white sapodillas. Many people, like the Maxenos and the Catarinecos, say that the worms are part of the fruit and so should be eaten with it. But most people here do not like wormy fruit and will not buy it or eat it. The fruit becomes wormy because women use the branches of the tree for firewood. That is why it is better to let the branches rot where they fall, as they do in Santa Cruz, where they grow good fruit. Here in town, silkworms live in communities in trees, especially the guava. Their silk is very fine, but it is not used except to tie around the neck to cure goiter.

The centipede, called "eighty hands," is a kind of earthworm that feigns death when it meets any living being, but then runs off quickly on its many feet. If a person touches it, it urinates on him, and then he becomes very thin, and the pain of the affected spot lasts for a year. The cure is to take the eighty remedies that were known to the old people; but since now there is not a single person who remembers how to prepare these remedies, medicine must be bought in the pharmacy instead.
Footnotes to Chp. 6

1. *Reglas*, about one and one-half by three inches.

2. *Aire*, see pp. 000-000.

3. See pp. 000-000.

4. Leader of the brotherhood or *cofradía*; see pp. 000-000.

5. See pp. 000-000.

6. *Jugland pyriformis* Liebermann (W); *J. regia* (V, M); *J. nigra* (V, M).

Identification was made by common name only, from Villacorta (1926). The botanical names that follow are taken from four sources: Villacorta (1926); Mejía (1927); Rojas (1936); a manuscript of Wisdom (1940), who credits identifications of plants in the Chorti region of Guatemala to Mr. Paul Standley of the then Field Museum; and a manuscript of McBryde (1940), most of whose identifications are credited to published sources, especially Standley, and a few to the University of California, to which he brought specimens. The writer had available both Villacorta and Mejía. The spelling and proofreading in both, and especially in Mejía, are not of the best. Also available was a list sent by McBryde and one of Wisdom's which will presumably be included in a forthcoming publication. Mr. Antonio Goubaud C. is responsible for the references to Rojas, which was not available to the writer.

All of the identifications of Panajachel plants (credited to their sources by means of initials) are necessarily open to question, since specimens from Panajachel were not examined by botanists. Vulgar names for plants probably vary considerably locally, so identifications based on similarities of names are questionable. Furthermore, of course, one name may encompass several species.
7. **Sapindus saponaria** L. (M, V, W).
8. **Trema micrantha** (R, W); **Tilia argentina** (M).
9. **Derris grandifolia** (R); especially uncertain identification.
10. **Busera mexicana** (V); **B. simaruba** (L.) Sarg. (W).
11. **Erythrina corallodendrum** L. (M, V, Mc); **E. rubrineria** H.B.K. (W, Mc); **E. cristagallia** (V).
12. **Yucca guatemalensis** (R); **Y. elephantipes** Regel (W); **Y. gloriosa** (V, M).
13. See pp. 000-000
14. **Perymenium turckheimi** (V); **P. t.** Vatke (M).
15. **Pithecolobium albicans** (M); **Dyphyoa bobinoides** (M).
16. **Ficus** sp. (W, M); **F. pluribus** (V); **F. tecomutensis**? (R).
17. i.e., of the Devil rather than of God; see pp. 000-000.
18. **Alnus acuminata** (R).
19. **Gravillea robusta** (V); **G. r.** Cunn. (Mc).

21. Chaixales and texeles are officials of the religious hierarchy; see pp. 000-000.
22. **Spondia lutea** L. (M, Mc); **S. mobin** L. (Mc).
23. **Pachira macrocarpa** (R); **P. lonjipetala** (M).
24. **Acacia** sp. (R).
25. **Nopales cochinillifera** L. Salm-Dyck (Mc); **Opuntia** sp. (M, V, Mc); **O. platypuncta** (Mc).
26. **Caspicum annum** (R); **Pimenta officinalis** (V); **P. o.** Lindley (W).
27. **Tillandsia caput-medusae** (R); **T. splendens** (V).
28. Mayores and alguaciles are officials of the civil hierarchy; see pp. 000-000.
29. An intoxicating beverage; see p. 000.
30. A civil official; see pp. 000-000.
31. Mayordomos and fiscales are officials of the religious hierarchy; see pp. 000-000.

32. Porotrichum cobanense (R).

33. Pilotrichella viridis (R).

34. Loranthus calyculatus (R); L. sp. (M).

35. See p. 000.

36. See p. 000.

37. Bejucos.

38. Pasiflora mexicana (V); P. m. Jan. (M); P. sp. (W).

39. Tureenitia lappacea (R); Desmodium incinatum (M).

40. Plumbago scandens (R); P. capensis (V).

41. Tsolix; unidentified.

42. From Cakchiquel; unidentified.

43. See p. 000.

44. See p. 000.

45. Typha latifolia (R); the Spanish is tule, which Wisdom identifies with sedge (Cyperus canus Preal).

46. Gynerium sagittatum (R).

47. From Cakchiquel chipoc; unidentified.

48. Dahlia arborea floribunda (R); D. a. imperialis (V).

49. From Cakchiquel; unidentified.

50. Thevitia nerifolia (M, V).

51. Sida rhombifolia L. (M, V).

52. See p. 000.

53. See p. 000.

54. From Cakchiquel pericon; Tegetes lucida (M).

55. Croton dioicus (R).

56. Solanum nigrum (M, V).
57. *Ustilago maydis* (R).
58. *Chenopodium ambrosoides* L. (W, M, V)
60. *Euphorbia peplus* (R).
61. *Althea rosea* (R); *Malva sp.* (M); *M. silvestris* (V).
63. From Cakchiquel *lanten* or *llanten*, the latter identified as
   *Plantago* sp. (M) and *P. major* (V).
64. *Eysenhereitia adenoestilis* (R); *Mimosa* sp. (M); *Caesalpinea
ek.\*  
   *bonducuella* (M).
65. *Crotolaria vitellina* (R); *C. guatimalensis* (V); *C. striata* (M);
   *C. longirostrata* (Mc); *C. l. Hook and Arn* (W).
66. See p. 000.
67. *Furcaria* sp. (M, Mc, R); *Agave* sp. (Mc). McBryde mentions
   several species of *Agave*.
68. *Urera baccifera* L. Graudichaud (W, Mc); *Urtica sp. U. dioitica* (V).
69. See p. 000.
70. *Cariacus virginianus* Brok (M, V). Mejía identifies two species in
   Guatemala.
71. Described p. 000.
72. *Canis letrana* Say (M, V).
73. An Indian who had not heard this story was surprised the people had
   not killed the man, who surely must have been a "coyote and characotel."
74. *Vulpea virginianus* Baird (M, V).
75. *Tigre* locally; a *tigrillo* is identified with *Felis tigrina* (M).
76. *Felis concolor* (M, V)  
77. *Ateles valerosus* Gray (M, V).
78. *Myrmecophaga jubata* (M, V); *M. tetractyla* Sim (M, V). The first
   identification is also given by Sr. Mariano Pacheco Herrarte,
   director-general of agriculture, whose information (hereafter
   labeled "P") came through Sr. Antonio Goubaud C.
80.23. *Mephitis mephitis* Baird (M, V); *M. putorius* Coues (V);

*Conopatus mapurito* Coues (V).


82.25. *Mustela brasiliensis* Sew (M, W).

83.26. See p. 000.

84. Jt. An informant gave this as the reason why two of his children had died at about the same time.

85.28. See p. 000.


89.26. See p. 000.

90.25. *Tatusian novencineta* (M, V).

91.24. *Caelogenys paca* Sim (M, V); *Geomyx p.* (P).

91.25. *Nasia nasica* L. (M, V).

92.26. *Sciurus carolinensis* Grm. (M, V); *S. griseoflavus* Als. (M, V); *S. variegatus* Em. (M, V).

93.27. *Sciuropterus volucella* Aller (M, V).

94.28. Villacorta (p. 91) and Mejia (p. 169) mention one species of domestic mouse (*Mus musculus* Lin).

95.28. Villacorta (p. 91) mentions five species; Mejia (pp. 169-70), four.

96.36. Unidentified.

97.31. Seed of the sapodilla or cross-sapodilla; see p. 000.

98.32. Cooked with a sauce of tomatoes, chile, etc.; see p. 000.

99. See p. 000.

100. The old type of marimba, with gourd resonators; see p. 000.

101. Fifteen species are mentioned by both Villacorta and Mejia.

102. See p. 000 ff.
Villacorta (p. 99) and Mejia (pp. 176-77) each list seventeen species.

Villacorta (p. 100) lists ten species; Mejia (p. 177), nine.

Chrysophyllus nevetus (P); a curruchiche is identified with Hermicorhina leocosticta Salc. (V, M).

Dilopterus nevius (P); a guilo is identified with Platyrhynchus cancrominus Scl. (V, M).

Mus minutus? (P).

Pyrgisoma biauratum Bp. (M, V).

Pyranga rubra Gosse (V, M); P. eastiva (P).

Pheuticus aurantiacus Salv. (V, M); P. tivalis (P); Hedimeles ludovicianus Cab. (V, M).

Guinaca caerulea Sw. (V, M); Cynospisa cyanea (P).

Ara macao Gray (V, M).

Euphonia elegantissima Du Bu, and other species (M, V).

Quiscalus macrurus Scl. (P, M, V).

Choc is the Mixteca term for sanató.

Apparently not, as the name would indicate, a thrush; Villacorta (p. 96) and Mejia (p. 174) identify a tordo de pico blanco with Amblycercus holocericeus Scl., a tordito with Molothrus Sw., and a capitán tordito with Ageleus pheniceus Scl. — all Icteridae.

Formicivora bonardi (P, M, V); a dozen species of Turidae, most of them Turdus, are also identified with the same common name (zenzontle) by Villacorta (p. 92) and Mejia (p. 171).

Cyanocitta coronata Scl. (M, V, P).

Catharista atrata Lawr. (M, V).
120. The turkey buzzard, *Cathartes aura* Ill. (M, V).

121. Possibly the same as the "king buzzard," *Gypargus papa* Vicillot (V, M).

122. *Bubo virginianus* (P, V, M); *Sophostrix stricklaundi* Sharpe (M, V).

123. *Nyctaliia acadica* (P, V, M); Villacorta (p. 103) mentions five; and Mejia (p. 179), four other species.

124. Walking in the evening with a twelve-year-old boy, we heard the cry; he said it was a sure sign of coming sickness.


126. *Asturina plagiata* Scl. (M, V); *Rupornis rificauda* Walt. (M, V).

127. Unidentified.

128. *Ensichortys nigrogularis* Grut. (M, V) and *Ortix insignia* Sal. (M, V).

129. Four species of *Hirundinidae* and five of *Cypselidae* are identified with the common name by Villacorta (pp. 95, 99) and Mejia (pp. 173, 177).

130. *Peristera cinerea* Swain (M, V).

131. *Columba fasciata* Say (M, V).


133. Four species of *Caprimulgidae* are mentioned by Villacorta (p. 100) and Mejia (p. 177).

134. *Icterus pectoralis* Waller (M, V).


137. *Gramatellus sallicc* (P); Villacorta (p. 94) and Mejia (p. 172) mention a number of species of *Minotiltidae*. 
38. Compostelepis americanus (P); Villacorta (p. 94) and Mejía (p. 172) mention three species. This bird may not be eaten; a boy killed one in our presence (with a slingshot at a dozen yards) and pocketed it to give to the cat to eat.

39. Toridostrum cinereum D'Orb (M, V); Myodinaster enteriventri (P).
40. Unidentified.
41. Icterus baltimore Licht (M, V).
42. Unidentified.
43. Villacorta (pp. 103-4) mentions fifteen species of Falconinae that bear the name; Mejía (p. 108) lists nine.

44. Myodinaster obscurus (P); Myadectes unicolor Scl. (M, V).
45. Penelope purpurascens (P); a bird called paujil is identified with Crax globicera L. (M, V).
46. Unidentified.
47. Mimus gilvus Vieillot (M, V).
49. Unidentified.
50. Mareca americana Scl. (M, V).
51. Endcina ruber (P).
52. Unidentified
53. Unidentified
54. Unidentified.
55. Nycticorax griseus (M, V); Ardea herodias L. (M, V); Platalea ajaja L. (M, V).
56. Unidentified.
57. Unidentified.
58. Charadritus virginicus (P).
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

160. Conophis lineatus (P); Coronella annulata Gunth. (V, M).

161. Dromicus fugitivus Gunth. (V, M); McBryde calls this snake a boa.

162. Bothrops nasuta (P); Bothriochis lartsebergii Gunth. (V, M);

B. mammifera (V, M).

163. Crotalus horridus L. (V, M).

164. Micrurus fulvius (P); Coronella godmani Gunth. (V, M);

three species of Elaps are also noted by Villacorta (p. 108).

165. Spillotes microlepis (P); Coronella decorata Gunth. (V, M).

166. Lachesis muta (P).

167. A section of Panajachel, see p. 000.

168. See p. 000.

169. Ameiva undulata Cope (V, M); A. festiva Linchstens (V, M);

Gerrhonotus modestus Gunth. (V, M).

171. Unidentified.


173. Bufo vulgaris (V, M).


175. Rana macroglossa Bucchi (V, M).

176. Fundulus punctatus (P); F. guatemalensis (Mc).

177. Ictiobus meridionalis (P); Philypanus cormitor (Mc).

178. Unidentified.

179. Cichlasoma guttulatum Gunther (Mc, P).

180. Cyprinus sp. (P).

181. Fetragopterus aenous (P).

182. Sardines and trout, unidentified.
Potamocarcinus guatemalensis Rathbun (Mc).

See p. 000.

See p. 000 for a similar story.

Unidentified.

None of the bees or wasps are identified.

The spiders are not identified.

Not identified.

Probably a moth; none of the "butterflies" are identified.

None identified.

A patent disinfectant apparently containing carbolic acid.

None identified.

Parent of a child-in-law.
A livelihood is earned chiefly in the vegetable gardens and the coffee fields. Since coffee is new here, it is in the growing of vegetables, and especially onions and garlic, that Panajacheleños have always been distinguished, and indeed the onions and garlic grown here are the best that there are. From the sale of the vegetables and the onion seed the people get money with which to buy their maize and beans, the utensils for the kitchen, the tools of work, their cotton cloth and their clothes. Everybody, from the time he is little, learns how to make the garden beds, how to plant and transplant, and how to water the vegetables. Growing the vegetables takes so much time that not only the men but the women too spend most of their days caring for the crops and preparing them for market.

Without the river this town would be nothing. Inspite of the land and houses it carries away when it goes wild in the rainy season, it is the river from which the irrigation water for the vegetables is taken. Into every part of town come the irrigation ditches, so that whenever water is needed for the gardens it is there to be used, to flood the land or to sprinkle the growing plants. Big ditches branch off from the river farther up, and from the big ones come little ones that can be stopped up or opened for the water to flow between the garden beds. In the winter there is rain, and the flow
of the water is often so threateningly heavy that the ditches
must be cut off at their source. But when the dry months
come, there is always water for the vegetables and no danger
of drought.

The crops are always grown in high rectangular beds
between which the water can be made to enter. Very commonly
a half-dozen or more beds are joined together at one end so
that when the water enters between them it will not flow out
and the beds can be easily watered with the tin or gourd
basins that are used. Making these beds is an art that every
man here knows, and although nowadays some Sololatecos and
Catarinecos also know it, only the Panajacheleños are experts.
In new land, where there have never been garden beds, the
first thing to be done is to cut down all the trees and remove
the stumps, cut away all the grass and weeds and completely
clean out all the roots. If it is the rainy season, and the
land is well soaked, it will easily receive the pickaxe with
which all the ground is cleaned and turned; but in the dry
season the land must first be flooded for some four or five
hours, if the earth is sandy, or longer if it is mostly clay.
The water must penetrate a yard beneath the surface to make
a good bed. When the land is flooded, one must be very care-
ful to see that none of it runs off the piece: all of the
exits must be well stopped-up. On the third day thereafter,
the garden bed can be formed. Some people measure off the
boundaries of the beds to be made, marking them with twine
tied around stakes; others simply judge the lines and calculate
the distances with their eyes. To form the beds all of the
land is dug up with a pickaxe to a depth of about two feet and the earth from between the beds piled onto the beds themselves. So gradually they are built up and given their shape.

In old land, where the beds of the last crop still have their form and simply have to be remade, the land is cleaned with the hoe and then flooded for two or three hours, or more if the ground is hard. Then, again on the third day, all the land of the beds is turned under with large hoes. Starting at the point where the work was finished the last time the beds were made, so that they should keep the same level, the soil is hoed to a depth of about two feet, so: every two yards a ditch deep enough to hold all the rubbish of the next two yards is dug across the bed. The earth taken out of this ditch is spread over the two yards behind, the rubbish of which has been removed and buried in the preceding ditch, and the ditch is filled with the rubbish of the succeeding two yards. So gradually the earth is turned over along the whole length of the bed. On a bed three yards wide it is best to have three workers, one in the middle and one on each of the edges. The least useful of them should be in the middle, guiding and helping the other two. The men on the outside have to set the edges of the bed, so: with their hoes they cut the earth of the edges so that they are straight, and then the earth that has fallen in the gutters between the beds they pulverize and place again on the edges, tamping it down so that it does not fall again. The edges of the beds slant outward. When the workers have formed the margins of the whole be
bed, they go back over them and tamp them firmly down so that even when heavily watered the earth will not slide down again. Everybody who makes garden beds has to form the edge as he goes along, and this is a job that requires great skill and art. That is why not all the beds are very well made. Everybody likes to have perfect beds, but it does not really matter to the crops if the edges are not always straight or if some are too vertical and others too oblique.

The dried leaves and rubbish that are turned into the ground from the surface are good fertilizer. Before planting, the bed must be left at rest for a few days for this rubbish to rot, or otherwise the heat of its rotting will kill the seeds or the young plants that are put in. Others who want especially good crops use special fertilizers for each thing, but these are sprinkled on the beds after they are planted.

The afternoon before leveling, the bed is lightly watered so that the next morning it will be damp but not wet. This, of course, is done in the dry season. Then in the morning, an expert workman comes with his hoe to smooth and level the bed for planting. Starting at one end, he goes backward, breaking up all the lumps, loosening the earth, and carefully leveling it. This is delicate work, and one who is not sure of himself should not attempt it. If he leaves some places lower than others, the water will later form pools and the roots of some of the plants will rot. Leveling is done with the handle of the hoe held almost vertically and the wide blade almost flat to the ground. The worker must be careful not to take
useless steps over the bed, either, lest he stamp down the
ground and make the planting difficult.

Many more onions are grown than any one other crop, and
the sale of onions—seedlings, onions by the load, onions by
the garden bed, and onion seed—brings more money than any-
thing else. The growing of onions takes a lot of work, es-
pecially if one plants the seeds rather than buys seedlings
from another, and if one follows them through to the onion
seed again. To plant the onion seed itself, the bed must be
more carefully leveled and the earth better pulverized than
for anything else, for small stones or pieces of earth impede
the sprouting of the very small seed. When the bed has been
well prepared, a pound of seed is taken for each bed of ten
or twelve yards in length by three in width, and it is sprinkled
evenly over the surface. The planter does not stand on the
bed, but rather he walks slowly along the gutters first on
one side and then on the other, sowing half the bed from
each side. The seed sown, it is covered evenly with about
an inch of good, damp, black earth taken from land that is
well fertilized with rotted leaves such as those of the cotton
fields. This earth is sprinkled loosely over the bed. Then
the bed is carefully covered with leaves of the _llamo_ or
willow tree or of some other plant that has broad leaves that
will keep off the hot sun while the seeds sprout. Then the
owner has to be careful to see that no animal passes over
the bed. Not all of the seeds sprout, and in the rainy season
less do than in the dry. But if the seed is good and one is
careful and lucky, most of them will.

If it is the dry season, every three days the bed is very lightly watered until the plants come out. This will be in about nine days if the earth over the seeds is no thicker than an inch, and longer if the seeds are deeper. Then when the plants have come up the leaves are removed and thereafter every day, preferably in the morning before the sun is hot, the bed is watered with a fine spray that will not hurt the tender plants. In the rainy season nature waters the plants, but not very well, and that is why the plants sicken and die and the price of onions goes way up. The daily watering during the dry season is continued until the plants are two inches high; after that they are watered only whenever they begin to dry up. It takes two months for the plants to grow large enough for transplanting. During this time two weedings are necessary. The man or woman who weeds a bed has to stand or sit on a very small board so as not to hurt the onions.

At the end of two months the plants are five or six inches high, and by this time other garden beds should have been prepared to receive them. To pull out the seedlings, a pointed stick is inserted into the ground under the plant and the plant pulled out with the other hand. Those that are ready are taken out and those that are not are left in for later. The seedlings are put in a basket and then are cleaned of their dried-up leaves while at the same time half of the root-hair and one quarter of the green are cut off with a knife. The seedlings must then be planted again within three days; on the third
day, even though they are a little yellow, they will still
grow all right. The seedlings that are left in the bed are
weeded and watered until they reach the necessary size for
transplanting. Usually it is the women who weed, pull out
seedlings, and transplant; the men have the work of making
the beds and watering them, although most of the women know
how to water with the tin basins bought in the store or the
gourd dishes in which tortillas are also kept.

On the same day that the seedlings are pulled out, a damp
bed is leveled to receive them the next day, so that the planter
will find the earth smooth and loose. Then the transplanter
works backward from one end of the bed, careful not to
make false or extra steps, inserting the seedlings. If only one
person does the work, he—or more usually she—does it in
three strips of one yard each because that is the greatest
width that can be planted without moving the feet. To plant
the seedlings, the ground is softened with a stick in the
left hand and then the head of the onion is inserted an inch
or two into the ground with the other, the thumb going in
with the onion head to make the way. The seedlings are usually
planted at a distance of four inches in both directions. If
the owner wants larger onions, he instructs that they be
planted five inches apart—but what he makes up in size he
loses in numbers. If the owner wants many onions, he has them
planted three inches apart, but then the greens and the leaves
grow tall while the head stays very small. Four inches is best.
Most people plant rows of onions in the oblique edges of the bed also, so as not to lose any land. Instead of onions, some people plant garlic or yams on these edges, and of course onions may be planted on the edges of the beds planted with other things. Many people also plant other crops like green chile, cabbage, lettuce, or sweet cassava along the margins of the onion beds. As a matter of fact, that is almost the only way these other vegetables are grown, with the exception that cabbage is sometimes given a bed to itself.

From the pound of seeds planted in one bed, seedlings for seven or eight onion beds are taken, enough for a whole cuerda of land. From the first batch of seedlings harvested, four beds can be planted; from the second batch, another three; and usually there are enough left for an eighth bed. All of the onions come out equally well.

When it is the dry season, the beds should be watered heavily after five or six days; after that they need be watered only when it is seen that the earth is drying. At the beginning of the dry season all those who use the irrigation system get together on a Sunday to repair and prepare the whole network. They all bring their hoes to the main intake and gradually work down, the men separating as the ditches branch out so that each works on the part that he uses. Since there are so many using the same water, some people like to water their gardens at night when there is less competition. During the day it sometimes takes a half-day to water five or six beds just because the water is so scarce. Sometimes just when one
has directed the water to his lands, another man who has been
hidden there stops it up again. Since one man has as much
right to the water as another, it is best to divide it equally
between them when the two want the same water at the same time.

During the three or four months that the onions are grow-
ing, the beds must be weeded once or at the most twice. The
weeding is done first from the gutter on one side and then
from the other. Those who make their beds four yards wide
cannot reach to the middle, and they have to step between the
onion plants, being very careful not to step on them, to do
the work. While the mother is weeding the bed, her little
children helping her along the borders learn to distinguish
the good plants from the weeds and learn how to pull out the
weeds without hurting the onions. Weeding is done with the
help of a stick which is inserted some four inches into the
ground to soften it; then all the fingers of both hands are
thrust in and the weed taken out, leaving all the earth and
the onions intact. Not everybody can do this delicate work,
so the owner often hires the poorest people, who have had much
practice, to do it for him. These women are paid five or six
cents to weed one bed, but they also get their food for the
day. Included in the bargain is a cup of coffee or atol at
about ten o'clock, and if this is not given, the women loudly
criticize the owner in the streets and in the market place.
The day after cleaning, the bed is very heavily watered so
that the onion roots will again set firmly in the ground.

After three or four months the onion tops begin to grow
thick and cylindrical to support the seed and at the same time the onion head begins to rot and get small. The onions, unless they are to go for seed, must then be harvested. Just as the onions begin to flower, the flower is usually cut off with the fingernail and the head allowed to grow a little more. Then the day before harvesting the bed must be watered well so that the next morning the ground will be soft. If this is not done, when the green top is pulled it will break off and leave the head in the hard ground. Some people who want to fertilize the garden bed with the cut-off stalk, prepare the onions for market there on the spot. With a knife they remove the old and rotted leaves of the stalk and cut off the hairy root. Then they grade the onions into three sizes, and with fibers of yucca tree leaves or banana stalks, they tie them in bunches of ten. Onions are sold by the bunch or by the hundred in the market place and are sold wholesale by the thousand, or even by the unharvested onion bed.

Sometimes the onions sicken while growing, and before they are ready for harvesting the leaves turn yellow. There is nothing that can be done about this sickness except pull up the onions quickly, no matter how small they are, to sell them before they are a complete loss. It is foolish to decide beforehand which of the beds will be left to go to seed, because the onions of the chosen bed may sicken before the flowers come. When the flowers grow and the onions are pulled out, one bed may be left for seed. It is then watered and weeded, with care that the stalks are not broken, and almost always a cane fence is built
around the bed for greater safety. When it is weeded, a little powdered excrement of the barnyard fowls is mixed with the soil so that the seeds will be better and more abundant. When the grains have replaced the flowers, the whole bed must be flooded, and the water left on for an hour more or less, depending on whether the earth has more clay or more sand (but black humus is the best for onion seed).

It takes some ten or eleven months to grow onion seed from seed. It usually grows from the seedlings that are planted in July and let go to seed in October so that the seeds mature in the dry months and can be harvested in March, well before the rains begin. When the pods begin to yellow it is time to harvest the seed. About half or three-quarters of the stalk is cut off and the bunches taken home and hung seeds-down from the rafters of the house, preferably in the kitchen so that the heat of the fire will help dry the seeds quickly. Once cutting has begun, it has to be continued every week because the pods yellow quickly. Those that are cut later are hung with the others and in about two weeks or more all are ready to be winnowed. Over a mat the grains containing the seeds are taken off the stalk with the fingers, and the stalk thrown away. Then the husks of the tiny seeds are blown away with the mouth and the seeds picked out by hand. The pure black seeds are then put into bags, weighed up by the ounce and the pound, for sale or for use again in planting seedlings. The seed grown here is the best in the whole Republic, and produces more onions per ounce than those of
any other place. It is much in demand in other towns, and merchants come from even as far as Amatitlán, Antigua, and Mixco to buy them, while at the same time people from here take them to the Capital to sell.

Two kinds of onions grow here—white and purple; the white is better because it seems to grow better and because it is milder. The purple onion is so strong that if a traveler eats a couple of them his fatigue will disappear. In Sololá they grow only white onions, but these can be told from the local white onions because their odor is not as strong. All onions are used in the kitchen, of course, and when cooked with a little anise the liquid is also used to cure cólera in a child. Teething babies are also given onions to chew.

Garlic is the most important vegetable crop here, next to onions, and almost everybody with land raises some. In a way garlic is even more Panajachelense than are onions, because while other towns like Sololá raise onions, only here is garlic grown. Garlic has a disadvantage in that it takes longer to grow and needs fresher land than onions, and so really takes more land; but it usually brings good prices and it can be kept for months and sold when money is scarcest.

Garlic grows best in new land, and especially where the short grass called creeping cynodon has been growing. If one has such land, he turns it with a pickaxe in the dry dogdays of July and August so that the grass will rot a little, and then when the rains begin again, he hoes it and levels the ground and takes out weeds that are harmful to growing garlic.
Then in the beginning of October he forms the garden beds there, having now only to shape them because the ground has been turned. If old garden beds are used, they are prepared like those for onions, but always well before planting so that the remains of the old plants and weeds will have plenty of time to rot; then of course before planting the beds are leveled as always. The soil for garlic should be neither too black nor too sandy, for if the first, the stalks and leaves will grow beautifully but without heads, and if the second, both the greens and the bulb will be small and degenerate.

Planting is done as soon after All Saints' Day as possible, in the first days of November. A very few people plant a little garlic in August, but no more than say a half-cuerda, because at that time most of the land is taken up with onions and corn. Since the garden beds must be prepared some weeks before planting, August planting is difficult. Another difficulty with August planting is that the seed must be planted to sprout in the ground. The seed planted is the garlic that has been harvested in April. By November planting time this seed, having been kept in a damp place in the house, will have sprouted about half an inch, but in August it is still hard and firm. Garlic does not sprout easily in the ground, so the thing to do in August planting is dampen the seeds for several days in advance or else leave them in the patio to be rained on for a while, and then they will sprout in the ground in ten or twelve days. The advantage of planting in August is that the garlic is ready for market in December and January when it brings a very high price.
During the last rainy season, when the previous harvest was prepared for market, some of the larger bulbs were set aside for seed, kept lying in the loft, or hung up. Now this garlic is taken down for planting again. At all times this seed garlic must be kept away from chickens, dogs and other animals with parted feet, for if such an animal passes over the seed, the garlic that grows from it has split heads or bulbs. Two or three days before planting the sections of the seed garlic are taken out and the small ones separated from the big ones so they can be planted in a separate little bed or on the edges of other beds. The seed is never put into baskets, which would cause the growing bulbs to split, but always into metal, wood, or gourd dishes.

The little sections of garlic are planted just like onion seedlings, thrust into the ground with the fingers, but to a depth of from three to three and a half inches. They are left uncovered except by the little earth that sifts down when the hand is removed. Like onions, the garlic plants are set about four inches apart for best results. Generally the garlic grows to the surface in ten days, and from then on the plants are not watered at all for another three weeks even though the soil is dry and the plants shrivel a little. In this way the weeds are killed, and when the garlic is finally watered, it grows quickly and the weeds slowly. If it is new land, or if it is old land the weeds of which have been allowed to rot a long while before planting, the garlic beds need only one weeding; otherwise they need two. After weeding the beds
must be heavily watered every three or four days, depending on the kind of soil. One curious thing about the way garlic grows is that while onions and beans and other things grow straight up, the garlic plant comes out of the earth doubled over, with the tip toward the ground, and it grows this way until well up out of the ground, when it turns up a bit.

It takes about six months from the time of planting to the time garlic is ready for harvest. Sometimes just before the harvest the rows in the middle of the bed begin to yellow, and then they should be pulled out right away before they turn black and get spoiled. The garlic is not damaged, but it is a pity when the stalk spoils, because it is needed to braid the garlic into bunches. Like onions, garlic is sometimes struck by a sickness that cannot be cured; there is nothing to do about it and the crop is all lost. To harvest the garlic, a stick is thrust into the ground to loosen the soil and the stalk is pulled up with the left hand.

The garlic is taken home as it is harvested and immediately the dried leaves are removed and the root hair cut off. Then it is left in the patio for three or four days and nights so that in the sun the stalks will become soft and yellow. Then it is piled up in the house with the leaves inside and the heads out so that the stalks do not rot or dry so much that they cannot be braided. During the rainy months that follow, women are hired by the day to braid the garlic before the heads begin to rot. Some women are really expert at braiding garlic well and quickly. Three heads of equal size are first tied together with a special
knot and their stalks braided. Then twenty of these little bunches are tied together with maguey or banana stalk fibers and so sold. Sometimes when the owner needs to sell his garlic in a hurry, he gathers his family in the patio for two or three hours every evening to braid the garlic. They sit in a circle around the pile of garlic, with a light in the middle. The head of the house has the job of picking out equal heads of garlic and of tying them in threes and starting the braid, after which he passes the bunch to one of the women or children to finish. Sometimes when one of the stalks is too short, a piece of banana-stem fiber is braided in to fill in. Real experts can braid garlic just with their fingers, but most people have to slip the garlic heads between their toes, their legs outstretched, and pull on the stalks. In these family braiding parties, the parents often speak of moral things, and they all talk about the incidents of the day and about their neighbors and other people. When it is a big family, they have a gay time, sometimes telling stories and laughing about things. Only one person should talk at a time, and especially when the older people talk the children should not interrupt, and should answer one at a time when spoken to.³

Since the braided stalks serve no purpose except to tie the bunches, some people have thought of cutting them off and selling the heads by the pound. But people are used to buying their garlic with the stalks, in bunches, and they would not like it any other way. Garlic is sold like onions. Sometimes merchants buy it in large quantities, or the men here take it
in quantities to Sololá or Teopán or down to the coast. Otherwise the women take it to market here very Sunday and sometimes on week-ends, and also to Sololá and San Andrés on their market days. Some women also take baskets of the small sections of garlic that come out of the bulbs and the poor people buy them by the measure.

Garlic is used in cooking, and it also has some important medicinal uses. Mashed up with other things it is a good cure for rheumatism on any part of the body; it is also good for pains caused by aire and for snake-of-the-road. The grains are also prepared with jabillo and other things for indigestion. Garlic is also used to keep away the spirits that come to haunt the house. It is ground up with chile and kept in a dish by the door day and night; when the spirits come they smell the strong odor and become confused and leave never to return, weeping, as they have been heard to do, if it is a house of their relatives.

Besides onions and garlic, and of course beans, the most important crops grown in the vegetable gardens are sweet potatoes, sweet cassava, chile, husk cherries, cabbages, radishes, and peas. In addition there are some vegetables like carrots, beets, turnips, lettuce and so on, as well as strawberries, that have been recently introduced from abroad. All of them except husk cherries and strawberries, the latter of which are grown only by Ladinos and one Indian family, are grown only along the edges of the vegetables beds that are planted with onions and garlic.
The sweet potato is an old plant here, or at least the yellow and purple varieties are. Years ago they were worth more than now, and the harvest was good, so they were planted in rows in large quantities. They were planted in December and harvested in August just at the time when corn was most expensive and poor people often used them as a substitute for corn, as they still do. When a ridge was made as for beans, the best shoots of the sweet potato plants were planted in two rows, one on each edge of the ridge, or in three rows if the ridge was wide enough to have one along the center. In the dry season the plants were watered, but otherwise the rain was enough. The ridges were weeded every little while to keep them clean. In those days the sweet potatoes were not sold by the pound, as they are now, but in big basketsful, for two silver reales each. Since now sweet potatoes are not worth much, they are usually planted only along the oblique edges of the vegetable beds, about nine or ten inches apart, the same distance as before. They need a black and sandy soil to grow large and good. If the arms of the planter are large and fat, so will the sweet potatoes be, and if his arms are veiny, so will be the fruit. The shoots to be planted are carried to the garden in bags together with large tamales, so that the fruit will grow large. It is easy to tell when the tubers are formed and ready for harvest because the earth over them begins to crack and break and sometimes one can even see the fruit.

It is only recently that new kinds of sweet potatoes, like
the white and a second purple variety, have come here, but all are used in the same way. They are cooked in pots, like vegetable pears or sweet cassava, or cooked with fresh corn and vegetable pears they are eaten as a dessert. They are sold by the pound in the markets, and for poor people they are the only sustenance in hard times. The Ladinos also make and sell candies of them. Medicinally the young leaves of the plant are boiled with other things and the broth is good for dysentery and may also be taken by nursing mothers so they will have plenty of milk. Only skilled curers should give this medicine. Mothers can also increase their milk supply by beating their breasts with the leaves of the sweet potato plant while they are in the sweatbath.

Sweet cassava is planted in the garden beds, along the borders of those planted with onions or garlic and at distances of two yards or more as the planter wishes. It may be planted along with the vegetables. The trunk and branches of an old plant are cut into lengths of about half a yard and these are inserted into the earth, always inclined a little in the same direction—either towards the east or towards a corner of the garden bed. Nothing further need be done except to weed the ground when the rest of the bed is weeded and, in order that the cassava should not shade the vegetables, to cut off the branches when they grow large. When the vegetables of the garden are harvested, the cassava is left in its place and the new bed made around it; this movement of the soil is really good for the cassava, for its roots are always searching
for more food for the tubercles. Only when the plant flowers, after more than a year, can it be pulled out when a vegetable crop is harvested, for then the tubercles are ready. It is best to leave cassava plants in the ground for as long as two years, so if nothing is going to be planted in the bed except perhaps corn or pepinos, they can be left there to be harvested when fully ripe. To pull out the cassava plant, the earth must be damp or the bed recently made, so that it will come out roots and all when the stem is pulled. Of course the stems or branches serve again to plant more sweet cassava. The cassava plant grows as high as two and a half yards, always on a slant. As with the sweet potato, if the planter has heavy arms and legs, and prominent veins, the cassava will come out the same. It is sold by the pound in the markets. It is boiled and peeled and eaten as a dessert or else put into the beef broth like any other vegetable. On the coast the sweet cassava grows very well, and they say that long ago there was none here at all until it was brought from the coast, to be planted here. It is bad to steal cassava, or sweet potatoes, or vegetable pears, for that matter, because when the thief dies, his fingers become very red, and everybody knows why.

Chile is an old, old plant here, planted by almost everybody and grown in the same way as cassava. The kind of chile grown here is called seven-broths by the Ladinos because it is so strong that it can be used seven times over in cooking before it loses its sharpness. It is a green, round chile, tough and hard to chew, and eaten when ripe. When the plant
grows well, it reaches a height of about two yards and more, divided into many branches all of which produce fruit. In the old days the chile grown here was so plentiful that nobody had to buy the dry red chile that is brought to the market from other places. But now there are times when little or none of it grows, and most of it has to be bought. Besides the seven-broths, the kinds of chile now grown here are the crow's-bite, which is long and very sharp, another long variety, orange in color, that tastes sweet when first put into the mouth but bites hard in a minute, and another very small chile that is excellent for hangover. The dry red chile bought in the market is sold by weight, and the local green chile by the piece or the measure. Although the local chile is good and sharp, it rots very quickly, so the dry chile is really better and many people sell their home-grown chile to buy dry chile instead. The fruit is very essential in the kitchen. The stem, branches, and leaves of the plant are not used, but sometimes the twigs are made into pipe stems.

The husk-cherry grows wild in all the garden beds and is usually removed as a weed so its shade will not hurt the crops. Especially in the garlic beds, a few of the plants are always allowed to grow during the rainy season, and produce fruit which is then harvested with the garlic and sold in the markets by the pound. Husk-cherries used to bring a very good price and were sold by the measure, but now they are of value chiefly when tomatoes are very scarce. They are used as a condiment in cooking and are also served boiled alone or with chile; they
have a sour, tart taste. The green husk in which the fruit grows is cooked and the broth is a good gargle for trenchmouth and tonsilitis. There are other large varieties of husk-cherries that are sometimes brought up from the coast, but there are enough here, and more, for the use of the people.

Cabbages used to be very important here; white and purple varieties were grown in garden beds made in the black sticky earth in which the rushes grew on the lake shore. They were produced in great quantities, planted from shoots of old cabbages. When a head began to grow in the new plant, all the side-shoots were cut off until the head was harvested, after which one other was allowed to grow. Each plant gave as many as five or six heads, one after the other. Cabbages that weighed as much as twenty-five pounds grew here. But then when the foreign cabbages came in, the buyers seemed to like them better, so everybody began to buy seeds to plant in nursery gardens and transplant like cassava on the edges of the garden beds. Now the old native cabbage is not to be seen. Actually, most cabbages are now grown in Sololá and Concepción. Old men's heads, with their gray hair, are often spoken of just as "cabbages." Salt-cabbage, a kind of cabbage with long leaves and a short stalk, is planted in the same was as cabbage; a few are sold, but mostly they are eaten at home, boiled, or in soup.

Formerly peas, too, were a very important crop, planted by the cuerda in garden beds or just like corn, two or three grains put into holes two or three inches deep and about a
yard apart. The best earth for peas is soft and black. They are watered frequently like onions and garlic so that the soil is always damp, and as soon as the peas begin to ripen in the pods, they have to be watched carefully so that the crows will not eat them. Peas used to be planted mostly in the month of October to be harvested around Holy Week. Nowadays peas are not grown much here because there are other towns like Sololá and Concepción where the harvests are better. Only a few are grown on the edges of the beds of other vegetables, chiefly for the use of the growers. They are usually harvested as green peas because that is how most people like them.

Several varieties of radishes are grown locally. The real radish of Panajachel is a large, purple, conical one. In recent years the small, red, foreign radish has come in, and although people grow it to sell by the bunch in the market, the purple kind is better, so most people grow it for their own use. The old ones give seeds when they mature, but seeds for the new ones have to be bought in packages. In either case the seeds are sprinkled over a garden bed in which onions or garlic are grown and the seedlings transplanted later to the edges of other beds. A woman must be careful not to step over growing radishes lest they split. The radishes are eaten raw, just with salt and tortillas, or else chopped with salt, chile, and sour-orange juice. The fresh young leaves are cooked and are very good eaten with chile.

Carrots, beets, and turnips are new vegetables here, grown by very few people. They are planted either according
to the directions on the package, or, more usually, by sprinkling the seeds on the fine soil of a garden bed and covering them with black fertilized soil and leaves, as with onion seeds. Whenever they are planted, new packages have to be bought, because for some reason the plants do not give seeds here. In Sololá many more of these vegetables are planted, and some local people even go there to buy them to take to other markets for sale. They are grown primarily for sale and only occasionally are the young carrot tops cooked like other greens, and very rarely turnips are put into beef broth or pork pulique. Salt-wort and lettuce are two other vegetables that are very new here and are planted according to the directions on the packages of seeds bought in the store. At first the people were afraid to eat these new greens. Then a few tried them, and although they did not like them, they did not get sick, so since then they have been planted for sale to the Ladinos who do like them.

Plants like the pepino, the cucumber, and the tomato are not grown in the vegetable beds but in little hills between and around which the water from the irrigation ditches is allowed to flow. Of these, pepinos are by far the most important and, indeed, one of the four or five most valuable crops grown here. A long time ago, pepinos grew here in such abundance that only the handsomest fruit were sold to the merchants who came from all over the country to buy them, and the rest were just left to rot on the ground. In those days when the plant was in flower, the owners used to buy and cook the hooves of
cattle, and when the broth was cold, they would take it in pots out to the pepino fields and sprinkle it over all the plants. Some people do this even today. About thirty years ago the same sickness that hurts the onions first attacked the pepino plants, and now very often the leaves yellow and almost stop growing; and although the plant may bloom, the flowers will fall off and no fruit be produced. Nobody knows the cause of this sickness and there is no way to cure it.

It takes almost a year to grow pepinos. They are planted in July, the harvest does not begin until May, and the last fruit may not ripen until the next July. Pepinos require a sandy soil, with even a bit of gravel; furthermore, the land must be pretty new, for if pepinos are grown in old garden beds, that have been planted for years, only the leaves will grow, and no fruit. For this reason most of the pepinos now grow on the west side of the river, where there is much sandy land and where a good part of the land, unlike that of the other side, has not been much cultivated. When the first rains of winter dampen the earth in May, the ground is dug up about a foot or more deep with a pickaxe and the grass and bad weeds are put to one side. The land is left so for a few weeks, and when planting time nears, all the rocks and stones are piled up on the edges of the land and the soil is pulverized, all the lumps broken up. Circles two or three feet in diameter are marked off about two yards apart, and in these circles the shoots of old pepino plants are inserted. The shoots containing buds are cut off the old plants with a knife and tied into bunches for sale or for planting, and there are
so many that from a few old plants sufficient shoots for a large field are taken. The same day they are cut, six or eight of these shoots are inserted into each circle, the bottoms almost touching in the ground and the tops separated and forming a circle. The earth is pressed down a little so that the shoots rest securely. Some people who try to get a bigger harvest plant more than eight shoots, but the results are always disappointing. Sometimes seed is bought in packages and then planted eight or ten to a hole set at a distance of one yard.

If the field is near the road, it is fenced in to keep out the animals and the people who might step on the plants. For the rest of the rainy season nothing need be done except weed the patch. But as soon as the rains stop, the plants must be watered frequently because the soil is so sandy. Some few who plant their pepinos in old vegetable beds water them as they do the vegetables; otherwise the water is allowed to flow all through the land in little paths that are made for it. At the same time a ridge is made around the circumference of the plant and to hold in the pepino branches, which always grow outward. Since with the constant watering these ridges are washed away, they have to be made over twice more, and each time they are made a little higher and wider. Every month the plants must also be weeded. The planter thus has about ten big jobs before he can harvest any fruit. Then when the plant flowers, he also has to make a good fence of canes so
that nobody will enter the field except he who waters it. The cane for the fence must usually be bought. Because of all this work and expense, and because of the sickness that attacks the plants, and because the fruit no longer brings the price it once did, many people balk nowadays at planting pepinos, saying that they use their land for a whole year, work hard, and spend money—and then do not get anything in return.

When the pepinos are in flower, anyone who has eaten fish or crabs during the last two days, or who has taken a sweatbath the night before or even two nights before, should not enter the field to work. If he does, all the flowers will fall off and the harvest will be ruined. When the plants begin to flower, pepino-shaped gourds that have been painted with lime and soot to simulate the color of pepinos are hung from the branches of the plants so that they will be ashamed not to give large fruit. Some people also put eggshells below the plants. The only fertilizer given is the black earth from under the coffee trees which has the rotted leaves of the coffee plant. When the pepino bush matures, it grows as high as two and a half feet and as wide as a yard. As many as forty to fifty fruit of different sizes grow on each. When there is fruit on the plants, there is great danger of thieves stealing it, so the owners either keep a dog in the field or else fence it in well with cornstalks and hide thorny ooyol branches and prickly pear leaves in the earth and weeds so that the trespasser will be punished when he unwittingly steps on them. The fruit is left to ripen on the plants and is cut off only when sold or ready to be sold.
Pepinos are very cold and give people stomach aches, so very few are eaten here. They are sold mostly in the market and by the hundred to merchants who come to the owners to buy them. When the owner does cut a few to give to his children to eat, and this is rare, he takes only the smallest ones. Most people would rather take them to market even if the price is very low, and many let them rot rather than eat many of them in the house.

Cucumbers are grown only by a few people who are willing to learn about new things. Most people find that they are better off by sticking to such things as onions, garlic, pepinos, and coffee, and leaving other vegetables to Sololatcos and people from other towns. One wastes land and time, as well as money, when he tries new things and they fail. Those who plant cucumbers do so in town, although some of them are now trying to grow them in the hills where the land is less valuable. They buy the seeds and plant them much as they do squash, putting eight or ten seeds in each hole, the holes about a yard apart. To get a good crop the rich earth of decayed coffee leaves should be put over each plant to fertilize it. During the time the plant grows it must be weeded twice, and in the dry season the base of the plant should be lightly watered every five or six days. The cucumbers are planted in the dry season and harvested after the rains begin, when they are taken to the markets and sold to the Lados. Nobody here eats them.

There are three kinds of tomatoes. The first is a
rather sour and small kind, and it has always been cultivated here. The second is a wild tomato that is even smaller, but it is very good. It often springs up in the cornfields and without any care at all entwines itself on rocks and cornstalks and gives fruit that in the market are much sought after by the poor people. The third kind is the foreign tomato, which is large and sweet. It is not very good to eat, but the Ladinot like it and so it is raised here like the native tomato and sold in the markets. Tomatoes used to be an important crop here. Then somebody began to plant them in San Antonio, and they seemed to take the spirit of the tomato over there. Since then they have grown very well in San Antonio and poorly here, and so few people try to plant them. Tomatoes are grown very much like pepinos, in sandy and stony soil. But first the seeds must be planted in small garden beds or in baskets or pots filled with rich black dirt. They are transplanted when they are about five or six inches high into holes made like those for pepinos, but three plants are placed to form a triangle in each hole. The bushes are placed about a yard and a half apart, and to get a good crop, horse manure must be put into the holes. If the soil is very sandy and stony, the plants must be watered every two or three days. While they are still young this must be done very carefully so as not to hurt them, but when they are large, the field may be flooded and water dished into the circle inside a ridge built around each plant just as for pepinos. If some of the plants die, they can be replaced with other seedlings. When
the tomatoes begin to flower, dogs and chickens must be kept out of the field lest the tomatoes grow split and irregular instead of round and smooth. As with pepinos, one should keep out of the tomato patch after having eaten fish and crabs. The best tomatoes are kept for seed for the next planting, first drying them in the sun.

There are many other minor plants grown in the patios of the houses and in the vegetable beds. Among them are tecomates,14 rue,15 coriander,16 cintula,17 and the dye-bushes indigo18 and sacatinta.19

Gourd tecomates are planted much more by the Maxeños, but some people here grow them in their fields and patios in places where, perhaps because there is much shade, nothing else will grow. They are grown like squash, but the secret of getting a good crop, aside from having the ground soft before planting, is to walk over the land and drop the seeds in from the back, so that they are not seen to fall; then they can be covered with earth a little later. The fruit has many shapes, and must be cut when the moon is full so that the gourds will be strong and will not rot quickly. After they dry in the sun the ends are opened with a knife or a machete and cut according to the use to which they are to be put. Then water and ashes are applied and they are left in a shady place for as long as a week. The ashes rot and remove the soft, bitter part of the fruit inside. Then the gourds are washed again with water and ashes and are ready for use. Round gourds are used to keep tortillas and tamales in, for in a covered gourd they do
not lose their softness. Those shaped like basins used to be widely used to water the gardens; nowadays metal basins are most commonly used instead, but some of the older kind can still be seen. Timbrels for the dancers and for children's toys, and the old fashioned marimbás are made of gourds. Small gourds are used in the kitchen as containers for small quantities of corn, beans and so on, and for saltcellars. One kind is shaped like an hourglass and is used to carry water on long journeys; these used to be used to carry chicha and rum, too. The little gourds from which atol (and in the cofradía) chocolate are drunk come from a tree that grows only on the coast, and the gourds are bought here all prepared. The mashed leaf of the tecomate plant can be applied to sores on the body, for like iodine it drives out the evil.

Rue is planted from a shoot in many patios because it has so many good medicinal uses. To cure a cold a little rue is boiled with cinnamon and lime, and while it is still warm a little liquor is added, and then the whole liquid is drunk as a sudorific. For malaria the rue leaves are boiled with others, such as the new leaves of the peach, cypress, or llamo tree, and with other things including sugar, and the liquid is drunk. Only the old people know how to prepare this medicine. The midwives and some other old people also know how to fix a drink with rue and other ingredients to cure the evil eye cast at children on the street and in public places. Rue is also used to prevent the evil eye from being cast at young chickens, turkeys, calves, and so on. The young fowl are bathed in rue
water when they are born and a little is given them with each meal. Since cattle will not drink this, a bag containing various plants, but especially rue, is hung about their necks and that keeps the evil eye away. The odor of rue is very strong, and it sometimes is used as a disinfectant, like camphor; thus when a dead body is found in a ravine or by the lake, rue is put over it, and during an epidemic rue is used to disinfect the houses. The odor is such that the evil spirits of the dead cannot get through it, and so when a person is sick, the water of beaten rue is sprinkled in the house to keep out the spirits that try to come in to take away the patient.

Coriander is used chiefly to flavor beef broth, *pulique*, and chicken. When you smell coriander, you think of beef broth. When you meet somebody about whom there is the odor of coriander, you think he must be carrying meat and must be happy, because only when there is money is there meat in the house. People who grow much coriander sometimes take bunches of it to the butchershop and exchange it for meat; then the butcher hands it out with the meat to his customers. Coriander is the enemy of cattle, who, when they smell it, know they are going to die, and soon they do not wish to live. Since nobody likes meat without coriander, the cattle would like to see all the coriander plants on earth destroyed. Some people also like to eat coriander alone, especially when they are off in the hills and have no tortillas; they wrap the tenderest coriander plants in cornhusks, like tamales-with-meat, together with *chile* and salt and maybe tomatoes, and cook them over the
fire. Coriander in the food is good for stomach aches, and some use it to cure stomach tumors. For this purpose coriander seeds are toasted and put into a bottle with bees' honey, water, and other things. The water is drunk off and more added to the seeds until all the flavor of the seeds is gone.

*Coriander* is grown only here, and no other towns have it. Those who cultivate it are afraid that if it is started in another town the same thing will happen that has happened to the onion and many other things: the spirit leaves here and the crops grow better in other places. That is why, when they go to other towns to sell *cintula*, they always put their produce on a mat so that they can gather up all the little pieces that fall off and bring them home; otherwise the spirit of the plant might stay there and it would not grow here any more. *Cintula* takes about two years to grow, and you can tell when it is ready for then it flowers. Many people, especially those with limited land, will not plant it because it takes so long and they can earn more by using all their land for onions. But *cintula* has the advantage of fertilizing the soil where it grows, so that the next crop planted there grows very well, and some people plant it chiefly to rest the soil.

Indigo and *sacatinta* are bushes that nowadays are planted chiefly for fences. The leaves are sold in the markets to people, mostly those of Santa Lucia Utatlán, who use it to make a dye. It has a sap like machine-oil that turns a deep blue on contact with the air. The leaves are soaked in hot
water to make a light blue dye. It is kept in bottles and
does not spoil for as long as two weeks. The dye is used to
dye clothes, mostly men's drawers. The dye is never used here
and is only rarely made. Mixed with lard it is a good antidote
for dogs that have been poisoned, and it also cures the bites
of the guisapoj insects\textsuperscript{20} that live in the stones of the river
bed and bite the soles of the feet. The branches of the saca-
tinta used to be sold in large quantities to people of other
towns, especially Concepción where they made a dye of it to
color a coarse cloth that they made to sell to other towns,
mostly in Chimaltenango.

II - Crops of the Cornfield

MAIZE. Maize is the life of the people, for without
it we cannot live. It will grow both in town and in the hills,
but since the land in town is worth so much for onions, garlic
and other vegetables, not everybody can afford to grow their
maize here. In the hills, on the other hand, there is no water
for vegetables, and little level land, so those who own land
there use it for maize. Even those who never grow their own
maize must work in the fields of others, so although there is
little maize grown here, everybody knows the work of the corn-
field. There is nobody here who grows more than enough maize
for his own family's use, so unless the need is very great and
a man has to sell rather than store for use the little maize
that he harvests, it is never taken to market. Instead, almost
everybody must buy the grain that is brought here from other towns. For this reason, when maize is high in price the poor people have a very hard time.

Nobody can say how old maize is, but it is certain that when man first appeared on the earth, he had it for his food. There was a time when there was no black maize in the world, or at least in this part. It was given to us in the following manner:

There was an old man of Patzicia who grew much maize in his lands. He was something of a merchant and used to like to go to the coast to sell his grain. One day when he was returning from the coast with his carrying-frame empty, he decided, although he was very tired, to try to reach his home without stopping over anywhere on the way as he usually did. When he came to the place called La Sierra, beyond Patzún, he came to a great hill that he had to climb, but he girded his loins and gathered his forces to climb it. He had barely begun the climb when he came upon a little black girl seated on a stone by the roadside, and crying. The man stopped and asked her why she was crying, and she replied that she had been thrown out of her country for no reason that she knew except perhaps that the owners were tired of her blackness.

The old man, very sorry for her, offered to take her to his house with him. They had gone but a short distance when he saw that she could not walk as fast as he and that this way they would reach Patzicia very late; so he put her
into his carrying-frame and carried her. From that place to
the man's house was some three leagues, and considering his
load, the old man resigned himself to arriving after nightfall.
When he had travelled one league with her, the man felt that
his load weighed more, and he spoke to her so that they should
have conversation, but she did not say a word; he thought then
that she was sleeping and he continued without disturbing her.
After another league, he felt even more weight, but thinking
he was merely becoming tired, he kept on going. A half-league
was still remaining when he felt that his load was so heavy
that something unusual must have happened, and he lowered his
carrying-frame to see what it could be. What was his joy to
see that his frame was full of black maize, in kernels! Then
it was that he understood what the girl had meant. He prayed
and crossed himself and then started anew on his road, with
the hope now of reaching his house—sooner or later—with the
fortune on his back. When he was within a few blocks of his
house, he could no longer carry his load because the blessed
maize had increased so much, and his sons had to come to help
him let down his carrying-frame. At the house they emptied the
maize onto a large mat, and it grew and grew until even the mat
was not large enough.

The next day candles, incense, and rockets were brought to
celebrate the fortune found in the road. Then the old man set
out to plant all the maize, since there was none of this color
thereabouts, but he failed because when he took some to his land
to plant, there always was the same amount left on the mat. He
borrowed more lands from his neighbors and planted hundreds of cuerdas, but still they were not enough. They ate some of the grain and sold a little, but even so they never finished it. When the old man was planting the maize he dreamed of the little girl that he had carried in his carrying-frame, and she told him that she had come from where she had been because her planter there had tired of her and the seeds had been thrown into the patio so they would not have to be planted again; and so she had come away. Since that time there has been black maize around Patzicia, and it later came here.

Besides the black maize, there is white, yellow and red. Ladinos seem to prefer white maize, but Indians prefer yellow because it is much more nourishing and stays hunger longer. There is one kind of maize of the coast and another of the cold country, and indeed each place has its own variety, so that for example the maize of Chichicastenango is different from the maize of Tecpán. The maize of the cold country is better than that grown on the coast because tortillas made of it are more filling, do not get tough so quickly, and have a better smell. Even here, the maize grown in town is different from that grown in the hills. Of the special varieties that may be mentioned are "bishop maize," the kernels of which are long and four-sided and sometimes called "pig's teeth" for that reason, which is good grain because it swells much when it is cooked; and "short maize," also grown in
the first

In town, where the plants can of course be watered at any time from the irrigation ditches, maize can be planted at any time; but in the hills it must always be planted at the beginning of the rainy season. Actually, even in town it is not good to plant it at odd times because it does not grow well except in its proper time and because when one has the only cornfield around, he will be bothered more than ever by the crows and other birds and the animals. For the latter reason everybody tries to plant at about the same time in the hills, too; if one is two or three weeks late, his will be the only unsprouted seeds in the neighborhood and the crows will surely get them. Since nobody can plant before three days of good rain have softened the earth, there is a great rush to sow the grain in the first weeks of May when the rains begin, and everybody is busy in his own fields or in those of the man who has hired him. But of course planting is not the first work to be done in the cornfield.

On land in the hills that has not been planted for several years, the trees and brush must first be cut away with machetes. This difficult work, if it is to be done in good time and especially if there are fairly large trees, must be done in the month of March or in the first half of April. Then, in the last days of April, the whole piece is burned over on a day when there is a fair wind; but first a space about two yards wide should be entirely cleared and cleaned around all the part to be burned so that the fire
will not pass to other lands, lest one fall into the hands of the law. When all the brush has been burned, the land is cleaned in preparation for planting. On land that was planted the year before, or two years before, nothing need be done until the last days of April. Then all the soil should be thoroughly hoed up to kill all the weeds and underbrush and pull out the old cornstalks, all of which should be piled up for burning. Careless farmers simply cut the weeds and stalks with their machetes and pile them for burning, but their harvest will not be as good. This work is best done a week before planting, although it is possible to do it as little as three days before. The rubbish should be burned—not buried or thrown off the land—because the ashes are fine fertilizer for the cornfield. In town, where the land is almost always under cultivation, preparing it for maize is much easier. When the harvest of the last crop of vegetables has been taken up, nothing is done until three or four days before planting time, when the soil is hoed up to kill the weeds; to do a better job, so that the maize will grow better, some turn over all the soil and make a new garden bed. A few people fertilize this land with the very black dirt that comes from rotted coffee leaves or from the waste of the kitchen and courtyard.

The land ready, the first rains are awaited in the first half of May. If they start sooner, it is bad because there will not be enough rain later, and if they start later, it is bad because the young plants will sicken easily. Meanwhile,
seeds for planting are selected. The best and largest ears of maize from the last harvest have been hanging all year in the house, but well away from the fire which would rot them quickly. The men now take down these ears and with their hands alone they take off the kernels, beginning always at the thick part of the cob and never at the point, since the grains there are not complete and will not germinate as well as the others. This maize should never be beaten off the cob, nor should any tools be used. All the kernels are put on a mat so that the best of them can easily be picked out. The owner of the land then hires laborers to help him, unless, of course, he needs no more than the members of his family. Each man brings a hoe with a small blade and carries the seeds given him in a small bag hung from his waist or shoulder. If the land is on a slope, planting is always begun on the high side, so: the owner or the most experienced laborer takes the first round, the next man the second, and so on, one behind another, and one who is behind can never pass the one ahead because the first man determines the direction of the rows, the distances between them, and the distances between the plants of a row. The distances between plants both ways are usually about a yard and a half, unless it is new land, when a foot less is allowed because the soil is richer. The distances are determined simply by paces or with the measure of the hoe handle; and when the place is so found for a plant, the ground there is struck two or three times with the blade of the hoe to make a hole about six inches deep. The planter then takes five or six
grains from his bag with his right hand, and with great care he puts them into the hole. Then with his hoe he covers the hole with the best earth around, and pats it down with the flat of the blade. A couple of paces farther on he does the same thing until he finishes the row, after which he starts on his next row in the opposite direction. When the town gardens are planted with maize, it is done in the same way, except that where fertilizer is used, a pinch of it is put into each hole before the seeds.

When beans are planted with maize, three or four black beans, or the large red piloy beans, are put into the hole with the maize seed. But not more than one plant in five or six should be planted with beans, and these arranged so as not to form rows. Squashes, pumpkins, and chilacayotes are not planted until the maize is at least six inches high, and then they are spaced between the corn plants and no oftener than about sixteen yards, three or four seeds in each hole.

When the fields have been planted, children are sent to watch them all day to keep the sanates away. They use their slingshots and also the three-tailed braided maguey whips that crack when whirled in the air. Scarecrows, made with old clothes, are also often placed in the cornfields, and of course when one is much bothered, there are sanate-traps. It takes about three days for the maize to sprout, and after that the field is still carefully watched for another week. At the end of that time the plants are some four inches high, and then they are bothered only rarely by the sanates who go instead to more recently planted fields.
The rats and mice are as bad as the sanates, but since they cannot be seen, there is less to do about them. When these animals have stolen many seeds, new seeds that have been bathed in lime-water or the water of the bad tasting and bad smelling zorro grass are planted in their stead; these seeds are bathed the night before and early in the morning taken in a dish to the field for replanting. When the mice have their nests in the cornfield, and are very bothersome, traps may be set to kill them off. There are three kinds of such traps used here:

The first (Figure ) consists of a vertical stick (1) placed in the ground to support the others; the second stick (2) is firmly bound to it, and at one end (a) there is a kernal of maize firmly imbedded so that it cannot be pulled off easily, while the other end (b) is notched so that the third stick (3) which supports the rock (4) rests lightly on it so that with the least movement it will be loosened. The mouse eats the grain and shakes stick 3 loose, and the rock falls upon and kills the mouse. The little sticks are some six inches long, and the grain must be at about the height of the mouse. This trap can be placed on a hillside as well as on the level.

The second (Figure ) is much like the first except that stick 1 supports the extremity of stick 3, and stick 2 is horizontally placed. The sticks of this trap are usually small pieces of cane, and the stone is smaller than for the first trap. This kind can be set only on level ground.

The third (Figure ) consists of a large stake (1) planted deep in the ground at an angle; to it a stone (2)
TECNOLÓGIA DE TRAMPAS PARA RATAS Y RATONES:

La figura de abajo muestra la manera de cómo hacer esta clase, solamente en el monte donde hay siembres de maíz y ellas se hacen solo cuando se está sembrando el grano y en la resiembra. Pues los indígenas ocupan parte del tiempo para hacer todos los palitos usados y buscar las piedras planas y apropiadas para el caso. Como se ve, el palito 1 va vertical en el suelo y un poco enterrado para que para y sostenga los otros que lleva. El 2 va incrustado con el 1 para que queden sólidos los dos, y en la parte de atrás, b, lleva una pequeña endidura para sostener el extremo del 3. Este 3 va solamente puesto sobre el 2 y el 3 y sostiene la punta de la piedra 4. Todo es más bien con equilibrio que solidez para sostenerse las piezas usadas. - Un extremo del 2, a, lleva suficiente punta para meter en él un grano de maíz a modo que quede un poco fuerte para que al tocarlo la caza, todo caiga con toda rapidez por el mismo peso de la piedra 4, yendo hasta muy lejos la pieza 3 y los otros dos quedan allí mismo debajo de la piedra y junto con el ratón que es el principal objeto. Los palitos tod pueden ser de cualquier clase de maderas fuertes porque se no solo una vez sino las que se pueden en un solo grano en el por allí y acarrear los ratones que hacen sus nidos en la siembra misma. - Se acostumbra hacer estas trampas en los lugares muy cerca o enfrente de los nidos de los ratones, hasta por algunas docenas, según la cantidad de daños ocasionados en la milpa y número de nidos encontrados. Para exterminar con más ra-
pidéz a los perjúiciosos, es conveniente que un mozo esté cuidando las trampas puestas durante el día, haciendo un poco de otras que hacen en la siembra. Los rantonos caídos en las trampas son arrojados inmediatamente a otros lugares y se vuelven a poner las trampas para seguir funcionando.

El indígena que más ejecuta este método aquí en el pueblo es Esteban Sahón y otros a quienes ha enseñado él mismo. Para esta clase de trampas se pueden usar hasta piedras muy grandes y anchas para que abarque dos o más presas al mismo tiempo. Los palitos usados pueden llevar una longitud de seis o poco más de pulgadas, procurando que el grano metido en la punta del palito 2 quede a una altura igual o poco menoscado de la presa. Estos palitos son con esquines en sus lados y no cilíndricos.

La figura No. 2 muestra la otra trampa que usan también los sembradores de maíz en los montes y algunos suelen hacerla en sus casas cuando hay muchos rataones. Como se puede apreciar, ella es casi igual como la anterior, pero con piedras un poco más chicas y con la diferencia que un extremo del palito 1 sostiene la piedra, juntamente con otro extremo del palito 3. Esta trampa es exactamente igual a la anterior, solo que se puede hacerla sólo en lugares planos. Los palitos usados para esta trampa son siempre de cañitas anchas y con sus endiduras para que se sostengan unas con otras como se ve en la muestra.

Esteban Sahón es el mismo indígena que sabe hacer mejor esta clase de trampas y dice que en la casa dan mejor resultado esta segunda que la otra explicada anteriormente. Siempre se ponen otros granos de maíz u otra cosa comestible si es en la casa mismo.

En la siguiente página se puede apreciar otra trampa que usan los indígenas del pueblo para ratones también. Esta es usada solamente en los montes donde...
también hay siembras de maíz, se compone solamente de una estaca grande -1- cue sembrada inclinadamente y fuerte entre la tierra, se pone la piedra junto a ella y sostenida con cordeles sumamente débiles donde llevan prendidos los granos de maíz. Pues en la faz, sobre la que debe caer dicha piedra, lleva los granos traspasados por los cordeles para que al llegar el ratón carece primero dichos cordeles y es cuando le cae la piedra entera. Siempre se ponen algunos granos en el suelo, como puede verse en la figura 3, para llamarle la atención.

Casi siempre usan las fibras del maguey para dichos cordeles porque con una que reviente el ratón, las demás ya no pueden sostener la piedra y es cuando cae rápidamente.

Pero la trampa más remota y usada todavía en todas las casas indígenas, es la siguiente: sobre una pequeña tabla se coloca una escudilla vieja e inservible; esta escudilla debe al boca abajo y con sus orillas cabaídas para que no tenga escape el ratón. Se usa escudilla porque ella es de barro y naturalmente pesa algo. Una cáscara de zapuyulo o pepita de la fruta llamada injerto, se parta en dos partes iguales y sacada todo lo de adentro se rellena con masa de maíz o pedazos de tortillas a modo que quede duro y cue al ratón cueste sacar bocado. Este bocado así arreglado entre la pepita dicha, se pone sobre la tabla y levantando una orilla de la escudilla se pone sobre la pepita. La pepita o el relleno debe tener el frente hacia el interior de la escudilla para que el ratón tenga que entrar para debé de quitar bocado alguno. Sabido es que la pepita es suficiente lisa y resbalosa, entonces cuando el ratón lo mueve, cae la escudilla sobre él y luego queda adentro. Con movimientos rotatorios de la escudilla sobre la misma tabla se toman por la cola a las presas y con la orilla de dicho trasto se van matando de uno en uno a los caídos adentro. Pronto se vuelve a poner y así se exterminan.
is tied with very weak strands (3) of maguey onto which are tied kernels of maize (4). When the mouse, eating a kernel of maize, tears one of the fibers, the stone falls. In all these traps a few kernels of maize are placed on the ground below to attract the mice. They usually are set near a nest of the mice, too. The traps are used over and over again, and it is best to have the watcher of the cornfield watch the traps carefully so that when a mouse is caught it can be thrown away and the trap reset immediately.

After danger of the seeds being eaten by the animals is past, and those that have been eaten have been resown, one need visit the cornfield only every three days or so to see that everything is all right. However, those who did not dig out all the weeds to start with, must now weed the field often, for in the rainy season weeds grow quickly. When the plants are well up, the poorest are pulled up, and only the three best of every hill are left. When the corn is a yard in height it is time for the first cleaning, and when the points begin to form it is time for the second. For these jobs the owner must again find help, but the labor is now usually paid by the amount of work done rather than by the day. Cleaning consists of hoeing (with the large-bladed hoe) the whole piece of land to dig up the weeds, and the earth is piled up around each cornstalk to a depth of about a foot in the first cleaning and a foot and a half in the second. In the second cleaning, the leaves are not cut because from them grow the ears of maize. A few people do a third cleaning, when the grain on the ears begins to harden a little.
When the ears are well formed, but still green, the leaves around them may be cut off for use and for sale; also, of course, any of the ears may be harvested. When the ears are quite ripe, the tops of the stalks are cut off to be used for fodder. At the same time, the stalks in the cornfields in town are bent over from a point slightly above the middle so that the ears point downward; this makes the ears dry more quickly so the birds are less apt to get the grain and so the last rains do not rot it.

It is during the time of the green ears that the farmers must watch over their fields again very carefully, especially in the hills, for then the wild animals such as the squirrel, the mapache, and even wildcats and coyotes, bother the cornfield. There is a trap that can be made to catch these larger animals:

This trap (Figure  ) must be made on level ground since a small corral of sticks must be built. This corral must be as wide as the log (1) set up to fall on the animal. This log is tied with a rope (3) to another log (2) set firmly in the ground. The rope is tied to log 1 in such a way that a tug at the hanging part will undo the knot. The bait (5) may be an ear of corn or a tough piece of meat securely tied to the hanging part of the rope. The corral is built so that if the log does not fall just right and kill the animal, it will still most likely imprison it, for the log, when it falls, fits snugly into the corral. The stakes of the corral meanwhile are of hard wood and set into the ground a little. The corner posts are especially strong. It takes two men to set this trap, but it can be used over and over again.
La figura No. 4 muestra la trampa que usan los indígenas en los montes donde hay milpa que ya está en elotes y que son molestados por perros, gatos de monte, etc., todos los animales grandes de tamaño, hasta los coyotes pueden caer en ella. Solo que esta clase de trampa se debe efectuar en lugares completamente planes, porque como se ve, hay que hacer un pequeño corral con palos y de la anchura que tenga el trozo pesado (1) que es el que cae sobre la presa que entre en el corral a comer lo que hay allí (5). Todo debe ser bien cubierto menos por el lado por donde entra la presa. El palo No. 2 está sembrado fuertemente en el suelo y es el que sostiene al trozo 1 por medio del corde 3. Este cordel está de un modo tan falso en sus ataduras en el trozo 1, que con un poco de movimiento o jalón que se dé al bocado 5, se desata inmediatamente y cae el trozo sobre el animal que está adentro. El bocado puede consistir en un elote o carne dura y bien atada al cordel que llega allí y sostenida en una estaca a manera de no poder sacarla afuera del corral. El corral es para que no tenga salida la presa por si no le cae bien el trozo grande encima. Los palos usados para este corral deben ser fuertes para que sirvan no solo para una vez sino para varias hasta acabar con los animales que molestan la milpa. Ellos son un poco sembrados en el suelo, aunque los sostienen más las esquineras que son postes fuertes y un poco más gruesos. Todas las ataduras las efectúan los indígenas con bejucos. Entre dos hombres pueden hacer la trampa y colocar el trozo en su posición.
In the month of December the ears of maize are dry and ready, when the moon is full or waning, to be harvested. Then the owner again looks for help, for since the fields are far from town, the maize must be carried a long distance. Each worker carries his shoulder bag, a large mesh bag, and a harvesting-nail. The last is a piece of hardwood or bone about six or eight inches long, pointed on one end and with a hole through the other so that it can be fastened with a string to the right wrist. The work is begun at the highest edge of the land so that if the ears fall, they will roll down, to be picked up when the harvester reaches the place. Each worker takes his row and passes quickly from stalk to stalk; he breaks off the ear with one hand and with the other inserts his harvesting-nail between the ear and the husk, separating the husk from the ear and taking out the latter bare. However, large ears are taken husk and all. He puts the ears into his shoulder bag and later empties the bag at a place chosen to pile up the whole harvest. Some people carry the bag on a shoulder, but others put it on the ground six or seven yards farther down and throw the ears into it as they cut them.

Sometimes the owner wants to harvest the whole field before carrying home the maize. If he does, somebody has to sleep there over night to guard; sometimes everybody stays. If not, then the workers carry one load to town at noon and another at night. To carry the maize, the large mesh bags bought from the Maxeños are used: these are the best woven, the softest, and they hold from 150 to 180 large ears. When the maize is carried
to the house, it is piled up in the patio to dry for three days before it is stacked in the granary. The granary, if it is not simply a corner of the house, is a little house of canes, sometimes with mud-filled walls, with a thatch roof. The ears of corn are stacked in it very carefully; always horizontally. First, two rows are laid down on the floor, in opposite directions so that the points of the ears mesh; then a second layer is added, with the ears in opposite directions, and so on alternately. If there is a little maize, there may be only two rows; but if there are say a hundred net bags full, there will be as many as ten rows on the floor and layers to the roof. The small ears, those without husks, are piled on top, and they are the first to be used because without husks the grain soon rots. Some people separate the ears that will be used for seed the next year as they stack the maize in the granary. These ears are then tied together in pairs and hung in the middle of the house, preferably in a house where there is an image of a saint.

When the harvest is all in, the wives and children of the laborers come to the owner and ask permission to go over the cornfields to gather any that may have been left. This is the second harvest, and when it is finished, others may come for permission to go over the land yet a third time.

After the harvest, some people burn candles and incense in the field in gratitude to the land for having given the food. This is done on a little stone table in the field, and if there is no shaman to do it, the owners themselves pray as best they can. Then when the ears of corn are stacked in the granary,
Incense and often candles are burned before it. When there is a good harvest, all the hired hands are given a little feast in the house. Some years ago a fiesta was often made after the harvest, but now almost nobody does it. When the maize used to be piled in the patio, the workers would place a little pine tree in the center, and on all its branches tie oranges and limes and other fruits with cornhusks. The owner had ready a few pots full of chicha made of Spanish plums and of atol and he killed a few turkeys or chickens. Then while they were all putting the ears in the granary he gave them little gourds full of white atol-with-chile and of the intoxicating chicha, and cigars, and so on; there was a little work and a little fun all the day through. Whoever felt like it could eat the fruit of the little pine tree, and so they celebrated the harvest that God gave them all. At the same time the owner placed among the ears large candles that he could later take and burn before St. Isidro, the patron of agriculture, and he also bought the incense that the workers burned before his maize.

The kernels of maize are taken from the ears as they need to be used. There are three ways of doing this: one way is to husk the ears and then put them all in a net bag and beat it with a stick to shake off the grains; this is done when much maize is needed, as for a fiesta or for sale. The second way is to take each ear and grain it with the hands. The third way is to run a nail of iron or bone between the rows to make a path so that it will be easier to do the rest with the hands.
The grain, as well as the green ears of corn, is prepared for food in many ways—as tortillas, tamales, \textit{pinol}, \textit{atol}, and so on. It also serves as food for the animals and fowl of the house.

The different parts of the plant have many other uses as well. The stalk is used instead of wild cane to make fences, house and granary walls, the doors of houses, and the beds of poor people; also children often make toy guitars of the stalk. Sometimes the growing stalks, when they already bear ears, are filled with a sweet water that the workers in the field often drink. The leaves of the stalk are about the best fodder for the animals that there is, and sometimes they are also used for thatch on the roof; these leaves are used, too, to wrap tamales on fiesta days and to line the bottom of the pot in which they are cooked. The corncobs make very good firewood; they are also used to make handles for small tools, but they do not last long. A corncob is often tied on a string and hung around the neck of a dog to cure it of a cough. A burned corncob can be applied to a swelled foot; the swelling goes down all right, but the skin is left purplish in color. The cobs are also used in the toilet. Although cornhusks are sometimes fed to animals, they are used mostly to wrap \textit{chuchitos}, to cover pots on the fire, and to wrap food. They are also good for dishrags and for washcloths in the bath. Many women wrap the \textit{chile}, salt, meat, and beans of their husbands' lunch, when they go on journeys, in separate cornhusks to keep them well. The Ladinos used to use them to make cigarettes, and
the women who formerly spun cotton here made cornhusk pads on which to beat it. The silk of the maize is boiled together with other things to cure stomach ache and dysentery.

A woman should never pass over ears of corn that are fresh, or over cornhusks, because it is a sin against the maize. When maize is shaken, the little white flakes that there are at the base of each kernel come out, and these should never be allowed to fall into the hair because they cause dandruff. On the other hand, the water of the hot \textit{nixtamal}\textsuperscript{33} of maize cures swelling on the body and the cracks on the feet that come from dampness or cold. Sometimes there are poor ears of maize that have black, bitter powder instead of kernels of maize, and this powder is always used with the rest of the maize, or \textit{atol} is made of it, because it is a sin to throw it away and not use it. If somebody passes over such an ear, he will get a bad growth between the legs.

Maize that is stolen, whether on the cob or in grain, cries out, for it is a great sin to steal it. The robber can never fill up on stolen maize that he eats because the spirit of the maize does not want to be with him, but rather with one who comes by it honestly; so no matter how much the robber eats, he is very hungry again very soon. At the same time, it is a sin to cut or mistreat the stalks of the cornfield from which ears of maize have been stolen, as happened a couple of years ago in Santa Lucía Utatlán:

\begin{quote}
In Santa Lucía the farmers always grow two rows of maize all around the field, and anybody who wishes
can take the ears from these rows. One who cuts the leaves, the green ears, or the dry ears from these two rows is no thief, but if he passes farther into the field to rob, he is punished severely as in all the towns. But in one field somebody did go farther in and stole two or three net bags full of ears. The owner was very angry and thought of many dire punishments for the thief. Heatedly he cut all the stalks from which the ears had been taken and piled them all in the part of the field that had suffered most. Of these same stalks he made a large cross and painted it white with lime-water, put some green stones on the cross and lit a candle before it so as to bewitch the thief. It is not known whether or not the thief suffered from this; but what happened to the owner is that God punished him and now his field there gives a very poor harvest and his maize is rickety and yellow.

What happens is that the ears of corn that have been stolen return to the field and want to attach themselves again to their stalks; that is why it is very bad to cut away the stalks.

Something like this once happened on the coast:

There was a man who had a beautiful cornfield, and he was very happy for the fine harvests that he was always sure to have. But once when the maize of the field was ripe, some robbers entered and harvested part of the crop, taking the best ears of maize. Very annoyed, the man spoke ill of the thieves and proceeded
to cut all the stalks of the stolen corn and to pile them up before a cross which he made of cornstalks. The thieves came again and stole more ears, leaving the owner only the worst of the crop. The owner was even angrier and again he made a cross of cornstalks. Now he hurriedly hired some laborers to help him harvest what was left so that he would not lose any more.

When all the maize was harvested, a poor Ladino happened to pass through the field with his dogs on the way to the nearby hills to hunt. He knew nothing about what had happened, and he passed through the field because he saw that it had been harvested anyway. He was passing along the edge when he heard nearby the weeping of some little children. He set out to look for them, and soon his eyes met some beautiful children piled up in the brush. Gathering his courage, he asked them what they were doing there, and they replied that they had been stolen from the cornfield there but, not having liked the place to which they had been taken, they had returned, only to find their companions all gone and the cornstalks all cut. The hunter understood that the children would bring him much luck, so he told them not to worry and that in a moment he would come for them to take them to his house if they were willing. They pleaded with him that he should take them lest otherwise they die there in time. Pensively the man left then, and, not continuing his hunting trip, he soon returned for the
In their place, there were only some ears of maize, but they were beautiful ears. Thinking much of God, the Ladino carefully took them up and, putting them in his bag, he returned to his house.

He kept these ears very carefully and when planting time came, he grained them and planted the seed in the little land that he had. The maize grew splendidly, and he was able to harvest a lot of maize of the same kind that he had found and picked up. The next year he planted more, and then more and more, and with what he had sold of the good maize he bought more and more lands and became very rich.

BEANS AND SQUASH. Next to maize, the most important food is beans; even the poorest of people use beans in the kitchen, and almost anybody would rather have them than buy meat. There are two kinds of bean plants: the vine-bean and the ground-bean. The first is planted with the cornstalks up which they climb, and it is therefore grown in the cornfields of the hills; but it is also grown in town, without maize, climbing on beanpoles. The second kind in some towns is grown in the cornfields too, between the rows of maize; but here it is planted only in town. Most people prefer the ground-bean to the vine-bean because no matter in what form it is eaten, it cannot hurt one, while the vine-bean causes stomach aches, especially in the children and particularly in the rainy season. The ground-bean also cooks more quickly and it gives a thicker and blacker soup. Nevertheless, the vine-bean is
used widely when the other is scarce, and it is always used in making *iwaxte* for which dish the cooked beans are mixed with squash seeds. The two kinds of beans are the same size and color, but one can tell them apart because while the ground-bean is a dull black, the vine-bean has a luster.

Black beans, whether of the vine or the ground, are by far the most common. There are two kinds of black ground-beans grown in town here. One has a purple pod which is very soft, so that with the first rains of May it breaks quickly and the beans fall out, and if they are not immediately picked up, they will soon sprout. The other has a white pod that resists the rain much better, and it has a stronger stalk and is much better than the first kind. Still another kind of black bean is called the *cuarenteno*; it ripens in three months and the beans are usually smaller than the other kinds. There are red beans of both varieties too. The red vine-bean is planted only with the maize and never in the gardens in town. The red ground-bean, on the other hand, is occasionally grown in town, but since there is little market for it, only by those who like it for their own use. The red bean is smaller than the ordinary black bean. Another red bean, larger and quite different from the other kinds, is the *piloy*, which grows only with the maize; there is no *piloy* ground-bean. There are white beans, too, but they are almost never planted here because they are very delicate, and if the farmer is not always on the alert, the beans will become discolored and immediately rot; besides, the white beans are grown in quantities in San
Andrés Semetabaj, and since they are of very good quality, it is better to buy them. Like the vine-beans, the white beans are very cold, and give much colic when eaten that the children and the very old people can die from eating them. They are therefore eaten (and very carefully) only during Holy Week, usually with pork or in pulique, or with sea-fish.

Beans need a somewhat sandy soil, and for a good harvest the land should be fertilized. But there are two scourges about which nothing can be done: when it gets very cold, and especially when hail falls, the leaves wither; and there is a little insect that sometimes comes and eats the leaves, leaving only the nerves, and the plants die. When these things happen, the harvest is lost. Until about fifty years ago all the beans here were planted in rows, or ridges, even as they still are in the other towns. In this system of planting, about a week ahead of time the ridges are made by turning the land of the furrows up onto them; on hill land the rows of course have to run in the direction of the contours lest the water make rivulets of the furrows, but in level land like that in town here, the rows can run in any direction. The higher the ridges, the better the harvest will be. The beans are planted in the ridges about nine inches apart, four or five seeds in each hole. Two cleanings are necessary. In the first, the weeds are removed and the soil around the plants loosened with the hands. In the second, the furrows are cleaned with the hoe, the earth is stacked with the hands at the base of each plant, and some fertilizer is added. In other towns ridge-beans are planted in
May, but here, since beans are planted in January and February, they must be watered from the irrigation ditches. Thus, when they were planted in ridges, the water flowed in the furrows and with a gourd bowl was tossed over the plants. Then one of the men here tried planting beans in the rectangular beds in which onions are grown, and he proved that it is better to plant beans in this manner because less land is wasted. In a short time, thereafter, everybody in town was growing beans only in such garden beds, and now nobody plants in rows.

The garden bed for beans is the same as for other crops, and made in the same way. The beds are usually prepared two or three days before planting, and of course both vine-beans and ground-beans are planted in them. Planting time is in January if the crop is going to be harvested as green beans, which bring a good price around Palm Sunday and Holy Week. But if dry beans are to be harvested, planting is done in February. There are a few people who plant in July so that they can harvest for All Saints' Day, but they cannot expect a good crop because very often the torrential rains of September and October break the stems and whole plants fall to the ground.

When the garden bed has been leveled and the chunks of earth all broken up, the planter takes three or four seeds in the four fingers of his hand and pushes them three or four inches into the soft earth. In even rows in each bed the beans are planted about nine inches apart in both directions. Some have tried to get a better harvest by shortening the distance between plants, but it does not work because the leaves of one plant shade the plants around it; the plants grow all right, but the pods are
few and often empty of beans. All around the edge of the bed, onions, garlic, sweet potatoes, or other vegetables are planted.

Within a week the bean plants are above the surface, and from then on one must watch very carefully to see that the rabbits do not eat them, for they like the young leaves especially. Since in January and February there is no rain, the earth soon dries, and in a week it really needs watering. But many people now know that even though the young plants begin to dry up, it is better not to water them for the first three weeks because then all the weeds will die while the beans themselves manage to survive with the dew alone. When after three weeks the bed is watered, the beans quickly regain their strength and grow rapidly. Those who do not use this method have to keep weeding the garden, because the weeds grow more rapidly than the beans. When the beans begin to flower, they are watered a bit one afternoon and the next morning the earth is damp enough to insert the fingers to pull out the weeds; at the same time a little earth is stacked up around the plants to support them. Since at this time of year (March) it is very hot, when the weeding is finished the garden is watered again, with plenty of water, so that the roots of the beans will again become well-set and the plants sturdy.

Ground and vine-beans are planted in the same way, but when the vine-beans are five or six inches high, fine shoots begin to sprout, and then one must quickly plant bean-poles for them. Otherwise they become all tangled and it is a hard job to fix them. The poles, which may be of any kind—although cane is usually used—
should be about two yards high, for that is the height to which the beanstalks usually grow.

In March the green beans take the form of birds' claws, and in two weeks from then they may be cut to be sold in the market by the measure. The green beans of the ground-bean are better than those of the vine-bean, but when the pods of the latter are a little riper, everybody uses the grains in tamales; before cooking the tamales, the grains are put in the raw dough with a little salt and occasionally a little lard. This is the delicious dish called *xep*. The beans that are not cut green are left to dry well on the plants. In the case of the ground-beans, the whole plants are then pulled up. This must be done before they dry so much that the beans fall from the pods, because it is hard to pick them up from the ground. The plants are then taken home to dry several days in the patio. When they are dry enough the plants are placed on mats and blankets and beaten with a stick to shake out the beans which are finally thrown into the air so that the breeze can blow away the chaff, leaving the beans clean to be sacked for sale or use.

The stems and leaves are then returned to the garden bed for fertilizer, or else thrown behind the house to rot into fertilizer, for later use. In the case of the *milpa* beans, on the other hand, only the pods are cut and taken home for the removal and cleaning of the beans. Formerly the dry pods were saved, and in the rainy season when food was scarce, they were cooked like beans. When the harvest is in, the garden may immediately be planted with onions or garlic because, rather than exhaust the soil, the beans really fertilize it.
Beans sell for the same price as maize, except in the rainy season when they are very high. Many people know that it does not pay to grow beans here in town because the land is much more valuable for vegetables; yet everybody likes to plant them so that when winter comes and nobody has any money and beans are high, he will have some of his own harvest for use in the house. Although beans are now always sold by the pound, in bygone days they were sold in the market by the measure of a pottery jar of a certain size.

Since, like maize, beans are the food of the young and old alike, it is a great sin before God to be careless with them or to mistreat them. When a child is first weaned, he begins to eat a broth made of beans, eating it with tortillas or little tamales and coffee. Men who go to the fields to work always take with them some beans, whole or ground, in cornhusks; if they go on a long journey, they carry raw beans to cook on the way, for there is no man who does not know how to cook up a pot of beans. Like kernels of corn, beans are used to help in counting, or to separate different kinds of work, or to number the weeks and months of the year. Ground beans, partly cooked, are placed on the scalp as a remedy for quixwi. Many use a whole bean stuck on a pin to apply dry salt to the eyes when flakes appear on the iris. Finally, those women who want to enjoy men and still not have children, drink the first foam that forms on black-bean soup when it is cooking; this first foam comes before the spices are added, and otherwise it is thrown out.

Squash, pumpkin, and chilacayote can be grown in town, but since the land is so valuable for other things, they are grown
only in the cornfields in the hills. Everybody uses squashes, and if he does not grow them he buys them from the people of San Andrés or other towns that grow a lot of them; those who grow them here usually use them and do not sell them. There are many kinds of squashes: the common one is round and has a tough skin; another is blackish-green outside and white inside; another is yellow outside and orange inside; another, called the "trumpet can squash," has such soft skin that it be eaten without being peeled; still another is like a pumpkin. Pumpkins are like squashes except that they are eaten as a main course while squashes are eaten as desserts. The ohilacayote is like a very large squash weighing up to fifty pounds; it is eaten with sugar and is often taken on long journeys.

The squashes have many different shapes and are of various sizes, according to the seed planted. Some grow in the shape of a spiral because a snake entwined itself where they grew, and others look like armadillos because these animals were near them. There are always some small and soft squashes in the field; one should immediately spit on these when they are seen so that they will grow large and not rot. Squashes should never be handled roughly in the field; especially, they should never be pinched. When they are small, they should be covered with their own leaves lest somebody look at them and keep them from growing. The stem and leaves of the squash are very pretty; they sometimes have thorns, but these do not hurt much.

Only the leaves, fruit, and seeds of the squash are not used. The leaves are used for wrapping foods and for lining and
covering the pot in which tamales are cooked. The fruit when cooked makes an excellent dessert; sometimes cooked pieces are bought in the market to take home. The seeds of both the squash and the chilacayote are much in demand and when they are scarce, they are high in price; they are toasted on the griddle with salt and eaten just like that, or else they are ground with spices and cooked with vegetables. The children sometimes make whistles of the green squash stalk, and when the shell of the fruit is round and hard, it is often used as a basin.

III - Coffee and Fruit

COFFEE. Half of the land in town is planted with coffee, and next to onions and garlic it sustains the people more than anything else. A beverage is made from the coffee that rich and poor alike drink for breakfast and supper. Yet years ago the plant was not known here and everybody drank atol, unless he could afford chocolate. Then some sixty years ago a man who had gone down to the coast to work learned to drink coffee and later planted some here on part of his land. Other people followed and year after year more and more planted coffee. Now Panajachel produces one of the best coffees in the whole Republic, and at harvest time every year Ladinos come even from the Capital to buy it.
To plant coffee beans a garden bed like that used for onions is first made, preferably at the beginning of the rainy season. It should be in a shady place. One bean is then planted every four or five inches at a depth of about two inches. Sometimes instead of planting seeds one can dig up from the coffee fields one or two-inch seedlings that have sprouted and transplant them. The seeds or seedlings in the garden bed must be watered just like onions during the dry months. Then when they are large enough to be moved to the coffee field, the whole bed is flooded and kept under water for as long as two hours—no more lest the roots rot. The transplanting is always done in the first months of the rainy season.

In the field where the coffee bushes are to be planted all the trees like the cypress and eucalyptus that might hurt the coffee are cut away together with all the weeds, and then holes two feet deep and two feet in
diameter are dug to receive the young bushes. They are spaced eight or nine feet apart in straight rows made with the help of stakes and twine. If one wishes the coffee to grow quickly, or if the land is used out, or if the soil is mostly clay, the holes are half-filled with rich black soil. The saplings are carefully dug out of the garden bed when they are one or two feet tall. The earth is usually bound to the roots with the outside peel of the trunk of the banana tree, so that it will not fall off.

The best saplings are those with three pairs of branches making three crosses with the central stem. The saplings are taken to the coffee field and laid beside the holes into which they will be planted. Each is then unwrapped and carefully set vertically into its hole, with all its earth and roots intact, and the earth tamped down with the feet. Then banana plants, fruit trees, silk-oak, ilamo, or even in a few cases fig trees are planted for shade between the rows.

Some people plant their garden fields with coffee and until the coffee bushes are too large, they keep planting vegetables there so as not to lose the use of the land. In season maize is also planted in fields of young coffee. Of course when the coffee bushes grow large they give too much shade to allow anything else to grow.

When the coffee bushes are still very young some people water them during the dry season, but others say this is bad because the coffee gets used to a lot of care and then it will die with the least neglect. Some people have so many shade trees planted that the weeds hardly grow and they do not have to weed their coffee fields. But most coffee growers weed the fields twice a year. The first weeding is done in the rainy season when the fast-growing weeds and grass are hoed up and piled roots-up in the rows between the coffee trees and covered with earth to rot quickly. The second weeding is done just before the harvest, when it is good to clean the ground so that the berries that fall can easily be found.
Otherwise nothing need be done in the coffee fields. The bushes are not pruned, since all of the branches should have berries. There are no sicknesses attacking the coffee, and the only trouble is that mice pull off the berries to suck out the juice. If there is a poor crop it is the fault of the soil or the weather.

**Harvesting Coffee**

By November many of the berries are red and ripe for harvesting. Those that are still green are left for December and January harvesting. For the harvest, men, women, and children are all hired. When there are few berries, harvesters work by the day, and otherwise they are paid by the basket. The berries of small bushes are picked by hand, and a hooked cane is used to pull down the high branches for picking. If the bush is old and as high as six yards, with branches too stiff to be bent, children climb up ladders to pick the berries. When the workers are being paid by the basketful, they usually run their hands over the whole branch, base to tip, rapidly pulling off the berries, and the leaves, too. Some owners do not like this; therefore they have to pay by the day so the workers will be more gentle and pick the berries one by one, choosing only the ripe ones. The children usually have the job of picking the berries that have fallen to the ground. The harvesters put the berries in small bags and then transfer them to their baskets, or to save time some of them tie their baskets to their waists with ropes or with their sashes. The berries are then taken to the house in the baskets carried on the shoulders or the head, or in sacks carried on the back. The berries may be left in the sacks no longer than twenty-four hours lest they over-ripen from the heat and the beans become spotted or dark in color.

**Preparing Coffee Beans**

When coffee first came here, everybody used the grindingstone to remove the bean from the berry, and the woman did the work. But the man who had first planted coffee had so much of it that he
had to look for an easier way. He heard that somebody had invented a
machine to depulp coffee, so he went to Quezaltenango and bought one,
paying ten pesos silver. This first machine is still being used, but
the carpenters here used it as a model to make more of them, and now
almost everybody who grows much coffee has one. The machine consists
of a wooden cylinder covered with a sheet metal grater that separates
the husks and the beans. The poor people still used the grindingstone.
The husked coffee beans are placed in large earthenware pots buried in
the ground and covered for two days so that they ferment with the heat.
On the second day, if the beans are to come out nice and clean, a little
cold water from the closest irrigation ditch is added and the pot covered
again. Then the next day the coffee is put into baskets and the
stickiness washed off the beans in the irrigation ditch. Some people
have special wooden troughs made for the washing, and they use a hoe or
their feet in the washing, but others use only their hands. When the
beans rattle freely, they are clean enough, and they are spread in the
sun on the large mats (that are bought at the fairs of Solola or Chichi-
castenango) and stirred occasionally for about three days until they
are dry. Each night the coffee is taken into the house. The beans of
all the harvests are kept in bags or boxes in the house, and if they
are not sold before, they stay there until the rainy season when they
are shelled in mortars. The mortar is a hollowed-out tree stump or a
log a yard and a quarter in length and a half yard in diameter in which
a hole about a foot deep has been burned out with charcoal and a border of
about two inches having been left by protecting it with damp cloths as
the hole was burned. The pestle is a piece of hardwood made to fit
snugly in the mortar. When the harvest is small, the women remove the
shells on their grindingstones; but when it is large, the men do it
with the mortar and pestle.
Almost everybody grows some coffee. When money is needed the harvest is sometimes sold to Ladinos at a low price while still on the trees. Otherwise the beans may be sold in several ways: simply washed and dried; still in the skin; or after shelling in the mortar. When the coffee is washed, some of the beans float, and these are sold separately at a lower price. Few people keep the coffee they grow to roast and grind for their own use. Instead when they need some, they buy a few cents' worth already roasted and ground in the store. The ground coffee is boiled with brown sugar and so drunk with meals. Boiled coffee, but without sugar, is also taken instead of rum or lime juice for malaria and for stomach aches. The pulp of the berries removed from the beans is usually left to rot in pits in the ground and it is then good fertilizer. Rotted coffee leaves mixed with the earth of the coffee fields are also most commonly used to fertilize the vegetable gardens. The wood of the coffee bushes is good firewood. It also makes good stakes to measure off the other fields, and boys find among the branches many forked sticks for their slingshots. When coffee is in flower, a long-legged mosquito that breeds in the bushes comes into the house at night to sting people and draw blood.

When the old people still living today were children, there were many more fruit trees than there are now, and the harvests were magnificent because all the fruit was large and good. The oranges, for example, were so abundant that, although merchants came to buy them by the thousands to take to other towns, they were left to rot beneath the trees. There was no place that had as good and as many limas as Panajachel. Guaves abounded in the woods and in town and all the trees produced fine fruit. The women could pay all the household expenses of the whole family just
from the sale of the fruit. All of these trees grew wild. Only rarely was a fruit tree, perhaps a *lima*, planted in the patio for decoration. Nowadays they still grow wild, for the most part. Only a few people take some care of them, such as cleaning the orange and *lima* trees of birdlime. But the fruit is neither abundant nor very good. The chief care given the fruit trees is on Holy Saturday each year when honey mixed with water is applied to sweet orange trees, vinegar to sour-orange trees, and lard to avocado trees. The bark is cut and these things sprinkled or smeared on to make the fruit sweet, sour, or fat, as the case may be. In addition to applying these substances, on Holy Saturday these same fruit trees are whipped so that they may help Christ in His sufferings.

The most common way of harvesting the fruit is with a long cane with a notch in one end. The stem of the fruit is caught in the notch and twisted off. Otherwise the tree is shaken so that the fruit drops, and sometimes one even climbs the tree to shake the branches. A few people climb the trees to cut the fruit by hand, taking with them little bags into which to put the fruit. Climbing a tree is a dangerous business, however. Ladders, consisting usually of poles notched for the feet, are sometimes used, and some people simply cut notches in the bark of the tree or use ropes to help them climb.

Almost everybody in town has citrus fruits, such as orange, *sour-orange*, *lima*, lime, and similar fruit trees. Since most of the fruit is sold, they are a good source of money. In the old days when people found young seedlings growing wild, they sometimes transplanted them where they wished. Today many people make a business of planting the seeds in
their irrigated vegetable gardens, and when the seedlings are two or three feet high, they sell them, roots and all, to the Ladinos. Although nowadays lima trees are planted like any of the others, in the old days the shoots of the roots were planted upside down. The orange and lima trees are sometimes fertilized now with decayed leaves so that they produce more quickly. They also are irrigated by letting the water of the irrigation ditches flood the base of the trees for a day or two. Then, except for cleaning off the birdlime by pulling down the affected branches, nothing else is ever done to the trees. The fruit is harvested when it is ripe for market, except that when it is to go a long distance, it is picked a little green.

The branches and trunks of all these trees make good firewood, and the dry branches of the lime are especially good for an extra-hot fire in the sweatbath. When the branches of the orange and sour-orange are straight, they often are used as handles for hoes, axes and pickaxes. The wood of the sour-orange is commonly used for walking sticks because it is a strong wood and likes a fight with robbers that may be met on the road. The children also use the crotched branches to make their sling shots. The flowers of the orange and lima are sometimes used to adorn the saints in homes and cofradías. The people of San Antonio
Palopó used to come to buy these flowers by the measure to adorn their saints, especially Christ on Good Friday. But now nobody will sell them, because cutting the flowers injures the trees. The leaves and the fruit are sprinkled over the mats on which St. Gaspar is placed during its fiesta, and then the blessed leaves are sprinkled over the trees from which they came and the fruit is eaten by the officials in charge of the procession. In Holy Week the fruit of the sour-orange and the *lima*, as well as of the *tajapá* and other trees like the banana, are strung together like necklaces to adorn the inside of the church as well as the arches under which the burial procession on Good Friday passes. *Ferocactus* are large fruit with a pleasing odor, and they are bought by the sacristans of the church and the *mayordomos* of the *cofradías* for use as candlesticks in the church and in the houses where there are saints. A hole is made in the fruit and the long *candles* inserted. The *cidra* is another large fruit used in adornment, but not as a candlestick.

The new leaves and the flowers of the *lima* tree are together called *azabar*. This has a strong fragrance and the Ladinos sometimes use it as a symbol of purity to adorn the bride.

The thorns of orange, *lima*, and lime trees are used to take out the chigoes that burrow into the feet. They used to be used also by the women weavers to keep the width of the cloth uniform in the loom. Now steel needles are used, but many say that thorns are better.

Although most of the fruit is sold, oranges and *limas* and a few *cidras* are eaten. Oranges are peeled with the fingers or broken up, skin and all, and sucked; some people suck out only the juice, while others eat the pulp as well. Seeds should never be swallowed lest a tree grow inside one. The *lima* is a very cold fruit, and not good for people, but after a hard day's work in the sun it is very refreshing, eaten like an orange. When not being watched, children often eat too many *limas*. 
Tangerines are occasionally found here, and are eaten like oranges. They have a strong scent that stays long with a person who has eaten one, so that a child who steals one is easily caught. Sour-oranges are almost never eaten raw, but the Ladinos buy them and make candy of them. Sour-oranges are small and when dry they become very hard. People used to use them in great numbers in their slingshots when they hunted the water fowl of the lake, but today mostly stones and avocado seeds are used instead.

Women use the juice of the sour-orange, or sometimes the lime, to help get the dirt out of clothes. Sour-orange juice is also used to preserve meats, and again lime juice can be substituted.

The new leaves of the orange tree are boiled with other things and the tea taken to cure fever. Those of the sour-orange are used in the same way for heart trouble, and those of the lime to cure indigestion in infants and children. The raw juice of the orange is taken for hangover, or boiled with brown sugar and taken for cough. Whole limes are boiled in water to make a medicine to cure stomach ache, bad colds and coughs, and also hangover. Raw lime juice is taken to cure severe hiccoughs; heated, it is a sudorific for colds; and mixed with liquor it is good for malarial chills. Orange peel is cooked and the water taken to cure stomach aches, while lime peel, cooked with a little cinnamon, sugar, and rum, is very good for hangover. Sour-orange juice, taken together with black coffee, salt, and rum, is a good cure for malaria. It, or often lime juice instead, is used for dandruff too, but its most important use is to cure sore throat, for which it is applied both inside and outside. Lime juice may be used instead. A few drops of lime juice are always put into the eyes of newborn infants by the midwife so that no film will form over them. Slices of limes are put on the temples to relieve headaches and fevers. Lime juice
is also used to cure bumps that children get on their heads when they fall in their play. Lime juice is a strong abortive; the juice of about ten limes mixed in water in which a machete has been sharpened is drunk, and then the woman jumps around and exercises hard. Young girls are not allowed to drink lime juice because it might hurt them.

The lemon is used in the same way as the lime, but there are very few here. Since it has little of the virtue of the true lime, the lemon can be used for only the simplest cures.

White Sapodillas All over town there are white sapodillas, cross-sapodillas, guavas, avocados, and mangoes. These large trees are never cut down, especially if they stand at crossroads, because if they are, somebody will die because of the wrong done against the trees. Although quite a number of the fruit are sold, the trees so rarely give a good crop that people do not always bother to pick them and the fruit is left for the buzzards. The cross-sapodillas, white sapodillas, and guavas are especially wormy. When the fruit is picked for market, it is usually put in the sun for a day to ripen, and then packed into mesh bags in layers separated by dry banana leaves or pine needles so that the fruit will not bruise. In a bag of mangoes or cross-sapodillas bright red chiles are often put in the middle so that the fruit as it ripens will take the same color and will attract the attention of the buyers.

The ripe fruit is broken in two and eaten from the skin, which is thrown away; some people like the fruit after it has fermented a little.

Panajachel is named for the white sapodilla, one of the most common trees here. The patron St. Francis was found on a white sapodilla tree, at the place where the church now stands, and that is why this town was named for the tree. After St. Francis came, the people wanted to change the name of the town to his name, but everybody continued to call it Panajachel, as
The fruit of the white sapodilla is rarely as good as that grown in Tzununá, but the Maxeños seem to like it as it is, and when the white sapodillas and the Spanish plums are in season they come and buy large quantities. They do not mind that most of the fruit is wormy, saying that the worms are part of the fruit and give it an agreeably tart taste. But it is certainly very cold. The fruit is either white or yellow inside, and of various colors outside. The trunk and branches make good firewood, and since the wood is light in weight, the children like tops made of it because they are easy to spin and make a pleasant sound.

**Cross-Sapodillas**

The cross-sapodilla tree, which is very much like the sapodilla of the coast, is found only in town where it grows wild or where it is sometimes planted on land not good for anything else. Except that the wood is good for kindling and also for house posts because it does not rot in the ground, the only parts of the tree that are used are the fruit and the seeds. The women pick the fruit that has fallen to the ground, take out the seeds, dry them in the sun, and boil them to eat, or else make ensartas of them for sale in the market. The seeds of both this tree and the sapodilla are called zapuyulos, and they are strung together in chains for sale. They are used here only in fiesta foods, but the Maxeños and Totonicapéños buy them frequently to put into atol. The seed also contains an oil which some men use to grease their whiskers and eyebrows to make them fine and pretty. The children split them and play with them as if the halves were baskets or dishes, or they punch holes in them and make play-spectacles of them. The Maxeños buy a great number of the cross-sapodillas too, even though they are wormy. The fruit differs in shape, size, and color, but it all has a strong and bitter taste. The ripe fruit is quartered, skin and all, and eaten like the white sapodilla. The sapodilla of the coast is also eaten in the same way.
Avocados are very cold and eaten only by the poor or when there is little else to eat. Thus most of the fruit of the many avocado trees in town is sold. When eaten, avocados are used in a popular dish called guacamol, mixed with toasted, chopped chile, salt, and raw onions. Or, they sometimes are eaten raw. There are many kinds, but none so different as to have special names. The way to tell if an avocado is ripe is to breathe on it, and if the skin turns darker in color, the fruit is ready to eat.

When dry, the wood of the avocado becomes very hard and will not split. That is why mortars for grinding coffee are hollowed out of avocado stumps. The wood is also good for machete handles. It is good for firewood, but it must be cut while still green, before it gets too hard. One way to cure a cough is to eat a lot of avocados with one’s meals. The women use the fruit on their hair when they wash it to make it soft and glistening. The large seeds leave a reddish stain on clothes; it later turns black and there is no way to remove the spot. They are used in slingshots to kill the lake fowl. To step over an avocado seed causes large swellings between the legs, and if they are not cured they will cause fever and finally burst. On the other hand, the liquid of the seed that has been cooked with the skin of a nance and a piece of pitchwood when applied hot is good for curing toothaches. On Holy Saturday lard is smeared on only the young avocado trees, because an old tree cannot grow better fruit any more than an old man can change his ways.
Spanish plum trees rarely if ever grow wild. They are planted from shoots or branches of the old trees, usually in the coffee fields. They are always planted on a bias, and at the beginning of the rainy season. The wood cannot be used in the fire partly because it does not give enough heat but chiefly because the plum is a rainy season fruit, and when the wood of rainy season fruits is used in the fire, the fruit of the trees become wormy. Except for the occasional use of branches in making fences, the fruit is the only part of the tree that is used. Unlike so many of the other fruits, the Spanish plum almost never is wormy, and so is a favorite fruit here.

The coyol tree only grows wild, usually in the hills near here. The fruit is a favorite with the children and they eat it peeled and raw, with perhaps a little sugar. They also like the nut in the seed and have a special way of breaking the seed so that it comes out whole. Prisoners in the penitentiary used to make a kind of breastpin with the seed, and the Ladinos used it to fasten their handkerchiefs around their necks. The pin was made by punching three holes in the seed, and the handkerchief was drawn through the side holes and fastened through the middle one. The skin of the fruit has a pleasant odor, and some people place the skins in their clothes boxes so that their garments absorb the fragrance. The branches of the tree are very thorny and are used instead of barbed wire to make fences, and in the paths leading into the pepino fields they are placed as traps for thieves. Adornments for the church for Holy Week and especially Palm Sunday are made from the young, white branches.
Sometimes the whole figure of Christ is covered with them, because in His life the *coyol* was one of the trees that protected Him from the Jews and because He wore a crown of thorns. After the funeral procession on Good Friday everybody fights for the fragrant branches that are placed with the Lord, to take them home to be kept with the saints of the house. Fright caused by an earthquake can be cured by boiling the branches in water.

Bananas are usually grown among coffee trees or in patios to provide shade. They require the same care as the coffee. To plant a banana of any kind, a green shoot from the bottom of an old plant is planted in a hole. It takes root in two weeks, and one stem of fruit grows on each plant. When the heart or flower begins to wilt, it is time to cut the bananas, for if left on the tree they will soon rot. The whole plant is cut down about two or three feet from the ground and the stem of bananas is caught before it hits the ground. Those who do not know any better let the plants grow and reproduce until they take up a lot of space; they should always be cut and only two or three shoots left. The stem of green bananas is hung to ripen in a warm place in the house, usually near the fire in the kitchen. But they must be handled carefully while ripening, for if they are bruised they spoil and are good for nothing but the pigs. The fruit is sold by the whole stem, by the bunch, or by the piece.

Everybody eats ripe bananas raw, simply peeling them first. Sometimes the plantain is cut up and cooked with the tamales or
baked in the embers of the fire. The bird-banana is eaten in the same way. When maize is very scarce the poor people buy bunches of green pig bananas and grind the peeled fruit to make tortillas and tamales and eat them as though they were the real thing. There are male plantains and female plantains: the males have ridges on the outside and are rougher than the females; the females have a smooth skin and are the best. Eating the skin of the plantain brings black stains to the face.

The young leaves of the banana are commonly used for wrapping tamales-with-meat, but they must first be passed through the fire to rid them of a bitter taste. The large green leaves are used to cover the vegetable gardens when seeded. Some poor people also sew the leaves together to make raincapes, but these do not last long. Some also put them on the roofs of their houses when they cannot afford to repair the thatch. On the outside of the banana stalk there are always dry leaves that are easily peeled off and used to tie up bunches of vegetables for market. The children also use them to make masks and leggings for the Negrito dance. The broken-up trunks and dry leaves are used to dam the irrigation ditches, and when many fields are under cultivation they are bought by the load. The green trunk floats in the water, so people sometimes use it to help them learn to swim. Cut into small pieces, the trunk is also used to make candleholders for the cofradías and even the church. A few people apply the juice of the trunk to wounds made by sharp tools because it stops the bleeding and makes the wounds heal quickly. Some people claim that the thick fibers on
the peeled fruit of the pig-bananas cure worms in children, so they feed the children the fruit with the fibers. But others believe that these fibers bring more worms, and they will not let their children eat them. The Maxeños eat the pig bananas, skin and all.

There are some fruit trees, like the papaya, that grow mostly on the coast but also grow a little here and occasionally give fruit. Papayas are large trees that are grown from seeds, carefully tended and then transplanted, usually to the patios of the houses. There are male and female papaya trees and the latter is much preferred because if the male gives fruit at all, they are small and of poor quality. When it is known for sure that the tree is a male, however, some people can make it give good fruit by driving a nail or a machete through the trunk when it is young. The Ladinos especially do this to stunt the growth and so get better fruit. Many people also put a few old pots, having the form of papayas, at the base of the tree when it is in flower so that the tree will be ashamed not to give good fruit. When the fruit is ripe and is cut down, three or four slits must be made in the skin and then the fruit is left in the sun for a day so that the bitter milk of the fruit drains out; then it can be eaten either raw or cooked.

The pacaya is a cultivated tree, but only the Ladinos and a very few Indians grow it in their patios for adornment because it does not produce fruit here as it does on the coast. A few Indians have recently begun to plant the seeds in small
garden beds and when the seedlings are about a foot high, they sell them to the Ladinos. The trouble with growing *pacayas* is that the seed does not sprout for about two months and then it takes much longer for the seedling to grow large enough for transplanting. The seedlings are often transplanted in the coffee fields, and then there is no more work to do except weed the ground when the whole field is weeded. The leaves are used to adorn the church during fiestas and they bring as much as five cents a dozen. When cornhusks are scarce, many also use the leaves to wrap tamales. The Ladinos use the whole branches to decorate their homes. The trees here grow poorly, and the fruit is not nearly as good as that which comes up from the coast, which is bought in large quantities to be cooked in broth or fried with eggs. They say that one risks his life when he goes to gather the fruit of this tree because the *pacaya* is the protector of the sleeping child and of the bad snakes in its branches.

There are also many fruits that grow much better in colder country, but still are found here. Such are the *jabillo*, prickly pear, custard apple, apple, and peach. The *jabillo* grows best up in Quiché and is seen only rarely around here, but the seeds are brought here for sale. These are ground up with such herbs as rue, chenopodium, and garlic; the old people make a strong purgative of it. Young people usually buy this remedy in the pharmacy, however, since the purgative can be poisonous if it is not made right. Some people also make a drink from the seed which is good to cure the evil eye in
children. Taken raw, the seed is also a good emetic. The branches of the tree make good firewood.

The prickly pear seems to grow best in Sololá, San Lucas, Cerro do Oro, and Atitlán; but it grows wild here where there are stones piled up, and it may be planted from a shoot of an old plant. When it is planted, one of the vines or branches is always made to encircle the rest so as to hide the fruit from the birds while it ripens. The prickly fruit is eaten raw; the skin and the thorns are first brushed off with leaves, the ends are opened, and the meat is taken out. The fruit and coyol branches are hidden in the ground around pepino gardens to trap thieves. Where there are horses, mules, or cattle, prickly pears are hung around the stable so that when the bats come to suck the blood of the beasts, they are caught on the thorns. The prickly leaf is also stuck into the growing vegetable pears to prevent the animals from eating the greens. The leaf is sometimes soaked in water and the gum that comes off is mixed with the lime to be used for whitewash so that it will stick to the walls for a long time.

Custard apples grow best in Concepción, but the fruit of those growing wild in the woods here is also pretty good. Each tree bears two kinds of fruit, one smooth and the other pimply. The fruit is good to eat, but the skin and seeds are very bitter. They are broken up and eaten out of the skin, which is then thrown away. The mashed seeds are rubbed into the hair when there are many lice, and left there overnight; the next day when the hair is washed all the lice will be dead.
The tree makes good firewood, and when the wood is green the Ladino convicts in the Sololá prison use it to make rustic furniture. Ladinos also like the sweet, fragrant flowers for their homes.

Apples come from Totonicapán, but some people raise them in their yards for decoration. The fruit is eaten raw, chewed whole and the skin then spit out, but the Ladinos also make cooked desserts of them, especially for parties, baptisms, wakes, funerals, and so on. A few pears are also brought from the high country and eaten in the same way. Sometimes a few peach trees are also planted in the yards here. Most of the peaches are sold in the market. They are good to eat raw; some people peel them with a knife and others do not. When they are green, some people eat them with salt, but when ripe they are usually cooked in a syrup of brown sugar, especially for Holy Week and All Saints' Day. The Ladinos use the young peach leaves together with other plants in a remedy for malaria. Since the branches of the peach tree always grow straight they make good whips. Shamans, especially those from Chichicastenango, make a four-tailed whip of peach branches to help them cure their patients: the patient kneels, undressed, before the table on which the shaman does his divining, and he receives a series of back lashings (twenty-five each time). When the patient cannot stand the required lashes, he must crawl around the room on his knees several times, asking pardon of those whom, according to his confession, he has wronged.

The _cualjilote_, the fig, and the passion-fruit are trees that grow well here, although usually wild. They are
rarely planted (by means of shoots) because if the plant lives and bears fruit, the planter will die. Only if pairs of plants—two, four, six, or eight—are planted together and one of the pairs dies, is the planter freed. If all of the pairs live, there is no chance that he will live. The cuajilote grows mostly in other towns like Concepción, from where it is brought for sale. While blossoms grow all over the plant. The fruit must be set in the sun for a few days before it can be cooked—like plantain, squash, or sweet potato—into a dessert. Figs are eaten raw when ripe, and Ladino candy makers also make a confection of them. In the days when homemade cigarettes were used, the Ladin s mixed dried fig leaves and lime rind with their tobacco to improve the aroma. Passion-fruit is eaten raw, broken in two and the pulp eaten from the shell. The children also make little trumpets of the shell and the little stem.

The vegetable pear (guisguil or chayote) is one of the most important plants there is, both for its fruit and its root, and almost everybody grows it. It needs no special kind of soil, although it is better to plant it in soft and black or sandy ground so that the roots will spread freely. It is grown chiefly in the patios of houses and frequently at the foot of a tree so that the vine will have something to climb and no arbor need be built. It is easy to plant, so that even the women can plant it when the men are busy. When maize is scarce and high in price, it is the vegetable pear more than anything else that is the saving substitute; but even in good times the fruit and the root are very commonly used in
the kitchen. There are several kinds of vegetable pears: the fruit of the foreign variety is large and white and has no thorns; several thorny kinds may either be large or small, with white or green fruit; still another kind has small white or green fruit but without thorns. No matter what the variety, some of the pears are juicy and some sandy or mealy. The mealy ones are the best, tasting more like maize.

So that the fruit will grow in bunches, the planter (either man or woman) carries two or three little children on his back while he puts the seed in the ground. Sometimes the children seat themselves in a row behind the planter, each with his arms around the waist of the one in front, and while the seed is planted they all pull so hard that the planter must be careful not to be pulled to the ground. Only a person with a good hand can do the planting; some people kill the shoots just by touching them and no matter how hard they try they can never plant vegetable pears so that the fruit will be good. If the seed is planted in the patio, a fence of canes must be built around the plant to keep out the chickens and other animals that like to eat the young shoots. Then, if it is in the dry season, the plant must be watered every once in a while. Unless the plant is seeded under a tree up which it can climb, a trellis must be built for it when the vines grow so high that they cannot support themselves. This trellis should be high enough for a man to pass below it, but not so high that he cannot reach to pluck the fruit. It is built over the plant or to one side, with posts supporting branches and canes. The
vine is made to climb up the posts and spread over the roof. Bunches of little jars or pots that look like vegetable pears are usually hung on the canes so that the plant will be ashamed not to produce nice bunches of fruit. One often sees clusters of the fruit hanging from the vine right next to the bunches of jars that look just like them. When the young fruit begins to grow, they should be hidden among the leaves, because when people look at them they often get the evil eye and fall off. If by accident one does happen to look at them, it is best to deprecate and even spit on them and look no more. So also with squash.

It is a sin to steal vegetable pears and when one does so dies, his body and especially his hands and neck will be all pricked as if he had been stuck by the thorns. Mothers used to punish their children, when they stole things, by rubbing the thorny fruit over their hands to teach the hands not to steal.

The fruit begins to ripen in August and September, and by October or November it is all harvested. It is sold for as little as six for a cent in the market here, in Sololá, and in Tecpán—especially for All Saints’ Day, when it is always eaten with corn-on-the-cob. When the fruit is all off, the plant is pruned to within about a foot of the ground—by one with good hands, lest the plant be killed—and then during the dry season when the vine is growing again it should be watered by the women of the house to keep it happy. The vine must be cut very quietly and with a sharp knife or machete so that the operation will be quick and easy and not frighten the plant. If care is taken,
another crop of fruit will be produced for sale in Lent and Holy Week. When the sprouts or buds are very tender on the bush they should never be touched with the hand, lest they wither, so when they are growing wrong on the vine they must be moved with the help of a little stick or something.

When the vegetable pear is about two years old, it usually no longer produces good fruit. That is because the root tubers have grown much, and they must now be removed for sale. Once the tubers are out and the vine pruned, the plant will grow again and bear many fruit. But great care must be exercised in digging out the tubers; one has to start digging about a yard away so that the main root, on which there is a pair of testicles about the size of vegetable pears, is not cut. If it is, the plant will die. When a man goes to dig out the tubers, he should undress completely, and the women and children should stay away and nobody pass near lest the roots all hide in the ground. It is also a good idea not to eat before going to dig, and to cross a pair of handpieces of the grindingstone (or fragments of handpieces) in the ground where the digging is done; these will call together many roots, and large ones. One who knows how can easily dig out a hundred pounds of root tubers in a short time.

Tobacco used to be grown for local consumption. In the past both the men and the women prepared tobacco by mixing it with a little bit of lime and urine and storing it in jars. These jars were then hidden so that no one could pass over them and therefore endanger the owner. Tobacco was used by placing it in the mouth and mixing it with saliva. About sixty years
ago pure, prepared tobacco for smoking began to be sold in the area. This rolled tobacco was placed in pipes or smoked in its rolled form alone. Children were allowed to smoke as soon as they asked to, as it was considered to be a good habit when the children themselves asked for tobacco.

Tobacco has miraculous power to kill as well as to cure as is recounted in the following story:

They say that down on the coast there once was a boa of gigantic dimensions that ate people as well as large animals such as horses and cows. One time a priest was traveling on the road to Patulul to celebrate a mass when this great monster came onto the road and without any ado tied his horse and all to a tree so that it could devour them at its leisure. The poor priest was there in his agony when a man from San Antonio Palopó came up, and he knew immediately that he would be dealing with the thing that he had heard so much about in the highlands (and of which, indeed, the priest also had heard). The Tuñeco (as the people of his town are called) stopped and told the priest that he need have no fear since he had a means by which he could kill this animal who was terrorizing all the people who passed that place.

For this purpose, the Tuneco carried with him a gourd filled with tobacco to which had been added lime, urine and other things; taking out a little of this mixture, he applied it to the serpent, which had almost completed the strangulation of the priest and his horse.
A moment later the boa fell to the ground stupefied by the odor of the tobacco, and the men proceeded to kill it with sticks and stones. The priest and the man continued their way together to the coast, where the former celebrated a great mass in honor of tobacco for its miraculous power. The priest also paid the Tuneco well, and God took him, also, to the place where the priest went when he died. The mass did not do the tobacco any good because since that time its strength left it, and never since has it been like that tobacco that served so well to kill the boa. But since then no other case of an animal like that has been seen or known.
DOGS AND CATS. Few are the houses here that have no dogs. Since they are faithful, obedient, and watchful, almost everybody likes them, and even the very poor keep dogs in their houses. It is the dog of the house that guards it at night, and when the cornfield is in ears, the dog is tied in the middle of the field for several days to bark and frighten away the animals who come to eat and the people who come to steal. Also, when the grain is stored in the fields rather than at the house, the owner usually keeps a dog on guard day and night, bringing it tortillas and water every day. Dogs are very useful around the house to keep the courtyard clean, for when a child defecates there, the dog is sent to clean it up. Really the only thing that is not so nice about dogs is that they eat human excrement. Some people, but very few, now use dogs as do the Ladinos to help them hunt the armadillos, opossums, raccoons, skunks, and other animals at night. To make a mild dog fierce and a good hunter, it can be made to inhale the smoke of piquant chile. But even if they do not teach their dogs to hunt, most people like them to keep them company when they go into the woods.

Although formerly many puppies were brought here by merchants from Teopán, now most of the people go to Sololá to buy
them from Mazatlans and Totonicapanos who raise them for sale.

They are always sold with their tremolos, a stick about half a yard long with loops of maguey rope at each end. The rope at one end is tied around the dog's neck, and with the other it is led home and there tied to a post. The stick prevents the dog from chewing the rope to get away. In judging a dog to be bought, one looks at the size and color and the personal mannerisms. There are no special breeds as there are among foreign dogs. But one must be sure to buy a puppy more than three months old, for around that time the canine teeth appear and are lost, and if a dog swallows a tooth it will sicken and die with nothing to be done about it. It is at about three months also that a name is given a dog, and when the bargain is completed the seller has to tell the new owner its name so that the dog can be called by it in the house. Dogs are usually named for their color, the size of their eyes, or some other characteristic.

When a new dog is brought home for the first time and the owners want to teach it to stay at home, they mix a little saliva of one of the family with the dog's food, or they pass tortillas over the fire several times and feed them to the dog while asking them to do the favor of making the dog like the house. Or, some people put a few of the dog's hairs, usually from the muzzle, under the hearthstones of the fire. For about a month the dog is kept tied near the house and given good food so that it will be content with its new home.
Some people like to have a bitch around so that they can raise litters of puppies to sell in the markets of Sololá and Teopán and on the coast when they go with their vegetables. These bitches are, of course, just left to run around and play with other dogs. For every lover that the female has, she has one puppy, although there are some dogs that have all their puppies by one male. When the puppies are born, some people kill or leave in the woods two or three of the litter so that the remaining two or three will have all the milk and will grow well. The mother and offspring are cared for well, the mother given soup made of bones so that she will have plenty of milk. At fifteen days or so the puppies first open their eyes, and then it is time to give them soft things to eat, like soup and fresh tortillas. Two months after she delivers, the bitch begins to play with other dogs again, and then after three months she has another litter.

Dogs are fed cold tortillas and leftover bones. They should never be fed before the family eats, only after. Nor
should children be allowed to put food directly into the dog's mouth. Rather, the food should be thrown on the ground in front of the dog. Of one thing one must be especially careful: if eating something in front of a dog and you offer it some of the food without then giving it, in a short time a growth will appear on your knee which in time will take the shape of a dog's head.

Every year on Ascension Day, which is the Holy Week of dogs, they are given bread to eat, sometimes two or three times during the day. The people buy the cheapest bread, sometimes that from Santa Lucía which is sold in the Sololá market, or else that from the stores or Sunday market here. The innocent beasts do not themselves know what they should eat, and it is a sin for people to eat the bread before their dogs and not give them any.

Dogs have their own saint, who is St. Lazarus. When they die, their souls go first to God and then to the shores of the rivers and to the fires and the other obstacles along the road to Heav-
en. When a person dies and takes this road, the dogs help him if he was good to them in this world, and otherwise they run away and let him struggle alone on his journey to the sky. That is why dogs should be treated well.

The worst disease that attacks dogs is rabies, and this is brought by the wind in the beginning of the dry season each year. Another cause for rabies is giving the dogs hot tortillas to eat. The worst part of the sickness is that one sick dog bites others, and so it spreads. When this happens the only thing to do is for all the neighbors to get together and kill the dogs with machetes and sticks, for when the sickness is strong it is the dogs' fate to die of it and nothing can be done. But rabies can be cured if the attack is not too strong. If one can get hold of the dog to tie it up so that it can be bathed every day and not be given anything to eat for a few days, it will be cured. It is also good to slit the ears or cut them off entirely, and if the sickness is very bad, the tail can also be cut off. Also, when a dog is bitten by one with rabies, the sickness can be prevented by passing a used broom over its head several times or, better still, by striking it on the head with the broom. Of course the dog should not be given hot tortillas to eat.

The cough is another frequent illness in dogs. The most economical cure is to hang around its neck a chain of purple corn cobs in such a manner as to make the dog look funny. Then
when somebody laughs at it, the sickness will leave the dog and pass to the person who laughs. At the same time many people also smear lard on the dog's neck and cover it with a bandage. Indigestion or a sick stomach in a dog is cured by feeding it heated lard mixed with brown sugar, and some people add a little manzanilla. Sometimes dogs get mange because they sleep in the ashes of the kitchen fire, and this is cured by a bath with hot water and black soup. Occasionally a dog suddenly begins to turn sommersaults in the air and after a number of them falls to the ground as in a fit. If this continues the dog will die, and there is no help for it. This sickness comes when the land does not want dogs, and that is why some houses cannot have dogs at all. When dogs remain thin no matter how much they are fed, it is also because the land will not consent to have them live there.

When dogs die, they should be left for the buzzards to eat; it is a sin to bury them because then the buzzards must go hungry. Even so, when a dog has been very good in the house (when it has not eaten things on the sly, when it has understood what its masters have told it, and when it has not run off) and when the owners are very attached to it, it often is buried in the yard.

Cats are kept in most of the houses here because they eat the rats and mice and even lizards and snakes. Like dogs, they are given tortillas and kitchen waste to eat. There are many different colors of cats, but they are really all one kind. In the house they have their names, just as do the dogs. Although
children should not play with cats lest they swallow a cat's hair and choke, the little girls often carry young kittens as if they were babies and even sleep with them at night.

But when a cat that has been loved and caressed in the house begins to roam the streets at night, it is a very different thing, and, especially if it is a black cat, people are very afraid of it. The cat, like the owl, is an animal of ill omen, and when cats fight on the roof or behind the house it is a sign that somebody is going to sicken or die or that some other ill will befall the family. The cat is an animal that has to do with sorcerers and characoteles and other evil things. It is long-lived, very smart, and very strong. It sees very well at night, and the eyes of black cats are especially penetrating. That is one reason why people do not like to eat cat meat. But when a person does eat cat, he becomes very strong like a cat and lives a long time. If he eats the head of a cat, no witchcraft
can hurt him and even if injured by a machete or firearms he will quickly recover. It is one of the three animals that one must eat to become strong and a sorcerer; the others are the opossum and the skunk. They say that sorcerers talk of these animals when they do their work.

Sometimes when cats grow old and are no longer cared for in the house, they go into the woods to hunt their food and become wild animals. Then it is that they are hunted like wild beasts. Sometimes also a cat takes to eating the chickens of the house, and then too it is killed like a wild animal. In such cases the animal is killed with a gun or a club or else its legs are tied down and its throat slit just as if it were a steer. The cat is then skinned and cleaned and the carcass dried by the fire. Then when cooked with spices, it makes a good dish. The skin is made into hunting bags, and the Negrito dancers often make comical masks of it or stuff it and carry it in their arms in the dance.

HORSES AND MULES. Years ago there were many more horses and mules here than there are now, and the rich people used to own several. They were all pack animals because it was not customary to ride horses. Nowadays only a few Indians are rich enough to own beasts, and nobody has more than one. But those that have them now know how to ride them.

In the old days people went as far as the Mexican border to buy their beasts, but now they are bought in the fairs of Chichicastenango or Sololá or from travelling merchants. In buying a horse, it is better to get one from the cold country than from
the coast because, like the people themselves, the beasts of the cold country are stronger. A small animal is better for packing than a large one because it is easier to load, but a saddle horse should be rather tall so that the belly does not hang so close to the ground as to invite ridicule. A horse or mule should be young but mild; the hair should be fine, the hoofs small and black in color, the legs slender, and the ears short. It should have an even pace, but the color of the horse does not make any difference.

The beasts are pastured wherever the owner has or can rent good land. They are cared for just like cattle except that the ropes with which they are fastened should be tied around their necks with a special knot so that they cannot choke themselves. They feed on grasses or on fodder brought from the cornfield. They should never be allowed to get fat because a thin animal can carry a heavier load and can travel farther.

Until recent years the only saddles were very crude ones and were so uncomfortable that to go any distance at all the rider had to put a sheepskin over his saddle. Nowadays handsome saddles are bought, and iron bridles and bits have replaced those formerly made of wood. Nor did anybody ever have his beast shod until recently. Quite a few people now know how to ride horseback, but no one gallops fast as the Ladinos do, both because it is too hard on the rider and because it is a pity for the horse.

None but the Ladinos know how to cure the sicknesses that horses sometimes get, and they always charge for their cures. When the mane of a horse or mule is found all tangled up
in the morning, it is because during the night a chancorrel or a spirit has ridden it, braiding the hair itself to use as reins.

Only one person here, I have heard, has a mare for breeding purposes; the people do not raise horses as a business. Nor do many of the beasts' parts have much use. When they die, sometimes they are skinned and the hides sold to tanners in other towns. The Ladinos of San Andrés and Godines make pretty good whips and martingales for their horses from the horsehair itself, and the prisoners in the Solola jail often make hatbands of the long tail-hairs. But here the hair is used only on the masks for the dance of the Negritos. The manure is very good fertilizer, however, mixed half and half with earth and used in the onion beds.

Of course nobody eats the meat of these beasts, and when one dies the carcass is left for the buzzards or buried or given to the dogs to eat. Dogs that are given horse flesh to eat should not be given tortillas for several days, however, for it is a sin if maize is mixed with such meat in their stomachs. When the carcass of a beast is left for the buzzards, these birds always start by eating the eyes, and the reason is this:

In the beginning God ordered the buzzards to clean the earth of all the filth and to eat the dead animals that they should find in the streets and in the yards of the
people. As it happened, the first beast that died was eaten by a great flock of buzzards that came together, and everything turned out all right. But then a horse became sick and because of the pain it felt it lay down upon the ground and closed its eyes. A buzzard came up to it and, thinking the beast dead, put its head into the horse's anus to start eating. Feeling something strange back there, the horse shut tight its anus and the buzzard was caught a prisoner and, very frightened, began to move around and flap its wings and make a lot of noise trying to free itself. But with this noise and movement the horse was only the more frightened, and it rose and began to run wildly around, the buzzard still prisoner. Only afterwards, when the horse had to defecate, could the buzzard escape. While the bird was giving thanks for its salvation, for it had thought that its life was at an end, a hawk came up and explained to it that God had said that one should always start eating with the eyes. After that lesson, the buzzards to this day always start with the eyes so they can be sure that the animal is really dead.

Horses and mules are accursed by God, mules even more than when horses, because Christ was fleeing from the Jews who were chasing Him. He stopped at a stable where there were a number of the beasts and asked to be carried, so that He might gain a little distance. But the mule refused to carry Him.
and ran away instead, followed by the horse. Only the poor, slow burro came up to Him and said, "Here, Father, you are tired; I shall carry you a little way," and Christ mounted the burro, and they went off, and although the burro was slow, He was at least able to rest a little. So horses and mules are not of God but of the Devil, and their spirits do not go to Heaven but to the hill. Since the horse later carried St. James and St. George, the curse on it was somewhat lessened, but the mule must all its life be of the Devil. That is why one should never pity the beasts; they should be whipped and made to carry heavy loads. But even so they should never be mistreated, for if one does not give them food and water, God punishes him by ordering that not a single animal, nor/dog nor an ox, help him over the difficulties of the road to Heaven. Sometimes, as in the following case, there are more immediate punishments as well:

Once the manager of a plantation in the municipio of Santo Tomás Perdido (on the coast) sent some of his muleteers to deliver a shipment to the railroad station at Cocales with some mules that were from the cold country. He instructed them to make a speedy trip so as to be in time for the train that would leave the same day, and he told them to hurry right back. Three—was—the—number—of—muleteers, and they prepared their lunch for the trip
and, as was their custom, they included much chile.

In the beginning the animals went along at a good rate without having to be whipped much, but farther down it was very hot and they began to tire and the whips had more work to do. They were almost at Cocales when the mules were so tired that it was almost impossible to make them go as the muleteers wished in order to fulfill their orders. They themselves were also tired, and they decided to stop for lunch at the bank of a river. While they were lunching, one of them suggested that it would be a good idea to put some sharp chile in the anuses of the beasts so that they would go quickly and not fight so with them at every step. Since the other two approved this course, they soon had a little chile in the anus of each beast. When all was ready, the men whipped the beasts a little, and they went off with all speed, not even noticing the loads on their backs. The muleteers tried to keep up with them but could not stand the pace, and were soon left far behind on the road.

When they were almost at the station, they met some other muleteers who were coming from below, and upon asking after their fugitive animals, they were told that they had seen them way below Cocales and that perhaps at this minute they were as much as two leagues farther down.
By this time the men were so tired that they could hardly walk. But the same one who had suggested the chile now suggested that to rid themselves of their fatigue they might do to themselves as they had done to the mules. The other fools agreed, and they treated each other with chile, and immediately began to run as rapidly as had the mules. They were no longer tired and wanted only to run. As the chile worked in they went so crazy with it that upon crossing a river and seeing in the water their runaway mules, they did not stop but kept on running.

Finally, seeing another river farther down, the first man dived into it and the others followed. There they stayed the rest of the day, and not until nightfall did they feel well enough to think of their mules. They hurried back to where they had seen them, and found them still in the water. They undid the packs, and with plenty of worry because for one thing the backs of the mules were a sorry sight and for another the cargo was soaking wet.

They stayed there all that night and the next day returned to the station; but they had to wait another day for the cargo to dry before delivering it. Only on the fourth day were they able to return to the plantation to tell their employer what had happened. The employer was very angry and scolded them severely for the bad thing they had done to the mules, and he put them to hard work and never again sent them out as muleteers.
CATTLE. Cattle, unlike horses and mules, were blessed by Christ, because when He was cold and tired and passed near them, they breathed upon Him heavily and gave Him warmth and new strength so that He could walk faster. So He blessed these beasts, and their meat can be eaten and is good. Most of the beef that is bought in the butcher-shops comes from cattle brought up from the coast, but there are a few cattle here which some rich people buy as calves to fatten just as they do pigs. Yearlings are bought in the fairs of Sololá and Chichicastenango or from merchants from the eastern part of the Republic who sometimes pass here. Cattle from the colder country are best. They should have high and long bodies, thick legs, large heads, and short, thick horns. Color does not matter except in cows, which should be black or, next best, spotted black and white. The care of these animals falls to the men, but when they are away and when the beasts are good and gentle, the women also take care of them. Milk from a white cow is much colder than from a black one, and of course not as good. A good cow otherwise is one with a large udder and thick teats. It should also eat well.

When a young steer is first brought home for fattening, it is fed salt with maize-dough water to see if it is a good animal that will fatten quickly. After five doses of this, one can tell. If the steer does not begin to fatten, it must be cured with a strong purgative. Three men or more are needed to throw it to the ground, and then its mouth is opened with a round pole and it is given a dose of salt and human urine.
After that the animal will begin to fatten, and can be kept at pasture. Stables are rarely used. The cattle are simply tied by a six-yard rope from the horns to trees or stakes in the ground and their positions changed morning, noon, and night. At noon they are given water from an irrigation ditch or, if there is none close, a jar of water is brought out. They must be given salt once a week.

When a bull has a bad disposition, there is a way of making it docile; a piece of a skirt that has been worn by a woman is tied on the horns and left there for awhile. A stronger cure, if necessary, is to pour a little of a woman's urine on the bull's head.\(^{72}\)

When a bull begins to show desire for a female, it should be castrated if it is being fattened for sale. It takes at least three men to throw the bull to the ground and tie its legs; one handles the head, then another the feet, and a third does the operation. The gelding is done just as with a pig except that, since the testicles are so large and hard to get hold of, firm hold must be taken of the supporting parts and to break the cords holding the testicles a stick is used, turned around and around through the cords until they break. The operation over, the animal is led to pasture in a place where there are no stakes or bushes that might injure the wound. As with pigs, creolina is used on the wound when it becomes wormy, but if it is very bad, wild tobacco mixed with lime and a little fine tobacco is well pulverized and applied. This is a sure cure.
A fattening steer should be ready for sale after two years in the house at the most; then Ladino buyers come from other towns to bargain for it. The man of the house always does the bargaining, and if no bargain is made, the steer has to be well cared for thereafter because it is apt to choke, fall down a canyon, or have some other ill befall it. If the animal is sold, another calf should be bought immediately to replace it, and the owner should be especially careful not to give even a penny of the money to a sweetheart lest the new animal not fatten or lest it die or have an accident. If he has anything to do with another woman, he will not have any luck with his cattle, and if he is fighting with his wife and goes to move a steer, it is sure that the beast will run away from him or will gore him. Furthermore, if a man who owns cattle gets married, his cattle will not fatten and will probably die. That is why before marriage one should sell his cattle; afterwards he can buy some more and they will be all right. This is true for cows as well as steers.

Years ago cattle were slaughtered in private homes, the meat sold to others who came to buy. Sometimes groups of people would join together in small societies to kill a steer, dividing the expenses and the profits among them. Such a society was called a "debt" because everything was done on credit, and the costs were paid only when the steer was killed and the meat bought by the members. In those days there was more money than now, and the cofradías used to kill steers for the fiestas because they needed so much meat,
especially during Corpus Cristi and the fiesta of St. Francis. But nowadays only the butchers slaughter cattle to sell the meat in their shops. With the aid of ropes tied to the four feet, the butchers throw the animal to the ground and quickly retie the four feet securely. Then with a rope around the head they pull it
back until the foreneck is exposed and taut. Then the knife
is inserted in the neck in a place known to the experts so
that the main artery is severed. Three men are needed for
the job: one holds down the belly of the steer for weight so
that all the blood comes out, another manages the legs, and
the third does the cutting. Some butchers are in the habit
of drinking some of the blood that comes out to warm their
bodies so they can work more rapidly. But it is bad to drink
more than just a little lest when one becomes drunk he will
become wild as a bull, losing his mind to the extent that he
can kill his wife or somebody in the street.

As soon as the steer is dead, its feet are untied and it
is skinned with knives readied beforehand. Skinning is done
by beginning at the chest and working down, with cuts along
the insides of the four legs. When the hide is all removed
from the carcass, it is spread out beneath the animal and
prepared leaves are used to cover it until all the meat is
cut away. The skin is later sunned for several days and then
sold; or nowadays some take the skin fresh from the slaughter
to sell in Sololá.

Meanwhile, with an axe the breastbone is broken and the
belly cut open with a knife so that all the internal parts
are exposed. These are taken out and put to one side to be
prepared later. Years ago the butcher used to cut off the
head without skinning it, but nowadays it is skinned like the rest of the body. The remainder is cut into four parts — each hind quarter with a leg and each set of ribs with a foreleg — and each part is carried away by one man, on his back, or, if it is too heavy, by two men, the beef carried between them on a pole to the butcher's shop. There the quarters are hung up and the meat cut off as it is sold. Now it is sold by the pound, but formerly only by the calculation of the butcher. The tallow is first carefully removed, dried, and sold to makers of candles.

**BEEF PRODUCTS.** Sometimes the tongue is cut out of the head, but usually the whole head is sold at once. Two or three families used to bunch together to buy the head, especially if the families were small. The women went together to buy it, and one of them carried it home on her head. Both the cost and the meat were divided equally among them. Their husbands then skinned the head and cut the meat into small pieces dividing each kind of meat equally. They made candles of the hide. Nowadays only the people of Patanatic seem to buy the head, and they prepare it and sell the meat by the pound among themselves; they do the same with the belly.

The butchers sell the feet, too, separately or in pairs. Only the hair is taken off the feet and the rest is cooked and eaten without skinning at all. To remove the hoof, the
foot is placed in the fire until it is very hot, and then the hoof comes right out. Some people take the hooves out of the fire and place them momentarily on their own feet to keep out the chigoes. Another use for the feet of cattle is in protecting the pepinos when they are about to flower. Soup is made of them for this purpose, and if the feet do not make enough, the head (without the tongue) is added. Afterwards the meat is eaten.

The best beef is that of the ribs and hind legs, so the butchers always sell the neck and forelegs first. The meat of the neck is very fat, and of course cold, and only the Ladinos do not mind eating it. The Ladino butchers give only undesirable meat to Indian buyers because they seem to think that the Indians do not know meats. But now there are Indian butchers from other towns who have shops here, and they include pieces of good and of bad meat with each order. About a third of each pound bought is always bones. The butchers will give pure meat, too, but they charge more for it, and anyway the bone is very good. Some people even buy just bones, especially to make soup for sick people. The best bones are ribs and legs, and unless one asks for these, the butchers will give some other kind.

The internal organs are thoroughly cleaned by the butchers and half-cooked to be sold slightly cheaper than the other meat. They are eaten just cooked, or sausages are made of them.

In the days when cattle were butchered in private homes,
the people dried the beef that was not sold right away and thus preserved it to sell later. To make this cecina, the meat was cut in small pieces and soaked in salt and sour-orange juice and left over night in a pot, to be hung in the sun the next day until well dried. This meat was sold at a higher price, per pound, than fresh meat. It is still a favorite food when it can be had (and nowadays butchers sometimes make it). Cecina was made especially in the old days during the fiestas, when as many as eight steers were butchered at once.

Although the Ladinos eat the meat of the cow, the Indians do not like it because it is very cold and of course unhealthful. Not so that of calves and steers. Years ago only Indians here kept cows, but they sold all of the milk to Ladinos, for the Indians drink milk only when they are sick. Women who do not have enough milk to nurse their babies sometimes drink it, and it is also fed to bitches with litters so that the puppies will grow quickly and well.

Those who keep cows find that when the cow begins to be bothersome it is time to find her a male. In the old days there were Indians with bulls they rented out for breeding. Now the few people with cows usually have a bull too. If there is no stable, the cows are tied close to the bull for some five days or longer, the bull running free so that it can cover them. The cows should not be given salt during these days; if they eat salt, nothing will come. Those who breed cattle in this way are committing a sin because to get
profitable results they force on the cow a huge bull, and she has to bear a large calf. When the cow is pregnant, she is treated carefully, just like the castrated bull. Until almost the end of the twelve months, which is the time of a cow, she is kept in the pasture; but then she is brought to the house to have her calf. After she has calved the cow is kept in the yard for three or four days, and even after that the cow and calf are brought in from the pasture every night to sleep. After the calf is ten or fifteen days old, it is tied up at night so that it will not suck out all the milk. The cow then is milked early in the morning. The cow should never be milked dry, however, for it is a great sin to deprive the calf of its share.

Milch cows are fed maize-dough water to increase their supply of milk, and twice a day (noon and nightfall) they are given river water. To get more and better milk, it is a good idea to feed the cow a little supper at night of cornhusks, a certain bindweed, and fodder grass. Formerly envious people went so far as to poison the pastures where their neighbors' cows were kept, and the cows would get sick to their stomachs and die the next day. There are also some, even today, who do not want others to have cows, who can make a cow choke and get sick just by cursing it and spitting on its forehead.

Nobody makes butter or cheese as they do in some towns. Milk, together with other things that the women know about, is a good remedy for swelling and also for dysentery. It should
always be well boiled before taken. Aside from beef, which is not only the favorite meat in the kitchen, but is much used in pulique and other dishes in fiestas, the parts of cattle have many uses. From the hide are made saddles, strong rope, sandals, and so on. These things are made only in other towns, and must be bought. Of the bones often are made the spikes that are used in harvesting maize. While the cow's excrement is still warm it is put on the head to cure the sickness quixwi that comes from fright or bad indigestion. The dried dung is burned in a special pot and the smoke inhaled by horses when they have fits, and also to teach them to find their way home. It is also burned on the edges of onion seed beds to drive away the flies that attack the seeding plants and below the vegetable pear vines to drive away the bats that eat the shoots and flowers and keep the fruit from growing. From the long tail-hair the Negrito dancers make masks. The eyes of bulls, finally, are very strong, and fresh raw ones are mashed up before the eyes of children ready to be shown to the public gaze for the first time so that they will not get the evil eye. The eye is allowed to dry in the butchered bull's head, and then is used. If no eyes are available at the butchershop, part of the gall bladder can be used instead.

SHEEP AND GOATS. Sheep, like cattle again, were blessed by Christ because they breathed warmth upon Him. Years ago before all the land here was planted with coffee and when it all belonged to the Indians, there were many more sheep and goats here than nowadays. Then the sheep were the large-horned
kind. Now the few that there are are the merinos, without horns, large, and with fine wool. Only a few people have sheep, bought in the cold country, and they do not have more than half a dozen. Those who have such animals, or even dogs and cats, usually have to fence in the whole house so they do not wander away and damage the fields of the neighbors. Those who live near together take every precaution so that nothing is lost or destroyed. If not, they are bad neighbors and quarrel. Some people notify the owner immediately when something irregular occurs on adjoining land, so that they and their animals will not be accused. When a sheep or goat damages a field, it is customary to warn the owner to take his animals away. If he does nothing, the animals can be taken to the town hall where the owner will have to claim them and pay a fine.

In the cold country of Chichicastenango, Sololá, and San Andrés, where there are many sheep, there is usually at least one goat in each flock. This is because the goat is a very fierce animal and coyotes are afraid to attack it. When a wild animal comes, the goat screams and fiercely butts and fights to keep it outside the corral. In fact the goat itself is like an animal of the wilds and can walk very well in the steep hills and over the rocks. It is the elder brother of the deer, and has the same qualities except to a lesser degree because it is the older.

Goats have the advantage of being able to eat anything and anywhere, even things like chichicaste. Most people do not like them because they are too destructive, and only two
families have many goats. Sheep graze in the pastures just like cattle, and their care is about the same. They are given maize-dough water and salt every day or so if they are to be fattened quickly. The trouble is that the children are sent to shepherd them, and they just play with them teaching them to butt, and so sometimes they never fatten. Those who raise sheep shear the wool with scissors two or three times and sell it, by the pound, to Maxeños or others who know how to make use of it, in the market at Sololá.

Sometimes a butcher is hired to come to the home to kill the sheep. The parent couple is kept until too old to reproduce, and then they are killed and younger ones left to live instead. Or, if the lambs are not wanted for wool or breeding, they are sold when a year old to the butchers. Sheep and goats are butchered like cattle except that they are hung up by the hind legs and so killed, skinned, and the meat cut up. Since the males are not castrated as a rule, one must be especially careful to remove the testicles before butchering lest the meat have the taste of urine. This must be done with all animals, but it is most necessary with goats. Even so, goats are usually sold to Ladinos because the meat is not very tasty. The blood is made into blood sausages, as with pigs, and the tallow is used for candles. Mutton, when treated like beef, makes the best cecina there is, and it sells at a higher price than beef. It is fat and nourishing and the head especially is a favorite for making soup for convalescents.

It is from the knee of the sheep that the little bone called taba is taken. This bone has two faces, "meat," and
"back," and during Holy Week it is used in a gambling game, the players taking turns at tossing it up to try to win by throwing "meat." Among other uses of these animals is of course their manure, which is very good for onion beds and for cabbages and pumpkins. The skin of the sheep is stretched tightly and placed in the sun for a few days to dry, after which it is usually sold to Ladinos who use it in their houses. The sheepskin is sometimes used for a mattress, and some Ladinos put it on the beds of their children to protect the bed clothes against wetting. But it is also the favorite material for making Negrito dance masks. Some people use the whole skin when they go out at night pretending to be characoteles for their own purposes. They can hardly be told from real sheep, then, or from real characoteles in the form of sheep. There are many cases of real characoteles that take the form of sheep, as the following testify:

There was a young married couple, the parents of whom were still living. The wife liked to go out nights in the form of a black sheep. One day her husband found out about this, and he was advised how to deal with her condition. He prepared a whip of chichicaste and a little salt, which were the only weapons with which to punish her.

Sure enough, one night while he was asleep he felt her take hold of his nostrils and then go out. He saw her do a sommersault in the doorway, another out in the patio, and finally a third at the cross in the entrance to the yard, changing herself into a sheep.
Having seen how she had changed herself, the husband quickly went to the neighboring houses, and he heard how the dogs were howling.  

Then all he did was apply salt to the skin that she had left at the cross and went home to sleep to await her return. When the woman came home and wanted to put on her skin so that she could come in as a person again, she saw that she could not do it because of the salt. Quickly, bloody as she was, she went over to her parents' house to tell them that her husband had beaten her severely. Believing what she told them, and seeing her fatal condition, they went immediately to wake up their son-in-law to complain of what he had done.  

The husband had never imagined that she would go in her condition to her father's house, and he was surprised. Long was the argument, but at last, by taking them to the cross, where they could see her skin, he convinced them of what had happened, and they took him into the presence of his wife to confront her with the lie she had told her parents. They now said nothing, except to admit that the husband was right. Almost dead, the girl begged pardon of her parents and her husband, saying that she was about to die, but that her husband would also have to die seven days after her burial. That is just how it turned out: in seven days he was buried in the same cemetery as she.
And in another instance:

There was a married couple whose parents were already dead, but who had children of their own. She, who was a *characotel*, always touched the nostrils of the children and her husband and then went into the street in the form of a sheep. The husband finally found out about the evil condition of his wife, and prepared a little salt to put on her skin when she should next turn into an animal. He had to manage to know it when she left the bed for the street, and he had to leave their poor children alone while he went out to do the necessary operation against his wife.

He waited until she had gone out, and then he rose little by little and soon had spread a good dose of salt on her skin that she had left at the cross where the path into the house met the road. Then he went back to bed. Naturally when the woman returned from her journey, she could not put on her skin. She tried hard to clean off the salt a little, but all her efforts were futile, and meanwhile day was dawning. All she could do was go home as she was in the form of an animal, and there she found her husband up and around. She begged his pardon for what had happened, but he would have none of it and told her to leave the house before he decided to go to the town hall to complain against her. Timidly, and now frightened, the woman talked to her children, but they were afraid and ran
from the house. She had to go to the woods in the form of a sheep with the face of a dog. She returned the next day because she could not live there; but then her husband called the patrol from the town hall and they ordered the **characotel** killed.

There are still other cases of women taking the form of sheep. Once the husband did not salt the skin but only took the clothing that she left at the place where she changed, and the wife had to come home naked. He made her leave home because of her disgraceful ways. Of course not all **characoteles** take the form of sheep; some take the form of other animals.\(^7^7\)

**HOGS.** Although hardly anybody here ever breeds swine, many people buy young pigs to fatten for sale. They eat much maize, but they also eat leftovers from the kitchen that might otherwise be wasted. The pigs used to be brought home in the carrying frames from Tecpán, but nowadays the piglets are bought in Sololá or the vendors come right here to sell them. A pig should be bought when it is about eight months old, and it should be the small kind with a short snout, much fat and little meat.\(^7^8\) Until recent years the only kind available was just the opposite\(^7^9\) and it took years to fatten for market. It is best to buy males because nobody here knows how to castrate the females as some do in Santa Catarina and San Andrés. But nowadays the male pigs seem to be scarce, so females are often fattened without spaying—just kept from the boars and fed much salt so they will fatten quickly.
When a pig is brought home from market, a rope is tied around its neck and looped over its forefeet so that it will not slip off, and the animal is allowed to run loose only one or two days of the week. After a week in the house, the snout is bound with a wire so that the pig cannot injure the nearby crops. Pigpens are not used except by Ladinos who keep many pigs at a time. The pigs used to be allowed to run loose, with wooden triangles around their necks to keep them out of neighboring fields, but they should never be permitted to run loose all the time because they will eat anything, even human excrement, and they will get a foul odor. They feed on rotten fruit and kitchen waste, as well as on nixtamal or maize-dough mixed with water and salt. When fat, the hogs are always kept in the shade, tied by a hind leg instead of around the neck. While fattening, a pig wears out half a dozen ropes, or more if it is a bad animal, by turning around and around until it breaks its tether.

Shortly after a pig is eight months old, its testicles drop and it is time to castrate it. There are three or four Indians here who know how to do this, and one especially is most often called upon because he is known to have a good, cool hand for such operations. Not only must one be expert in castrating animals, but he must have lucky and healthy hands so that the wound will heal quickly. Some people have bad blood or killing hands, and no matter how well they do the operation, the animal gets sick and sometimes even dies. So it is with horses and cattle, too. Castrating should be done
in the full or waning moon when the animal does not have much blood. The surgeon should come very early in the morning, before tasting water and without having had relations with his wife during the night. He brings his knife, especially kept for the purpose, which is very sharp and has a fine point.

With the aid of an assistant the castrator ties the pig's feet. Its jaws are also tied or held closed so that it does not squal too much. Then the animal is laid on its side and the operation is begun. If the testicles are not in their proper place, the buttocks are rubbed hard, and they come down. Then the castrator takes hold of the scrotum and pulls it down a little farther and quickly cuts a slit up the length of the right testicle on the side. This done, he carefully cuts through the three layers that cover the testicle and the part can then be pulled straight out through the opening which is enlarged with the knife if necessary. The testicle out of the scrotum, he pulls on it slowly until the cord that holds it breaks. Then the surgeon repeats the whole operation to take out the left testicle, but this is more delicate because rather than make another slit he cuts through the layers and pulls it out through the same one as the right. Now a pinch of salt is placed on the wound and with the fingers it is spread all over the inside of the scrotum. The pig is then freed and left tethered in the shade; for a day it is given no food and then it is fed as usual.

Some people burn the testicles in the fire so that the wound will heal more quickly; others cook and eat them. In a few days the wound almost always becomes wormy and must be
treated with a dose of pure creolina which is applied with chicken feathers. With good care the pig recovers in three weeks and begins to fatten.

In seven or eight months at the most a pig that has been well cared for is fat and ready for market, and buyers begin to come to the house to bargain for it. Since it is to the mistress of the house that the care of the pig falls, it is the woman who usually does the selling, especially if she is really mistress of the house. If her husband runs the house, however, he often takes a hand in the bargaining to be sure that his wife does not sell the pig too cheaply. When a buyer comes to buy a hog and leaves without having closed the deal for want of agreement as to price, the owner pours cold water over the pig and sweeps it with a broom; otherwise the pig will get the mange.

Hogs sometimes get diarrhia or the cough or other sicknesses, and the only remedy known is to mix limes or lime juice with their food. But for mange, which is the most serious disease of all, there is no remedy. If the affected pig is still small, it dies and is a complete loss; if already fat, and the sickness is mild, it can be sold to the Ladino hog butchers at a reduced price. The mange comes when the pigs eat guaves or prickly pears which have seeds that are just like the sickness. One knows that a hog has it when it begins to grind its teeth, and then it is best to say nothing and sell it for what one can. When the hog butchers buy an animal with mange, they slaughter it, hidden from the eyes of the authorities and sell the meat at bargain prices to the Indians.
Since the sickness comes from the fat of the pig and the heat of the fire in cooking kills it, the meat is not spoiled. The butchers also make pork sausages, longanizas, and conserved ribs of the meat, and when thus fixed up with spices nobody notices that the animal was sick. Of course when the hog is very badly afflicted, there is nothing to do but sell it for soap-making. When soap is to be made of the fat of a hog, the body is skinned as usual, but it is not put into hot water and scraped, but only placed over the fire to singe off the hair.

When a pig dies from some sickness or when it is alone in the house, nobody eats the meat because the cause of its death was certainly witchcraft by some enemy of the family. It is the same with cattle or poultry. The body is buried or given to the dogs to eat, or left for the buzzards.

Formerly there were more hog butchers in town, and they were all Indians. In those days anybody was free to kill a hog without a license. Now permission must be had from the authorities and Ladino and Indian butchers from other towns buy the hogs from those who raise them. In the old days many hogs were butchered in the houses, especially for All Saints' Day when tamales are made with pork, but now people generally buy their pork from Ladinos who are in the business.

To kill a hog, it is simply hit over the head with the blunt side of an axe. The carcass is then placed on a table and the throat slit with a special knife, the blood saved to make blood sausages. Hot water is then poured over the whole body, and the hair and dirt of all the skin, including the legs,
ears, snout and tail are scraped off. This done, the body is washed with cold water and the skin with all its fat is removed so as to leave only the meat. The meat is cut into pieces and so sold, or weighed and sold by the pound. Then the belly is slit open and the innards prepared apart. The head is cut off and sold whole to be used in making chuchitos, the little meat-filled tamales. The skin of the snout, ears and belly is used to make "pig pineapples." The other skin is cut into small pieces, with its fat, to make lard cracklings. In large earthenware pots the skin and fat are rendered to separate the cracklings and pineapples from the lard, which are sold separately. Meanwhile the intestines are thoroughly cleaned and turned inside out, after which the large one is filled with still-fresh blood mixed with chopped onions, chile, mint, and a little fat skin. At intervals the filled intestine is tied with string to make links priced according to their size. These blood sausages are placed in a pot of boiling water on the fire in such a way that they do not sink, and when half cooked, they are taken from the pot to be sold. The other parts of the hog, such as the internal organs, are cleaned and cooked with the blood sausages, but more thoroughly, and then sold by the pound. In selling these parts, one should be sure that he gives a little of each kind of meat to each customer and does not give all of one kind to one purchaser who happens to like it. The small intestines are stuffed with prepared pork to make pork sausages. But only the Ladinos know how to make these things. The cracklings are sold in the market by the measure, and the
lard by the ounce and pound and even by smaller measures in
the stores. Lard

Lard is a luxury that is used in cooking only by those
who are rich or like to eat well. The lard cracklings of
various kinds are a favorite food. One kind is brought (in
large blocks) from the coast by merchants chiefly during Lent.
When these blocks were first brought here people thought they
were made of horse fat, but now it is known that they are of
the wild pig that lives on the coast and is a cousin of the
domestic pig.

Lard also has other uses. As a cure for stomach ache it
is rubbed into the belly in the evening and covered for the
night with fig leaves or a piece of banana leaf. If the first
treatment does not help, it is repeated until it does. Lard
is cold and fresh, and is good for healing burns. Also, when
a dog is poisoned and seems ready to die, it can be cured with
a dose of lard mixed with the water of boiled indigo. Years
ago, but much less today, the dried excrement of hogs was used
to cure indigestion in children. For this remedy the excrement
is toasted well and powdered and mixed with other ingredients
that expert curers know about and in liquid form is given the
patient to drink. This medicine gives such good results that
one drink of it is all that is needed for a cure. Besides
being used for sausages, the small intestine of the hog is
carefully dried and cut into lengths and sold by the yard to
people who have marimbas made with gourds, for the tone is much
improved when pieces of gut are stretched over the gourds.
RABBITS. A certain kind of rabbit called the Castilla, different from the wild rabbit of the woods, is raised in some of the houses. Kept in wooden boxes or in cages made of sticks, they are cared for by the children of the house who give them grass to eat two or three times a day, and also the leaves of the corral tree. The rabbits are kept chiefly for adornment, although when they abound in the house or when the people feel like it, they do eat the meat. To kill a rabbit one has but to strike it with the hand on the back of the neck and it quickly dies. When there are rabbits in the house, the master should not fight with his wife or anybody else in the house, because the animals will all die or will gradually leave, one after the other, until there are no more.

GUINEA PIGS. In only a few rare cases, guinea pigs are also raised in the house and the meat eaten. They are caught with the hands and are killed with a blow on the head. These animals are a little bigger than rats and they have no ears that one can see. They reproduce every three weeks, so women who have children very often are compared with them. They eat maize dough and kitchen waste.
Since when they die the souls of all the animals of the house go to Heaven to be with God, and they can see what goes on in the world, it is a sin to kill them as the butchers do. So the slaughterers of cattle and the hog butchers, not to mention the hunters, are punished severely when they die and do not go to Heaven because of the animals they have killed on earth. The souls of pigs go to the hill, and the hog butchers also go there when they die. The punishment that God gives is that they have to kill the millions of hogs that are there. When they slaughter there, they put the hair of the pigs in a pigpen, and in a few days a pig grows from each hair of the slaughtered animals. All of these hogs are fierce and hard to handle, and the souls of the hog butchers have to slaughter them. People who are butchers on earth do not know this, or else do not believe it, and that is why they follow their profession. Others say that it will not be the body that will suffer, but only the soul in the form of a bird that flies up to Heaven to represent the body that is buried in the ground.

FOWL. Chickens are seldom lacking in any house, no matter how poor. In fact the chicken is a poor man's animal because in winter when it rains a great deal and people cannot go to work, they can still sell the eggs of their hens, or the fowl themselves, for money to buy their maize, coffee, sugar, and other necessities. The roosters mark the hours from midnight until sunrise, and their song is the clock of all the people.

Size and color in chickens does not matter. Only some of the Ladinos raise a few special breeds. For the most part,
since the fowl run loose during the day, the hens breed with any rooster and nobody pays attention to them. But the best chickens are those with small heads and short necks. They are the ones that lay most eggs, and that is the important consideration.

The raising of fowl is a woman's job, and the men do not have anything to do with it. When the mistress of the house does not have any chickens, the neighbors call her a tomboy and say she is not mistress of her house and is a poor housekeeper because she does not want to raise these useful fowl. During the day the chickens are fed once or twice, but most people do not feed the hens more than once so that they lay more eggs. The principal food is maize, whole kernels for the grown fowl and maize dough, nixtamal, or tortillas for the chicks. When during the day the fowl run loose, they also find their own food and water. But during the time of planting, when men and women alike are busy in the vegetable gardens, the fowl are kept in their coops all day and are given all their food and water.

When a chicken or other fowl is brought home from market, it should be taken by the wings and given several turns over the fire. At the same time it should be given a name and told several times that this is its home. Sometimes it may be tethered to a string tied to one of its feet so it will not go far off. In this way the new fowl will be made to feel at home in the house. Of the chickens in the yard, certain ones are called after members of the family that they resemble in
some way. The rooster that is the chief of the flock and is
tall and white and savage just like the head of the family
is called by his name, and an old hen or one especially like
her is chosen to be called like the mistress of the house. So
it is with all the children and even the servants if there are
any. In many houses it is the custom to buy a hen or rooster
for each member of the family. Some people do not like this,
arguing that chickens are one thing and people another.

There are some bad hens that peck at their chicks because
they do not want to raise them. For such a hen the only remedy
is to fasten one of its own feathers across its beak so that
it cannot do any damage. After a month the hen is freed com-
pletely to hunt some of its own food so that it does not cost
so much in maize. Then in another month or two the hen usually
stops raising the chicks; one can tell, for she no longer has
then around her, only pecks at them, and goes to sleep with
the roosters in the chicken coop. Then the young ones are also
taken to sleep in the coop so that they forget the nest in
which they were born.

When a baby chick is hurt or frightened, it should quickly
be covered with a basin or something; in a few minutes when it
is uncovered it will run to its mother, cured. Sometimes a
chicken gets sick with a swelling on the face that may even
grow over the eyes and blind it if it is not cured. Chickens
also get a kind of cough from swallowing certain worms that
do not die after being eaten. To cure this, lime juice is fed
the chicken with its food. Lime juice is also good for a
lassitude that comes over chickens so that they just stay in one place, refuse food, and finally fall to the ground. But the worst sickness is the poz which often afflicts the fowl, and for this lime juice also is given, often together with the tea of indigo. Raw sulphur may also be rubbed over the sick chicken, and it may be passed through the smoke of incense a few times. People do not like to eat the meat of chickens that have died from such sicknesses. When chickens have lice, green cypress leaves or sometimes pine needles are burned and the smoke kills the vermin.

When sometimes a hen starts to crow like a rooster, it is immediately killed and eaten, no matter how good a hen, because such crowing is only calling for the last Judgment, or at least sickness and famine and other evils, not only for the town here, but for the whole world. Sometimes, also, a rooster will lay a little egg, and it is killed immediately for the same reason.
LAYING HENS. Laying hens need special care because if they get hurt so that the eggs break inside, they will die immediately and there is nothing to be done. There are some hens who themselves find nests in which to lay their eggs; but others are like crazy people because they cackle much and never lay. Then such a hen must be captured and shut up in a special place and an egg placed with it as an example. Then the hen will always lay in that place. Sometimes a hen habitually goes off somewhere to lay her eggs in a place the housewife cannot find. Such a hen should be kept tied up until it is ready to lay again, and then have salt rubbed in its anus. This makes the hen want to lay right away, so it is untied and followed to its hiding place where, of course, all the eggs are found.

When a hen is very good it will lay about twenty eggs and then will be ready to set. If the owner does not want chicks, however, but only eggs, there is a way to cure the hen and make her lay again: she is kept tethered or even hung by the legs for some days, or else bathed in cold water, after which she will hunt a rooster and quickly begin to lay again. On the other hand, if a setting hen leaves the nest before her eggs are hatched, she should be set in chichicaste branches so that she will get more heat and so set awhile longer until the eggs hatch.

It is usually during the summer that some of the eggs are allowed to hatch so that there will be hens for the rainy season. The first eggs a young hen lays will not hatch, so they are eaten or sold, and it is only when all the young hens are laying that one can be sure that the eggs are good for hatching. In a nest of straw or old rags in a basket or a box, fifteen eggs, at the most, are placed. Then the hen is raised up over them by the wings so that she can see the eggs to know what her work of the next three weeks will be. If the hen
will not remain on the nest, she is shut into the nest for a few days until she gets the habit of setting. The eggs that were bought for hatching are usually marked so the mistress will know if they hatched. If white chicks are desired, a white cornhusk is put under the mattress of the nest; if black chicks, a black cloth; if spotted ones, the eggs are so painted with soot. Some people say that if a man places the eggs in the nest the brood will be all roosters, while if a woman does it they will be of both sexes. During the twenty days that it takes, the hen must simply be fed and watched so that she does not leave the nest. When the first eggs begin to hatch, one must be careful to see that the hen does not kill the chicks, because some hens peck and eat the cracking eggs. After three days more it is sure that none of the eggs still whole will hatch, and then the chicks are taken out and given half-ground nixtamal.

Some eggs with a greenish or bluish color do not hatch, and there are people who eat these after the hen has set on them. Young boys should never be allowed to eat such eggs lest when they grow up and get married they cry when their wives scold them, as they say one man here always does. Children are not allowed to eat eggs, either chicken or turkey, that have been fertilized. If they do, they grow up to be cry-babies and very sensitive or touchy, and everybody says it is because they ate such eggs when children. Turkey eggs are preferred to chicken eggs because they are larger.
SLAUGHTERING CHICKENS. To catch a chicken for killing, the dogs are set to it, or it is simply called to the house as for a feeding. The simplest way is to catch the fowl the night before while roosting. But sometimes when a chicken is needed by day and there is no other way to catch it, a special trap is made. First a few kernals of maize are thrown on the floor of the house, and when the chicken enters to eat them the door is quickly closed. Now there is a basket, bottom up, on the floor, raised on one side with a little stick so that the chicken can enter it. Under the basket, on the floor, are a few grains of maize, and there is a string from the bottom of the stick to a little stake in the ground under the basket onto which two or three more kernals of maize are attached. The chicken enters the basket and eats the grain. When it pecks at the kernels fastened to the string, the basket falls and traps it. A simpler way, as some people do it, is to hold the string (which must then be long) tied to the stake that holds up the basket, and then when the chicken is under the basket the string can be pulled from a distance.
To kill a chicken, the neck is given a few turns and then is quickly pulled so as to break the bone. Some people instead hit the chicken on the head and then cut the tongue. The dead bird is left to hang head down for a few minutes so that the blood goes to the neck; otherwise the meat will be purplish. In the meantime a kettle of water is boiling, and the chicken is put into it to soften the feathers. With the hands the feathers are then easily pulled out, beginning with the large ones of the tail and wings. These feathers are kept for dusters for the saints and other fine things and to apply medicines. After the feathers have been pulled out, the fowl is singed in the flames of cornhusks. It is then opened and the internal organs taken out and put aside together with the feet, to be cooked separately. The meat is then washed and prepared as the cook wishes.
In the hill there are hens and roosters, and when they come outside and crow, they predict something bad for the people. One often sees such chickens, but it is dangerous to try to catch them lest one find oneself in the hill, there to stay many years and perhaps to die so as to be unable to tell about what is in the hill. The chickens from the hill are very lucky, however, as long as they are not eaten. If one is caught it should be brought home and good fortune to the house will follow. Anybody who eats such a chicken will go to the hill when he dies.

Like chickens, turkeys are a favorite for the fiestas, both among the Indians and the Ladinos, so much so that when somebody is hurt or dies during a fiesta they say "He was the turkey of the fiesta." But unlike chickens, very few houses keep turkeys, and when one is needed for a cofradía it is usually bought from Sololá or Santa Catarina where they still raise quite a few. They say that in olden days when maize was much more plentiful, there were many turkeys here; but a turkey will eat almost as much as a pig, and few can afford to keep the fowl. They are kept less and less now, for besides being expensive, they often do considerable damage to the seeds and the crops of the planted fields; their beaks are so sharp that once they have touched a plant, it will be stunted in its growth. Nevertheless, a family is very fortunate when it has many turkeys that thrive and multiply without difficulties, for they are very weak animals, and from little wounds they die easily.
Turkeys are raised just like chickens except that the eggs hatch in thirty days instead of twenty and nobody ever eats the eggs that do not hatch. As soon as they are hatched, the chicks are bathed in water of rue so they will not be attacked by the evil eye; then (as with young chickens too) rue leaves are included in their food. When a turkey gets the evil eye, there is no cure, so great care must be taken. White turkeys are in all respects more delicate than the others, and for that reason nobody likes to have them. At five months, the young turkeys are left by the hen and are put in the chicken coop with the rest of the fowl.

Turkeys are either killed like chickens or else they are hung from a pole and the tongue pulled out as far as possible and cut at the base, the blood saved to be cooked later or to be made into blood sausage. They are plumed and cut up just like chickens, and eaten in the same way and with the same precautions. Young boys especially should not eat the wing tips or the feet; if a boy does, he will cry much when he grows up and is abandoned by his wife.

The turkey is very mild with the people of the house, but not so with strangers. When a visitor comes into the yard, the cock especially will begin to scream and fly at him angrily, and if he is a child, it will knock him down with its feet and standing atop the fallen victim will dance with pleasure at its victory. The turkey hen, when there is no male in the house, sometimes has eggs by a rooster. But very
often she will squat before the children of the house, parading in front of her so that they will mount her. Sometimes the children play with such a turkey, and it is very amusing.

Ducks and Geese. A few people keep in their houses the large, white or gray ducks, which are very different from the small, brown, wild ducks of the lake. They are pretty to have in the patio, but they eat a great deal and damage the flowers and other plants of the house. They really bring no profit. The meat is edible, but since the head and neck are poisonous, the fowl should always be killed by placing it on a log and chopping off the head and neck with a machete. The dogs can eat the head, and the rest of the meat, prepared like chicken or turkey, can be cooked in tamales. The eggs are not edible. When a duck first begins to lay, nobody should handle or even look at the eggs lying before her; otherwise she will not like them and they will not hatch. Like other chicks, the young must be bathed in water of rue and given a little of the plant with their food in order to avert the evil eye to which all young animals and children are subject.

Only a few wealthy Ladinos keep geese; these are foreign fowl, some white and others brown in color.

Pigeons. Two kinds of pigeons are kept in the house. The local pigeon that is found wild in the woods is sometimes caught in a trap and kept in a cage at home for its pretty
Two kinds of pigeons are kept in the house. The local pigeon that is found wild in the woods is sometimes caught in a trap and kept in a cage at home for its pretty song. The traps are made here, but few people make a business of catching pigeons. Instead, they sell the traps to others, especially the people of Agua Escondida, and then if they want pigeons, they buy them already caged. Only the rich people keep pigeons.

When a pigeon is accustomed to being in the house, its wings can be clipped and the bird allowed the freedom of the yard. Sometimes a pair is kept in one cage so that they reproduce. The young are easily domesticated. As with ducks, however, one should never touch or look at the eggs lest the pigeon forget them and they do not hatch. These pigeons are favorites in the house and are given the names of the best loved of the family. They are of a pretty brown color with specks of gold on the neck and with red feet and beaks. The only care they need is to be fed maize thrice daily. A piece of banana and a dish of water must also be left in their cage. They are lovers of cleanliness, and when their cage is not cleaned they become sad and will not sing, and often die of grief. Males sing better than females. Some say that with their song they send up to the sky the sadness of their race, and others say that the males sing so sadly when they are not loved by their mates.

The other kind of pigeon is the imported Castillean, pure white, or sometimes black and white in color. These are com-
pletely domestic and do not even need cages. But if there is any quarreling in the house, they leave it. The male helps the female to hatch her eggs if she wishes to leave the nest for awhile. Some say that they should be allowed to multiply in the house, since that augurs well for the family, but others say that it is best not to have them at all, because they are birds that thrive at the expense of children so that as they multiply the children die.

There are other birds which Ladinos often keep in their houses. Most of the rich Ladinos have canaries, which are small, light-yellow birds with very melodious songs. A few of them also have macaws, birds with beautiful feathers and tails that are left free in the trees of the patio where they sometimes bite people they do not know. The meat is edible. Many of them, and a few Indians as well, also have parrots and parakeets in the house. These are birds that are found wild on the coast, where they are caught and taught to talk and are then brought up here for sale. The parrot is larger than the parakeet and can talk better. It is sometimes a very intelligent bird, as in the following instance:

There was once an Indian couple who had, in the house, a parrot that spoke very well. They lived alone in the hills, with no near neighbors and no relatives who knew what was going on in their house. The husband was a very
good worker, and never stayed at home more than for the hours of the night. One time the wife became acquainted with another man whom she liked very much, and in short order she became his mistress. But the parrot took note of everything that went on in the house when its master was away at his work.

The first time that the woman's lover came, the parrot reported to his master what had happened in the house, but the husband did not take it seriously and all went on as before. Almost every day the parrot remonstrated, and finally the wife began to hit it, because, she said, it was telling only lies and its bad tongue might bring discord into the house. She suggested also that it might be better to kill the parrot, now that it was not pleased to talk in the way it formerly had. But her husband said no, since the parrot might improve its ways.

Many days passed and the parrot continued to complain against the woman's actions. Whenever the husband came home it talked and told him that he would have to know what was going on in the house. Finally the parrot advised its master not to go to work one day so that he could deal with the man that habitually came when he was not home. The husband was by this time a little suspicious of his wife, so one day he told her to prepare suffici-
ent provisions for a very long voyage on which he was starting. Very contented, the woman prepared the best of everything so that he should go away very satisfied. The result was that the husband did not go far, but only hid himself in the woods nearby so that he could return at the hour indicated by the parrot.

To make a long story short, when the time came, he returned to the house to disillusion himself about his wife. He sharpened his machete well and little by little he approached the house, and when he came close he heard the parrot screaming, "Papá . . . hurry, hurry, for here they are locked up; come . . . quickly!" Then the husband hastened his step and came up to the door which was, indeed, locked. Giving the door a couple of violent pushes, he was able to enter, and he found the lovers in bed.

Right there he killed his wife and her lover, and then went immediately to the town hall to report, so that they could do justice. The parrot told the husband that it would be his sincere and formal witness to what had happened, after it had suffered much at the hands of its mother for having told the truth. And so it happened; due to the explanations given by the parrot, who was very intelligent and knew well how to defend its master, the two of them went free.
Footnotes to Chapter 7

1. There are 5.6 cuerdas to an acre.
2. See p. 000.
3. Etiquette in general is discussed in Chapter 000.
4. See p. 000.
5. Whether they are yams or sweet potatoes, or whether both are grown, I do not know; McBryde, 1940, calls *camote* sweet potatoes (*Ipomea batatas*).
6. *Manihot esculenta*. Crantz (W); *Manihot dulcis* (Gmel.) Pax (Mo).
7. *Physalis* sp. (W,Mo); McBryde calls the species found in Guatemala uncertain, but suggest *pubescens* L.
8. Unidentified; the other local *chiles* are also unidentified.
9. The uses of *chile* are discussed in Chapter 8.
10. The old type of cabbage is called *kulk*; it is unidentified. The prevalent cabbage is called by the Spanish term.
11. From the Cakchiquel word; *ool*; not identified.
13. All are unidentified.
14. *Cucurbita lagenaria* (Mo); *Lagenaria leucantha* (Lamarck) Rusby (W).
15. *Ruta chalepensis* L. (W); *R. graveolens* L. (V,M).
17. Unidentified.
18. *Indigofera suffruticosa* Miller (W,Mo); I. *Anil* L. (M); *Jacobina tintoria* (V).
19. *Fuchsia parviflora* (R); *Jacobina tintoria* Hemls. (M).
20. See p. 000.
21. Occasionally a cornfield in the hills is near enough to a spring to be watered if necessary. Thus, early in June of 1936, the young maize plants, dying for want of rain, were watered in at least one place on the east hill. Sometimes the water is carried to the field in vessels; otherwise the stream is diverted to the field.

22. Called the *roza* in Spanish.

23. The *rastrojo*.

24. The *chaporro*.

25. That is, one of the usual broad hoes worn down by use.

26. The inner tube variety.

27. Called *asiales tronadores*; they have wooden handles onto which the maguey is braided.

28. See p. 000.

29. *Limpio* may be better translated as "cultivation."

30. The harvest is actually not finished until the end of January.

31. Bags made in San Pedro and San Pablo are also used.

32. Tamales with meat; see p. 000.

33. Maize boiled with lime; see p. 000.

34. See p. 000.

35. I have heard that some are still planted this way, but we saw none.

36. See p. 000.

37. See p. 000.

38. *Citrus sinensis* Osbeck (Mc).

40. *C. limetta* Risso (Mc).
41. *C. aurantifolia* (Christm.) Mc. McBride also mentions two other species.
42. *Citrus decumina* (R).
43. *C. medica* L. (c, M, V).
44. *C. sinnensis* (V).
45. *C. limonia* Osbeck (Mc).
46. *Casimiroa edulis* (Mc).
47. *Calocarpum viride* Pittier (Mc).
48. *Psidium guajava* L. (Mc, M); *P. pomiferum* (V); *P. cerstedianum* Berg (W).
49. *Persea americana* Mill. (W, Mc); *P. gratissima* Gautum (V); *P. s.* Gaerth (M).
51. Ajaí is the Indian name.
52. See p. 000.
54. *Acrocomia vinifera* Oersted (Mc, W, M); *A. mexicana* (R); *A. solerocarpa* (V).
55. *Carica papaya* L. (Mc, W, M, V).
56. *Chamaedores* sp. (W, V); *C. graminifolia* Wendland (Mc); *C. g.* Wendlandia & Schiedea (Mc); *C. bifurcata* (M).
57. See. p. 000.
58. *Hura polyandra* Baillon (W); *H. crepitans* L. (M, V).
59. *Opuntia* sp. (No); *O. dejecta* (V); *O. monocantha* (V); *Platyopuntia* (Mc).
60. *Annona cherimola* (Mc); *A. diversifolia* Safford (W); *A. reticulata* (M, V); *A. squamosa* (R).
63. *PFermentiera adulis* (R); *P. a. D.C.* (M).
64. *Ficus carica* (V).
65. *Passiflora ligularis* (Mc, M, W); *P. edulis* (V); *Brya specialis* (M, V).
66. *Hichintal*
67. *Tenemastes*; see p. 000.
68. One set of notes gives Holy Week of Dogs as Ascension Day, while the notes of Santiago Y. give it as Passion Sunday (the Sunday preceding Palm Sunday).
69. *Zacate* is the common Spanish word for fodder of any kind, and this includes cornstalks and leaves that are very commonly used. The word properly means grass.
70. Nevertheless, during the course of study an Indian cured a horse of stomach pains and diarrhea by tying century-plant fibers lightly around the tail and the sash of a pregnant woman around the belly. Also, a shaman offered to cure the headache of a horse of ours by means of prayer. He said he knew it had a headache because it sneezed and snorted occasionally; he was not a disinterested party, however, for he was interested in trading horses.
71. Some of the Indians take this injunction very seriously; we were repeatedly cautioned not to say "poor horses" lest we should have to pay for the sins of the horses in not having carried Christ.
72. The same treatment may be applied to men; see p. 000.
73. See p. 000.
Footnotes to chapter 7, p. 5

74. Especially a certain Indian who is very "strong"; see p. 000.
75. See p. 000.
76. Specifically guicoy.
77. See p. 000.
78. This variety is called cuina; unidentified.
79. Called cruzada; unidentified.
80. There are Ladino castrators, too, but the Indians rarely call them, any more than Ladinos call the Indians.
81. Some are said to mix lime with the salt; others disapprove.
82. The Ladinos themselves will not ordinarily use it.
83. Morongas.
84. Chorizos.
85. Probably these cracklings are by-products of the rendering of lard of ordinary hogs, but the establishments press them into large blocks to squeeze out the lard, and thus they look and taste different.
86. Tsetp' al; unidentified.
87. Ganar, to conquer.
CHAPTER 8 - POSSESSIONS

I. Houses, Furnishings and Utensils

Houses. Most Indian houses have walls of cane filled with mud and roofs of grass thatch. There are some with adobe brick walls and roofs of clay tiles; a few have plastered walls and even floors of brick, but these are rare and copied after the houses of other towns. In the old days all of the houses had thatched roofs, although a few rich people even then built them with adobe walls. Only a few have windows or even window openings in their houses. These they copy from Ladino houses except that Indians make theirs smaller. Generally the Indian houses face the east or the west. The houses are always built with a double pitched roof, and smaller houses are annexed with a single sloping roof. Most people build several small houses rather than a very large one, except when the house is needed for an incoming cofradía or will have some other special purpose. The height depends upon the stature of the owner, since very short men prefer houses also very low. But most people build their houses low because they heat up more quickly than high ones.

The dimensions of a house are always in proportion, and fixed by the height of the king rods from the ground. The length of the house should be the same as this height, and the width about a yard less. The height of the house should never be more than six or seven yards, and it is
usually not less than about four. The height of the walls is only roughly calculated so that the pitch of the roof will be neither too sharp nor so flat that the water will enter when it rains.

Houses are almost always built during the dry season, both so that they will be ready for the winter and because it is during this season that the chief materials are plentiful and cheap. The lumber and the thatch are brought from other towns, such as Concepción and San Andrés, by the people from those towns. They do not bring the lumber until the rains have stopped and it is dry and seasoned, and until they have finished harvesting their cornfields and have time to bring the materials for sale. When someone builds a house he first gets together all the lumber he is going to need according to the measurements he wants his house to have.

The mainposts are always of strong woods like guachipilín and oak so that they last. They must be cut when ripe and when the moon is full or waning. They are always forked to hold the poles that are laid on top. Dry posts are best, but as a last resort those recently cut in the hills can be used. The bark is never removed because it helps to conserve the wood in the earth and in the air. A house has from eight to twelve posts; two king rods, the highest of all, under each end of the ridge-pole; four corner posts, which are smaller and which give the inclination of the roof and form the ends of the walls; and others, depending on the size of the house, spaced along the side walls.
When the mainposts are prepared, the round poles for the ridge and the wall plates, of pine or cypress, are bought. The length of these poles is determined by the length of the posts. In the meantime the owner or his helpers or his servants collect the necessary canes in the full or waning moon. These are gathered or bought by the hundreds. At the same time rafters of pine wood are bought by the dozen from Indians of the cold country who bring them in the dry season. They always come with the bark already stripped off. Then the thatch for the roof is bought, the number of bunches calculated according to the dimensions of the house. Also in good time the necessary number of rolls of tying vines with which to tie the poles, canes, and so on are procured. Only rarely is rope from other towns, or metal nails, used.

After the materials have been collected, laborers are hired if the builder is somewhat wealthy; if not, the owner himself works until the house is finished, for an unfinished house is a great shame before the people. The place where the house is going to be constructed is decided upon and the ground levelled with hoes and pickaxes. The measurements of the house are made with a twine or a sectioned cane. In each corner is pounded a stake where the four corner posts will go, to mark the orientation and size of the house. Sometimes, also, the roof poles are placed on the floor to see that it is the proper length and width. The post holes are then dug with old machetes to a depth of two feet for a medium-height house, or one yard when it is to be of the
maximum height. The posts are then put in their proper places and propped up with stones and logs while the height of each kind of post is measured, the inclination of the roof determined, and so on. This is done by measuring with straight canes or by raising into position one or more of the poles and looking from afar to see if everything looks all right. When it is seen that the posts are set in their proper places, the ridge pole and the wall plates are laid across the forks and tied with vines or ropes. Then the posts can be more firmly implanted so that they do not move. To do this, stones and earth are tamped down with a stamper at the foot of each post. Then the ridge pole and the two wall plates are more securely fastened, and if the house is wide the poles are fastened in the forks of the intermediate end posts. They are tied with strong vines so that the roof will not be blown off by strong winds. The points and bases of all these poles are alternated in direction so that the point of one is at the same end as the base of the one next to it, and so that the roof is even and level. The poles always extend a half yard beyond the walls on each end so that the roof will be a little larger than the house to protect the walls and posts from the sun and the rains. When the front of the house is going to be at the side rather than at the end of the house, the poles extend even farther out to form a small porch for shade, protection from the rains, and a place to keep firewood or other things.

Then the rafters are tied over the poles, extending from the wall plates to the ridge pole, at intervals of a half yard
or less, until the whole roof is covered. The thickest ends of the rafters are always at the ridge poles; they are firmly tied to the wall plate and the ridge pole, and in order that they should not slide down, the rope or vine is passed through a notch cut in the upper end of each. Today some people nail the rafters to the wall plates instead of tying them. The distance between the rafters is kept the same by means of a home-made measure. They are so placed that those of each side meet at the ridge pole, where they are tied together. The cane roof rods are tied over and across all the rafters, at intervals of eight inches. If the house is very long, two long canes, overlapping in the center, are used, in such a way that each pair is strong and will support the weight of one or two men standing or passing over them. The shell of the canes is not removed, and the best and thickest are used for roof rods. The canes are tied to each of the rafters with the finest vines and in such a way that they stay in place and the same distance apart.

When the skeleton of the roof is thus complete, it is thatched. This requires much care and experience; otherwise the thatch soon falls off, or it varies in thickness, or the water filters through the roof when it rains very hard in the winter. The thatching is always begun at the lower edge of the roof and then up from rod to rod until the ridge is reached, when it is finished in a special manner. The first row consists of small handfuls of grass, and they are not tied to the roof rod. The thatch is laid on in small
bunches no larger than a handful, and the ones above lap over the bunches of the rows below. The first row of thatch is not bound down, but the second is, and thereafter only every second row is tied to the roof rods. The first row consists of smaller bunches than the
others. The thatch is always placed with the points of grass down so that water glides over and out. As many as four men, depending on the size of the house and the material used in the framework, sit on the canes of the roof and together work on one side. Each man thatches one row at a time, one doing the first row, another the second, another the third, and so on. When they finish their rows, they begin the following ones in the same manner. If there are not enough thatchers, one side of the roof is done first and then the other. The bunches of thatch are placed next to each other very tightly with no space between, lest the water or other things enter. The thicker the thatch is, the longer it lasts and the more secure it is. The top rows of thatch of the two pitches meet at the ridge with no space between them. Maguey fibers, simply pounded out of the leaf, are used to tie the thatch. Each piece of string consists of two fibers tied together to give greater length. Before starting thatching, large bunches of thatch and lengths of string are prepared, so they will be at hand when needed. If there are many thatchers, one of them on the ground throws up the bunches of thatch as they are needed. To tie the thatch to the roof rods, the bundle is held down tightly onto the cane with one hand, and the string passed over it and around under the cane, then tightly through the middle of the bunch, and a knot is tied with the aid of the other hand which has become
disoccupied. The next bunch is tied close to this one in the same way. Since the rows of bunches overlap, each bundle is tied down together with one of the next row.

If only a provisional roof is desired, or it is for a sweat-bath or fowl house, it is not necessary to tie the thatch to each roof rod. Instead, a cane may be pressed down hard over the row of thatch and tied at intervals of a yard or more, so that the thatch does not fall.

At the ridge large bunches of grass are placed over the top and bent over each side to cover the ends of the last rows of thatch. On each side of the ridge a cane the length of the house is tied over this cap at intervals of about a yard so that it is secured. Two or more bunches of thatch are tied at each end of the ridge-pole, the bases fastened over the ridge-pole and the ends pointing downward. These form the "beard" of the house and are to protect the ends of the ridge-pole and the first bindings so that the strings do not rot.

When the roof has been finished and all the pieces of loose thatch brushed off with a long bunch of thatch, the edges of thatch extending over the leaves are evened off by cutting them with a machete while they are supported with a piece of wood.

**MAKING THE WALLS.** The next step is to choose the side where the door and window will be and to make the walls. The walls are made of canes tied horizontally to the inside and outside of the posts to form a box which is then filled with stones and
The canes are tied on in pairs, starting at the corners, and extending to the center posts where the points that are left over are cut off. The pairs of canes are set evenly parallel to each other from a jemel to a quarter-yard apart, the distances all measured with a little stick which each worker carries. The canes are tied to each of the posts that they cross and if the distance between posts is more than two yards, vertical poles are placed between and the canes tied to them also, so that they will be able to sustain the weight of the filling. In binding the canes to the posts the strings are crossed so that it first goes over the pair of canes, and on the next turn comes from below; thus the canes cannot either move up or down with the weight and slapping-in of the mud. It should never be done in any other way. At the corners, where the ends of the canes from two sides come together, the binding is very difficult because even with the four crossings that must be made, not much twine or vine can be used lest the bindings be very large and spoil the beauty of the house. Those who like the filled walls to extend to the ridge of the house, must tie canes in this manner all the way to the top. Others extend the end walls only as high as the side walls, or a little more, and fill in the rest of the space with vertical canes tied to others placed horizontally, which they later cover on one or both sides with mud.
Meanwhile, a day or two before, earth for the walls has been dug up, pulverized, and mixed with irrigation ditch water with a hoe and finally with the feet, so that upon drying it will stick together well. For a better job, bagsful of dry pine needles are also mixed into the mud. The mixture is never used until the second day, when it is better than when fresh. If the mud is at some distance from the house one of the laborers carries it on a board or a hoe while the others stuff it between the canes of the wall, together with stones, pieces of bricks, and other matter, so that the mud will stick together and not fall to the ground. The quantity of water mixed with the earth has to be just right, for if the mud is too thick, it will not stick well but will fall to pieces, and if there is too much water, it will not stay within the wall at all and will fall out the instant it is put in.

Some people now like to daub the walls of their houses inside and out with the same mud before whitewashing them, some doing it with their hands and others with the backs of their hoes. But most, and especially the poor people of town, do
not plaster the walls, but just let them dry as they are, and after whitewashing them, put the houses to use. The floor is merely smoothed off.

Finally the doors and windows, if the latter are used, are made. The old-style door is a series of canes tied with maguey fiber or bind vines, to two cross-canef and others to two placed diagonally for more security. It should be exactly the size of the doorway. At night this door is put over the doorway outside, and in the morning it is placed to one side. To hold it in the doorway a pole longer than the width of the door is tied across the center of the door so that its ends extend over the inside walls. This pole is always tied with strong twine or pieces of rope so that nobody trying to remove the door can tear it. Thus only those inside the house can remove the cross-piece. To close it from the outside some people use another pole on the outside or else they just turn the door around. Others place the door in the doorway as usual and prop poles or stones against it when they go out. Nowadays many people buy wooden doors that the carpenters make. They say that in the old days they did not need good and secure doors because nobody went long distances as they do now, because the people were more honest for fear of the strong punishments meted out to thieves, and because the houses were so close together that one was never out of sight of the neighbors.

People who have wooden doors lock them with padlocks bought
In the ators. Formerly wooden locks were used, with large wooden keys that had as many as four or five square teeth each about a half inch long. On the inside of the door there was a bar with teeth corresponding to those of the key, and extending to the door frame where there was fastened a wedge, the end of which had a hole into which a tooth of the cross-bar fit. When the key was inserted into the keyhole, its teeth meshed with those of the crossbar and lowered the bar so that its tooth entered the hole of the wedge and thus secured the door. When the key was turned the other way, the bar was raised and the tooth released so that the door could be opened. There are no more wooden locks here, although a few are to be seen on granaries in the hills.

Adobe Walls. In the houses of adobe brick with thatched roofs, the roofs are made in the same manner as above described; but there are no corner posts and of course the walls are made quite differently. Not many people can make adobes, so an adobe-maker must be hired to make them by the day or the hundred. The bricks are made of mud mixed with pine needles, and when it has the right consistency the mud is packed into a wooden frame that is bought from the Totonisapéfios in the market. The frame is placed on the level ground, and when it is lifted away, the mud is left in the form of two large bricks. The bricks dry in the sun for a few days or weeks and then can be carried to the house. To build the house a mason and his
helpers must be hired. The mason makes all the measurements and leaves space for doorways and windows, however the owner wishes. The adobe wall, if well made, should rest on a foundation of stones laid in a trench. This is covered with mortar which the masons mix with slaked lime, sand, and earth, and a row of adobes placed on it, with mortar between them. For the second row, each adobe is placed over two of the row below so there is no vertical line where the adobes join. The rows are joined with mortar. When an adobe has to be broken, a machete is used. The masons use hoes for mixing, trowels for applying mortar and for soaping it away, and plumb lines to see that the wall is always vertical. When the walls are finished, poles for wall plates and others for cross beams are placed along the top to support the roof.

**TILE ROOFS**. When a roof of clay tiles is desired, the tiles must be ordered made in San Andrés or somewhere where people know how to shape and bake them. The same is true for bricks for the floor if somebody wants them. Only masons know how to tile the roof, and if a tile roof, or one of sheet metal, is made, a carpenter must also be called in to make the framework, for tiles are laid on two-by-four rafters that are nailed from the ridge pole to the wall plates. The rafters are set about eight inches apart so that the tiles can be laid between them, the inner sides up. Over the rows of tiles that rest on the
rafters other rows are placed inside down, and resting on the first layer. The tiles in a row overlap, the upper over the next lower one, so that the rain water glides down. The tiles are usually held together with mortar.

Adobe brick walls last much longer than mud-filled cane walls, but they are more expensive to make. Tiles also last longer than thatch, and are much more expensive. Metal roofs never wear out, but they are very expensive. The cheapest kind of house to make is of cane walls, but they have to be replaced every year or every few years. For provisional structures like toilets, fowl houses, and granaries, cane walls are frequently used. The posts are set up in the same way as for any house, and the canes are tied in vertically. Those who have outhouses make them themselves, digging a pit two or three yards deep and making a house of canes, or mud-filled canes, with a thatched roof over it and a toilet seat inside. Fowl houses are made of canes, or sometimes mud-filled canes, and have thatched roofs. Sometimes they are made in a corner of the porch of the house. Not all houses have porches, but some have them the length of the house, with two or three pillars supporting the roof which extends a yard or more beyond the wall on that side. Many houses also have annexes that are built onto an outside wall, with one-pitch roofs, and these serve as separate rooms just as if they were separate houses.

Most people have a sweatbath in the patio, made either of adobes or of stones and mud. They differ in size, but are
never more than about three yards long and two yards wide and high. The walls and roof are so thick that inside the bath is much smaller than this, and usually there is no room to stand up comfortably. Inside there are always benches where the bathers may sit to wash themselves. In one of the front corners there is a fireplace where water and stones are heated, and there are usually some pots for water. The door is small, and covered with a blanket when the sweatbath is in use. The roof of the sweatbath is made with poles or boards and leaves and mud, placed tightly so that the heat is not lost.

Formerly when a new house was built, and especially if it was a good house of adobe brick and tiles, the owner had it baptized by a shaman. The reason for having the fiesta for the house was to ask permission of the land or place where it was built to live there. Otherwise it was certain that someone in the family, a child or an adult, would die as a gift to the land. The fiesta was always held on the night of a Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday, the good days of the week. Early in the evening the owner bought rum, bread, chocolate, rockets, incense, copal, candles, and hens or turkeys. If the owner cared to, he invited his friends and relatives to the fiesta.

When the shaman arrived he presided over the ritual in the new house. In his discourse he asked that the land permit the family that had built the house to live on its face, in payment for which they would honor it in the extreme and
clean it when necessary. Incense and copal were burned and for the baptism itself, the shaman sprinkled rum in the corners of the house. The ritual over, bread and chocolate were served to the shaman and the men visitors in order of their status, according to the offices in which they had served. The men were in the house during the rituals while the women stayed in the kitchen preparing the food to be served. The morning after the baptism the shaman went to the church to leave candles for St. Francis and to ask that he permit nothing to happen to those who were going to live in the house. Only the Ladinos have the parish priest come to a new house to baptize it. In the old days the fiesta in the new house sometimes lasted for several days, since rich families sometimes hired a marimba so that all of the guests could dance in the new house.

FURNISHINGS AND UTENSILS. Wealthy people have five or six or more houses clustered around the patio. The poorest people have only one. Where there are several houses one or two may be just store rooms and one of them is often reserved for the saints, if there are any, for it is not right to eat, cook, or sleep, in the room with the saints. This is a good room, however, to store things such as maize. In the house, the saints are set on a platform near one end, and there is a little table before the altar and often benches or chairs around the walls. There are also chests in which the saints' things are kept.

Another house is usually set aside to serve for sleeping,
since it is a sin to sleep where there are saints. The saints are visited each night by the spirits of the dead of the village who ask permission to take the spirits of any sick people of the house. Thus anyone who sleeps near the saints may easily contract a disease brought by the spirits or souls. Children are especially harmed by their presence. The saints bother people who do not respect their house. One man tore down his saints' house, intending to rebuild it. He never got around to it, and after a short time of sleeping and cooking in the same room with the saints, his wife became sick. He tried various medicines and called the shamans, but could do nothing either because God willed that she die or because the spirits which visited the altar every night had left her with an incurable disease.

In the sleeping quarters, beds are usually made in the corners. Many people sleep on mats on the floor, but others have beds raised from the floor made by implanting forked posts in the ground with poles and boards or canes resting on the posts. There is always a mat on the bed, and usually a blanket. Everybody uses bundled-up clothing for a pillow. If one sleeps without a pillow, the food and especially the chile he has eaten rises to the head and chokes him. It is just as bad to have too high a pillow, for that causes bad dreams, which are always dangerous because they often come true. The head of the bed is usually to the north or the east. Nobody sleeps with his head to the west, which is the direction in which the dead are buried. There are
often two or three beds in a room, and sometimes they are separated by partitions of canes.

Clothes and papers and other valuables are kept in locked chests that are made by carpenters in Totonicapán and bought in the markets. Years ago, wooden boxes were bought for the purpose instead. Documents are often rolled up and kept in a section of cane, or in a metal tube bought in the market. Clothes that are used frequently are hung on a line strung over a corner of the room, often over the bed. They, and especially hats, are also hung on nails or pegs in the wall. Other articles are kept on wooden or cane shelves hung from the ceiling or on posts implanted in the floor. People also make shelves by laying canes or boards over the cross-beams of the house.

In the houses there are usually a few chairs and stools, and sometimes large or small tables and cupboards that are bought in the markets from the carpenters of other towns. The stools are round and have three or four legs, and when a man visitor comes, he is always offered one to sit on. Most of the young men nowadays use large chairs instead. There are also always mats, both of the fine kind made in the north, and the heavy ones from Santa Catarina. The fine ones are used on beds, beneath saints, to prepare loads of fruit in the carrying frame, as well as for spreading coffee to dry in the sun. The rush mats are used to sit on, and sometimes to sleep on. The Catarinecos also make small square mats that the women use to kneel on. A female visitor is always offered one of these when she comes to the house.
The houses are lighted at night either with tin kerosene lamps which are bought in the market or with pitchwood torches. These are also carried on the road. A few people have flash lights which they sometimes use.

The kitchen is the room or house of greatest importance in the patio because in it the housewife does her cooking and the family eats. In the case of poor people, the house used for the kitchen is the only house. Even when there are other houses, people sometimes sleep in a part of the kitchen partitioned off from the rest of the kitchen by means of cane, and they store things there as well. But the kitchen is of all things the housewife's room first, where she can be seen much of the day fixing the food for the family. It is a great disgrace if the woman of the house does not know how to make the fire, grind the corn, and cook, weave, wash clothes, and sell in the marketplace—because all this must be done by the wife while her husband does the heavy work of making a living.

Almost always in one corner of the kitchen there is the fireplace. Sometimes there are two fireplaces, one with larger stones for cooking nixtamal and other big things. It is a sin, however, to have both fires going at once. Some misfortune is sure to come; perhaps the life of one of the family will be shortened. Until about fifty years ago when matches first came here, fire was always started with two pieces of a special stone (found in the river bed, or bought in the marketplace) that when struck together made a spark that ignited a wick made of cotton for the purpose. This
wick was blown upon until there was enough flame to ignite a few dried maize leaves or a piece of pitch wood to start a fire. When matches came, people saw quickly how rapidly and easily they work, and everybody soon bought them. Cigarettes were lighted from the cotton wick itself until a few years ago when the practice was prohibited by law.

Pitch wood, which is bought by the small bunch in the market from Maxeños who bring it down here or to Sololá, is always used to start the fire. Three pieces of firewood are placed between the hearthstones in such a manner that their ends touch in the center. If they are dry, a piece of pitch wood will soon ignite them, and as they burn the sticks are pushed inward and new pieces added when necessary. The fire is kept alive the whole day, and when night comes, the embers of a piece of oak or guachipilín are buried in the ashes so that there will be a bit of fire to start the next day.

Any wrongs against the fire will be punished severely in this life or the next. It is a sin to walk over the fire, or to spit into it; it must not be mistreated by word or deed. It is sinful also to take fire from the kitchen into the patio at the hour of noon; nor may one give it to another at that time. Nor must fire ever be refused one who asks for it, lest God or the fire mete out punishment or lest the person refused use sorcery. A story is told about a woman's attempt to borrow fire:
There was a woman who, arising late one morning, had to go to a neighbor to borrow a little fire in order to make her breakfast. When she came to the first house, the owners were still asleep, and she called out, "Excuse me, aren't you up yet?" And the woman inside answered, "Not yet, wait a little." When the mistress of the house had arisen, she asked her visitor her errand. The other replied that she had no fire and asked if perhaps she would not do her the favor of giving her a little. The neighbor responded that she would, with pleasure, if she would wait a minute while she made her own fire. While making the fire, she asked her visitor, "Who is the owner of the fire?"

"The bringers of the rains," replied the other.

"Where are they?"

"Under a tree called walarina."

"Where is that tree?"

"On the banks of a river."

"Where is the river?"

"Where a little hummingbird drinks water."

"And who is this hummingbird?"

"He who fought with our mother lung-meat."

Then, finished with this play, the visitor took her fire and left.

If the fire crackles and hisses, even if only a little, when it is fanned, it is a sign that somebody of the family
will have bad luck and perhaps even die, and especially some member who is away somewhere on a journey or away at work. So when the fire makes noises the people are saddened. It is especially bad when the griddle of tortillas is one the fire, for then the omen is more certain. Many women punish the fire for its bad omens by taking out the half-burnt wood that makes the noise and beating it against the hearthstones; but they never curse it lest the god of fire inflict some punishment. The fire crackles because when the kindling was in the woods, a snake was upon it, and since fire is the enemy of snakes, it always speaks up when a snake has been near. The noise is also a signal that a spirit has entered the house to visit. One should never look at or play with the sparks of fire that hit the pot or griddle when it is on the fire lest he become nauseated. Children become sick often because they are so curious about things, and it is the business of their mothers to teach them such things when kitchen they begin to use the utensils.

Only when it is cold should people warm themselves by the fire. If they do so when there is no need, the skin of the feet will crack open, especially around the heels, sometimes causing the very painful disease called peio in which the skin of the feet peels and falls off. Little boys should be especially careful not to stay very close to the fire for long lest their testicles burst. At the same time fire cures skin itches that come from such things as eczema and chigoes; while seated over their food at mealtimes, those who have
itches apply hot embers to their skin. Fire is also a cure for burns; when one is accidentally burned, he can cure himself by immediately burning the spot again. Fire is like a quarrel: it starts small with little things, but before it is done it takes in many things before long, and the more it takes in, the more it grows and spreads!

Although nobody here knows how to use the ashes of the fire in making soap, as they do in Sololá and other places, ashes have some uses. For one thing, they are good fertilizer for the vegetable gardens; for another, they are used instead of lime to cook the nixtamal when atol is to be made of the maize. Some say also that small wounds can be cured with ashes mixed with salt and water. No one dares walk over ashes, and least of all women, because if one does, bad sores will come between the legs. That is why when the ashes are taken from the hearth they must not be spilled and must be put in a corner where nobody is apt to walk. That is why, also, ashes are used to cover excrement of someone who purposely defecates in the yard or in the road near one's house in a place easily seen; when he comes again to do the same thing, the rascal's anus will pain him terribly and he will be paid for the wrong he has done.

In most kitchens, a load of firewood lasts a week; if the housewife uses more, she is extravagant and people talk about her. Rare is the husband that does not bring his wife this wood, for if he cannot cut it from his own land, or from trees bought from his neighbors, he can always buy the
week's supply on Sunday from the woodcutters of San Andrés or Concepción. Some of the rich people, who do not want to be bothered every week, especially when they are in service to the community, are beginning to store firewood for a long time in advance so that their women will always have enough; but this practice is not only new but uncommon. The rich people can do this because they own land with trees and they have servants to cut the firewood. The poor people have to buy the trees; or else they collect faggots in the river bed, those living near the river often managing to lay in a large supply at certain seasons. It is, besides, the general custom for the women themselves to collect faggots of any kind of wood that they see as they walk along; they do this out of consideration for their husbands. Some women also go out especially for firewood, breaking off dried tree branches with a forked cane and tipping them into bundles to take home. But they never do this far from home, lest they be talked about. It is a good idea to lay in a supply of firewood before the rainy season begins, because when the rains begin dry wood is scarce. In the dry dog days of August people also hurry to make firewood to have in the last rainy months.

The trees most commonly cut for firewood here in town are the *llamo*, willow, and silk oak; most others can be used as well, but they are of lesser importance. A few kinds are never used, such as *chichicaste* which is no good because it smokes like *chile*. The oak, which makes very good firewood, and the pine are brought to town and sold by Indians from
Concepción, Monte Mercedes, and Patanatic; but usually only the Ladinos buy this wood. The tree that is chosen for firewood is chopped down with an axe. First the woodcutter decides the direction in which he wants the tree to fall so that it will not damage the other trees and plants around. If there are many plants around, he first cuts off all the branches with his machete and then only the trunk will have to fall. The tree is cut on the side toward which it is to fall; if it happens to lean in the opposite direction, ropes are tied to it up high and then just before the tree falls, these are tugged at to guide its direction. When a fruit tree has been chopped down, the first thing that has to be done is to cover the stump with dirt and leaves so it will not be ashamed before its fellows still standing, since a fruit tree is never felled while it bears good fruit. It is a sin not to cover the stump. Once the tree is felled, the branches are cut off with the machete and then the trunk is cut into sections with the axe. If the tree trunk is very large, and close to the house, each section is split (with the axe) as it is cut, and the rest of the trunk left whole to be sectioned and cut as needed. But when the tree is bought from another and is far from the house, it is best to cut it up all at once and take the firewood home. The woodcutters in other towns who bring firewood here for sale usually cut it in half-yard lengths, but the people here cut it in yard lengths for their own use. In one day a man should be able to cut up a stint of small lengths two yards high and two yards long; this makes six to eight loads.
When the wood must be carried a long distance, the way to prepare the load is to place two sticks on the ground and stack the firewood across them, then tying the whole bundle securely with ropes. Otherwise the wood is just tied up and carried any way. Nowadays firewood is loaded and carried crosswise, horizontally; but years ago it was always carried vertically because the pieces were cut longer. When women carry firewood, they usually cannot tie the ropes tight enough around the bundle, so they use a little stick to twist the rope and tighten it.

A little while before a young man takes his bride, it is the custom to bring her parents a load of firewood to show what a worker he is and how good he will be to his wife. During their years of service the mayordomos of the cofradías take with them to the house of the cofrade every time they go there. When the cofrade has to give a fiesta, his friends and relatives often bring him loads of firewood to help him out, and although they do so as a sign of friendship, they always receive in return part of the fiesta food. Then when those who bring the firewood take their turns as cofrades, it is sure that those whom they have helped will help them in the same way.

Everybody knows well the kind of stone that can be used in the fireplace to support the griddle and the pots over the flame. It is a kind that does not crack with the heat of the fire. The stones are found in the river bed, and as soon as they are brought home they are burned beneath a pile of firewood.
that has been made ready. This is done a little away from
the house so that when the bad parts of the stones break off,
they will not fly at the children or break the pots in the
kitchen. Once burned, the stones can be used without fear of
such danger. The hearthstones are three in number, and they
are usually round. They are placed at three corners of the
hearth and the fire is built in the middle. If one of the
hearthstones is smaller than the others, so that the tops are
not level, pieces of bricks or the ears of broken pots are
placed underneath. These pieces are called "the ears of
the hearthstone." When the pot is taken off the fire, these
pieces must be removed too, for it is a great sin to leave
them there; they say that these ears used to cry bitterly
when left uselessly in the fire. While they are still hot,
neither the hearthstones nor their ears may be thrown out-
side, in the patio or the water; that sin is punished in
Hell.

Fire has its own god, a very harsh god when it punishes
somebody (as it does when it burns him terribly in Hell
through the command of God); and the fire god punishes those
who mistreat the hearthstones, for they have eyes and ears
with which to see and hear any bad thing done to them or said
about them. They are delicate stones at best: if a person
sits down at the fire with one of the hearthstones between
his legs, he will soon find great blisters between his legs
and swellings on his feet. That is one of the reasons chil-
dren are punished by their parents when they come too close
to the fire. If somebody sits on a hearthstone or on the
grindingstone, it rises into his body; since it is heavier
than the organs inside, the next time he defecates his colon
and his rectum will drop out. If a hearthstone breaks sud-
denly or accidentally, it is a sure sign that somebody in
the family will die.

A man should never eat tortillas that have rested against
a hearthstone, for it is enough to make him a fool and an
idiot. There are women who, because their husbands are
domineering and bad to them, will put tortillas on the stones
or close to them and later offer them to their husbands to
eat. Then, especially if the tortillas are toasted, the
men become weak and dumb brutes. Of course only bad women
who are no good and who only want other men or who want to
run the whole house would do this. The hearthstones, as well
as being the owners of the hearth, are the mistress of the
house. That is why when one wants a person or an animal
(like a dog, cat, or chicken) to like the house and to stay
there, a lock of his or its hair is placed under the stones.

In the hill the hearthstones are people, especially sor-
erers, who have died here and are sent there to pay for
their sins. People who have gone to the hill have seen them
there:

Once a young man was out looking for work when
he suddenly met a señor on the street who told him
that he had work for somebody, and said, "Come to work
with me." The man said, "Very well," and sat down.
He had been seated a moment when suddenly he felt that he had arrived at a door. The señor told him to stand up, and he did. Then he was told to go to the man's house. When he arrived there the señor told him to begin his work. The man said, "Very well," and he was put to killing pigs. He was afraid to kill the pigs because they spoke and told him not to hit them hard. So the man did not hit them hard, and when the señor saw this he told him to hit them hard and not be afraid. The man was there seven days. On the seventh day he wanted to leave, and of a sudden a hearthstone spoke to him and told him not to take his pay but rather itself, the hearthstone. The señor offered him his pay, but the man did not wish to receive money and said, "Give me the stone." "Why do you want the stone?" asked the señor. "It will serve me to sharpen my machetes and knives," replied the man. "Good," said the señor. Then the hearthstone told the man to throw him into the air, and added, "When you throw me up, place your headpiece on the ground and when a coin drops into it, hurry home." When the man returned home, his wife already had another husband. The man told him to leave, and he left. The man's storage chest filled with the money and he became very rich.

They say that long ago all the dishes of pottery that were used here were made here of clay taken from certain
places; the people knew how to make cooking pots, water-jugs, bowls, plates and so on, but all were crudely done and without any decoration. Then better ware began to come from Totonicapán, and everybody began to buy it and before long nobody made anything at all here. Now there is not a soul who remembers how, and all the earthenware that is used is bought in the market, in Sololá and here in town, from merchants who bring it from Totonicapán, Chichicastenango, Tecpán, and the Capital.

There are many kinds of pottery vessels used in the kitchen and for cooking for the fiestas. First of all there are the *tinajes*, the jars for carrying water. Those used by local women are of medium size. There are some small water jars (which the little girls use) and in the markets there are some giant-sized ones that are used in other towns where men carry water, too. Those that come from the Capital are the best, those from Chichicastenango are second best, and those from Tecpán are not much good because unless they have been very well cured, they break very easily. Then there are *tinacos*, which are large water storage jars that are often kept on the kitchen floor. Like the *tinajes*, they have ears so that they may be carried more easily.

The pot that is most used in cooking is the *olla*, which serves to cook the *nixtamal* and the tamales, as well as meats and other things. There are also small pots from Totonicapán that are used for cooking beans. Another much used in the kitchen is the *paste*, a shallow pot used to cook squash and other things, and sometimes tamales. Another is the *jarro*.
a pitcher used to boil coffee, heat water, and so on. The pichacha is a fairly large pot with a wide mouth and a perforated bottom that is used to wash the nixtamal; sometimes a brazero, which is smaller and has a base at the bottom and no holes, is used instead.

Tortillas are made on the comal, a circular griddle--large or small. A few come from Totonicapán, but most are from Chichicastenango. A few people also buy earthenware frying pans from Totonicapán. Some are like comales, but smaller and with a handle, and others are deeper. For table use there are glazed plates and bowls and other little dishes.

After a cooking pot is brought home from market, it must be cured. The best way to do this is to cook nixtamal in it, because then the pores fill with lime. For a big pot, one often has to await a fiesta (or lend it to one of the cofradías to be cured), so that enough nixtamal can be cooked. The griddle must also be cured, lest it break too easily. The best way to do this is to cook lime water in it, spreading the lime over the whole surface. If one is careful with them, and cures them well, pots will last a long time; of course those used every day in the kitchen are apt to break any time, but some of the large ones used by the cofradías last many years.¹¾

Of one thing the housewife must be careful: when a pot of food is put on the fire to cook, a small pot should never be put over it as a cover. If it is, the woman's next child, or her first one if she is still childless, will
be born with a very large head because God punishes those who put pots on the fire uselessly. Instead, an enamelware plate, a potsherd, or leaves should be used as a cover. Furthermore, a griddle should never be left empty on the fire for any length of time lest it become annoyed and lazy so that the next time it is used it will not bake well the tortillas or whatever else is put on it.

Besides the plates and bowls of earthenware, many people nowadays use enamelware plates and cups and china dishes that they buy in stores or from the merchants in the marketplace. It was not until about fifty years ago that these new kinds of dishes came in, and since they were better, people began to buy them. Today more enamelware cups are used than any other kind. Long ago there were some stone dishes and utensils in use, but now only the pigs are fed from them. A few years ago a most common material for dishes and utensils was the gourd; whole hourglass gourds are still sometimes used to carry coffee, atol, or water on trips. Sections of the gourd called guacales are often used as ladles in the kitchen and they are still used by a few people to water the gardens. But the part of the gourd that is still used more than any other is the rounded bottom, the tol, which is used to keep the tortillas warm, even for several hours. Formerly the drinking cup most commonly in use, for chicha as well as atol and chocolate was the gourd jicara, which comes from the coast. These egg-shaped cups are now used only in the cofradías for the atol and chocolate.
The most important utensil in any kitchen is the grinding-stone, with its arm, or roller. In most houses there are at least two sets, one for the nixtamal and another for coffee. The grindingstone is respected, like the hearthstones, as a great lady who prepares the food for the people to eat. She does not like to go from house to house, or to be used by one woman one day and another the next, but rather likes to be used by the same one all the time. Using her makes her happy because only so is her body warmed; otherwise she suffers from the cold and sometimes begins to cry, as often happened in olden days. The arm should never be separated from the stone, either, because they are like a mother and her nursing child; if they are parted they cry for each other in the night.

The grindingstone is made of a special kind of stone known only to the people of Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán, where they are made. The stones and their arms are bought in the market or from passing Nahualeños. Before they can be used, however, they must be sharpened, and there are some women here who know how to do this work. With another stone, the woman peoks tiny holes all over the surface of the stone and the arm. It is most of a day's work and must be done in the bright sun or the grindingstone will break when struck. The sharpening must be repeated once in a while as the grindingstones become old and worn.

It is very bad luck if the grindingstone breaks. If one breaks through carelessness, it forebodes an accident in the family, for the stone punishes such mistreatment.
Sometimes the grindingstone or arm breaks for no reason at all, however, just with a touch, and this shows that somebody is working ill against the family. Then everybody weeps not so much for the broken stone but because of what will follow: if the arm breaks in the woman's hands, she herself will die, or one of her children; if it is the grindingstone itself that breaks, it spells death for her father or mother or a brother or sister. These things almost always come to pass. When a woman dies, pieces of the arm of her grindingstone are always put into her coffin so that when she comes to the next world she will have what she needs.¹⁸

When not in use, the grindingstone is always kept leaning against the wall with its face to the wall and the one-legged end on the floor; the arm should always be placed atop the stone, for if it cries from separation at night, it is enough to frighten most people. The large cooking pots are also kept on the floor, usually mouth down when now in use; and near the fire there is always a tinaje of water, as well as an empty tinaje or two mouth down. Those in use are closer to the fire than the others; but of course in poor homes there may be no more than one. In some houses where they have many more pots than are in daily use, the extra ones are kept outside, against the wall of the house out of sight from the road. Empty pots are almost always kept mouth down.

A few houses have, stuck into the kitchen floor in the corner near the fire, a branch of white tajíscos; its twigs
reach upward evenly and are used to hang drinking cups and little jugs. Some people have open cupboards instead, made with four embedded poles supporting one or two shelves made of cornstalks tied together. Usually the top shelf is used for edibles and staple foods, often with a special basket or a tol for the tortillas; sometimes those things children should not get are also kept there. The dishes, plates, and cups for the table are stored on the second shelf. Below are the pots of food in use and some staple foodstuffs like coffee, salt, and chile. Almost every kitchen has shelves of one kind or another for food supplies, spices, and dishes. Sometimes the shelves are suspended with cords from the roof or ceiling to keep the animals away; others are boards supported by long wooden nails driven into the wall; other shelves are more like benches. Often the pitchers and other utensils that are frequently in use are hung on nails from the wall, and in some cases the dishes are kept in large baskets on the floor. Often, too, there are old mesh bags hung from the wall which contain utensils and other things. Rarely is there a kitchen in which all the dishes are kept on the floor. Sometimes there is a table in the middle of the kitchen on which is placed the dough for making tortillas and other things that are to be kept clean.

WORKING TOOLS. The tools are kept in a corner of the kitchen, and no house can be without hoes, machetes, knives, and so on. The rich people with much land have more tools, but even the poorest laborer must have his hoes and his machete to do his work. Long ago the tools were all made of
stone, for there was no iron. A tool for digging in the
ground, especially the furrows for vegetables, was also
made of a stick of hard wood with a sharp point. But now
everybody uses iron tools. The heads of the hoes, axes,
and pickaxes, and the machetes and such tools as sickles,
saws, and hammers, are bought in the stores here or in the
Capital, Sololá, or Tecpán. Sometimes they can be bought used
in the market. Every family has at least three hoes. One
is for use in the garden beds and for scraping, another for
cleaning the cornfield, and a third for the use of the women
who sometimes need to use a hoe.

Only the blade of the hoe is bought, for every man makes
his own handles. The only kind of blade that is any good is
the one with the trademark of a hand imprinted in the metal.
The blade should be very thin and smooth, the metal whitish
in color, and it should ring on a high note. It should be
curved rather than flat, and the part with the hole for the
handle should be curved forward a little. Nothing else will
do. Usually the hoes bought here are the largest made any-
where, because they are best for making the garden beds in
town. No woman is ever allowed to buy a hoe; if a man can-
not buy it himself, he asks another man who knows something
about such things to do it for him. The new blade is shar-
pened a bit with a file and then it is sharpened more on
being used in the sandy garden soil. Only the old people
still sharpen them with the cutting edge of the machete.

Wood of the tajisco tree is always chosen for the
handle because it is strong and durable, yet light in weight, and it can be polished. Only old hoes, used by the women and children, can have handles of other wood, because it does not matter much any more. The wood should be of a ripe or old tajisco that has been cut in the full moon; it should be straight and free of knots, but with a little curve at one end where the blade will be held. When a man is making a hoe handle, he must get far away from women so that they do not pass over the shavings of the wood; if they do, the handle will soon split and even the blade will not last long. When he has finished the job, the handle-maker should collect the shavings very carefully and burn them to avoid trouble of this kind. At the blade end of the handle, a groove should be carefully carved out so that later a wedge of some other hard wood can be inserted to keep the blade from falling off the handle. When the handle has been given its approximate form, the blade is slipped on the end opposite to its destination and gradually worked down, places in the wood which obstruct being cut away as necessary. Of course the blade is kept from going off at the other end by the little curve, and if this is not enough, a piece of leather or something is tied around. The handle should be the same thickness along its entire length, a thickness suited to the hand of the user. It should never be less than a yard and a quarter or more than a yard and a half in length; otherwise it is impossible to work with. The handle is cut and shaped with a machete, and polished in the fields with sand.
The best workers strike the ground with the whole blade of the hoe. Those who do not know any better dig with one corner and of course the blade is thus worn first at the corners. The hoe should never be left dirty; rather all the earth must be cleaned off at the end of a day's work. Otherwise the tool will become very lazy and unsatisfactory to work with. It should always be well cared for during the night too: it should never be left in the fields, for that is a sin; nor should it be left in the patio, but rather hung up or stood up under a roof. When it is not used for a while in the fields, it should not be left to lie on the ground; instead, it should be stood up with the blade stuck in the earth, because otherwise the handle will split in the sun and the blade also will be injured. A snake found in the fields should never be killed with a hoe because the hoe will become accustomed to killing and it will strike and wound the owner's feet. Nor should a lazy man ever be allowed to touch or work with the hoe of an industrious man lest the evil stay in the tool and it fail to work the next time for the owner.
They say that in times gone by men did not have to work all day with their hoes in their hands, but rather simply took their hoes in their hands for a moment to show these tools what they wanted to have done with the earth, and then themselves went about doing other things, but remaining always near to their hoes. The women were never supposed to know about this, for if they should, the hoes would be ashamed and would never work again.

The following story is told about how the power of work was lost to the hoes:

The women who knew the secret wanted to see for themselves if it was really so, but the menfolk never allowed them to come to the fields when their hoes were working by themselves.

But one day when two lazy brothers were at work in the fields, they left their hoes working there alone and went first to sleep and then to gather a little firewood. Meanwhile, their grandmother, wishing to see if the two brothers had really gone to work, went to visit the fields where they were supposed to be. What was her surprise to see that the boys were not there at all and that the hoes themselves were working instead! She could not contain her anger and her surprise, and said "Ay! lazy pigs!" and, clapping her hands, she said other things, too. Immediately the hoes stopped their work, and never again have hoes worked alone. And the Indians today when they remember how it happened, often heap curses upon the old woman who did this great wrong.
There used to be a big fiesta in honor of the hoe when maize planting time arrived. Even today in San Antonio Palopó they keep such customs, and with the first leaves that are harvested, wives make tamalitos which they take to their husbands in the fields. While the men are eating, their wives place these leaves on the handles of their hoes. They used to have the custom, also, of placing the hoe in front of their food while eating, as if the hoe were another member of the family; and at night they left their hoes in safe and guarded places treating them as if they were persons.

A man's machete is as indispensable to him as his hoe. He calls it "wife" just as a woman calls her grindingstone "husband," for without these implements one cannot work. So important is the machete that a worker must never be without it. Until about forty years ago the machetes used here were made in the country; two pieces of iron were hammered together, and they were so heavy that only strong men could wield them with just one hand. People were stronger then. The imported machetes are much easier to use, and in about ten years they entirely replaced the old ones. The machetes were all of the curved kind; the straight ones came in later. The machetes are bought in the stores, and they are still of two kinds: one has a sweeping curve or else a wide and curved end; the other is almost straight and of almost the same width along its whole length. The first is a good work tool, but the second, although nice to have to show off and to use on journeys, is not of much use. This second kind,
the vizcaino, is always pursued by the lightning when there is a storm because since it is foreign it is of the Devil; that is why when lightning flashes close to the house, this machete is thrown outside. Not so with the curved machete, which is of God. The machete should be as long as the distance from hand to ground when the owner is standing up; the blade should ring clear; the handle should be light in color and rather flat on the sides. The kind with an alligator trademark is best.

If one wants his new machete to be strong and durable, he should immediately stick it through the green stalk of a banana tree and leave it there for two days and two nights. If the blade is very hard, and cannot be sharpened easily, it can be heated red-hot in the fire, and then it will be softer. A man's machete should always be well sharpened; if not, people call him a woman. It is sharpened with a file or with sharpening stones that are found in the river bed or in the woods. No worker should ever be without a machete, which is usually carried stuck through the belt or the sash or else held in the hand. A woman can touch and handle her husband's machete, but she must never pass over it lest it break very quickly. Meat must never be cut with a machete, or a snake killed with it; machetes so used acquire the habit of cutting flesh and then they cut their owners. The same is true for any knife as well. A machete or knife that has cut human flesh is especially dangerous. Firearms too are dangerous if they have killed
a person, and that is why people are afraid to buy a used
gun. One should never sleep with his machete under his
pillow, or keep it there, for if he does he will have very
bad dreams.

When a mother leaves her young child sleeping alone in
the bed while she goes into the street for a minute, she
usually leaves a machete (or another knife) on the edge of
the bed, the handle at the head and the edge on either side;
this is because spirits, which are always around, always look
for young children to play with them, and the machete protects
them as if it were fire; the spirit comes in and sees the
fire of the machete and does not come closer. The pain of a
scorpion's bite is quickly eased when a machete is held be-
tween the teeth for a while and supported only by the teeth
and not by the hands. As with hoes.

As with hoes, there are stories of machetes which worked
by themselves. In the following story, this power was lost
as in the case of the hoes, because of the curiosity of a
woman:

Once there lived on a plantation on the coast a
very lazy worker called Tomás. Naturally, since he
was celebrated everywhere as a very lazy man, his
debt to this employer increased by bounds and he did
less and less work. Everybody deplored his condi-
tion, and even his wife scolded him bitterly. And,
finally, his employer let him go to do what he pleased.

When Tomás understood, however, that hoes would
work by themselves, he decided to go one day to the
fields to plant his milpa, providing what he had heard proved to be true. When he arrived at the place that he had chosen, he struck at the brush a few times with his machete to see if it would comply with its obligations, as he had heard it should. Upon doing this, a voice came out of the hills saying "Who is it?" Tomás replied with his name. Then the voice said, "Do it then," and Tomás, very contented went on with his work and then left the machete to continue working alone while he went off to sleep.

In the evening he returned happily to his house, because the machete had done a lot of work without its costing him a drop of sweat. He told his wife that he had begun to plant corn because now he was going to start working like a man; but she did not believe him because she knew how lazy he was.

So passed many days, and the work progressed steadily until not a leaf could be seen in all the land that he had chosen to cultivate. Every time he arrived at the field, the hills asked him who it was, and he always responded with his name, since it seemed sure that no other would be allowed to work in the same way. When the work with the machete was finished, Tomás took his hoe and it worked for him in the same way.

When everything was ready and there remained only to plant the seeds, he went to his employer to ask for
seeds by the hundred-pound. Everybody thought him to be crazy, because how could it be that Tomás, who was nicknamed The Idler, could plant so much corn. But when he had repeatedly assured them that it was indeed true, they gave him what he needed. The lazy fellow was lucky, too, for in three days the plants were up and they grew very quickly.

Tomás always told his wife of the progress of his corn but she never in the least believed him, but still scolded him for being an idler. But one day she almost believed him and she suggested that she go up to the field to see if it were true that now indeed he was a worker. But the hill had told Tomás that he should never bring his wife up there lest he lose all that he had gained, so he forbade her ever to go. Naturally, she then believed more than ever that his boasts were all lies, since she was not allowed to go see his work.

One day Tomás had to go away on a journey, and he beseeched his wife not to go to his fields lest all be lost. The woman, while he was away, thought much on the question of whether what her husband said about his crops was true or not, and finally, wishing to resolve her doubts, she went up to the field. What was her pleasure and joy to see that the corn now had ears, and the most beautiful ears possible! When she went to cut some to take home, the hills said, "Who is it?" She replied, "The wife of Tomás,"
at which the hill said, "Fall everything to the ground; let there be no harvest!" The woman was very frightened and worriedly took a few more ears and went home.

When her husband came back from his journey, he asked her from whence came the ears of corn that he saw on the floor. She replied that they came from some other harvest, but he did not believe her because he knew that only he had such beautiful corn. He therefore went to his fields to see what had happened—and what was his anger to find that all the corn was fallen to the ground. Very put out, he returned to beat his ungrateful wife for having caused him to lose his crop. His wife offered many apologies and excuses, but he paid attention to nothing until the desire to beat her had passed of itself.

In all sadness, Tomás went to his field to gather the ears of corn that were already yellow and with them he paid his employer for the seeds which he had given him. There remained very little corn for his own needs.

Since then, on account of that woman, the hill has not helped anybody.

Most Indians own axes, which they use to chop down large trees. Years ago the axe head had no hole for the insertion of the haft; instead, the axe had a pointed extension on the back, and this fit into the haft and was secured with stout wedges. Nowadays the axes are better. The head, never more than five pounds in weight, and usually of the wide variety,
is bought in the store. The handle is homemade, of some hard wood like tamarisk, guachipilín, and especially sour-orange. It is always one yard in length, and the head is put on just like the blade of a hoe except that the handle is not curved and bears no wedge. The blade is sharpened with a file or filing stone.

It is best not to let anyone borrow an axe, as is shown in the following story:

There was a poor man who always went to borrow an axe from a rich neighbor who was his employer. He always gave the poor man the metal tool grumbling that he ought to buy his own and stop bothering him. One day the poor man saw a beehive on a tree over a high gorge. He went to his employer to borrow the axe saying that he wanted to cut wood. The employer gave it to him begrudgingly and said he would not loan it anymore. A little sad, the poor man went to the hill with it. Unfortunately, the head of the axe fell off into the depths of the gorge. He could not think of what to do or ssay to his employer, rather than to return to him and weep of the unfortunate incident.

At this moment there appeared a strange man who asked him why he was weeping. He then offered to take the lost axe head from the gorge in order to save the poor man from difficulties with his employer. He told him to wait a moment, and he went to the other side. A few moments later, he returned with a beautiful axe of
silver, asking if this were the one lost; the poor man replied no, that his was a dirty, used one. The stranger told him he could take the silver axe in place of the lost one, but the poor man would not agree to this. So, the stranger departed and returned a few minutes later with an axe of gold. He again asked if this were the right one, and the poor man again replied no. Then the stranger said that he would give him the gold one and also fetch the lost one in the gorge. When he returned with the lost axe, he advised the poor man to return home promptly before the axes increased in weight.

Obeying the stranger, the poor man stopped working on the beehive, returned the axe to his employer, and returned to his house. As soon as he arrived he hunted for a small box in which to store his gift. He smoked a little copal over it, burned a pair of candles, and left it. On the following day what was his surprise to note that his miserable house had been changed over night into a rich mansion. He went to look at the axe in the box, and he encountered a great and splendid chest with its own key. On opening it he found great quantities of silver and gold.

He did not tell anyone of this handsome fortune which he had acquired, and his life remained the same, working for his employer and eking out his pitiful wages. The employer, however, noted the fact that the man no
longer asked for money for his expenses. He reasoned that perhaps someone else was helping the poor man in order to gain him as an employee. Finally the poor man cleared up his debt and no longer sought work with the rich employer. Instead, he became a merchant, and acquired much wealth. When he became richer than even his former employer, the latter became very jealous and sent his wife with bread and chocolate to the home of his former employee to find out the source of his wealth. The employer's wife carried out the errand, but learned nothing from the wife of the merchant, who refused to divulge anything.

Very upset, the rich man decided to take some liquor to the merchant's house in order to intoxicate him and thus learn the source of his wealth. And so it was that the secret of how he had acquired his money was revealed. Happy and excited, the employer offered the merchant his friendship and begged him to show him the place where the tree with the beehive stood. A few days later this was done, and since the rich man did not want to be outdone in anything he dressed himself in his poorest clothing and took his axe to the tree with the beehive. When he arrived, he let the head of the axe fall again into the gorge. He burst into tears and asked the hill to help him in his misfortune. Suddenly the same stranger, who was the Devil, appeared and asked him about his misfortune. The stranger offered to retrieve the axe head and in a
short time returned with one of silver. When asked if
this were the lost one, the man replied no. When asked
if he would like to take this new one, the employer
happily agreed. Then the stranger went again in search
of the lost axe, only to return with one of gold. Again
the employer accepted the offered gold one. When the
stranger finally brought the lost axe he gave it to the
employer, advising him to go quickly home and never
return.

The rich employer returned home imagining that he
would be even richer than his former employee. He pre-
pared a great chest for the axes and arranged a large
fiesta in honor of the gifts. He went to bed early so
that he might soon awaken to his great wealth. On arising,
what was his sorrow and anger to encounter only pieces of
charcoal in the chest and his house reduced to shambles.
So great was his despair that he spent his days in
drinking, sold his land, and was left destitute. He
considered his former employee to be his enemy, believing
that he was the cause of this misfortune. Yet nothing
could help him, because he remained evil even in his
poverty.

If a woman should be required to use an axe, she should
never pass over it lest the handle split and the head soon break.
It is best for a man's wife never to use an axe, as the follow-
story shows:
A man possessed an axe which no one other than he could touch, for it was the only one he had to cut wood and it it were lost or broken he would have no tool with which to cut his wood. Every time he went to cut wood, he handled it with great care in order not to lose it. One time he had to make a trip far away. He left enough wood so that his wife would not have to use the axe, and advised her not to touch the axe head. She agreed, but a few days after he had left she became curious and decided to try cutting wood. As soon as she struck the first blow with the axe, however, she hit a stone and broke the head. Frightened, she began to cry, wondering what she could do with the axe since her husband was sure to punish her on learning what had happened.

She could think of no alternative but to await the punishment, until several days later she happened to discover a beautiful cluster of ripe bananas. She cut it, hung it from a rafter in the house, and no longer was at a loss as to how to tell him about the misfortune. When the husband returned, she asked him if he were hungry for some ripe bananas. He replied that he was, and she offered to take down the nicest one of the bunch just for him. She climbed up the steps, assisted by him as she took down several bananas. In so doing she purposely revealed her female parts. As she had hoped, he then told her to come down and leave the bananas until later. She then gave into his pleading and went to bed. There
she told him of the axe, but as he was so preoccupied he forgave her readily and said he would buy a new one. Thus she escaped without punishment.

Only a few rich people own pickaxes, which are prepared and cared for just like axes. A generation ago they were made differently; they were very heavy and without the pointed end at the back. They are not much used, and when a poor man needs one he can rent it from somebody who owns one, either paying a stipulated amount each day or taking it as a favor and returning a gift of food for its use. Sickles are used a little, but practically speaking only the alguaciles, who have to out fodder for the beasts of the officials, buy them. Saws and hammers and other such tools are owned and used only by a very few rich Indians. Of course many Ladinos, and especially carpenters, have these as well as many more tools.

Guns are called simply "fire," but in the daytime only the smoke can be seen; in the darkness the fire of the bullets can be seen very clearly. There is no kind of firearm that is good; all are of the Devil. The Devil is every behind one who is carrying a gun, and such a person cannot walk easily because he has to be very careful; the gun is his master. Whenever the gun pleases, it calls upon the Devil to enter into the person, and that is the time he is apt to kill or wound somebody. What comes of this is always the same—he is put in jail. Neither are wars willed by God, but only by the Devil who makes people think bad thoughts and drives them to kill one another. In war men kill each other without even
knowing one another, and sons may even kill their fathers if they happen to be on the other side.

There are animals, like coyotes, that belong to the Devil, and they know how to talk to guns so that when they are shot at they will not be harmed. If the coyote does not see the hunter come up, the gun warns it with its gunpowder smell, and the coyote turns around to see the hunter and quickly flees. There are many cases when the gun will not go off at all when it is aimed at a coyote. The only way to shoot a coyote is to hide the gun so that it does not see its brother and then pull it out quickly and shoot. Or, three crosses can be made on each bullet, and then coyotes can be shot, for the cross is of God and it goes after evil.
II. Food

CORN. In the old days there were not many kinds of food. Besides tortillas and tamales, there were only herbs eaten with chile, and beef was prepared only in soup except during fiestas when pulique, the red soup, was made. No lard was used; the Ladinos introduced that into cooking. The beverages were atol and chocolate, and only the rich people ever had coffee. Even today there are houses where the newfangled dishes are not prepared. Most people have relatively steady diets and buy the same foods for the kitchen week after week, but there are a few who prefer variety, and there are different food preferences.

When people have any money at all, the first thing they buy, at any price, is maize, for if there is nothing else to eat, a person can live if only he has enough tortillas and some salt and chile. Since nobody can live long without maize, the poor people have a hard time when it is high in price, and no one should refuse to give tortillas to the very hungry or the very poor.

Although the grains of corn may be used in counting and in keeping accounts, they should be handled very carefully. It is a sin to burn maize, to throw it away carelessly, or to steal it. When a tortilla burns on the fire, the smoke of it rises to Heaven to cry out to God against the ingratitude. Maize is a great lady, the mother of all, because she gives us her body so that we may live by feeding on it. And so she should be esteemed as a goddess. When people see a few grains of maize scattered in the patio, they pick them up with care and kiss them many times and bring them into the house, saying that it is a sin to leave them scattered so. When there is a poor harvest of maize, it is because God wants the
Indians to suffer a little hunger so that they will learn to esteem their corn when it abounds. This is what happened to one man who was careless with maize:

Once long ago a rich old merchant passed through here bound for distant towns on one of the long journeys he was wont to make. Before leaving home he had been given a lot of tortillas for the road, and now as the days passed, and with them the leagues, the tortillas began to mildew and rot until the merchant tired of carrying them along. Instead of giving them to the poor who asked alms along the way, which he did not want to do because they had cost him much work, he hid them in a bush near the roadside and continued on his way.

A day passed, and then two; and on the third day some people living in the town near where the merchant had hidden the tortillas, upon passing near the place, heard some children crying in the bush. Frightened by the crime that they supposed might have been done there, they drew no closer to look, but instead ran home and told about what they had heard.

Finally somebody reported the incident to the parish priest, and he quickly mounted his horse and, taking with him the men who had told about the murdered children, he rode to the place. Hearing again the crying, the priest dismounted and prayed, and then with great reverence approached the spot. What was his surprise to find that they were tortillas that were crying so! He took off the
silk kerchief that he wore about his neck and with it and other cloths he picked up the weeping tortillas and took them to the church. After he had said two or three masses, the tortillas spoke to him and told him the name of the man who had left them by the roadside.

The priest took good care of the tortillas and awaited the day when the merchant might return. Came a day finally when a beggar knocked at his door asking for food, and the priest received him in all kindness and asked him in. Asking the beggar about himself, the priest soon discovered that he must be none other than the same merchant who had hidden the tortillas. The beggar said that he had lost all his money on the road and was now penniless and wanted to return to his home.

The priest ordered his cook to make the finest possible lunch, and with those very same tortillas, and he asked the traveller to eat with him. The two ate very well of the good food, and at every moment the priest asked the beggar how he was enjoying it, and the beggar always answered that he liked everything very much.

When lunch was over, the priest offered to help the poor traveller to get to his homeland if he would but answer truthfully a question he would put to see if he were honest about his sin. In the end the merchant confessed that it was the truth that he had sinned by leaving in the bush some spoiled tortillas which he had not cared to carry farther.
Then the priest told him everything that had occurred with the tortillas and ended by telling the man what they had eaten for lunch. At that the merchant broke into tears and agreed to suffer the great number of lashes that the priest ordered given for the sin he had done. Then, this punishment over, the priest gave him money to continue his journey, and he cautioned him never to disparage tortillas or anything else of maize because he should love them as he does God Himself.

**NIXTAMAL**. The whole, dry kernel of maize is used in making nixtamal, the maize dough used in the most important foods, tortillas and tamales. In preparing the maize kernels for the nixtamal, they must first be boiled in lime and water. If three pounds of maize are used every day, of any kind or color, a half-pound of lime will be enough for making nixtamal for two weeks. When too much lime is used, the flavor of the tortillas is spoiled, and the husbands scold their wives, telling them they are not Sololatesco, who like a lot of lime in their tortillas and tamales, claiming that it adds to their food value so that not so many need be eaten.

To make nixtamal the daily portion of lime is mixed in a pot with about three quarts of water. It is placed on the fire and then the maize is added. If the grain has been cleaned first, the kettle is covered and allowed to boil; if not, the chaff and rotten kernels that soon come to the surface are skimmed off, and then the kettle is covered. As the water boils out, about a quart of hot water is added three times. The nixtamal should be
done in about an hour and a half, after using some twenty pieces of firewood. If the liquid is thick and cloudy and with large bubbles at the surface, it is done. A better way of testing is to bite through a few kernals; if the shells are still hard, the pot must be left on longer to cook. Care must be taken that the nixtamal does not cook too long, for if the kernels burst they stick to the grindingstone and are hard to grind. Then the tortillas do not rise and are tough. If at least three hours do not elapse after removing it from the fire, grinding will be more difficult. When the nixtamal is done, the pot is taken outdoors to cool, and then the nixtamal is washed well in cold water, preferably in the pichacha, a perforated pot, to get out all the shells. Then it is ready for grinding.

The nixtamal is usually cooked in the evening for grinding early in the morning. Although many women now take their nixtamal to town to be ground in the machine at the electric light plant, the final stage of the grinding is done at home and grinding is still the most important occupation of a woman and one of the things that every girl must learn to do well. When a woman is very busy, as on Sunday, she grinds very early and prepares the dough for the tortillas, which she then has only to bake on her return from market or the fields. For grinding, the grindingstone is first washed thoroughly to remove the remains of whatever was ground the last time. The stone is then put on the floor so that it has just the right pitch. If it is too inclined, the nixtamal will fall to the ground, while if it is too horizontal, it will pile up on the stone. The stone is placed with the high end at the knees so that in grinding the woman pushes downward. At the other end a wooden trough is placed to receive the dough, while at either side of the stone
smaller troughs are placed for the maize and water that fall off; this may be given to the pigs if there are any. A bowl of clean water is kept within arm's reach, so that some can be added to the dough when necessary. If the dough is too loose or too dry, it will not take the forms desired.

Depending on the size of the grindingstone a quantity of nixtamal is placed on the near end of the stone, and the woman begins to grind with the stone arm, bearing down hard and pushing. There are three grindings: the first is to "break" the nixtamal, the hardest work of all and the one that requires a lot of water so the kernels won't jump around. As soon as the maize is "broken", it must be "re-passed" in the second grinding, which should follow the first immediately; in this grinding the moisture must be carefully regulated and the nixtamal ground more finely. With this second grinding the resultant dough is formed into large conical lumps which are put to one side for the third grinding. The third grinding, to "remove" the dough, is the fastest but also the most difficult, for on the quality of this work depends the fineness and the quality of the tortillas and tamales. Tortillas should have a fine crust, but this comes only if the last grinding is perfectly done; if it doesn't come, the cook is much criticized.

The nixtamal itself has many uses. After the first grinding, the "broken" nixtamal is fed to the small chickens as posol. After the first or second grinding, it may be made into atol, either salted or sweetened with brown sugar. For most purposes, the thrice-ground dough is used. Mixed with water and salt, as aguachiva, it is fed to pigs, cattle, horses, and other animals. Mixed with cold water and sugar, it makes a good refreshing drink, aguamasa.

Grinding is so important because the masa, or dough, has so many uses, and that is why every woman must learn to do it well.
Only the stupid don’t talk!

The girl, about the size of a poor family, with difficulty. The family is poor and her daughter has to live in a half-mute and is usually at home watching the house and keeping a little fire going so there will be something on which to make tortillas when her mother returns.

Once the mother didn’t have time to do the grinding in the morning, and, thinking that now her daughter should be able to do some cooking, she charged her with grinding all the nixtamal and forming the little cones so that when she returned all she would have to do would be to place the tortillas on the griddle. Thinking that the good girl would fulfil her charge, the mother went off to do her errands. Ana returned for lunch at noon to bake the tortillas, but all she found was a very dirty-looking dough that tasted of earth and lime! She immediately began to scold the girl for her bad conduct asking what she had done to the dough. Finally the daughter confessed that she had added mud and lime because she had seen that done by others, and had thought there would be more tortillas that way.
Only the stupid don't know how to grind, as in the case of the daughter of a poor family here:

The girl, about fifteen years old, hears little and talks with difficulty, and so is called a half-mute. Since the family is poor and her mother, Ana, doesn't think much of her daughter because of her defects, the girl dresses poorly and is usually dirty. She doesn't go out into the streets, or even the patio.

All the members of the family go away to work almost every day to earn their maize, and the half-mute stays at home watching the house and keeping a little fire going so there will be something on which to make tortillas when her mother returns.

Once the mother didn't have time to do the grinding in the morning, and, thinking that now her daughter should be able to do some cooking, she charged her with grinding all the nixtamal and forming the little cones so that when she returned all she would have to do would be to place the tortillas on the griddle. Thinking that the good girl would fulfil her charge, the mother went off to do her errands. Ana returned for lunch at noon to bake the tortillas, but all she found was a very dirty-looking dough that tasted of earth and lime! She immediately began to scold the girl for her bad conduct asking what she had done to the dough. Finally the daughter confessed that she had added mud and lime because she had seen that done by others, and had thought there would be more tortillas that way.
They had to throw out all the dough and buy tortillas so that they could go to work again. Never again did they leave such work for the girl, for they were afraid she might do the same thing again. Some people say that the girl did this purposely so that she would not be given such work any more and could continue to live as before—eating, playing, and sleeping.

There are some lazy women who do not like to grind and cook; but they are punished, as in the following case:

There was a lazy woman who always objected to grinding the maize to make the tortillas for her husband, an industrious man.

Once when she was grinding with her usual dislike for the job, the dog of the house sat down next to her to watch her work, and she scolded him, saying that she was tired of grinding food for him when he had no work to do but only spent his life doing as he pleased. Angrily she told him to go on with the grinding while she went out to the patio, and if he refused he would get nothing to eat.

Sure enough, when she went out the poor dog took up the arm of the grinding stone and continued her work; when she came in again to find the grinding all done, he was there at the stone singing away just as she herself always did! The dog spoke to her, telling her to go ahead and form the tortillas. Sorry now for what she had done, and very frightened, she built the fire and began to put the first tortillas on the griddle. When she was doing the third one, she felt
a strange sensation over her whole body and she began to act like a dog. Now she could not go on with the work, and she just left the dough there as the dog had prepared it. A little while later her husband returned, asking for his lunch because he was very hungry from his work. But she only acted like a dog, stretching and running around as dogs do. This surprised her husband, who thought it must be some sickness.

After many days of this sickness, the man called a shaman to divine and cure his wife's ailment; but the shaman only overcharged him and did nothing for his wife. The husband called in another with the same result. He called in several more, but all in vain. Finally a good shaman came and he told the husband what had happened between the woman and the dog. He told the husband that there was no hope for his wife, and that he should make ready the coffin in which to bury her. In a little while the wife died as the shaman had predicted.

There is hardly a meal at which tortillas or tamales are not eaten along with whatever other food is served. Tortillas are usually prepared immediately after grinding, but the dough can stand for as long as six hours before it dries up or spoils. To make tortillas the women place the griddle on the hearthstones over the fire and wash the surface of the griddle with lime water to clean it and so keep the tortillas from sticking. This coating dries quickly over the fire, and the lime is then blown off or brushed off with a cornhusk. The griddle should be heated well, for if the tortillas are put on to
bake while it is still too cool they will stick or remain raw. The griddle should not be allowed to overheat lest the tortillas bake outside, and even burn, while they are still raw inside. For testing the heat of the griddle a few drops of water are sprinkled on it; if they sizzle it is ready.

To shape the tortilla, the woman takes one of the lumps of dough and makes a ball of it with her palms and fingers. As she then flattens it she keeps it perfectly round. This requires much practice, as does keeping the finest dough on the surface so that when the tortilla bakes a thin crust will rise over the whole. As she forms the tortilla she turns it round and round quickly, and as it becomes larger she holds it up in one hand and forms the edge with the other. This she does several times, making a clapping sound as she finishes. When the tortilla is thus formed, it is placed in the center of the griddle where it is the hottest. Then the succeeding ones are placed around it until the griddle is full. Some women make tortillas as large as six or seven inches across, but smaller ones are preferred and nicer. When the family is large, the tortillas often are made large because they are less work and more quickly made.

The tortillas must be turned two or three times when they are baking. It is easy to tell when one is done because after a while the crust rises and stays up for a little while, forming a little well in the center before falling again. After this the tortilla will burn if not taken off soon. A dish of water should always be kept at hand and the hands rinsed between each tortilla. The fire must be kept brisk until the last tortilla is off the griddle. As the tortillas are taken off the griddle, they are stacked in a basket, or
gourd, in such a way as to leave an empty space in the middle, which is the heart of the stack; they are always placed face up. The warm, soft tortillas just off the fire are served as soon as possible. The first tortilla off the griddle should not be given to the children, for it is a sin to eat any until three or four are done.

The tortillas served in the house are the ordinary thin ones. Those to be taken on a journey of two or three days are smaller and thicker to keep them soft longer. They are carried well wrapped in homespun napkins.

The same dough for tortillas is used for tamales. Lumps of dough in sizes for tortillas and for tamales are set aside after grinding. Tamales usually are eaten in the evening and tortillas at the midday meal. During the rainy season when cornhusks are plentiful and firewood is scarce more tamales are eaten because cooking them takes less fire. Like tortillas, tamales seldom are eaten by themselves but with other food or at least with salt or chile.
tortillas take a lot of fire. Like tortillas, tamales are seldom eaten by themselves but with other food or at least salt or chile.

On the grinding stone itself or on a board, all the maize dough to be used is gathered and separated into small pieces so that each will make a little cylinder about a jeme long and an inch thick. Each piece is placed along the length of a green maize leaf, or a cornhusk which has been washed and dried in the sun. If it is a cornhusk, the edges are folded over and then the ends. If it is a green maize leaf, which is long and narrow, the tamal is placed at one end, and it is wrapped end-over-end for several turns, and then the remainder of the leaf is wrapped around the tamal in the other direction. String is not needed to tie the tamales because they can be laid in such a way in the pot that they hold shut the ends of each other. Some people tuck in the ends in the wrapping. As each tamal is wrapped it is set on the board and given a slap with the hand to flatten it a little.

The tamales are cooked in a pot with a rather narrow mouth, the bottom of which is lined with leaves and cornhusks, making a rather thick mattress. The tamales are placed one atop the other around the edge of the pot, leaving the center empty, for otherwise the tamales will not cook. Water is poured on according to the number of tamales; for example, to two pounds of maize about a quart of water is needed. If too much water is used, the tamales come out soggy. In this case one cannot just put them back on the fire because it is a sin. The pot is put on
the fire and the mouth is sealed with leaves or something else so that the steam will help cook the tamales. The cooking time depends on the amount, but it is never more than one hour.

There are various ways of testing to see when the tamales are done. One is to wait until they start to burn or when there is no more water left to boil. The easiest way is to take out one tamal and grasp it with the palm of the hand; when a sound as of wind is heard inside it is a sign that the tamal is finished. Some people put a piece of the tamal in the mouth, and if the dough does not stick to the roof of the mouth, the tamal is finished. As soon as the tamales are finished, the pot is removed from the fire and set at one side to cool. The tamales are served hot off the fire, and sometimes the men themselves unwrap the tamales they eat.

There are certain fiestas when only tamales are eaten, and others when only tortillas are eaten, as during Holy Week. In the cofradías only special tamales are made, weighing a pound or more and square in shape. When a man is going on a trip of a week or more he takes along tamales weighing three pounds or more; these are cylindrical in shape, about a span in length and quite thick. They are prepared just like other tamales except that they are cooked longer because they are so large. If the tamales are to be eaten three or four days after they have been cooked, they must then be placed in the sun so that the mold which grows when they are placed in damp places will dry or die. The tamales are then cut into slices and re-heated on the fire.

There are several variations in the preparation of tortillas and tamales, to meet differing needs. Totoposte is the tortilla prepared for long trips, and was the principal food of Panajachelenos
long ago when they made trips to the coast to do forced labor for months. The characteristic of the totoposte is that it will last in any climate for a long time without spoiling, and it weighs almost nothing. For totoposte the dough is ground only twice, and another difference comes when the dough is placed on the griddle: it is cooked only on one side and the other remains a little raw. When removed from the griddle it is placed near the fire to continue toasting slowly, and finally it is placed on a mat in the sun for a day to finish toasting. On the third day these totopostes are broken into pieces or ground into powder. They are carried on trips in cloth bags. The powdered form is served in hot water like atol, or in boiled coffee. If it is in pieces it may be dipped into hot coffee, put into black-bean soup, or included with beef that is still cooking.

Tortillas sometimes are toasted for sick people, because they are more easily digested than any other kind of food. The dough is made into large, cylindrical tamales which then are sliced and the pieces toasted in a bread oven. Sometimes they even are burned to charcoal, mixed in warm water, then strained and given to patients with diarrhea.

For tamales with meat the dough is refined even more carefully than for tortillas. For four pounds of maize are needed four ounces of lard, two pounds of tomatoes and a few grains of achiote, to give color to the tamal filling. Beforehand the cook finds and has ready some leaves of cox in which the tamales are to be wrapped. Dried fibers extracted from the trunk
of the banana tree are used to tie around the wrapping of the tamal. When the dough has been ground it is mixed with the lard, and salt is added according to the taste of the cook.

Some like much salt and some little. In a separate dish the filling is made. This consists of ground tomato, achiote, and chile, and water, and it should be thick enough not to run when it is put in the center of the dough. Chile gives the filling its hot taste, the cook herself determines how much is needed.

For the quantity of maize here mentioned two pounds of pork (with or without bone) or a chicken (less head and feet) are needed. The meat is cut into small chunks and mixed with the filling, and the forming of the tamales is now begun. A piece of dough is placed on the leaf in which the tamal is to be wrapped, and a hollow space is formed in the center and into this hollow are placed two or more tablespoons of the filling; the filling for each tamal should contain one or two pieces of the meat. A little of the filling is spread on the top of the tamal. Then the dough is covered over this filling, the whole wrapped well in the leaf and tied up. Some Indians have the custom of placing filling in three parts of the tamal, one in the center and one in each end. It is understood that the filling, including the meat, is uncooked. The size of the tamal is not set; it depends upon the wish of the cook and the size of the leaves she has prepared for the wrapping. They are generally made oblong in shape and quite thick. Usually two work at making the tamales; one shapes and fills them, and the other wraps and ties. They are placed in a pot to cook in the same way as the
Tamales without meat. Plain tamales are put in the pot. Tamales with meat require four or five quarts of cold water in which to cook. They are kept on the fire three or four hours, and are served hot and eaten with tortillas.

These tamales are generally made for the days of All Saints Day, Todos los Santos, sometimes for the fiesta of Concepción (December 8), and at Christmas. When it is impossible to get banana leaves, as when All Saints Day, there is a great demand for them before Todos los Santos, green banana leaves are used as a substitute; they are placed over the fire for a bit to remove the bitter taste they have.

Tamal con chipilín (mishpih hün) is a food eaten often, especially in winter when there is an abundance of the herb called chipilín in the woods or at the edges of the cultivated tablones. The leaves of the plant are washed well and are mixed with the maize dough which has been ground as for ordinary tamales and mixed with some lard and salt. Then these tamales are wrapped in corn leaves or husks and are boiled in water. They are served alone, hot. If there are cooked black beans, the tamales are eaten with them; if not, only with coffee, and usually for breakfast.

Negro is a kind of tamal that is eaten during the rainy season when there is an abundance of ripe, but not dried, corn, or when there is a great desire in the tablones. Black beans are always preferred to other colored beans. Tamales are made much the same as tamales, the meat difference being that the uncooked beans are placed in the maize dough which
has been mixed with salt and spread out on the grinding stone. The quantity of beans used depends upon the cook and the amount of beans available. If two pounds of maize are made into these tamales, two quarts of water, instead of one quart used for ordinary tamales, must go into the cooking pot; this is because the beans require more cooking. About two hours are required for the cooking. They are usually served hot, with coffee only, since the tamal and beans are food enough, and they are eaten whole like a banana rather than in pieces.

Tayuyos are tortillas or tamales filled with ground cooked beans. This dish is not cooked frequently at home, only once or twice a month, or when there is an abundance of beans in the house. Most of the people like to buy tayuyos in the marketplace on Sundays or from women from other towns who come to offer them for sale at the houses.

The maize dough is prepared just as for plain tortillas or tamales. Black beans of any kind are already cooked and they are ground, with salt, (the only ingredient besides the maize and beans) to the same consistency as the maize dough. As a last resort red beans may be used. When the maize dough and ground beans are ready layers of the beans are placed on the maize dough, and then tortillas or tamales are made. If tamales are being made, for each one a little dough is patted down on the grinding stone or on something else, on it a layer of the beans is placed, and then it is rolled up in such a way that the beans are inside of the dough in layers. Then these tayuyos are cooked in the
same quantity of water and for the same length of time as ordinary
																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
tamales. Tayuyo are served hot and are eaten how they are,
consisting as they do of tortilla and beans. The quantity of beans used in tayuyo depends entirely on the cook, but there is always more maize dough than beans. When the tayuyos are to be sold, they are made of three parts of maize dough to one of beans. The size varies; when they are to be sold, they are made small and sold at a half-cent each so that any purse can afford them.

Cayoy (this Indian word has no translation into Spanish; it is simply called "tayuyo") is a very old dish, and it was frequently served long ago in the houses where the cook could not get the meal ready on time. At present this dish is hardly ever made since there are machines for grinding nixtamal in town and these machines are great time and work savers. It was generally food only for children who had to be fed on time. It was made only when a pot of beans was put on to cook for lunch or supper. When the beans were cooking, enough maize dough for three or four tortillas was made into one large, thick ball and this was put in to cook with the beans. The heat of the beans naturally cooked this tortilla quickly, and when it was taken out it had both the color and taste of the beans. When it was removed from the beans, the tortilla was left to cool for a moment, cut up into pieces and divided among the hungry children while the main meal awaited the hour.

Atoles. There are five or six kinds of atol made from maize dough; the description of each of them follows. Atole is always
served in large dishes having large mouths; they say that formerly this beverage was served only in large gourds such as are now used for chocolate.

For common atol twice-ground maize dough is mixed with the hand, with cold water in the pot in which it is to be cooked. There are no specific measurements for either water or dough since atol is thick or thin according to the taste of the drinkers. It is usually preferred thick. It is cooked for an hour, or until it has boiled at least thirty times, so that it is well-cooked. It is usually drunk hot, a little salt being added as soon as it is cooked. Some people like it sweet, and for this little pieces of brown sugar are added before removing the atol from the fire. Mothers who are nursing children prefer the atol with salt, because they get more milk and their children become more robust. This atol is used daily by most families.

Atol de cenizas is a special kind of beverage made only at the time of the corn harvest, and it is served to the neighbors. Since it is generally made in large quantities, the maize for it is cooked separately, and it is ground the full three times. For each three pounds of maize used for this atol, one pound of fine clean ashes is taken from the kitchen fire. These ashes are dissolved in cold water and strained through a cloth if there is no special strainer. This strained water is left to settle for a few minutes and then it is added to the maize which is ready for the atol. The amount of ash-water used depends upon the thickness desired; generally this atol is drunk
extremely thick. During the hour on the fire, this atol, as all atoles, should be stirred frequently. Meanwhile some black beans are cooked separately with plenty of salt, and spoonfuls of the whole beans and the soup of the beans are placed on the atol already dishèd out; the beans give the taste to this kind of atol. It is served hot or cold, according to taste.

For atol de maiz salpor blanco a pound of salpor is toasted on a griddle, and separately a pound of chan is toasted until it cracks down the center and makes a noise. Separately the following are toasted: one kernel of cintula, half of the root of the chuchupa, three twigs of romero, two of pericán, the seed of a zapuyulo or injerto, six little grains of pimienta castilla, one piece of ginger, one dry chile, and five cor-doncillos. When all of these ingredients are ready, they are mixed together and ground on the grindingstone until very fine; part of this is then mixed with cold water to form a dough, and with the hands little pieces in the shape and size of caramels are broken off and placed in a dish. The rest of the dough is placed with about a gallon of cold water in a large kettle and this is placed on the fire. The dough must all dissolve very well and should not form balls like those made separately. As the caramel-shaped balls are added, the mixture is stirred constantly, and the fire under the kettle kept steady. It must boil until at least three times, so that all is well-cooked, and each time it boils a little more warm water should be added until another five liters have been poured in; this is to keep it from becoming too thick and burning. A large kettle
must be used to accommodate so much water. After the third boiling the kettle is removed from the fire to cool, but it is stirred constantly so that the mixture will not form one mass or stick to the bottom. It is eaten as dessert, hot, and not too much at a time since it is a "cold" beverage because of the chan in it. This atol is so delicate that it cannot be made in used kettles, but only in new ones that have large mouths for stirring the whole mixture while it is boiling. It should not be made by a pregnant woman, nor should a pregnant woman’s husband or wife the making of it. nor a man whose wife is pregnant, nor a man or woman having another lover (it is even worse after having had relations with a lover). This beverage will not turn out good, either, if the owners of the house are quarreling.

Rosel y is an atol of long ago that the people used to make before coffee was known. To prepare it all the ingredients mentioned above, except the salpor and chan, were made ready and toasted. These were ground in great quantities with tortillas or tamales already cooked, and with a little water great masses of dough were formed in balls; these balls were kept for months, parts being used when necessary. Thus when they wanted to prepare some rosel y they merely cut off a piece of one of these balls, mixed it with hot water, and the beverage was ready. Sometimes this was added to plain atol of maize dough to make it taste better. Others put little pieces of tortillas in hot water and considered this a fine drink. At present this kind of beverage is not used, because coffee has
taken the place of all other beverages. This was good because it was "hot" and it nourished the body and shook off the tiredness left by daily work.

Pinol is made of yellow maize and never of any other color. A pound of maize is toasted, let us say, and one kernel of cintila, six of pimienta castilla, two sprigs of romero, two dry chiles, and all this is ground on the grinding stone with brown sugar, and mixed well with one-fourth ball of panela and all is well mixed together. This is immediately placed in a covered dish so that the strength will not evaporate. For ordinary use of this powder are placed in hot water, and this is drunk when the powder has dissolved. It may be cooked also. In the old days this was the drink for breakfast, after lunch, and for the workmen in the country. Now it is not used much, but some buy the powder already prepared and weighed out.

An atol made with toasted and ground-up tortillas cooked in a jar with water and sweetening is served hot to sick people with any illness. Another atol given to sick people is made of rice. The uncooked rice is dried and ground up and cooked with a little brown sugar and cinnamon. It is boiled twice and served hot. Another atol given to the sick is atol de guiso de cocho. The green bananas are ground into a fine paste, dissolved in water and put on to cook with a little cinnamon and sugar. When it is boiling well, it is taken off the fire and served hot to the patient. When this atol comes out with a white color after cooking it is a sign that the sick person will get well, but if it
is dark it is a sign that he will not. So if anyone wants to discover the outcome of a sickness, they make this atol.

Fresh corn-on-the-cob is very popular when in season, eaten either plain or cooked in the same dishes prepared with dry corn. When eaten whole on the cob, the ears are put to cook in a pot just like tamales, or right with the tamales. If the ears are very large they may be cut into pieces. It is also the custom to roast the more tender ears over the coals and for this the husks are removed first. The ears are eaten as dessert with such other things as vegetable pears, sweet potatoes, and yucas, all of which may also be cooked together.

Tortilla of fresh corn is prepared at the season when there is an abundance of maize harvested (September, October and early November). Well-ripened ears are used, never green ones. The corn is shelled, ground with a little cinnamon and salt, and made into tortillas the same day, for it will lose its special taste if left over until the following day. When the dough is finely ground, a little brown sugar may be added if desired; today everyone likes the sweetened dough, but formerly it was merely salted. Since the brown sugar tends to liquify the dough, no other ingredients are used. In making the tortillas the cook decides upon the shape: they may be round, square, or triangular, and some have even five or six sides. They are placed on the heated griddle and turned often to avoid burning the brown sugar. They usually are served hot and eaten with coffee. This dish is especially common on All Saints' Day.
Tamalitos may be made from this dough in exactly the same way as from dry maize. These tamalitos made for breakfast make an excellent and favorite dish. Large tamales, circular or square, may also be made of this dough. They are wrapped in many layers of leaves and buried in the embers of the fire, and about an hour and a half they are turned and left again for the same length of time. When they are finished they sound as though full of wind and have a strong fragrance. Also, they may be placed in ovens and cooked like wheat bread. These tamales of fresh corn are also eaten only for breakfast.

Atol is a thick beverage prepared the same way as the above except that instead of making tortillas of any color, are picked, shelled, and the kernels ground at once. To this is added a little salt, cinnamon and a lump of brown sugar to sweeten it. 

In a separate pot two or more chiles are put on the fire; when they are cooked, a little water is added to liquify them. This is then added to the atol when it is served hot. It is drunk alone as dessert.

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people themselves and for the saints and the spirits of the deceased relatives. For the latter, a little atol is left in dishes near the saints for one day and night.

BEANS. Beans are second only to maize in the diet. They never are lacking in the household, as they provide the cheapest, yet the most nourishing meal. Black beans are used primarily and are eaten almost daily in the houses of both the rich and the poor. Red beans have a special taste and provide a welcome change after using black beans so much. White beans are used only for fiestas such as Lent and Holy Weeks. This is largely because white beans are very "cold" and give such colic when eaten that the children and the very old people can die from them if eaten regularly. There are three kinds of black beans: de suelo, grown on tablones; de milpa, grown with maize; and pole beans grown on tablones but allowed to climb on sticks. The pole beans are eaten only at lunch or breakfast, because it is "cold" and will cause harm if eaten in the evening. It is a sin and crops will suffer if any leftover beans are thrown out.

To prepare boiled beans, one must use a pot that will hold twice the amount of dried beans desired, since the beans double in size when cooked. The beans are first washed and then placed in cold water on the fire with a clove of garlic. Much of the water is boiled out in the cooking of the beans, and it is necessary to keep adding hot water so that it may boil rapidly. After this has boiled four times the following are added: three onions with stems, a piece of epazote, a green or dry chile, and salt. The mixture is then left to boil twice more before removing it from the fire. In addition to the above, a number of herbs may be added to the beans: siete camisas, yuca, green beans, vegetable pear, flor de ayote, ayote tierno, hierba mora, wild amaranth, or hichintal. Also added on occasion are such meats as pigs' feet cracklings, dried meat, pork, costilla dobada, and sausages.
**Frijol de santo** is a special fish prepared usually with black beans but occasionally with red beans for the fiesta of a *cofradía*; it is rarely made in private homes during the week. It is almost always made in great quantities, because it is eaten by all the officials and their assistants who carry the saints in the processions. It is prepared thus: about forty pounds of beans are put on to cook in a large pot kept especially for this purpose. When the beans have boiled six times, fifty onions with stems are cut up and added with salt. After it has then boiled again, an ounce of dry, toasted *chile* is ground and added with more water. Then the fire is put out, since the kettle is too heavy to move. Since this dish contains *chile*, it can be eaten at any time without causing harm.

Fried beans are made from black beans which have been cooked and left for the following day, when the cooked beans are ground on the grindingstone until very fine. Then they are placed in a frying-pan and some soup is added to soften the beans; a little lard, some chopped onion, salt, and peppermint are then mixed in. This dish is often taken by men on trips when they will be away for several days. Leftover black beans may also be cooked in lard. The lard helps the taste, especially if the beans are a little spoiled, but the lard makes the dish "cold" and hence it must not be served at night. This dish is prepared only when the woman does not have time to grind the beans in the preferred way. Another way to use leftover beans is to put them between tortillas and warm them on the griddle.

String beans may be prepared whole or cut into pieces. When they have boiled twice, paprike, *chile*, maize dough and salt—all mixed with water—are added. It is allowed to boil again, removed from the fire and served hot, because this is a "cold" dish. For string beans pre-
pared in iwaxte, the strings are removed and the beans are cooked and mixed with the following: seeds of ayote or chilacayote are toasted on the griddle together with some dry chiles, and when they are well-browned, they are ground up very well with one or more fresh tortillas. The dish may be served hot or cold, but only at noon, because it is considered "cold". It is prepared only when there are both ayote seeds and beans, and this is usually during the time of Lent. For fried string beans only the most tender beans are cooked simply in water and salt. Some tomatoes and chiles are cooked separately. The cooked beans are cut into little pieces and put in a pan that has been heated with lard, and the cooked tomatoes are put over the beans, with more salt. They are allowed to cook here just once more and then they are taken off the fire. They are served hot because of the lard, and only for lunch, because it is one of the "coldest" dishes known.

Red and spotted habas, or horse beans, are grown in other towns and hence are consumed here only during their harvest season. A few are planted here in the cornfields, growing up on the sticks or little trees in the fields. They are bought while still young and fresh and are prepared as a dessert by roasting them in the hot ashes or on the griddle. These beans are prepared as frijol de santo by cooking them in water with a head of garlic. When it has boiled five times, onion chopped up with the stems is added, along with a mixture of ground chile, maize dough, salt and water. It is boiled only once more and then removed from the fire. Very rarely women will grind these beans to fry them and then send this dish as lunch for their husbands when they go on journeys.
OTHER VEGETABLES AND COOKING INGREDIENTS. A variety of other vegetables are eaten occasionally, sometimes in meat dishes and sometimes prepared as separate dishes to be eaten with corn and beans. Chickpeas, vegetable pears, potatoes, the edible portions of the vegetable pear root, and the roots of mother-of-corn may even substitute for beans and corn when these staples are in short supply. The tubers of mother-of-corn even are found in the three colors of corn, white, yellow and black, making this a particularly desirable substitute for tortillas.

Vegetable pears are eaten frequently in the rainy season when corn is scarce. They are prepared in soup thus: tender, ripe vegetable pears are peeled, cut up in pieces, and put to cook in water. When this has boiled, onion and coriander are added. After this has boiled again the mixture of chile, paprika, maize dough, and salt (all mashed in water) is added. Then it is all boiled again and taken off the fire. The soup is served hot and only at noon, because it is a very "cold" dish. Vegetable pears can also be eaten as dessert together with corn-on-the-cob or Spanish plums. Or, a simple way to prepare them is merely to book them in water or on tamales cooked in pots, as commonly done during the fiesta of All Saints' Day.

Hichintal, the root of the vegetable pear is dug up two or more years after planting. Soup of the root is made by boiling it in water and adding tomatoes, onions, chile, salt and coriander. White potatoes are similarly prepared and often serve as a substitute for hichintal. Sweet potatoes are baked or boiled in water with fresh corn or vegetable pears and eaten as dessert. Tubers of the yuca plant are used just like sweet potato, after peeling off the poisonous skin.
Cabbages, onions, tomatoes and radishes may be eaten alone, but more commonly are combined with at least chiles. Chopped radish is a dish that even the men may make when the necessary ingredients are available. Radish heads are washed and chopped and mixed with chopped onions, green chiles, and pieces of peppermint mixed with salt and sour-orange juice for flavoring. If cracklings are available, these are added, too, and this dish is served cold and may be used as a meal when there is nothing else. It is not often prepared because the people prefer to sell the radishes in the marketplace.

Onions are prepared by slicing the large heads and frying them in lard (using no water, and allowing them just one cooking). Some poor families take some onions with large heads, peel them, and eat them raw with a little salt with their tortillas. A sauce of onions is also prepared when there is not much else to eat. Some dry chiles are toasted, or green ones may be used. They are mashed in hot water to the right consistency, with a little salt, and then enough chopped onion is added to make the dish a sufficient meal with tortillas.

No kitchen can be without chiles, which are more necessary than anything except maize itself. Chile heats the stomach and keeps one from getting sick, giving back to the body the strength work takes out. It is never lacking in a meal, eaten either as an ingredient in other foods or with tortillas and salt when there is nothing else to eat with the tortillas; poor people do this often. Dry or green chiles may be used, toasted or just raw, ground up dry or cooked in water.

Perhaps the most important use of chiles is in the making of chirmol, which, in combination with any meat, egg omelet, fish, or plain boiled vegetables, is eaten almost daily. It is prepared thus:
several tomatoes and chiles are toasted over the fire. Then they are mashed in plenty of hot water and salt is added. When there are no tomatoes, the toasted chiles alone are dissolved in water, and this makes a delicious dish. Chirmol of tomatoes is made frequently even where there is no woman in the house. Chiles and tomatoes are toasted and then mashed dry, without water, adding salt and onion cut into little pieces. This is different from the chirmol first described in that it has no water, little chile, and is made up mainly of tomato. This is a main dish, eaten by itself and not with other foods. It is eaten frequently when tomatoes are in season and are cheap. Some people also use chile instead of sugar in their atol. The root of the chile plant is sometimes boiled and the liquid drunk, but that of the kind of chile called chiltepe is very poisonous and one must be careful not to use it.

Although it is not, of course, eaten, lime is a prime need of every kitchen; tortillas, tamales, atol, and many other foods would be impossible without it. The quicklime is bought from merchants of Chichicastenango and Tecpán. They say that there is some in the ground here, too, but since nobody knows how to mine it, it must always be bought in the markets. When it is brought home, and ready to be used, it is placed in a pot and water poured over it so that it boils. It is the slaked lime that is cooked with the maize. Lime has a sharp odor all its own and a whiteness that cracks the tongue and hands of anybody who works much with it. In addition, the quicklime itself can be powdered and mixed with dry beans so that they will keep longer. In the off-seasons the Maxenños often bring their beans to market here mixed with lime.
Besides its use in cooking, and of course as whitewash and mortar in making houses, lime is needed in the kitchen for curing and sometimes patching pottery vessels. When a pot cracks and there is no time to buy a new one right away, lime is made into a paste and applied to the inside and outside of the place to be mended; then if it can stand the heat of the fire, the pot can be used for a few days or weeks longer. Quicklime also has medical uses. Mixed with tobacco leaves in a mixture called bobo it is used for toothaches. It should be given only by the old people who know how to use it. The vapor that is given off when the lime is slaked is good to cure pimples on the hands and feet, which should be placed right over the boiling lime.

A person takes salt for the first time when he is born, for the midwife places a pinch of it in the mouth of the infant to make him a Christian. Then when the priest baptizes the child, he too puts a pinch of salt into the child's mouth. So we know that salt is blessed, and to spill it on the ground is a great sin punished by God, while passing over it brings a sickness between the legs. Rich and poor alike, whenever they visit a priest, pray for salt and chile, for there is no food cooked without it and it is good for many ailments as well.

The salt that is used in the kitchen, and for many other purposes, is brought here by merchants, mostly Maxeños, who carry it up from the south coast. It may also be bought in the stores by the pound.

A mother who is nursing drinks atol that is very well salted so that her milk comes plentiful and rich. When people see a fat and healthy child, they say he owes his health to salt. But children should not take much salt lest it bring lice to their hair and clothes; and bad-behaving people who come to
grief are called "salty" because too much salt has surely caused their downfall.

Besides its use in food, for men and beasts, salt is used in many remedies. Thus, it is toasted and ground and applied to the eyes to cure the film that sometimes forms over them, and it is taken to induce vomiting after sickness caused by a great anger. Mixed with water, it is drunk for stomach-ache or else a bit of salt is kept in the mouth and water drunk through it. A woman in labor also sometimes takes a glass of salt water in order to give birth quickly and easily. When an animal is gelded, a pinch of salt is sometimes applied to the wound, for since salt is of the body, it will cure it quickly and well.

One curious thing about salt is that when it is buried about a yard deep in the ground where there is a spring, it will surely make the water flow more freely. They say that on the coast they plant a little salt with the coconut trees to help them grow.

Salt is also used by sorcerers in their work. Together with other things, they bury a little at the place they do their rites. The following case shows how powerful salt is:

One time there was a great scarcity of maize in the high-
land country, and people had to go down to the coast to buy it or earn it with their labor. So many thousands went down there and brought up so much that in a little while there was hardly enough left on the coast for the
use of the people there, and it seemed as if soon they would be left hungry. So the owners of the plantations down there determined not to allow more maize to be carried away, and they therefore got together a few pounds of salt and buried it in one of the roads over which the Indians had to pass with their maize. Pretty soon those Indians were taken sick with malaria. Some of them came back home and others stayed there on the coast; and in the end, when people learned the evil that was being done, they no longer went to that part of the coast for their maize.

Herbs commonly used in cooking are wild amaranth, chipilin, hierba mora, "seven shirts," magar, choreque, watercress, purslane, pacaya, buxmay, quix'tan, and a' ts'an culx. Wild amaranth, a' ts'an culx and magar are frequently grown on tablones with other crops. Most of these herbs are combined with tomatoes and chiles in chirmol sauces, eaten sometimes as dishes in themselves and other times with tortillas or tamales. Mushrooms are not cultivated here and local people know very little about the varieties. Some who know the herb find mushrooms in the woods or under old trees, but they usually are purchased in the markets when they are most abundant at the beginning of the rainy season. They may be cooked whole or in pieces in water, adding salt and chile and boiling them only twice. Some people just toast them if they are large. They are also eaten in stew and with pork; they are a "cold" dish.
MEAT. The domestic animals used for meat are, in order of importance, beef, pork, mutton and poultry. Beef stew is prepared from the rib, shoulder, leg, head or feet of an animal. The meat is first washed well and then rubbed with sour-orange juice and some salt. About two quarts of water are heated in a kettle, the meat is washed again and put in the water to cook. When it has boiled, the scum is removed because this is said to be the blood that was left in the animal. Frequently added are vegetables such as cabbage, the herb col, onions, potatoes, vegetable pears, a head of garlic, chile, salt, coriander, tomatoes, fresh corn, and tender yuca. Or, rice and sometimes hichintal are added. The pot must be boiled three times before the meat is considered cooked. This dish is eaten frequently, and every woman knows how to prepare it.

Pâtés are made occasionally when tomatoes are abundant. A pound of soft meat, such as from the rib, and a fat bone are needed. The meat is washed well and cut into small pieces, then rubbed with sour-orange juice and salted. While the meat is absorbing these, a half pound of raw tomato, two dry chiles, salt, and paprika for coloring are ground together. Maize dough is added for thickening, and some water is added to make it smoother. The pieces of meat are rolled in this mixture, then they are wrapped like tamales and are tied with fibers of the banana greens. The pâtés vary in size: for the children they contain only two or three pieces of meat and for the master of the house they contain much meat. They are put to cook on top of the plain tamalitos or, if there are many of them, by themselves in a kettle. They are always served hot, and with tortillas.

Stews and pates of pork and mutton are similarly prepared, except that pork needs no sour-orange juice in its preparation. For puliques
The same kinds of meat and the same vegetables are used as for stews. The meat is prepared as above with the juice of the sour-orange and salt before being put on to boil three times. If it is beef, the meat is then removed and to the broth is added a mixture of maize dough and a sauce of paprike ground up with two dry chiles and three large tomatoes. This is allowed to boil again in the kettle of broth before being added to the meat and served. Mutton and beef puliques are similarly prepared, except that the meat is not removed from the broth and different vegetables may be added. Beef pulique is made during fiesta weeks and presents of this food are given to compadres, shamans, midwives, and friends. Mutton and pork are never used in such ceremonial dishes, except when pork is put into tamales for All Saints' Day.

Wakon ik is a simple pulique forming part of the regular diet. It is made with the same meats and prepared in the same way except that chile is not used and achioté, miltomate and coriander are added to the stew.

Cecina is a dish cooked when part of the butchered animal is not sold and it is feared that it has a bad odor. In towns where there are many butchers it is made more than here where there are only two. Boneless meat cut in thin but wide pieces is put in water with sour-orange and salt and is left overnight. The following day it is put in the sun to dry. This meat is then sold at a price higher than fresh meat because there is more meat per pound due to the dehydration. The meat is then broiled or eaten with chirimol, in pulique, and in patis.

Revolcado is a dish utilizing many kinds of meat which have already been cooked. The belly, liver, heart, lungs, trachea and
esophagus of the steer or pig are often used in this dish, or it may also be made with lake fish, eggs or sausage. For one pound of any of these meat ingredients, a half pound of tomato or miltomate is cooked, salt is added, and a little of the tomato juice added to give the right consistency. In place of the tomatoes, three dry chiles may be toasted and ground up. The meat is mixed with this preparation and is wrapped in the cabbage leaves which have been half toasted on the griddle. Sometimes small portions are wrapped in one leaf and tied with banana fiber. It is frequently taken on trips, because it is one of the few foods that can be eaten cold and does not spoil for two or three days. Chicken prepared in this way is most appreciated as a dish for trips, and only a fortunate few can afford it. Leftover chicken is used, or, if the pulique was made especially for this purpose, the whole fowl is boned, cut up into little pieces, and prepared in revolcado, as with other meats.

In broiling meat, the soft meat from the rib or the loin is used. The meat is washed and rubbed with sour-orange juice and salt. It is cut lengthwise into thin strips which can be put on a spit or over the live coals; the grills used are home made of wire. Indians always like this meat very well done, unlike the Ladinos who are used to eating it rare. It may be eaten hot or cold, but it is always eaten with chirmol or prepared in revolcado, because people here do not care for dry foods. The spleen, tripe and testicles of the steer are broiled over the fire and put away or hung up for several days in the kitchen; later they are eaten in revolcado or with chirmol. The Indians do not often eat the kidneys, but the Ladinos like them. Those who do use them broil them and cook them together with the meat in a broth. They say the kidneys have a rather disagreeable odor.
Some of the favorite pork dishes are the internal organs, cracklings, sausage and blood sausage, pigs' feet, and spiced pork ribs. Cracklings are usually eaten as a between-meal snack. Sometimes they are cooked with black beans, however, to give the beans a taste of lard. Pressed cracklings, on the other hand, are commonly used in soup. Pork is a very "cold" dish, and to eat it cold would be dangerous.

Sausages are prepared by the Ladinos and are sold in the stores. The ingredients are raw, but the sausages are so prepared that
they keep for several days without spoiling. They are prepared in various ways: sometimes they are toasted and simply eaten with chirmol; sometimes they are cut in two and cooked in a soup with tomato, chile, and salt; and they are also prepared en revolcado in which case they are first broiled, then cut into little pieces and rolled in the usual mixture. This latter dish is frequently prepared for journeys or when the husband's work takes him away from home for several days. Pulique can also be made with sausages, and this dish is frequently prepared on Sundays when the women go to sell in the plaza. The sausages are cut in two and boiled in water in a frying pan. Two boilings are required, and the other ingredients are added before the second boiling. Blood sausage is broiled and eaten with chirmol. It is not eaten often; usually only on Sundays when there is pork for sale here or on Fridays when many go to Sololá.

The pig's feet are bought already cleaned; they are cut up and put to cook with any kind of black beans. They may need to boil for a long time, especially if they are the feet of an old animal.

Spiced pork ribs (cortilla y bobada de cerdo) are cooked in a soup similar to the beef soup: to a quarter pound of meat, four cut-up tomatoes, two dry chiles, and salt are added. These ingredients are put in a quart or less of water, permitted to boil twice. The initial preparation of spiced ribs is known only to the Ladinos; Indians buy them when there is no other beef or pork to be had, or when there is a leftover dish which is not quite enough for a meal. They are always eaten with something else, frequently chirmol.
The head of the pig is purchased only when there is no other meat to be had, or for the fiesta of All Saints' Day, when everyone must prepare tamales with meat. It is prepared in pulique and in the other ways described. The brains of both the cow and the pig are eaten, and they are cooked simply by boiling in salt water twice. The heads of fowl also are eaten, and when poultry is given as a gift to compadres, at cofradia celebrations or at weddings, people always send the entire bird. Hens or cocks are given, but never young roosters. When given on other occasions, such as to shamans, midwives, or to friends, however, the fowl is taken in large pieces or in pulique. When given in pieces the head is not included since it has no meat and to include it as one of the pieces would be a sign of miserliness.

Turkey is reserved for fiestas and is never eaten as part of the daily diet. Turkey in atol is a common cofradia
fiesta dish, and therefore is prepared in large quantities. The cofradías of San Francisco and Sacramento are obliged to serve this dish when they receive their mayordomos each year. It must also be served to those who set off rockets for the fiesta of the patron saint. The mayordomos and cofrades each contribute one turkey, hen or cock.

Those who slaughter the turkeys remove the internal organs and clean the meat, handing it to the wives of the cofrades who make the atol. They place cornhusks or pieces of cob as well as a handful of salt into the cavities so that the turkeys will swell rather than shrink in cooking. The fowls are boiled two to a container and are boiled four or five times, depending on the age of the fowls. Meanwhile prepared ground salpor is mixed with water and strained through clean cloths. When the fowls are removed from the broth, the maize mixture is put into the broth that remains boiling on the fire. Hot water is added so that the mixture does not thicken too much; special cooks supervise this since the right consistency is not known to all women. The atol must boil twice more and then the fire is put out. This atol always is served hot; it would be harmful to eat it cold since the turkey is a very "cold" bird. The atol is eaten with tortillas and very large tamales which are also made in the cofradía. Since the food is only sampled and not eaten entirely, the remainder is sent to the homes of the participants.

Chickens. For chicken puliqué the cleaned fowl, with feet and insides removed, is first washed well with cold water. A handful of salt is put into the hole from which the entrails were removed
to permeate the meat. As with turkeys, it is customary to stuff cornhusks or pieces of cob into this cavity so that the meat will not shrink. This stuffing is removed only when the meat is thoroughly cooked, or when it is about to be served. The whole chicken is always cooked in one piece whether for fiestas or for eating in the home during the week. When the fowl has cooked four times, it is removed from the kettle, and the *pulique* mixture of ground paprika, water, chile, tomato, and maize dough is added to the broth. If the fowl is a hen with some little eggs inside, these are not removed until the whole thing is cooked to increase the flavor of the broth. The chicken is cut up when served and is always served hot.

Chicken giblets are prepared as follows: all are well washed, including the intestines, and treated with sour-orange juice and salt. They are cooked with a little water, chile and salt in a small kettle. This is boiled only twice, because the giblets cook rapidly. As there never are many giblets to eat at one time, this is always a secondary dish and eaten with other foods.

Since the intestines of chickens become limp when cooked, women and girls do not eat the intestines lest the navels of their new-born infants burst. No one eats the heart of a chicken lest he become easily drunk on but a few glasses of liquor. Nor is the tip of the wing eaten lest one become overly modest with his spouse. Children should not eat the head or neck lest their necks twist easily when they grow up and try to carry heavy loads. Nor may young boys eat the chicken's feet lest when they climb trees their feet tremble causing them to fall.
Chicken eggs are prepared in various ways and are even eaten raw by some people, especially for breakfast early in the morning. When thus eaten from the shell, a little hole is made at each end and the inside is sucked out. Men also eat raw eggs as a cure for hangover. Egg soup is a simple dish prepared regularly where chickens are owned, but never presented to *compadres* or other respected persons as a fiesta gift. For three eggs, four large tomatoes are first cooked in a little water; then *chile*, salt and a cut up onion are added. When all this has boiled twice, the eggs are broken right into the kettle. No more mixing is done lest the eggs break, since they are supposed to remain whole.

Egg omelet, prepared in a pan or on the griddle, is a common dish. If one egg is to be used, a piece of maize dough about half the size of the egg is mashed in the hand with a little water and salt. When the griddle is heated, the egg is broken into the mixture and stirred well. This is poured in the form of a tortilla onto the center of the griddle, on which a little salt has been sprinkled to prevent sticking. The omelet is eaten with *chirmol* of *chile* or *revolcado* of tomato.

Soft-boiled eggs are the most rapidly prepared, because the egg, shell and all, is put into hot water for a little while. Then the egg is broken into a small dish and eaten with a little salt. This is considered a filling dish so that one egg is enough as a serving. Some women who are lazy cook the eggs in water until they are hard, peel them and serve them with *chirmol* or in *revolcado*. Women criticize others for doing this, especially if their husbands are fed this dish by their employers.
FISH. Formerly the people were accustomed to fish on the banks of the lake for the fish called uluminar. The Catarinecos now catch most of the fish consumed and sell them either fresh or dried. When they dry the fish they remove the interior organs, boil the fish once and then dry them in the sun. These dried fish, the smallest fish known here, are sold by measures or strung on little sticks.

For eating these dried fish in chirmol, the fish are first re-toasted on the griddle and then they are dipped in the chirmol. They may be eaten this way either hot or cold, and this dish makes up a whole meal. It is used frequently when no meat is available; it is eaten on week days and never for fiestas. The fish, also retoasted, are prepared in revolcado and this dish is taken on trips and to work when it is too far for the men to return home to eat. A soup of these dried fish is prepared by first cooking plenty of tomatoes with salt; when this has boiled once then cut-up onions are added. After this has boiled again, the fish are added, and all is allowed to boil once more. It is served hot and is a favorite dish. Dried uluminar are also added to plain egg omelet, and they may be made into pâtés. They are added as flavoring to white beans when both ingredients are obtainable together. This dish is eaten only at noon, because both ingredients are "cold".

When women prepare the fresh uluminar, they first remove the internal organs, wash the fish twice in cold water, and then add sour-orange juice and salt. For preparing them in soup, the fish are put to cook in a pan with water, and some cut-up tomatoes, dry chiles, and a little more salt are added. This is boiled only once, or the fish will come apart and not be good. This soup is served hot, and makes a meal in itself.
Pepescas, mojarra and pereche are other, larger lake fish that almost always are bought fresh from Catarinecos or Ladino fishermen. They are prepared in soup and in pâtés as with the smaller fresh fish. Mojarra is the "coldest" fish of the lake, and for this reason it is eaten only at noon and only by adults; "cold" foods give children diarrhea.

Crabs are obtained locally by Panajachelenos occasionally, but more commonly are purchased from Catarinecos. For preparing crab soup, which is excellent food for the frail and convalescent, the whole crabs are put into a kettle of boiling water without removing the little parasites from the body of the crab which add to the nourishment of the soup. Onion, cut-up tomato, chile and salt are then added. They are boiled once more and are served hot; it is a "cold" dish and therefore eaten only at noon.

Crabs in pulique are prepared as other puliques, except that the crabs and the salt are put into the hot water at the same time. A pan is used, never a pot. After one boiling, the mixture of annatto, tomato and ground chile, all mixed with a little maize dough and water, is added. Onion is added separately. With these ingredients the pulique is left to boil once more and then removed from the fire.

When there are few crabs and not enough for the family they may be toasted over the fire as a secondary dish, and then eaten with hot tortillas or tamales so as not to be bad for one. Salt is put in where the hole has been punctured in the belly, and the crabs are left over the fire until the feet begin to burn.

Sea fish are eaten only during Lent and Holy Week; this is a religious dish, because no one goes through this fiesta without buying and eating sea fish. The white kind is preferred and very few use the other kind, called tsunte. Some women prepare it together with the
meat of the alligator to improve the taste. Pulique of this fish is given to friends and relatives on Holy Thursday. With leftover fish cooked in pulique an omelet is made. The fish is cut up into little pieces and mixed with an egg that has been beaten with salt; this is fried in a pan with a little lard. Another dish is made with sea fish and white beans. A pound of beans are put on to boil twice with one head of garlic. To this is added raw, unwashed fish, for if washed and scales removed the beans will be tasteless. After the mixture boils once the fish is removed and cleaned, during which time a sauce of maize dough, arnotto, dry chile and coriander is added to the beans. The cleaned pieces of fish are then returned to the pot, and the dish is served hot. This dish is given on Good Friday to the same people to whom food is sent on Holy Thursday.

Alligator from the sea coast and large rivers is obtained before Holy Week as are sea fish, and is given away ceremonially. Pulique often is made using alligator, and the procedure is the same as for pulique of any fish except that alligator meat must be cooked a long time due to its toughness.

BREADS AND DESSERTS. Bread is purchased in the market or in local stores. Only during Holy Week do the people here bake for themselves. At almost all cofradía rituals bread is served ceremonially, and some rich families can afford bread regularly to eat with their coffee at breakfast. Plain white, french bread, toasted on the griddle and cooked in water with sugar and cinnamon makes a delicious atol for anyone who is ill and cannot eat other things. Bread that contains eggs and lard is preferred to french bread, especially during Holy Week, when large loaves of such bread are prepared as gifts to
compadres, midwives, shamans and friends. This bread is never eaten by itself, but is always served with coffee, honey or chocolate.

Desserts are made only when the women have time to prepare them and money with which to buy the sweetening and other ingredients. The common sweetening is brown sugar, used for almost everything except sweetening chocolate when the more expensive white sugar is preferred. Honey is used on bread and to sweeten coffee and limeade, but primarily only during Holy Week, or during the fiesta of Ascensión. Ordinarily parents do not like their children to eat many of these sweet substances because they cause intestinal worms.

Fruits which are eaten fresh in season as desserts include oranges, injertos, bananas, Spanish plums, peaches, cayol, zapote, melacotón, papaya, granadilla, matazano, mango, apples coconut, pears, níspero, pepino, membrillo, pelaya and pineapple. Occasionally some kinds of fruits are cooked to make a more elaborate dessert. A favorite dish of this kind is made from dried plums of the variety jocote de tamalito which have been left unharvested on the trees to dry in the sun. These plums are put on to cook in a large kettle, and after they have boiled three times two pounds of ground maize for each almud (12½ pounds) of plums are added and mixed in well. Brown sugar is added, more if it is to be eaten at home than if the dessert is being prepared to sell. After coming to a boil it is removed to cool a little before being served on banana leaves. This dish is frequently for sale in the market, especially during the winter, or rainy season, when plums thus prepared bring a higher price than when Spanish plums are in season. In the home it is eaten only on Sundays, and a little before the noon meal, as is the custom.
with all sweets, so that the stomach will better be able to wait for a later lunch.

Some vegetables may be sweetened and served as desserts, and squashes are frequently prepared in this way. Any kinds of ayotes or chilacayotes grown locally may be used as long as they are ripe and good. After lying in the sun for several days the squash is cut into little pieces and the seeds removed to be used in other dishes. The pieces are boiled in water several times before brown sugar is added and the mixture allowed to boil again. Some women improve the dish by adding roasted kernels of fresh corn or ground cinnamon. The dish is a very "cold" dessert and thus is not eaten at night. It is never sold in the marketplace, and is a favorite dessert especially for All Saints' Day.

BEVERAGES. Coffee is the favorite beverage, and is drunk as often as three times a day by most people. It is always prepared for breakfast, and field hands are so accustomed to being served coffee when they work that they criticize their employer if he serves something else. Although almost everybody grows coffee, most people buy what they need in the stores, already roasted and ground.

The most important thing about making coffee is the roasting of the beans, for the flavor depends on this. The beans must be stirred constantly from the time they are put on the fire until the griddle is removed, and even after that the beans must be turned until the griddle cools off. For good coffee the beans should be roasted only until they are a gold color. If the beans are
toasted too dark, they will lose their taste, but most people roast their coffee beans quite black. After the coffee is roasted, it is ground on the grindingstone into a very fine powder which is kept in gourds or well-covered dishes so that the fragrance will not escape. Coffee is made by putting ground coffee, brown sugar, and water in a pottery jug and allowing this to boil for half an hour. Two tablespoons of coffee are used to about three quarts of water, and brown sugar is added according to taste. It is always drunk very hot.

Chocolate, too, is usually purchased in the stores where it is prepared by Ladinos in small cakes with cinnamon and cacao obtained from the coast. For preparing chocolate to drink, the little squares are broken in a gourd of cold water and put on the fire with brown or white sugar. While on the fire it should be stirred with a ladle to further break up the chocolate and to take off the foam. It is served hot and always with bread. As a ceremonial beverage, chocolate is used in the homes only during Holy Week and for cofradía fiestas. On Holy Thursday everyone drinks chocolate instead of coffee for breakfast.

Rice with milk is purchased or made at home. For one pound of rice, about a quart of milk and a pound of brown sugar are used. A little water is added so that it will not be too thick, and cinnamon is added for flavor. When it is all finished, care must be taken that persons of strong blood not look at the beverage, lest the milk curdle and each ingredient separate.

Very few Indians of this community know how to make alcoholic beverages, and no one knows who these persons are until they have fallen into the hands of the authorities. The liquor-makers work at night and sell their product secretly. When they are discovered, the
bottles and still are broken and thrown away.

For each vat of aguardiente made, the necessary ingredients are 25 pounds of bran or wheat husks already ground and five twin balls of brown sugar. Implements needed are a large pot or two, a level wooden plate, any small pot with two mouths (cabezote), and a heavy kettle of metal. A vat of twenty-five bottles may be worked in one night by two or three men, because everything must be done at once. For five days the bran is soaked in a little water so that it loses its strength. By the handful it is taken out and the liquid squeezed from it, with the help of more water, until only the useless dry bran is left. Brown sugar is added to the liquid, and the pot with this mixture is buried secretly. After a week the pot is uncovered to see if the chicha is sufficiently fermented and if it is time to continue with the process. If there is no other pot to place on the fire, this same one is used, but first its contents are put into some other vessel for the time being. When the apparatus is ready for the cooking, part of the chicha is put in; it works best if not too much is put in at a time.
The apparatus is pictured in figure _____. In order to keep the base of the cabezote well adjusted with the mouth of the pot that contains the chicha, and also with the basin resting on top of the cabezote, a very fine clay is used; this is always kept in readiness at one side. Inside the large pot containing the chicha may be hung slices of fruit such as melocotón, or the raw, skinned head of a sheep to give the liquor a better taste. When a large quantity of aguardiente is being made, it is a good idea to put about three green stones in the seta with the chicha so that when it boils the stones will move around and keep the liquid from burning to the bottom of the kettle. The hearthstones must, of course, support the seta as it stands over the fire. The ratio of firewood is used for the quantity of liquor indicated; it may be any kind of wood, but the strongest is preferred so that the seta heats more rapidly and the work goes more rapidly. The wooden plate should be of pine, as this is the best wood for the purpose. The water in the basin must always be cold so that the vapor will cool immediately, drip to its place, and so hasten the work. Thus there should be three men working at once: the one who knows the work best takes care of the fire and watches the liquor; a second man keeps changing the water in the basin on top of the apparatus, and the third brings fresh water from outside and takes away the old. It is known that the first drops of liquor are always weak, and so, too, is the liquor extracted after the chicha has been worked much. If there is more chicha to be cooked, the whole apparatus is taken apart to remove what is no longer useful, and then it is set up again. Chicha which is no
1. The pot on the fire with the chicha coming to about the center.
2. The cabezote, its base a hole to cover the mouth of the pot of chicha.
3. The plate, hung by a cord in the cabezote so that it receives the drops of the liquor.
4. The kettle or basin that covers the mouth of the cabezote, and which should always contain cold water to cool the steam which comes from the pot of chicha, converting it into little drops of aguardiente which fall into the plate. These are conducted from the plate through a hole in the side of the cabezote.
5. The cane which leads the aguardiente to the waiting bottles.
6. A little stick, forked at the top to sustain the cane coming from the cabezote, and planted in the ground.
7. A bottle or other vessel to receive the liquor.
8. Slices of fruit.
9. Raw, skinned head of a sheep.
longer good for making more aguardiente may be put into pots
with more panela, and it will be good without buying more bran.
It may serve for as many as three makings. Those who know this
process of brewing liquor well know just what strength to give
the liquor; they test it by tasting it.

Aguardiente is usually made in the hills where there is natural
water. Those who do this work are lazy, because they are men who
do not want to work with the hoe and machete. Some who work at
it like to drink the aguardiente warm while it is being made, be-
cause they say that in this way they soon lose their desire to
drink; others do not drink what they have made, because they say
it is too expensive to get drunk on one's own work. In this
town there is one who has the necessary pine plate, and he lends
it to others on the promise that the borrowers will never dis-
close his name should they be caught. When two or more are joint
owners of a "still", they always choose one who is to have the
responsibility before the Law, and the others will keep working
to support him while he is in jail. This is what Felipe Y. and
Salpor did when the latter was under arrest for this offense;
Felipe worked to sustain the other, because it was arranged that
if he did not do so, Salpor would disclose the name of his accomplice.

Those who like to drink much like to buy clandestine liquor,
because they say getting intoxicated on it does not leave such
bad effects, and besides it is half the price of the liquor that
is manufactured legally.
In the old days the chicha was made with two hundred of Spanish plums, crushed, ripened jocotes from which the juice was drained. This was added to two pots of cold or hot water, covered, and buried in the ground. In three days a mixture of roasted maize, ginger, chuchupate, pepper, cimula, and cordonallos were added and the pot again buried. After a week it was dug up to see if it was foamy. If it was not, brown sugar was added to increase the process. The next day it was tasted to see if it was the right flavor. If it was not strong enough they kept it on the fire, and if it was too strong they added water. If there was much chicha left over from a day's drinking, they removed the bag of "remedies" to prevent the liquid from getting stronger. If people wanted to get drunk quickly they would heat the liquor a little.

Chicha was drunk out of special earthenware pots, and at rituals from gourds like those used now for hot chocolate. People used to drink chicha along with aguardiente, first taking a drink of the chicha and then one of aguardiente. And so it was that the people often got drunk, and during the fiestas the Elders and officials would wake up drunk on the floors of the houses. Visitors to the fiestas were given free drinks to warm them and following this they were sold as many drinks as they wished for cash or credit. When they woke up with a hangover, the officials gave them other free drinks of chicha to get them started drinking all over again.

If there was not time to make more chicha when it ran out,
the men of old took the bag of "remedies" and put it in the pot buried in the kitchen and added hot water. In five days they added brown sugar and in six days it was ready to drink.

When the manufacture of chicha was prohibited in town, those who were accustomed to drinking it went to the capital and, in the towns along the way, stopped to drink chicha which they bought from Ladino breweries. The Indians who worked in the chicherías were sent out by the owners to get dried human excrement which they put in bags and hung in the large wooded barrels in which the drink ferments. Those who drank the liquor knew of this, but still they could not get over the habit.
III. Clothing

MEN'S CLOTHING. Up until about fifty years ago the only costume worn by men and boys consisted of a long black woolen cloak, or gabán, with cotton drawers underneath and a sash around the waist. In more recent times most men have substituted a shirt and rodillera for the gabán and nowadays some even wear trousers like Ladinos. The gabán is made of a large piece of black wool bought from the Maxeños. It is one piece with an opening in the center for the head, allowing one part to fall in front and another just like it in the back. In this way both sides are covered, because the width of the garment is just about the width of a man. The open sleeves are of the same material and are sewed together at the bottom so that they are cylindrical in shape. The length of the sleeves is left open, so that the arms can easily be removed from them when there is occasion to wet the arms or when the sleeves are in the way during work. The body of the garment is also open at the sides, and only the sash worn around the waist joins the front and back at the sides. The hems of the gabán are finished with a narrow fringe, the only adornment. The front part of the gabán is folded up so as to form a sort of pocket where the men carry their things, and leaving the cotton underdrawers completely exposed in the front. Some wear the rodillera vertically only in front, and others wrap it around. As a
secondary garment, when it is cold or when they are performing their cofradía services. Men use another gabán similar to the first but which falls to the sides rather than front and rear.

Formerly men had only one gabán, even if they were rich, and when this disintegrated or fell off their backs they bought a new one. Having only one garment prevented envy of them by many sorcerers who would have worked black magic against people who showed any prosperity. In this way no one in those times appeared wealthy except when he happened to be serving in a religious or civil office, which permitted and required it.

Of the men who used to wear the gabán only about fifteen remain, and this includes two or three young men who wear shirts, but whose fathers do not want them to substitute the shirt for the gabán. One rich man told his son that if he dons a bought shirt he will tear it off. The first shirts that were used were bought from Totonicapán merchants and were all of one color. Soon other colors came in and now the shirts are of all kinds and colors. Only about four or five years ago the shirts made and worn in San Pedro la Laguna were introduced here, and now almost everyone who no longer wears a gabán wears this kind with a Tecpán or Maxeño rodillera over it.

Almost all of the men today wear the rodillera. Formerly, and still today among those who wear the gabán, this was worn like an apron in front, doubled at the waist to form a pocket, and held up by the sash. This took the place of the second gabán that was used
when it was cold. When shirts came into style the men had to change their way of wearing the rodillera, and now those who wear shirts wrap it around the body like the skirt of a woman. The first kind of rodillera that was used was of course black and white checked wool, but about twenty-five years ago men who went frequently to Tecpán and Patzún introduced the Tecpán rodillera which is finer and of blue and white checked wool. At present the young men generally wear only this kind. Others wear still finer rodilleras of this kind with white fringe. Only the old men still wear the old type of rodilleras and they often talk about the young men who wear the fine ones. The young men pay no attention and merely say that they do this because they are young, and that, after all, they are spending what they earn. Even in the early days the officials who wore rodilleras over their gabanes took to carrying over their shoulders second rodilleras folded in four or more parts; some still do this.

When the gabán was replaced by the shirt, the blue wool jacket that is still sold by the Indians of Momostenango came to be needed. Now only those who still wear the gabán do not use the jackets. It is only three or four years since the men began to wear the new factory-made jackets of blue or other dark color.

Another important garment worn by a man is the woven red and white cotton underdrawers, calzones, made by his wife. These are not very long, reaching only to the knee or less, and the superfluous length at the top is wound around the
waist and bound with the sash. The old type of calzón had its various decorations of embroidered dolls and birds such as are now used in Santa Catarina Palapó. These decorations were placed around the bottom of each leg, and when the drawers were new and not shrunken by washing they were revealed beneath the gabán. A short time after shirts began to be worn, about twenty years ago, the men began to use trousers of white cloth rather than those made at home. They were similar to those now worn in Santa Lucia Utatlán: they reached to the ankle and were dyed blue.

About three or four years ago the young men began to wear trousers different from those of Santa Lucia, but still worn with the rodillera and always of white cloth.

It is said that long ago the sashes that the men and women used were dark blue in color, decorated at the ends with figures of yellow, green and other colors; but little by little the people began to prefer red to blue and today that is the most common color of the sashes of both men and women. The sash is always made of cotton, but the richer people sometimes weave the decorations in silk (as they do also on the drawers), as a sign of their wealth. They are much prettier that way. This kind of sash is worn so that the decorated ends fall from the waist in front. However, about twenty years ago another kind of sash, with stripes of different colors running the length of the sash, began to come into use; and today this is the kind that everybody uses.

This sash is about three yards long by one wide. It has no fringe, but the ends of the yarn are twisted and left to hang.
The dominating color is always red, with other colors interspersed. The whole length of the sash may be adorned with figures of silk of the same colors and forms as those on the kerchiefs; others make Arabic numbers, letters, birds, flowers and dolls.

Men formerly wore belts that they made themselves of crude skins, softened by lard, and they put the belt over the sash to bind themselves more securely. They used the belts for other things, too, such as hitting their children. Since there were no buckles then, the men made little holes at one end of the belt and pulled the other end through, then tied a knot so that it would not open. When about thirty or forty years ago the tanners began to sell cured hides, some men changed to dyed leather belts with buckles. A few years ago the young men began to use belts such as the Ladinos use, and now they also use woven belts of various kinds and colors which they buy readymade from the merchants in the marketplaces.

In the morning and when they are busy with their duties as town officials the men wear home-woven kerchiefs on their heads; at other times they wear the local style of straw hat. Kerchiefs vary in size, the largest being about three-quarters of a yard square. The dominating color is red, with other threads of green, yellow and white. Large kerchiefs are always sewed down the center; one long woven piece is cut into two lengths, and these are sewed together to form the square kerchief. The sewing is exactly the same as that on the woman's skirt and is patterned with inch and a half stripes of all colors except red because they say red does not show up well. Some kerchiefs have silk woven into them at the time they are made. The best are those that have the silk decorations appearing on both sides,
and this only the best weavers know how to do. The poor people use cotton instead of silk thread for this sewing, and some make no decoration at all on the kerchiefs.

The hats formerly used here were of the kind known as *copa grande*, meaning a quart more or less in size, and they were bought in the market at Sololá. The Sololatecos still wear this kind of hat. About thirty years ago hats from the town of Pinula were bought here. These hats were of the same quality as the old ones, but they had several palm leaves inside which gave the hat more strength and shape. Today the old men still use these, while the young men use the hats that were introduced about twenty years ago from the town of Quiché; these are better looking and cheaper. Three or four years ago the young men began wearing the kind of hats called "Limeños," which are imported and of a different class from those made in this country. They are decorated on white, and come in different shapes.

In the matter of hats it is difficult to follow changes, because those who have money change hats almost every month. They see others wearing other styles, and so they keep changing too. As for the red kerchiefs, about twenty years ago the young men began to use purchased kerchiefs, of brown or other colors, which they wore around their necks as a kind of scarf or tie. Because this was more economical some of the older men also accepted it, and those serving as community officials now carry them to tie around their heads. At present some of the rich men use silk kerchiefs that they tie around their necks and some are even using vari-colored ones, and white ones, just as do the Ladinos.
Because people here used to know how to work maguey fiber, all the men used bags called matates that they made themselves. The bags were used for carrying articles either for a long trip or right in town; they were part of the costume which was never omitted. But the young Indians who often went to towns such as Tecpán and Patzún to sell onions saw net bags called árganas and introduced them to Panajachel. The old men, however, never use any other kind but the old matates, although they no longer make them and must buy them from Maxenós or others.

Some young men, always lovers of new things, about ten years ago began to use pieces of vari-colored cloth for tying up and carrying articles, and most of them still use these instead of bags. About five years ago, however, many of the young men turned to using another kind of matate, that made by the Indians of Sololá, of black and white wool, with the added feature of the name of the owner woven in.

As they do today, the men always have worn caítes, or sandals, of leather on their feet. Men often go barefoot, but on long trips, in town, and always when performing community office sandals are worn. The first ones were of crude leather, and were often made at home. But when belts of cured leather were introduced, sandals of the same quality also came in and soon were in general use. About ten years ago when automobiles with heavy rubber tires were introduced into the area, the young men began to make their caítes of the old tires, and soon merchants were selling well-made caítes of this kind. There are still some who prefer these rubber caítes. It is fifteen years since the regular leather sandals from Tecpán were
introduced here, but the local men favored them only for a short
time, because they are rather expensive and too heavy for long
trips. Just the same, there are still some who use them for
general use and for the dance called the "conquista."

WOMEN'S CLOTHING. Women wear a huipil, a skirt, and a sash
tied at the waist. The huipil of Panajachel of long ago was brown
and white, made of those two kinds of cotton. The women themselves,
who knew how, did all the work. It was completely
without decoration and brown cotton predominated. The stripes were vertical. Later when red cotton yarn appeared, the women wove a little of that in with the original two colors. Gradually more red was added by the richer women until finally, about fifty years ago, red came to predominate in the local huipil. Red is now also used to adorn the upper parts of the back and the front. Thirty years ago red silk was introduced in huipiles in place of red cotton for the decorating; rich women began to use it while the poor continued to use cotton. Nowadays about half use one kind and half the other.

The present huipil has a red background with half-inch stripes of brown at intervals of one-quarter inch. Each brown stripe is edged on either side by a white thread. There are three rows of red or purple silk (or cotton) animals woven into the upper front and back and across the shoulders. The neckline is crew-shaped, plain hemmed or with one row of silk-embroidered buttonhole edging. The huipil is made up of three pieces. The wide center piece contains the silk decorations. The two outer pieces are sewed up to leave a medium armhole and the little sleeve thus formed falls to about the elbow. Women usually roll up their sleeves a little to free the arms. There is an opening over each breast where the center piece is sewed to the side pieces. The length of the huipil varies from the hip-length used by most women to some that are almost as long as the ankle-reaching skirt. The huipiles are always tucked in and never worn over the skirt.
The cloth for the skirt has not changed here: it is dark blue, woven by the Ladinos of Sololá, and sold by the yard at a price that is high for the Indian. But the Panajachéleña does not like any other kind because this traditional skirt is strong and worn by all. Because the skirt material is narrow the women have to add on a piece, and makes a seam around the hips. This seam is now sewn with a sort of embroidery stitch, one-quarter inch wide, of silks of many colors. As much as two inches of sewing in one bright color will be followed by two inches of sewing of another, and so on. They say that formerly this was done with white cotton thread because there was no silk. There are still about one fourth of the women who use this old type of decoration on their skirts.

One woman who wanted to dress herself in a very fine skirt put trimmings of bright silk vertically on the side of each leg like the trimmings of a fine pair of military trousers. The people spoke ill of this extravagence of hers, many laughed at her, and since nobody imitated her, she no longer wanted it. However, she wore it to the bitter end, receiving the nickname of Comandante for it, but she never made another skirt like it.

Costumes of Other Pueblos. It is estimated that about fifty years ago women from other pueblos came to live here wearing the costumes of their native pueblos. They married local Indians or worked in the homes of local Ladinos, and their descendants retained the costumes of their mothers and grandmothers. The
reason for this is not known, but the Ladinos who employed these women also liked them to preserve their native costumes. Also the first men who entered the military service brought back wives from other parts where they had served, and so the number of foreign women in this pueblo increased, and they wore their native costumes because their husbands did not want them to change to the local one. There were other men who returned from military service wearing Ladino clothes and when they married local women, they obliged them to make the same kind of change. Thus there are at present costumes from Totonicapán and San Andrés, and also recent additions are from Sololá and Concepción. It is very easy to see that the favorite costume is the one from Totonicapán.

The typical head tape formerly worn by all the Panajachel women was a mixture of dark red and navy. Some tapes measured over seven yards long and were about a half-inch wide. They were always bought ready to wear from merchants of Quetzaltenango. There came a time when the merchants did not bring these tapes. Then some of the women of the town tried to make some like them, but they could not get the same texture or decorations. Thereupon many began to use tapes of other colors, and as short as one yard. At present there are a few women who still use the old type, which the merchants again brought in about ten years ago. Formerly the tape was braided into the hair, and the braided tape and hair were wound around the head, thus forming a sort of halo as deep as four inches. The present manner of wearing this old style tape is less extreme. The women and girls who adopted the new tapes and ribbons braid these into their hair and then either let their braids adorned in this way hang down their backs or they draw them around their heads as of old.
The woman's sash is wider and has more decoration than the man's. The background is red and it has fine yellow, green, and blue stripes. There are about eight rows of vari-colored silk figures at either end of the sash, taking up about one yard at each end. A few women use sashes a little wider than most; they are the ones who want to appear fatter than they are, and they are criticized for this by their neighbors.

The woman's carrying cloth comes in a variety of sizes, from one to two yards square. The largest cloths are used only by the mayordomos and cofrades to cover themselves when they are in procession with the holy images, and also to cover the large baskets of food during fiestas. The cloth is always of red background with fine stripes of many colors. Occasionally violet and blue are woven in as well as the usual colors of green, yellow, and white. Sometimes decorations are put on these clothes just as in the men's headcloths, but in the woman's carrying cloth
they are a little larger and farther apart. In making the cloth, one long piece is woven, cut in two, and sewed together with plain cotton stitching to form the square.

COSMETICS. There are girls who imitate the Ladinas, paint their cheeks with the water of arnotta, or of colored paper. Their parents scold them and tell them that they will get white spots on their faces.

Among the Indians only one woman follows the custom that some Ladinas formerly had of putting cloths or little pillows on their hips or other parts of their bodies to make themselves look fatter; some of them even used wooden hoops for this purpose. A woman who is thin, wants the people to think she is fat, and for this reason she puts pads of cloth on her hips under her skirt. Some have seen her cross the river and they say she even puts shawls under her skirt. Sometimes she uses a double skirt when she goes to town and other times she has used pieces of old blankets. One time she did not have anything to use so she decided to take her husband's rodillera and she put it in her skirt. Soon her husband had to go out, and he looked and asked for his garment which he could not find. He covered himself with a gunny sack and went out rather angry at the way things were not cared for in the house. He told his wife to look for the missing garment. Then he returned he asked for it, and she had not looked for it. Then she went into the sleeping room, unfastened her sash, and took the rodillera from underneath her skirt. She took it to him and told him it had
been under the bed. A woman who was working there witnessed this and she told other women on the street. People do not criticize thinness in persons of either sex; this woman does as she does for vanity's sake, and those who know of this criticize her very much.

III. Children's Clothing

Up to the age of two or three, infants of both sexes are dressed in leftover or old pieces of clothing that are to be found in the house. Diapers are made from sugar sacks bought in the local store or any pieces of clothing found around the house. Over the diaper a piece of wool blanket is wrapped around the baby from waist to feet, giving the effect of the woman's skirt. A cotton shirt, horizontally striped and bought for ten cents in the market, is tucked in under the skirt. The babies' heads are always covered, either with a cap bought in the market or, more often, with a piece of home-woven textile.

After the baby learns to walk and is properly trained he is put into the traditional costume of Panajachel and he may then be recognized according to sex.

PREPARATION OF CLOTHING. At the present time Panajachelenos almost always buy the yarn for making their clothes. They now use many colors in their clothes besides the white, brown and red dyes used formerly. The women weave only
Kerchiefs, shawls, sashes, _catres_, _huipiles_, and a few trousers for their husbands, since most of the trousers are bought ready-made from the merchants.

**PREPARING COTTON.** Many men from here used to go once a year in February to San Lorenzo on the coast for the fiesta of Candelaria—either on a pilgrimage, for business, or to buy enough brown and white cotton for the year's spinning. In this town a little white cotton has always been grown but never any brown, which is the principal color of the women's _huipil._

In preparing cotton for weaving, the first thing to be done is to remove the seeds so that it is absolutely clean. Then the cotton is pulled apart with the fingers so that it is soft and easily separated into desired quantities. Then the cotton is placed on a raw, crude, goatskin, which, in turn, lies on a _net bag_ full of corn husks, and then it is ready for beating with sticks. This operation is always done in the shade, because it is said that in the sun the work is ruined and spinning is difficult. Special little sticks are used for beating the cotton. They are held by the base from which extend two long prongs. The net bag full of husks is called nest of the cotton. When it is certain that the cotton is well-beaten and it has taken the shape of a sheet of paper—thin, smooth and sufficiently soft—it is folded over with great care so as not to tangle it until balls of four or eight ounces are formed, never more because they would be too
large. This cotton, called *beaten cotton* is always weighed in order to know how much a certain piece of clothing takes, or to give it to someone outside of the house to spin. When the cotton is thus in the form of balls it is kept until the time when the spinning is to be done with the *whorl*.

Some Indians have the custom of keeping the cotton in large *gourds* because there it keeps best. Spinning is done thus: the woman is always seated and at her right she has an earthenware dish or a *wooden container* in which she will twirl her whorl vertically. At her left she places her cotton, from one end of which the thread is spun as the whorl pulls it in its rotating movements. The fingers of the right hand keep twirling the whorl so that the cotton thread keeps twisting. The dexterity of the *women* is so great that they leave the whorl to twirl by itself and with their two hands they arrange the thread that emerges. *The thread in this form is called hofax.* When the thread is twisted a little each new twisted length is wound right on to the whorl until the whorl is full, then it is taken off and wound into a ball. Sometimes when the thread is wound into these balls, two threads are taken to form one; this double thread is used for most weaving. The single thread is used only for the men's *sutes*. All yarns are called by their colors except the red.

At the present time most of the yarn used in Indian clothes is purchased already spun and only one operation is necessary.
before the warping. Since it comes in skeins, it must be placed on reels which turn by themselves, and so the yarn is wound from the reels into balls. The weaver decides what colors she will need before she begins the warping. Also when she wishes to copy a garment exactly, she counts the number of threads of each color from it.

When it is desired to bring out certain colors in the weaving in such a way that along the length of one thread a mixture of two colors is made, the warping is done thus: When one thread has been placed over the length of the warper, it is cut and the second color is tied on for the length back to the starting point. Then in the process of weaving the thread of one color is brought up with the shifting of the sheds and it keeps alternating with the one above. The number of sticks of the warper used determine the length of the piece of weaving. For the width the weaver counts the number of threads she wants to put on the warper. Warping is one of the most difficult parts of the whole weaving process, because one little mistake in the turns of the warping or in the change of colors may be serious. For warping women try to find quiet spots where there are no children, chickens or dogs. There is a belief among the women that if a chicken or a dog merely steps over the weaving, work cannot be continued because the threads tangle.

When the warping is done, it is removed with great care from the warper, and those points where the threads are crossed are
tied securely. With the warping carefully folded it is all
dipped in maize atol (with no salt in it) so that the threads
are firmer for the weaving. Due to this, they say, the woven
clothes become stronger and wear longer. When the atol has
dried on the threads, the warp is kept in a special place,
with care that it does not fall to the floor. If it should
do so, one's chickens might suffer or some similar misfortune
befall.

For the beginning of the weaving one must have patience
and be in a good mood in order to put the threads in order,
arrange the thread, and to place all the necessary sticks.
A good weaver always spends several hours beginning a piece
of weaving. When a large textile which will not be cut is
being woven, one end is finished last. This end is always
poorly done even though one pulls with a needle the firmly
woven part in an effort to make the threads more or less uni-
form. This evening process requires much time but it is neces-
sary, to see that no thread goes to waste and to give the
required length. Only when the piece will have to be cut into
two equal parts is it woven from both ends, the difficult part
left for the center where it will be cut. In making sashes
nothing is lost because at each end some must be left unwoven
from which the fringe is formed.

Every married woman must know how to sew
just as she must know how to grind. She is greatly criticized
by the people if she cannot sew, since it is customary to
hire someone else to make or mend clothes only
busy. The women sew only with large needles. Very few use fine needles such as those used by the Ladinas. They sometimes carry their needles stuck into the necks of the huipiles they are wearing; the men often have them in their cotones or stuck inside of their hats. They do this in order or thorns to have a needle handy should they get niguas in their feet. (If no needle is available, the large spines of the agavey or some similar plant are used.)

The Stitches Used In Sewing. One of the stitches used here is called *tumatsin*. This is used to adorn the neck and wrists of the long shirts worn by the saints' images and by the dead in their graves. The stitch looks like this:

First the outline is made, and then the triangles. As the needle is inserted in the cloth a small loop is left so that when passed through the same place the needle will pass through the loop, pull it, and make the next triangle. Only seamstresses, of which there are about ten in the town, are able to do this stitch.

Another stitch known only by the seamstresses is called *pati*. This is a simple but very strong stitch used for putting together pieces of cloth, especially the shawls and kerchiefs. Often this is the only decoration or design these garments have, and it is embroidered on the cross which always appears on the back of pieces of cloth. Silk thread, of any color but black, is used. When embroidering this stitch one carefully matches the two edges of
the cloth and place the cloth horizontally so that one edge to be sewn is at the top and the other at the bottom. One then sews from left to right passing the needle through the same hole each time until catching the other edge, then continuing to stitch on either side until the needle has passed three times through each small hole, taking care that one stitch on one of the sides has only two stitches. From there one begins the design that looks something like this:

![Design diagram]

The resultant design is much more intricate than the drawing suggests, however. The edges of the cloth are left in the horizontal line of the design and are covered with silk threads. These stitches are all out of the same color silk, but three or four inches apart a different color of thread is used.

Another stitch is one called p'olox. This is used to sew the edge of a cloth that has the ends ravelling or cut, in which the edges are folded underneath and the stitch is visible on top.

Yet another stitch is one called rari. It looks much like the common sewing machine stitch but has only one thread. It is used only when one wishes to run a seam of some sort or when one is mending rapidly. It is considered a "lazy man's" stitch.

The stitch used to decorate the neck of the huipiles is called nacíx "covering the seams," and is done after the pieces of the huipil have been sewn together. The entire contour of the neck is covered with silk thread, working from the outside in and doubling and covering the edges of the neck of the huipil.
This is one of the fastest stitches done.

The tison stitch is the most common one used by seamstresses, since it is the stitch used to sew together two pieces of cloth. When finished, the stitch looks very much like two wires wound together, spring-like:

Kososoj is the name of the stitch used in weaving and embroidering huipiles. The only two women in the town who know how to do this stitch claim that this is the most difficult ones to master, and many other women are trying to learn it.

No. 7. Tis is a stitch similar to the tison but two seams instead of one are made. One seam holds the cloth that is being mended, and the other the extra piece of cloth that is added. This stitch is used a great deal in mending, as it is known to hold fast in spite of rough usage of the garment. When patching a garment thus, the patch is added on the inside of the garment; in Santa Catarina Palopo it is put on the outside.

WASHING CLOTHES. People wash their clothing in the cold water of the irrigation ditches, the river, or the lake. The women scrub the clothing on flat rocks which their husbands bring down to the water. If someone uses another's stone, a quarrel may ensue.

The articles are spread out on the grass in the sun to dry.

For the most part, clothing is not ironed before wearing. The wrinkles are just smoothed out with the hands and the garment is
ready to be worn again. Some of the younger people send their clothing out to be ironed.

Regardless of their age or social position in the community, those men who wear the black cotones wash them themselves every three or four months. Since usually only one coton is owned, the owner covers himself with kerchiefs until the coton is dry. Women wash their own huipiles and skirts every three or four months, but the belts, kerchiefs, and trousers of the men have to be done more often. It is preferable to wash on a hot, sunny day; if there is no sun, garments dry quickly indoors from the heat of the fire.

Formerly there was no soap and the juice of the sour-orange was used to remove dirt from clothes. First the garment was soaked in water and rubbed a bit, and then the juice was poured over it and rubbed in. More recently the plant called mazorquilla was used, then the black pig soap, and now the young people even use colored and scented soap available in the stores. Clothes tend to be washed more frequently nowadays than formerly, also.
Pottery Vessels

Figure 5
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. The distance between the tips of thumb and index finger, extended.

2. In one exceptional case the kitchen is so dimly lighted that the family eats in the house where the saints are kept. In another case, where the building that had housed the saints was destroyed, they were kept on the porch rather than brought into the kitchen.

3. In a sample of ten kitchens, three had the fireplace in the northeast corner, three in the northwest, two in the southeast, and one in the southwest corner, while in the tenth it was in the center of the west wall. Poor people have only one fireplace, the rich as many as three; of the ten kitchens noted, three had two fireplaces each, two or three feet separated. Sanitary regulations require that the fire be built on a masonry structure, but in spite of frequent inspections by the authorites, nobody that I know obeys.

4. Flint,

5. See p. 000.

6. Pospocj, literally the meat of the lungs of any animal, applied figuratively to useless things or people.

7. Name not known to informants; see p. 000.

8. A fairly standard measure of what a man can ordinarily carry on his back is called a tercio.

9. Some poor people, having neither land nor money with which to buy firewood, leave the matter entirely to the womenfolk. In one case noted, the fire was made with pieces of cane and small branches found under the trees near the house.
10. During the period of study, only about half a dozen families did this. The practice was apparently begun a generation or two ago by one rich and Ladino-influenced family.

11. Those from Totonicapán, the only glazed pieces, are made in various parts of the municipio of Totonicapán; those from Chichicastenango are large, orange colored vessels and griddles (made in San Pedro Jocopilas but carried to market by Chichicastenango Indians); most of those from Tecpán, a deep, unglazed, red ware, are made in Santa Apolonia but bought in the Tecpan market; those from the Capital are chiefly the buff and decorated water jars from Chinquitla.

12. Pictured in Figure ___.

13. One old man possesses the pots that he used forty years ago as a cofrade; they are still good.

14. The Mexican terms metate and mano are not used in this region. They are called piedra de moler and brazo.

15. See p. 000.

16. Two of the ten inventoried.

17. Three of the ten kitchens have them.

18. Two of the ten kitchens use baskets.

19. There is one such case among the ten noted; it is not by any means the poorest household.

20. Two of the ten kitchens have homemade tables.

21. One woman, when asked, could not tell how to make atol of corn-on-the-cob because her husband never eats herbs, only beans and meat; otherwise his stomach aches. Another cannot eat any bread; it does not agree with him. One old man always
has tamales rather than tortillas cooked in the house because, since he is toothless, he finds them easier to eat.

22. In the growing season of 1937-38, there was a general shortage of maize, and the price went up from one or two cents a pound to three or four, and at times it was unobtainable at any price. In June it was so scarce that at times people waited out on the road from San Antonio to get first chance at any merchants who might be bringing it down. Some people were already having to eat yucca, sweet potatoes, and vegetable pears instead of tortillas, and the poor people were having to steal even this food from the neighboring gardens. Maize came to market in dribs and drabs, during the following months, a little of it supplied by the government--its distribution and price controlled by the authorities. For a time toward the end of August there was only a little from the coast (the kind the Indians do not like) and that was sold at three cents a pound. In September there were people without maize for days. One woman from nearby La Vega came to town trying to exchange firewood for a few tortillas. During these lean months, a Sololateco living in Panajachel helped considerably by bringing maize from the capital and selling it at a small profit. In November, people still went to his house when there was no maize in the marketplace.

23. Colera, see p. 000.

24. Infra, p. 000. (Section on Holy Week)

25. A measured sash was 152 inches long and eight inches wide, and another measured was 132 by twelve inches.
Footnotes to Chapter 8, con't.

27. Soc p'oj.
28. P'oju'orin.
29. P'ats' p'al.
30. P'ats'in.
31. The thread in this form is called c'oxaj.
32. Lak'an.
33. Red yarn is known by two names: orey or ch'il.
34. Solp'al p'ats'.
35. K'in.
36. K'anap'al.
37. The sticks used are: lower and upper bar, ch'equen; heddle stick, chocoj; tenter, aj ru wechren; and sword, quema'.
38. Tison.
39. These shirts are called camixa'.
40. The word for general mending of this nature is cojosn.
A person's body is a work of God, who decides whether he should be fat or thin, handsome or ugly, tall or short, light or dark. So, too, whether a woman has many children or none at all is up to God, and nothing can be done to change His will. The features of the body come from God too, but they are passed down in the family from the great-grandparents or grandparents or parents. Sometimes a child has a white eye just as a forebear had two or three generations back because God put the feature in the blood of all the descendants and sometimes it comes out in one of them. The similarities that children have with their parents or forebears are impossible to change, so when a person has taken some good or bad characteristic from his parents, it is they who are credited or blamed. Thus if a child steals, and so do his father and mother, people feel sorry for the child and say that it is the fault of his parents. But if neither of his parents has the fault, nobody feels sorry for the child and people speak ill of him.

If a child does not physically resemble either of his parents, but rather somebody else, it is either because he is really the child of the outsider or because his mother when she carried him was strongly impressed by the person whom the child later resembles. Such things happen sometimes because of quarrels or other unpleasantness between the mother and this other man. Such resemblances may cause quarrels between husband and
wife, so to avoid them the wife should always confess to her husband whatever has happened to her with another man; then when the child is born, he will have nothing for which to reprove her. Of course enemies of the family are the ones who always try to say that the child resembles another man and that it was born not of the husband but of the other.

The body is made up of bones, muscles, blood, and nerves. The bones give strength to the body, hold it upright, and help it to carry its burdens. The muscles give the body its form and help it to move around. There are different kinds of bones in every part of the body, such as the bones of the head, of the jaws and teeth, of the breast, of the ribs, the arms, legs, fingers, and so on. Most people know the different bones because they are found in the cemetery when a new grave is dug. The physical strength of the body is in the blood of the individual. It is because of differences in blood that there are strong and weak persons, and fat and thin ones. The nerves of the body are like rubber, and stretch out and come together with every motion. They come from the head and go over all the body wherever there is movement. They make it possible to bend easily and to lift heavy things and carry burdens. That is why the strongest nerves are in the arms, legs, neck and back. When the body is tired it is the nerves that need rest, and the person should go into the sweatbath or drink coffee, atol, or rum. Even smoking rests the nerves. Some people used to bleed themselves to cure fatigue, but this is rare now. When some part of the body is injured the reason why very often it cannot be moved is that the nerve there has been cut. There are nerves in the stomach too, and when a person laughs very hard they shrink and make the stomach ache. When one laughs too hard, the worms of the stomach stop where they are, and this likewise causes pains in the stomach.

The most important organ of the body is the heart, for it feels and
studies things and decides what to do, and then it orders the person how to think, be, and do. The heart has life, and that is why it beats. The life of the heart is separate from the life of the person and above it, because it is when his heart dies that death comes to him. All of the pains of the body, when they are strong, reach to the heart, and when the heart cannot resist them, it dies. The heart is a very delicate organ. Even a small blow can kill it, and so the person. It is just behind the breastbone, a little to the left, so that a blow struck a little below this bone hits the heart, and even the lightest blow is very painful. The heart has roots that go to all parts of the body. One of them passes near the surface between the eyes and ears, and that is why a light blow there often causes instant death. Another reaches the sexual organs of a man, so it is very dangerous to touch or strike them. The heart is the spirit of a person; in fact, the life of any living being is really in its heart.

Thought and Speech

The Brain

Although thinking is done with the brain, anything that is important passes through the heart first, so that one thinks with his heart as well as his brain. But the thoughts having passed through the heart lodge in the brain, and here they stay in the memory. The bigger the brain a person has, the smarter he is, but some people say that those with small heads are really more intelligent because a small brain does not weigh much and one thinks better and faster. So it is that people with large and heavy heads are dull. Young people have fresh heads and can learn things more quickly than old people who have such hard heads that they cannot learn anything. It is also a sure fact that a person who eats much is less intelligent than one who eats little. A person who is confused or wild in his head is so because he has lost his brain or it is sick.
The Tongue

The tongue serves for speaking, for without it one can say nothing. When people bite their tongues it is God's punishment for having told a lie. When a child lies or tells a thing of no importance the mother pinches his tongue. In the old days when it was a great fault to tell falsehoods, parents used to scorch the child's tongue with an ember of the fire. An habitual liar always has a long tongue, and when he dies he must bite it as God's first punishment. Some bite their tongue in two, and others even swallow it when they die. A Panajachel woman died not long ago and she chewed her tongue after she died, because in life she was the cause of many family quarrels. She liked to go from house to house spreading bad gossip among the neighbors, and she was a great liar. Those who fixed her up for taking her to the cemetery wanted to put her tongue between her teeth because they thought it a pity to let her go so to the grave. But other older persons said that this was sent by God as the first punishment for what she had been; it would be a greater sin to do anything to it because that would be interfering with God's will. Thus they buried the woman who had caused so many quarrels in her lifetime, and she went to Heaven with her tongue chewed to present herself to God.

Mutes too have tongues, but very thick and heavy ones and that is why they cannot talk. They are inferior to all other people but have a god who watches over them, and so they are always respected and well-treated to avoid punishment from Heaven. If a person is born unable to speak or hear, God willed it so. Only when one becomes mute when already grown is this attributed to something which was done to his mother, perhaps a serious fright when she was nursing him in his infancy. Such a fright can come from seeing the burning of a house, a snake in the house or on the road, or from hearing bad news. If a child is frightened easily, he can become mute if some soft hairs appear in the hair of his head. Or, if a
person falls and strikes his head, he can become mute. People become mute when, for any of the above reasons, their tongues become heavy and crippled. Generally, the mutes can speak by means of signs which they make with their hands and with the aid of facial expressions. They are characteristically dirty in dress, in the face, feet and hands. One never sees a mute with common sense or much intelligence; they are more idiots and fools than anything else. Nor does one ever see a mute with a woman, or vice versa; all are single and are supported by their fellow men. They are not obligated to do any public services. If a mute strikes another person on the street people say nothing to him. Rather, they speak to and punish the one who has perfect senses, because the mute is not responsible for his acts. The Law also takes this view. Only the mutes have the distinction of seeing the feet which snakes have, for these animals never show their feet to those who can speak, hear and see. The mutes, like the blind and deaf, are persons who, when an injury is done them, address the Sun and prophesy bad luck that will happen to the person who injured them. This bad luck will surely happen, and no one can free himself of it, even though he asks the shamans to perform ceremonies.

There are half-mutes who stammer and cannot speak correctly but speak only by syllables. Some with considerable difficulty speak a few words and understand a little of what is said. They say that often a man becomes a half-mute or idiot because a woman has stepped over him. These stammerers are bad, just by being what they are, and nothing can be done to them because they are vengeful and sometimes kill, the same as the mutes. Among these are some who are idiots, half-wits, and some who are intelligent. The first two are more numerous. Some marry. The majority are from poor families and hire out as servants. They are also vulgar (they like to use bad words); since they are respected because of their condition, they
therefore take advantage and permit themselves a little abuse.

Sensory Organs

The Mouth

The taste of anything is felt in the mouth, and especially the tongue. But the heart also tastes, feeling that the coffee is perhaps too sweet or the chile too sharp, for the savor of things quickly reaches the heart. There are seven flavors: sweet, like honey and sugar, which is the taste of all good foods; sour, like lime juice and vinegar; piquant, like chile, which gives taste to tortillas so that many can be eaten in order to give the body health and strength; bitter, which is a repugnant taste seldom used in food and used only in medicines; nin, the taste of rotted avocado, lard, fat meat and cheese; and insipid, like food that lacks salt, soup made of lean meat, or a poor kind of fruit.

The Nose

The size and shape of the nose makes no difference as long as it does its work well. It is through the nose that air must pass on its way to the stomach. It is also in the nose that odors are sensed. Odor reaches the nose from the center part of the brain through some holes. That is why a strong odor, such as when chile is tasted or garlic ground, causes choking and coughing and even weeping.

There are many different odors and some of them have the same names as tastes. Sweet is the odor of honey or brown sugar; bitter that of kitchen smoke or tobacco; and sour that of fermented, overdone foods, or of human perspiration. Is the very disagreeable odor of fish, oil, crabs, the skins of such animals as the dog and coyote, bronze, raw eggs, and especially characoteles, whose strong odor can overcome the strongest man. Coc is a very strong odor that lingers a long time; such is the odor of kerosene, gasoline, burnt chile, dry earth that has been dampened, lime,
onions, and garlic. Jup' ul is any pleasant odor such as of flowers, foods, and tortillas, while chu is any disagreeable one. If a person smells a flower deliberately from close up, his whole body will smell when he dies. That is the reason children are scolded when they approach and smell flowers.

Sneezing comes from the inside of the head. When it is caused by chile burning in the fire or something of the sort, no attention is paid to it. But a sneeze that comes unexpectedly and for no such cause is always a sign that somebody is talking about one. When a sneeze comes while one of the family is away from home, it is the nose telling him that the other is thinking of him. If the one who remains thinks of the other who has left, and the other is the one who sneezes, he knows that in the house they are speaking good or bad of him. An occasional sneeze means only that some friend or acquaintance is speaking more or less well of one. But a great many strong sneezes mean that somebody is speaking very ill of one or planning some vengeance. So sneezing foretells a great deal.

The mucus or substance which a cold produces is either part of the brain that is rotting, as some say, or else dirt from the bones of the head which is expelled when one has a cold in the nose. The mucus is often used as medicine for healing the burning of the chichicaste plant on any part of the body. Upon being touched by this plant, one blows his nose and applies the mucus externally.

The little hairs in the nose, which come from smelling much of fragrant flowers, spoil the appearance. Smokers also get them when they have the habit of letting the smoke out through their nostrils. Still, some say that God puts these hairs in the nose for some reason.

Snoring is not only an unseemly habit, but is also a danger; when the characoteles come to the house to do their evil, they know by the noise
that the man of the house is sleeping and that he will not be aware of what they are going to do. What is more, the devil or evil spirits may carry off his spirit. Some say that only those people snore who have much sexual contact with the Ladinos, and that may be why parents especially scold their daughters when they snore.

The Ears. The ears serve to let us hear, and one would be deaf without them. The hole of one ear passes in a straight line to the other, and from the center of this channel there is another running to the brain to receive the sound. When a person is not attentive to what another is saying, or when the other speaks quietly, the sounds pass from one ear to the other and nothing goes to the brain. That is why nothing remains in the memory when one does not pay heed to what is said. When a child does not hear or understand what is told him, his parents pull hard at the lobe of one of his ears so that he will develop better and be more intelligent. Pulling the ears is in this way a frequent punishment for disobedience, for everything told a child enters in the ears, and by pulling them the child will understand better the scolding he receives. It is dangerous to place any pointed object in the ear, because for some reason that may cause deafness. But the green leaves of a certain herb placed inside the ear are a good cure for deafness.

When the lobe of the ear burns and becomes red, and hurts, it is another sign that somebody is speaking ill of one. To punish him, an edge of the clothing near the mouth is bitten between the teeth, and that causes the person doing the talking to bite his tongue, and so stop. Some people just curse whomever it might be and say "Would that his mouth be twisted." Earache and buzzing in the ears may be caused by a little animal that has entered there, or sometimes by evil sent by an enemy. Evil sent by an
enemy in this manner does not always fall on the intended victim himself, but rather on his wife or children who are very weak. Children are most affected by that sort of thing, for they are still little and cannot resist an injury or a curse except by words.

The ear wax, or dirt, is good for curing pimples that appear on the feet; all one has to do is take out as much as possible from the ear and apply it to the feet.

There are pleasant sounds and unpleasant sounds; they are big or loud sounds and little or thin, low sounds. Thus can the sounds of music, people's voices, and cries of animals be distinguished.

The eyes are the seeds of the sight, and they serve for distinguishing color, size, and shape of the things within reach. The eyes are very delicate and are made of water and covered with glass. There is a white part and a dark part. In the dark part there is always a saint or an image, which is the image of the person that lives in the eyes and who sees and looks at everything. This saint becomes annoyed when the object it sees is something ugly or immoral. The eye's nerve or root serves to support the eyes in order that they may not fall out when they are injured.

The color of the eyes is the same as that of the saint whose name the person bears. Foreigners have blue or green eyes because they have different saints. Nocturnal animals like the dog, horse, cat, and so on, have better sight than men have, because they see at night as well as men do in the daytime. The people of long ago had very good vision; even the old could see things at a great distance. Now, on the other hand, the young people do not see well, and this is because they go out at night, straining their eyes and weakening them.
It is true that the blind cannot see with their eyes, but all persons have a secret eye in the back, and the blind can see especially well with this eye. This eye may be the other spirit possessed by men, the one that ascends to Heaven upon death. Because of this secret eye, bad signs should never be made behind a blind person. People who cannot see are to be respected; they have more moral courage than others have. It is a great sin to insult or injure the blind persons because God takes special care of them. As soon as a blind person reaches Heaven he can see, because God immediately transforms all. People who are blind here are going through God's punishment on earth, and when they reach Heaven they will not have to suffer much for their doings on earth. Blind people say that they see a little at night and not at all in the daytime. Thus they like to go out at night, and they never lose their way. Sometimes they say that they are happier than those who possess sight, because God puts inside of them some all-seeing eyes and they are never deceived. They also say that there inside of themselves they can see things more beautiful and exact than others can. Sometimes the blind go so far as to believe that they see better than those who have sight and prove it by the following cases:

There once lived in Santa Catarina Palopo a certain individual who had the nickname of "Tino." He was blind since birth, but nevertheless he could distinguish at a certain distance the person to whom he was going to speak or the house where he had to enter. They also said that when they were running and playing behind the house, he could distinguish merely by the sound of the various steps, who was running after whom. He also was able to run among the trees and around the patios of the houses. They say he was a great rower on Lake Atitlán because only he could go in a small boat from one end of the lake to the other without
mistaking his directions, even though it was night and there were waves and a strong wind. They say he could walk through the most dangerous roads and never get lost. Between Panajachel and his town the road was very difficult, but nevertheless Tino used to go on this road very late at night, even when he was intoxicated. In only his very small boat he would go to fish and sell what he caught in the markets of Sololá and other nearby towns; he also used to hunt for lobsters in their impenetrable caves between the stones in the water where it is always dark and gloomy. He fell into the water several times and lost his boat, but he was always a good swimmer and even saved the lives of other people who had good eyes. He worked as well and as much as other men, using whatever tool they put into his hands. They told him he should treat his eyes in order to be able to see, to which he replied that he did not need to see because he felt happier than any other living person.

It is with the skin that people feel things, and children like to tickle their little brothers or sisters or their playmates. They are ticklish in places where the midwife did not wash the body well at birth. Children should not be allowed to tickle each other much because they laugh much and bother the worms, especially when tickled on the belly. Children's feet should never be tickled, lest when the children begin to walk they go into the fields and pull out the seeds that have been planted. They cannot be blamed for that.

Hair grows on the head, as whiskers on the face of men, and on the body, especially below the navel. Only the descendents of the children of animals have much hair on their bodies, and nobody envies
the Ladinos and the foreigners that have their whiskers and so much
hair on their bodies. The hair on the heads of new-born babes is there to cover the soft
part of the head, for this is so delicate that it should never be
touched or chilled or uncovered. The hair usually grows straight, but
if the parents want their children to have curly hair, they heat the
sweatbath with birdlime (which is always curly) the first time the
children enter.

When a man is very much in love with a woman and she will not have
him for anything, he tries to get a few hairs from her head. Then if
he buries them or simply leaves them under the hearthstones of his
kitchen, in a short while she will begin to want him and finally will
herself ask to be his and come to live with him.

Eyebrows and Lashes. Without eyebrows people would be very ugly.
They adorn the face, and perhaps that is why the word eyebrow is used
as an endearing term for a loved woman. With the eyelashes, the eyebrows
also help us to see properly and naturally. If we had no lashes we could
see to the end of the world, and the sky would appear very close. Some
of the stars in the sky are very large, and are like persons travelling
with the sun; but our eyebrows and lashes keep us from seeing them except
as small balls of fire. Thus, our eyebrows and eyelashes permit us to
calculate distances properly and see the stars and other heavenly bodies
in their true distance from the earth. To see them from close can bring
on madness and death. Once a man who wanted to look at the heavens with-
out his lashes cut them off with a scissors. To his great fright, he
saw that the sky and the sun and moon were but fifty yards from earth
and were ready to fall. It is such a sin to see things so, and the man
was so frightened at the horrifying sight, that after telling about it
he never looked at the sky until his lashes were grown out again.
Without the eyelashes we would also see many spirits, just like one whose poor luck it is to be pursued by them. We would also see spirits in the night, just as do the dogs. The dogs see such things and that is why they walk around howling all night and do not sleep. Anybody can also see such spirits by taking some of the granules from the lashes of a dog's eye and putting them on his own eyelashes. There have been instances of this, and the man who does it always dies soon afterwards.

There was an Indian here in Panajachel who went to the woods one fiesta day to cut firewood, taking with him his tumpline, ropes, his machete, and a dog for company. When he came to a place where there were dry trees, he began to cut his firewood in order to return quickly. He was engaged in this work when the dog began to howl in a peculiar way that puzzled the man very much. The dog stood looking up into one of the trees and howling as though somebody were molesting him. The man stopped cutting his firewood and came over to see what it was that the dog saw up in the tree. He saw nothing, and so scolded the dog and continued with his work. The dog continued howling, and more and more frighteningly, and finally the man came again to see once and for all what the trouble was. He saw nothing, and said that perhaps it was because the dog had granules in his eyelashes that he was seeing things.

He returned to his work, arranging ropes to stack up his firewood for carrying, but while he was doing so it occurred to him that perhaps he too might see what the dog saw if he should put on himself the dog's granules. Out of curiosity he therefore took hold of the dog and carefully removed some of the granules from its eyelashes and placed them on his own. When he had finished
this operation, he returned to look up into the tree, and there his eyes saw a human skeleton. This spirit beckoned to the man with its hands and almost spoke to him. So frightened was he that he forgot to remove the granules from his eyelashes; he picked up his load of firewood and quickly started home. By the time he arrived at the house, he had a bad headache, and he lay down in his bed never again to arise, for in seven days he was dead.

There was another case here in Panajachel:

A certain Indian family had a dog that did not sleep, for every night it spent howling and howling. Finally its master was tired of hearing it, and he determined to stay up one night to see what it was that the dog was seeing. It was in vain, however, because he did not see anything and only fell asleep. The next night the dog returned to its howling, so the man called his dog, and, removing some granules from the dog's eyes, put them on his own eyelashes. When he looked into the darkness of the patio again, great was his anger to see that it was a skeleton that had been coming each night to worry the dog. He took up a cudgel and threw it at the skeleton, but the skeleton dodged to one side and then began again to approach the man. Being unable to do anything, the man ran into the house to hide. When the next day dawned, he was already very sick and stayed in bed; in seven days he died of the fright given him by the skeleton that he and the dog had seen.

People who have more skill in the left arm or leg than in the right are good in discharging any kind of firearm, or in playing dice, cards, and taba. They can not work well with right-handed persons because they work faster, and the right-handed persons remain behind no matter how hard they try to keep up. Those who work with left-handed
men tire very quickly because the left hand is very egotistical and does not want any other to compete with it. They are not only strong physically but they are dangerous persons as well, for they have changed arms and legs and must also have changed their thoughts and deeds. It is dangerous to quarrel with left-handed people because they are very strong and sure in their aim.

Some say that only God, who makes everything that is found in the world, knows why some persons are born left-handed. But some say that children become so when the midwife grasps the left hand before the right hand when they are born. If the midwife is thinking about it, she will remember how she must catch the child. There are a few people who want their children to learn to work with both hands because they say there are times when it is necessary. People who have six fingers or toes instead of just five on any of the extremities are considered as having greater spirit and moral courage than the rest of us because they believe they are sent by God to fulfill a mission on earth, known only to them. They also say that when this kind of people lift their voices to Heaven to complain of any ingratitude shown them or any of their kind, their pleas are heard in Heaven by a god specially their own. So they cannot be scolded, punished or deceived for it is a great sin; they can curse anyone who does this and their curses are fulfilled. So it is that these people must be respected and aided because they say that their days are greater than ours. Nor should they be denied anything they wish, such as food they look at when someone is eating. They have only to look at the clothes worn by those who are unkind to them, and the clothing becomes rotten. Even in the very homes of persons with six digits, they are treated differently from the other brothers and sisters; they are not asked to do much work, and they almost never are punished.
The Fingernails: The fingernails are parts of the body that are very essential in working, especially in planting vegetables, shelling maize, and so on. God put nails on the ends of the fingers to help the fingers which help the hands which help the whole body. Nobody ever has to cut them because the work itself keeps them short. People talk about those who have long fingernails, saying that they can use them like spoons to take the beans into their mouths. People also say that their long nails help such people to steal. When children steal things to eat in the house, their parents burn their nails to their fingertips with embers because it is the fingertips that want to steal. When chigoes bore under the nails of the fingers of a person, it is a sure sign that he has stolen salt somewhere; that is why children who have chigoes there are always scolded.

It was not so long ago that sweethearts used to scratch each other's faces as signs of their love. One who let a sweetheart do this showed that he or she accepted the other as his true love, so that if a girl came home with her face all scratched, it was a sure sign that she had accepted a boy to be her husband. Women, when they fight together and pass beyond words, use their nails as weapons, and scratch each other's faces, especially when they are fighting over a man who is the lover of both.

The Little Toe: The little toes know the destiny of their owner and are able to talk. When it is a person's time to die the right toe always gives in to fate, but the little toe of the left foot always says no, as in the following case:

Formerly the Maxeños used to go to the coast to get the cotton for making their clothes. They always took along things from their
own town to sell there, and with the money they bought the cotton.
One time when five Maxenos were making this trip they stopped to
sleep at a place called Chopoj where there was a place protected
from the weather. This place looks down to the coast, for it is at
the beginning of the descent.

They slept in a row as all are accustomed to do, with the
eldest at the edge of the road or the place most exposed. Because
they had come far, four of them were the most tired and soon were
sound asleep while the youngest remained awake as if expecting some-
thing to happen. And so it did, for as the night advanced he heard
the cries of a tiger, each cry closer to the sleeping men. When
he felt that soon the animal would be there he tried to awaken
the others, but they were too fast asleep. Frightened, the youth
awaited the misfortune that was fast approaching. The tiger would
come up to them and he was helpless to do anything but watch the
bad consequences, for he thought that if he should shout, he
would be the first to die. How great was his surprise then, when
the tiger did not seize one of the men, as all tigers do, but in-
stead spoke to the eldest telling him to come with him. The eldest
answered that he would not go with the tiger, that he had not been
born for the tiger but was to meet his death through the cough and
fever. The tiger then went to the second of the men requesting
that the man accompany him, and the second man refused, saying
that he was destined to die in a ravine. The tiger went to urge
the third to come with him and the third answered that he was in-
tended for the tiger but that his time had not yet come and he was
to enjoy the world a little more. But the tiger urged hi, asking
him why he wished to plod along and worry in the world; it would be better to come with him. However, the man refused and told the tiger to wait for him if he wished, and if not there would be other tigers along to claim him in the future. The fourth companion told the tiger that he was intended for drowning and not for the tiger. Finally came the turn of the fifth, who had been listening to the answers of the other four and preparing his own answer; he thought the mouths of his companions had answered the tiger. When the tiger asked him to go with him, what was his surprise then when his little toe of the left foot spoke, telling the tiger that his master was destined to die from a hangover produced by a good drinking spell. In this way the youth learned of what he was destined to die. The tiger urged and urged him, but the little toe did not wish it, and so, rather disgusted with the answers of all of them, the tiger decided to go back to the third who was destined one day to be his and urged him to stay with him this night. The little toe replied that it was all right, but to wait for the men on the return trip. Having agreed to this, the tiger left and went off roaring, as is his custom when he does not get anything to eat. As soon as the animal left, the young man with force awakened his companions to tell them what had transpired between each of them and the tiger. They did not believe a word he said, and told him he was crazy or that he must have been dreaming.

The following day they continued their journey. The young man begged his companions to believe him because he spoke the truth, but they only laughed at him. When they began the return
trip he again entreated them not to sleep in the same place, to avoid the misfortune about which he had told them and which they would not believe. They only laughed and stopped to sleep in the same place. Finally the one destined for the tiger said that as a precaution he would tie himself there with a rope. The others offered to stay awake to see the arrival of the enemy. But they were soon asleep, and they did not know when the tiger came to take away the one who was tied. With one pull it tore the rope and carried off the merchant. The young man cried for help, but those who awoke could do nothing but at last believe that which their young companion had told them.

The following day they continued their journey. They agreed not to speak of this to anyone but only to say that the missing man had remained on the coast.

Digestive System

The food that one eats daily passes from the mouth through the esophagus and into the stomach, after which the excrement passes through the intestines and out the anus. In the mouth are the teeth and the tongue. The teeth are made of bone and are of two kinds, incisors and molars. The incisors help the tongue in speaking, but the molars serve only to chew the food. The tongue, besides being used in speaking, is used to move the food from one side of the mouth to the other so that it can be chewed. The mouth should be washed out after each meal, and especially after the final meal of the day. The parents make their children do this so that there will be no odor from their mouths; some people have this bad breath because they do not wash their mouths thus.
Washing the mouth also keeps the teeth from rotting. In the cofradía rituals all those who partake of the bread and chocolate that is placed on the benches before them wash their mouths with warm water taken from a single vessel that is passed from hand to hand.

In the mouth there is also saliva to aid the digestion. Where this comes from nobody knows. Only the Ladinos seem to think it not nice to spit anywhere one happens to be. However, parents often scold their children when they spit continually, because only drunkards do that and it does not look well in a child. One must be careful not to spit in a person's face, or behind him, because he might think one is doing so to put a curse on him. Nor should one ever spit inside the church, for that is a sin. If a girl or boy wants his or her sweetheart to love him more, he can put a little of his saliva in some food which he gives her to eat, or to make her love him very much, a man can put a little saliva on his sweetheart's breasts.

The Esophagus and Stomach. The esophagus is the part through which pass the foods that are eaten and the air that is breathed. Some say that this tube divides into two parts beyond the throat and that these join into one again when they come to the stomach. Through one part the solid foods pass, and through the other, the liquids. Then all the food and drink comes together in the stomach. The stomach proper is an elastic pouch into which all foods fall and are ground by a kind of mill which is located there. The stomach masticates the food better than the teeth, rendering very
fine even such hard things as meat which is not well cooked. While some say that all that is eaten, whether solid or liquid, goes to the same stomach, there are others who believe that the drinks go into a separate pouch.

There are worms that live in the esophagus and these ask for liquor every so often from those that drink a great deal. In addition to liquor worms, there are milk worms, sweet worms, and so on. If these worms are not given what they ask for they will come out through the mouth and choke a person. Death by such choking is rare, but in a fight each antagonist tries to seize the other by the neck in order to choke him. When a person does not eat for several days the worms become angry and begin to eat the interior organs. For this reason mothers are afraid to let their children go without food when they are very hungry.

Hiccoughing is not a light matter because it is reproof from the stomach worms when they need something; food when they are hungry, and aguardiente for one who has hangover. Some consider hiccoughs as a strong wind in the form of an explosion which comes from a stomach which is empty of all but air. Hiccoughing is a certain sign of death in a patient, for when death approaches it gives its signal in this way. The same holds true with the after-effects of drinking when they are very serious and almost cause death. For this reason the hiccoughs are considered a bad omen because they never come for a good purpose. Some cure this condition by swallowing a little salt, either dry or dissolved in a half glass of water; others strike themselves on the breasts with their own hands in order to get rid of it. Babies are given the breast to cure them of hiccoughing.
Acidity in the chest comes from eating rapidly and then going at once to work. Little attention is given to this distress for it soon goes away; if it does not a little salt is taken. Dullness or numbness of the stomach is cured by rubbing the stomach externally with a little salt mixed with saliva; this is especially good for children. Another method is to beat the stomach as a drum with two chips of red pitch pine; few Ladinos know this cure.

Fat people eat less than those who are thin; for this reason they are more apt to be sick than well. Fat people have no strength, no agility. Thin persons, on the other hand, have better health and more resistance to everything. They can resist illness because the ailment does not have room to grow as in fat people.

If a person’s stomach is not bound when he is a child, it will be bad because the stomach will grow much and this is a physical defect; this will make it hard for the person to carry loads and to work. In general, there is no one with a large stomach, especially among the men; among the Ladinos there are many such cases. On the coast there are very large, thick-trunked trees that are called nup; if the bark is ground and given in food and drink to a person, that person will keep on getting fatter and fatter until he bursts, unless the tree from which the bark was taken is chopped down. Young trees are always used for this, and the stomach of the person grows with the tree. Some people of the coast give this bark to their cattle to fatten them quickly and to make much profit when they sell them; but when these animals are killed it can soon be seen that the meat does not weigh much and bad accounts result.
The Liver  The liver is called "earth" because it is made up of dry little particles that resemble earth. It is the liver which needs water when we feel thirsty. If it is not given water it gets drier and brings on immediate death. This is the only function of the liver. The spleen likewise needs water and may also cause death through thirst.

The Kidneys  The kidneys are similar in shape to a kind of milo bean. They have no known function. Water and other drinks, unlike solid foods, pass to the blood immediately after they are taken. This is the reason why, on taking water, the thirst is immediately quenched. When no longer needed the water turns into urine and this liquid descends directly down the digestive tract, ignoring the kidneys.

The Intestines  The intestines are parts of the digestive tract which serve only for holding the excrement and letting it pass. It has a length equal to two or three times that of the individual. When the intestines make a noise for any reason, the owner hurries to eat something, for the noise is caused by the clamoring of hungry worms. People with large stomachs have thick intestines and under the abdominal skin they have fat in the form of foam. In San Lucas Tolimán there were two natives who drank the sap of the tree of the coast and for this reason became very fat until finally they could not even see the belt around their waist.

The anus is a continuation of the intestines and is a bad word, for which reason it is not freely used, lest it convey an insult.

The excrement is a good thing but the name for it is a bad word frequently used to cause insult. The person to whom this word is directed becomes very angry. On the coast excrement is used
as a great medicine when a man is a victim of an insect bite of the *casampulga*. About a half pound of excrement is mixed with water in a gourd. It can be excrement of any person, but the matter must be handled quickly. This treatment is also used to cure bites of very poisonous snakes. Victims do not mind taking the excrement mixed in water because of the great pain of the wound. The part immediately above the wound is always bound right away so that the poison will not rise into the rest of the body.

**Sex Organs and Acts**

*Females Organs.* The female parts are known as the organ for the urine and for the use of the man. Women are more scrupulous about the care and exhibition of their parts than the men; they do not bathe together with their friends, completely unclothed, but always cover themselves with a cloth. Boys who are good friends bathe together in the lake with entire confidence and without embarrassment.

*Male Organs.* The sexual parts of a man have both proper and vulgar names, as in Spanish. God made these organs for the purpose of begetting children by a woman through the act of intercourse, when living in a house with a woman.

Among themselves, the men say of the penis that when it is erect it means that a man is hungry and has need of a woman. The young men who are bad say that to make the penis grow, it should be exposed and pulled at when the donkeys bray. There is the same effect when one imitates the braying animal. Moreover, if the penis of the wild animal, *mapache*, is eaten, the organ of the individual will remain erect.
all his life. Such a man can make use of a woman several times without tiring and is always ready to make use of another who might offer herself. For this reason it is said of the libertine that he perhaps has eaten this part of the animal. Eating a raw onion produces much rigidity in a man, and in a woman as well, and for this reason children are forbidden to eat it.

The testicles manufacture the sperm which is emptied through the channels which go through to the penis. The testicles are called "valor" because it is here that the valor and physical strength of each man lies. For this reason these parts should not be touched and should not be bound tightly; they are so delicate they will easily break. They accordingly are called eggs sometimes and compared to those of a chicken. When the children play with them or injure them by accident their mothers sometimes warn them with stories such as the one about a woman who in jest threw a grain of corn at the testicles of her husband, killing him instantly. When a man is not afraid of anything, the testicles always remain in place, but when he is afraid, they contract and draw up to hide from whatever has frightened them. Those who have only one testicle are said never to be able to beget children. It is not good to have large testicles because they weigh much when one runs or works; this is a great defect, and people will consider such men lazy.
II. Personal Hygiene

People bathe either in the sweatbath or in the lake. The sweatbath is a very important part of a house, because everyone—men, women, and children—uses it. Only the young men have in the last few years become accustomed to bathing in the lake; women never do. When the young men bathe in the lake they undress at the shore; only a few Ladinos have bathing suits. When an Indian woman comes down to get water where a man is bathing, she leaves again or manages not to look and later criticizes the man for not being ashamed for people to see his body. The young men who bathe in the lake use the sweatbath only in the rainy season when the lake freezes the stomach. Some say that Indians cannot bathe in the lake because the cold water will freeze the stomach. Only Ladinos can bathe in the lake because they are made differently. They say that in the old days the people used to bathe in very hot sweatbaths because they liked to come out well intoxicated.

Bathing in the sweatbath is usually done at dusk, at about six or seven o'clock, and the bath lasts for an hour or more. Sick people, of course, and women after childbirth enter the sweatbath at any hour of the day or night. An hour or two before entering the sweatbath a fire is started with little pieces of wood; with much wood the sweatbath becomes very hot and most of the people cannot stand it. There is a special place for this fire in one corner at the front of the sweatbath; it is covered
with stones, tiles, or bricks. Some pots of water are placed on the fire to heat, others are just placed inside for special uses. Before entering the bath the fire is removed to the outside, leaving only the hot stones, the hot water and the cold water. Some people undress in their beds in the house, cross the patio covered with a blanket or something else, and return in the same manner. When there are neighbors who come to assist, they undress at the door of the sweatbath under the eaves of the thatch roof. Some people undress right in the sweatbath. Upon entering some sweatbath acclaim the god of the whose name is not known, although others call upon Santa Ana who is, of course, the patroness of the sweatbath. The entrance is covered with blankets.

There are little stools in the sweatbath on which the bathers sit, and the person sitting nearest the fire throws hot water on the hot stones. Heat and vapor rise, and all perspire greatly depending upon the amount of the heat. The little branches and leaves of the "sweatbath bush" are bound into bunches, and used as a sort of fan by the bathers to beat their bodies. The leaves are very strong, do not easily fall off in the heat, and so are good for this purpose. In about five minutes the leader throws on more water; those who can stand much throw on water five or six times. When there is no more heat, or they do not want more, the bathers throw water on their bodies to wash off the dirt. Some use soap.

While they are bathing in the vapor of the sweatbath parents talk to their children about morals; they scold them for any misconduct, and advise and inspire them. Though all enter the sweatbath together, they do not leave together because some can stand
more than others. Children usually leave first; those who are too young to walk are carried to their beds by servants or older brothers or sisters who are outside. After the children have left the sweatbath and the parents remain alone, they pray to God and the saints for their own welfare and for that of their children and their work.

Those adults who have become "intoxicated" from their baths are carried out. Sometimes a sick person is overcome by the heat as was the wife of Santiago Y., who when ill had entered the sweatbath. Santiago found her lying in the doorway almost dead; she had stopped breathing and her heart was not beating. Neighbors hastened to help him; one brought hot chiles from the kitchen, cut them between his teeth (because the sick woman's mouth could not be opened) and made the sick woman breathe the chile. The strength of the chiles made the woman breathe strongly. They poured cold water over her head and face, made her drink some and she revived.

Some say that they like the sweatbath good and hot because that is the only thing that can throw off the fatigue produced by hard work. However, when one is bathing in the sweatbath and feels an urge to leave, and his heart begins to beat hard and fast, these are signs that he is about to die in there, and he should immediately take cold water and get out.

The whole family often bathes together rather than individuals singly. A group may be a man, his wife, and their children under fifteen years of age, or several men who are related or friends, or several women who are related or friends. Also any grandparent may go in with any of his or her grandchildren, a woman with her mother, a man with his father, or a male or female curer with any
sick person. Those who may not enter together are adult brothers and sisters, or any man and woman not married to each other (with the exception of curers). Not too long ago the following happened: a man who permitted his wife to bathe in a sweatbath with another man.

One day Juan C. decided to go with his wife to bathe in the sweatbath of a neighbor, Francisco R., who is a feeble-minded. Francisco had a wife, too, and of her they asked permission to bathe there. The permission granted, Juan and his wife brought the water, firewood, and everything necessary for the bath. When all was ready, Juan persuaded his wife to ask only the woman of the house to bathe with them. The foolish Francisco agreed to allow his wife to go in with them. At nightfall they were in the sweatbath when Juan began to molest the other woman by touching her parts and even pulling the hair of the region. Being between the two women, he was able to enjoy them both. Francisco's wife laughed and shouted about the jostling which he did, while his wife did not say anything, because she knew that her husband always liked to laugh and play a lot. Francisco was in the kitchen and soon heard the shouts of his wife. Jealous of what the other might be doing in there, he came closer and closer to hear what was happening. Finally not being able to resist his jealousy he found a pole and began little by little to raise the roof of the sweatbath. All of a sudden he let it fall, and he himself ran to the house. What was the surprise and fright of the bathers to feel the weight of the mud and poles that fell upon them! Somewhat crazed they ran out of the place and took refuge in the house, all of them full of mud and black from the smoke that had
accumulated in the walls of the sweatbath. They asked Francisco who had done this, but he said that he had not seen anything.

*Care of the Hair*

The hair of small children should never be cut, because it is a sin; if the hair of the boys is cut before they are seven or eight years old, they get dysentery and may die. Children should never comb their hair at night either, for this opens the road to the death of their parents; when a child is seen combing his hair, he is scolded and asked why he wants his parents to die so quickly. As a matter of fact, even grownups should not comb their hair at night lest when they become sick many lice come out of their heads, and even more when they die. Nor should hair be combed on Mondays or Fridays, because it is a sin to do it on these bad days.

Formerly the men cut each other's hair with iron scissors of the kind used to shear sheep. They would do this every five or six months, depending on how fast their hair grew. They would cut off all the hair, not even leaving some in the front to act as a pad for the tumpline when carrying loads, as do the men of Santa Catarina Palopó. Only about twenty-five years ago the young men began to go to barbers as do the Ladinos, and now most men use these barbers. Here in Panajachel there are some women who know how to give their husbands haircuts, but some say that this is bad; the women step on the cut hair that has fallen, and soon the men will grow stupid. Where the women cut their husband's hair, men almost always are ordered about by their wives.
They say that formerly it was a disgrace for a man to cut his beard, or not to have one, because these hairs were manifestations of the male sex; men without them were considered to be like women. The old men would let their beards grow as long as God wished, as a distinction of old age, too, and those who did not have beards were talked about.

The women take much more pains with their hair so that it is nice and smooth and grows long. It is said of women with short hair that they are not feminine. However, a woman's hair should be neither too long nor too short; when very long it is called horses' tails, and when very short, the women are considered too lazy to comb long hair. If a woman wants nice hair, she may crush the maicillo, stem and all, and apply the water that comes out of it to her whole scalp; the following day she washes her hair with soap and water, and it is certain that very soon she will have very lovely hair.

To wash their hair the women go to the lake shore, or the river, or an irrigation ditch. They wet their hair and wash it thoroughly with the black pig-soap that is the only kind used. Then they squeeze sour-orange juice on it or rub it well with avocados which have become a little rotten. After rubbing it for a few minutes, they comb out the hair with the wooden combs bought in the markets, or with the new-fashioned imported combs, parting the hair in the middle and making two long braids. They always part their hair in the middle, lest they be laughed at for aping the Ladinos.

Formerly only water was used in combing the hair, but now some of the girls use brilliantine of various kinds and odors,
also perfumes, and hairpins. When strands of hair fall while a woman is combing her hair, she should always pick them up, for it is a sin to leave them lying around on the ground or to burn them; the women usually tie them up into little wreaths and put them into a crack in the wall of the house. They say that the long hairs after awhile turn into snakes that bite hard and are poisonous. The reason the hair must be saved is that when a person dies, God asks for all that is left down on earth, and someone is sent to earth to get the hair, which, if it is all together in the house, is easily found. The same is true of fingernails and toenails, and of teeth that are pulled. Nails, however, may be thrown into the fire, because then the fire comes right up to the front and says that there is no use to go to look for the nails because they were given him (the fire) to eat back there on earth.

Rarely does a woman go out on the street with her hair flowing loose, because people are very critical of this. Men think a woman who goes around with her hair disarranged is lazy. All the female spirits that have been seen at night have their hair loose, never braided.

Lice, Fleas, Nigua

Lice abound in most of the families and there are few people who try to get rid of them. Some people say that it is a good thing to have a few lice while alive because otherwise when one dies there will be hordes of them over his body. But when children have too many lice it is sure that some sickness will come and they are watched with great care.
Combs his hair on Mondays or Fridays—it is sure that when he dies there will be many lice in his head no matter how clean it is, and a million lice will immediately appear all over his body.

On good days women can comb out their children’s hair; but only shiftless women sit combing their husband’s hair. There are eases of men who comb their wives’ hair when the wife is the boss in the house.

There are two kinds of lice; the white lice that live in one’s clothes, and the black lice of the head. Sometimes the mistress of the house, when she has time, delouses the clothes in the sun and also delouses her children with a wooden comb, killing the lice, and especially the eggs, cracking them with her fingernails or between her teeth.

Lice cause itching all over the body and the head; when one has not had any white lice in his clothes, they burn like chichi-caste, but when one is accustomed to them, they just itch and it is a great pleasure to scratch. When a strange louse happens to enter the clothes, it cannot find a place to live, and it passes from one place on the body to another and is very annoying; wherever these lice pass they leave little trenches in the skin where they have put their feet.

Like lice, fleas are found in almost all of the houses and in the clothes and bed-clothes of all the people. In the rainy season they are especially bad because they cannot live outside and they come into the houses where they lay their eggs in corners. There are two kinds: big brown ones that do not bite hard but which drink the most blood, and small black ones
that not only bite very hard but jump around in the bed-clothes so much that it is hard to catch them. Dogs have fleas, too, especially the big brown kind. As with lice, the women sometimes take the bed-clothes out in the sun and rid them of fleas. In the rainy season they also often flood the floor of the house to drown or drive out the little insects. They are killed with the fingernails or the teeth.

The fleas announce something bad that is happening to some relative far or near when at night they bite the body unusually often. For example, when the soul of a dead person comes into the house the fleas announce it by increased biting. Also, when there is a characotel in the vicinity at night they jump around in bed and will not be quiet, so that the only thing to do is get up and put on a light to kill them and then go to see about the characotel. There may be dogs in the house, but spirits have a way of putting them to sleep, so that only the fleas give warning.

There is another kind of flea, called the nigua, that is smaller than the others and is to be found in every home. It lives in warm and dirty places and where there is garbage, and it is usually at night that nigua bore into the skin of the feet or the hands. If a person has many nigua in his feet he is safe from all curses and witchcraft, and the person is very strong, and nobody can harm him with words or deeds; he can answer with prayers to God and God will listen to him, even as he does to deaf-mutes and other freaks. A person with many nigua in the fingers of his hands, however, was given them by God as a punishment for stealing.
**Niguas** are removed with the point of a needle or a piece of wire, or a thorn, and when they are young and before the sack of eggs is present, some people kill them by biting them or squashing them between the fingernails. Not just anyone can remove niguas, but only those who have good fluid in their bodies. When others try it, the foot swells and fills with pus after the operation. When a child has had very many niguas taken out of his feet and they pain him and he cannot walk, hot pine turpentine is applied; when it is taken off in a few days the feet are well again. Often the spot where a nigua has been removed itches very much, and this can be cured by applying a hot ember to it.

Niguas are most common in the dry season. There are three kinds of niguas here: those of mice, which are flesh-colored, hard to find, hard to remove and hurt a lot in the skin; those of people or pigs, which are black and cause much itching (children scratch so much that they often draw blood); and those of dogs which itch and hurt all at the same time.

**Piojillas** The piojilla is as small as the nigua; it is a flea that is hardly ever seen, but is only felt on the skin. Laying hens are almost always infested with these little fleas which can be killed or driven away only with the smoke of burning tree branches.
III. Females and Childbirth

The female sex has the power to emasculate the male and to render him stupid. When a woman over fifteen years old steps over any part of a man, he becomes senseless and sometimes even an idiot. That is why wise men never let women pass over their feet or their body. It is a sin to do this, and older sisters take care never to pass over their brothers' person. But sometimes a mischievous woman steps over a man when he is sleeping or drunk. If a woman steps over a man's iron tools, they break or no longer are serviceable. Moreover if an article of female clothing is placed over a man of any age, it will make him stupid instantly. This is particularly true of a skirt or blouse that has already been worn. If a man steps over a woman's belt, his foot will pain him, or he will tire easily on walks. Idiocy may likewise come upon a boy who sees the sex parts of a woman. Giving a man a drink with the urine of a woman also induces stupidity. Female urine is potent as well for taming animals. If a bull or a ram has a mean disposition, it will soon become docile if a woman's urine or skirt is thrown over its head. Even a kitchen broom that has been used by the housewife, when brushed over the back of an angry or bothersome animal, will calm him.
If a woman passes over the growing maize or beans, a man, eating of the crop, will not be harmed. But once cut from the vine, or harvested, he will become weak if a woman steps over the crop. Similarly, if a woman climbs up a fruit tree the tree is ruined. But if a Ladina passes over things to eat or to use belonging to an Indian man, the man will not be affected. The Ladina, due to her blood and race, is weaker and more "cold"; she can do harm only to Ladinos. On the other hand, if an Indian woman passes over what Ladinos are going to use, those men will become idiots, because the Indian blood is strong and hot.

Menstruation is a sickness that comes from the stomach, when the moon changes her face. Some women have their menstruation when the moon is waxing and others when she is waning. Thus the moon is known to be the influencing agency in this matter. The women figure their sickness days by the moon; they await the same phase in the same number of days. Some men know very well when a woman is menstruating: she is pale, the bottom of the eyelids are dilated, and there are certain
little dark spots under the eyes. They know also that the women do not feel very well these days, and some even have headaches. A man never uses a woman during such times, for the woman will be very ashamed when she later sees the man, even though he is her husband. Or the result of bothering a woman during her period may be to bring an incurable sickness upon both of them. Women do not menstruate while they are pregnant and while they are nursing babies. The reason Indian women suffer less pain during menstruation than the Ladinas is because they seldom take to their beds as the Ladinas do.

Two men can impregnate the same woman and in such a case the resulting child will look more like the man who has consorted the more with the woman. So it often happens that one child will have two fathers. That is why some women declare they have had many men and tell their names so that it may be known that the child has several fathers.

If a woman has difficulties in conceiving children the disappointed husband may call in shamans to do rituals or attempt to change his luck by moving to a new housesite. If a woman has only daughters and wants to give birth to a boy, she may bring this about by stepping first over the hoe, then over the machete, and finally over the ax of her husband.

Women who have intercourse with men and do not become pregnant are greatly criticized. Those who have had children disapprove of these sly women who lie with all the men without any result from their acts. They say to them that they should work like the men since, like men, they do not become pregnant and can exercise a lot without becoming sick.
Pregnancy

Every grown-up knows that children are formed in the womb and remain there for nine months to the day of birth. In the old days the young people did not know about becoming pregnant until a child was born to them; they thought the fatness was a natural one. In one such case, the girl's husband and his relatives did not tell her because they did not want to frighten her before her time. When her pains began, her husband happened to be in the Capital. She had great pain and boiled water to drink, thinking that it was a simple stomach ache. Only when it was very severe did she call her relatives. They told her that it was now time for her illness and that they would call the midwife. She still did not understand, however, and learned about conception only after her first child was born.

A woman who is three months pregnant must satisfy any craving, especially if it is for food. If the desire is not satisfied, misfortune will ensue. The child will not come at the appointed time, or be aborted before term, or it will be born with its tongue hanging out. It is a sin before God for somebody who brings this about by refusing a pregnant woman what she craves.

Abortion

Women who do not want to bear the children they have conceived are considered the very worst. When an embryo-life is taken deliberately it is a great sin against God, from whom the guilty person may expect punishment. Abortion sometimes occurs by accident, however, as when a woman falls and hurts the delicate parts of her body, or her stomach. Or, she
may have a longing for a food she sees or smells. The last is what happens most often and consequently it is such longings that are the most feared. The husband also may get a longing for something he sees or smells, and if it is not satisfied it is certain that the sickness will immediately pass on to the woman in the house. It is actually the child itself who has the longing, but since the baby that will be born has the blood of both parents its parents feel the craving. If these desires of the child are not fulfilled, then it becomes ill and wants to come out of its place, and that is when the abortion takes place.

There are some midwives who know how to cure women who do not want to have any more children, but they tell no one how they do it. Some other bad women go to the pharmacy and there ask for the necessary medicines to abort. There are some who drink lime juice mixed with the water from a sharpened machete to abort, or indulge in violent exercise.

Usually the wife does not bother to tell the husband of her condition until about three months before the expected birth. When she does tell, the husband then goes to ask the midwife to help his wife. After greeting the woman at her house, and talking in general for a little while, he kneels before her, kisses her hand, and explains the situation of his wife. He asks the midwife to help, putting it as a great favor. She says that she will be up to see his wife in the afternoon, and then the husband pays her and gratefully leaves.

That afternoon the midwife comes and examines the pregnant woman and instructs the husband in what medicines he should
procure. The midwife then comes to visit the patient at intervals depending on the condition of the patient and on how busy the midwife is.

In case the husband is away or if no husband exists, the pregnant woman herself (or her father or mother) may go to ask the midwife the first time; then, if the woman lives alone, the midwife may come to stay with her during the latter stages of her pregnancy.

When the wife feels that her time is coming she tells her husband to go for the midwife. If it is during the night, the husband is expected to escort the midwife to his home.

Labor may last only several hours or it may last for over twenty-four hours, depending on the case. The powder of the dried and scraped morro seed is mixed with aguardiente and given to mothers who do not give birth rapidly. Or sometimes a woman who is in labor for a long time sends for a little of the water from the vases of the white lilies that are used in the cofradías. Drinking this water hastens the birth; not because of its medicinal properties, but because it is of the saints. It is given free; to sell it would be a great sin. The dust off certain small stones that pilgrims purchase at Esquipulas also may be eaten by women who are about to bear children in order to facilitate delivery. These stones are white and nearly square (two inches long by one and one-half wide by one-half thick), and on one side is carved the figure of the crucifixion. The stones have a special taste which they get from the work done on them. They are called "the earth of our Saviour."

During the birth, the husband stays around and helps. He
builds up the fire, brings hot water, and runs errands at the request of the midwife. When the child is about to be born, he supports his wife as she kneels before the midwife on a mat. This is done so that she can give all her force to the act of birth. Others may help in addition to, or instead of, the husband. The woman's mother or a neighbor woman who has had children may be brought in to assist; a young girl would never be allowed to help, however. Almost always a rope is dropped from above, and the woman hangs onto the end of it, so that she can use force and so hasten the birth. She is covered with a blanket because the warmth hastens the birth and protects the mother and the baby from the cold. The midwives often make the women blow into an empty bottle to cause more force and pressure in the act. Some say that the husband should perform this operation secretly, so that his wife will bear the child quickly. In the old days a man would take off his sandals and with them strike the mouth or the buttocks of the woman in labor to hasten the birth. This practice is still followed in Sololá.

When the birth is normal, the head of the infant comes out first and the feet last. If it is an unmarried girl that is having the baby, her father demands of her the name of the child's father, and even if she has refused to tell before she must now name the father.

When the baby is delivered, the umbilical cord is cut with scissors and tied with white thread; white thread is also placed around the child's neck. The midwife usually does this, but in some cases the husband may do it under her direction. Then the child is wrapped in a cloth band from its neck to its
feet, its arms included, so that it will not be mischievous when it grows up; otherwise it will touch everything it sees, and this is very hard on the parents. There is a verse saying that if a child steals or touches what does not concern it, it is because its arms were not bound when it was born.

The afterbirth is given to the husband to bury. This may be done within the patio but usually it is done further away. If it is desired to prevent the coming of more children, the afterbirth should be taken far away from the house. It is buried at a depth of about two feet and preferably in the shade. A stone and leaves may be placed over the fresh earth to hide the spot. If there is no husband, the midwife will bury the placenta herself. Sometimes instead of burying the afterbirth it is burned in a fire. It is customary to hide the umbilical cord in the thatch in the roof of the house. But sometimes it is carried far away on a stone so that there will not be another child very soon. Moreover, if the cord is disposed of nearby, when the child is grown up he will be afraid to go to distant places.

Three to six hours after the birth, the midwife takes the mother into the sweatbath. She is carried in by her husband or by some other man such as a grown son. The fire in the sweatbath is prepared by the husband or even by the midwife herself.

If she can spare the time or hire a servant, the mother spends a week or even two weeks in bed after the child is born. But often there is no one to take care of the house and the mother must therefore get up from bed three or four days after giving
birth. In this case the woman tries to do only the light work, for otherwise the womb drops and produces a bad illness. When a woman does not recover quickly from having a child, she is given a drink of two eggs beaten up into sweetened hot coffee. If the woman is quite strong, the eggs are beaten up in a little aguardiente and sugar until there is a foam on top.

Rituals

There are two rituals which must be performed after the baby is born. The first ritual occurs usually ten days after the birth. At that time the midwife takes the infant into the sweatbath. The door is left wide open so that it is not too hot for the child. Rituals at this time consist of killing two chickens, or buying six pounds of beef, in order to prepare pulique, and in making tortillas and tamalitos. All this food is given to the relatives and neighbors who come to the house to visit the sick woman, and especially to the midwife in gratitude for her services. The visitors, in turn, bring with them such things as bread, chocolate, and atol.

Approximately twenty days after the birth the second ritual takes place. It is called the fiesta to celebrate "the taking out of the boards on which mother and child sleep." The same foods are prepared for the neighbors and the midwife. This time a bottle of aguardiente, as well, is given to the midwife at her home. In addition, the midwife now receives the last part of her pay in cash. During this second ritual, the house and the bed are thoroughly cleaned out, the fire and ashes are removed and all dirt and scraps of food are buried. The midwife is now dismissed of responsibility for the child's health and welfare. Life now can go on as before the birth.
Some midwives are registered at the town hall and are thereby considered officially titled. The price charged by the midwife varies with the circumstances of the parents and with the sex of the child delivered; for a boy it is a little higher than for a girl. In the case of a stillborn baby the price is about half. The midwife's fee averages around one to five dollars, and additional expenses for liquor, chocolate, and rolls similarly range from under one dollar to five, depending largely on the finances of the parents.

Once a midwife has been used by a family she is generally called in again every time another child is born. If a different one were to be called in there would be a quarrel among the midwives. Often it is difficult to persuade a new midwife to come if the former one had died since delivering the last child. Nor are midwives willing to come to a house where the rituals had been omitted after a birth. Because midwives speak ill of such a house, parents always strive to do the rituals no matter how poor they may be.

Occasionally some women prefer a Ladina midwife to an Indian. When a Ladina midwife is called in she assists only at the delivery; then she goes home and another Indian midwife is hired for the customs such as going into the sweatbath. The Ladina is paid only for her few moments of work, and after that she does not have to see the woman; it is the Indian midwife who receives the demonstrations of gratitude when the time comes. If no midwife is willing to accept the job after the Ladina, the parents look for an old woman who has had children so that she will go into the sweatbath with the mother.
Sometimes an Indian midwife is called to help a Ladina mother. In such cases the Indian midwife follows the practice of the Ladinos; she merely comes to deliver the baby, and the sick woman is left with some relative to assist her. If the midwife comes back to see her, it is because she wishes to and her visit is merely like that of a relative or friend.

Preferences in Children. Midwives charge more for delivering a boy than a girl because boys earn more. In former times there was a larger fiesta in the house when a boy was born; there was a killing of roosters, turkeys, or even a sheep or a ewe. The father is happy when a boy is born for when he is grown he will help in the work. Boys are considered closer to the mother and girls to the father; girls are called "wives" of the father, and boys "husbands" of the mother.

Twins. Twins occur quite rarely, but when there is a case of twins the people are alarmed and pity the sick woman, saying that God willed it so. If they are the first children in the family and the woman has lived with her husband for some time praying for children, then God has punished her by giving her two or more children. Or, a mother may be punished with a pair of twins if she has spoken badly of the children of her sisters or neighbors. It is a great sin to speak ill of either a mother of many children or women with none. Twins may be the result of yet another cause: when two fires are started in the same house, but at a little distance from each other, it will come about
that the mistress of the house or the one who built the fires will have two children at the same time.

When twins are born the first-born is attended to first and then the second, but one must always wait until both have been born and the placenta has been discharged. When twins are born in any house, then the customs which are carried out are the same as for the other cases, with the difference that expenses are greater for the midwife because she has more work to do.

Those who are twins have a strong spirit and nature. They have a special destiny, and shamans cannot do to them what they can to a normal child. Twin children have the capacity of causing the clothing of people who are not nice to them or who eat before them without offering them something, to tear. All new clothing in the house should be placed on the twins to rid them of their envy.

Care of New-born Children When the baby is born a drop of lime juice is sometimes put in each infant's eyes so that its vision will be clear. The first food a child receives is a honey preparation called miel rosado which is purchased in the drug store. When the child cries, one of several things may be wrong; it may be cold, its navel may hurt, or it may be hungry. Always handy is a tin cup with a little honey at the bottom and a little folded rag which is dipped in and then put in the baby's mouth for it to suck on. The baby starts nursing on the third day. If at that time the mother has no milk for the child, it is given water with an herb called hinojo, and in the sweatbath
it is given azota with the tips of sweet potato. It may even drink the liquid of sweet potato cooked in water. Once a child begins to nurse it continues to breast-feed until it is two years old. At that time it is given bread, soup and other easily digestible foods to eat. Sometimes when children cry they are given oil in order to rid them of colic. In some cases children are given urine to drink for the same reason.

Nursing

The breasts have as their purpose the conversion of blood into milk. When a child nurses at night, the mother should not immediately go outside or into the patio because her breasts are warm and in them is the spirit of the child; it is possible that this spirit will be left outside, whereupon the child will become sick, and no remedy will cure it. Some simply say that the night air chills the milk in the breasts and this is not good for the children. Women cover up their bosom and thus their lungs, as do all the men also, otherwise they will catch cold in the shoulders and die of pneumonia. Some, when they get pains in the lungs, apply hot applications to draw out the winds which are there.

Midwives know very well how to prepare the nipples of a woman who is having her first child. They are opened so that the channels will not close up when the woman has to nurse her child. The midwives also know what herbs to give the mother so that her breasts will have plenty of milk. If a woman grinds corn and nurses her child at the same time, the child will grow up to have a big appetite and will eat too much.
Not only is mother's milk beneficial to babies; it is known that old people can live longer and are rejuvenated a little when they drink a woman's milk. It is related that an old man, very rich in money and lands, married a young girl who had milk, and each meal she had to prepare a glass of her own milk and give it to the old man. After some months of this diet he was rejuvenated and could have healthy and robust children by this girl. For this reason it is known that human milk is a greater nourishment than the milk of domestic animals.

Ladinas say the milk of a pregnant woman is bad, and therefore they leave off nursing one child three or more months before another is born. However, Indian children do not leave off breast-feeding until they are two years old. Since many mothers have a child each year the problem often arises of nursing two children at once, in which case the mother tries to nurse both until the older is two years old. In the year when both are nursing together it is very dangerous because the mouth of the older one is cold and that of the younger warm, so whichever nurses first makes it bad for the other. It is worse for the little one for thus his only food may be taken away. Sometimes a contest exists between the two little ones, and they are called opponents. The one who is stronger wins. If the older one dies, the parents say his sickness was caused by his younger brother but people say nothing because these are things of God. If the younger one dies, the older one is said to "have eaten his younger brother," but he is not blamed either. Thus the stronger is the one who survives.
Ajcha'kin is the name given to the child next in age to the new-born baby in the household. After the new-born baby is taken to the sweatbath, the ajcha'kin is treated like an outsider at the hour of the special lunch that is prepared by the parents for this customary little fiesta. This child is given his food separately, and plenty of it; the child is seated in the door of the house, like a visitor, and tortillas or tamalitos are prepared especially for him or her. The child is treated as an adult, with respect, and is told to eat well. If he cannot finish all the food, it is kept for the next meal, until all is finished. If there is no child in the house, a real outsider is brought in. If this ritual is not observed it is a sin to the new-born child.

Illegitimate Children) If the father of an illegitimate child is a married man or a relative (such as an uncle) the mother usually is too ashamed to tell who the father is. Even a brother-sister mating would give perfectly healthy offspring, but such a mating is "bad business"—like dogs—and the world is pretty bad when this happens. A Ladino case of father-daughter incest occurred in Sololá; the parents fought and separated, and the baby died.

In case of illegitimacy, the girl is blamed but never the man. If the girl's parents have done bad things, they are especially blamed for their daughter's delinquency. There is no feeling about the child if he is a good person, but if not, his illegitimacy is gossiped about.
IV. Sickness and Cures

The sicknesses which are visited upon people here in Pana-jachel come from different sources. Some sicknesses are ordered sent by others with whom the sick persons have had difficulties. If they themselves do not directly send the evil, they hire sorcerers to do them the favor. But sicknesses also may come from God, as a punishment that He sends or because people are needed in the hill or in Heaven to work on large projects. Therefore, if anyone is gravely ill, a shaman is immediately asked to divine whether the sickness was sent by someone or if it is from God. The sicknesses that come as a punishment from God are those that come as pestilences or attacks on the people of a whole community. Some of these are smallpox, measles, and whooping cough. One of the means of transporting illnesses are the characoteles who go to the houses at night; for this reason they are called "those who carry illnesses." Sicknesses are agents who travel everywhere and enter even strong bodies through the air we breathe or in things we eat. However, there are some hereditary diseases such as tuberculosis.

Such common ailments as coughs and colds, aches and fever, indigestion and hangover, as well as some less common such as majitajic, tumors, stys, clouded eyes and quixwi result from natural causes, although in some cases witchcraft may be involved.

The sore throat is cured with the herb tsolij, well ground and applied externally to the throat. Some persons massage sore throats with saliva, also. The simple kind of cough that often accompanies a sore throat usually is not considered serious.
Some say that it is even harmful to take care of a cough, for by paying attention to it, it becomes a habit. Only when fever and headache accompany a cold, does a person go to bed for several days. Coughing is very common among children who eat many limes or other unhealthy fruit, and it also comes to old people in times of epidemics and along with influenza. It is an illness produced in the throat and, if it gets severe, in the chest. Usually cough results from the cold produced in the stomach or chest by "cold" things that are eaten, but "warm" foods such as honey and ice may also be the cause. The harmful part of a cough is the fluid it produces; little by little this fluid goes to the throat and remains there. The sputum or nasal discharge should not be kept in a handkerchief or a rag in one's pockets, but should rather be spit somewhere on the ground; it is bad stuff to carry around.

When a cough is bad enough to require a cure, one takes hot drinks of tea, lime juice, and a little liquor, sweetened and with a little cinnamon, so that it is as strong as possible. Another hot medicine that may be taken is heated water of manzanilla with wax.
Some find that the ripe avocado eaten as the principal dish of the meal is an excellent cure. If a cough is severe, and especially in the case of children, the sweatbath is used at night.

When a person suffers from a very strong cough that seems to stop up the swallowing process, he sometimes asks a certain skilled woman to do him the favor of performing a special treatment in his mouth. The woman, who generally is a midwife or a grandmother, places her index and middle fingers inside the patient's throat and moves them around in such a way as to break certain little grains which are formed within the walls of the throat. In the case of a child, only the index finger is inserted. Before this operation, however, the woman washes her hands with soap and water and then anoints them with juice of the sour-orange in order that this may be rubbed in the mouth. When this is done the saliva coming into the mouth is swallowed rather than spit out, so that the throat opens and, with the aid of the sour-orange juice, returns to its normal full opening. Treatments of this sort are made only in the morning before breakfast, for otherwise they give no good results. Three or four mornings of this treatment are sufficient to cure a cough that constricts the throat passage.

Some persons relieve a bad cough by applying wax plasters to the outside of the throat. This averts danger by ripening the cough. Heat is applied externally when a nasal cold accompanies a cough; the fingers simply carry the heat from a candle flame to the nose, throat, and chest.

Tuberculosis is called "bad cough" for it is a disease that is accompanied by a dry cough that lasts until death. The victim becomes very thin and chokes when he talks much and even when he goes up a
little incline. Formerly people asked diviners to ascertain whether
the sickness had been sent by enemies or by God. But the diviners
never helped and much less cured; all they did for the patients was
to have them use the sweatbaths frequently in order to soften the
cough. Otherwise coughing was sometimes so severe that blood was
coughed up from the throat. A sufferer can pass on the disease to
another who laughs at him and this latter will then be incurable.
The "bad cough" often is hereditary. In one family all the brothers
had the same cough that their mother had before she died.

Headaches result from carrying heavy loads or working in the sun.
Bad or sluggish blood accumulates in the head, wants to go out, and
causes the head to ache. It can be cured by bleeding on the fore-
head. Others tie magnolia leaves to their foreheads or apply the
herbs mutxutxin or par, well-ground with maize dough, to the forehead.

Earaches come from cold entering the ears, and so are cured with
hot things such as manzanilla which is boiled and placed near the ear
so that the heat of the steam goes into the ear. When earache was
accompanied by deafness, the people of old used the following treat-
ment: they picked out the young shoots or the tenderest part of the
strongest chichica ste plant known and put these in the hot ashes of
the fire to roast them well. When they were taken out of the fire
the outer skin was peeled off and the inner part of the branch was
put as far into the aching ear as possible.

Pains in the teeth come from eating too much brown sugar and other
sweets when one is little, and with time the teeth decay. Toothache
may also come from cold entering the teeth at night. When a person
suffers from a toothache he covers his face with cloths to produce
heat in his face, and only hot things are applied, such as tobacco
combined with quicklime. Front teeth that ache hurt more than do the
molars. When a molar aches or pinches, the same thing is happening as in the fruit, *injerto*; worms are active within and when something is eaten a pain in the molar is felt. To kill the worm which is in the tooth or the gum, some people place a red-hot nail in the tooth. Some resort to rinsing the mouth with the juice of the manzanilla. Others cook up some avocado seed together with the bark of the *nance* tree and a piece of red pitch pine, and rinse their mouth with this concoction. If these remedies fail, and if the person has money, he goes to the tavern and keeps rinsing his mouth with *aguardiente*. Since it is a sin to throw away alcohol, the sufferer swallows the liquor after rinsing the tooth. Becoming intoxicated he does not feel the pain and believes that it has gone away.

If medicines do not cure the toothache, most people go to Ladinos to have the ailing teeth extracted. Some, however, remove the teeth with their own fingers while others tie a string to them and have them pulled out. After it is removed, the tooth is frequently kept, or it is broken open with a stone to locate the worm which had caused the trouble.

In the old days there was no such thing as toothache. Old men, now dead but only within the last few years, had all their teeth to the end, large and strong. These old people made fun of their children who suffered from bad teeth. Only recently some people got this pain, and one among them had a sort of pincers of wood with which he would extract decayed teeth. That is how the practice of extracting came about.
Sore eyes is a sickness that may be ordered by an enemy; it may also be sent to an innocent person so that he will not be able to see what happens around him. Thus, when evil was done to the Elder, Lorenzo X., sore eyes were sent to his hired hands and to his wife so that none of them would see the road he would take when his enemies sent the insanity. To cure sore eyes some wash the eyes externally with the boiled juice of the herb ca jlots, while others have great faith in the raw sap of the thorny plant mosote. Also effective is the milk of rue. This is useful for curing both sore eyes and evil-eye: the juice is applied in drops directly from the plant into the eyes of the afflicted child or adult. A good cure is lime juice or lemon water, but one must take care to apply the solution with clean cloths and then destroy them lest the illness be passed on to others through the cloths. Should remedies fail to cure, then some people resort to bleeding on the forehead in order to drain out the evil which is in the blood. Some even scratch the part of the eye that is very red with the sharp-edged leaf of the plant titin, causing the eye to bleed. One may also rid himself of eye trouble by wishing it onto someone else. To do this the sufferer has only to put his hands to his eyes and later direct them to the other person or blow at him with his mouth, in this way making the soreness go to the other, and leaving himself free of the ailment. Another way of passing the disease on to another is to fashion queer-looking spectacles out of seeds and place them on the afflicted person. When someone else, beholding this sight, begins to laugh, the sickness disappears and manifests itself instead on the one who has laughed at the sufferer.
The appearance of a little pimple, or sty, at the edge of the eye is caused by watching dogs cohabit. Thus it occurs more often to curious children than to adults. This sickness requires more than a week to cure for it must ripen with hot applications. It is, therefore, not a sickness sent by God, but one of badly-behaved children.

An ailment that afflicts only adults is "clouded eyes." This is a white film that forms over the iris. No one knows what causes it. To cure it one must call in an older woman who knows how to heal. First the curer toasts a little salt in an earthen pan and then grinds it fine. The salt is then applied to the ailing eye at the end of a black bean that is attached to the point of a needle. This is repeated three times a day in order that the film will soon be cut; otherwise sight may be lost. Sometimes lime juice is applied in the same way. If the affliction is so serious that it cannot be cured with salt or lime juice, an operation is performed with the cutting edge of a leaf; with great care the curer scrapes the pupil of the eye until the film completely disappears. Only one Panajacheleña knows how to perform this difficult operation, and people come to her even from other towns around. The herb whose leaves are most often selected for this purpose is titin, the same as is sometimes used to induce bleeding in the eyeball.

To cure blindness in former times, curers would seek out the fruit of a plant known as pega-pega. After the fruit was repeatedly rubbed on the sick eye, the majority of sufferers were restored to normal eyesight. The pega-pega fruit is covered with a fine fuzz, and it is this fuzz that gradually breaks the film that is over the eye. This fruit was also used to drain the eyes in the old days, thus curing the eyes completely.
Everybody is born with worms in his stomach. These worms are indispensible for life and they eat part of the food that we consume in order to have the strength to work. These worms are of course quite small at first, but they age and grow with the person, and as they grow older they eat less and so does the person. The worms grow big with age and they grow hair on their bodies. When they are very old, they die and come out by themselves.

There are different kinds of worms that live on different things: there is the liquor worm that comes right up to the throat and gives a great desire to drink—which desire, if not satisfied, will kill a person; there are also fruit worms, meat worms, and so on, which produce great desires for their kinds of food. And this explains why each person likes certain special things. Thus it is necessary for us to have a few such worms in our stomach in order to live. That is why children are told that it is bad to tickle each other, since tickling makes the worms in the stomach stop working.

But too many worms are harmful. Thus when a child eats too much fruit he gets so many worms in his stomach that his belly is apt to get big. This is a dangerous condition that may lead to death; hence, medicines must be taken to rid the body of the excess worms. In addition to the symptom of a bloated stomach, curers recognize the presence of
excess worms when a person does not like to eat beans with epazote, that is, when the odor of this herb is repugnant. To cure sufferers of these animals, a medicine made by boiling out the juice of the epazote plant is administered. However, care must be taken to use this medicine only in the dry season for the worms are not very active at that time and therefore die readily; use of the epazote during the wet season when the worms are very lively causes the worms to come climbing up through the mouth, the nostrils, and even the ears. Because of this, a drug store product called chenopod is now more popular. When one is hungry and the stomach rumbles, it is because the unfed worms begin eating the organs of the interior until they tear the intestine in order to get out of the body.

Pains in the stomach may also be due to chills or too much heat, to indigestion and to anger. When the pain is from too much heat, the juice of the herb pericon is taken, and the dose is repeated when a bowel movement occurs. Chills are cured with the juice of the "hot" manzanilla plant. Aguardiente with balsam is also used, even for children. In the latter case, the mixture is first placed in the mouth of the mother who then feeds it directly into the mouth of the youngster. Instead of balsam, annis is sometimes mixed with the liquor. Formerly ripo nanes were used.

If it is a case of indigestion, the mothers prepare purgatives made of many vegetable products and they produce splendid results. Purgatives are always taken in the morning so that there will be no disturbance at night. When the stomach pains are very strong, then it is a case of colic. In that event, the throat is tickled with chicken feathers in such a manner that a phlegm of green, yellow and white color comes out in the vomit. Another thing that can be taken
is salt water. Children are the main sufferers and this is due to negligence. Old persons get these attacks, too, but in their case it is generally an evil sent by an enemy.

Stomach ache can be cured externally by using pig lard. At night the lard is rubbed well all over the belly; then it is covered with a leaf from the hiquerillo or the guineo. If the patient does not respond immediately to the treatment, it is repeated. If a person is too poor to make himself a suitable remedy when he is attacked with a stomach ache, a substitute cure is to lie down on the ground and face downwards with all the weight of the body thrown on the abdomen.

Hiccoughs is a sickness much to be feared for people die after suffering with it for several hours. Hiccoughing is a snake in the stomach, crying out about something it wants. A snake like this is born with each person, and it cannot be expelled nor harmed lest it kill the person with its attacks. Hiccoughs come from the cold, from a bad hangover and from hunger. In sick persons it is very dangerous because it announces death, especially when it is accompanied by agitation in the breast. The only medication is to drink a little salt water.

When the blood is tired from much work or carrying heavy loads, a frequent pain occurs in the head, in the legs, and in the back. With this illness, known as "snake of the blood," one cannot work well.
If the pain is in the forehead and in the arms, simple bloodletting is the remedy, but if it is in other parts of the body, it is necessary to apply the cuppin glass and then do the bloodletting. For the first the procedure is as follows: in advance the bloodletter is asked on what day he can come, so that the aguardiente and the bean soup may be prepared; the sick man will take these things while he is being cured. The best hour for this curing is near midday when the sun is strong and the blood is near the surface of the patient's skin. The patient should not eat before the cure. The healer gives strong massages in the affected parts so that all the evil is summoned to the place where he is going to let the blood. As soon as he thinks that it is all there, he binds the extremities so that the evil will not return. If the pain is in the arm, the sick man may rest it on something to keep it in a horizontal position. The incision is then made with a little hatchet or chisel may of chay or sharp glass, attached by means of wax to a wooden handle. The healer knows just where to make the incision for he is well acquainted with the veins and arteries. It is through the former that the blood runs through the whole body, while the latter are the roots of the heart and always contain blood. With one finger, the healer applies force to the point of the chisel and blood starts to flow into a prepared dish. The patient is the one who decides how much blood should be taken. To stop the flow of blood, the bandage merely is removed, and alittle aguardiente or plain earth is applied to the wound. Then the patient should drink the cup of hot bean soup in order to regain the lost blood. The drawn blood is buried, because it is a sin to throw it away or to let dogs drink it. It is the custom, then, to go into the well-warmed sweatbath in the afternoon to gain further strength.
Now, if the pain is in the upper part of the head, in the biceps, or in the legs, the cupping glass is applied first. This is a gourd prepared only for this use. A little cotton soaked in alcohol is burned in the gourd, and then the gourd is applied on the incision. The curer first brings all the evil to the place where he is going to perform the operation, and then he applies the gourd so that it sucks up blood to that place where the pricking or bloodletting is to be done. To see if the cupping glass has had its effect, it is rapped with the fingers, and the sound tells if it is already full or not. After the bloodletting the gourd is again applied so that it sucks up the evil, for which a road has now been opened. When the gourd is sufficiently filled, it is removed and the drawn blood is put into a dish to see if the evil came out; if not, the operation is repeated in about two weeks. The curer should not charge anything for these treatments, because it is considered a great sin; the favor is recognized only by sending a present of bread, aguardiente, chocolate, and food. This kind of operation is good, but the great disadvantage is that the body gets used to it, and then it is the only way of curing oneself after the fatigues of labor. The patient should not work the following day so that the wound may heal well, but some people on the following day insist on returning to work. Long ago there were many people who knew how to perform this cure, but now there are only two.

Ball of air is an illness that remains in the body for months if it is not cured promptly, and it may have grave consequences. It lodges mainly in the stomach, but it moves through the whole trunk of the individual. It may be only in the back without causing pain, but it forms a ball there and interferes with carrying heavy loads. When one has this sickness hot things should not be eaten, because
pain will come at once and no work can be done. This illness comes when one has been sweating or in a warm place, then uncovers himself or goes to a cold place. The pores of the body are open from the heat and then the cold air penetrates the whole body, settling in the stomach or elsewhere. The air causes sharp pains which may be cured with hot applications consisting of special little gourds which the healers possess for the purpose of drawing out air. Cotton is placed inside the cups and when this is set afire, the healer places the mouth of the receptacle on the part that hurts and this draws out the air.

Another very painful illness is when one can urinate only with difficulty. It comes when a person eats much sugarcane and then immediately drinks cold water. It also comes from using many hot things and exposing oneself much to the cold. It can be cured only by drinking water that is quite hot and covering oneself well. Other afflictions which often result from eating very warm foods or from drinking too much are dysentery and "blood of the stomach." To prepare the cure for dysentery, tortillas are first burned over the fire until they are like charcoal. Next they are mashed in warm water and allowed to soak for a few minutes. Finally the mixture is put through a cloth to strain out the little particles of tortilla and is then drunk by the patient. When blood from the stomach issues from the rectum, causing much pain, the patient commonly is fed boiled milk mixed with the plant hinojo. Formerly there were many cases of this illness and people cured it by placing stones on the fire and warming the rectum by sitting on them.

"Falling out of the rectum" is an ailment which may come to children when their bowel movements are slow or when they have chills in the stomach. The cure is to stand the child on his head with legs spread, and to insert a hot cloth with a little wax so that the rectum goes
back into place. Then in the afternoon the patient is seated on basins of hot water in the sweatbath. Sometimes the steam of the hot water is blown into the anus.

Body swelling is an affliction much feared because it generally is incurable. It begins with an insatiable hunger and thirst; the patient asks for something to eat every little while. He has no desire to work, and his stomach feels very heavy. After a few days his feet begin to swell, then the hands and the face, and finally all the rest of the body. Adults may have this sickness for as long as a whole year, but children seldom more than six months. It is a sickness that may be sent by another individual or by God. Formerly it was cured with celery cooked in milk and drunk thick. The worst thing about this affliction is that when the person is very sick he feels an itching over all his body and cannot sleep. Day and night he feels cold, and soon he wants to be always near the fire or in the sun. Finally the evil reaches the heart and breaks it; that is when the sufferer dies, for no one can live without a beating heart. It is known that the heart has burst when a yellow water comes out from under the toenails and also from the calves of the legs. Formerly there were more cases of this sickness than there are nowadays.

"Snake of the Road" This is a great pain that lodges in the foot of a traveler after a long journey. The cure is as follows: some food or other thing that comes to the sufferer's attention is taken and passed several times over the foot while saying, "stay here and go with the first passer-by." Then the article is left beside a much traveled path awaiting someone who will pick it up, eat it or keep it, without knowing that soon he will receive the same sickness that had plagued
its former owner. For this reason it is bad to pick up things in the street, because they may contain some such bad affliction. Another cure for this illness is blood-letting, a practice commonly followed also for lowering fever. As with a cough, not much attention is paid to fever unless it is accompanied by other pains. Fever is a sickness that comes only from the blood, that is to say, from indigestion, cough, influenza or some other such thing that attacks the blood. A light fever may similarly be attributable to a weakening of the blood as a result of fatigue from a hard day's work.

Rheumatism and cramps are common ailments resulting from passing quickly from a warm to a cold place or condition, such as suddenly putting the feet in cold water when they are hot from walking. Rheumatism is most common in the arms and legs of adults. The only remedy is hot water treatments in the sweatbath. Cramps result from the extreme cold that enters the nerves of the body. They are especially common in the feet. It is important to cure them immediately; otherwise the malady will pass to the heart and cause death. Cramps affect adults more than children, especially adults who drink too much. For this reason cramps were more common in the old days. The pains may be cured by applying turpentine externally, or by massaging the sore area with tobacco soaked in urine. The sweatbath also is an excellent treatment, especially when combined with the above medicines.

There are a variety of growths on the body, some of which can be quite serious. Warts are little pimples on the skin which remain a long time, growing to the size of a kernel of maize. They come out all over the body, but are especially plentiful on the arms and feet of either
males or females. They are not painful, nor are they in any way bothersome except by their appearance. They are less common on Ladinos, except those who do not wear shoes.

Pimples There are various kinds of pimples but the most feared are "ant pimples" which break out all over the body and act like ants. They often itch, and scratching only makes them more plentiful. This is a sickness that may be sent by sorcerers, and only by them can it be cured. There was more of this affliction formerly than nowadays.

Tumors Tumors come when a person steps on avocado seeds, or from stepping over a worm with wings at a certain time of year. The people of old used to cure tumors with the herb tsoli; the leaves were pounded and applied externally to the bad spot so that it would open soon and allow the worm which had formed inside to be removed. At the present time iodine is applied externally, too, to ripen it. If the tumor does not open, bleeding is resorted to; liquor is first given the sufferer so that he will not feel the pain of the difficult operation. If the tumor is on the breast of a woman, she is bled and the tumor is cut to remove the pus. At night the patient enters the sweatbath and that helps cure the tumor more rapidly. This is a sickness of the body and may be sent by another person.

For curing tumor of the groin, heated red corn cobs are wrapped in cloths and placed under the sick foot. Others cure this tumor thus: they enter the well-heated sweatbath and with the little gourd which is used to throw water on the oven they give several hard blows to the tumor. The steam is told to speak to the tumor and to tell it to come out before the heat increases and drives it out; from this the tumor becomes frightened and immediately leaves.
Cases of goiter are rare in the community. Goiters are of a very waxy substance and may cause choking, since the air is caught inside the growth and may fail to penetrate into the chest as it should. That is why sufferers cannot ascend a road, nor carry things nor speak much. Doing any of these things would bring death through suffocation. The illness may be caused by carrying excessive weights; especially is this so with women who put too much in their baskets and carry them long distances on their heads. Growth of a goiter can also be brought about by sleeping without a pillow or with too many pillows, as well as by sleeping face upwards or looking too much at the sky. It may also be contracted by laughing at one who already has a goiter or by pointing at him with the fingers. Finally, this sickness may result from drinking from containers which are not intended for such use, such as jars which are altogether too large for drinking.

Goiters are almost incurable, except in their early stages. A person who is just beginning to have a goiter can hope to cure himself by rubbing the neck briskly with thick saliva from his own mouth. After massaging himself thus for several minutes in the morning, he should wash himself with water. In certain places the sick one lies down on the ground while another person attempts to cure the goiter by placing his foot on it and rubbing it back and forth. Such a treatment, however, is brutal and is not the custom here.

When a person has this sickness, his brothers and sisters are quick to find a nickname for him; with this they taunt him during quarrels. Mutes have a habit of putting their hands under their chins in the semblance of a goiter. By this they indicate that what has just been said is a lie. People who are not mute sometimes make the same gesture and
for similar reasons. All this shows that in former times there were some individuals with goiters who were somewhat foolish and addicted to lying; their manner of expressing themselves survives to this day.

Wounds—These have various names according to the kind of wound and where one is injured, but in general a wound causes considerable fright, particularly if there is bleeding, for then there is the danger that all the red blood may be lost and cause death. If the wound is a minor one, little attention is paid to it; a little earth may be applied to cake the blood, or the wound may be washed with warm salt water and covered with clean cloths. Others use little pieces of old sandals which have been cut up and burned in the fire before being applied.

Large wounds were formerly cured by applying a red hot iron so that the blood would clot and the injury heal rapidly. This is no longer done; instead, the sap of the young banana stem is placed on the wound in a few minutes. The wound may also be closed by using the milk of the plant rue. Others treat large wounds with the bark of the pito tree; the green bark is put on the fire and when it is well toasted and ground up it is applied to the affected part. The wound then is immediately bandaged.

A general remedy for external injuries is a mash made of bugs called "little pigs" (because they look like pigs) which live in the damp floors of houses and beneath stones. A common way of applying external medicines is by means of chicken feathers or the wing feathers of turkeys. Cotton is used for pads for external application, and for nasal hemorrhages brown cotton is burned so that the sufferer may inhale the smoke.
If the wound is quite serious it is not taken care of locally; rather the victim solicits the help of a Ladino doctor, perhaps going to the hospital in Sololá. Or, the injured person may seek the help of a shaman who cures mainly by means of rites and prayers. The shaman is consulted to divine whether the ill was done by another person and whether it can be cured. Perhaps someone sent bad words to the injured, and for this reason he suffered a cut on his body. Or, perhaps it is a matter of determining whether some miraculous saint might effect a cure if the injured person could but visit the saint's festival someplace. Wounds often come when one is in a melancholy mood while walking or working; then the person is punished by the soil or by an implement, the injury being sent by evil or the devil. That is why tools, especially fire tools and those that are sharp-edged, must not be carried when the bearer is pensive or sad.

Illnesses sent by God include whooping cough, measles, chicken smallpox, pox, typhoid, cholera, jíote and malaria. Whooping cough is a sickness that makes people choke and is therefore called "choking cough". A cough becomes a choking cough when certain microscopic animals start breeding inside. Until lately there was no known remedy; death was inevitable, especially in the case of children. The patient merely awaited the fatal hour. Even if the curers were called in they could give only the slightest relief. There was much of this disease formerly and many children as well as adults died from it. Since the disease is contagious, the dead were buried quickly out of fear that the whole community might be infected. At present few people die because the Ladinos know how to make medicines for curing this disease.
Measles. This disease is known as "little pits" or "small grains"; like all contagious diseases, it is sent by God at intervals. It used to take many people to the cemetery, especially children, because there were no known remedies for combating it. But now the last few cases have been cured with barley water and herbs known only by the curers. The sweatbath is used daily. Everyone knows that this disease is contagious and that it comes only once to a person during his lifetime. When this disease comes to the town, people do not like to visit a house where someone has it, because they or their little children may get it.

Chicken Pox. This ailment is prevalent among children and can be cured by making them bathe in the hot sweatbath which soon dries up the rash. Another cure is barley water and cream of tartar. Still another medicine is the bark of the jioote tree boiled with brown sugar and water.

Small Pox. This disease is so terrible and so dangerous that not even its name should be spoken; it should be referred to by assumed names, such as great fever or flower. Not only is it a sin to speak ill of it, but it is punishable by almost anything. When there is someone sick with this disease in the house, nothing is said to anyone outside the house about the illness; if one thus speaks about it he will get it at once and surely die. It is thus a disease to be respected; many people of all ages die of it. Almost a half century has passed since a small pox epidemic took almost all the people. This sickness used to come often to the community because it was very populous, but not so now. Now it goes to other towns where there are many people and where God sends it. The disease was cured by herbs known only to...
the curers. One thing never lacking in a house hit by small pox was the frequent burning of incense, because the disease was so much to be respected that when it was in the house it was treated like a saint or God. The smoke of the incense was made to penetrate even into the blankets of the sick one. If the case was very grave, some people prayed to the disease to hear the lamentations of the family and lessen its force. The praying was done by the oldest members of the family. The sick person was not given anything cold to eat or drink; anything but hot things would bring certain catastrophe. He had to be secluded for many days during and after the illness; it left only when it felt like it, and never when the person wished it to go soon. When it attacked, even the eyes of the patients became blinded; such people could never be mistreated in word of deed because this was a great sin and the person responsible might have worse results from the same sickness later.

There is a smallpox called *loca* that is not as dangerous, but the same precautions must be taken lest it form complications and turn into the real smallpox. In either kind of smallpox the sweatbath must be used when the sickness has begun to subside a little.

Typhoid is another disease as dangerous as smallpox so that its real name, black fever, cannot be used; it is called great fever instead. Its real name comes from the fact that when a person is sick with this affliction his urine often turns black. It caused so many deaths in the past that people came to have as great a fear and respect for it as for smallpox. Formerly this disease came very often, and in just a few days it filled the cemetery. The only medicine used was sulphate of quinine. People went mad from the high fevers that went to their heads, and it was a sign of death when their eyes became ringed...
and their gums red. There were cases where it was necessary to tie
the patients because the great heat which came to their bodies before
they died made them want to go out and walk in the patio. Some people
would call shamans simply to divine if the person would recover; no one
believed that this sickness was sent by enemies. When this disease
came to the community the people said nothing because they felt it was
sent by God and there was nothing to do but accept their fate.

Cholera  Cholera is as bad and dangerous as the smallpox and typhoid;
to mention its name is to be punished either by this disease or some
other. It is called "diarrhea and vomiting" because these come one
after the other with such violent pain that they kill a person in one
night. There is no specific remedy for curing this disease; all that can
be done is to take the patient, if he is still strong enough, to the
sweatbath for a vapor bath; fanning the whole body with the heat some-
times causes the evil to leave.

Jíte  This sickness is known to be sent by God because it attacks
the whole community. It may also be sent by witchcraft, and then it
is dangerous because like all sicknesses so sent it is hard to cure.
It attacks both animals and people. Formerly there was more of this
sickness than now, and the only cure was to drink raw sulphur with
water or inhale the fumes of sulphur burning in the fire. Some used
to enter the sweatbath and there burn the sulphur so that the body
could inhale the strong vapor produced.

Malaria  Formerly only people working on the coast contracted malaria,
but now people get it here. In a milder stage, called "hidden chill,"
it is cured with sour-orange and bitter coffee as well as other herbs;
in its virulent stage, called "green" or "blue chill," it is cured with sulphate of quinine bought in the pharmacy. Using the quinine is dangerous to women, however, for it can make a woman barren. Malaria is said to be sent by God so that the people will not multiply.

Cases of insanity are rare except when there is a serious epidemic accompanied by high fevers. Insanity can be brought upon a person by an enemy, or it can come as a result of drinking too much, excessive sexual relations, too much bathing in a very hot sweatbath, eating too little, or working hard in the sun without resting. The shamans can cure insanity with rituals and with a broth made from buzzard meat. The following story relates such a cure:
7/

AliBul> atjiht years ago when Lorenzo X. received the
cofradía of San Francisco he had among his mayordomos the
young man Ramos S.

At one of the religious ceremonies that

took place in the cofradía Ramos became very drunk.

He

was so crazed by the liquor that he wanted to fight with
his companions and his cofrade.

This caused the cofrade

to aieze him and tie him with ropes to a tree in his patio.
Ramos was left there a long time, Lorenzo thinking that
his craziness would wear off; however, Ramos became even
angrier and went so far as to try to put sparks of fire
into his eyes.

When he was untied Ramos said nothing but

walked home unsteadily; he was probably thinking some kind
of revenge, because it is not the custom to tie up drunken
men, much less mayordomos who perhaps drank the aguardiente
against their wishes and only because rituals demanded it.
Some men made conjectures about this silence of the mayordomo who had been punished so harshly.

Lorenzo, however,

expected nothing bad from his good mayordomo because the
following day he came with all respect of his position,
acting as if he did not remember what had happened.

How-

ever a good sorcerer never shows such things, is never
angry, but is always very humble and respectful; he never
speaks of his doings before or after.


Days after these happenings, Lorenzo began to act very confused; in his house he gave absurd orders, spoke not to the point, and did things not in accord with customary rituals. He soon went to bed and every day grew worse until the family thought of hiring a shaman to see if evil was being done, or if this were natural illness. No one from here wanted to cure him, because he was seriously ill, and they thought the devil was in him. He would get up from his bed in a hurry and run back of the house, telling everyone that the police had entered the house to take him, or that thieves had come to steal his things. He would scold those of the house because they could not see what he could see. After three or four days this man was disfigured and thin, perhaps because in the night he did not sleep and in the daytime he ate nothing.

Lorenzo’s friends and relatives now believed that some evil had indeed been done to him, and they decided to take him to Panimaché, a cantón of Chichicastenango, to find a good shaman to divine and cure the condition of the cofrade. Santiago Y. and Lorenzo’s wife accompanied him, carrying the food and sleeping clothes, so that they could remain there for a while if necessary. Lorenzo did not want to be carried; he went on foot with his machete in his hand getting ahead of and then coming back to meet them. He ran all the way, poking his machete at rocks and trees as he passed. Sometimes he talked with the large trees, kissed them and gave them his hand; he would ask Santiago for aguardiente and he would offer drinks to the trees and to some rocks.
When they finally reached their destination it was late, but he wanted to continue walking instead of eating his lunch.

They spoke to the wife of the Maxenó shaman they had come to see, and she informed them that her husband was around Santa Cruz Quiché curing others. She told them to wait, because he was expected back that same day; he had told her this when he left, because from a dream he knew that these visitors would come. They accepted the invitation to rest, but when the sick man went running out to all the houses of the hill from which the dogs and the people came running out, they decided to look for another shaman who could serve them at once. Because in that place almost all are shamans, they very soon found an old man who with pleasure accepted the job. He at once proceeded to discover the cause of this illness, and he soon said that the evil was sent by one of Lorenzo's companions in the cofradía who felt rancor toward him because of some bad behavior toward him in the recent past. He suggested that that same evening they go to his altar of rock to get rid of the evil and cure the suffering man. His supplies of bread, chocolate, candles, aguardiente, copal, etc. were now low, and so Lorenzo's wife decided to sent Santiago to buy more that same afternoon. It happened that Santiago could not return until the next day. A few minutes after this departure, the sick man disappeared also; he took the road to the other Maxenó hills and no one knew where he intended
to go. His wife went out with the shaman to look for him into the late hours of the night, but they did not find him; some people said he had gone on ahead and others that he had returned. So they left off the search until the next day; meanwhile the shaman asked his stones the whereabouts of the sick one. He learned that he had fallen down a hill, but he said nothing to his wife to avoid alarming her, since they would find him the next day.

His divination was right; because the following day they found the footprints of the man who had fallen down a hill. He had fallen a depth of about fifty feet into a small stream of water. There he remained almost dead all that night, but finally a very pleasing maiden came with a cup of aguardiente in her hand. She awakened him lovingly, raised him up, and made him drink the contents of the cup. When Lorenzo could come to himself, he looked for the girl to ask her about himself, but she had disappeared. Reanimated by this drink, he took to the road down there, jumping from stone to stone and over tree trunks that the river left in his path as it rose. The following day when Santiago was returning on this road something within him told him to look down the hill, and stopping to rest to do this, he saw something black like a buzzard. At once he thought it might be Lorenzo, and he went down only to find that the sick man could hardly walk because he had dislocated a leg. With great difficulty Santiago got him to the road, and he left him there while he went to tell the
the shaman what had happened. How surprised they were to learn that he was still alive; especially surprised was the shaman. They all went to get him. The shaman divined that becoming crazy and meeting his death in a fall was the evil that had been sent to Lorenzo. Because his spirit was very strong, he had been saved from this fate, by a great saint who had awakened him from eternal death. They did few rituals there because the shaman said Lorenzo should be taken home where he would come to cure him. Before they began the return trip, the shaman went to where the sick man had fallen to bring back his spirit which had remained there.

Quite happy they began the trip back to Panajachel together with the shaman. They say he prayed almost all the way, walking behind the sick man to keep back the evil which still followed them. When they came to the house of the sick man, the shaman asked for all the things necessary for the various rituals he had to perform.

Santiago had had evil-eye, and the shaman explained that the enemy had asked for this so that he would not be able to see the place where the sick man would be left dead. Another shaman said that when evil is done against one's employer and it is thwarted, the same evil may fall on one of the hired hands; because of this Santiago was a little afraid, and he begged the Maxeño shaman to free him from it all.

Many people came to see Lorenzo during his illness, and among them Ramos, acting as if he were innocent of all
that had happened. The real sorcerers always work thus; after doing evil, they go to console the mourners and sometimes help with things. The important remedy that the shaman gave the sick man was a soup of buzzard meat that Santiago prepared in his home in one of his own pots. Half was cooked well and the rest was only half-cooked, to be used as a plaster for the nape of the neck and the chest of the sick man. So that Lorenzo would not know what it was that he was being given to eat, the shaman had chickens killed and various dishes were prepared and served in addition to the buzzard. Thus, while Lorenzo did not like what was fed to him, he did drink some of the soup and eat a few pieces of meat. With the rituals and the other things done for the sick man, he was gradually cured, though with difficulty, and he remained crippled for always. The shaman was given many thanks and was paid well for his work; he thus earned a reputation as one of the best shamans of the region.

In another case, oranges were used to effect witchcraft:

Esteban C., a brother-in-law of Bonifacio C., had been living on the coast for eighteen years working for an Indian, who is a well-known sorcerer of those parts. Four years ago, Esteban came to see his relatives and he stayed in the house of his brother-in-law, Bonifacio. Of his adventures that he has had on the coast, he told the following of which he was an eye witness: he was shucking maize in the patio when an Indian from a distant part of the
A kind of temporary insanity, called "taken prisoner," occasionally afflicts one who walks on a sensitive piece of land and is thinking or saying something bad about the land. The sickness is such that the person appears to be in good health but suddenly he falls to the floor unconscious. The patient is relieved with a little warm water, but never with cold water because that makes it worse. Dogs suffer from it, also, when the land does not want them. Dogs get this sickness because the soil does not want to have the urine of this animal on its face. Formerly many people died of this sickness but now the number has decreased. These are sicknesses of the hill and not of God. When it happened frequently to a person a shaman was consulted to divine whether the sickness came from the hill or for some other reason; the results of the divination determined the rituals that were to be done, whether to ask permission of the land to live there or to give a gift to the nearest hill. Only thus can this sickness be cured.

When one suffers from hangover it is the heart that is sick from the effects of the liquor; it is disturbed and wants to get out, and so gives great leaps in the bosom. Then one must drink a little more liquor, and the odor of the liquor destroys the foam that has formed all around the heart. Thus cleaned, it is again contented; otherwise it would come out and the person die. Hangover is as dangerous —
as other illnesses, and many die of it. Since all men must get drunk at the rites during their cofradía and municipal service, hangover should not be spoken ill of or sufferers criticized.

The only cure is to drink some more aguardiente and to take hot things like hot water, chile, and so on. Cold water is not good because even worse sicknesses may result. Without exception people speak very badly of the liquor venders or of a man's friends when one dies of hangover, for they say he would not have died if he had been given the necessary aguardiente for the cure. Formerly there were more deaths from hangover because people drank more than they do nowadays.

When drunken persons are bewitched they die from hangover and there is no help for them. The following is such a case:

There was an old man who liked to drink a great deal, and he could afford to because he did not have many children and he had much land under cultivation. One time when he began to drink in the tavern he said that he was about to die of old age and wished to have a few drinks in farewell of this life. The following day he continued drinking and the few relatives he had could not make him stop this dangerous thing. Several days passed in this fashion until one night he awoke in need of a drink. Since there was no liquor in the house he went to the tavern where he knocked for a long time begging that the owner awaken and serve him. He now feared that he would die if he could not get a drink. The Ladina owner of the tavern did not want to get up, however, so did not answer. The man seized at the mouldings of the door and there died, remaining stiff with his eyes open, and standing upright with a bottle in his hand.
When the Ladina opened the tavern in the morning, she was startled to find the man there in the doorway. So that she would not appear guilty, she had the man removed to one side of the road where it would appear he had spent the night and died. People learned about it, however, and everyone spoke against the relatives of the man and the heartless Ladina who would not do a favor for the needy old man. And it is just because some people are so bad to others that God punishes all so heavily with sicknesses.

Fright Sickness

Fright may cause two kinds of illnesses, especially in children. The first, called tiricia, results from a mild frightening and causes children to become very sad and in danger of dying from not eating. To cure this ailment, rose petals are put into the shirt that the child is wearing. The child is then taken to the bank of a river where the rose petals are taken out by handfuls and dropped into the stream, the sick child looking on.

The more severe fright sickness is quixwi, which is marked by the appearance of little scales or spines on the scalp within the hair. They are the color of skin and so not easily seen. This sickness appears in adults in the form of severe indigestion. The symptoms are that the person always loses his appetite, gets very thin quickly, and no longer works. The sickness may also come after a person has had maize in his hat and then uses the hat while it still contains the little white scales from the maize. If such an act does not bring this sickness it will bring dandruff. Children receive quixwi from a sudden fall or from an encounter with an animal or spirit in the street. The first
thing to do when a child experiences such a fright is to make him drink a little salt water. If it is a case of pure fright, as from a dream at night, water of rue should be given; if this is not done, in a year the child will become ill. Guixwi can be cured by shaving the head and applying plasters made of black beans. The beans are peeled, partly cooked, and then ground into a paste. Sometimes incense is mixed in with the ground beans. This plaster is allowed to remain on the shaved head for several days, after which time it is thrown into the street or into the river and a new coating applied. This is kept up until about ten pounds of beans have been used. A few people use the excrement of a cow for the external applications; this is heated a little for best results, or better still, it is used while fresh and warm. Usually the application is applied in the morning. If a patient is not cured of this sickness he swells and dies.

General Remedies  Beneficial for anyone having any kind of sickness is a gruel made of powdered tortillas. After the tortillas have been well toasted over a fire, they are ground fine and placed in a gourd containing sweetened water. This is allowed to cook well and is served rather warm. Another warm gruel that is good for sick persons is one made of rice. The dry rice is ground well and cooked in a little water with brown sugar and a stick of cinnamon until it boils once. Still another gruel is made by peeling and grinding both green and ripe bananas and cooking this fine mash with a little cinnamon and sugar. When it has boiled well it is removed from the fire and served hot. If the finished gruel is quite white, it is a certain indication that the sick person will soon recover, but if the gruel comes out rather dark, the opposite is indicated. Thus, if the fate of a sick person is discovered this gruel should be made with the greatest of care.
V. Shamans and Sorcerers

When medicines from the pharmacy fail to cure an illness, then it is likely that the cause is magical and that only rituals can be of avail. Some people refuse to take pharmacy medicines on principle, from the very start. And then on the contrary, there are those who rely solely on such medicines, having lost faith in shamans and their rituals.

When a man is becoming a shaman the other shamans hold a celebration for him, and at the same time these shaman friends, by divinations and rituals, search out for the novitiate the flat rock or altar that each practicing shaman has somewhere in the hills or in the fields of the town. Before the new shaman can take over the place selected, the attending shamans must ask permission of the owner of the land so that he will know the name of the man who will be visiting there. Permission is scarcely ever refused, because a shaman's table is supposed to do much good for the owner of the land. This initiation for a new member is always done late at night so that no others will know about it.

There are about a dozen shamans hereabouts, including three new ones. In addition there are three persons who are just beginning to learn. Their neighbors say they are collecting the divining stones that God is sending them. The case of the shaman Ortiz, now deceased, illustrates how the divining stones, or idols, are acquired.
From childhood Ortiz liked to predict and divine somewhat. All in all, he was rather an exceptional child. Finally, there came a day when he dreamed of his fate (his idols, or divining stones) and it all came out true, because the following day he found on the road a handkerchief with various figurines of polished gold. He at once took them home without saying anything. His idols were: don Pedro de Alvarado mounted on his horse, a saint, dogs, oxen, little utensils, etc., all of gold. So he kept dreaming little by little of what he was supposed to do. At the beginning he did not know how to pray, and did his work with the little praying he could improvise. One day he was denounced by the authorities and his idols were taken away, but soon after he found similar ones in a handkerchief on the road, or perhaps they were the same ones. He did not like to charge his clients; all payment was in gifts, and when he died he left two adobe houses with tile roofs and much livestock, all the result of these gifts. The idols were placed in his coffin.

Among the many stones that the shamans keep for their cures and rituals there is always to be found the particularly valuable obsidian stone, which comes directly from Heaven.

Shamans prescribe remedies and perform the proper costumbres or rituals, for the sick people who come to them. Often a person on the verge of death calls in a shaman to confess to him.
all the bad things he has done. Sometimes only by confession and punishment can the sick one hope to save his life. The shaman prescribes the proper punishment which generally takes the form of so many lashings. The lashings often are severe, giving considerable physical injury. The people of Chichicastenango are especially given over to this type of castigation for their sick folk. Persons who are reluctant to talk much are unfortunate in this respect, for their failure to confess when they are sick may make death that much more certain.

Frequently the shaman divines that the illness was sent by an enemy of the patient. Though he may not know exactly who sent it, the shaman frequently establishes the motives underlying the sorcery. Thus it may have been a fight over land. Or perhaps the sufferer came from another village to live with a Panajacheleno. Or it may be that the malady of a child is traceable to a spirit that came in the night. Whatever the case, the shaman performs the proper rituals, using candles and incense and prayers, as well as prescribing specific medicines where called for. In difficult cases rituals may be repeated six times or more. Even so the shaman may prove to be ineffective.

The following cases testify how misfortunes and illness can be remedied by shamans.
Twenty years ago Bonifacio C. sought a shaman to make divinations and do rituals for the lives of his children. He did this because his first two children of two and five years died, and the people said that if he did not make sure of the lives of the others, they would die too. When he consulted his wife's mother, she agreed and urged him to do it soon. His third child, Santiago, was four years old when Bonifacio went with his mother-in-law to find the shaman from Concepción, Juan B., who was known as the best at that time. They took him a present of two pesos worth of bread, one-half pound of sugar, and one peso of chocolate. The shaman received them very well and gladly did the divination that Bonifacio asked for his children. The outcome was that Bonifacio learned he was to blame for the deaths of the first two, since he had wounded a hog belonging to his nearby compadres, and they had lit candles to the saints to punish him. The third would die too if he would not do rituals. The shaman
added that the last child who had died had not yet entered Heaven, and was still behind the celestial gate because he did not have permission to enter. It was therefore urgent to perform a ritual as a present to God. Bonifacio was satisfied with the divinations of this good shaman, because it was true that he was having this difficulty with his _compadres_. One day he had found a hog in his bean plot, and he was so angry that he poked the hog with his machete and wounded one of its legs. Then he saw that it belonged to the godfather of his first two children. At once the latter knew that Bonifacio had done this, and Bonifacio promised to cure the animal. He did this, but the _compadres_ still bore their _ajruage_ and _d-lA_.

It was then arranged that within two weeks the shaman would do the ritual. Bonifacio brought eight balls of _copal_, of which four were for the stone altar and four for the _waints_, two wax candles, four tallow candles, two cups of liquor for the divining stones, and four wax and four tallow candles for the church. In addition he purchased three bottles of liquor, cigars, bread, one pound of sugar, and chocolate as a gift to the shaman besides his pay of eight cents. A Sunday was set as the day, because Bonifacio worked as a hired man in the _finca_ and could not leave on a working day.

When the day came, Bonifacio went there with his mother-in-law at 5:00 p.m. on Saturday so as to be there at nightfall. The shaman awaited them and was happy that his cliente had arrived. As soon as his present was presented
He shaman turned over to him, he proceeded to place his stones on a table to ask permission of the hill to which they were going; he also asked for life for the remaining son and that the recently deceased should be allowed to enter Heaven. He offered as a present the candles, copal, and aguardiente brought by the visitors. In this rite of about two hours of praying, a bottle of liquor was used up. When the stones gave the permission, they left—the shaman and his wife and the two visitors—to go that same night to the hill where he had his altar of stone, about four miles away within the jurisdiction of Concepción. The night was dark and the whole road was uphill. They went along talking of other things all the way. As soon as they arrived, the shaman began to place his candles at the stone cross that was there. He laid out his little stones, prayed a long time and burned the copal which he has asked as a present in payment for his favor they sought. There they drank another bottle, smoked, and had coffee that the shaman’s wife made there. The lighted candles dripped occasionally, and the shaman explained that the child was crying at the door of Heaven because he could not enter. At midnight they left for the church in Concepción, stopping for the sacristan to open the door for them. The latter promptly agreed, because he had great respect for Bocel and his profession. The shaman lit candles behind the door before going into the place where the Virgin, patroness of the place, was, so that its effects would reach Heaven in behalf of the deceased child. These candles burned and
that was a sign that they were accepted up there. Then they went in to the Virgin where he made another long prayer for the good of the future children of Bonifacio. There they drank the last bottle in company with the sacristan, and they returned very happy with the good outcome. They stopped at the home of the good shaman to see him safely there, and they themselves came home at about 5:00 a.m.

This shaman did not like to spend the money he earned from these things; he placed it together with his divining stones, and it amounted to a large sum, as Bonifacio could see. The shaman said it was not he who earned this money, but his stones, and for that reason he did not wish to spend it. A short time later the wife of the good shaman died, and a month later he died too. They were not ill long, perhaps because they were good people, says Bonifacio, and because of the good they did for his children. His remaining five children lived.

And then there is the second case:

Santiago Y. relates the case of a shaman who cured him about eighteen years ago. He was living with his uncle, Lorenzo X., who was at the same time his employer, when he unexpectedly had an attack of chills and fever. When Santiago had been sick for two weeks the uncle suggested to Santiago's wife that she call a shaman to divine whether the illness were a natural one or sent by someone. The sick man's wife went one afternoon in search of the shaman Santos C. She took as a present some bread and a pound of sugar. He accepted the gift and at once took out his
divining stones to find out what the sick man had. He soon told the woman that her husband's illness was a punishment sent by the spirits of both his and her parents for his bad treatment of her. To be sure, Santiago had quarreled many times with Andrea because he liked another woman, Vicenta X., who was then not married. Almost every day he hit Andrea, because he wanted her to leave the house so that he could bring Vicenta there. In his divinations the shaman determined that the sick man could be cured by means of a short ritual as an offering to the angry spirits. He offered to come in three days to perform the rite if the family desired it.

After three days he came, and he was received in the customary way. He at once began again with his stones, and he said it was true that the deceased ones were punishing the sick man. The first remedy he prescribed was a penitence for the sick man: from his bed Santiago must crawl on his knees to his wife, who stood in the doorway, to ask her pardon for his bad behavior. He had to do this four times while the woman had to answer him whatever her heart said. Then the wife had to do the same with him, but Santiago could stand it no longer and fell prostrate into his bed. Then the shaman told the uncle, Lorenzo, to receive the woman who came kneeling to him where he sat on the bed of the sick man; he had to say that he would forgive her for the life of his nephew. At this ceremony there was a bottle of aguardiente for the shaman and the relatives who were present. They paid him thirty-three cents for his work. He told them that in a week he would return to do the final
ceremony for the sick man to see if that would cure him; such cases involving punishment by the deceased were a little difficult to cure in a hurry. He told them to be ready with the things most necessary for the next rite: candles, copal, incense, etc. For these things forty-five cents were spent, besides the three large bottles of aguardiente that cost fifty cents each.

After the week of penitence, the shaman divined that the spirits wished a present of candles for the curing of the sick man, if he had repented of his bad behavior. The shaman had the sick man and his wife kneel before him so that he could pass the candles over their heads; this was at nightfall and on a day appropriate for the deceased. He then went on to ask pardon of the spirits for the sick man and to give them presents of the candles. All this was finished quite late at night, and he then went to the four cofradías of the community to leave candles and incense and to pray at length at each one. In the cofradía of San Francisco he did what is called the response, as a direct gift to the deceased. The following day Santiago sent to the shaman a present of food, bread, chocolate, etc. spending about two dollars in all. A few days later the sick man had only malaria and he was cured with almost nothing, thanks to the few remedies given him by the Ladina, Juana G., and to the favors of the good shaman who knew how to free him from the dead.

Santiago credits his cure to the pardon that the shaman got for him in time; if one sins, and the dead punish
by sending illness, it will never disappear until rituals are performed. Santiago says that they asked this shaman for medicine for his illness, but he replied that he did not know how to give medicines. Afterwards Santiago learned that this good shaman does not give medicines to anyone, and cures only by giving presents to the saints and the spirits to save the soul which is the main thing in cases such as Santiago's.

Years later, the shaman made a path only for his use on Santiago's land without asking permission, believing perhaps, that because he had cured him on one occasion he had every right to abuse. Santiago reprimanded him when the shaman was passing through the land, and so they argued. A commission of the town hall had to intervene in the matter, and Santiago won the dispute. Now they are real enemies and it is known that Santos wants to cast witchcraft on Santiago, but the latter is sure that the evil will not enter into him, because he was absolutely right in the matter of the land. He knows that if he were guilty, however, it would be certain that the evil wished upon him would work.

The following is another case of witchcraft:

About thirty or forty years ago a Totonicapéneno, by the name of Juan T., lived near San Lucas Tolimán, in the place still called Tzampetey. This man had a large family, and several of his sons were fond of catching widgeons, fish and crabs near the shores of the lake at the place
called Xetulul, near Cerro de Oro. Various Atitecos came there for the same purpose, and they envied Juan's sons for their mastery of these activities. The Atitecos were and are the best at fishing and catching widgeons, but these Totonicapenos were even better, and so the Atitecos decided to bewitch their rivals. They say that all those who came to fish there in Xetulul contributed for hiring a sorcerer from Santiago Atitlán. The one they called Antonio A., a man much sought after and well known in that period for his witchcraft.

The brothers continued their fishing as heartily as ever, but very soon one of them, Cruz, went to bed with pains in his head, bones, and stomach. The family spent much for medicines and shamans, until finally one of the latter divined that the evil came from a sorcerer in Santiago Atitlán, because of the anger of certain Atitecos over the fishing. The family believed what this shaman said and they forbade the other brothers to continue their fishing and crabbing. They at once went to find a sorcerer who would rid them of this evil and send it back to the Atitecos. They tried two or three curers who were known to be good, but they had no effect; finally they went to Santiago Atitlán itself to look for someone. There someone took the job, and he at once went with them to Tzampetey to see the sick man and treat him. For three days he merely watched the sick man, and in the evenings there were rituals in the house, where all became drunk. On the third day the shaman decided that the boy should be taken to Santiago Atitlán to
get the medicine and to do certain things there at Xetulul where the boys had always gone to fish. His wishes were carried out, and when they were returning he said that the sick man would surely be cured because of certain signs made by the lake and the volcano that only he could understand.

At about seven o'clock that same evening he asked for a certain amount of boiling water and he put into it a medicine that he brought wrapped in the leaves of an unknown plant. He made the patient drink this at once, and he immediately asked that a dish be placed under the bed to receive the effects of the remedy. He made everyone leave the room, and he remained alone with the patient. Finally in about half an hour the sick man began to scream, suffering terrible pains in the stomach, and asking for the dish. The sorcerer, however, went on calmly and urged the patient to be calm. The latter continued asking for the basin, and the sorcerer prayed and kept walking around some candles that were placed on the floor. Finally he finished all this, and little by little he placed the sick man over the basin as he wished. The patient was overjoyed with relief, and when he finished he was again put back to bed. The sorcerer covered the basin and called the members of the family to see its contents; they were all astonished to see that in what the sick man had expelled there was a pile of widgeon feathers, fish scales, and the remains of crabs, all these things which the Atiteco sorcerer had sent to the insides of Cruz. They all knelt and kissed
the hands and feet of the excellent healer, paid him very well, and made great fiestas because of his miraculous curing. They took him all the way to his door, thanking him thousands of times. Even the sick man accompanied him home.

There are numerous instances in which shamans have shown themselves to be incompetent and even fraudulent, as the following cases attest:

Mauricio C. used the services of some of the local shamans for his sick children who finally died. They would be grown now if he had gone to the doctor or the saints instead of spending money only for copal, candles, brandy,
etc. One shaman told him the children had to die because Mauricio fought a lot with his wife; God punished them by taking away their children. This was a lie, because he never fought with his wife. Before his last child died, Mauricio went to a shaman from Concepción, Felipe 0., to see if he could still cure the ailing child. The shaman did not even take his caller into the house to receive him. He only looked at the sky and at the face of the caller, and without waiting for Mauricio to tell the object of his visit, he at once told him to go home and prepare the coffin because the child was already dead. Mauricio pleaded with him to do something, but Felipe said it was useless for Mauricio to spend his money when the child was already dead. Convinced, he hurried home, meeting on the road one of his family who had come to meet him to have him hurry because his son was already dead.

Since then he no longer uses shamans but goes in search of saints; they are greater miracle workers, and purer. Above all, the saints do not ask for bread, chocolate, liquor, and wages—only their candles and a little incense. A short time ago a young child of his was sick and he cured him merely by going early one morning to pray and leave candles in each cofradía and in the church. Now the child is well. He does not believe in the local shamans, for they learn from somebody else and then say that God gave them the power to divine and cure the sick. Formerly there were powerful shamans and sorcerers; they were so from birth, not from the learning from others. Nowadays they
find their own stones—the stones do not come of themselves to their houses as in the old days.

Nor do shamans here know how to pray as they should; they do not know the right day-names to recite, nor the saints nor the ancient idols. Only Felipe O. knew, and Mauricio says that if Felipe were still living he would call for him, no one else, because he was a real diviner.

The conniving of some shamans is illustrated in the following case:

Rafael V., a Ladino, lived in the house of the shaman Ilario C. A year ago he witnessed the following case. One day Venancio, a Ladino, came down from the hills toward Sololá to ask Ilario to divine something that was on his mind. He came with his wife who was pregnant. At once Ilario was notified of the visitors who were awaiting him. As soon as Ilario came, they kissed his hands, and Venancio told him the object of his coming: to find out if his wife was pregnant by him or by his Ladino employer, Adán R. of Sololá, with whom he knew his wife had been intimate. He said that if the child was his employer's he would immediately separate from his wife. Ilario promised to divine the matter, and sent them to get candles, incense, aguardiente, etc., necessary for finding out. The wife was made to stay in the kitchen of the same house so that she would not know the outcome of the divination. As soon as the man had left to buy the necessary things, Ilario sent the Ladino who was living in his house to watch the road and advise him at once when he saw the man returning. Meanwhile, he
persuaded the woman to tell him the truth, telling her that if she refused he would condemn her and the result would be fatal. She knelt before him to ask his pardon, and to beg him not to tell her husband the truth: that Adán was the father of the expected child. Thus she confessed that which her husband suspected to be the truth, giving Ilario fifty cents for the favor of not telling her husband. Ilario took this opportunity to ask her many questions about her life with her husband. He learned that the Ladino employer gave them land in Sololá for cultivation, asking in return only that Venancio work for him at certain times when help should be needed. Since they lived on his property, he had the right to come to the house any time he wished, and thus began the affair with Venancio's wife. After a while the neighbors took notice and it came to the ears of the husband; then jealousies and quarrels began in the house, until he decided to come to see the good shaman to learn the truth of the matter. The couple had faith in Ilario and that is why they sought him and why she confessed to him before the devination.

The Ladino Rafael V. at once advised Ilario when the man was seen returning with the necessary supplies. Then Ilario began the divinations and prayers which convinced the husband that all was false, and that the child she was going to have was his and not the employer's; it was true that the man had spoken to her, but she had not listened. The husband asked that he do the divination again so as to be more certain, and so Ilario did it three times; always the stone representing the employer was far away from the stones
representing the husband and his wife, a good sign. Thus convinced, the husband gave the shaman fifty cents and some food that he had brought from his home. Well satisfied, Ilario told them that he was always glad to serve them. He also asked them to tell others about him in the places around Sololá. After drinking some aguardiente the visitors left showing much respect to Ilario. As soon as they had gone, Ilario called his lodger, Rafael, and gave him ten cents for the favor he did by watching for the husband's return while Ilario was making the wife confess.

Then there is the case of the shaman who took advantage of a rich Ladina's lust for hidden treasure:

Maria C., the rich Ladina and owner of the coffee finca, La Vega, to the north of town, was told one day that on her land there was a great quantity of old silver coins buried. Quite pleased, she decided to find out the place where the money was hidden, and she at once summoned the employees of the finca to begin the search. Finally, perhaps tired of the vain search, she listened to the employees when they told her that through a shaman could find the site for which she so eagerly was searching. The manager of the finca was a nephew of hers who did not hold with the Indian beliefs and he merely laughed at the ignorance of his educated aunt.

It seems there was no curbing the lady's ambition, and she went together with her daughters who were educated in the Capital to call the shaman Ilario C. to divine for them. Ilario did not refuse the job and asked two dollars
for the divination, which she offered to pay him after he
found the buried money. One night an employee from the
finca went to get the shaman to do the rituals there.
Ilario was treated with great respect by the lady and her
daughters, who gave him a good reception. Ilario was
accompanied by one of his brothers who, they say, also knows
how to divine by means of magnetism on a table made of
cedar without a single piece of metal in it.

On the night when they made the first investigations
no one in the family slept in the house of the mistress;
each one was given a job so that the money they were going
to uncover would not slip out of their hands. The aguardiente,
which is never lacking in these rituals, was the first
thing to be divided among those who assisted, especially
the shaman brothers who were attended to by the mistress
of the finca herself. They made many divinations during
the night, but none of them revealed the whereabouts of
the money. The treasure really existed, however, according
to the two brothers. One knew it from his stones, and the
other through his little table which, when he placed his
hands on it, would begin to dance and walk by itself, thus
answering the questions that he asked it. Since the two
methods assured the existence of the buried money, it was
decided that they should come another night to find the
money. It was about five a.m. when they returned from the
hill that they had picked for the operations, an escort
accompanying the shamans home with the greatest respect so
that they would continue the search. The lady said that with the money she would buy another, larger finca on the coast, where she would go to live. She also made plans for changes in the present house.

On the third night after the first ritual, a second ceremony took place, similar to the first and in the same place. This time the mistress ordered some employees to take along hoes, pickaxes, etc. to make the necessary excavations, feeling certain that the shamans were going to divine the place where the money would be found. These hired hands were given double the daily wage for this night's work, and they were warned not to talk about the object of their search. All those who went along had the desire to see the hoard of silver and the place chosen by the people of long ago who were accustomed to burying money. It was very difficult for the two shamans to discover the place, and for a long time it seemed that they were not sure of their findings, or were afraid to tell the whereabouts of the money. Finally Ilario, who was the most fearless, indicated a place where a large amount of silver coins was buried; it was in the roots of an old orange tree. Very happy, the old lady did not take her eyes off the employees who worked feverishly to find the lady's fortune. The men were constantly encouraged by the mistress, and the shamans begged God not to fail them in the matter lest they appear very bad before all these people present; up to now they had had great faith in them, especially in Ilario who was best known as a diviner and healer. The hired hands
worked harder and harder, but they never reached the for-
tune; finally when they had dug very deep, they saw vestiges
of something buried long ago. Very happy, the mistress
served some cups of liquor to all, while urging the men
to dig even harder and the shamans to plead with God for a
good find. This was all done by the light of the moon. A
little before dawn the workers finished, after having per-
spired plenty for several hours; the shamans announced that
the fortune had been converted into ashes and potsherds
because of the over-ambition of the mistress. To be sure,
the men had found only these materials and nothing more.

Greatly angered, the woman called them liars, saying
that she would not pay them a penny and would go to the town
hall to reveal them as exploiters if they insisted on collect-
ing. Everyone left in embarrassment, some of the employees
perturbed because they feared their mistress would now mis-
treat them and others laughing at the great faith they all
had had. This time no one accompanied the shamans to their
homes; the two of them left angry and embarrassed. The
following day the mistress and her family left for the
Capital, and the skeptical nephew remained to laugh at her.
The hired hands also laughed at the mistress who was going
to enrich herself with this fortune which had turned into
ashes. Most of them really believed that this change had
occurred because of her greed. Those employees who had not
witnessed the business went to the place excavated to see if
they could still find a coin of the precious metal, dropped,
perhaps, by the searchers in the night. They say there was
a hole about nine feet deep and about seven feet wide. All
in all about five dollars was spent in this work with nothing
to show for it, and because of this the owner of the finca
was very angry. Many employees who have left the finca
tell this same story, but the lady never admits to people
the mistake she made, a great shame for herself and family.

The most difficult sicknesses to cure are those that are
sent by witchcraft, or brujería. Only another sorcerer can undo
the evil that a sorcerer has sent. This is a little difficult
at present because now there are no sorcerers as competent as
those of former days. The nature of the sicknesses sent through
witchcraft is determined by the motives for sending the evil:
if it is a matter of land trouble, the sorcerers send handfuls
of soil into the stomach, the most common place for these ail-
ments. If the trouble started over liquor or if a poor intoxi-
cated man has been mistreated, the wrong-doer may be punished
with liquor and he may die of intoxication or hangover.

That a sorcerer can cure the same sickness that he causes
is illustrated by the following:

Long ago when Santiago Q. was still young he had a
sweetheart who tired of him because he was very bad. This
causd him to become angry with her and he sent worms to
her nose. At first she felt only that her nose itched
but after a few days she felt something strange inside;
she inserted her fingers and little animals, already be-
grown with hair, came out. Then it occurred to her that
her ex-lover was a sorcerer and that it was surely he that was the author of the evil. To save herself she went to him to ask his forgiveness, saying that she would like him again on condition that he cure her immediately. Laughing at her, he promised to do so. And, to be sure, in several days the woman was better. And so it was proved that Santiago Q. does as the people say of him—he cures the same sicknesses that he brings upon people.

The people of long ago were very sensitive and would quarrel over the least thing, going immediately to someone who could bring evil to the second party. Sometimes just over a quarrel for a piece of fruit of little value neighbors would become bewitched and would have to die.

To become a sorcerer one must eat of cat, raccoon, and skunk. A person becomes especially strong if he eats the head of a cat. When sorcerers want to harm someone they talk of the cat, raccoon, and fox. Competent shamans and sorcerers can cause injury merely by a word or glance; nowadays there are few such competent persons. Sometimes the old men, sorcerers, shamans, and others who are strongly constituted wish to do something in which they are hindered by a younger person, and in such cases they can ask that ill befall the younger man. They can do this merely with words, and the punishment is speedily sent. For this reason when a younger is asked for a certain thing, he generally complies, even though the request may be against his wish.

When sending evil to an enemy, the evil-doer kneels to the sun at twelve o'clock midday and makes his request; it is
certain that the misfortune will befall the enemy because the noon hour is sure for curses. It is also at this hour that people kneel to the sun to ask pardon for their faults. Sorcerers confine their evil-doing not only to the middle of the day but also to the secrecy of night. While some say any day is suitable, usually a bad day such as Monday or Friday is chosen. To curse an enemy so he will die soon, an old man kisses the earth of the patio or of the roads and kneels to the sun four times during the day; at midnight, sunrise, noon, and sunset. When the cause is just this gives good results even if not a sorcerer.

The earth has ears and sight like God Himself to judge the people of the world; that is why the old people and shamans and sorcerers often address their curses and prayers to mother earth. Such curses are greatly feared because the earth is severe and unforgiving; one does not have to ask her twice. Permission is asked of God and the earth before performing some act of good or of evil and this explains why the earth in the patio or the road is kissed in kneeling to the sun.

Sorcerers never go to the saints when they want to do evil; they go to the volcanoes or other strange places that are not of God. For this reason when they die they do not go to Heaven with God, but to the hill. There they serve as fire, hearthstones and so on; they never leave, remaining there forever. Knowing the destiny that awaits them, they charge much when asked to do evil against someone.

It is on the volcanoes or near them that the sorcerers and shamans build their altars, for they know that the devil is
Sorcery may not affect the person it is directed against, especially if he is strong, and in that event the evil may fall on some other member of the family instead. Thus children may sicken and die through no immediate fault of their own, but only because their parents' quarrelling has prompted God to send punishment. It may be futile to try to cure a child that suffers from deflected magic. When evil is directed against a wealthy man and it is thwarted, the same evil may fall upon one of his hired hands. Or, when a person is not deserving of the evil that is directed against him, it may fall instead onto any of his animals. When a chicken or hog dies by accident or from some disease, nobody dares touch its meat for fear some sorcerer has been responsible for the death. The meat is either given to the dogs and vultures or it is buried. The evil done is in the animal and whoever eats of it will get it in turn.

No one, of course, admits being a sorcerer. Just as in the case of characoteles and of those having evil-eye, sorcerers are known only through the accumulation of hearsay evidence. Sometimes a person is observed performing secret magical rites but more often the identity of the evil-doer can only be inferred.
Thus in one case in which death was due to black magic, the guilty party had darkly predicted that a cemetery bed was awaiting the victim. In another case a woman knew that her distended stomach was sent by a certain Ladina, for the latter had once warned her to desist competing in business and had threatened to resort to sorcery if necessary. Sorcerers not only are capable of sending death to distant persons, but they have means of knowing whether and when their victims are stricken.

To forestall sorcery, parents often keep secret the real names of their children. The names are changed and even the children themselves know only their assumed names. This is wise because a sorcerer has to call the real name of the victim in order to do evil; if he does not, then the magic will fall rather on the sorcerer. In the old days people did not use fine clothes for fear of inviting harm from others; nor did they like to travel the main street, but rather took by-paths to go to town.

The following case shows the difficulties encountered in trying to thwart sorcery:

Nicolás C., the father of Simión, speaks with great sadness and grief about this son who died last August because of witchcraft. Although innocent, he was considered guilty, and because he had a weak spirit he could not resist the evil that was done against him.

This was the case: Simión was twenty years old, enjoyed his youth, and was an alguacil in the town hall. One morning he came running home to ask for his breakfast
because he had to run an errand in his work; he was told
to wait a moment, and he went to wash his hands in the ditch
near the house. It was a bad hour, because he met there a
young married woman who was washing her husband's clothes.
Naturally, as a friend, he had to speak to her, and she
replied as a neighbor or perhaps because they had gone to
school together. In their chatter, they laughed loudly, and
the husband came to scold his wife for this intimacy with
another. She explained to him the simplicity and frankness
of her gayety, but her husband paid no attention, became
very jealous, and continued to quarrel with her for days.
Simón, repenting his innocent laughter, left the ditch
realizing that his joviality and amiableness brought
discord to his neighbors. He continued his community ser-
vice and thought no more of the episode.

This was in April, and about two weeks later he felt a
pain in his stomach; he did not consider it important, and
thought it was only from having eaten rather late or from
having eaten too much fruit. All morning he resisted the
pain, saying nothing to his fellow alguaciles until noon
when they left for home. He came home in pain, and at once
asked his mother to prepare something to relieve him. His
mother, Candelaria C., gave him a cup of pericón (the herb
used most for such cases), and he promptly drank it. He
did not want to eat much for lunch, and he ate only five
or six tortillas. When it was time for him to return to
the town hall he felt a little better. At about four in
the afternoon the pain returned, and he had to lie down for a while on the road when he was doing an errand for the alcalde, Santos Y. He came back to the town hall rather late, and after going home to eat he did not return again in the evening because of his pains and discomforts. All the family thought lightly of the case, but Simión, on the other hand, felt that he was getting worse. The next morning they advised the mayor that Simión was ill and could not come to do his duties. He spent the day thus, and in the evening he became a little worse. On the third day they gave him a purgative, but the condition did not improve. On the fourth day they went to the pharmacy of don Juan Nazareno, and he gave certain medicines for twenty-four hours, which had no effect, either. They continued giving him household remedies, but none had the desired effect.

Finally, now desperate over the serious condition of Simión, they decided to call a shaman to see if the illness was sent by God or by a fellow man. They at once thought of their close neighbor, Ilario C., who gladly agreed to serve them. In his divinations he discovered that the illness of Simión had been brought about by a neighbor of his, whom he called by name, and he said that this illness would last for some time. Only then did they all realize that Simión's illness had come because of that laughter on the bank of the irrigation ditch. They say that the husband, greatly troubled by his continuous quarrels with his wife, went to Sololá and remained there three or four days looking for someone to carry out his wishes. He finally found some one to do it:
to make the victim suffer from dysentery for five months at least so that he would become as thin as a skeleton and finally die after his parents had spent all their money. Ilario C. said that if he could have learned the name of the sorcerer who was sending the evil, they might have saved the boy. They tried and tried to make the young man who had brought about the evil disclose the name of the sorcerer and the spot where the ritual had been performed, but he refused to give the information.

When Ilario could not cure or drive out the evil that was in Simión, they went to call Bonifacio C., who gave the same diagnosis. He gave remedies, and they performed several rituals, but to no avail. They called a third shaman, Francisco C., and he said the same thing and did more rituals, but it was useless for Simión, because he kept getting worse. Finally the family decided it would be best to call the doctor to see the patient. The doctor reprimanded them for not having called him sooner, because Simión was now unrecognizable, with only skin covering his bones. The doctor gave them some prescriptions, and they at once went to get these medicines at the pharmacy. They spent much on this, and with no good results for the boy; they believed now that the evil had almost consumed him, because they could do nothing to relieve him.

One day, when they could no longer do anything for him, a Ladino stopped to see him, and, frightened at the condition of the boy, he said that he was going to denounce
the authorities for not helping this poor sufferer. He said he was going to the Capital the following day, and that he would be able to bring them something good for the sick boy if they would give him money. Since they had by this time spent much money, they decided to sell a plot of land in order to do as much as possible for Simión, who was a worker and their only son. They gave the Ladino five dollars, and when he returned he gave them some bottles of cod-liver oil. They made him take this, but all for nought; the enemy was now happy and awaited the fatal hour for Simión.

They had nothing more to give Simión, and they had done everything possible, when they heard of a very fine sorcerer in San Pedro la Laguna. They at once went to solicit his services, and he accepted, saying he would send back the evil to the one who had wrought it and thus cure the sick man. Believing that it would be so, they paid him a large sum in advance. After many trips to San Pedro and many expenditures, their son was no better. Desperate, the parents of Simión finally called a shaman from San Lucas Tolimán; this man, asking why they had not called him at the first, told them without hesitation that their son would not recover and that it was useless to spend more.

They had already spent 150 dollars when Ilario C. returned to the house again and told Simión's mother that in the community there was a Ladino very good at curing evil by transferring it to others, even if the evil were fixed.
They at once agreed that he should come to the house to see the sick man. This renowned sorcerer by the name of Don Chepe, came one afternoon to the house of the sick man and, acting as if he had great knowledge on this subject of sorcery told them that he would do what they wished in a minute if they would pay him in advance twenty dollars. After consultation the parents offered him half of this, and he refused and left. Since they had already spent almost all their resources on cures and could think of nothing but saving their son, they told Ilario to call Don Chepe and tell him that they would pay him twenty dollars if he would save Simión. Ilario did this, and soon came with the man, who again made many manifestations of his knowledge of the supernatural. Having won in the deal, he asked five dollars in advance for his preparations and for two or three days of work with witchcraft. He told them of a case he had cured in Santa Lucía Utatlán: an immense tumor appeared on the neck of a Ladina, and he had cured her in a few days without her even knowing it. He told of other such cases in Santa Domingo on the south coast, and that he had saved many who were on the brink of the grave. He said that he was the son of very rich parents from the south coast who wanted to put him in the high position he deserved; he did not like to live with them because he would not be able to save the poor people who were suffering from witchcraft. He was a friend, then, of charity, and for this reason he went from town to town.
saving his fellow men from such evils; charge he must, because he, too, must eat and clothe himself. With all these recommendations that he himself gave, Simión's parents had great faith in him, and they gladly gave him the required sum of money. The day after this they went to call him, because the patient was dying, and he replied that they must give him more time for what he was doing. On the third day when they came to his house to call him, the owner of the house said that the man left in the morning not saying where he was going. They heard no more of him, and the parents of Simión were fooled out of their money.

A few days later Nicolás was saddened by the death of his only son with Candelaria. He had only five dollars, not enough for the final expenses, such as the box, candles, and aguardiente, three very important things for a death. They say many people came to see them and to accompany them, because most of them knew that the cause of the death was evil worked in distant parts. Even the one who had the evil done sent some candles, they say. The total expenses were about 200 dollars, and all this because the deceased for a moment laughed with the wife of a very jealous man.

The shamans make fiesta on the days of Corpus Christi and of St. Martin, their patron saint. Much more was heard of these fiestas years ago when the shamans invited all their clients—those who came every year to solicit their services. The shaman would tell his clients to bring to his house a quantity of bread, chocolate, rum, cigars, candles, copal,
chickens, etc., according to the number of services done them. Each guest brought what was asked of him and all was put together. When all had arrived, the wife of the shaman presided in the kitchen where the women fixed the food while the men went with the shaman to the altar where he always did his rites. There they lighted firecrackers and did everything else necessary. When they returned they ate together, and the host saw that they all treated each other like brothers and that they all drank. Sometimes they had a marimba too. Not until the next day did they go home. Though such fiestas are still held they are kept quiet since the law now forbids such things.\textsuperscript{36} It is therefore hard to know when and where these fiestas are taking place.\textsuperscript{37}

Fiestas also are held by the shamans in the cofradía house of St. Francis when the crops are planted in May. These fiestas are apart from the activities of the cofradías. Arrangements are made by the Elders and the expenses are paid for by popular contributions. The shamans in charge do the usual rituals, and in addition pray to all the men present who care to kneel and receive a blessing. About half of the men of the town attend. At an altar in the onion fields the shamans carry out a ceremony of burning bread, chocolate, brown sugar, salt and sugar on a pyre of copal, with long and appropriate incantations. This lasts until after midnight.
VI. Spirits and Death

SPIRITS OF THE LIVING. All living human beings, as well as all animals, have a spirit. The spirit is something like ether which is in the entire body but can neither be seen nor heard. It may leave the body and go wandering while the body remains asleep in bed during the night. Often when one is working and suddenly hears a whisper or noise in his ear, it is the spirit that is leaving or entering the body.

The spirit may become separated from the body by a blow or fall, or by fright. This may happen to both children and adults, but particularly to children since their souls are weaker. When a child falls from a tree some of his relatives may go to the place where the fall occurred with a little branch or a kitchen broom. This whip is used to beat the ground where the fall occurred, while they say, "Come with us, child, come with us. Do not remain here." The whip is then left for an indefinite time at the head of the bed where the child sleeps. If this is not done, it is possible that the child will become a fool or idiot, and soon become ill because its heart remains susceptible to the spirits that pass where the fall occurred.

Dreams are caused by the spirit of the sleeper going out and meeting other spirits with which it talks and does other things. Dreams are an announcement of something which is going to happen sooner or later, depending on the hour when the dream takes place. If one dreams at midnight, the thing will happen in a few months, and if one dreams when the day is dawning, the things will occur on the morrow or the day after. Dreams at the other hours between midnight and dawn mean that the things will happen in several days or weeks. Only the dreams which occur between midnight and dawn have significance; those
before midnight are the result of the food one eats or the thoughts in one's mind before going to bed.

Dreams have the following significances: a dream of falling into a ravine signifies that one will inherit something; to dream of money indicates one will become poor; a dream of being bitten by snakes or dogs is a sign than an enemy is planning to injure you; and a dream of fire is a sign of fever. If a person dreams of fish and crabs, it is certain that he will have a severe cold. To dream of raw meat and eating it predicts sadness or the death of someone in the family. When one dreams of the saints themselves or of relatives who already are dead, this means that whatever one wishes for will be granted. One must visit the cemetery where the dead relatives are buried or pray to Saint Bartolo who is the interceder between the dead and God. When the church bells toll the death knell, everyone thinks of whom he has dreamed recently to guess who the deceased might be. If one dreams of bad things, he must visit the public and private saints, burning incense and candles so that a miracle might prevent the dreams from being realized. Once a promise is made to visit a saint, even one who lives in far off places, it must be fulfilled or the saints will punish with poverty, sickness and even death. Formerly some called a shaman to the house to perform rites to repulse the bad luck which might overcome them as a result of a bad dream.
Characoteles are those people, both men and women, who are able to convert themselves into animals, and walk the streets at night. Those who walk on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays are bad, but others are good. Even on Tuesdays and Thursdays not all the hours are good, only those from twelve o'clock midnight to twelve o'clock noon. Some characoteles use large sheep skins when they come out at night, and they look exactly like these animals. The goat, too, permits the use of its fur to those who bother the neighborhood at night. The body of these persons remains privately in sleep while the spirit appears, transformed, in the street. Not only do characoteles walk through their own towns, but in a few minutes they can transport themselves to neighboring towns. When there are many spirits of this kind in the town, it is a prophesy of great illness or famine, for they carry plagues and misfortunes from one town to another.

It is possible to tell a characotel from whatever animal he repre-
sents by the unpleasant odor emanating from him and by the fact that he walks above rather than on the ground, leaving no footprints.

When two apparitions meet in the street they greet each other saying, "Do not fall," and "Go well on your way." If one of them does not answer, it is because he is another kind of spirit, as of death or perhaps of a living person.

When a characotel wishes to walk at night, he does not sleep with his wife, but sleeps apart saying he is ill and does not wish to disturb her sleep. Then he orders his clothes put in a little room nearby and there remains alone. He pretends to sleep until he knows the others are asleep. Then he dresses himself and leaves the room quietly, going to a wooden cross on the road. There he prays a little to himself, then makes several somersaults on the ground like those of a cat, and suddenly becomes the animal he has asked to be.

Many stories are told of encounters with characoteles, such as the following:

It happened that Bonifacio C. was in his house sleeping very peacefully with his wife and children, with the door of the house quite well closed. About two o'clock in the morning he sensed something at the foot of the bed and thought it was a rat or cat until he felt a hand on his clothing, reaching to grab him by his testicles. He rose very frightened and grasped a pickaxe which he always had at the head of the bed and struck the intruder until he had mutilated it completely. Looking in the usual place for matches, he found that they were not there, so he went out in search of a light. When he again entered the house there was nothing there, only traces of what had happened.
The family was frightened and went to the neighbors to tell of what had happened. When the next day dawned, Bonifacio went to the town hall to report the encounter. There he learned that Santiago Q. was dying near a roadside cross; his head was almost completely mutilated, and there appeared to be little hope of his living. They took him at once to the hospital in Totonicapán for treatment, and Bonifacio was taken to the Jololá prison while they made an investigation. The investigation showed that Santiago was the one who had entered Bonifacio's house. Santiago recovered and was condemned to a term of imprisonment, but since he was rich he paid the fine and was released shortly.

On meeting a spirit, those who have encountered many say they feel their heads enlarging and their hair standing on end. They have no strength to go on walking, and their voice makes no sound because the apparitions have the power of making people dumb. They are able also to silence dogs and to put a gun out of order. A man should not, however, show fear of a characotel, because the latter soon realizes if he is not afraid, and this means good fortune. When one encounters a characotel, he should continue walking straight on the road which he is traveling while the animal remains to one side. The animal will look to see if the man's blood is curdled, and if he sees that the man is strong, he will not bother him. However, if he sees fear he will follow or go before the man, feeling that he has dominated him. If a person is going for some evil purposes or has evil intentions, such as going to another sweetheart or to steal, he is more apt to be followed by the characoteles. It is possible to dominate a characotel
in the form of a bull by hitting it on the head. When this is done
the gourd which it uses, made in the shape of horns, is broken and
the spirit turns back to its human form. Then the man kneels before
the man who conjured him, kissing his hands and feet and begging his
pardon. A man who has overpowered such a spirit can now cut short his
days and control his fate, the spirit now belonging to him. The spirit
begs him to let him go free, healthy and safe, and not to tell anyone
of this incident which would disgrace him in the eyes of the community.

In all cases where characoteles have been killed or wounded, they
never remain dead in the place where they are attacked; even though
they are in a thousand pieces, these pieces join together and form the
body again leaving no trace of what happened. This phenomenon is illus-
trated in the following cases related by a youth:

Once his whole family was asleep when his mother sensed
something behind the house trying to enter through the cane
walls. It finally entered and approached the foot of the bed
where she lay with her husband. Gradually a hand moved in the
darkness over her head, holding a rough thread. She became very
frightened and tried to awaken her husband by pulling his hair,
in order that he might defend them. When he awoke he felt a
cord on his neck which already was beginning to choke him, and
he gave a leap over his bed to look for something with which to
strike the intruder. He could find nothing near at hand but the
belt which he used to tie around his waist. He folded this two
times and with it hit and killed the animal that was attacking
him. Then he went to look for matches which had been left under
his pillow, but he could not find them. His wife was leaving to
get a light from the neighbors when she found the matches at the doorway. They then looked about the house for the intruder, but what was their surprise not to find him in the place where he had been killed and tied with the belt. There was nothing there except a little spot of blood. Examining the rest of what was there, they noticed a twisted string with ends scorched so that it would slide fast on choking the intended victim. At the foot of the bed they also found a little twisted roll of white cotton thread, tightly twisted for some unknown purpose. They rearranged the opening in the canes where the intruder had entered and returned to bed, but without being able to sleep for fear that the attacker would return.

The second case occurred in the patio of the youth's grandparents. There was an orange tree in the patio where a spirit used to spend the nights; the dogs who noticed his presence did not bite him, but only barked from afar. This was strange, for the dogs were vicious with other strangers. When this spirit saw anyone come out of the house to approach him, he would rise gradually from his resting place and go to the edge of a stream which divided this house from another property, there to await his pursuers. They say he walked slowly and did not hurry, while those pursuing him were running at full speed. Every night the same thing happened, so the head of the household decided to obtain a gun to fire at him the next clear night when the moon was full.

On the next such evening the head of the household was prepared and fired at the spirit from within the house. All were sur-
prised when the spirit merely rose and went to the edge of the stream in order to be farther away from the gunfire. The dogs yelped a great deal without being able to do anything because they could not get near him. The man left the house cautiously, so that the spirit could not see him, and finally was able to arrange himself in a closer, more advantageous position. Fortunately he succeeded in hitting him with his gunfire, and all saw the spirit fall to the ground and into the stream. The dogs approached barking, but when the head of the household approached to investigate he found no one there, only the tracks. The spirit never returned to the house and everyone slept peacefully thereafter.

When a characotel becomes old and does not wish his kind to disappear from the earth, he looks for another in order to teach him. He first looks for a son or other relative, and as a last resort, a stranger. He chooses one who is strong, full of life, and can hold his tongue. If the one approached accepts the invitation to learn how to become a characotel, they go to a chosen place to change themselves into characoteles. The old characotel carries his apprentice on his shoulders and together with him makes the necessary somersaults to convert themselves into an animal. So it happens that little by little the apprentice learns both the prayers he has to say as well as how to walk through the streets. When he is a pupil he always goes as the tail of the teacher. Thus it is that a characotel can be composed of two persons; the head, body and extremities are of one, and the tail is of the other.
Death

Life is a loan which God of the Heavens grants His children by moments. When people become seriously ill they ask the shamans to divine whether it is time for them to die, that is, whether God wills it. When the divinations reveal that the illness is sent by an enemy rather than by God, the shaman performs various customs to drive it away. If the sickness is a punishment of God, the sick man may try to expiate his sins by receiving a whipping, and if God is satisfied the man may live. If He is not satisfied, the man will die, but he will surely go to Heaven for already having paid here on earth for part of his sins. For this reason, when one dies after being in the hands of a shaman no one speaks evil of him, because he did everything he could to attain salvation.

Death is a rest for the body; a deep, pleasant and eternal sleep for which the ordinary night's sleep is a preparation, the mother of the sleep of death. Death is the elder sister of dreams because it is stronger and does not repent if it wishes to take one of the living. People are of the earth and God made the first man from this element, and to this earth bodies return at death. At the hour of death, when sins have been atoned for, no one fails to render respect to the dead. When the greedy and ambitious die they cannot take even the dust of their property with them to the grave. When a child dies, this reveals that God repented of sending him to earth and so took him back to be with all the unborn children who live with God in the form of angels.

Immediately after a death occurs, the relatives notify the civil authorities so that the church bells will sound the death knell. The deceased is bathed in a closed room before being put
When one dies, the spirit goes to Heaven as a person with the same appearance, clothing and other personal belongings as when it was alive. It later returns to another person who is born, but in the opposite condition: if formerly rich, then poor; if fat, then thin; if fair, then dark, and so on. If the soul is that of a person who died very old, it will become reincarnate in one who will be weak and ineffectual in his work.

When a person or animal is in the last agony of death, the spirit leaves the body for several moments to recall all that he has done in his life, and in a few minutes his whole life passes in review before him. Many times a dying man wishes to talk to friends or relatives who are far away and cannot do so in any way except as an apparition. Sometimes the dying appear as shadows and weep outside the house in the same voice they had when in good health. The following story is told of one such apparition:

One time a man came on horseback to visit a friend of whom recently he had dreamed. On the road he met this very friend who was also on horseback and going on an errand to a nearby town. Both were glad to see each other, and the friend told his visitor to continue on to his house and make himself at home until he returned from his errand. He accepted the invitation with pleasure and went on to the house. Arriving there, what was his surprise and fright to see the family of his friend in mourning and grief over his friend's death from an illness he had been suffering for a long time. The visitor, stupefied, said that he had just spoken to the deceased, riding on horseback. From this, all realized that it was the spirit of the dead man who did not wish to leave this life on earth without seeing this friend he liked so much.
Immediately after a death occurs, the relatives notify the civil authorities so that the church bells will sound the death knell. The deceased is bathed in a closed room before being put into a coffin and taken to the cemetery. Little children are bathed by the midwives who delivered them, or by some woman of the family who is of advanced age. If the deceased is an adult, he or she is bathed by several of the same sex. This is done at once, while the body is still soft and easily washed. The body is always covered with blankets so that the wind cannot strike it and so that it is not seen nude. Formerly, and some old people still do it, the body was clothed entirely in white. Babies are dressed in the baptismal garment that their godparents presented to them. Men are clothed in white cotton shirts and draped with yards of white cloth. Women wear a white huipil and have a skirt draped over them. A white kerchief is tied around the jaw to keep it from falling open, and rope cord, similar to that worn by the saints, is tied around the waist.

During the night after the death, both paternal and maternal relatives and friends of the deceased keep watch. The greater the age and prestige of the deceased, the more people attend the wake. For a large funeral, up to a garrafon (twenty-five liters) of liquor may be consumed, along with coffee and tortillas or tamales which are served to all who wish to eat. The body is laid out with the head in the direction of the saints of the house. If there are no saints, the body is laid out with the feet toward the entrance. It is usually placed on a new mat if the family has enough money to buy one; if not, the old sleeping mat is used. This can be used by the widow or other remaining relatives after the burial only if the deceased did not die of a bad illness; otherwise it is burned.
The visitors each bring candles which are placed around the deceased's bier. Gifts of food are also brought so that the family of the deceased will not have to cook meals for the several days following the death. Sometimes the visitors address the deceased as in the following case of an old woman, a distant relative of the dead woman:

"Ah God, ah Heaven, you have died, mother mine; you suffered much on earth because of your illness, but now you see your son leaves nothing undone. So then with God to tell Him that life here is very hard and I want to die soon. Do not forget to come and meet me at the road when I die so that I may very soon arrive where you are going now. We will accompany you until your body is buried in our eternal city."

Throughout the wake the men stay in the room with the corpse. The women stay in another room if there is one; if not, they remain with the men but always in a separate group and converse among themselves. The men may joke and pass the hours telling stories, but the immediate family may not laugh at the conversation of others. The relatives must cry continually while the deceased is in the house, asking the saints why they allowed this to happen.

Those relatives and friends who attend the wake assist in opening the grave and bearing the body to the cemetery. If the family is poor, a coffin is made of pine boards; otherwise one is purchased. These are decorated with a skull painted with lime wash. The body is laid in the coffin accompanied by the things that will serve it in the afterworld: aguardiente for the after-effects of drinking if the man died of alcoholism; a grindingstone and bits of dishes for women; the
staff of office used by the dead man while he was in communal service. If a dead woman has children surviving her, her relatives place two sprouts of cane, two sprouts of izate, and two large candles in the coffin. These represent her children, and when she awakens in the grave in three days, she will think these are her children. If these items are not left with her, she will want to return to get her children, and then they too will die.

The funeral procession includes all the relatives and friends who gathered at the wake. Formerly the fiscales and sacristans always led the funeral party to the cemetery, carrying the silver cross and black banner with skull and crossbones. Since there no longer is a priest in town this is not now done. The mayordomos of the cofradia dig the graves of the unknown paupers and the poor of the town. For the most part, however, the friends and relatives help the mayordomos in preparing the grave. They measure the width and length of the box in order to dig the grave of the same dimensions. Liquor is brought from the wake to the cemetery. The gravediggers drink part of this liquor and throw the rest on the earth. When they find bones of another person in the place they are digging, they cover them with earth, trying not to expose them to the air since this would be a great sin. If the bones must be removed to continue digging, the diggers throw cups of liquor on them and bury them in the mounds of earth already removed. When a new skeleton is encountered, the diggers make a hole in the sides of the grave and transfer the remains. It is absolutely forbidden that children be present when the remains of this sort are removed and replaced.
All people are buried in pure earth with the exception of one woman, the wife of a rich man, who was buried in a vault like the Ladinos. Since all are of the earth, who feeds us in life, we should give to her the gift of our body at death. The head of the deceased is always placed in the direction of the sun and the feet in the opposite direction because we come from the first place and go to the latter. People should never sleep in the position of the dead because this is a sin and can only be done when one rests in eternal sleep.

As the body is laid to rest in the grave, the elderly relatives present give thanks to God for taking the deceased and ask, turning toward the sun, that He send for them also. Each relative takes a handful of earth from the grave and throws it on the coffin, saying, "Go then and tell the Lord that we also wish to be with Him. Tell our dead grandparents, parents, and children that we remember them with great affection." At each handful of earth that they throw, they sprinkle over it a cup of liquor as a sign of respect to mother earth so that she will receive her children with pleasure. When the burial is finished, a mound of earth is formed over the grave. If there is not enough earth left to make this mound, it means that this was the time for the deceased to die; if there is an excess of earth for this purpose, on the other hand, it means the deceased went before his time was up. Sometimes red geraniums, magnolia, or sour-oranges are planted on the grave as a remembrance. If these appear without being planted, it is a sign that the deceased was pure and innocent.

The Afterlife

For a week after the burial a candle is lit every evening in memory of the deceased. Three days after the body is buried, it revives
for a moment because the soul has not yet left the body. Upon reviving, the soul recalls for a moment his entire past life. This is when the spirit weeps for the dear ones left behind and walks through the town. The spirit does not harm anyone, but only wishes to take final leave of them. People are frightened, however, for they do not know what the spirit wishes. But soon the soul departs for Heaven, treading a path of flowers and other marvels if he left the earth a good man. But if he left earth with his sins unatoned, he will have to cross over thorns and fire.

Spirits of the dead are welcomed on the fiesta of All Souls' Day and All Saints' Day, because this is when God permits all of the spirits to return to earth for a visit. The spirits return to earth in the form of insects, which abound in the cemetery, streets and houses. They like to sip the honey of the "flower of death" (marigold) which was so plentiful here in former times. Of the millions of spirits which are allowed to come from Heaven on the days of this fiesta, each one goes to the place where he resided when alive. Only those souls which have been purged of their sins can come.

Other than on the days of the fiesta, spirits are not welcome in the house. A person knows that a spirit has entered the room when he gets hot, sweats in bed, and feels many fleas. Sleep leaves him; he hears light noises or feels himself being touched. Finally he awakens to find some part of his body livid where he was touched by the spirit. To drive such spirits out of the house, it is necessary to burn salt with garlic and chile, and four pubic hairs in the hearth fire. The spirit, on smelling such things, leaves at once because it is a great punishment to be so confronted. Anyone in the house may do this,
providing he is not afraid to get up in the night and go to the fire. Garlic, kept in the bed, keeps one from dreaming as well as protecting against such spirits. The garlic fights the spirit, always winning because it has such great strength. It is a sin, however, to try to ward off spirits with pepper. Once a boy put some pepper in the incense to burn when a spirit was trying to enter, and they say he went to Hell. A spirit can also be dispelled by breaking a gourd, because gourds resemble skulls.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. The informant excepted one mute of his own family, who can count up to a thousand or more with his fingers and toes. He is an industrious person and rather intelligent. He has been dumb since a straw house burned over him when he was still a baby.

2. The word for taste is applied also to things other than foods. Thus, one has a taste to take a walk.

3. The sense of touch as no name in Cakchiquel.

4. Cheles, pieces of the congealed secretion of the tarsal glands of the eyes.

5. An informant who heard this story for the first time commented, "What a pity!"

6. See also the story of the dog and man who saw his wife's ghost, p. 000.

7. See p. 000.

8. See p. 000 on taming ghosts with similar methods.

9. In one case of an illegitimate birth the mother of the boy who had fathered the child did not want her son to marry the girl because the baby was not a boy.


11. No care is taken to spit only in certain places.

12. One of my informants had a toothache, and when he was advised to wash his face well in cold water, he felt worse.

13. For a discussion of evil eye, see p. 000.

14. Local medical authorities advise the application of a few drops of water and lime juice to combat eye ailments.

15. Only one woman is a successful curer of sore eyes or conjunctivitis.
16. *Chenopod* is also derived from the *epazote* plant.
17. Bleeders are known by the two Cakchiquel terms, *lotso'ne* and *aj lotsoj*.
18. Presumably kidney trouble, although the kidneys and their functioning are not understood; see p. 000.
19. There is a section of town, to the northwest of the bell tower, where almost all the residents have goiters. It is thought the condition results from drinking the water of a well at the foot of the hill there.
20. Resembling mange.
21. Ladinos are accustomed to cure their children when they are greatly frightened by taking them to the Catholic church so that the priest may do the rebaptizing called *evangelio*.
22. The distinction between shaminism and sorcery is somewhat artificial. As a rule a given person is not exclusively a sorcerer or a shaman. The standpoint from which the evaluation is made is important: what is beneficient magic to one party may be black magic to another. A shaman proclaims his calling but no one is admittedly a sorcerer. The Cakchiquel term for shaman is *za.lorín* and for sorcerer the Spanish term *brujo* is widely used.
23. Bonifacio C. believes in remedies from the pharmacy. He lost five children, and spent a lot of money on shamans and their prayers and finally became disillusioned. He does not believe in shamans now; he says that remedies and prayers, taken together, are best; but remedies without prayers are better than prayers without remedies (which are of no use at all).
24. Lorenzo X. said that part of his deceased son's downfall was due to his nature: he had not liked to talk much, but had gone around like a dumb one, keeping his angers and his pains secret. Lorenzo says he always told him to greet his superiors on the street, but he paid no attention and this was a disgrace because people would say that the father had not taught him well. Some said the boy was dumb, but this was not true; he simply did not speak to anyone. Some of the visitors at his funeral opined that if the deceased had wished to talk, his confession to a shaman might have saved him.

25. In one case in which a man attributed the death of his son to a man who had fought with him over land, the guilty person was discovered by one of the four shamans called in to cure the child.

26. The daughter of a resident Sololateca was told by a shaman that her sickness was caused by local people working black magic against her because she had come to live with a Panajacheleño.

27. A shaman was called in to do rituals to a young child with a badly swollen arm, for it was felt that a spirit had grabbed the arm the night before.

28. According to Quirino Q., his father Santiago just speaks very bad words and people with weak blood die. Santiago himself explains why he, in turn, is not harmed by the evil words of others:

"I am not bothered by the bad things that people say; there are three such, who have told me to my face that I am going to die as my son Pascual did. (He disappeared
four or five years ago and has never been found.) They talk thus only because I always tell them the plain truth to their faces. I do not like shameless people, nor do I speak behind peoples' backs. In fine, Señor San Bernadino (referring to the sun, as it is often called) will give justice to all when the time comes."

29. Lorenzo X.'s oldest son became seriously ill, and the shaman said it was a punishment on Lorenzo for fighting with his neighbors over land; since Lorenzo is strong, the ill fell on his son. Now Lorenzo is arranging to reconcile his enemy (Santiago Y.) and has invited him to come to his house to get drunk.

30. Young Julian told us confidentially that we should not try to cure the daughter of Quirino Q. because everybody knows that her sickness is the result of sorcery against her father, Quirino, and the one who is doing it is Santiago, Quirino's father.

31. The wife of Martin S. had a fine laying hen and had been thinking of trading it for a rooster, until one morning the hen was found dead. She thought it was a great pity to throw it away but her husband said that undoubtedly someone had sent evil for one of them and the evil had fallen on the poor hen.

32. See p. 000.

33. Young Julian says that Luisa S. practices sorcery to harm people; once he saw her doing rituals down near the lake, praying with a certain stone and some candles. He hid and watched, overhearing that she did this to find out who stole some of her onions. He says this stone has the power of jumping by itself, and when the person returns to steal more
onions the stone will up and kill him. Even if the person does not return, the stone will kill him wherever he is, even if it is in some distant place.

34. Juan Rosales noticed that in the workbook of Martin Rosales his name was given as Bernardino, and Juan explained that he had not known that was his real name until they had looked it up in the town hall. Martin's parents had changed his name, as well as those of his brothers, and had not told him. Likewise, Esteban S. is registered as Domingo, Juan Q., as Agustín; there are many like this. Some parents change the name so the children will not have to go to school; but there is also the fear of black magic; see p. 000.

35. Juan Rosales knew him in San Pedro where he did the same things with the ignorant Indians and even with certain Ladinos in Santa Clara.

36. One shaman said that, since he is a special investigator against bootlegging, in exchange for this service he is allowed to practice his shamanism without official interference.

37. At present, the fiestas are given at the expense of the shamans, as in the following case: Ilario C., after long preparation, had his ritual come off on schedule. He hired a marimba band from San Lucas, he brought a garrafa of aguardiente from Sololá, and he invited another local shaman to help him. Many people came, including Ladinos and Indians, and Ilario considered that they were showing their friendship in this way. Actually, they had free music and drinks. Occasionally Ilario or Bonifacio C. (the other shaman) would pray, with incense and candles, etc., before the saints in Ilario's room.
Footnotes to Chapter 9, con't.

The official reason for the ceremony was to initiate the house, now two years old; actually, it was to ward off the black magic of Ilario's enemies, especially Santiago Q. who fought with Ilario's father in a tavern last year and has been doing them wrong since.

38. See p. 000.
GREETINGS. When a man or a woman meets his elder on the street, the younger goes to one side, leaving the best part of the road to his superior. In olden times when a child saw an old man pass at about ten steps distance, the child would kneel at the side of the road and ask him to command him as he would. When the old man approached nearer, the child said, "Good morning" or "Good afternoon," according to the time of day, and then kissed first the elder's hands and then his feet. Only when the old person told the child to get up and continue on his way would he do so, no matter in how much of a hurry he had been. If a child did not do this, then the old man would greet him, and go as soon as he could to the house of the child's parents to inform them of their son's lack of courtesy to his elders. The culprit was then called to kneel before the old man and beg his pardon, promising not to do this again.

Now no one kneels when passing on the paths, but the younger shows respect by standing aside and saying "Good day" first. When they are on friendly terms, the elder may salute the younger first, but when they are unfriendly, the elder may ignore his inferior. If the younger person is occupied and does not see the older pass, then the latter should speak first. Also, if the younger man is walking on the road with a load, or if he is sick, the older one should step to one side.
No matter how old a woman is or what her class or standing, a man should not step aside for her. She is the one who should give the right of way, because there is a belief that doing the contrary is a sin and that it will make the man age quickly. When a man and woman are equal in age and standing, each of them should go to one side and neither should take the best part of the road. If only the man goes to one side and the woman does not, later when the man smokes a cigar it will burn only on one side and never evenly. Thus if a man is seen with a cigar burning like this it is immediately said that this is because he does not know how to walk on the street.

Formerly, more than nowadays, the custom was observed of kissing the hands and feet of superiors, both in private life and officially at various rituals. About ten years ago the young men began to use the same form of greeting as the Ladinos: shaking hands with friends. With a superior, they half-kneel before him, as if it kiss his hand, but they merely shake it. This is true in cofradía rituals, too, even among the old. In kissing the hands, the inferior always kneels before his superior and kisses the right hand first. If the left hand is kissed first it is sinful, because it means that there is no cordial feeling between the two. The right hand is considered trustworthy and good, while the left is the opposite. For this reason all money and important things should be handled with the right hand.

It is said that in the old days the children of the
house kissed the hands of their parents and their older
brothers every time they finished eating, when they got up
from bed, or when they asked pardon for any of their short-
comings. Always when asking pardon of someone, the person
knelt with folded hands, because this is the religious cus-
tom. At present the children kiss neither the hands nor the
feet of their superiors, but they do fold their hands and
kneel. This change took place about forty or fifty years ago.

Formerly, from the time a youth or a girl became a texel,
he began to kiss the hands of his superiors in community office,
and this continued until he himself became an Elder of the
town. When any man became a cofrade, all the inferior officials
and their wives had to kiss his hands and his feet; at present
only the hands are kissed, and only by the women. Any cofrades,
on meeting, also kissed each other's hand, the one who re-
ceived his office last being the first to do so. This was
done with the exception of the cofrade of San Nicolas, who is
considered inferior because this cofradia is not of much ac-
count and is the lowest of all. Thus this cofrade had always
to kiss the hands of the others, even if they had just received
their office. (When an old cofrade turned over the cofradia
to his successor, the latter would kiss the former's hands,
because the old cofrade is superior to the new. The old cofrade
in turn would kiss the new cofrade, but the latter was supposed
to object. This applied to their wives as well.)

The hands of the sacristans of the church and of the
regidores are still kissed, but only when they come to the
cofradía when it receives its saints, and then only by inferiors. At present the feet of the alcaldes are kissed only at the rituals, while in the old days this was done whenever the alcaldes were met. It is also the custom to kiss the hand of compadres who have baptized one's children. A younger compadre should not allow the elder one to kiss his hand, because this is a sin. This would cause the younger to grow old soon, or his children to die. The Ladinos do not pay attention to these customs, and no matter how old they are they always permit older Indians to kiss their hands after a baptism is performed.

When a man goes to ask for the daughter of another, whether he is younger or older in age, he kisses the latter's hand in gratitude for giving the daughter to his son. If the father of the prospective daughter-in-law gives his hand to be kissed, it is a sign that he is agreeing to the marriage. If he is a stepfather of the girl, his hand is not kissed.

VISITING AND GIFT-GIVING. It is a good custom to visit relatives and close neighbors, but only when there is an object in doing so, as when you have dreamed of one of them. Thus visits are made only every four or five months. A visit should not last longer than an hour and a half, not even by ten minutes, or the visitor will be considered stupid, or spying. Superiors never repay visits to inferiors, except when there is a very forceful reason for doing so. When sick people are visited, they should always be brought appropriate things to eat. If this is not done, it is a shame. A visit
should be made at the hour and on the day when the host is at home and does not have much to do.

Men visit men, and women women, but never the opposite. If there is necessity for a man to visit a woman or vice versa, the husband and wife should go together. There are many men who do not like to have other men come to the house when they are absent. Sometimes the wife forestalls the visitor by saying that her husband is not at home, and this means the visitor should not enter. Whether the woman or the man is asked for, the visitor always greets both the master and the mistress of the house.

Those who arrive by personal invitation are first received in the porch or patio, and then retire. Some say it is sinful to receive a guest in the patio; he must be taken into the house even if it is inconvenient to do this. A woman visitor is received in the kitchen, where she is offered a mat to kneel on instead of the chair that is always offered to men.

A man should immediately cease what he is doing when a guest comes, and go inside the house with him. Only when the work in progress is very urgent he may explain this to the guest who then may offer to help. When a couple comes to visit, men chat with men and women with women. The men may draw the women into their conversation, but the women never interrupt the conversation of the men. Men never take part in a conversation between two women. If a visit is being paid to the man or the woman, the other should not interrupt, especially in the case of the woman whose husband is being
visited. The host should never reprimand or criticize his visitor unless the conversation forces him to do so. The host should never sit behind his guest but always in front of him so that he can speak to him face to face. Almost anything may be discussed between the two, but the guest should never ask many questions, or he will be considered impolite.

When gifts are in order, the woman of the house customarily brings the gift. If the couple is recently married, however, both the husband and the wife are expected to go together to the in-laws. If only the woman comes, it is a sign that the man is angry, and the gift is not accepted unless there is a good excuse for his absence. Inferiors always give their presents first to their superiors. They await an equal gift in return, and this is sent on to another superior or friend until all their obligations are filled. Thus they never send two or more gifts at one time, because they must await an equivalent return. Nothing is thought of the fact that the food received was not made in the house of the donor, because all know that this form of exchange is the custom. However, the good which is given by one family is never returned to that same family because this is a sign of anger between the two families. The first gift is made to a house where it is known that good food is prepared, thus assuring that the gift returned will be good enough to send on to someone else. It is very rare that people do not return the gift in kind of food. Should this happen, the first donor has the extra work of preparing a little more in the same form in order to fill his obligations. For compadres, cofradías, and
and on occasions of weddings, a gift of a whole chicken with its head is always sent. It must be a full-grown hen or rooster, not a pullet, because it is a shame to send such a little animal. The pulique is taken there separately. When the fowl is to be eaten in the house, or to be given to the shamans, midwives, or friends, it is cut up into about six large pieces and is left in the pulique. When it is sent thus in pieces, the head is never included, because it has very little meat, and it would be a shame to include it.

It is the custom to give the one who brings the food something to eat, usually sliced bread with honey. This is eaten while the container in which the food was brought is washed and filled with the return gift of food. If the woman cannot eat what she is given, she may take it home with the basket of food.

MUSIC AND DANCING. The principal musical instrument is the marimba, but drums, violins, and flutes are also played by the musicians. The marimba plays both happy and sad music. The sad music is for the women while the happy pieces pertain to the men. However, both men and women may dance to either happy or sad music. It is said that the marimba calls people to the fiestas to dance and drink. For this reason it is used at almost all of the fiestas. Before playing the marimba the musician throws the first cup of aguardiente that is given to him over the instrument. He also burns incense for it. The marimba is considered to be like a sympathetic woman who is able to attract all men. This is
obvious because there is always a large crowd of men gathered around when a marimba is playing. The drunkards usually request happy pieces from the musicians when they are enjoying themselves, but if they are assigned a service to fulfil they request sad pieces. As there are different pieces for men and women a good musician must know a great number. Some people say that it is fortunate that there are musicians in Panajachel so that it is not necessary to bring them in from other places for the fiestas, while others say that all musicians are good-for-nothings and very lazy men who prefer to play music instead of working.

The marimba used to be called tsuj (gourd) because its voice boxes were made of gourds. Nowadays the construction has been greatly altered. It is said that the old marimbas, the chirimias, and the drums belong to God, while the new type of marimba belongs to the Devil. For this reason lightning pursues the new marimbas during the rainy season.

The drum and the chirimia (flute) are always present at religious fiestas, as they are symbols, like the rockets and fireworks, which may not be omitted. It is said that formerly each drum was accompanied by two chirimias with the same pitch. Nowadays there is only one chirimia for each drum. Each chirimia is considered to be like a woman by its owner as it is never lent to another nor does it leave its owner's side.

The case of a drum is always made of pine and the heads are made of goatskin. One side of the drum is covered with
the skin of a male goat, and the other is covered by that of a female goat. If both skins were of the same sex the drum would not sound good. If the drum is played during the day the female skin is used; if at night, the male side, because it is stronger and more resistant to the cold and the blows. When marching in the processions the drummer always walks in front with the chirimía-players behind. If a drummer is asked to go to another town to play at a fiesta he will never carry his own drum because the people of his town will say that he is a vagrant who always goes to fiestas. The musical talent of a musician is highly regarded as it is felt to be a gift from God. For this reason a musician may never refuse a request to play as it is for the glory of a saint or of God. If he refuses he will be punished by some calamity (as happened to a Catarineco who refused to come to Panajachel to play and later got a large sliver in his foot which incapacitated him for many months). It is believed that if a woman plays a drum she will be unable to cook hertamales properly and they will all be bad. She will also not be able to nurse her child as her milk will dry up.

Bells are considered to be means of calling people together to announce the local news. They are also a means by which the soul of the town shouts the happenings on earth to God in the heavens. There are several different ways of ringing the churchbells: a drawn out chime of the large bell is used to call the religious officials to a meeting; the two heavy chimes of the two large bells followed by one short
chime of a small bell serves as a call to mass; when the two large bells are chimed once each it is a sign that a child has died; if both bells are chimed simultaneously in a progressively shorter and lighter manner it signifies the death of an adult; if the smaller bell is chimed, followed by two rapid chimes, it is a call to the children to come to school; if the one large bell is chimed slowly but with an increasing tempo it is a sign that the hour is noon; if two chimes of the small bell are followed by a chime of the large bell it signifies that the hour is eight o'clock in the evening.

Little bells were also formerly used at funerals, but nowadays they are used only during the ceremony of the Holy Burial on Good Friday.

All of the men know how to whistle many traditional and modern tunes. All of the women whistle in a special manner through the teeth while they are grinding grain. Formerly people sang verses in Cakchiquel and Quiché, but nowadays the words have been lost and people only sing with their voices without forming intelligible words.

Women usually dance only at the cofradía fiestas, while the men often go to the taverns to dance. Women dance either with each other or with their husbands or family relations; if they were to dance with other men they would have bad reputations. Both Ladino and Indian men dance to the Indian music. When they become drunk they shout from time to time to demonstrate their happiness. The Indian women perform more gentle dances in which they form a circle and hold hands. The men always form a single line which is led by the oldest.
man present. Formerly it was the custom for both men and women to join together in a circle to dance. It was also permissible for a man to dance with another man's wife if her husband gave his consent. This was only done at cofradía functions. When a couple danced together the man would stand still in front of the woman and hold her hands while she danced and he remained stationary. When she was tired they would sit down or take a walk. Sometimes men would dance with each other in this manner; each man would dance a little while the other maintained his position.

GOSSIP AND QUARRELING. A visit occasioned by some business matter or errand frequently ends with gossip. Gossiping is indulged in by both men and women. Some of it is good-humored, but more frequently it is an expression of bitterness or maliciousness. Adultery is a common subject of gossip as one can see in the following conversation overheard between Mariano and Juan at Juan's house:

Juan said that Francisco has no shame. Once Francisco found his wife cohabiting with Eduardo on a planted tablón. He beat his wife and went to tell Eduardo's parents. Eduardo fled town. Francisco went to the town hall and the police finally found Eduardo. The judge said that if Francisco was ashamed of his wife, he could put her out in the street. Otherwise he should take her home again. The judge punished both Eduardo and Francisco's wife for adultery and Francisco paid his wife's fine and took her home again, thus forgiving her offense. The same thing
happened again and again, and even when Francisco witnessed his wife's unfaithfulness, he said nothing.

Mariano commented that Francisco loves his wife very much to put up with this behavior. When she is sick with a bad stomach, he himself acts as a nurse for her in the sweatbath. The two men laughed much over such things because it is a disgrace that such personal matters come to public light.

Mariano went on to say that his wife heard from Pedro's mother-in-law that Pedro doesn't keep the midwife on after she has a baby. He himself cures her stomach and other things in the sweatbath. Both men laughed again.

The two men went on to gossip about Eduardo. His wife ran away to her home because of a slight quarrel they had had. She left him with a child a few years old and took along her infant. Eduardo was at work when she left, but soon heard about it. Going after her, he met her on the road to persuade her not to go. She would not listen and merely took money he offered to take care of the baby. He gave her this money so she would be more satisfied and not go to the authorities to tell them of the bad things he has done while she was living with him.

Some wives gossip about their own family affairs trying to enlist support of their grievances:

Ana came to sell a little shelled coffee, and went on to talk about her family affairs. Her husband doesn't give her money to live on, and tells her to earn for herself and daughter. He says that what he earns carrying cargo from Panajachel
to Sololá is for him alone and he can't support them. He is very mean, scolds her and almost hits her with sticks. But their daughter, Catarina, is stronger than he and pulls the sticks from his hand. He earns much but says he earns nothing and suffers hunger and wet and fatigue on the road. Ana thinks he has another woman and for this reason treats her badly. He says she has a lover whom he saw her with. She says now she grinds the corn for his tortillas, but he eats alone. She and Catarina have no blanket at night because Marcelino hogs the only one.

And such complaints give rise to more gossip and speculation. Rumor spreads quickly throughout the village, the final version of a story usually being far more dramatic than what actually happened:

The rumor spread that some Sololatecos had seen a dead, headless Panajacheleño on the road from Patulul. They told it to Agustín S. who told it immediately to Ana C. whom he met on the street. She told her son Martín who told the man for whom he was working, and the latter told Santiago who told Juan. Everybody is wondering who it can be, asking themselves who might have gone to the coast looking for work. Santiago said that he had heard from merchants that in the Tecpán neighborhood peoples' heads are being chopped off.

News was received two weeks following the rumor that all the Panajacheleños on the coast are alive, so
the story of the murder is false. This news came from a Panajahkeleñio who returned from the coast with the report on his companions.

There are not as many insulting expressions in Cakchiquel as there are in the Spanish used by the local Ladinos. Abusive expressions in Cakchiquel indicate that so-and-so is the son of a jaguar, a cow, or one from the hill. Indians have learned some insulting words from Ladinos and use them frequently and naturally. For example, telling another to go eat human excrement arouses great anger, and parents prohibit their children from speaking thus around the house. But among Ladinos it is not such a great insult and they may say such things in fun when they are friendly.

When men and women quarrel they may spit in each other's face, both as a curse and to annoy the other. To spit behind an enemy is to molest him still more. If done intentionally as a curse, it may result in quick illness for the enemy and death. Sorcerers of long ago did this, and old people do it to children with whose parents they have been quarreling. They may also spit behind the animals of an enemy to lay the curse there.

Poorly brought up children, or the uneducated, may show disrespect by thrusting out their tongue as far as possible in front of another who is looking at them. This offends the dignity of the other and arouses their anger. Grownups, but only the most unrefined, may lift their clothes to disclose their rumps.
The villagers never fight with knives or machetes, only with the hands and with sticks. Good, sane people do not fight at all. Only those who are drunk do so, and then only with words, telling each other of their faults when they know each other well. Husbands usually hit their wives with their hands, but a very few may look for sticks or use whips or ropes. The women never use weapons of any kind when they fight with their own sex, or with a man, only with their nails, or with outstretched hands. The majority use angry words, calling their adversary a child of an ox or of a cow.

Arguments may spring from abusive or insulting behavior, attacks by another's animals, and accusations of adultery, witchcraft or robbery. Many of these situations occur when one or both parties are drunk, as in the following:

Mariano Y. says that one night in Holy Week when he came home drunk he fought with his wife, who was also drunk, because she had gone to the Sololá fiesta. His mother was in the house and wanted to stop the fight, but Mariano (in incoherent words) spoke harshly to her. His mother became angry and began to hit him. He became even more angry and came back with slaps and kicks, shouting to her the many bad and shameful things she has done. Mariano now says he is not sorry because he is still angry at her. She no longer lives at his house because of this affair.

And again:

Santos C. came one day to apologize to Juan's
father for something he had done while drunk. Two
days before, Santos was drunk in a tavern, and upon
seeing Julián pass, he spoke offensive words (the
two had not been on good terms) which Julian dis-
regarded because the other was drunk. Today Santos
said he wished to be forgiven, that he had not been
himself when he had offended Julián, that today his
wife had told him of the offense he had committed
and therefore he had come to excuse himself. Julián
answered that this once he would excuse him, but that
he should not think that because he is alcalde he can
do whatever he wants. The alcalde should set an ex-
ample for his townspeople who put their village in
his trust, so he ought to know how to fulfil this trust
and not dishonor it with his actions in the street.
Finally Santos knelt before Julián and kissed his hands
as a sign of respect and friendship, and finally left
satisfied that he was pardoned.

Arguments between the members of a family as well as disa-
greements with other Indians and Ladinos are often taken to the
town hall to be settled. There one or both parties may be
fined or imprisoned.

The other day Juan's dog bit a boy, whose parents
complained in the town hall. Juan was ordered to cure
the wound, and this evening the father of the boy came
with the third regidor to ask for medicines. Juan
told him that he had told the pharmacy to give them what
they needed. The regidor said that in the town hall the father had said that Juan didn't want to comply. Now they went to the pharmacy where they were scolded for not having brought the boy earlier. Later the regidores took the father to the town hall to be scolded by the alcalde.

An affair of the heart caused another disagreement which was settled in court:

Silvestre took a liking to María and decided to court her. He asked her father, Luis, for permission to come to see her. Luis asked María if she wished it, and she said yes. So Silvestre began coming to the house. This continued for awhile until all of a sudden he changed his mind and stopped coming. This bothered María, who liked the boy considerably. So Luis took his daughter to the two hall to complain against Silvestre. The alcalde talked to María and Silvestre separately, discovering that Silvestre had not harmed María and that his love had simply cooled. In the course of the negotiations, Silvestre lied about having written a letter. The alcalde proved it, got angry and put Silvestre in jail for five days. He finally paid a fine.

Sometimes the threat to resort to the town hall is used to bring the adversary to agreement as in the following case:
At four in the afternoon, Juan's sister Lola went for a jar of water from the spring. On the way back, she met another girl and they returned together, playing. The other pushed her and she fell, breaking the jar. Each went to her home, and Lola's father went with her to the other girl's home to complain. The girl's parents agreed to pay for half the jar and they also whipped the girl for having caused the difficulties. Later, the girl and her mother came and said that Lola must have fallen by herself. Lola said that the other girl for some unknown reason had a grudge against her and pushed her. Lola's father said there was blame on both sides, that he would whip Lola, and the other girl would have to pay for the jar because she was bigger. The girl's mother would not consider this and said instead that Lola should be whipped for lying. The girls cried bitterly. Finally, however, the mother scolded her daughter, agreeing to pay, but asking her daughter why she had done such a thing and caused her to embarrass herself before Lola's father.

Because of the family's reputation for not paying debts, Lola's father took a kerchief for security. They did not like this, and left saying bad things about Lola's lying. Half an hour later the girl returned alone, and begged for the kerchief because her mother had threatened her with dire punishments. She cried much, and finally Julián gave it to her, telling her
that if in a week the money was not forthcoming, he
would go to the town hall with the matter.

And oftentimes the person offended thinks better of this threat
and returns home, as in the following case:

Santos' wife, Vicenta, is known as a very talkative woman. The alcalde advised Santos not to bring her
to the fiesta of San Buenaventura. Santos was peeved
at the advice, but he complied and did not bring his
wife. Vincenta is fond of fiestas and liquor, and she
came to town to see the procession around the church.
On her way back she drank and became drunk. She was
able to cross the river, but instead of going home, she
went to the house of Tonon where the fiesta was going
on and without any hesitation seated herself among the
officials. Her husband meanwhile was lying drunk in
the yard. The alcalde, angered by her imprudence,
ordered two of his subordinates to remove her from their
midst, and this they immediately did. A few minutes
later they heard noises among the coffee trees to the
rear of the house. Going out with the torches, they
encountered Vicenta with her huipil torn to pieces,
her skirt several paces away, and her kerchief also
torn. Because of her drunkenness she could not tell
who had done all this, saying only it had been three
men. They took her into the house, putting on her
clothes and then took her home.
The next morning, on being told what had happened, she started for the town hall to complain, carrying her torn clothes. At the edge of the river she met another woman who counseled her to go home, since it would be a disgrace and against all custom if she went to complain. She advised her to find out the names of the wrongdoers and demand payment. Her father, too, reprimanded her, saying it was a disgrace before the town to broadcast it. Vicenta turned back, but the next day went to the town hall. People who know about her doings speak very badly of her even to the extreme of calling her a prostitute and saying that she should be sent by the authorities to the Capital.

Thievery and the accusation of theft is a common cause of quarreling. In some instances, cases are settled between the parties involved without recourse to outside authority. The thief may be deterred by other means of detection, as for example, the custom of erecting a makeshift cross in a field where thieves have entered. When thieves see this cross they do not enter here because they are afraid of punishment. Santiago always makes a cross in his fields that are ready for harvesting, so that all will see that there has been stealing and none will dare enter.

Sometimes, thieves are discovered but not reported for personal reasons, as the following cases illustrate:
Francisco caught Jose stealing corn from his field. Jose knows that Francisco makes liquor clandestinely, and to avoid being reported to the authorities by Jose, Francisco promised not to report the theft if Jose would work off the value of the stolen goods.

Manuel caught Ana taking cane from a fence of his. He called her grown son and said he could either replace half the fence or have his mother reported to the authorities. The boy had to accept the obligation of replacing the fence to avoid the fine.

Bonifacio and his family were in the habit of stealing fruit from a piece of land which belongs to Felipe. Felipe and Bonifacio had had difficulties in the matter, but Felipe had dropped his complaints for fear that Bonifacio, who is a shaman, would light candles in the hill against him.

DRINKING. The custom of getting drunk is a very old one. No one knows how far back people first began to get drunk at times of fiestas, death, or when angry, happy or sorrowful. It is known only that long ago there was not as much aguardiente as now, and before that time there was only that which people made themselves--the ohicha made of Spanish plums or from bran. The liquor was bought in jars, not by the bottle as is done today. Later the law forbade private manufacture of this liquor and all had to be bought in the factories which paid taxes to the government treasury. However the custom of making ohicha for fiestas is still retained.
The old men say that about sixty years ago, when they were growing up, the aguardiente was sold in the taverns along with the chicha. They say aguardiente is less harmful and cheaper since one can get drunk on less. Beer never was very popular because it is too weak to intoxicate and too expensive. Every Friday and Sunday, the one-man gourd marimba bands played in the taverns at the entrances and exits of the town. After an initial free drink as a taste, a customer would buy more and more until he began to dance to the rhythm of the marimba. With only a little chicha, people had no difficulty in getting drunk. Some spent the night and sometimes the following day or two drinking if they had the money. Formerly, when the chicha was made in the cofradías and private homes, people drank even more freely. The old men drank most. Several of the same age would get together; one would suggest a visit to a tavern where he would buy some liquor to warm the others, and then they too would buy drinks. If they had no money they might borrow some or offer their harvests, even if their crops already had been contracted for. For months some men might remain in the taverns. Their sons would bring food to sustain them while their parents continued their vice.

In the old days, people always drank in groups and almost never individually, as is seen so often now. In those days people did not quarrel with each other. They were all very mild tempered. The young people had great respect for the old, and they did not enter to interrupt them where they were drinking. If they, too, wanted to drink, they went elsewhere to do so. If the old ones were dancing to a marimba, the young people would not join them as they do now.
not join them as they do now. They would go to another marimba or, if there was only one, they would wait until their elders left and then go in to dance.

Some of the old people say that the people of the old days were stronger than they are now, because they would spend months drinking and spending money. Now people drink a little weak liquor and get drunk only for a day or two. They do not want to pay their debts to the tavern owner or they deny having drunk much, whereas formerly they would pay their debts the next day with money or with their harvest.

When a man is drunk on the road, people say of him "poor fellow," but never speak badly of the aguardiente or chicha. These alcoholic drinks can hear, and one of the gods might take account of one who speaks badly of liquor, even if he says it only to himself. Some say St. Teresa is the patron saint of liquor. She has four ears and can hear anyone who speaks badly of liquor. If anyone makes fun of a drunken man, therefore, a little later he will be in the same condition or worse as a punishment by the god of aguardiente. Many call liquor "santo" and mention God when they smell or see drink because it has the power to ruin them. They may lose intelligence or shame under its influence. A prayer is said with respect and veneration and never in anger.

The odor of liquor protects one against the evil spirits because these are children of the Devil and alcohol is of God. When an intoxicated person walks through the streets he never meets the spirits because they hide when he passes. If the
drunken person does not know where or how he is going, the spirit of alcohol takes care of him. This spirit walks behind him, and if he falls in the road no one bothers him because he is being cared for by the spirit.

Although he is protected when in a state of intoxication, the after-effects of liquor can kill a man. When the drunkard takes another glass, he feels better, if he does not again intoxicate himself. There are some who get rid of the after-effects by bathing in the sweatbath or by eating sharp chile to settle the stomach. Some say that a little liquor taken every day will itself cure the craving for it.

It is a great sin for an individual to be left to die of the after-effects of drinking since it means that no one had the charity to help him. One must help a drunk just as one would help anyone who seeks alms, or else misfortune will strike. When there are many cases of failure to help drunks, God sends diseases, winds and destructive rains, or causes drought or hunger as punishment to his children who do not comply with their duty to their fellow men.

When a person who was an habitual drinker dies of alcoholism, the relatives place some liquor in a well-sealed thick glass bottle at the head of the casket either in the earth or on the surface of the grave. Then, when he awakens for a moment three days after the burial, he may take the spirit of alcohol to Heaven and drink it there when necessary. Liquor can be drunk in the presence of God because it was made by Him.
II. Marriage

COURTSHIP. When a man likes a girl, he tries to see her many times on the street, where he greets her with sweet words. If she answers with smiles, it is a sign that she accepts his advances, but if she scolds or does not answer, it is the contrary. The man always tries several times to be sure. Later he catches her on the street or wherever they meet, and he tells her of his love and desire to marry. She always raises obstacles to marrying which the man must overthrow with his offers of security and his sincerity. If in two or three encounters the girl is not won, it is a sign that she means no, but if she is at all encouraging, it means yes. If the girl accepts, the boy watches for many days to see if she likes only him, and if she accepts him as the only one. But if she talks with others who like her too, it is a sign that she is fooling the man. Then he says no more to her, and thus she knows that he is aware of her fickleness. If, however, he sees that she is very serious, and does not talk with others, it is certain that the marriage will take place. Formerly, and to a certain extent in this century, the men used to scratch their faces before their sweetheart as a sign of love and the women did the same before the men. If the two did not do this, it was a sign that they were not yet ready to declare true love for each other. When a girl came home with her cheeks scratched, it was a sure sign that
she had accepted a man's proposal of marriage. They say that formerly the kiss was unknown, but now some kiss, a custom taken from the Ladinans.

The couple may exchange letters before formal visits between their parents take place. Ladinans or Indians who know how to write are asked to draft these letters if the couple are not able. The letters are written in formal style with flowery eulogisms to the beloved, as in the following:

Linda mía:

For a long time now my heart has suffered for you, but I have not said anything to you of love for fear that your parents should hear of it before you accept me as your sweetheart. I want you. I adore you, not to fool you and bother you and nothing more, but to unite myself with you forever. You know very well that I am a worker, I know how to make tablones, to plant milpa, and to have plenty of firewood in the house so that my little wife will not have to work to gather it for my tortillas. It is true that every now and then I drink aguardiente, but I have enough of everything in my house, nothing will be wanting for the one who is my wife. Thus, adored Apolonia, I hope you will not reject me, that you will accept my heart and what I offer you; with me you will not have many troubles, I will buy you good
skirts, silk, and you can make several huipiles with silk for your use. If my dress does not please you, I will wear what you wish. If you wish, my loved one, I will soon go to ask your parents for you; I have fields and means to pay the quantity of pesos your parents ask, and to do all the rituals required. Do not then have fear, answer this letter of mine in which he who wishes to hold you in his arms sends you many kisses and embraces.

Always yours,

(Signature)

If one does not know how to sign his name, the letter-writer does so for him. Perfumed paper is used to make a better impression. If the girl does not know how to read, she finds someone in whom she has confidence, and she answers if she wishes.

Approximately two months after the boy has been accepted by his sweetheart, the parents of the boy (who must be agreeable to the match because it is always up to them to ask for the girl) go to ask the girl's parents for her hand. If the parents of the girl are good people, one asking is sufficient, but if not, the man's parents must come twice or three times more. If at these visits they still do not give the girl, it is a sign that they will surely not do so. The girl knows through her future husband that they are coming to ask for her, but she never knows the exact date on which they will arrive at the house. Formerly girls were asked for without knowing in advance who wanted to marry them. Also,
it was the parents of the boy who decided who ought to be his future wife. There were sometimes cases where the parents of the girl went to ask for a boy as son-in-law; this was when they were wealthy and did not want their daughters to go to serve in another house.

For the asking a fiesta day often is picked so that there will be a reason to continue drinking, and so that at the outset the parents of the girl will not guess the reason for the visit and the drinking. The boy is accompanied by his parents and he must carry the liquor to be used when asking for his wife. If the boy already has money earned by his own work, he pays for the eight or more bottles required. It is the duty of the boy's father to speak to the parents of the girl; he does not tell them why they have come, but just calls it a visit. Of course the others do not believe this, because the guests come with liquor. A glass of liquor is served by the boy to each of the hosts, but they do not accept, even if the persons asking are important ones, until they are told the real object of the visit. When they receive the first glass of liquor it is a sign that they are agreeing to give their daughter. If the parents of the girl refuse to accept a single glass of liquor, the boy's party may still come a second and even a third time. But if after three times they do not accept any liquor, it is clear they will surely not give their daughter.

MARRIAGE. When the girl has been promised, her husband-to-be remains in her house for several days, taking care of
her parents for as long as they wish to continue accepting liquor. He does not return home until the girl is turned over to him. During this stay in the house of his in-laws he brings in a load of good firewood every three days so that the girl will know that the man is a good provider.

A few days after the girl is promised the parents of the boy come again with a present for the girl's parents: a great quantity of bread, chocolate and sugar, and in the same basket they place the number of pesos necessary for the making of the girl's new clothes by her parents. Days later, depending upon the amount of time the girl's parents ask for the making of the clothes, the boy's parents come again with presents of food consisting of one whole turkey in atol of maize salpor and large pieces of another turkey, large tamales, and two bottles of liquor to be drunk there all together. This act of presenting the food is rather solemn, because it defines the destiny of the two children; there must be a short speech by the father of the boy or by a respected friend who knows how to do this and who is hired especially as a witness.

The food is brought in the early hours of the morning, and that same day the girl who is going to marry takes part of it to the houses of all her relatives; they thank her for the gift and her married relatives give her much advice and instructions for a good marriage. On the day following the reception of this gift, the parents of the girl buy a bottle of liquor in order to finally turn over the girl. They do this in the early hours of the morning, and they take her in the best clothes made for the occasion. If a witness presided
over the bringing of the food to the girl's house, he must also be present to receive the girl, and he gives much advice and instructions to the marrying couple so that they will get the most happiness from their married life. At first the girl does not even know where to sit down, but the witness signals her to the side of the fire where she ought to remain all her life; she immediately goes to sit there. Days later the mother-in-law shows her the dishes and furnishings of the house, and the other things that she is to use, as well as their eating customs and other things which are the affairs of women. Before marriage, the girl has nothing to do with providing house furnishings and utensils since the man and his family must provide all this.

The daughter-in-law, addresses her parents-in-law as tata (father) and nana (mother) from the moment she is turned over to them by her parents, and the boy does the same to his parents-in-law from the moment he first hears that they will give him their daughter.

If the girl has some things of her own at home, they all remain for her parents; she brings only her clothing, because even her night things remain for her parents. If the man is a widower, he may give his second wife the clothes of the first, but not for a year or more, and the same is true with the man if the woman is a widow. When the man goes to live in the house of the woman he may take all his tools and other belongings and he may even make a last harvest of the fields he has planted with his parents; either one may take his or her own money along.
Generally the early part of the married life is spent at the home of the parents of the boy, and later they move out to live alone. There are also cases where the first days are spent with the girl's parents. The people always criticize a man who goes to live with his in-laws, because then they say that he is second to his wife.

In the case of a second marriage, a widower spreads notice, by means of his children or other relatives, that he is going to bring a certain woman to live with him. Then the woman, who has thus learned of the matter, also spreads the word, either affirmative or negative, so that it reaches the ears of the man. The man then buys the liquor and advises two of his friends who will serve as his witnesses and will support his case. In most second marriages, the woman is also widowed. Despite certain advantages to both parties in these remarriages, the woman may stage objections, as in the following case:

Xingo had lost his first wife in an epidemic and was left with several grown children, property and houses. It was necessary to have another woman in the house to take care of the woman's work. The woman he had selected had lost her husband and had several small children and lived in a state of complete poverty. Xingo had already served in all the public offices of the community, but the wife, because of the poverty of her husband, had not.

Before going to her house, Xingo advised her
secretly so that she would know in advance. That day he bought two bottles of *aguardiente* and prepared the witnesses so that they could get ready with all they had to say when she should begin to refuse; it is the custom to refuse even though they want to accept the offer of marriage. Before Xingo and his assistants left, he told his children about his errand and that if she returned together with him, they should receive her well and not show a bad face nor speak ill of her, now that they needed someone to prepare their food and wash their clothes. Xingo and his assistants first had several drinks of liquor before leaving for the woman's house. It was five o'clock in the morning when they knocked at the door, which was well barred and even tied with ropes, as a sign of negation. Only after they talked long through the closed door did she answer very angrily from within, asking what brought them so early when they should come in the daytime. After a long time she got up and came to stand in the door to see who it was that had come to her house. Then she asked her future husband what he wanted, saying also that she was a woman living alone and that she did not want to open the door for fear the neighbors would talk. From outside Xingo coaxed her to open the door so that he might tell her the object of his coming, because he was embarrassed to do it from outside. He told her also that he had with him companions who were honorable, men of public service, and with families, to witness the great and important object that brought him to her door. The man made many more supplications and excuses so that she would not be afraid to open the door.
Finally, with a lack of confidence and acting as if she did not know their errand, she decided to take off the ropes and bars from the door, and mentioning God many times, let them enter. She at once offered them chairs, and the discussion between them became heated, because Xingo began with his
petitions with such figures of speech, that only a person well-informed about such words could understand them. Her replies were negative always because she said they were not equal in services nor in property nor in age; he argued on logical grounds. Finally Xingo asked his companions to speak for him, and each one did so in turn, trying to convince her to accept this marriage not of children but of sensible adults. When the woman had no more to say about the offer of Xingo and the testimony of his friends, she finished by telling them that for them it was perhaps all right, but the voice of the family should be heard since there were grownups with him. They all replied that they had come to her house with the approbation of the family, otherwise they would not have come. At a signal one of the bottles of liquor was taken out and a glass was offered her; she refused it saying that she was not the kind that got drunk, but that they should drink. Xingo said that his arguments, then, were futile, that he really cared for her with all his heart even though he was old, that he still felt love for a woman of her attractions. He told her also that it was a sin not to accept things that came from the heart and especially from one who has gone through all the services of the community. Finally she said that she could not go with him because she had two minor children to care for, and perhaps they would suffer much when they were in his power. Xingo promised that he would treat them as his own children, because his love was not only for her but also for her little ones.

At last she told them to drink first and then she would, too. So it was; they all drank and then they gave her three
glasses in succession which she accepted as a sign of accepting the man. By this time it was eight in the morning and the children got up; they made coffee and all drank of it. After more glasses she said she would go to notify her sister who lived in an adjacent settlement. The sister scolded her soundly for having come already drunk, saying that she would have nothing to do with it since she was already old and asking if she was not ashamed to be the wife of one who had at one time been her padrón. When they saw that the sister wanted none of this, Xingo, who already more or less exerted an influence over his future wife, made signs to her and they left and went again to her house to continue drinking. Now quite drunk, she embraced the man saying many nice things to him and also to his companions. At about ten o'clock she ordered her children to go to Xingo's house, saying that she would come in a moment. The children went there obediently while she barred the door of her house, took her shawl to cover herself, and went ahead of them, running, in the direction of his house. She did not follow the streets, but went through the hills and coffee fields. The men saw no more of her until they came to the house; then they saw her standing behind the house. At once Xingo came to bring her, in an embrace, and he took her into a room, and he himself closed the door. They remained there until nightfall, while the children had been attended to by members of Xingo's family. All night they continued drinking and all the following day. On the third day he called his family and presented his second wife, instructing them to respect her as their second mother. He told her also to take the reins of the house and to work, because it was for this he liked her. She accepted, because it is the custom for the woman to work in the house, and here she had assistants.
There are only two known cases of polygyny, and in both cases the man is the son of Indians who had come to this town from elsewhere and the second wife is from another town. In each case, two houses are maintained. People speak ill of both cases and they are considered disgraces.

SEXUAL RELATIONS. Cohabitation is called various things, according to the manner it is spoken of, whether maliciously, seriously or playfully. People of good education refer to coitus as "product of the world" and this reference is permissible in conversation with people of the opposite sex. The act of intercourse is performed in a natural manner, without ceremony, and as decency demands. The man places himself over the woman, raising and lowering himself from side to side. If one mounts from the left side, a girl baby is sure to come, and from the opposite, a boy. But few people know this. In the old times people cohabited like dogs do now, and vice versa, but because of a grave crime that the dogs committed against God, everything was reversed.

Coitus is always a bit sinful before God even when it is performed at night and by married couples. It is least sinful during the middle of the night, for these are the hours which God gave for this purpose. It is a great sin to have intercourse during the day and it is even a greater sin to do it at mid-day. When sexual union takes place by day, the child will look like its father. This is rarely so when at night; rather the child will take after some other relative. It is also a great sin against God to perform the sex act.
in the streets or outside the house. People are severely criticized for this and the children born of intercourse conducted in this manner are called "of the hills." To cohabit in the fields is sinful, because the couple become accustomed to it and their projects will be no good and will degenerate.

It is a sin to lie with a recently widowed woman or man; five or six months should first pass. It is also sinful to cohabit in the bed of the deceased or in the same place where the couple slept; the deceased will become angry and his spirit may come to get revenge by taking away one of the living ones. It is always the custom to look for another place and to make a new bed, even though it is in the same room. Moreover, it is very sinful to practice intercourse near the fire, for the fire is a delicate thing that does not permit such things.

Intentionally to watch or listen to a couple cohabiting is a great sin, because the sin of those in the act falls also on the curious one, at any time or place. For this reason, coitus should be practiced in private. In one case in which a man violated this custom, his action resulted in a court hearing:

While working in the fields with his wife, a husband wanted to have relations with her. Without thinking that a path was nearby, he did so. While in the act, a regidor passed and saw them. Wishing to know who they were, he stopped long enough to recognize them.
The man, angered, began to insult the regidor, and his wife joined in. Put out by this, the regidor complained at the town hall so that they would be punished. The senior regidor did not wish to judge the case, saying, "Why punish two who live together anyway?" Then the accuser told the national policeman who lived in town, and he told the regidor to bring the guilty pair to jail. They were brought in and spent the night and next day in jail in addition to paying a five dollar fine.

When men perform the act of coitus, part of their forces are left with the woman, and therefore when a man performs this act many times with one or more women, he ages and dies prematurely. There are men who cohabit much with their wives and this is why both are thin. The cure for this is very simple, as told by a Sololateco:

Once a woman complained to a friend that her husband bothered her much at night, and that she was now tired of him. The friend, also a Sololateca, told her to kill a fat chicken that had just begun to lay; after boiling the broth and without adding salt she was to give it to her husband before lunch. Very content, the woman went home to do this; she asked her husband if he wanted to eat chicken with broth and he happily answered that he would. She told him that she had noticed that he was no longer very strong at night and for that reason she wanted to give him soup of a
fat hen. The man even helped her prepare it. When it was all fixed, she brought it to him as she had been told, and he drank it hot, not knowing that it soon would upset him. When he began to feel ill he scolded his wife for having done him wrong, but she excused herself as much as possible and after the noon hour she gave him his lunch. It was all as she had been told; the man made no advances for a week, and later for longer still, and so on until he was completely moderated of the act which had so fatigued both of them.

In the old days it was completely forbidden and indecorous for boys or girls to know of sexual intercourse, except in marriage, and then they learned by themselves alone without aid from anyone. Formerly there were many young people who married without knowing about this act, who slept together in complete innocence for years without having any children. Not until they asked the reason from their friends or relatives in confidence were they maliciously enlightened regarding the act. Or perhaps one of their friends would realize the problem and finally explain to them. If the woman already knew and the man did not, then as the months or years passed, she would leave the house thinking he did not love her. But now this does not happen because people are more aware and because they no longer marry at the ages of fourteen and twelve, as young men and women once did. Now, on the other hand, children know these things from the time they are about ten
years old. Some say the innocent children learn from those who know in the schools, and in the old days there were no schools.

An exceptional case in which innocence was preserved even after marriage concerns a mute:

The parents of this youth decided when he had come of age to marry him to a girl of the town. She was in full possession of her senses. The time passed and the couple did not have any children, so the parents of the boy asked the girl if the mute had done anything, and she replied that he slept like a child. The mother-in-law then advised the girl how it should be done in order to bring the mute's attention to this. She managed to do this, but the mute only treated her roughly or kicked. Finally she told the mother-in-law the result of her manipulations. One day the mother-in-law decided that the girl ought to bring the lunch to the field where her husband was working alone, and gave her instructions in order that the couple could successfully carry out the act. When she arrived at the field, she called him to lunch, and he, very obediently, came near and began to eat. The girl gave him a cup of very hot coffee in order to heat the mute as she had been advised. While he was drinking the coffee very slowly, she stood before him and dropped her skirt in order to show him her female parts. When he saw this he was very frightened. The girl returned sadly
without having succeeded in her desire. She went to recount to her mother-in-law the bad outcome of her plan. Then, one day when he was working with some married men, they taught him how to make use of a woman. He did not put his knowledge into practice with his wife but went one day to force the wife of the man who had told him of these things. She told him in signs that she had a husband and he should do it with his own wife. He begged her so much that finally she told him she would at night. Very happy, the mute waited for her at the hour set. The woman went to hunt a large crab, and with it awaited the mute. When he came, she lay beside him and carefully took the crab from where she had hidden it and put it on his penis. He ran out, disillusioned with what his working companions had told him. He always was afraid of crabs and never could use his wife. From this comes the idea that intercourse pinches and is called a crab.

Some men are known to be very lustful and try to start affairs with any woman whom they take a liking to or whose husband they wish to bother. Adultery is particularly offensive if the woman is the guilty partner, and the husband is expected to take revenge as in the following incident:

After his marriage, a young man went to live in the house of his wife's parents. Shortly after the marriage, she had an affair with another man, unbeknown to her
husband, until one of his friends told him. The young husband left the house, but since his wife had made a fool of him, he determined to revenge himself. He found out where his wife and her lover met in the night, and he collected bits of metal and glass to frighten them the next time that they met to have intercourse. Before evening, he climbed up into a tree very near the meeting place and there awaited the lovers. When they had begun to have intercourse, he threw on them with some force the things which he had prepared. Both ran to their homes. In a few days they returned to the meeting place, and he covered himself with a sheepskin and ran between them, forcing them to separate. She ran to her house to tell of the animal which she had seen, without mentioning who was with her. But her parents had heard two persons yell. This was the last time that the lovers met.

The husband was still not satisfied with his revenge. He disguised himself as her lover and called her. She came and was taken in by the disguise. After they had had intercourse, the husband slapped her in the face, and she fled, believing that her lover no longer wanted her and that he had been the one who had beaten her. Each time that the lovers met in the street, she would not speak and remained angry with him. And thus they remained enemies forever.
A Maxeno whose wife had an affair with a Panajacheleño contented himself with beating the woman and threatening the man with the same treatment. But not all men are as forgiving, as is related in the following story:

A man lived with his wife apart from their parents. He became a merchant, working away from the house in order to maintain his family. In a short time, his wife was unfaithful to him. Since he was often away a long time on his trips, another man seduced his wife. When he returned from his travels, he always asked her if there was anything new at home, and she always replied no. Very happy, the man attended to the work of the house until he had to go away again.

A friend of his told him of the infidelity of his wife, but he did not believe it at first until others confirmed it. One of them told him that he should make a trip, but return soon and thus encounter them. He prepared his load and told his wife that she should prepare sufficient provisions for him to go to the Capital. When all was prepared, he left, taking a sharp knife. He went only as far as San Andres Semetabaj, in order to return to his house when it was dark and verify what his friend had told him.

Arriving back, he climbed a tree near the house and remained there until his enemy arrived. It was nighttime when the wife went out to meet her lover.
The husband saw and heard all, while the lovers entered the house. The wife served her lover a meal as was her custom, at the expense of her true husband. Quickly the jealous man climbed down and went closer to the house to hear what they were saying. He heard them planning how they would kill him when he returned home so that they could remain alone in the house. The husband was now firmly convinced of what his friends had told him. He waited until they finished eating and to see what they would then do. The lovers talked a great deal, and then went to bed. When they had finished having intercourse, the man had to urinate. But rather than go outside he did it through a hole in the wall which the woman's husband had made especially for that purpose. As soon as he had finished, the husband came and seized the man's penis from the outside and cut it off with the knife. Carrying the penis, he ran to San Andres, took his load and began his journey. In one of the towns through which he passed, he saw a butcher and he asked him to make a pair of large sausages, one of the meat he had and one of the penis. The butcher did not wish to do it, but he offered him very good pay.

In eight days he returned home and asked his wife if there was any news. She replied no, but that she felt rather ill. Her head was bound with a handkerchief. The husband very affectionately gave her the
pair of sausages to fry. Seeing that she was unable to prepare the meal, he proceeded to do it. While they were eating, the husband noticed a man half-buried below their bed. His toes showed above the ground, and there was an odor of decay. He asked her about this, and she only replied about other things. After the meal, they went to bed, although she was very afraid of what might happen. A few moments later, the woman wanted a drink of water because she was very thirsty after the meal. She kept drinking more and more water all night until she vomited and died.

When the husband woke up, he went to the town hall to tell them about the case and of the woman who had died of thirst. The authorities came to investigate, and they were not a little disturbed when they saw this extraordinary case. After the burial the husband was declared free of all legal prosecution. The parents of both the man and his dead wife were entirely ignorant of what had happened between them and said nothing, but helped the widower.

Some unspecified women of the town are reputed to be of very bad conduct:

Juana S. lives with an Indian who has been in love with her since the time they attended school together. She has told many of her friends that her husband doesn't satisfy her as his penis is too small.
She married this man because she believed that he was very rich. Disillusioned with her husband, she began to love Juan V., the son of her Ladino employer at the nearby mill. She would get up very early each morning in order to leave the coffee prepared for the meal and go off to do certain chores at the mill. Often she would not return until nightfall. One day her husband decided to go to the mill to find out why she was so late. He found her coming out of the door of the room where Juan V. slept, with her hair disarranged. He whipped her and demanded that she confess what she had done, but she made many excuses.

Another time several young men, aware of her reputation, gathered together to wait by the road that she had to travel to go to the store. As she returned carrying her husband's lunch to him in the fields, one of the young men approached her while the others hid themselves nearby. The young man propositioned her, but she was reluctant lest one of the workers in the nearby fields see them. Finally she accepted and the two went arm in arm to a hidden spot which the young man had prepared. The first man began to make love to her and then at his signal another appeared. This man threatened to tell her husband if she did not give in to him as well. This she had to do for fear of her husband's wrath, particularly after the affair with Juan V. When the second man had finished with her,
a third came on the scene and forced her into the same position as the others. And so it went until five or six men had all satisfied themselves (including Mariano C. who owned the land on which the affair was taking place).

Unknown to her, the young men followed her to the house of her mother-in-law to find out what she would say. The excuse they heard her offer for being late was that there were many people in the store and therefore she was delayed. The good mother-in-law said that they would quickly make the coffee and lunch for her poor working son and take it to him with the excuse that Juana had been helping with the housecleaning. The men again followed her to listen to her conversation with her husband. They received each other affectionately, her husband saying he loved her very much and prayed she would never deceive him. She replied that her sexual favors were reserved solely for him and that no other man had ever known her. The young men, on hearing this, returned to town dying with laughter.

Some women have been forced to leave Panajachel because of their bad conduct:

One such was Manuela J. who recently died on the coast in very poor circumstances. She not only had the vice of knowing too many men, but she also drank and smoked. At first she lived with a very rich man,
but was expelled from the house for spending on vices the money he occasionally gave her. She had had many children by this man and when she found herself alone she was unable to care for them. Her children all came to bad ends with one being killed for burglary, and the others were constantly in and out of jail. Before leaving for the coast she lived with a very jealous man who was a bit foolish as well. One day he found Manuela alone in the house with another man and his anger was so great that he took a machete and slashed her sexual parts while she was drunk. Following this he tried to cure her but she became worse. She threatened to complain to the town officials and have him punished. Meanwhile her wounds became wormy, and not until he purchased some creolin was he finally able to cure her. Afterwards she left for the coast from shame of her conduct.

Stories are told of some men having sexual relations with animals:

One such Indian from San José Chacay came to Panajachel to establish himself as a laborer. Years later he married a girl from here. She was young, amiable, pretty, and possessed many good qualities. This man was quite a libertine, and it happened that one day when his wife left the house, he locked himself in and made use of a bitch that they had in the house.
His wife returned to find him with the dog. She could not control her great rage at seeing this and, taking up a stick, she began to strike her husband furiously all over his body. She threatened to take the matter up with the town officials so that they should punish him as he deserved. Not only was it a terrible shame for her town and her people, she said, but it was also a great sin before God; it was only because of the abominable behavior of a few individuals like him that the Day of Judgment for the entire world would have to come.

The wife left the man for a long time, and in the meanwhile the bitch had a litter of puppies which were huge in size but which did not live. The husband was very humble toward his wife so that she would not complain against him.

And in other cases:

They say that a Ladino living here had a young servant who watched the goats and who one time was found with one of the females. He went back to the house and waited for his master to whip him and to threaten to take him to the authorities. They say that the boy first tied the animal to a tree and tied up the hind legs. They tell also of an Indian of San Jorge who had land here and sometimes brought his cattle to pasture here. One time the alguaciles on their night round found this young man with one of his
own cows. He had the hind legs tied up, and the animal was tied to a tree. The man was almost nude. When he was seen by the alguaciles he wanted to flee and hide, but there was no time; the alguaciles seized him and beat him and wanted to take him to the town hall. The guilty man begged them not to do this, and they gave in. The man was completely embarrassed. Two Ladino youths did the same with she-goats they found in the hills, and when their parents found out about it they punished them severely.

A hermaphrodite, the son of Sololateco parents, used to live in this community. He liked only the Ladinos, sexually too, and not the Indians who would have nothing to do with him because of his condition. Whenever he drank aguardiente he invited those he liked to come and sleep with him. He was a cook in the Ladino hotels and all his actions were entirely feminine. It is said that he had feminine sexual desires whenever the moon had effect, that is, when women menstruate.

In San Pedro la Laguna there was another Indian who also had these desires and characteristics. Neither of these two stayed long in their towns; they went to places far away to work. The former still lives in the Capital, and the Pedrano has died of a hard illness.
A baby is an angel come from Heaven to earth which has taken the shape of a human being. It is without sins and other moral blemishes. If an infant is carried on the road, or if an infant is the only company a traveler has during the night, the Devil will not harm them for he respects the angels from Heaven. Others say that it is not true that a child without sin protects adults on the highway, because there is no one without sin. When a child is born, even as the midwife takes it with her hands, she passes some of her sins to it. It is never good to go out with children to the street, and so babies are not taken out until they are several months old.

As the child grows, so grow his sins, and that means he is getting nearer and nearer to the Devil. When the Devil knows that the child sins, the child becomes his because the sins bring them close together. The first sin the child commits is a lie; then he makes his parents suffer in various ways, even making the parents cry because of his deeds. The next sin may be the sexual act, if performed with one of the members of the family. And so his sins increase as the child grows to be a man.

They say that the qualities acquired by inheritance from the parents, whether good or bad, are absolutely unchangeable. Thus if a child steals, people feel sorry for him, saying that he is not to blame. It is the fault of his parents because
they gave him that quality. If neither of the parents has this quality, the son is spoken ill of and no one feels sorry for him.

If a child does not resemble either of his parents, but rather someone outside the house, people say that perhaps he is the child of this outsider. Or perhaps when the mother was pregnant she was strongly impressed by the person whom her child later resembles. This may have been caused by quarrels, or other unpleasant encounters. In order to avoid suspicion at the time of birth, every woman should confess to her husband whatever bad impressions she has of another man. Enemies are always trying to say that a child resembles an outsider. Then they can say that the child is not the husband's but that of another man.

The father himself goes to the town hall to register the birth. If he does not, the relatives and neighbors may think that the child is not his. It is the custom to name children after the saint given for the day of their birth in the almanac. The father may go to a Ladino and ask him to write down the name given in the almanac and then take this paper to the town hall, or he may go directly to the town hall and ask the officials there the appropriate name. A very few name their child after a grandparent or parent, but this is done more frequently in Chichicastenango. If the name in the almanac is not pleasing to the parents, they can choose from the names of the following day, but never of the day before. The saints whose names appear in the almanac
are in Heaven with God. They have been purged of their sins, and, according to their stature before God, appear as very large or small stars. Each star has a group of persons on earth with its name, and the value and character of each person is predetermined by the star after which he is named.

Formerly it was believed, as it still is by some, that bad spirits on earth would take a child away if his real name should be mentioned at night. The sudden death of a child was explained in this way. To prevent witchcraft, or to avoid enrollment in school, it is a common custom not to use the real name of a child. Many children are therefore called by their nicknames until they are grown.

Baptism usually occurs when the child is a month or so old, but may be put off up to four months. The parents choose godparents for the child, usually having the same one as for previous children unless there is some reason for changing. Indians or Ladinos may be chosen as godparents. A consideration of the record of past generosity to godchildren is a factor in the choice. The parents call upon the prospective godparents with a gift of bread, chocolate, and sugar. After presenting the gift, they humbly ask the favor. The practical arrangements are then made. Although Panajachel is preferred as a place in which to have the baptism, the Indians may go to Sololá when the priest is not planning to visit the town for a long time.

The father, mother, godfather, and godmother all go to the church with the baby. If it is a boy, the godmother holds
the child for the baptism, and the two are "married." If it is a girl, it is the godfather who holds her. The baptism ended, they all drink a bottle of aguardiente together in the tavern, and then go to the godparents' house where they drink another. The parents take the child home, and then the next day return to the godparents' house with a gift of a meal--tortillas or tamales with pulique, or other meat dishes.

Baptisms used to cost thirty cents, but then were raised to forty, forty-five, and finally sixty cents. The godparent always pays this to the priest. In addition, the godparents may give clothes to the godchild. The cost of gifts of food given by the parents to the godparents can be of considerable expense.

The godparents are the "luck" or destiny of the child, and if the child lives, they get the credit. They are interested in the child and especially in time of sickness are supposed to help cure him. When the child grows up, he is supposed to respect his godparents, visit them, and offer them drinks and gifts of food. They say that on the fiestas of Holy Week, Corpus Cristi, Ascension Day, St. Francis, and All Saints' Day, the godchildren always go to give presents of food to the godparents, and the latter, in return, give whatever they wish. The godparents call their godchild "child" and the children of the godchild "grandchildren." The godparents and parents of the child call each other comadre or compadre (co-mother or co-father), and enjoy a ritual relationship with varied obligations and privileges.
They visit each other on occasions of fiestas or when one of them may be ill, bringing bread, sugar, and chocolate. It is customary to send presents to compadres when a child is born.

The godparents should treat their godchildren as their own children, and the children should treat their godparents as their own parents. If a compadre wishes to marry a child of his to a godchild, his compadre must accept the marriage since the married couple are both his children. A compadre may never marry a comadre, nor should a compadre marry a goddaughter nor a comadre marry a godson. These marriages would be considered sins before God, although some cases are known and strongly criticized by the whole town.

PLAY AND CHILD TRAINING. The children begin to play as soon as they start to walk. When they are smaller, they are always carried by their mothers or older brothers or sisters. When the mother is very poor or has no older children, she lives with the child on her back, whether she is working, on a journey, or at household duties. Some have a type of hammock in which to keep the very little babies. The first toys are the same for boys as for girls, and serve to call the baby’s attention by the noises they produce. These may be rattles of black gourds brought from Sacapulas, or of tin made by Ladinos and sold in all the markets.
When the child is a little older, he is given little drums and guitars made in Totonicapán, or whistles in the form of birds made of clay. For the girls there are dolls resembling people. The town of Patzún is well known for the making of clay dolls, painted with colors and figures. They may also be given little wooden wagons or wooden animal figures of horses, roosters, and pigs. At the age of three or four the little girls may play with various little kitchen utensils made of clay and tin, all of which are bought.

When the children are five or six years old, they themselves look for their playthings, or make toys modeled after those of their neighbors or older brothers and sisters. The boys look for canes to be used as horses. They make their whistles from the flower of the pito tree, cane whistles from the stem and leaves of the onion. The girls look for baskets, ladies' clothes, imitations of grinding stones—all things that belong to women.

Boys over six make playthings such as slingshots of rubber or string, whistles in the shape of flutes, masks, or a bow for shooting little stones, wax balls, or wads of paper. They may make a violin of milpa stalks or wooden tools used by men.

The children of long ago made a plaything called "roosters," made very rarely now. They fixed hollow canes by cutting them in a special way so that they would jump by themselves. A thick cane about three inches long is divided into two equal parts. At one end a cord is attached to whirl around. In the hollow part, and in the center of the cord, a little stick is inserted. resting on this little stick, the cane is twirled by the cord.
One end of the little stick remains there and the other pushes up into the center of the cut cane, and it is sustained there by a little piece of wax. Then the cane is set mouth down, and when the wax frees the end of the stick, the force of the other end that has the cord around it makes the toy jump by itself. Generally two children play at this. Each places his rooster on the floor or on some flat surface, and the one whose toy jumps first is the winner of the contest.

Games

Games are not taught by anyone in particular, but are copied by the children who see others play. They play until they are about twelve years of age, at which time the boys enter the service of alguacil and the girls mature and do formal duties in the house. Generally boys and girls, large and small, play at the same time, and so they all learn the games unconsciously. Most of the games are without rules, each family playing as it wishes, except in the games such as whipping-top and marbles, which have set rules.

Playing Grown-up

In imitating the activities of the family and of neighbors, or the customs of the town, the eldest child acts as leader and girls and boys assume the duties falling to their sex. If only boys are playing, they improvise games for men only; if only little girls, they provide roles only of women. In playing at dancing, one or two little boys find sticks of cane to use as marimba sticks, imitating with their voices the sound of the marimba. The other children come in to dance, as if the music is very good. They ask for and buy agua berrenda, using coffee or water as a substitute. They pay with leaves.
of the coffee tree, which serve as bills. The larger and better ones are more valuable; the little, torn ones stand for the bills of little value. Soon the children act as if they were drunk; the women-girls cry, the men-boys shout and quarrel. Their "sons" carry them home, or they remain sleeping on the road, beat their "wives," go to jail, and do all that they have seen their parents do.

When they play marriage, the "wife" grinds damp earth instead of nixtamal, makes tortillas and food, while her "husband" cuts firewood and takes his hoe to work to make tablones. When he returns, the couple eat together. They may go on a trip, he carrying his cargo supported by his tumpline and she her "child" and basket. In the marketplace they meet with other vendors and buyers. They may pretend to go and visit other houses, and when the dogs (played by children) come out to bite them the master or mistress of the house runs out to hit and scold the dog. They greet each other in the customary fashion of adults with all possible courtesies. They explain their errands with all delicacy, kissing the hands if it is a favor they are asking. The other party gives or refuses what is requested, thus affording opportunity to play more.

When they play "fiesta" they may have bullfights as during the fiesta of St. Francis, making the smaller children the bulls. They do the dance of the negritos, and wear masks of leaves or of banana skins, cracking whips and jumping vigorously.

In pretending to take a sweatbath, they use as a substitute
for the sweatbath a large carrying-cloth which they place over their heads. None of the children undress but enter into the improvised sweatbath, men and women, boys and girls together. When they emerge, they "go to sleep," making or imagining the sleeping quarters with the husband staying on the edge of the bed, the wife in the corner, and the child, if there is one, in the center. They cover themselves with the same bedclothes, and the "mother" nurses her "child" when it cries. These "marriages" may be between brothers and sisters or with neighboring children who have come to play.

If only boys play, they may go for a run on horseback (mounted on sticks of cane). If they go "hunting," some of the boys act as the dogs and others as the hunters. The "woods" is any area behind the house, and their "weapons" are of cane or other materials, the sound effects being made by mouth. Many build little houses of sticks, or dig irrigation ditches.

Little girls weave threads made from the leaf of the izote, and make new clothing of banana leaves. When they pretend to prepare food, they use pieces of old pots and little dishes if they have them. They use pieces of bark in place of meat and flowers in place of vegetables of the same color. They always use water but never fire, because their mothers forbid them to play with this, saying it is a great sin.

From infancy the children begin to learn the customs they must know and the duties they must perform later in life. Young people of fifteen or over may play too, but only as a joke or their parents or other superiors will scold them, saying that they should remember their ages and that they should count their teeth which are now complete.
Training the Child

Toilet Training When a child old enough not to do so still wets his bed frequently, his parents tell him to carry the hearthstones over to a neighbor on the excuse that they are sold or that the neighbor wants to borrow them. When the boy arrives with the load, the neighbors (who know why he was sent with the stones) laugh at the child and tell him he was sent because he wets the bed. They tell him to take the stones back home. After this, usually, the child is careful to avoid such embarrassment.

Teaching Work Habits The first task a child is taught is to carry loads. When the father goes out for firewood, he takes along his six or seven year old son who will help him carry home little pieces. When the boy is eight years old and it is apparent that he can lift a small hoe, he is given one so that he may go to work with his father or older brother. The mothers always say that the boy is still too young to work, but the fathers are more interested in their sons learning to work early. It is a disgrace when a grown boy of fifteen or more does not know how to work. The following story is told of a widow who failed to train her sons either to work or to appreciate money.

The widow was left much money upon the death of her husband. She had three sons, the youngest of whom was twelve at the time of his father's death. The widow was very capable and took charge of all the affairs of the house and of the fields, asking of her sons only that they
eat and dress well. As a result they knew nothing of life, passing their time in school or in play.

The youngest son, Juan, was the best behaved, so his mother put him in charge of the work. She sent him out to the field to see if the hired hands were carrying out their tasks, but he scolded the poor men even if they were doing well. On his return he would tell his mother that the men and his brothers were only playing and doing nothing. His mother then scolded the other sons and the hired men unjustly.

Finally the fatal hour for the family arrived when the good woman died leaving all her properties in the hands of the children. The first thing Juan did when she died was to tell his brothers to take the chests of money outside to see how much money she had left them. Since the others were rather stupid, they obeyed the command of the youngest, and took the chests out. What was their joy to see that the three chests had been left full of bank notes, some old and others new. Juan selected the new ones from the old, and, since he was in school and knew how to count and to recognize the value of each one, he did the accounting. He decided that he would burn the old bills, because with what remained there was sufficient to live all their lives and to carry out services to the town. The others agreed and Juan set fire to the mountain of money which had cost their parents so much effort. Then the boys considered themselves the richest people in town, and enjoyed many things that even the richest people do not have.
They were very proud and they even taunted people who wore poor clothing.

The brothers married and began their community services. Soon, because they wasted their money, they no longer had any to live on. They began to sell their lands and even to rob, until finally they were put in jail several times.

Girls learn to work a little earlier in life than their brothers. This practice has come about because women marry earlier than men, and also because it is a great shame for a mother if her daughter does not know how to weave, cook, work in the fields, and above all, grind the corn for the man’s food. Older sisters may teach the younger ones to work when the mother authorizes it, or the older sister does so of her own accord when the mother is no longer living.

The first thing taught to the little girls from the time they are about six years old is to make tortillas and place them on the griddle. Then they are taught to turn them on the fire, so that they become used to the heat on their hands and are not afraid of fire. They are also taught to build the fire, then to wash the dishes, to wash clothes, and to do other tasks as their mothers carry out their daily work. When they are ten years old, they are taught to grind corn for the daily food, and to prepare the yarn for a simple article of weaving. By the time a girl is twelve or thirteen she can already serve her father or older brother; or if she cannot she is scolded by her brothers who may ridicule
the tortillas or other foods which are not prepared correctly. Since the mothers must teach these things to their daughters, they often leave them alone in the house to prepare meals, when the mothers need to work in the fields or go to the market.
IV. The Home

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE HOUSEHOLD. The man has the responsibility of doing the heavier work, while the woman does those tasks which she is able to do with the other women of the family, such as sprinkling, cleaning, and watching the fields which have been planted. It is particularly true among poor families which do not have hired help that the woman assists the man in the field work. When the family work group consists of men only, the father or eldest brother directs the others. However, the opinion of the younger ones is always taken into consideration when they are bright and give good advice. The same is true among women work groups. It is always the parents who are most responsible, each in matters relating to his or her duties. The father thus has responsibility over the sons and the mother over the daughters.

A good man may help his wife in the kitchen with some of the things that are not considered a shame for a man to do, such as making the fire in the morning before the woman gets up, putting the nixtamal on the fire, or turning the tortillas that are warming on the griddle. Such things are usually done by the man when the woman is not in the best of health. Only when a woman requires it of her husband does he go so far as to wash clothes. One man who did this all the time was criticized by people for allowing his wife to order him around so.
Adjustments are made in a household which lacks a woman, as in the following cases:

Marcelino and his father, who was a widower, did not have enough money to keep a woman in the house. Marcelino ground the corn on the grinding stone at night in order to make the food for this father and his older brother. They say he made only tamalitos and never tortillas because he did not know how to make the latter. He put the grinding stone on something high, and did the grinding from a standing position, not on the floor as the women do. He did the work of the house for about four years after the death of his mother. When he went into the army, his father was forced to buy his food already prepared until he died.

When Francisco's wife became ill, he did not want another woman to be in the house and was too poor to hire the work done. Therefore he prepared the nixtamal and cooked the food. When his wife would feel a little better, he would grind the corn only, and she would get up to put the tortillas on the griddle.

The Elder, Julia, was forced to make his own tortillas and cook them on the griddle when he was left with only a young child in the house. He had quarreled with his relatives and no one could help him. As soon as the daughter was eight years old, he taught her to grind and make tortillas.
It is a disgrace for women to do hard men's work, such as making firewood in the hills. As a last resort, they may chop up the wood in the privacy of the house. They always assist in the cultivating, but they should never help make the tablones, which is the heaviest work. In one case, a man who had no sons made his two grown daughters go to work in the corn fields far away in the hills where no one would see them. There they would work with a hoe. He loaded them with a man's cargo and took them on trips to Tecpán, San Andrés, and other places.

In most families the money earned by the members is both collectively and individually held: that is, each person has a right to keep the money he brings in for purchases that he wants to make (so the wife does not have to ask the husband for money to buy sugar, nor the husband ask the wife for a small purchase), but at the same time all know how much each has and all money is considered available for household needs. When any business deal is to be made, or when anything extraordinary is to be bought, the family has a conference.

Couples do not reprove each other because of poverty, because God destined it so. Usually the rich marry rich, and the poor marry poor. If they mix, people criticize, and the marriage is not always successful because the rich say that the poor cannot stand the comforts in the houses of the rich. If a son-in-law comes to live in the house of his rich wife, then people say that he is interested in the inheritance his wife will get. If a rich girl goes to the house of a poor
man, they say she will not stand the hardships. They say she is lazy because the servants, not she, have done the work. Thus most people consider honesty and ability to work more important requirements than wealth in choosing a mate.

The male head of the house takes the responsibility of most of the family earnings and keeps account of expenditures. The family may have a locked chest in which to keep their valuables, and the man will usually hold the key. When there are any major accounts, the man handles these with the help of his wife, who accounts for her share. In the few cases where the woman rules in the house, she has charge of the accounts and controls the money that comes in and goes out. Then they say the man is just like a servant because he cannot make any decisions. This generally happens when the house and lands belong to the woman. Men dominated by women usually lack common sense, are foolish, or feebleminded.

The getting and spending of money differs for husbands and for wives. The women, buying and selling in the market, take in and spend money in dribblets, so that the husbands may never see the money. When the husbands take in money, it is usually in large quantities for the sale of wholesale quantities of produce. Their wives know how much they have and usually where it is kept, so that if they feel that something is needed for the house, they keep it in mind.

In providing for their needs, the people must be sure first that they have enough tortillas every day. Next in importance come salt and chile, and finally the other things
of the house. Unlike some Ladinos, who skimp on food to dress better, Indians pay little attention to their poor clothes. Clothes are bought only after nourishment is provided, and then parents buy only necessities, first for the children and last for themselves.

There is a minimum of family quarreling over money. Cases where the husband or wife tries to get away with something usually occur only when the couple is fighting about other things. After all, the only things bought for individual use are clothes, refreshments, and liquor. Clothes do not usually cause fights because a man is ashamed (unless there is really no money) to have his wife going around dressed shabbily, just as he is ashamed if she is thin. A wife, likewise, is proud if her husband has as fine clothes as her neighbor's husband. The refreshments do not amount to much, and if husband or wife occasionally spends a penny or a half penny on pure luxury, little is said. Liquor becomes a problem in some few cases where men threaten to drink up the family fortune. But in general there is no fighting about the husband's drinking because husband and wife both look upon the urge to drink as a sickness; although they may regret it, they do not judge it.

RELATIONS AMONG MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD. Among married couples there are always some objectionable qualities seen in each other, but they do not reprove each other until they have lived together a long time. Then they say something trying to correct each other. Both have the right to do so,
although the man does so to a greater degree. Thus, if the man eats very fast and the wife slowly, after they reprove each other, they do this: the man will eat a little more slowly than usual, and the woman a little more rapidly. Only in this way can they be congenial. Otherwise they will quarrel much and finally separate. A woman has the right to scold her husband for his misbehavior. If he has another woman or sweetheart, she may quarrel with him, but she usually forgives him if he does not continue with the other and if he provides all that is necessary in the house. A man has more right to scold, and may even turn his wife out of the house if she has another lover. He may even beat his wife and people will approve, because it is a greater sin for a woman to be unfaithful to her husband than the opposite. If the house belongs to the woman, the man leaves if she is at fault, and if he is at fault, the wife may send him away. If the wife is mistaken in her accusations against her husband, he believes that perhaps this is just an excuse of hers for causing a quarrel, and that she has another lover.

When spouses quarrel, and the wife is pregnant, she may try to repress her anger so that quarreling will not harm her baby. However, domestic spats frequently result in court cases. She may then be forced to bring her husband his food in jail every day and even to borrow money to pay for his fine.

When the children are young the mother is the one who corrects them; when they approach puberty the father takes
charge of the boys and the mother of the girls. They say the boys need a harder rule and for that reason the father takes them over; also they must go with him to the country and work. The girls stay in the house with the mother. Thus when a brother quarrels with his sister, both may be reprimanded by the father, or each parent may punish the child of his own sex.

Respect for elders is perhaps the most important lesson to be learned in childhood, for it is a sin before God if a minor does not respect his superiors, be they of his family or not. When one must perform his duty in community office, as in the town hall when an alguacil, sometimes one is sent to summon one's elder. Sometimes it is even a parent or uncle. Due respect must be shown even in such situations and pardon must be asked of the guilty one about to be punished.

Greatest respect is due one's father and mother, both when they are active in household affairs and after they have become too old to assume leadership in the family. When it comes time for the eldest son to take charge of the household, he
does not order his father, but tries to find things necessary and useful for his father to do. A grown son may more freely order his mother, but always with proper respect. Never should children quarrel with their mother; and while living in the same house it is a sin for even a son to quarrel with his father. Sometimes when a boy marries and tires of living with his father they will quarrel over the property rights of the son; in such cases it is best for the son to start a household for himself.

A father may bathe and sleep with his young son, but modesty always keeps a son from discussing personal matters such as sex with his father. When the son is in the community's service or at funerals he may drink with his father; otherwise it is a disgrace for father and son to drink together. Especially when the son continues to live in his parent's home after marriage, he spends much of his life working with his father; there are no obstacles to their making a living together. However, neither of the two may marry or live with a woman who has lived with the other, and it would be a bad state of affairs indeed if a father married or slept with a daughter-in-law.

A daughter's relationship with her mother is much the same as that of father and son. Modesty dictates that they not bathe in the lake, but frequently they bathe in the same pool together. A daughter may cure or treat the delicate parts of her mother, and if the mother is a midwife she may also assist her daughter. When the daughter is young it is the custom for her
to sleep with her mother, but not after puberty. Mother and daughter work together closely within the home and rarely are mother and daughter known to quarrel openly. Even when a widow and her daughter care for the same man, they do not quarrel; the man chooses the one he wants for his wife, and the other waits for someone else.

Mother and son hold one another in high regard, and it is a great sin for a son to fight with his mother because of the suffering she endured in raising him. She, in turn, from respect for her son, will sleep on the floor to provide him a bed if short of beds in the house. The same modesty a son shows around his father he shows toward his mother. Father and daughter have less in common, and because he is both older and a man she should be submissive and obedient. This is the relationship even after the daughter is married and no longer under his domination. When the son-in-law comes to maintain the father-in-law’s household, the young couple may solicit help from the father, but not command him.

It is the custom to respect one’s parents more than one’s grandparents. Grandchildren play with their grandparents and often work with them unless the children are bad or insolent and need the discipline from their parents. In matters of sex a grandson may talk more freely with his grandfather than with his older brother or parents, as may a granddaughter with her grandmother. In personal difficulties, such as quarrels outside the household, a grandparent may offer
advice, and in such ways a grandparent is like a teacher, speaking from many years of experience. When children are grown they may drink with their grandparents without feeling ashamed, and it is not uncommon for grandfathers and grandsons to bathe together in the lake. Similarly, grandmothers bathe in the *tomassal* freely with their granddaughters and instruct them in manners and hygiene as the granddaughters are growing up.

Sometimes grandchildren may play too freely with grandparents, and fearing that they do not show sufficient respect their parents scold them for treating their grandparents like brothers or sisters. The fate of some grandsons who failed to treat their grandmother with kindness is recounted in the following story:

Once upon a time there was a grandmother who lived in one house with her twelve grandsons. These boys treated her very badly, doing much mischief and damage in the house, and she was very tired of their roguery. One day she asked them to bring her a load of *branch-wood* (**tik'aa**), with which to build the fire for her vapor bath, and the boys were contented with their opportunity and for once went quickly about their errand.

The twelve grandchildren went to the forest, and their thoughts turned to the most evil thing that they could do. The eldest of them proposed to the rest that instead of getting branch-wood for their grandmother, they should gather powerful firewood so that the bath
would be heated to the point where it would kill their grandmother who scolded them too much. All agreeing to
this proposal, they found the strongest and the dryest logs to serve their end.

When they returned to the house, they told the old woman, with affection in their voices, that they had
bought what she had asked for, and they asked if they themselves couldn't light the fire in the vapor-bath for her.
She accepted, wonderingly, and supposing that the very good behavior on the part of the boys came from a belated
pity for her old age. Some of the boys set about to heat the bath-house; others went to find earth with which to
make mud; and still others went to fetch large quantities of water to be heated, as was the custom.

When everything was thus prepared, they called their grandmother to tell her that she could now enter the
bath-house; since she could neither see nor hear very well, she sensed nothing of her end; and her grandsons
carried her bodily into the bath-house so that she should notice nothing. Once she was inside, they told her to
bathe well and that she should be careful and the old lady thanked them gratefully for their courtesy.

When all was ready, some of the boys threw water over the little-furnace-part of the bath-house so that it
should produce more heat, and others were ready to seal the doorway of the little house. In a twinkling the fatal
operation was done, and all of the boys ran quickly from
the house so that they wouldn't know more of her who was shouting with great force to be let out of that hell. But there she remained forever.

The next day the twelve grandsons, having nothing to eat and nobody to serve them, set out to look for callings by which they could earn their living. The eldest brother was left to guard the granary of maize, and he was soon converted into a **cabanecito**, a bird that eats maize in at the harvest-time and in the winter lives on filth; this was his punishment from God. The youngest of them tied a sash around his waist, leaving one end hanging, and upon climbing a tree he was turned into a monkey. A third went to the shore of the lake to hunt for crabs, and wishing to put himself among some rocks where one was imprisoned, he remained there forever; he it is who causes earthquakes, for every time he moves, a movement of the earth is felt. Another went to serve as **mayor** in the **juzgado**, and he was promptly changed into an owl whose duty office (like that of the mayor) is to patrol the roads at night. A fifth brother went to serve as an **alguacil**, and he was transformed into a **tejolote**, a kind of owl that distributes news through the town. Still another became the **alcalde**, or mayor of the town, and he was turned into a rabbit. What the fate of the others was is now not known, but certain it is that they, too, came to ill ends because of how badly they had treated their poor grandmother.
Nephews and nieces are expected to show due respect for their uncles and aunts, whether or not they share the same household. A mother's brother or sister is considered a little more closely related than a father's siblings, because the former share the same blood as one's mother. Since uncles and aunts are usually much older than their nephews and nieces, they have different interests and do not spend much time together. Uncles and aunts can give orders to nephews and nieces, but always with the consent of the latter's father or mother. Sometimes a nephew will have his first employment by an uncle living in another household, and in working and traveling together the nephew may proceed without fear, knowing his uncle will treat him as a father. While uncles and nephews or aunts and nieces may bathe and sleep together when the children are still young, an uncle should never sleep even in the same room with a niece, or aunt with nephew. They may work together, but only out-of-doors, and they would not think of traveling together outside the town at night. While a nephew or niece may never marry any kind of aunt or uncle, there have been a few cases where such relatives have taken care of each other for a little while.

SIBLINGS. As children, one's closest relationships are with siblings closest in age. Any appreciable age difference results in the younger being placed in the care of the older, in which case the older tries not to suggest indecent things
or initiate quarrels. The oldest son often takes the place of the father when the latter dies or is away, and in general an elder brother is respected deeply and is expected to take care of the younger siblings. The respect due older siblings by the younger is demonstrated by the older being served first at the table, for example, or by the younger walking behind the older on the road. Also, when there is something to be carried and there are several siblings available to do the work, the youngest should be the first to volunteer, thus demonstrating his respect and affection for his older brothers and sisters.

Siblings of the same sex frequently work together, and often sleep and bathe together, but with increasing modesty as puberty is reached. Brothers tend to fight one another more than do sisters, but never should a brother fight with his sister. Especially when the brother is older than his sister, she is expected to show much respect for him. This is because boys are usually preferred by parents and men are the stronger sex. Boys have more freedom to come and go than do their sisters, and when at home brothers should be served by their sisters, be they younger or older.

As children, brothers and sisters play together freely, showing increasing respect as they mature. When they are young adults, they are careful to avoid physical contact, because a young woman is ashamed of a brother touching her. Only when they have husbands or children do they lose some...
of this shame. Brothers and sisters may go walking together as children, but when of marriageable age they must be careful to avoid being alone together lest people say they are in love. They may sleep in the same room at any age if others are present, but never in the same bed after puberty is reached. In fact, if by chance a brother and a sister are left alone for a night, the girl will go to sleep at the home of neighbors or relatives. They may never speak of sexual matters, except indirectly when both have married and have children. There is no record of cases where brother and sister have loved each other or lived together; just to think of such a thing frightens everybody, because incest between siblings, as with one's parent, would never be forgiven by God. He would send Judgment immediately, or there would be dangerous epidemics and famines to punish the whole world for such a shameful state of affairs.

As adults, brothers see much more of one another than do adult sisters, since sisters go to live in the homes of their husbands. When two brothers want to marry the same woman, the younger steps aside and leaves her to the older, or the older leaves her to the younger. Neither brothers nor sisters should fight over matters of love. Brothers do sometimes quarrel when they become intoxicated from drinking together, however.

*IN-LAWS.* Brothers and sisters-in-law should be treated with the same respect accorded one's brothers and sisters,
and they in turn should treat all members of the household well in return for the privilege of marrying into the family. Brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law often develop close friendships, and there are few restrictions on what such relatives can do together. A boy and his brother-in-law may smoke and drink together, batho and sleep together, and travel or work together anywhere and at any time. Sometimes they even exchange personal clothing.

When a sister-in-law and a brother-in-law are close in age, they must behave very properly to one another. Should one's married brother die, his widow could become one's wife after sufficient time had passed, and because of this possibility a man would be much criticized if he were too familiar with his sister-in-law. Thus, when living in the same household, such in-laws may never sleep together, not even in the same room, unless older members of the household are present. Even during the day such in-laws would be ashamed to be seen together in the pueblo.

One is just as careful in his behavior toward his parents-in-law. A mother-in-law is reluctant to be seen in public with her son-in-law (or father-in-law with his daughter-in-law) and except when performing some ceremony, such in-laws are as reluctant to drink together as are parents with their own children. They seldom feel free to discuss sexual matters (unless indirectly in the presence of the spouse of the child-in-law), much less live together, and the few hidden
cases of such unions are much condemned by the community.

Concunás, or women who marry brothers and come to live in the same household, are often quite intimate and congenial. As daily companions in their working and living together, they may joke freely together and bathe or sleep together without shame. The wife of the oldest brother has more authority and may give orders, although this is really the privilege of the mother-in-law.

RELATIVES OUTSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD. Since sisters rarely live in the same household after marriage, maternal cousins seldom are raised together. Paternal cousins more often are raised in the same or adjacent households, since married brothers frequently share their father's house or establish homes close by. In spite of this, the children of a maternal aunt or uncle are considered closer relatives than are paternal cousins. This is because one has more of a mother's blood than of a father's. Consequently, while one should marry neither a paternal nor a maternal cousin, it is especially sinful to marry one's maternal cousin.

As children, cousins play and work together on an equal footing. Of course, as in all relationships, greater age brings respect, and boys tend to receive more respect from girls than vice versa. Cousins of the same sex are as intimate as siblings, and may bathe together or sleep together when there is need of it. At their work or elsewhere they may talk about matters of sex, even telling of their experiences with the opposite sex. Cousins may come to dislike each other and show their dislike more openly than is
permitted siblings. Such disagreements may find their way to the town hall, although such quarrels are criticized in view of the kinship involved. Also, cousins sometimes fight over love of the same man or woman.

The respective parents of children who have married have no special relationship in the community nowadays. It is said, however, that consuegros of long ago treated each other as persons of high standing to whom much respect was due. The married children were formally married in the Catholic church after the required legal ceremony in the town hall. They respected their in-laws as much as their own parents. When a man married a girl he promised to keep her as long as he lived; if he did not do this, it was a great shame for her parents that he had tired of her. Reciprocally, the consuegros promised to treat their children-in-law as their own children until death; it was a great shame to address them as señor or señora after making this promise. Thus this relationship may be compared with the compadres of today; even if the baptized child should die, the terms of greeting remain until death. Today it is not so among the young people; they frequently change the wives they themselves choose, and for this reason their parents do not address each other in the old way and instead they have adopted the term compadres to replace the real one.¹
1. Consuegrros formerly addressed each other as *rachali* and addressed their children as *qhali*. 
The Civil-Religious Hierarchy

As in all the towns of this region, it is the custom to alternate political and religious services. Young men start their public service in the religious hierarchy and then move to an office in the political hierarchy. The final service undertaken by all men in the town is that of fiscal of the church, and with that their public service is completed.

The services which formerly had to be performed by every man were done in the following order:

Chajal: one year, when between eight and ten years of age.
Chinimal: performed from the age of fifteen until marriage.
Alguacil: from fifteen years of age until marriage, with at least one year of rest between the one year terms of service.
Texel: done once in any one of the cofradías.
Fourth or Third Mayordomo: for the two most important cofradías, San Francisco and Sacramento, which have four mayordomos each, or
Second Mayordomo: of the less important cofradías, Santa Cruz and San Nicolás, with fewer mayordomos.
Mayor: one year of service as First or Second Mayor, depending upon the capability of the individual.
Second or First Mayordomo: for each of the cofradías, according to the individual's character and wealth. One year of service only.
Second or First Auxiliar: according to the character and wealth of the individual, with service for one year only.
Fourth or Third Regidor: one year of service in each office.

Sacristan (in the church) and First Regidor: these positions are the same, in that one can take either office and not be required to serve in the other. In either case, the term of service is one year.

Cofrade of San Francisco or Sacramento: done only by the wealthy since expenditures are rather high. Service is for two years with two years of rest thereafter.

Cofrade of Santa Cruz or San Nicolas: done for two years for either one or for one year in each.

Alcalde: served three times, always with intervening years of rest.

Fiscal: most respected and highest of the services.

Observing the ranked order is very important, and any mixing of the sequence upsets the sense of fitness, as in the following case:

By some oversight, Santiago Q. did not become first regidor, and then the time came when the officials and Elders demanded that he fulfil his duty. He unfortunately had to do it in the year that Julian R., who had served as a mayordomo for him when he had been cofrade, was alcalde. To his great shame, he had to carry the rodillera on his shoulder as a sign that he was a civil servant behind the man who had served as his subordinate in the religious order. When he was drunk, he would complain that he was being commanded by the same one he used to command when he had the cofradía in his house.

Several of the offices listed above have now been discontinued: those of chajal, chinimital, and texel. The older men who have ful-
filled all these services say that the men in office today would surely complain if they had to fulfil as many services as was required in former days. Even with fewer offices, some young men attempt to substitute military service for hierarchy political offices; the first who went into military service set a precedent by refusing subsequent offices on returning to the community. Apart from these latter youths, the only exemptions from public service which are permitted are deaf mutes or persons otherwise incapacitated.

Once having completed the offices, one becomes a principal, or Elder, with a voice in deciding community affairs. Once an Elder, advice or opinions on community problems can be offered without fear of censure by others in the community.

Until about forty-five years ago, the first service that a young man had to perform was that of chajal, or servant in the church and the house of the priest. This service was done by boys from the age of nine or ten, and it lasted usually one year. During the term of office the chajales lived at the house of the priest, keeping it in order. They always accompanied the priest when he went to another town to say mass, or even when he went bathing in the lake or just out for a walk. When there was a mass the chajales helped the priest into his vestments and served as altar boys, carrying the religious books, lighting the candles, striking the little bells during the mass, preparing the water for the baptism, and so on. While in this service the boys had a chance to learn a little Spanish;
since there were no schools in those days the priests were the only
ones who taught Spanish to those who wished it and to those chosen
as chajales. Here they also memorized part of the catechism, which
was necessary if they were ever to be married, for marriages had to
be postponed when the people knew nothing of the Christian prayer. 2

Only boys under fifteen years of age served as
chajales, and then they were eligible to become alguaciles. But boys
of fifteen and older, until they married and did other services,
were obliged to contribute to the support of the priest in the service
called chinimatal, even if they were serving as alguaciles. For this
purpose, the priest sent the fiscales of the church to all the houses
where there were young men, with the help of a list that he made and
kept. Each boy was supposed to contribute a plate and two small bowls
or a chicken for the use of the priest, or else a small sum of money.
Only the fiscales could go, every once in awhile, to the houses to
collect these alms for the priest. Now that there is no priest here,
this service no longer exists.

They say that after serving as alguacil, there was
another service to the priest that was called chalamal, and this was
usually done by a newly-married couple. The husband sometimes lived
in the house of the priest, or else he came early in the morning and
stayed all day, and he had charge of caring for the priest's beasts,
cleaning the yard, and seeing that the fountain was always full of
water and clean. In return both husband and wife received divine
counsel from the holy priest—the man how to be a good husband, and
the woman how to manage her new home, how to treat her husband, and so on.
It was a kind of school, since after the priest had married them, couples consulted with him for a year so that the marriage would turn out as well as possible. Often even after the husband was finished with the year of service as chalamal, the wife continued to come to the priest for advice.

After a boy has served as alguacil one or more times, and after he takes a wife, he becomes a mayordomo of one of the cofradías. But during the last century, when there was a priest in Panajachel, there was another service that preceded that of mayordomo. It was that of texel, and after resting from the service of alguacil a young man and his wife became texeles of one of the four cofradías. Long ago each cofradía had two couples who were texeles, but more recently the number was reduced to one. The two couples were ranked, and the first was always more highly respected than the second. The texeles of each cofradía received their offices together with the mayordomos. Like the latter they had to contribute towards the expenses of the cofradía fiestas, but not as heavily as the mayordomos because the texeles also had expenses in the church. The texel and his wife were like servants of the mayordomos and cofrade and their wives. The others called them "younger brother" and "younger sister". The texeles had duties both in the cofradía and the church. That is why when they received their office, on the day of the saint of their cofradía, they were received at a mass by the sacristans of the church who instructed them in their duties. The women texeles especially had duties in the church, for it was up to them to meet with
large candles all of the saints that were brought to the church. They met all the processions several blocks away. They also had to light candles and burn copal in the church during mass all through the year. The texeles themselves had to buy the large candles, weighing about fifteen pounds each, that were used in the processions. When the candles had burned quite low, they were left in the church and new ones lighted. At the end of the year the remainder of the last candle was taken to the cofradía unless it was very small, in which case a new one had to be started in the cofradía so that the last one bought was first lighted there.

The duties of the texeles were towards all the saints, and that is why they did not, like the mayordomos, have to contribute to give new clothes to the saints of their cofradías. Nor did they have to wash all the clothes of the saints during their year of service. In the old days when steers were killed for fiestas by the cofradías, it was, however, the special duty of the male texel to clean the feet of the animal and to provide light for the butcher, since this work always was done at night. At this time the texel had also to bring the leaves on which the butchers placed the meat, serve liquor to all of his superiors, and burn incense every little while. For cofradía fiestas it was the duty of the texeles to go to Sololá to buy the rum, and to carry it from house to house. They also had to carry the rockets to be fired in the processions at the houses of the officials to which all went together, and to bring the pine needles to decorate the cofradía houses and the church for fiestas. In the cofradía fiestas the women texeles helped cook the meat, beans, and tamales to be given to the officials. When the rituals were over, all the food
remaining was divided equally among the members of the *cofradía*,
including the *texeles*, even though they had not contributed equally.
Often when the texeles were at the *cofradía* during fiestas they
would leave suddenly when called by the sacristans to do something
important in the church. When this happened, the *cofrade* would call
the *texeles* after the rituals were over to give them rum, since he
and his *mayordomos* had already eaten and drunk. If there did not
happen to be any liquor left over, the *cofrade* and his *mayordomos*
would send to buy more, at their own expense, to give to the *texeles*
who had been absent.

A special task that fell to the *texeles* was to take home the
drummers and flutists who became intoxicated when playing for the
*cofradía* rituals. At any time of the day or night the *texeles* were
called to the *cofradía* for this duty. In those days the musicians
were Panajacheleños (the last one, Antonio X., who was their chief,
died at the end of the century). They were very clever; knowing
that they would be taken home, they always contrived to become intox-
icated soon after they began playing. The *texeles* had to carry them
home, assisted by the *mayordomos* who carried the "rum of the road,"
which was a bottle or a half bottle of liquor that the *texel* had to
buy himself and serve to whomever he found at the *cofradía* when he
arrived. While being carried home, the musician would demand a drink
every little while, and then the *texel* had to kneel before him and
offer him a cup. This was a particularly difficult duty because the
musicians were highly respected, and they always scolded the *texel*
for anything they had seen him do in the street or about town. Only
when there was no more liquor could the *texel* return home to rest.
In all, the office of texel was both difficult and costly, and now when the young complain, the old people remind them how much more difficult the community service was in the old days.

There are four cofradías: San Francisco, Sacramento, Santa Cruz, and San Nicolás. Each has a cofrade and several mayordomos. Formerly San Francisco had four mayordomos, and the others had two each. In recent years San Francisco has had only three, two or even only one mayordomo because of the difficulty of finding people to serve. The other cofradías have also suffered decreases because there are not many people who want to take the offices. The cofradías of San Francisco and Sacramento require more expense than the others, so the poorer people are given the offices in the others.

When a man is married, or is about to be married, he is eligible to be asked to become a mayordomo of one of the cofradías. Sometimes when an alguacil takes a wife he is given the office before he has had even a year’s rest. Then after he has served and rested and has served as mayor in the town hall, he must serve again as a higher mayordomo in the same or a different cofradía. The manner of receiving the two principal cofradías is the same as that for the two lesser ones, since the four are equal in about everything except the expenditures involved. All the saints cared for by the cofradías have equal worth.

All the mayordomos are named in the same manner and at the same time as the cofrades themselves. When these officials are about to complete their year of service they say nothing to the alcaldes concerning their successors, because this would suggest that they were tired of having the saints in their care. It is entirely in the hands
of the alcaldes, or now, with the abolition of this office, in the hands of the Elders. In naming the new officials, the following factors are taken into consideration: wealth, services previously performed, and length of time since last office. The persons selected, even if they wish to serve, never admit it but rather always refuse initially, saying that they have no money or are too busy. They are then given several days to think it over, and in agreeing to reconsider they in effect accept and can be expected to formally accept the position soon. If they refuse to accept the office they may well be taken to jail until they agree to comply.

The mayordomos are under the command of the cofrade, and in turn are ranked among themselves. In similar manner the wives of the officials are ranked. All share the work and the expenses, however. The mayordomos come to the cofradía house each Sunday with candles and incense for the saints, and each fortnight to sweep the house inside and out. To repay them, the cofrade serves them breakfast of chicken, chocolate or coffee, and bread. The men also have the duty of burying the dead, whether of relatives or not, and of carrying in the bodies of strangers killed on the roads and in the hills. The mayordomos must also meet with the sacristans and, directed by the fiscales, clean the walls of the church once or twice a year. It falls upon them, in addition, to go to the hills before January first and bring back cock's foot flowers to present to the new sacristans and fiscales when they take office. After these new officials take office, all go to their cofradías, which they also have decorated.

When there was a priest here the mayordomos had additional duties. At that time it was thought a sin for the priest to ride horseback, so
the people here made a kind of chair or platform of four crossed poles on which the priest sat, and the mayordomos and texeles had to carry this from town to town. On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Holy Week, the priest had to say mass each day in Santa Catarina, San Antonio, San Andrés, and Concepción, as well as in Panajachel, so there was much work.

The cofrade and the mayordomos have the obligation of providing new clothes each year for each of the saints of the cofradía before turning them over to their successors. That is why the women of the cofradía meet to decide which colors they will use in weaving the clothes, although they never omit red and some white. The smallest saint is always clothed by the cofrade, and the larger ones by the mayordomos. The women must also wash all of the clothes of the saints of the cofradía so that they will be clean for fiestas. They always do this together in the river, drying and neatly smoothing and folding the clothes before returning them to the cofradía where the cofrade serves them a lunch of beans or chicken, with atol and rum.

The officials of each cofradía are expected to attend the celebrations of the other cofradías and to adorn their own cofradías at these times. For the fiesta of St. Buenaventura the officials of all the cofradías give a bottle of liquor to be drunk at the home of the alcalde, who has custody of this saint, and the mayordomos contribute to buy two dozen rockets to be fired during the fiesta.

Sacristan After filling the office of third or fourth regidor, one rests a year or more awaiting the service of sacristán or of first or second regidor. The office of sacristán is concerned solely with
affairs and services of the Catholic church, although like the other officials of the hierarchy the sacristans are appointed by the Elders of the town at the close of each year. After being named, an appointee is summoned to the alcalde by an alguacil. When he arrives the alcalde notifies him of the appointment and asks for his acceptance. As with other offices, it is customary to refuse or balk initially, giving in only under pressure from the alcalde, or, if necessary, the regidores and Elders. As soon as he accepts, the regidores, mayores, and the rest of the officials are notified not to molest this person in any way since he is preparing to enter the office of sacristan.

The only ritual which the sacristan must perform is that at the beginning of his year. The sacristans (there usually are two) meet with all of the officials, old and new, and go to the church where the retiring officials deliver up the inventory of church property to the new officials who proceed to check it. However, as all are quite intoxicated at this point, no one knows whether or not all the things have been turned over. On the second day they return, therefore, to again check the list.

From here the retiring officials go to the house of the alcalde to carry out rituals, leaving in the church only the religious officials of the hierarchy. These latter soon leave to visit the houses of the fiscales and sacristans. In each house they drink as much aguardiente as the household offers. It is not required that the sacristans go to much expense; if they are poor they may set up a shaded shelter in the patio to serve the pulique of turkey or beef and tamales. Aguardiente is served according to the financial status of the household. If he is poor and gives much, people say that he wishes to make fun of
his companions; if he is rich and gives too little, they say he is miserly and is not willing to honor God in accordance with the customs of the community.

The wife of the sacristan must introduce herself to the officials in the following manner: the cofrade of Santa Cruz, who is the highest official present, brings her in the kitchen a glass of aguardiente and she, in return, gives one to him. The other cofrades do this too until the woman is a little intoxicated and less shy about coming before them. She then comes out and kisses the insignia of the cofradías and the hands of all those above her in the hierarchy. This accomplished, all enter the house of the second sacristan where the same procedures are followed exactly. From there all return to their homes, quite intoxicated.

The wife of the second sacristan comes to visit the wife of the first on the same day, bringing food and liquor so that it will be known that they are in the same service. The hostess reciprocates with glasses of aguardiente.

When the sacristans receive their year of service, they have special kerchiefs made for wrapping up the keys; they never use an ordinary handkerchief, because that would be a great sin. It similarly would be sinful to do anything immoral when in possession of the keys. These are watched over just as are the saints, and incense is burned to them. At night the keys are good companions because nothing happens to the one carrying them. They say that often these keys make noises in the chest where they are kept, because certain spirits want to enter the church come there to get the keys. It is therefore not a good idea to sleep in the same room with the keys lest one be confronted with such spirits.
It is expected that the sacristans will attend all the rituals which the cofrades attend together, except the fiesta on the first Friday of Lent. It is also the duty of the sacristans to carry the insignias of the cofradías when the former are turned over to their new cofrades each year. Thus, the first sacristan must take this responsibility for the cofradías of Santa Cruz and San Francisco; the second for the other two. It is also their duty to carry the little saints that pass from one house to another at the end of the year of service.

Other miscellaneous responsibilities consist of taking care of the church every day, cleaning it, decorating it, and keeping it open at the prescribed hours for those wishing to visit the saints. The sacristans ring the bells at mass, baptism, midday, the hour of prayer at six o'clock, and for deaths. They buy candles which they light daily in front of the saints. As the immediate superiors of the mayordomos, the sacristans must keep account of which of the former have opened graves and assisted with burials. Also, the sacristans are responsible for keeping the cemetery grounds clean.

When a priest is expected to visit the town to hold mass, the sacristans go to the cofrade in charge of the particular fiesta to ask for candles and incense to use in the mass. Often the mass is a private one, in which case the funds are obtained from the man asking for it, whether he be Indian or Ladino. Only during Holy Week, the fiesta of St. Isidro, and that of the patron saint, St. Francis, is it up to the community to provide the incense and candles.

Formerly, when there was a resident priest, the sacristans had more duties. They accompanied the priest in his travels, supervised the chajales, and in general served as servants to the priest.
When a person is elected to be *cofrade* of any of the cofradías, it is known that he is well on his way to becoming an Elder. In February the officials of Santa Cruz and Sacramento are named by the Elders; in July those for San Nicolás and San Francisco.

When the *cofrades* accept their office, the insignia of the cofradía is brought in procession to their home. The *cofrades* hire a marimba and buy a demijohn of liquor for the occasion. They await the other officials at home. The officials arrive in a procession headed by the *alcalde* and accompanied by the standard bearers; their progress has been marked by musicians and rockets shot into the sky at intervals along their way. The miniature saint of the cofradía is carried in front of the large saint by one of the *mayordomos*.

When the procession reaches the home of the *cofrade*, the officials line up by rank in the patio and the *alcalde* at their head announces their readiness to turn over to the *cofrade* the insignia which is now in his care. The procession then enters the house where attendants hired for the occasion serve drinks.

In the case of the cofradías of Santa Cruz and San Nicolás, the *cofrades* receive the *mayordomos* on the same day as they receive their insignias. Several days before, they themselves had gone to the houses of the *mayordomos* to inform them of the fiesta. Then, after the officials have been received in the house of the *cofrade*, he advises the *mayordomos* of the manner in which they must receive the saint and the expenditures that they will have. This fiesta really pledges the *mayordomos* and the *cofrade* to the service of the saint.

The *alcalde* and his *regidores* come to the reception of the *mayordomos* for the purpose of counting up the contributions received
or promised. The cofrade takes out the money contributed and places it on a table for the first regidor to count in the presence of the other witnesses. Following this the new mayordomos are served drinks and dance. Their expenses for the evening are paid for by the cofrade, but the private individuals who come to the fiesta must pay for their drinks and dances, thus helping to defray the cost of the fiesta.

On the following day the alcalde receives gifts of tamales, a turkey and chicken in pulique, bread, and aguardiente from the cofrade. Knowing that these gifts will be sent, the alcalde leaves eight cents in his house to be given in return for candles and incense for the saint. His wife divides the food into equal parts for the regidores and her own household.

The office of fiscal was the highest office that the Indians of the town held. Now, however, they first do the service of fiscal and then receive their second cofradía, or the position of alcalde. There always have been two fiscales, first and second. The first is just below the alcalde in all religious fiestas, sometimes substituting for the alcalde when the latter cannot appear.

It is the fiscal's duty to give fodder to the priest's horse when the priest visits the town. He also is charged with the responsibility of carrying the priest's candlestick at the masses and in the processions, and with the candlestick he meets the saints that are brought to the church by the cofradías. It is also customary for the fiscales to attend all the k'uja'nen rituals in the cofradías.
Nowadays the first civil service into which boys enter upon leaving school at fourteen or fifteen years of age is that of *alguacil*. The term of office is one year, after which he rests for a year. A boy might serve several times before he marries, at which time he becomes eligible to receive higher offices. They say that in former years, when there were more people in the community, as many as thirty boys served as *alguaciles* during the year. More recently the number has been twenty-four.

The *alguaciles* are divided into two troops, each of which is on duty during alternating fortnights. When they receive their office on January first they do not know how they are to be divided, but after the Day of the Kings, January sixth, the division is made by the *mayores*, who are in command of the *alguaciles*, and announced by the local police and the *comandante*. They arrange it so that the two troops should be as equal as possible, having the same number of older and younger boys, of big and little. The younger boys are given the easiest tasks to do. Long ago all of the *alguaciles* were graded according to their years of service and the efficiency with which they previously had performed their tasks, so that there were a first, second, third, fourth *alguacil*, and so on. It is still done that way in Santa Catarina. The *mayores* decided the order and the *alguaciles* could not complain. But now only the first and second *alguaciles* are recognized as the highest, although even they are not addressed as such, and all the rest are equal. Of course, the younger boys respect the older ones a little. The first *alguacil* is the leader of one troop.
and the second is the leader of the other troop, each under two mayores who decide which troop will work the first fortnight. When for some reason the mayores are absent, the first and second alguaciles have authority over their troops, because they have had much experience and know what there is to do. In fact, the older alguaciles often know more than the mayores and have to advise them.

When the time approaches for the change of office, the mayores consider the boys who have finished school and those who have been resting from alguacil duties for a year, and make up the lists for the next term. The newly-appointed mayores know about a month in advance, at the end of November, who the new alguaciles will be, and they get together in advance and go over the lists and begin to gather their alguaciles so that they will report for duty. When they find the first of them, they tell him that the time has come for him to begin his service, and will he please accompany them to get the others. If he refuses, they grab him and take him to jail, and if he escapes on the way, they must wait until later to punish him. Thus they gather together as many as possible, who in this way accept the service. Then some three days before the end of the year, the new mayores with all of the alguaciles who have accepted go through the town at night, to all of the houses on the list, to capture those who are still free. At this time all of the young men who are eligible for service, and thus fear that they have been named, hide out for several days to avoid capture. Some of them go off into the woods for a few days to live. Others hide in the thick treetops and have their food brought to them there. Still others remain in the lofts of their houses. The new officials
in search of their companions-to-be are allowed on this occasion to enter the houses without first asking leave, simply opening the door and going in to search. They say that in the old days boys were sometimes found hiding in large pots and in bed, sometimes even in their sisters' or fathers' bedclothes.

The new alguaciles actually take office a few days before the official day so that the outgoing ones can take care of getting the traditional flowers with which to decorate the houses of their superior civil officials. They take up a collection among themselves to buy liquor and to pay for a drummer and flutist to accompany them, and just before January first they go into the hills near Concepción to gather flowers, especially the cock's foot.

The alguaciles are the servants in the town hall. There they sweep the floors and, with their mayores, guard the building all night. During the nights of fiestas and whenever necessary, they patrol the whole town, making the rounds of all the streets. One mayor and part of the alguaciles go out one night, leaving the others to watch the town hall, and the next night they exchange duties. The alguaciles also cry out all the official announcements. Formerly, when laborers were picked for a community work project, the alguaciles and mayores did not have to go to all the houses; they merely climbed high trees and from there shouted their call to the men to come to do the job. Sometimes two would shout together so that the sound would be strong and far-reaching. Those who did not arrive were always punished with five days' imprisonment; the alcalde could not give them more because there was no written law.
The alguaciles have charge of prisoners and take those of other towns to their respective authorities. They deliver official correspondence in town and to other towns, and they serve notice to those who are wanted in the tribunal of justice. The alguaciles during their fortnight of duty may not leave the town hall day or night, except during meal hours or when they receive permission to be absent for a day. This permission they ask of the mayores who in turn ask the higher officials.

Until about five years ago, the Ladino alcalde and the Indian alcalde each had an alguacil to serve him in his house during his year of office. The mayores appointed alguaciles for this service, and they lived in the alcaldes' houses during the period of service, receiving only their food in exchange for the work they did. Sometimes, if the alcalde liked the alguacil, he would ask to keep the same one for the whole year. Almost always the younger alguaciles were chosen for this service. The duties in the house of the Ladino alcalde were to cut fodder for his beasts, tidy the house, and run errands. In the house of the Indian alcalde the alguacil did all kinds of work and even worked in the alcalde's fields along with the alcalde's paid laborers, if he was rich enough to have them.

The alguaciles never receive wages for their official work. But when a private individual wants one of them to do a job for him, he can ask the alcalde for permission to hire an alguacil, and then he pays the boy according to the arrangement they make. Until a few years ago it was obligatory for an alguacil to work for a private person who made arrangements with the alcalde, but now he does only if he wishes. At that time there was a municipal policeman, a Ladino
who was over the alguaciles, and they say he always took a third or a half of what the alguacil earned in this forced labor. The mayores, of course, are the ones who chose the alguaciles to do these private jobs; and the older alguaciles who knew about such things always saved some of the money earned to buy liquor which they would drink with the mayores and thus indicate that they wanted to be sent on more profitable errands so that they could celebrate more.

The Gakchiquel name for alguacil is ajchamey, which means "with cudgels," for the alguaciles always carry cudgels when on duty. Some years ago they stopped carrying their sticks, and brought their machetes to the town hall instead; but when the intendente came into office, he ordered them to carry their sticks again, and now all of the alguaciles have them. They are carried whenever the boys go out on official errands; otherwise they are left hanging in their quarters in the town hall. The cudgel is a heavy stick, about two inches thick, with three yard-long tails of braided leather thongs with pointed ends. The stick, or handle, is adorned with white and yellow thumbtacks. These cudgels, made of the heaviest and hardest wood, are dangerous weapons, and they are used when necessary. The whipends are used to encircle the feet or hands and to whip prisoners or those alguaciles who are irresponsible or at fault in their duties. The mayores used to carry the same kind of cudgel, as an example to the alguaciles; they still do when they go out with the night patrols. Nowadays the alguaciles take drunken people to jail any way they wish, but in the old days they made a kind of stretcher with their whips and carried them home on their backs. There were always some drunken people, perhaps because the liquor was cheap and chicha was sold in all the taverns. Besides
their cudgels, **alguaciles** always carry tumplines, to be used when necessary to carry burdens.

In the old days the beasts of burden of the many merchants passing through town were kept on public property; this land was cared for by the **alguaciles** on the order of their **mayores**. In the evening the **alguaciles** and **mayores** would come to collect for the lodging of each animal there. Thus money was collected during the week, and on Sunday accounts were made up. With some of the money they bought **aguardiente** and cigarettes for themselves. The **mayores** were always the treasurers, and the **alguaciles** also kept accounts so that all would be done legally; this is still the practice. If the **alguaciles** do not obey the **mayores**, they are punished, but to make their orders good and worthy of respect, the **mayores** should first agree upon what should be done. If the **mayores** are hard on the **alguaciles** or unfair, there is little that they can do. But when they finish their year's service the **alguaciles** sometimes turn upon such **mayores** and, taking them to taverns, they drink with them just to scold them to their hearts' content. Sometimes they even give them beatings. Most of the **mayores**, however, are respected by the **alguaciles** as their leaders in important matters, and they often call the **mayores** "mother". The **mayores** and **alguaciles** still have the habit of making small contributions to buy coffee, bread, and firewood in the evenings at the town hall, and they all lunch together in their quarters before or after the patrol. The **alguaciles** are directly responsible only to the **mayores**. The higher officials should not give them orders, although they may ask them to do very simple things. Otherwise the **alguaciles** have a right to complain.

When the new **alguaciles** take over from the old, the retiring boys present them with an inventory of the property in their charge and
tell them that if they want to keep it they will have to pay them what they themselves paid for it. The new alguaciles always buy these things with money contributed by all of them, and the outgoing ones buy liquor with the proceeds, and so together bid their year farewell in the laughter and the tears that come with drink. The chief item that is sold is the drum that is used when crying out the orders of the higher officials to all the houses. Every year this drum is passed on to the next group of alguaciles for about two dollars and fifty cents. Then later, during Lent, the mayores order the alguaciles to take up a collection to buy new goatskins for the drum, and they decide which troop shall buy the male skin and which the female skin. Then from a sheep butcher they buy the skins and arrange with an expert for the preparation of the skins; they furnish him all the materials necessary for renovating the drum. They place the skins in lime for three days and then examine them to see if they are ready to be peeled. After the peeling is done with sharp knives, the skins are washed well, cut into the proper shape, and put on the drum. When the skins have been stretched into place they are sunned for several hours. First the whites of eggs are smeared on and then the yolks, so that the drum will sound good and be strong. The twine used must all be new, too. Those who do this work may not touch their wives for twenty-four hours before they begin the job, or the skins will soon tear and the drum will not sound good. The drum-fixers are paid about fifty cents, collected from among the alguaciles.

It is the custom for the mayores and alguaciles to contribute among themselves to buy cord and large ropes for service in the church in the days of Holy Week for tying up the cross, mats, and other things
for the crucifixion. The officials of the church reciprocate for the gifts of the alguaciles and mayorés by giving them mats upon which they can sleep in the town hall. The mats which they receive are the ones which until recently were presented to the church by the calpules, and which now are given by those who are next in line to become cofrades. In the old days only one mat was given to the alguaciles in exchange for their gifts, but now each group of alguaciles receives one mat, because under the new system more mats are supplied each year and because the price of rope and cord is now much higher than formerly. Now when a troop of alguaciles completes their two weeks of service, they leave their mat in the house of the mayor until it is their turn to serve again. The rope and cord which they give to the church remain almost as good as new after Holy Week, and those that are still good after the fiesta are given to the cofradías to be used for tying the saints when they are taken out for processions.

Some days before the fiesta of St. Buenaventura the alguaciles and mayorés make cash contributions to buy four loads of firewood and one of pitch pine for the house of the alcalde, where this saint is kept. In the old days the regidores also did this when they made fiestas in their houses between the month of June and the fiesta of St. Buenaventura. Toward the end of their year of service, the alguaciles and mayorés also contribute to pay the flute-player and the drummer that they take to the woods with them when they go to gather the cock's foot flowers to present to the new civil officials. When they deliver these flowers they must always be accompanied by the music. Also when they turn over their offices to their successors, they must go to the house of the old alcalde to bid him good-bye and then to the house of
each of the mayores in order, where they are given rum and soon become intoxicated. The musicians, who are taken along to the various places, are fed at the expense of the mayores.

The office of mayor is the next step up from that of alguacil in the civil hierarchy, but before an alguacil can become a mayor he must first serve a year as mayordomo in a cofradía. The mayores, of which there are four, are chosen either by the Elders when they meet in December of each year, or by the alcalde and his regidores. A man must serve as mayor only once, for a year. The four mayores are responsible for the alguaciles, and are themselves responsible to the auxiliares, regidores, and the alcalde. The first and third serve together, alternating with the second and fourth.

The mayores must account for the number of alguaciles at their disposal, how many are at work, how many sick, and so on, because they can do this better than any other employee of the court house. No superior officer can give a direct order to an alguacil; he must do his ordering through a mayor. Otherwise the mayor has a right to complain to his superiors. While the mayores are on duty they live in the town hall night and day for two weeks at a time, sleeping in the same room as the alguaciles. They are relieved only at mealtimes when they go home to eat. When there are five or more alguaciles present, the mayor may go out with two or more to execute some order. He never goes alone, even when the alguaciles are busy with the many things they have to do. The mayores, living so much with the alguaciles, sometimes grow so fond of them that at the end of the year they are saddened by the separation and drink together for several days after leaving the service.
The mayores and alguaciles can take to jail any superior official, even an Elder. They ask the victim first to pardon the act, explaining that they are obeying orders, and they always treat the man with the consideration his office and his character deserve. Formerly when an Elder was to be arrested, he was sent for by someone respected in the town hall and never by an alguacil. Now everything is different. First alguaciles or mayores go for him, then auxiliares or regidores, and finally a whole guard, often with strong speech. On the other hand, the Ladino auxiliares are the ones who call for the Ladinos who are wanted in the town hall; Indians are never sent for them. If a mayor is sent to arrest his father, mother, or wife (the one who sends him being unaware of the relationship), he may refuse to go. Then an auxiliar or regidor is sent instead. When the mayor is the only one in the town hall at the time, and it is urgent, he must go. When the mayores go with their alguaciles, they are always in the lead with the alguaciles behind them; the inferiors may not go ahead of their superiors. So it is with all the civil employees and their superiors.

The mayores have no rituals to do during their year of service except when they end the year. Then each one of them takes his alguaciles to his house and there gives them aguardiente, baskets of tamales, and pots of pulique. In former times the mayores used to tax the vendors of pitch pine in the market place, taking payment in kind. Large amounts of pitch pine were thus gathered in the room at the town hall which serves as their dormitory, and they used the pitch pine for light there and for going out on errands at night in the town and for carrying correspondence to neighboring towns when there was no daylight. When the year of service was up, they sold what remained to the shops and
with the money they bought the rum to drink at their farewell party. They say that the mayores of that time were persons of forty and fifty years of age. The alcaldes (there were two of them then) were also persons of advanced age, some eighty years old, and perhaps because of this when they had to go home to eat, a mayor with three or four alguaciles had to accompany them on the road and go to get them when they were ready to return.

Until ten or twelve years ago, any Ladino family that wished could bring seven pesos to the town hall to pay for the services of an Indian woman, unmarried or a widow, to grind for them for a week. The women had to take this work, and they did not even get their food where they worked, but had to go home to eat. The Ladino alcalde would order the Indian officials to supply the servants, and it was up to the mayor to see that they came to work. Of the seven pesos, five went to the woman and two to the mayor. Two years before this custom was ended, the women rebelled and succeeded in having their pay raised to eight pesos. But finally they declared themselves free and refused to work for anybody except voluntarily. For awhile there was some trouble over this, but finally the women were no longer obliged to work in this manner. In some towns women are still obliged to work, but only for officials, and without payment; so there it is like a service.

Some years ago when the word of the alcalde in the town hall was law, and there were many punishments given the people, the mayores had the duty of inflicting many kinds of corporal punishments. Thus, in those days it was as great a crime to lie in court as it was to
steal in the houses and the streets. If a respected Elder was caught lying, it was not easily pardoned, and the judge sent the mayor to bring a raw bone of a horse's foot which the guilty man had to hold in his mouth for two or three hours. Sometimes the perjurer had to hold in his mouth the foot of the horse with its skin and hair and all. To punish one who had stolen an animal, the feathers of the stolen bird, or the skin of the stolen beast were put on the hat or clothes of the culprit and he was paraded through all the streets followed by a mayor and his alguaciles shouting to all the result of such acts. If the stolen animal was still alive, the thief had to lead the steer or horse through the streets in the same way. The mayor cried out to all to see the face of the thief who on such and such a day had stolen from such and such a house this animal that he was now leading.

In those days, instead of a jail, wooden fetters were made to hold criminals. In the center was a hole in which the prisoner's foot was held, while the other foot was held in a metal cuff from which hung a chain that was also fastened to the waist. They also punished people with the lash, giving them lashes in arrobas, or sets of twenty-five. All of these punishments were executed by the mayores on orders of the higher officials. Even if the victim was his own father or mother, all that he could do was beg pardon before applying the punishment.

In the days when laborers were recruited for the government from among the Indians, that duty also fell to the mayores. In those times there were no telegraph or telephone, and all correspondence was carried by foot from one town to another. When a messenger would come from Sololá advising the authorities that a troop of soldiers
was to come through Panajachel and would require a certain number of porters to carry their supplies, the mayores were immediately ordered to find Indians for this service. The mayores kept accounts of all the men available for such work, and they went to the houses to bring them in. When the people heard the news, or saw the mayores, they often hid themselves or left for other parts. So when the mayores did not find a man home, they asked his wife to give them his tump-line as a sign that he was engaged for the service. Sometimes a whole mesh-bagful of tumplines was collected in the town hall, and their owners had no choice but to present themselves to lend their free labor. All the laborers that were gathered were locked in a room until the soldiers arrived. If the soldiers asked for twenty porters, the alcaldes usually assembled about ten, and when the soldiers arrived, they explained that there were no men in town and that they had been able to find only half the number requested. The officer in charge then had no choice but to accept the number that he could get, and the remainder went home or remained in the town hall to do whatever work was required of them locally. Thus the alcaldes complied with their orders and avoided going to jail or paying a fine, while at the same time defending their people as best they could from such molestation.

After serving as mayor, the next office is that of auxiliar. Between the two there is at least a year of rest, depending on how many are eligible. There are two auxiliares in the town hall, the first and second, and each man should serve a year as the second, and, after resting, another year as the first. In the town hall the
auxiliares are above the mayores and below the regidores. An auxiliar is, as the name indicates, an assistant to the higher officers. There are Ladino auxiliares as well as Indian, named by their respective alcaldes. Then the alcaldes have already taken office, they appoint the auxiliares with the counsel of the regidores so that harmony will exist in the town hall. Then the mayor and his alguaciles are ordered to bring the chosen one to the town hall where he presents himself to the alcalde who informs him of the reason for his having been called and presents to him his staff of office. By receiving this staff, the appointee accepts the charge. Then no matter what he says, he must comply with his duties because it is a great disgrace to abandon the staff. Everybody knows that laws should never be set aside because of caprice or ill-feeling. Formerly if people refused an office they were jailed or given an inferior office, so it really did them no good and they were only delayed in their progress through the series of services.

Besides his staff, an auxiliar carries over his left shoulder as a mark of his office a rodillera doubled over lengthwise twice. All of the higher officers carry a rodillera in this manner, but those beyond auxiliar also carry over it a large red kerchief to distinguish them as men of rank. Neither the auxiliar nor his wife has any special rituals to perform when taking or leaving the year of service. When there are fiestas of any kind, the auxiliar only accompanies the heads to the cofradías or else remains in the town hall to look after it and take responsibility when the alcaldes are absent or intoxicated. The auxiliar always informs his superiors first, however, of what he is going to do in order to have their opinion. The auxiliar also accompanies the mayor and his alguaciles on patrol duty at night.
Nowadays there are four regidores, the two lower ones being called assisting regidores. When the service of auxiliar is completed, a man is eligible to become an assistant regidor. After a year in that office and a year of rest, he may become either a first or second regidor or a sacristan in the church. Formerly it was not obligatory for a regidor to be literate, but nowadays this is necessary.

The two assisting regidores do not give all of their time to their office, but the first and second regidores must be at the town hall every day unless they have permission to be absent. One has charge of funds, another of agriculture, another of health, and so on. All are obliged to attend the meetings of the town council. Besides these regular commissions, the regidores are given other miscellaneous duties, in the town itself or outside it, such as conducting prisoners to Solola, the state capital. The first and second regidores have more authority than the assisting ones, and their suggestions carry more weight with the alcaldes. When the alcalde for some reason fails to appear at his office or any meeting, the first regidor takes his place, and he is shown the same respect as the alcalde by the Elders and other officials. However, only his inferiors have to kiss his right hand and his feet as a sign of submission and respect.

Over the usual cotones these officials used to wear another, cut in two parts in such a way that one part hung in front and the other in the back. The Indian officials of Solola still use this kind of garment. Every Panajacheleño shows great respect to a regidor, because this officer is in line to become an Elder, but nowadays when
they meet in the street, those inferior in position do not kiss his hands and feet as they did in the old days. The regidor never idly amuses himself in the streets or in the town hall, as do the lower civil officers. If a man who has served as regidor commits some crime against the law and the customs of the community, he is not only punished according to the law but also criticized by the people who say that he apparently learned nothing during his service in the town hall.

Formerly all the regidores used to meet in the house of the alcalde, and from there accompany him to the town hall. In returning home they first escorted their chief to his house in the same manner. The regidores always took care that the alcalde when drunk would not fall and hurt himself; if they did not do this they were punished.

When a regidor receives his year of service at midnight on the thirty-first of December, he must give a bottle of rum to his predecessor when the latter comes to his house to escort him to the town hall to receive his office. The outgoing regidor first improvises a little speech, asking pardon for his sins, and saying finally that he has come on the recommendation of his companions and according to the old customs. In all friendliness the new regidor gives him a seat and then orders a servant, or someone else specially asked for this duty, to serve the liquor, one drink after another, until the bottle has been finished by the outgoing regidor alone. Then the two together go to the house of the new alcalde, where all the other officials await them. Or, sometimes all the regidores go together to the homes of the retiring regidores. Then together they drink the rum given in each house and finally, well-intoxicated, they come to the house of the alcalde.
The **alcalde** receives his **regidores** with a short speech and serves more liquor until everyone has arrived. Either the **regidores** sit around the table, the new ones opposite the old ones, or all sit on one long bench, first an outgoing one and then a new one, and so on down to the lowest in rank. The **alcalde** pays the expenses of this ritual in which twenty-five bottles of rum are consumed. While the rest of the officials are drinking, the **alcalde** places on the table before the **regidores** eight bottles of rum, four for each side, one for each man. Each is also given a glass. Each group has a servant, engaged and paid by the new **alcalde**, who fills the glasses. While this is going on the outgoing **alguaciles** serve to the incoming officials large bowls of **pulique** with turkey, and large, square tamales. Sometimes the usual red **pulique** is substituted with another kind made of white maize, especially common at fiestas. Each of these bowls contains a quarter of a turkey. This food is accompanied by cups of chocolate and liquor. No matter how hungry the men served may be, it is the custom to eat only a little of what they are given. They merely take a piece of tamal, dip it in the **pulique**, eat it as if unwillingly, and then return everything with the exception of the chocolate. The same **alguaciles** take the food back to the kitchen and they are immediately sent with it to the homes of the **regidores**. This ritual finished, all go to the town hall, the retiring officials to turn over their offices, and the incoming ones to receive them. The following day each of the new **regidores** contributes a bottle of liquor and all go to the house of the new **alcalde** to end their hangover, but all get drunk again, and they do not go to the town hall to attend to business until the next day.
The foregoing description is of how it was in the old days. Nowadays the *regidores* drink four bottles instead of the eight mentioned, and the Indian officials of the town are present. Each of the *cofradías* brings a bottle of rum to be divided among those present, and the new *alcalde* does the same. The *mayordomos* of the *cofradías* all contribute to buy two dozen rockets to be burned at the various places where the rituals are done. When they return from receiving their staffs of office, the new *alcalde* serves turkey and chocolate to his new *regidores*, and also to the incoming *alguaciles* and *mayores* who bring him back to his house after the activities. The new *mayores* place all food, in great quantities, before the *regidores* on provisional tables. The food received is not eaten, and soon the same waiters take it away to later deliver it to the homes of the *regidores*. When the *alcalde* is quite rich and buys a large quantity of liquor, he sends a bottle of it with the food to each house. Later the wife of each *regidor* responds with a gift to the wife of the *alcalde*, bringing it in person. The return gift is similar in form and quantity to what has been received. This is done so that the wives of the new officials become better acquainted. The wife of the *alcalde* brings out a bottle of liquor and drinks it with her female guests, who often go home drunk.

The *regidores* do not have to be hosts to any rituals in the religious or political fiestas with the exception of the day of St. Buenaventura, since this *cofradía* belongs to the *alcalde* and his *regidores*. On this day the saints of this *cofradía* are turned over to the new *alcalde*, and it is obligatory for the *regidores* to aid their chief with contributions in cash and other things necessary to celebrate this fiesta. In all the *cofradías* the incoming officials
are the ones who have the greatest expenses. For receiving the image of St. Buenaventura a demijohn of liquor must be purchased by all the regidores and the alcalde together. In addition, each regidor must provide a large basket of maize dough for tortillas, twelve or fifteen pounds of black beans, and a load of firewood for use in the fiesta. All the food is divided among the mayores, alguaciles, flute-players and servants who carry the saints in the procession from the house of the old alcalde to that of the new one. The rum is also served to the high officials who come to the rituals to turn over the saints.

The wives of the regidores in the service have no special obligations beyond preparing the food for return gifts and for the fiesta of St. Buenaventura. When their husbands cannot personally do so, they come to the house of the alcalde every week to bring eight or ten cents' worth of candles and four ounces or one-half pound of incense for the saints.  

Any person must twice have served as cofrade in any one of the four cofradías to be able to go on to the rank of alcalde. If a man did not have the qualifications to be alcalde, the community decided to give him a third cofradía so that his services would be complete. It was the custom to take the office of alcalde twice, but if the person was intelligent and accommodating, he could be alcalde three or four times.

There were two alcaldes, one Indian and one Ladino. The Indian alcalde was the judge only in simple matters between Indians dealing with custom and law. He also sat over Ladinos in the absence of the first alcalde, but always with the help of the secretary. The first
**alcalde** decided the serious matters of Indians and Ladinos, always with the help of the second **alcalde** who acted as advisor and interpreter for the Indians.

One of the most important functions of the **alcalde** was that of naming, with the assistance of the Elders and the **regidores**, the officials for the coming year. He opened the meeting and announced the purpose of their gathering to the convened civil and religious officials. He made certain that the nominees were notified of their appointment. He attended all civil and religious functions, lending authority and prestige to the assemblage by his presence.

When this office was abolished and a Ladino **intendente** was appointed to handle the municipal affairs, the **regidores** assumed some of his civil duties and the Elders some of his responsibility at religious functions. 15

When they complete the last of their services, the men of the town are ready to enter the ranks of the Elders; nothing remains for them to do and any office would be unworthy of them. In the old days, before becoming an Elder, one had to go through all the political and religious offices. Now the law requires certain things of the civil employees, such as being able to read and write Spanish, and for this reason those who are illiterate can make no progress in the hierarchy toward becoming an Elder. Some believe that, to avoid this problem, those men could be asked to take another **cofradía**, depending on their wealth, and thus complete their service. Aside from completing service in the hierarchy, the only other requirement for becoming an Elder is
that a man be reasonably intelligent. Wealth is helpful, but not essential.

The Elders are ranked in order of age and prestige, and in all public gatherings this rank determines their seating arrangement. There are thirty Elders, and if more than half are missing at any meeting, the meeting may be postponed until messages can be sent to those who are absent. If the matter is urgent and a majority of the Elders cannot be assembled, the meeting is opened if among those persons present are included the first three or four Elders, since they are known to be the most experienced, honest and intelligent. Previously when the chief Elders arrived at a meeting, all the others knelt before them and kissed their hands and feet, but now they just take off their hats and greet them.

The alcalde opens the meeting of the Elders and announces the business at hand as follows:

Excuse and pardon, señores, that the sacred authority you have vested in me, and my regidores, has given me the right to call you together today to take up the matter for which the time has now arrived, of seeing which of the sons of St. Francis can and should receive from us the authority on the first of January. All know that because of our obligations to our saints and to our inviolable customs which have passed down to us from our forefathers, we must continue in the same way with equality and fraternity among all, because we also know it is necessary to rule the destinies of the community for the welfare of all. So then, I say to you all, señores, that we have sent for you to announce the election from among everyone, of the next alcalde,
regidores, fiscales, and sacristans, in order that afterwards they cannot criticize nor censure me for being asleep on the job and for the fact that the incoming people were not properly trained by me as they should be. It is for this I have called you together, asking each one of you to please think and choose with complete impartiality in your hearts, those who will serve for the coming year. You, honorable chief elders, for everything is in your hands, please aid me in this highly important matter so that everything can be arranged in a fitting manner, because, as I have just said, I only come to fulfill a duty in this matter, that of following our customs.

Then the first Elder, or in his absence the next one, corroborates the words of the alcalde, urging his associates with the greatest eloquence and patience, that all the offices be given in the proper order. As the offices always are given in the proper order, they already know and have thought of those to whom they wish to give the office, but there are always discussions and arguments. If one person takes the floor (always seated) and speaks either in favor of or against the motion the first Elder, who presides, asks him for sufficient explanation of his reasons. He then asks approval or disapproval from the rest, who in one voice always answer either yes or no, taking into account the reasons and proposals of the chief Elders. Another can oppose the one who had the floor, and if what he says is more reasonable they approve it all with one voice and then the motion is carried. Usually all wish to speak at the same time, but he whose words dominate the rest continues speaking. Each one, in accordance with his social position and training, endeavors to listen well, speak well, and approve what is said. The first Elder and the two next in
line, are those who listen and direct the approvals and disapprovals, always with the intervention of the alcalde.

They begin by naming the next alcalde; then the regidores, fiscales and sacristans in that order. Usually those to be named anticipate these offices, and for this reason they do not attend the meeting. When they do not know and are present, they always say that they are not fitted for the position and that others more capable should be chosen.

When everything is finished, the first Elder addresses them all and speaks to them of how the municipal candidates are chosen, so that they will not forget and make a mistake when the next elections are held. Sometimes the alcalde gives thanks for their assistance, but the Elder can also do this when he gives them a resume of the dispositions made. Either of the two, then, can adjourn the meeting. They never discuss two or more matters at one meeting, but always each matter separately. Occasionally some invite others to have some cups of liquor following the meetings, and then they go in groups to the taverns. They lose a whole day and sometimes more when the meetings lead to such drinking.

Such meetings of the Elders are held regularly about the middle of December as described above to elect those who should be named officials; about the middle of September to discuss the expenditures and collection of money for the fiesta of the patron saint; and shortly thereafter to discuss the disposition of the funds collected. Irregular meetings may be called when there is not as much rain as usual and there is the necessity of collecting money for a mass to ask God for rain, or when it is necessary to call the shamans together to do rituals
for a good harvest after the crops are planted, or when arrangements must be made to collect money for needed repairs on the church.

Communal Work by Non-Officials

In addition to the community service carried out as an officer of the civil and religious hierarchy, men are expected to perform routine and exceptional tasks around the municipio. Sometimes labor is drafted, such as that required for removing weeds from the lake (because they spread malaria), repairing roads, weeding and fixing ditches, preparing for a fiesta with adornments for the public buildings or constructing an arena for the bullfight. Other tasks which are of special interest to some landowners are done voluntarily by those concerned, such as projects for draining the lake to prevent loss of land to landowners with plots on the edge of the lake. The workers used to contribute money for aguardiente which they would drink after completion of the task, a custom no longer followed. Ladinos gave money instead of labor in these communal projects.
The dawn of this day, January 6, is greeted with drums and rockets, especially at the cofradía of Santa Cruz which is responsible for this celebration. The musicians go the houses of the second alcalde to take him to church with his regidores. When all the religious officials are gathered there, the church bells announce that the child Jesus, will be carried around the town.

The procession consists of the musicians, the mayordomos of the cofradías bearing the cofradía insignia, and the remainder of the civil and religious officials (with the exception of the Santa Cruz officials who are busy with other preparations) in that order. The procession goes first to Ladino houses in the town center, then to the north of the town, to houses near the bell tower, to Tzanjuyú, and finally returns to the north side. At each house the procession stops, the sacristan uncovers the Christ child, everyone in the household kisses him and leaves money, eggs, incense or flowers. One official carries a basin, adorned with rose petals into which gifts of coins are placed. Another official carries a basin to receive the eggs.

After visiting all the houses, the is taken to the cofradía house of Santa Cruz where a final inventory of the gifts is made; the offerings were counted twice previously during the tour of the village, once on one side of town and again on the other.
Following the inventory of the collection, the cofrade of Santa Cruz invites all the members of the procession into his patio. Here the Christ child is laid on a mat covered with orange, lime and coffee leaves which later will be scattered over the fruit trees of the Town to increase their yields. The officials line up according to their rank and are served aguardiente. The women of the cofradía of Santa Cruz, who have been occupied with lunch preparations, now come out from the kitchen and kiss the hands of their superiors. Rockets are fired and the drums and flutes played. The officials then enter the house for the ceremonial meal common to most fiestas, the k'uja'nen.

The k'uja'nen ceremony is conducted as follows. Tables, or benches, covered with a long cloth are placed before the officials by the mayordomos. A gourd of chocolate, eight one-cent rolls, and a small napkin called sup al tilíex are placed before each official. Then the mayordomos bring a pottery pitcher of warm water with which the officials, beginning with the alcalde, wash out their mouths. This is followed by a pitcher of aguardiente from which each one drinks a little.

The cofrade of the cofradía sits in the doorway and thanks all those present for coming to witness the ceremonies. He, or a substitute, may then deliver a speech which is answered by the alcalde. After again being urged by the cofrade to eat and drink their fill, the alcalde thanks the cofrade on behalf of all and leaves with his regidores. The other officials usually remain a while longer and drink another bottle of liquor furnished by the cofrade.
The following day the officials return to the cofradía house to take apart the little structure in which the image of the Christ child lies and to assign the gifts received in the procession. The eggs received are taken by the fiscales to the priest in Sololá. Part of the incense received is taken to be used in the church. Some of the money collected is used to defray the cost of the liquor consumed; some goes for payment of the musicians and for the expenses of a mass later in the year, and the remainder is divided among the four cofradías to buy candles for their saints. The flowers received are kept until they are completely dried out; it would be a sin to discard them any sooner.

Lent and Holy Week

FIESTA OF CANDELARIA. Until about years ago the cofradía of Sacramento observed the fiesta called ru o'ix ma'rij on February 4 for the purpose of raising money with which to buy an ox to be killed on the First Friday of Lent.

On the evening of this day the alcalde and his regidores came to the cofradía to learn about the contributions given by the texeles of the cofradía. Turkeys were killed for a dish of salpor maize (k'ox) which was served to the texeles and the alcalde. A marimba was hired for two days and one night, and money was raised by the sale of liquor and payment for each dance danced by the private persons who came.

FIESTA OF THE FIRST FRIDAY OF LENT. Three weeks before the First Friday of Lent, the officials of Sacramento notify the officials of the
other cofradías to accompany them one evening to find twelve adults and twelve children to serve as Jésus and Apostles respectively during Holy Week. On the night agreed upon the officials meet in the cofradía of Sacramento where they drink a bottle of aguardiente before going out to organize the Jésus and Apostles. As in all processions of the officials of the village, the cofrades walk in a prescribed order followed by the mayordomos in the same order. First they go to the home of the designated chief of the Jésus. It is up to this chief to name his companions. This done, the officials go to the named Jésus to inform them of their appointment. In this process of touring the town they also stop at homes having children of suitable age until twelve Apostles are found. Apostles serve for four years, so only those who have served this long need to be replaced in any given year. When half through with this recruitment and again at the end, the cofrade of Sacramento gives all the officials a bottle of liquor.

Eight days before the fiesta, the officials of Sacramento go out again to remind the Jésus and Apostles of their responsibilities and of the ceremonies that will be held especially for them.

Fiesta of the Second Friday of Lent. The cofradía of San Nicolas always celebrates the second Friday by taking the saints of the cofradía to the church. In the evening they are returned to the cofradía, accompanied by musicians playing the flute and drum. The officials line up before the saints and kiss their hands as they are taken in. Then the saints are put in their cus-
tomary places and everybody enters the house. The group includes the cofrades of the four cofradías, the second alcalde of the town, the fiscales and two sacristanes. After a round of liquor, the guards are covered and bread and guards of chocolate are served. A discourse by the cofrade of San Nicolas concludes the ceremony.

**HOLY WEEK.** On Monday and Tuesday of Holy Week the members of the cofradías go to Indian and sometimes even to Ladino homes to collect various kinds of fruit with which to adorn the church, the church yard, and all the streets of the town. The jurors get the green branches of coyol, bouganvillea flowers, and other flowers which they form into little bouquets and adorn the body of the crucified Christ. Private individuals make little bouquets of a similar nature, called diezmos, which they attach to sticks. It is on these two days also that the religious officials gather donations for the fiesta in Indian and sometimes Ladino homes. They give the donations to the elders who in turn authorize them to purchase the candles and incense for the mass to be said on Holy Wednesday.

Throughout the week a game called taba is played by the boys and men. The taba is a bone of the sheep shaped like a large coin. One side is known as meat and the other as tail. Each player takes turns tossing the coin to try to get meat to come up. If he fails he pays his companion the stakes set.

**Holy Thursday.** On Holy Thursday no one in the village should work. Stories are repeated of who, forced to work by their
On this day, met an untimely death. They say that once a cart driver told by his oxen on Holy Thursday that he should not be working; so surprised he that he home as his oxen advise, only to die a week later.

On Holy Thursday everyone sends gifts of food to relatives, compadres, shamans, consuegros and friends. These gifts often include a kettle of fish soup, set in a basket of hot tamales made the night before, and covered with a raw fish, little white tortillas, and some egg omelette with green beans. Those receiving gifts reciprocate in kind, and it is acceptable for the same gift of food to change hands several times in the course of the day as long as a family does not return the same food to the family who gave it to them.

Even the dogs receive a special meal on Holy Thursday, consisting of bread and honey.

Thursday afternoon all the officials unite in the church to wash the feet of the children Apostles. The sacristan’s wash their feet in the juice of the sour-orange prepared by the second mayor-domo of San Nicolás. It is the special duty of the second sacristan to carry this liquid in a basin, while the first sacristan washes the children’s feet with cotton and dries them with a towel. They always wash the right foot only. The children remain seated on a bench in the church, and following this solemn act the other officials kiss the feet of the children.

The twelve men called pa'pe'j kros (planters of the cross) meet to prepare everything necessary the following day when the cross must be put in a certain place in preparation for the crucifixion.
Four of these men are chosen from among the mayores in the town. They contribute money to buy liquor to be presented to the chief of the twelve.

On Good Friday, the crucifixion is accompanied by the elders. In the morning the twelve men meet again to place the cross where the Jh... will crucify Christ. The mayores of the town attend. When the men finish putting up the cross, the mayores present them with four bottles of aguardiente.

In the course of the morning the cofradías and the fiscales of the church come to put the large mats above the cross which will shade it while Christ is crucified. Near midday the Jh... come, still as private individuals and not enacting their role, to anoint with cotton and oils the body of Christ. After this washing, they adorn the body with the bouquets which were prepared earlier in the week. At noon they return in their costumes and proceed with the crucifixion. The child Apostles attend with their candles in their hands, and many of the townspeople gather to remain until the body is lowered from the cross. This is done at four o'clock by the Jh... who take Him in His wrappings in the procession called the Holy Burial. Christ is carried by the same Jh..., but later private Ladinos may substitute for them if their devotion so moves them. This is the slowest procession of the entire year because the bearers proceed with the greatest patience. It is not over until about nine o'clock in the evening. The people crowd around to ask for the flowers which they will preserve in their homes as important relics. Following the procession
the Ladinos take out their virgins in a procession called "of the silence." The same evening, the men who put up the cross take it down and put it away. Otherwise the cross will become cold and will be difficult to move from the place.

The following story is told of a town which crucified a living man in place of the image of Christ:

There is a small plantation that bears the name of San Jerónimo el Ingenio, and at that same spot there once was a large town. All of the people of the town were Catholics, but the time came when they turned savage so that instead of celebrating Holy Week in proper fashion by crucifying a Saint's image on Good Friday, they did with one of their own number. All that Our Lord suffered at the hands of the Jews, the poor man whose ill fortune it was to be selected also suffered, and after taking him down from the cross they had the funeral procession and finally buried the man in the cemetery.

After rumors had spread that this had been done to several men, the priest was sent there to investigate the situation. When he found that they were indeed true, he held a solemn mass for the purpose of calling all kinds of animals from the woods—tigers, lions, poisonous snakes, etc.—to come to the town to destroy these perverted people. In the days that followed, all who left their homes returned no more.

The old church is still to be seen in the town.
Also on Good Friday the cofrade of Sacramento arranges a fiesta for the Jews and the Apostles. In preparation for this, he purchases liquor, rockets, bread, chocolate, candles, and incense, and hires the drum and flute players. On Tuesday, very early in the morning, the cofrade takes a bottle of the liquor to the chief of the Jews, where the rest of the Jews have come together along with the fathers of the Apostles. Here they drink the aguardiente before going to the cofradía of Sacramento where they drink two more bottles in the patio. Once inside the house they kneel before the saints, hear a short speech by the chief of the Jews, and receive more liquor and the customary bread and chocolate. The Jews and Apostles then are given candles to light before the saints. In the ritual that follows the cofrade gives a speech of invitation and the chief of the Jews responds. This finished, more liquor is consumed, and as the Jews and Apostles take their leave they contribute a few cents each as charity to the saints.

It was for this fiesta that formerly the cofradía of Sacramento killed an ox. This and other ceremonies were more elaborate in former days; oxen have not been killed on this occasion for over twenty years.

Saturday of Glory. On Saturday of Glory the officials come again to the church to take down decorations and the shades which have concealed from the other saints the rituals of the week. The Elders present to the alguaciles one of the mats used in the fiesta.
This same Saturday the sacristans of the church ring the bells to announce to the parents the moment for whipping their children. The whipping is done with hollow canes, to remind the children that Christ died for their sins. The canes are hollow in the hope that the children's heads will be sufficiently hollow to have room for parents' good advice. Fruit trees are also whipped at this time with trompines or ropes, and rice or honey is rubbed on the orange trees so that their forthcoming fruit will be sweet.

On this Saturday the cofrades of Santa Cruz and Sacramento turn over their insignia, tapati, to their successors. At nightfall all the political and religious officials meet in the house of the cofradía, and accompanied by the tam-tam drum they go the house of the cofrade of Santa Cruz to get the insignia to turn over to the new cofrade. The outgoing cofrade furnishes aguardiente, after which the group goes to the cofradía of Sacramento to observe the same procedure.

Passion Sunday. On Passion Sunday all the coasts meet in the church to adorn the crucified Christ with green coyol leaves and bougainvillea flowers prior to taking the image through town in procession with all the religious officials. The music used for the procession is supplied by the large tam-tam drum and a flute played by one of the poorest Indians of the town. For his services he receives liquor, but no money.
Preparations for the fiesta of Santa Cruz (Holy Cross) begin in the last two weeks of April when the fiscales and cofrades go from house to house to collect money for the forthcoming mass and the elders go to Solola to ask the priest to come to give the mass.

On the evening of April thirtieth the preparation of the ceremonial feast begins with the putting on to boil of some 150 pounds of nixtamal in the homes of both the old and the new cofrades of Santa Cruz. Rockets announce when the nixtamal is both put on and taken off the fire. On the following morning of May 1 the mayordomos and the cofrade gather in the cofradía house to decorate the house and to arrange things for the next day. After lunching in their own homes they return, bringing turkeys, roosters, and firewood. The women prepare large kettles of hot water for picking the feathers of the fowls, and rockets are set off to announce that the turkeys have been killed. They will not be cooked, however, until the next day. The wives of the cofradía officials now wash the nixtamal and then send for the women who have been hired to grind it that night. The women in charge watches the grinding and determines the quantity of dough that will be taken to the cofradía the following day. The beans are put on to cook in the house of each mayordomo, and tamales are made for the ceremony of thanking the women grinders. In addition to this food, the grinders also receive liquor during the grinding. Rockets announce the beginning and the end of the grinding.
on May 4 the mayordomos meet in the house of the retiring alcalde and with him go to the home of the alicade to present him a bottle of aguardiente and request his presence at the ceremony when the saints and insignia are turned over to the new officials.

This same morning the lowest mayordomo is sent to summon the musicians. Meanwhile the others go to their homes, returning later to the cofradía carrying huge baskets of dough ground in their homes during the previous night. They also bring firewood and rockets to fire on their arrival. Since each mayordomo was requested by the cofradía to bring a prescribed amount of dough, the mayordomas accompany their husbands with additional dough in the event they have not supplied the proper amount. Once gathered, the women begin to prepare the feast: the first mayordoma cooks the turkey, the second cooks the tamales in huge kettles prepared beforehand by the cofradía. These activities are announced with the firing of rockets also.

HANDING OVER THE INSIGNIA While the women are engaged in these preparations, the men and musicians go with five bottles of aguardiente and their rockets to the house of the retiring cofradía to ask him for the insignia of the cofradía. The insignia is

Rockets are fired to announce the departure of the officials, as well as their arrival. On arrival the new cofradía makes a little speech asking for the insignia. If the outgoing cofradía is not drunk he turns it over readily; sometimes when intoxicated he demands the liquor that he had had to supply on taking over his duties.
the year before. The insignia is turned over well-adorned, after which the new officials serve liquor to the retiring officials and vice versa.

**THE FEAST.** The officials return to the new cofradía house where the new first mayordomo proceeds to divide the meat that has been cooked by the women. This act, announced by a rocket, is done in the room of the saints where all the assembled men and women drink a bottle of aguardiente. Each mayordoma had prepared her fowls separately, and each is marked so as not to confuse them after they have been cut up. From each fowl is taken one piece for the pulique which is sent, with tamales, to the home of the alcalde. Then each mayordoma's meat is divided equally among the regidores. This done, all the officials lunch, being served by the lowest mayordomo, formerly called the texel. The men eat in the room housing the saints; the women in the kitchen. Rockets are fired to announce the meal.

**PASSING OVER THE SAINTS.** Around 3 o'clock in the afternoon of this same day, May, the new cofrade, his mayordomos, and the musicians go to collect the other cofradía officials who await them in their respective cofradía houses. They then congregate in the cofradía of Sacramento for one bottle of liquor before walking to the house of the alcalde who awaits them with his regidores. Here more liquor is consumed before the group proceeds to the house of the ex-cofrade to receive the saints. The officials line up according to rank in the patio to drink aguardiente provided by the outgoing cofrade. The alcalde asks for the saints, thanks the retiring cofrade for the service he has given the community,
and names him a "Elder of the community." The old cofrade then places a mat in the patio, and the new officials of the cofradía bring out the saints. They first ask permission of the alcalde and all attending officials, kissing their hands. The women of the old cofradía also kiss the hands of all their superiors, asking permission to dress the saints in the new garments that they have made at their own expense during the year. It is the duty of the first outgoing mayordomo to change these clothes, burning incense and firing rockets beforehand. When finished, the mayordomos turn over to the new officials everything belonging to the cofradía.

When the saints have been thus received, the officials set out in procession called the rete titu, for the new cofradía house. The musicians go first, followed in order by the mayordomos of all cofradías except Santa Cruz, the reidores and sacristanas carrying the saints, the women officials carrying incense burners, the remaining religious and political officials, and finally the people who wish to join in the procession from the community. The old custom was to stop to drink liquor at each crossroads; this is no longer obligatory and is observed by only a few.

The outgoing women officials stop a short distance away from the patio of the new cofradía where they are met by the new women officials who receive the incense burners and attend the saints the remainder of the way. In the patio of the new cofradía there is another large mat on which the saints are placed. The officials line up again by rank and drink another bottle of liquor.
The women of the new cofradía kiss the hands of the officials, thus showing themselves for the first time to the men officials and to the public. Then the men and women officials separate for the remaining ritual.

The alcalde, who presides over the men, orders the mayordomos of the new cofradía to bring the images into the house following the insignia. The new cofrade carries his insignia and places it before each of the officials. They kneel before it and kiss it. He then invites all to enter the saint's room in the same order as was observed in the patio: first the cofrade, then the alcalde, and then the others. They kneel before the saints with the alcalde in the center and behind him the cofrades, fiscales, sacristanas, and regidores, in that order. The music and talking cease while the alcalde thanks the hosts for the invitation to the ceremony.

Liquor is then served. The saints should always be treated with respect and according to customary procedures in these affairs. When this is not done, as in the following incident, the officials become very upset:

The new cofrade was quite drunk when the saints arrived in the patio. He should have asked the alcalde's permission to order his mayordomos to take in the saints, and he should have knelt first before each of the saints and then asked permission once again to order the mayordomos who carried the insignia to come out and present it to each of the officials. Instead, and against all advice and warnings of the alcalde, he wanted to take all the insignias of the four cofradías in his hands and take them inside. The mayordomos who carried them would not give them up, however, and he became angry and took
the saints himself into the house. His own mayordomo did not know what to do, but since they could not just stand around doing nothing they soon left without saying farewell or performing the k'ujanen ceremony. The outgoing cofrade cried for his saints when he turned them over, and he was the first to leave when he saw them being mistreated. "he onlookers criticized the new cofrade very much; some said it was punishment from God because when others did their rituals he had always spoken ill of the way they did them. Others said he did not have money to get liquor for the officials and so pretended to be drunk when they arrived and do everything wrong so that the officials would leave.

Meanwhile the women of the old cofradía who remained in the street have been invited into the kitchen by their successors. They sit on a large mat in two rows, one of the outgoing cofradía facing their corresponding successors. They drink liquor which each new woman gives to her predecessor, while the first outgoing mayordoma counts the pieces of clothing of the saints, by the dozen, and turns them over to her successor. The clothing includes all that has accumulated with the passing of the saints from house to house each year. The women drink two bottles of liquor given by the new cofrade and then each new official gives her predecessor a gift of three large piedes of turkey in pulique and fifteen tamales.
A poT of pulique is set before each of the outgoing women whose assistants immediately take it away in dishes brought for the purpose. The women then leave with their husbands for their respective homes.

That night none of the mayordomos goes home; nor do their wives since the cofrade has told them to watch the kettles that were borrowed for preparing the food. Since the ceremonies do not end until far into the night, all remain to sleep there, the women in the kitchen with their female cofrade and the men with their cofrade in the room where the saints are kept.

**FIESTA OF THE HOLY CROSS.** On May 4th, the day of the fiesta, the women do not go home in the morning, but occupy themselves washing all the borrowed kettles and cloths to be returned that day. It is a disgrace to return borrowed things unwashed.

The male officials go to the house of the cofrade where they drink a bottle of liquor before going to the house of the outgoing cofrade to get the cross and carry it in the customary procession to its place in the church. The new cofrade leaves the retiring cofrade three bottles of liquor in exchange for the image, and the old cofrade then furnishes one bottle which all consume there. The image is adorned by the new mayordomos with flowers and the sash worn by the priest when he comes to say mass. When they reach the church, another bottle is shared. Following this procession, all officials go to the new cofradia house for the turning over of the last saint. Here two more bottles of auardiente are consumed as a finale of the fiesta.
In the month of February the cofrade of San Francisco and his mayordomos meet in the cofradía to go in the evening to the homes of all the men who have already once or twice had the job of capucero, or rocket-burner, in the fiesta of San Francis Caracciolo which takes place on June 7th. These capuceros are requested to fulfill this responsibility again, it being the custom for each capucero to serve four successive years. While a voluntary service, it is a great shame to serve less than the four years, and if one should serve a fifth year he feels obligated to continue for an additional three years. From three to five capuceros are needed, and as some expense is involved in purchasing the rockets, men who have already begun their community service are chosen.

Several weeks prior to the fiesta of San Francisco Caracciolo the mayordomos and the cofrade contribute funds for the purchase of liquor, rockets, incense, a marimba, and food with which to honor the capuceros on May 7th. For this fiesta they need turkeys, chickens, and large tamales prepared in the customary fashion. Women are hired to grind the nixtamal the night before the feast, and the morning of the third is devoted to meal preparation by the wives of the cofradía officials.

As soon as the officials of the cofradía have lunched, they send part of the food to the alcalde as in other fiestas. Then the mayordomos are gathered one by one, as is the custom. Each capucero is ready with his two dozen rockets; one dozen to be
burned in the cofradía on this day, and the remaining dozen on the
morrow. The first dozen are fired by each capucero in turn as
they reach the cofradía. The cofrade and other officials receive
them amiably and thank them profusely for the help they will be
giving in celebrating the fiesta of June 6. Then food and liquor
are served, just as is done for the mayordomos when they are re-
ceived into the cofradía. The only difference is that in this
instance the wives of the capuceros do not participate.

After this food has been served, the guests are given more
liquor until they are quite intoxicated, as is the custom at
this fiesta made especially for them. They dance, and later,
if they are not fit to go home alone, they are taken home by
their hosts. Right after the food has been served them at the
table, large quantities of the same food are taken to their
respective homes. It is the custom that all the officials of
the cofradía take very good care of the drunken capuceros in
this fiesta; if not they are severely criticized by the other
people when they learn of the neglect of their capuceros. After
serving the food and getting the capuceros intoxicated, laymen
may also enter the cofradía house to dance, because the cofradía
takes advantage of this occasion to do a little business for its
approaching expenses on the fourth of June. They may also sell
part of the aguardiente that they have bought for the capuceros;
the capuceros are, of course, never charged for what they drink
and dance.
In the evening the alcalde and his regidores come to this cofradía to take part in this little fiesta. They are met in the street with a bottle of liquor, and then they enter and give a small contribution; they dance and get drunk and then go home—everything just as it is when the mayordomos are reeived in this cofradía and in Sacramento. The marimba continues playing until the afternoon of the fourth, as contracted for. The food for the marimba players is provided by the women officials of the cofradía.

On the fifth of May all the officials of the cofradía come together again to make up the accounts of the expenses and income of the days of the fiesta. They use some of the money to pay the marimba players and if there is any left it is put aside for the expenses of the approaching fiesta. Thus does this cofradía fete its capuceros with the assurance that they will help with the rockets the following June 4th.

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Field Planting Customs

The planting fiesta is celebrated in two ceremonies, one in the cofradía of Sacramento and the other in the fields. The cofrades, shamans, and civil officials make the arrangements with the shamans for the pagan planting rites. The alcalde and the shamans asked the owner for the use of this land, and he readily agreed because he feared that they would use their power against his young children if he should refuse.
On the evening chosen for the fiesta, about May 13th, the saints Sacramento and Isidro are brought to the cofradía of San Francisco. Here candles, cigarettes, cigars, bread, chocolate, incense and copal are laid on a table and roses are hung in two baskets or strewn on the floor. The alcaldes, cofrades, a few private persons and two shamans are present.

The purpose of the ritual is to ask God, the saints, the woods, the spirits of important people and deceased planters, and the divining stones to provide good harvests. The shamans first ask permission of God and the elders to do the ritual, offering copal, bread and chocolate. They then call the spirits of the dead in the order of the houses in town, and finally they call upon the saints present, especially San Francis and San Isidro. Following this everybody present is given bread and coffee and glasses of brandy.

The assembled group then goes to the site in the field where the cross is located. Here the shamans burn one large and one small candle for each cofradía. As they pray before the cross, an assistant prays and burns copal, brown sugar, chocolate and bread on the stone table.

On the following day the priest gives a mass asking for good harvests. Sometimes the elders accompany the saints back to the cofradía of San Francisco.

FIESTA OF SAN ISIDRO. San Isidro is the patron saint of farmers, and the celebration of his day, May 15th, is linked with the planting
ritual. Formerly this saint was in a private house where he was well feted with marimbas, but five years ago the officials of the community learned that the saint was to be sold and they took it to the cofradía of Sacramento, where it still is at the present time.

For the fiesta of St. Isidro, the Elders, cofradía, and fiscals make such contributions for buying rockets, candles, incense, and paying for the flute and drum which will be played all day of the fiesta. The first time this fiesta was held, the men bought aguardiente, and drank all day in the cofradía house. But since then, they come only to burn their rockets, some in the morning and the others in the afternoon, while the cofrade of the house is given the job of caring for the saint and seeing that it has candles and incense all that day.

A mass is said in the church attended by both Indians and Ladinos.

This holiday is celebrated on May by most of the Indians in their homes with foods made of Holy Week leftovers—fish, honey, white beans, flour, sugar and chocolate. Food is exchanged between friends and relatives. Sometimes the cofrade of Sacramento holds a dance to raise money for receiving the saint.

This June fiesta is celebrated only by the cofradía of San Francisco whose officials advise in advance all other religious and civil officials so that they will attend the rites.
Each of the capuceros is also notified in advance. The officials make arrangements ahead of time for the drum and flute players, and they buy a demijohn of liquor, bread, chocolate, candles and incense. The mass which the cofrade of San Francisco arranges is paid for solely by the cofradía. The expenses for the fiesta are rather heavy because not only the officials, but also the capuceros must be feted (as described above).

On the second of June, this fiesta begins with the drum and flute music. A bottle of liquor is taken to the alcalde in the morning. In the afternoon, the mayordomos of the cofradía summon the capuceros who are ready in their houses with three dozen rockets which they will burn in the three days of this fiesta. Each capucero announces his arrival at the cofradía by setting off one of the rockets. Inside the cofradía house all the capuceros together drink two bottles of liquor, furnished by the cofradía. They then go to get the officials first to the cofradía of Santa Cruz, then to San Nicolás, and then to Sacramento, where they drink a third bottle. Then all the cofradías, with their insignias, go to the house of the alcalde where they drink yet another bottle furnished by San Francisco. Then they go to the church to get the large saints of San Francisco and Sacramento which had been taken to the church that same morning. When they return to the cofradía of San Francisco with all the saints, the ceremonial meal takes place just as in the fiestas of other cofradías, with the difference that here the capuceros are received as high officials and treated with aguardiente.
chocolate, and bread, at a special table separate from the other guests. The carriers of the saints are served with the food described above. From here all depart for their homes leaving the insignias of the other cofradías; the following day they will meet here again for the ceremony of the eve of the fiesta.

At noon on June third the capuceros alone meet at the cofradía, each bringing a dozen rockets to burn that afternoon. They drink two bottles presented by the cofradía. The rest of the religious officials come and the capuceros drink another bottle with them. Then they take out the same saints as the day before and return them to the church in procession. San Francisco Caracciolo, the saint of the fiesta, is carried in the arms of the cofrade, and is accompanied in the procession by the other saints. The women officials of San Francisco accompany their saints to the church burning incense along the way. Formerly, when there were still tejéles in each cofradía, they were the ones who had to receive the saints several blocks before the church. When they arrive in the church all drink another bottle furnished by the cofrade of the fiesta. All the insignias are left in the church, because the following day they unite here for the mass. (Principal day of the)

On the fourth of June, the fiesta, all the religious officials meet early in the morning to hear mass. The capuceros come, too, with their dozens of rockets. Formerly the civil officials attended, but this is no longer true. As is always done at a mass, the cofrades and the fiscales
stand directly before the priest, the **cofrades** bearing their insignias and the **fiscales** with their **escolapios** pole-candlesticks. Santa Cruz and Sacramento are on one side and the other two on the other side, with one **fiscal** on each side. Behind these officials are **all others** who wish to worship and hear the mass. The saint of the fiesta is always placed in the center of the altar, wearing the same clothes as in the **cofradía**. The **capuceros** make this fiesta gay with their rockets.

After the mass, all the officials drink more liquor until little before noon the saints that were brought to the church are taken out in procession. **San Francisco Caracciolo** is carried by the **cofrade**. Formerly when there were still **bevelas** in the **cofradías**, they carried their large candles in front of the saints, especially before the saint for whom the fiesta was celebrated.

Following the procession, the officials drink another bottle of liquor given by the **cofradía** of the fiesta. They then go to the **cofradía** of **San Francisco** to deliver the saints and drink more liquor. When this is done, all go with the saints of Sacramento to this **cofradía** where the **cofrade** furnishes three bottles for all the officials. Then all go home and so ends the fiesta.

**Fiesta of Corpus Christi**

**Preparation for the Fiesta.** This fiesta is celebrated on the eleventh of June by both the incoming and outgoing **cofradías** of Corpus. The outgoing **cofradía** begins the fiesta and the incoming finishes.
it. The outgoing cofradía prepares for the fiesta by buying four dozen rockets, a demijohn of liquor, candles, incense, music of flute and drum, chocolate, and bread. Black beans are prepared for the dancers (the "negritos"), and for the men who carry the saints in the procession. Meanwhile the new cofradía prepares itself with more than a demijohn of liquor, four dozen rockets, candles, incense, its flute and drum, chocolate, bread, and brown sugar in addition to the food of turkey in pulique and large tamales to be given to the old cofradía members. The new cofradía also prepares meat for the dancers.

On Monday of the week in which the fiesta falls, the new cofradía cooks its nixtamal in each of the houses of the cofradía members. On Tuesday the turkeys are killed. The outgoing cofrade gives a bottle of liquor to the alcalde and after the lunch made in the cofradía, they go out with their music to get the other cofradías. All go together to the church to take out the saints of the cofradía of Corpus and those of San Francisco, which have been in the church since that morning. The negritos meet in the church and all go together to the cofradía of Sacramento for the procession. When they arrive there the ceremonial meal takes place with all the officials, and the persons who carried the saints are given the food of black beans. The dancers also receive this food in addition to their bread and chocolate.

The saints brought from the church and the insignias of the other cofradías are left in this cofradía for the activities of the following day. The next morning the new cofrade of Sacramento
takes a bottle of liquor to the alcalde and goes to the old cofrade to get his insignia, just as is done in the other cofradías. Returning from there, the cooked turkey is divided and the officials eat lunch. They send some of the food to the alcalde and then they go to get the other cofradías for the turning over of the saints.

On this same day, while the new cofrade is attending to his duties, the old cofradía goes out to gather the rest of the officials, as is the custom, to take the saints that remained there overnight to the church. They are accompanied by the dancers, who, along with the carriers of the saints, are given aguardiente. While the members of the cofradías are taking the saints to the church, the officials of the new cofradía with its music go to the houses of these individuals to unite them for bringing the saints from the house of the old cofrade to that of the new. This is just a formality, because, of course, they find no one at home anywhere, and they go to await their return from the church at the cofradía of San Francisco. United again, then, at the cofradía of San Francisco, they go with the new cofrade to the house of the alcalde to take him to the ceremony. The cofradía and the dancers, meanwhile, have gone directly from the church to the home of the old cofradía there to await the guests who will come to take away the saints.

The custom of re-palma is the same as in the other cofradías. When the saints have been turned over to the new cofradía in the
presence of all the officials, all go in procession to the new cofradía. The outgoing women officials accompany their saints up to within a short distance of the house of the new cofradía. They carry the turkey and large tamales given them by their successors.

In the new cofradía they proceed with the ceremonial meal. Heat and aguardiente are given to the dancers, as the officials are served liquor, chocolate and bread.

On Thursday of Corpus, the day of the fiesta, all the officials meet in the house of the new cofradía and all go together to the church to form a procession with the saints left there by the old cofradía. The negritos come together there too, and they are now taken care of by the new cofradía. This procession is just like those of the other cofradías.

After the procession the new cofrade invites all the officials to accompany him to his house where they drink two bottles of liquor, and so ends the fiesta of Corpus Christi.

THE OCTAVE OF CORPUS! THE OCTAVE OF CORPUS! THE OCTAVE OF CORPUS! THE OCTAVE OF CORPUS!

On Tuesday following the fiesta of Corpus the customary procession and ceremonial meal for all the officials take place. Dances are no longer performed but formerly Ladinos participated as negrito dancers on this fiesta day and accompanied the procession. On Wednesday the same cofradía carries out the pick line in the same fashion as when it receives its year. The final procession takes place on Thursday, and afterwards the saints and all the officials come to the house.
of the cofradía where they drink two bottles of aguardiente. After all the activities at Sacramento, all the officials go to the house of San Francisco, taking the saints which accompanied all the processions. There they drink one bottle furnished by the cofradía of San Francisco, and thus the fiesta ends.

The outgoing cofradía gives over the saints to the new cofradía on September 30th, or whenever it is convenient for the cofrade. At dawn, rockets are set off announcing the arrival of the mayordomos of the old cofradía with large baskets of uncooked tamales and firewood carried by assistants. The cofrade prepares for this fiesta by buying liquor, turkeys, hens, maize, beans, bread and chocolate. Rockets are set off when the nixtamal is set to cook two days before the fiesta. The turkeys are cooked for the meal given to the mayordomos in the same way as described above.

The mayordomos are called assistants of the cofradía who bring them back to the cofrade's house. There they are served a drink, the cofrade drinking one cup for each one served to each of the mayordomos. Following the ceremonial drinking the mayordomos are served turkey in atol and tamales. They just taste the food, and then their wives put the food in baskets which they give to helpers to take them to the home. The men remain to drink. Before leaving they give their contribution for the coming fiesta of the saints.
The fiesta for the mayordomos of the cofradía is customarily given on September 10th by the cofrade. The fiesta is usually followed by a clance to raise money for the day of the fiesta.

Formerly the capuceros gathered in the house of the head of the group and made arrangements for their role in the fiesta, collecting the contributions, hiring musicians and buying the liquor for their own group. Now voluntary rocket-burners who furnish two dozen rockets organize a group to enliven the fiesta.

In the week preceding the fiesta, the Elders go to Sololá to arrange for the priest to come for a mass. The contributions must be collected from the household heads by the Elders. The Sunday before the fiesta, the Elders, cofrades and alcaldes meet in the church to make accounts of all the money collected.

The civil authorities prepare the bull-ring in the marketplace and arrange with the butchers to furnish high-spirited animals for the occasion.

Each of the cofradías sends out invitations to all the high officials, their own members and the capuceros to attend the various rituals of the fiestas. These advance notices are like programs, and they are customary even though everyone knows that the procedure will be the same every year.

The Indians of other towns, when they own lands in Panajachel, contribute money to St. Francis' fiesta. One such Indian of
San Jorge voluntarily contributed several dozen (rockets) which he burned on the fiesta. His sons continued to do this after his death when they divided up his lands. Some of the lands were rented to other Jorgeños, however, and Panajachelenos soon noticed that while the Jorgeños were receiving excellent crops they were no longer helping at the fiesta. The Elders set to decide what action to take and agreed that each Jorgeño household should contribute from 25 cents to one dollar. The Jorgeños objected, however, and the Elders were able to collect only two dollars in all. In a subsequent year they offered to contribute musicians with a drum and flute, and the year following they offered a marimba.

Day of San Francisco. This fiesta, the patron saint of the community, is celebrated by the cofradías of San Francisco and Sacramento during the first four days of October. On October first both cofradías prepare everything necessary, purchasing food, incense, rockets, and liquor, and arranging for musicians.

On the morning of October 4 each cofradía takes a bottle of liquor to the alcalde and another to the capuceros, while the female officials prepare the food to be given to those carrying the saints in the procession. The capuceros gather together the cofradías for the procession, going first to Sacramento where they consume two bottles of liquor, then to Santa Cruz and San Nicolás, and finally to San Francisco where they are presented with two more bottles. All then go together to the house of the alcalde, where liquor is again shared, before going to the church to get the saints.
The procession goes first to the cofradía of San Francisco where two bottles of liquor are shared, one by the capuceros alone who now form one body by themselves. When the saints are taken into the house the ceremonial meal is served, the capuceros eating at a separate table. The procession then proceeds to Sacramento, where again the ceremonial meal is served. The cofradía insignias and several rockets are left at each of these two cofradía houses. After this all depart for their homes.

The afternoon of October 3 all the officials and capuceros meet again in the house of Sacramento where they drink several bottles of liquor prior to taking the saints in procession to the cofradía of San Francisco, and from there to the church. The women of the two cofradías get drunk before the procession to the church, this drinking being termed "two parties doing something together".

At four o'clock on the morning of October 4 the capuceros and the officials of the two cofradías meet in the church to greet the dawn of the fiesta day with rockets and aguardiente. Gift dishes of pulique are exchanged among the cofradía officials, friends, relatives and compadres, and all wear their newest and best clothing. The musicians play in the churchyard. Later in the morning the civil and religious officials go with the Elders to meet the priest and attend the mass. Following the mass the two cofradías of San Francisco and Sacramento each give a bottle of liquor to all the officials who are present. The Elders respond with additional bottles which they have bought with fiesta contributions.
Near noon of this day, all the saints of the cofradías which have been brought to the church accompanied by the musicians, capuceros, and interested onlookers go out in procession. Following the procession, the cofradías give more liquor to the officials, after which drinking continues in homes and in the taverns. In the afternoon there is bull racing. The intendent gives a glass of aguardiente to all the men who participate. In the evening the Ladinos hold a dance for invited persons.

On the morning of the fifth, the priest says another mass for the benefit of the officials. Thereafter the day's activities are voluntary and are not a formal part of the fiesta. The saints of San Francisco and Sacramento are left in the church until the new cofrade of San Francisco takes his office later in the month.

When dances are hired for this fiesta, their duties begin on October 14 when they accompany the officials to the cofradía of San Francisco and Sacramento. They receive and later participate in the processions of the saints on the third and fourth.

The following story is told of the difficulties involved in being a dancer at this fiesta:

To the north of Panajachel there is, in the hills, a boulder, El Tzala, at a cataract whose waters flow into the Panajachel River. Once there was an Indian who came to this place, as a last resort, in the hope that some good fortune might resolve for him a great burden. He
To the north of Panajachel there is, in the hills, a boulder, El Tzalá, at a cataract whose waters flow into the Panajachel River. Once there was an Indian who came to this place, as a last resort, in the hopes that some good fortune might resolve for him a great trouble that burdened him. He was compromised to join the dance in celebration of the fiesta of St. Francis, and as the day approached in which he would have to go to rent his costume and his mask, he found himself without the necessary means. Here at El Tzalá, considering his plight and the great shame that would befall him if he did not keep his promise, he broke into tears and prayed to the hills and the forest for help in his time of need.

Suddenly a strange man appeared next to him and asked him the cause of his trouble. The Indian was frightened and would not tell him what had happened. The stranger, however, guessed the cause of the other's sadness, and told him so, adding that he would relieve him of all his troubles if he cared to come with him for a moment. The Indian refused to go because he was very much afraid, but the stranger explained to him that if he were willing he would receive everything he desired in just a moment, and he urged him to come. The Indian reconsidered, and thought that after all perhaps this man would be his salvation, and he agreed to accompany the stranger.

"Turn around for a moment and look toward the town," instructed his prospective benefactor, and the Indian did as he was bid. When he faced about again he saw that there was
a beautiful road into the hill. The two walked up this road and finally arrived at some splendid palaces. The stranger bade the Indian enter, but the Indian was afraid; the other, reading his thoughts, told him not to be afraid, that everything would be all right, and that he should be of the best of spirits. Thus encouraged, the poor Indian entered and was shown into a great room entirely occupied by live and poisonous snakes.

"These are the costumes for the dance," explained the stranger; "Choose one that you like." The dancer was afraid to pick up any of the snakes, but after considerable pressing he finally took up one and put it around his body. Instantly the snake became a beautiful dance costume. The stranger now offered to give him all the money he would need, and also a supply of liquor, with the caution that he should not give much to his companions lest they die of its effects. The Indian was told also that he would surely dance better than all his companions but that he should not smile or laugh while in his costume or he would pay very dear. He cautioned him much also against having to do with his wife during the period of the dancing lest he be punished by his clothes. Finally he was counselled not to tell a soul how he came by this costume. Thus well advised and lectured, the Indian, now very happy, returned to his home with all the necessities of the dance.

The first mistake that the dancer made was to tell his wife his recent experience and to explain to her how he came
by the clothes, the money and the liquor.

When his fellow dancers returned from the town where they had gone to rent their costumes, they tried in vain to induce him to go to get his own; he refused, quietly confident that when the time came to dance he would be triumphant over all. So, indeed, it was; he was the best of all of the dancers, so much so that he produced murmurs of admiration among all the people and among his fellows as well. He remained, however, serene and serious as he had been told to be.

Finally arrived the day of the solemn procession; and this man was the best of all the dancers, and all the people admired and applauded his incomparable dancing. So great was his triumph that it finally produced a smile on his lips, and at that moment there came from above a great whirlwind that instantly carried him away; he was never seen again. The man had also committed the fault of using his wife during this time.

To this day the dancers remain chaste during the days of the dance, fearful lest what befell this dancer long ago befall them now; nor do they laugh behind their masks.
THE OCTAVE OF SAN FRANCISCO. The new cofrade receives his year on October 12th, in much the same fashion as the transition is made in the cofradía of Santa Cruz (described above).

On the afternoon of October 12th the new officials go out to gather the other officials and together they go the old cofradía to drink. Then they go the house of the alcalde to drink another bottle before going to the church to get the large saints of the cofradía. The procession ends at the house of the new cofrade where liquor is served before the saints are brought into the house. The cofrade must borrow the insignia from the cofradía of Santa Cruz with which to invite the other officials to enter his house, since his own insignia is not presented to him until the next day. Within the house the ceremony is enacted.

The mayordomos spend this night largely in distributing to the officials the ceremonial bread placed before them in the menudo. Their wives are also up during the night, grinding the nixtamal in preparation for making the tamales on the morrow.

On October 13th the insignia and the saints of the cofradía change hands in the presence of the alcalde and the officials of all four cofradías.

The year of service of the new officials of the cofradía begins the following day. The religious officials of the community gather in the home of the new cofrade to take the saints to the church in the customary procession. The saints of the cofradías of San Francisco and Sacramento are then returned to their respective houses, where the fiesta is terminated with sharing of liquor.
The Ancient Custom of Killing a Bull. It is twenty years since this was last done by the cofradía of San Francisco, as it proved to be too costly for the members of the cofradía. Julian R. was the one who terminated the practice, as it proved to be too costly for the members of the cofradía.

The bull had to be killed and butchered by a special cook, of which there were only two or three in the community. Each mayordomo provided the cook with two assistants. If Monday was the day of the octave of San Francisco, then on the previous Friday afternoon each of the mayordomos arrived at the home of the cook with the assistants and a bottle of aguardiente.

The cook's responsibility was to slit the bull's throat and then direct the assistants in the remainder of the work. All of that night and the morning of the next day were spent in the butchering, following which the men partially cooked the meat. The next morning the cook and his assistants came to the cofradía house to cut up the meat preparatory to final cooking. Strips of meat were cut sufficient to supply each functionary with two strips, the persons of higher status receiving larger strips.

In addition to the preparation of these strips of meat, some of the meat was prepared by the cook in a special dish called pipián. Anyone connected with the fiesta in any way received some of this food, and for this reason a large, fat bull was needed.

While the cook was thus employed, the women mayordomos with their helpers were making tortillas and the drink called ruwija.

During the afternoon, after the saints had been carried to the new cofradía house, a meal called the walin was served to the of-
...in the community. After choosing the animal, the officials went together, supplied with aguardiente, to see the man who was going to serve them as butcher and cook. There were three men in town who did this work, and they were very jealous of each other. If one was chosen, the other two would speak ill of him. Thus it was not easy to obtain the services of any one of the three. The cofrade and mayordomos had to kneel several times before the butcher and cook, asking him to accept and giving him aguardiente until he became intoxicated. Soon he accepted, and if the cook liked the bull chosen, then they would bargain for it with the owner, who, even though he might not wish to sell, could not refuse because it was a sin to refuse to sell to a saint. Each mayordomo...
Each official was served two strips of fried meat, three tamales, a plate of pipián, and another of tortillas. The meal was sampled and then later sent to his home, as is still the custom.

On the second day of the fiesta, the cook and servants returned for the utensils used in preparing the feast and to divide the remainder of the food. Equal portions were given to the cofrade, the mayordomos, and the texeles. The hide of the bull was sold to help defray the cost of the animal. The heart, kidneys, lungs, and tripe of the bull plus any left over maize were prepared in a meal of tamales and divided among the mayordomos some five or six days later.
procession. Meanwhile the women of these cofradías prepare the
black beans and little tamales that are presented to those carrying
the saints.

When the officials have gathered at the church for the proces-
sion liquor is served by the two cofradías. The procession of
the saints goes first to San Francisco where the cofradía serves
to more bottles of apparently. The officials enter the house
for the ceremonial meal, the first fiscal, rather than the alcalde, pre-
sides. All the officials are served liquor, while the men who
have carried the saints eat the black beans and tamales. No choco-
late nor bread are served at this time, and consequently the mayor-
domos join their superiors in the hierarchy in drinking. Whenever
bread is served at this ceremony the mayor domos are not
permitted to eat with the cofradas. When the ceremony has ended,
the group proceeds in procession to Sacramento where the same pro-
cedure is followed.

On the morning of there are the officials of both cofradías go
to the cemetery to clear weeds from around the graves. Liquor is
consumed as they work with their hoes. In the afternoon all the
religious officials met again in the house of Sacramento where
they drink a bottle at the expense of the cofrade. From there they
go to San Francisco and then to the church. The women accompany
them, but before starting for the church they unite in the kitchen
of San Francisco to become intoxicated. When one of the women does
not wish to drink all the liquor given to her, she may take it into
her mouth and then promptly empty it into her huipil or carrying cloth.
It is customary, however, for each woman to become fully intoxicated.
In the morning all the officials gather in the church to take the saints out in procession. Shortly before noon the men drink one bottle of liquor at the expense of San Francisco, and another at the expense of Sacramento. The procession ends with the carrying of the saints to San Francisco, the sharing of two more bottles at the expense of this cofradía, and finally the delivery of saints to Sacramento at the expense of this cofradía.

Food exchange takes place among relatives and compadres and associates in the cofradías. Food is also laid out on the table where the saints of the household are kept, so that the souls of the deceased can come and feast on the odor of the food. If the souls do not like the food left for them, it is believed they will break into the kitchen to help themselves. Formerly it was not uncommon for boys to gather on this day and enter houses to steal food. They would break the dishes to lead the owners of the house into thinking that the spirits were responsible. When it was discovered who was responsible, families would arm themselves with sticks ready to receive the "spirits"!

In the afternoon almost everyone visits the cemetery to decorate graves with cypress branches, flowers, and dishes of atol. Liquor is poured upon the graves, and the people themselves drink until the candles they carry for the dead have burned out. Intoxicated, they then return home. The officials go to the cemetery after the procession, with music and rockets. They walk completely around the cemetery and then sit in the shade of trees drinking liquor.
supplied by San Francisco and Sacramento.

The following day many people go again to the cemetery to watch the graves. On these days of the fiesta the souls of the dead are touring the places they frequented during life, so people are afraid to go to the fields or woods lest they be confronted with spirits. Especially the children are afraid.

The responsibility for the fiesta as it is celebrated by the Indians is taken by the cofradía of Santa Cruz. A month before Christmas, preparations are begun, the expenses for this fiesta being about the same as they are for the annual receiving of the cofradía itself. On the twenty-second of December, the posadas begin the first of the seven nightly rounds before Christmas. In a reenactment of the story of Christ's birth, Ladinos dress as the figures of Joseph and Mary and seek lodging for the night.

On the evening of December 16, the posadas begin the first of the seven nightly rounds before Christmas. In a reenactment of the story of Christ's birth, Ladinos dress as the figures of Joseph and Mary and seek lodging for the night. The next afternoon each brings twelve pounds of white beans to the cofradía in preparation for the cooking of food on the twenty-fourth. While at the cofradía house the officials adorn the house and prepare the Christ child. For the latter they bring a Ladino, called the tiaxcink, whose responsibility it is to wash the child with the juice of thirty sour-oranges, half a dozen eggs, and cotton. He removes the saint from its box, takes off its clothes, and places it on a new mat for the bathing. The egg whites are
applied after the washing to make the image shine. Following
the bathing, the dirty water, orange peels, and egg shells are
placed at a cross located on one of the roads of the town. It
is a great sin to throw these things elsewhere. The yolks of
the eggs are sent to the kitchen and cooked for the Ladino to eat.
The officials must also give him bread, coffee, and two bottles
of liquor for his assistance, help his home once he is intox-
icated, and present his family with tortillas, beans, bread, eggs
and more liquor. Returning from his home, the officials stop at
the church to borrow from the sacristan the church bells, some
clothes and other adornments for the saint. A bottle of liquor
is shared with the sacristan for his assistance.

This same night the mayordomas grind their nixtamal. The
morning of the feast, the Ladino returns to construct
the little house wherein the image will rest for the next several
days. He receives his lunch at the cofradia, more liquor, and
is the first to sample the white beans prepared by the women. He
also receives an invitation to attend the evening's ceremony in
partial payment for these services. Food is also shared, as
usual, with the alcalde and his regidores, as well as with an
old who once presented the saint with a large sash.

Some food is likewise sent to the mayores of the town so that
they will send the large drum for the fiesta. This food is later
shared by the mayores with the alguaciles in their charge. Four
of these alguaciles are sent in the evening to play the drum, and
two to ring the little bells.
FIESTA OF THE COFRADÍAS. The afternoon of the twenty-fourth the cofradía officials of Santa Cruz collect the officials of the other cofradías. They drink a bottle of liquor furnished by Santa Cruz at Sacramento and another at the house of the alcalde. The ceremonial meal is served at Santa Cruz.

Shortly before midnight the alcalde gives the order to leave for the church where the officials and the saint must be at the hour of birth. The women of the cofradía burn incense before the saint in the procession. The cofradía drum, the town hall drum, and the church bells enliven the procession, and rockets are fired at each juncture in the festivities. In the church liquor is shared until the hour of birth, midnight, arrives. Church bells are then rung, many rockets are fired, and there is much music. The Ladinos of the community also celebrate at this hour with marimbas and feasting. After midnight all the officials go their individual ways to continue celebrating, leaving only the cofrade and mayordomos and sacristans with the Christ child at the church. By dawn many Indians are drunk in the dance quarters.

On the twenty-fifth the men visit the church, taking a bottle of liquor to serve the officials who kept watch during the night. Meanwhile the women wash the kettles borrowed for the fiesta. Musicians continue playing throughout the day, are paid in the afternoon, and by evening all officials have returned to their homes.

The image is left in the church until January sixth when it is taken to all the Indian and Ladino houses in the fiesta of the Day of the Kings, the fiesta which begins the year's calendar of religious activities.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. There was some feeling among veterans of military training that this service also gave them greater rights in respect to the workbooks and vagrancy laws.

2. Tsai'loj is the Cakchiquel title for those Indians who formerly taught the Catequism in Cakchiquel to those who wished to marry.

3. One informant denied this, saying that the texeles and others of the cofradía addressed one another as equals.

4. The miniature saint is called ru wi p'ar.

5. See p. 000.

6. The new law that took effect in 1936 changed the period of service from one to two years, or an indefinite period, and changed the date of inauguration from January first to March fifteenth. These changes applied only to officially recognized services. The law also abolished the offices of first and second alcalde and substituted an appointed intendente. Since the official first alcalde already was a Ladino in Panajachel this change had little effect on the Indian organization. The descriptions that follow apply to the time before March, 1936, when the new law took effect.

7. The number recently was increased when the intendente was installed and asked for more boys to improve the service. The intendente now makes the appointments, but actually he uses the lists made up by the mayores who know all the households and can tell what boys have served. The day after the intendente makes up the list, he has all the boys named come to the town hall where he notifies them to report on March fifteenth or be punished by the law.
Footnotes to Chapter 11, con't.

8. The commander of the local military establishment, and outside of the Indian organization.

9. In the story of the Twelve Grandsons (see p. 000), three of them get jobs in the town hall and all change into animals that presumably have some connection with the jobs. The mayor becomes an owl, since the owl patrols at night just like the mayores on their rounds. The alguacil becomes a tecolette, since the tecolette spreads news around town just as the alguacil who is messenger. The alcalde turns into a rabbit, but this connection is obscure.

10. See p. 000.

11. See p. 000.

12. Formerly there were not four but eight regidores because there were two alcaldes instead of one. That was before there were Ladinos.

13. The first regidor now takes the place of the first alcalde who was always a Ladino, and thus is considered head of the Ladinos and not the Indians. It is therefore the second regidor who nowadays is more important in the Indian community.

14. See p. 000.

15. At a meeting of church and civil officials on Good Friday, the regidores took the occasion to state that they would no longer attend the cofradía rituals because they were only regidores, even though they had some of the alcalde's religious functions. They announced that some people felt that they should not attend the religious fiestas because they no longer have much authority and if they were to go it would only be because they wanted to drink. After this declaration, one of the...
Elders said that the Elders should not attend the religious functions either because they have even less authority than the regidores. He added that to the Indians the regidores are still equal to alcaldes, even though the law has changed. Besides, since it had been the custom for the alcalde to attend the ceremonies, he did not think it right that the civil officials should now abandon the Elders and not merge their political and religious duties. On the contrary, he felt that if attendance at cofradía functions was to be reduced, it should be the Elders who should no longer attend since they are so numerous and constitute such an expense for the cofradía officials. The Elder said all this in a loud and commanding voice, and so all nodded their heads in agreement. Two other Elders seconded him. The regidores than all agreed to go on as before, but requested that at least several of the Elders should accompany them. There was general agreement on this, and since none would volunteer, they finally named five Elders. The regidores thus attend but do not direct the cofradía rituals. The Elders continue to name the cofrades and mayor-domos of the cofradías.

16. Some of the women who give eggs prefer not to put them in the basin but hide them near the image in the little house so that their chickens will lay better.

17. Before the image of Jesus Nazareno, the Ladino saint that is taken out in procession every Friday night in Lent, are laid decorations made with sand, seeds of the plant called "cow's tongue," natural flowers in vases, bunches of green bananas, melocotones, and other fruit. These decorations are changed each Friday.
18. When the *alaaldes* were replaced by *intendentes* and *regidores*, the ritual of giving over the insignia was changed. The Elders named the new official of the *cofradías*, and they themselves took charge of the turning-over of the insignias. It happened, however, that when this new arrangement was decided upon, the first Elder was not present. He criticized and scolded his companions who attended the ceremonies, got drunk again, and was served food. He said that only the *regidores* should attend as *alaaldes*, but that the *regidores* should not have the right to name an official. Thus the Elders did this only once, and then they followed the suggestion of the first Elder, whom they respected. The insignias of St. Nicolás and St. Francisco are turned over in just the same manner as the above.

19. Not until this moment was there anybody involved in the fiesta except for the active participants in the ceremony. When the saints were collected, about fifteen women and thirty-five children observed from the sidelines. The fiesta is an important one, but the involvement beyond the officials is limited.

20. Formerly the *capuceros* for this fiesta were feted on August 1, the Octave of Santiago. This fiesta used to be carried out at the same time by the *cofradías* of St. Francisco and Sacramento, but it has not been celebrated for some twelve years. The *capuceros* were given drinks and gifts of food, but there was no marimba. One day after the fiesta, the *capuceros* came back to the *cofradía* to fire a dozen rockets where they were again served liquor. Having accepted the liquor and food,
Footnotes to Chapter 11, con't.

they were compromised to contribute their services on October fourth.

21. For another version, see p. 000.

22. Other Ladino activities preceding Christmas include the dance of the convite, the masked dance burlesquing local and regional characters, and the dance called "El Tabal" in which they are joined by the Indians running through the streets covered with blankets and stuffed with pillows so they can bump and knock down all whom they meet.
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